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THE INFLUENCE OF
THE "MEMORANDUM" OF
THE MOST REV. PHILIP CARRINGTON,
ARCHBISHOP OF QUEBEC,
IN REVISING THE LITURGY OF
THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER
1959 CANADA

by

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B.A. McMaster University, 1953

S.T.B. Trinity College, University of Toronto, 1964

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the Master of Arts degree

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1979

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ABSTRACT

In 1943 the Anglican Church of Canada began to revise its Prayer Book. The central matter, and real reason for the undertaking, was the revision of the Eucharist. In 1952 the revised Eucharistic Rite was presented to the Church, and comments solicited. A year later, in a memorandum sent to all members, The Most Rev. Philip Carrington, Archbishop of the Ecclesiastical Province of Canada and Bishop of the Diocese of Quebec, a prominent member of the General Committee on Revision of the Book of Common Prayer, wrote that the revised Rite had been "very successful in creating public interest and in eliciting criticisms and suggestions." That was putting as good a face on things as possible.

The plain truth was that, after long preparation and careful consideration, the revisers felt that in the 1952 Rite they had done their best. The largely negative reaction to their work left them shaken and uncertain as to

what direction they should take next. But one thing was certain in the tense situation created by the 1952 Rite: they must not seem to be responding to one criticism above another, or giving way to pressure from one group or another.

Into this dilemma came Carrington's Memorandum: a policy statement which outlined a purposeful new approach, and which was reinforced by the acceptance of his ideas at the Anglican Congress eight months later. In the face of rising nationalism and new political alignments emerging out of World War II, the message was to strengthen the unity of the world-wide Anglican Communion by a spiritual bond manifested in a commonly distinguishable pattern of worship.

As a result of Carrington's initiative, the Canadian revisers began to re-work the 1952 Rite, using his suggestions and the related models in other Anglican liturgies. In the end they produced a Rite which took its place as one of the contemporary family of liturgies by which various branches of the Anglican Communion were mutually identifiable in a common pattern of Christian life. But it was Archbishop Carrington's theory of the nature of the Prayer Book in the Anglican Communion, and his concrete proposals for the Rite, which were fundamental in making their achievement possible.

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I

INTRODUCTION

In the first half of the twentieth century the Anglican Church of Canada revised its Prayer Book twice: once in 1918, and again in 1959*. Both revisions were

* Prior to 1918 the Prayer Book of the Anglican Church of Canada was the Book of Common Prayer annexed to the Act of Uniformity passed in 1662 during the reign of Charles II. There had been four previous to it. The first, that of 1549 was very conservative. In form the key indicator, the Eucharist, paralleled closely the Roman mass and in content retained much of the traditional theology. To Bishop Gardiner, who opposed reform, it was "not distant from the Catholic Faith". To Bishop Ridley, who championed reform, it was "a counterfeiting of the popish mass". A revision of the Book of Common Prayer appeared in 1552. In this the parts of the Eucharist were so re-ordered that the form should be quite distinct from the mass. Its theology, if vague, was certainly not Catholic and was probably Zwinglian. Notably absent were introits, gradu-als, the offertory, anamnesis, oblation, epiclesis, and any words connecting the bread and wine to the real presence of Christ in the sacrament. Notably present was the "Black rubric" explicitly denying the real presence. A second revision made in 1559 as part of the Elizabethan settlement omitted the "Black rubric" and combined at the communion the words of administration of 1549 with those of 1552: "The Body (Blood) of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given (shed) for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life: Take and eat (Drink) this in remembrance that Christ died for thee and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving (that Christ's blood was shed for thee and be thankful)." Thus the new form was kept but at the same time a traditional theological interpretation was placed upon the Rite. A third revision in 1604 made no significant change in the Eucharist. In 1662 a fourth revision appeared which restored the offertory and, in concession to the Puritans, the "Black rubric" although now altered to deny a debased concept of transubstantiation but not the real presence of Christ in the sacrament. The 1662 Prayer Book became the standard form in Britain and its colonies. In Scotland and the U.S.A., however, the Eucharist was returned substantially to the form of 1549.

moderate, but the first was so conservative that the central act of the Church's worship, the Eucharist, was left virtually untouched. Archdeacon W.J. Armitage, who as Secretary of the working body was involved with every aspect of the revision, concluded that the only substantial change made to the Eucharist was the addition of a proper preface.¹

With the rapid growth of Canada at the end of the nineteenth century there had for some time been pressure on the Church to modify the Prayer Book brought from England in colonial days. There was a general desire that it should more closely conform to the actualities of life in the new land. Militating against this, however, was the division of the Church into two parties: the High Church party which focussed on the Catholic revival arising from the Oxford Movement, and the Low Church party which sought to preserve the Protestant traits of the Church and, in the present circumstances, feared any change. Nevertheless, to meet the needs of the new land an Appendix to the Prayer

¹ W.J. Armitage. The Story of the Canadian Revision of the Prayer Book. (Toronto, 1922) p. XII.

Book was prepared.² But at the General Synod of 1905 it was so vigorously attacked by the Low Church party that it was rejected, and, fearing party strife, the Bishops blocked any further moves in the direction of change.³ This proved to be only a temporary halt.

Three years later at the Lambeth Conference of 1908, bishops from around the world met to consider the state of the Church. One of their concerns was the relationship of the Church to the modern world. Out of this concern came formal recognition of the need to revise forms of worship, and some general guidelines within which the work could be done. As a result when the General Synod of the Church in Canada met that same year in Ottawa, agreement was reached to establish a Joint Committee of both Houses⁴ which would consider any changes consistent with the guidelines laid

² It contained such seemingly innocuous material as intercessions for missions and Sunday Schools, and authority to conduct church services in buildings other than a church; also, and in that day less innocently, propers so the Eucharist could be used with weddings and burials (nuptial and requiem masses) and all the forms needed to introduce a new feast day - the Transfiguration. (Joint Committee of General Synod on the Appendix to the Book of Common Prayer, Proposed Appendix to the Book of Common Prayer. Anglican Church of Canada, 1905.)

³ The General Synod of the Church of England in the Dominion of Canada, Journal of Proceedings of the Fourth Session 1905. (Kingston, 1905) p. 51-63.

⁴ The General Synod consisted of an Upper House made up of all the bishops, and a Lower House in which sat representatives of the other clergy and laity.

down at Lambeth. This was the Joint Committee of the General Synod on the Enrichment and Adaptation of the Book of Common Prayer.⁵

The Joint Committee met in Montreal on January 7, 1909 and established a working sub-Committee to explore the possibilities of change. This Sub-Committee met for the first time that spring in St. James' School House in Toronto. The outcome of this meeting shows the considerable degree of hesitancy which still accompanied any approach to revision. It was agreed that work could only proceed on condition that "no addition or change shall be made which will in any way make or indicate a change in doctrine or principles of the Church of England in Canada."⁶ This resolution and the Lambeth Conference statement were proposed to the General Synod of 1911 as the basis for revision.⁷ But feeling was such that even this guarded statement had to be reinforced. At the Synod when a motion was put to implement the Committee's recommendations, a debate arose over the use of

⁵ This formidable name was generally shortened in common use it seems. As a result when the full title was used many variations of it appeared. The solution adopted here is simply to refer to it as the Joint Committee.

⁶ Minutes of the Sub-Committee of the Joint Committee of the General Synod on Enrichment and Adoption of the Book of Common Prayer, dated April 20, 1909, now in the Archives of the General Synod of the Anglican Church of Canada, Toronto, Ont.

⁷ The General Synod of the Church of England in the Dominion of Canada. Journal of Proceedings of the Sixth Session. 1911. (Toronto, 1912) p. 41.

the term "principles" as opposed to the qualified term "fundamental principles". The motion which finally passed referred simply to "principles".

This nicety of distinction and the choice of the more general term was significant, as Archdeacon Armitage pointed out, because removal of the word "fundamental" from the motion "ruled out of practical politics" a large number of debatable questions which otherwise would have caused many difficulties. "This proved to be especially true," he goes on, "in regard to the Holy Communion."⁸ In fact, said Armitage, a motion put by Canon Scott and himself at a meeting of the Central Revision Sub-Committee on April 8, 1913, to accept the Holy Communion service from the Title to the end unchanged, would have passed if they had pressed it, and thus saved a lot of the trouble they did have subsequently. Instead, there was some informal discussion, a few minor changes were suggested, and the motion, amended to include these, passed the next day.⁹ In all, just over two days were spent by the Sub-Committee on the Eucharist.

In 1915, when the General Synod met again, draft copies of the revised Prayer Book were ready and were

⁸ Armitage, op. cit. p. 245.

⁹ Minutes of the Central Revision Sub-Committee, April 8, 1913.

submitted to it. After some debate the Book was accepted in principle and passed on to the Diocesan and Provincial Synods for their consideration during the next three years.¹⁰ The subsequent consideration revealed a fair amount of hesitancy in eastern Canada about the revised book in general, and some dissatisfaction with the minimal revision of the Eucharist from all parts of the country.¹¹ However, at the General Synod of 1918, the revised Prayer Book, with a few further changes, was adopted.

This, however, was not to be the end of the matter. "I have long felt," we find Bishop Lennox Williams of Quebec writing in 1920, "that our greatest need in the matter of Prayer Book Revision is a re-arrangement of the Holy Communion Office in order that we may have once more restored to us the Invocation of the Holy Spirit and the Prayer of Oblation, ..." ¹² This amounts to a formidable criticism of the new Prayer Book, coming as it did before the Book had even received formal ratification. But it was not the first criticism.

¹⁰ The General Synod of the Church of England in the Dominion of Canada. Journal of Proceedings of the Seventh Session 1915. (Toronto, 1916) p. 64.

¹¹ Armitage, op. cit. p. 104.

¹² The Right Rev. Lennox Williams M.A., D.D. (Oxon) in the Forward to The Very Rev. Richmond Shreve, The Prayer of Consecration in the Holy Communion. (St. Johns, Quebec, 1920) p. I.

During the summer of 1915, before the draft Book had even been presented to the General Synod, Archdeacon F.W. Vroom, addressing a clerical study group, had spoken of the "disappointing results" of the work of the Canadian revisers, results which, in the light of the recommendations of the English Convocations, could not be excused on grounds of maintaining doctrine or Anglican unity.¹³ "The Holy Communion," he observed, in particular, "is the Office upon which it might reasonably be supposed our Committee would have bestowed the most pains and attention, ... But here our revisers have grievously disappointed us."¹⁴

At the official level too, dissatisfaction was being expressed even before the Book was accepted. The Synod of the Ecclesiastical Province of Canada (consisting of Quebec and the Maritimes) accepted a recommendation from the Diocese of Quebec that the revision be delayed for fuller consideration, and went on to express its own regret that the Scottish-American model of the Prayer of Consecration had not been adopted in the Eucharist.¹⁵

¹³ The Ven. F.W. Vroom, Prayer Book Revision in Canada: Lectures Delivered at the Summer School for Clergy at King's College Windsor N.S. dated 1915, now in the Archives of the General Synod of the Anglican Church of Canada, Toronto, Ont. p. 18f.

¹⁴ *ibid.* p. 41.

¹⁵ A Report of Action Taken by the Provincial Synod of the Ecclesiastical Province of Canada on the Revised Prayer Book dated October 12, 1917, now in the General Synod Archives of the Anglican Church of Canada, Toronto, Ont.

At the General Synod of 1918 itself, at which the revised Book was accepted, Dean Shreve of Quebec attempted to introduce a motion which would have allowed the optional use of the American Canon. Failing in this, he proceeded to outline fully the arguments for restructuring the Prayer of Consecration in a book published two years later,¹⁶ and then in 1924 tried again to get his motion passed at the General Synod which met that year.¹⁷ The motion was referred to the Standing Committee on Prayer Book Revision until such time as another general revision was undertaken. The Synod thought they had consigned the matter to oblivion; but they were wrong.

What now began was a struggle to establish the fact that an issue existed and that it merited action. On the one side was the official Church, proudly displaying its newly revised Prayer Book and attempting to settle back to a well-deserved rest in which it could contentedly view its achievement. Ranged with officialdom, too, were all those of both High Church and Low Church parties who feared that any revision of the Eucharist would weaken their position,

¹⁶ The Very Rev. Richmond Shreve. The Prayer of Consecration in the Holy Communion Office. (St. Johns, Quebec, 1920).

¹⁷ The General Synod of the Church of England in Canada. Journal of Proceedings of the Tenth Session 1924. (Kingston, 1924) p. 29ff.

and who were thankful that what they had received was so little. On the other side was an amorphous group which felt, particularly in regard to the Eucharist which had been scarcely touched, that the revision had not gone far enough. These fought a double battle, attempting at once to stir the official Church to further revision, and to re-assure the timid that all would be done with such due process that no one need fear the one-sided impositions of a pressure group.

Ultimately, the pro-revisionists were to succeed. But over the next dozen years it was a long uphill struggle. Occasionally, it is true, an unexpected windfall helped their cause along. For example, the attempt to raise the issue publicly received unintentional support from the publication of a series of pamphlets which attacked, vitriolically and scurrilously, all who wanted any change in the Eucharist.¹⁸ At this time, too, in England proposals for a revised Prayer Book were being finalized, and many Canadian clergy took great interest in this. One indication that their interest was more than academic was the lagging sales of the new Canadian Book. As Archbishop David Williams of Huron Diocese, who had directed the Canadian revision, commented: "I have no doubt that some of our Anglo-Catholic

¹⁸ Vital Questions for Canadian Churchmen. Numbers 1-4, published between 1917 and 1924, now in the Archives of the General Synod of the Anglican Church of Canada, Toronto, Ont.

friends in this country will hold back from buying in hope of getting a further change in our Canadian Prayer Book."¹⁹

As it turned out, the English Revision was rejected. But the manner of its rejection did more to enshrine its proposals than to end the argument among Canadian clergy for further revision.²⁰ And more ammunition arrived two years later when Archdeacon Vroom published a commentary on the Prayer Book which noted prominently what had been done to restore the Eucharist of 1549 in Scotland, the United States, England and, most recently, South Africa.²¹ This brought forth a vigorous defence of the existing rite in Canada by a noted Low Churchman,²² but by now the issue could not be ignored and anything written on the subject only heightened the controversy.

¹⁹ The Most Rev. David Williams, Letter to Archdeacon W.J. Armitage on the subject of sales of the revised Book of Common Prayer, dated March 26, 1927, now in the Archives of the General Synod of the Anglican Church of Canada, Toronto, Ont.

²⁰ In 1927 and again, with some changes, in 1928 the Book was accepted by the Convocations of Canterbury and York, by the Church Assembly, and by the House of Lords, but voted down in a House of Commons which contained not only many non-Anglicans, but also Jews, atheists and reputedly one Parsee. Subsequently, a number of bishops ignored the "tyranny" of a secular state and authorized its use in their dioceses.

²¹ The Ven. F.W. Vroom. An Introduction to the Prayer Book. (London, 1930).

²² The Rev. Dyson Hague. Through the Prayer Book. (London, 1932).

At the General Synod of 1931 the Diocese of Kootenay requested authorization of a usage from the revised English Prayer Book of 1928. The dangerous precedent of giving official recognition to a Book officially rejected by another branch of the Church was sidestepped on a procedural technicality,²³ and the next General Synod tried to close the question by having the Standing Committee on Revision file all suggestions received with the Secretary of the Synod.²⁴

In the end, however, the battle of procedure was won by the pro-revisionists who forced the question of further revision to be formally considered at the General Synod of 1937. At a Joint Session of the Upper and Lower Houses it was decided to ask the Committee on Revision of the Book of Common Prayer to "inquire as to the mind of the Church" regarding revision, and to report at the next General Synod.²⁵

The outbreak of war in 1939 postponed this meeting until 1943, so the Committee had ample time to carry out the

²³ The General Synod of the Church of England in Canada. Journal of Proceedings of the Twelfth Session 1931. (Kingston, 1931) p. 82ff.

²⁴ The General Synod of the Church of England in Canada. Journal of Proceedings of the Thirteenth Session 1934. (Toronto, 1934) p. 41.

²⁵ The General Synod of the Church of England in Canada. Journal of Proceedings of the Fourteenth Session 1937. (Toronto, 1937) p. 92.

survey. Its Report showed that, while no one favoured immediate revision, the desire for eventual revision was widespread.²⁶ As a result, there was set up a General Committee on Revision of the Book of Common Prayer.²⁷

The General Committee met for the first time at the close of the Synod. Its terms of reference were to "take all necessary action, in order to provide for the consideration of the Synod at its next Session, of General Proposals, as complete as possible for the revision and enrichment of the Book of Common Prayer."²⁸

In order to carry out this mandate a major working body was formed called the Central Revision Sub-Committee. It was chaired by Bishop William T. Hallam of Saskatoon who had been chairman of the previous Standing Committee on revision, and was also vice-chairman of the General Committee. The Secretary of the General Committee, Dr. Ramsay Armitage, Principal of Wycliffe College, became Secretary as well of the Central Revision Sub-Committee. And these two men,

²⁶ The General Synod of the Church of England in Canada. Journal of Proceedings of the Fifteenth Session 1943. (Toronto, 1943) p. 169ff.

²⁷ *ibid.* p. 21.

²⁸ The General Committee on Revision of the Book of Common Prayer. Minute Book A, now in the Archives of the General Synod of the Anglican Church of Canada, Toronto, Ont. p. 21. The Minutes of the General Committee and the Central Revision Sub-Committee are contained in six volumes designated A, B, C, I, II, III, and will henceforth be referred to as Minute Book A or B or etc.

along with Archbishop Owen, Primate of the Anglican Church in Canada, and Father Palmer S.S.J.E., one of the most persuasive of the pro-revisionists, were responsible for the personnel of the Central Revision Sub-Committee. There were altogether twenty members; bishops, priests, and laity.²⁹

In addition to this Central Revision Sub-Committee, a number of other sub-committees were established from time to time. They were assigned specific subjects to investigate and reported to the Central Revision Sub-Committee. All work on the Eucharistic rite, however, was reserved exclusively to the Central Revision Sub-Committee which would report at intervals to the General Committee, which, after reviewing what was done, would in turn report to the General Synod.

Among the members of the Central Revision Sub-Committee an inner group emerged fairly quickly made up of men whose special abilities, interests and opportunities made them leaders in the work. There were "about a dozen of us," Fr. Palmer recalls.³⁰ Some of these worked on particular projects for which they were suited: Dr. Cosgrave

²⁹ *ibid.* p. 27.

³⁰ The Rev. Roland F. Palmer, S.S.J.E., Interview given to the author on the subject of Prayer Book revision, at his home in Toronto, Ont., on August 22, 1977 (hereafter called Interview with Fr. Palmer).

of Trinity College, for example, revised the Psalter; and Dean Riley of St. James' Cathedral was largely responsible for the Ministry to the Sick.³¹ But amongst that inner group was a core of leaders whose work and decision-making in every area was mainly responsible for getting the job done.³² These were: Bishop Hallam, whose place was ably filled after his death by Archbishop Clark, Archbishop Philip Carrington of Quebec, Dr. Armitage, and Fr. Palmer. Between them they provided the leadership, scholarship, organization and driving force which oversaw all the separate activities and brought the chief work, revision of the Eucharist, to a successful conclusion.³³

³¹ The Most Rev. Howard H. Clark, Interview given to the author on the subject of Prayer Book revision, at his home in Toronto, Ont., on September 19, 1977 (hereafter called Interview with Archbishop Clark).

³² *ibid.* cf also Dr. Ramsay Armitage, Interview given to the author on the subject of Prayer Book revision at his home in Maple, Ont., on February 4, 1978.

³³ Henceforth, for purposes of brevity and clarity the designation 'Committee' will refer to the Central Revision Sub-Committee. If some other group is being referred to it will be specified e.g. the General Committee, the Rubrics Committee.

II

ANALYSIS OF THE 1952 RITE

When the Revisers began work on the Eucharist they were well prepared. They recognized that revision of the central act of the Church's worship was their chief "raison de'etre"³⁴, and thus for over seven years had practised their craft, so to speak, on other parts of the Prayer Book.³⁵ Immediate preparation for revising the Eucharistic rite had begun in the fall of 1949 when Bishop Hallam and Fr. Palmer were asked to do a "preliminary study".³⁶ The result of this study was a Questionnaire, in reality a lengthy memorandum outlining the points that needed consideration and the issues associated with each point,³⁷ of which every member of the Central Revision Sub-Committee received a copy in time to allow four months of study. Then in early June of 1950 work on the Eucharist was begun. And for this important first step the Committee secluded itself for almost a week at Quebec Lodge in North Hatley, Quebec.

³⁴ The General Synod of the Church of England in Canada, Journal of Proceedings of the Eighteenth Session, 1952. (Toronto, 1952) p. 294. (Hereafter, General Synod Journal of Proceeding 1952).

³⁵ Interview with Fr. Palmer.

³⁶ Minute Book B, p. 127.

³⁷ *ibid.* p. 161f. (Hereafter this memorandum is referred to as the Questionnaire).

Careful in preparing for their work, the Revisers were equally careful in its execution. The liturgy drawn up at North Hatley³⁸ was revised by the Committee in the fall of 1951³⁹ and again in the winter of 1952⁴⁰. Finally, in May of 1952⁴¹ the work was scrutinised once more at a meeting of the General Committee. Only then was the resultant Rite considered ready for presentation to the General Synod which was to meet in September of that year.

As a basis for their work the Sub-Committee used the Rite which appeared in the Canadian Prayer Book of 1918⁴². This, while not identical with the Rite of 1662, which had become the standard Anglican rite, differed from it so little as to be for all practical purposes the same. However, the outcome of their work, the Rite of 1952, embodied 19 significant changes, the net result of which was to set the Canadian liturgy apart as distinct from that of other branches of the Anglican Church.

³⁸ Hereafter referred to as the North Hatley Rite.

³⁹ Minute Book B, p. 207f.

⁴⁰ *ibid.* p. 223f.

⁴¹ *ibid.* p. 233f.

⁴² The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments And Other Rites And Ceremonies Of The Church According To The Use Of The Church Of England In The Dominion Of Canada. (Toronto, 1918) p. 265-291. (Hereafter referred to as The Book of Common Prayer 1918 Canada).

The new Canadian Rite continued to have the traditional title: "The Order for The Administration of The Lord's Supper or Holy Communion",⁴³ and to follow this with a set of general rubrics establishing its context in the life of the Church. The actual liturgy, however, was titled "THE SERVICE".⁴⁴ This change was made at North Hatley, but there is no indication in the Minutes as to why it was done.⁴⁵ It was not without precedent. John Wesley had entitled his liturgy for Methodists in North America "The Sunday Service", and, if the word "service" is accepted as a translation of "liturgy", then other modern examples can be found in Bucer, Zwingli, and Baxter.⁴⁶ Or, going back prior to the Middle Ages, it may simply have been a recognition that the Eucharist is the distinctive liturgy of Christians. But, whatever the case may be, there was no precedent for it in comparable Anglican liturgies.⁴⁷ It

⁴³ *ibid.*

⁴⁴ Report of the Committee on Revision of the Book of Common Prayer, The Order for The Administration Of The Lord's Supper or Holy Communion (reprinted from the General Synod Journal 18th Session, 1952) p. 3. (Hereafter referred to as The Green Book).

⁴⁵ Minute Book B, p. 225.

⁴⁶ Bard Thompson. Liturgies of the Western Church. (New York, 1961) pp. 415, 167, 147, and 385 respectively.

⁴⁷ Bernard Wigan. The Liturgy in English. (London, 1962) pp. 38, 52, 62, 73, and 82.

was the first of two changes which, at the very outset, established the Canadian Rite of 1952 as distinctive.

The Anglican liturgy of 1662 begins with the recitation by the priest of the Lord's Prayer, and a prayer for freedom from defilement: the Collect for Purity. The 1952 Rite prefaced these prayers with a greeting which could be exchanged between celebrant and congregation:

First this salutation may be said:

GRACE be unto you and Peace from God, our Father and from the Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.⁴⁸

Hallam and Palmer had raised the point in their Questionnaire of whether or not the Eucharist, like the daily offices of Mattins and Evensong should have "opening sentences", i.e. short quotations from Scripture of a general or seasonal nature.⁴⁹ At North Hatley this idea was initially rejected.⁵⁰ However, the traditional opening of the Liturgy is rather off-hand, and when the subject of a mutual greeting was raised in relation to another section of the Rite, the matter of an opening salutation was brought up again and passed.⁵¹

⁴⁸ The Green Book, p. 3, quoting I Corinthians 1:3.

⁴⁹ Minute Book B, p. 161f.

⁵⁰ *ibid.* p. 171.

⁵¹ *ibid.* p. 181. Two statements were being considered for what was in effect the Pax, though it preceded the "Sursum Corda". When a more traditional liturgical text was chosen for the Pax, the Pauline text was kept by being given this use.

To begin the Liturgy in such a way was not, strictly speaking, unique. It had been the intention of Archbishop Cranmer that the Liturgy on Sundays and Holy Days begin with the daily office, and thus after 1552, with an introductory sentence from Scripture.⁵² A similar idea is found for example in the Church of Scotland⁵³ and the Lutheran Church of America.⁵⁴ But once again the Anglican Church of Canada was acting outside the precedent of common Anglican usage.⁵⁵

In 1918 approval had been given for limited use of Christ's Summary of the Law⁵⁶ as an alternative to the lengthy recital of the Ten Commandments.⁵⁷ Since then a decorous but continuous debate had gone on between those who favoured greater use of the brief Summary and those who felt conscience-bound to the Mosaic code. The Canadian revisers of 1952 reversed the positions by allowing the Summary to be used at most services, provided the Decalogue was used

⁵² The First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI. (London, 1952). p. 377.

⁵³ Book of Common Order of the Church of Scotland. (Edinburgh). p. 111.

⁵⁴ Service Book and Hymnal. (Minneapolis, 1958). p. 1.

⁵⁵ Wigan op. cit. pp. 38, 52, 62, 73, and 82.

⁵⁶ Matthew 22:37-40.

⁵⁷ Book of Common Prayer 1918 Canada. p. 266-268.

one Sunday a month and on great Festivals.⁵⁸ This was consonant with general liturgical thought throughout the Anglican Communion,⁵⁹ but their next move was unique. At the end of the Ten Commandments and the response to each, an eleventh commandment was added:⁶⁰

Then shall the Priest, turning to the people, rehearse distinctly the TEN COMMANDMENTS; and the people still kneeling shall after every Commandment ask God mercy for their transgression thereof for the time past, and grace to keep the same for the time to come, as followeth:

Minister: HEAR the Law of God which was given to Israel in old time; God spake these words and said; I am the Lord thy God; Thou shalt have none other gods but me.

People: Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister: Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them.

People: Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister: Thou shalt not take the Name of the Lord thy God in vain; for the Lord will not hold him guiltless, that taketh his Name in vain.

People: Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister: Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath day. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all that thou hast to do; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God.

People: Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

⁵⁸ The Green Book, p. 4.

⁵⁹ Wigan op. cit. pp. 39, 53, 63, and 73.

⁶⁰ Minute Book B, p. 173.

Minister: Honour thy father and thy mother; that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

People: Lord have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister: Thou shalt do no murder.

People: Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister: Thou shalt not commit adultery.

People: Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister: Thou shalt not steal.

People: Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister: Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

People: Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister: Thou shalt not covet.

People: Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister: HEAR also what our Lord Jesus Christ saith: A new commandment I give unto you That ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another.

People: Lord, have mercy upon us, and write all these thy laws in our hearts, we beseech thee.⁶¹

The Ten Commandments with the petition for mercy after each command had been introduced to the Anglican Rite in 1552 at the point in the traditional mass at which the nine-fold Kyrie was said. Thus it had been always understood that they were a sort of "Kyrie with commentary". (The Summary, when added, had been something new, liturgically.) The introduction of the Kyrie to the 1952 Rite was then a restoration of it to its customary place, a

⁶¹ The Green Book, p. 6.

suggestion made in the Hallam-Palmer Questionnaire⁶² and adopted unanimously at North Hatley.⁶³

Then may Kyrie eleison be sung or said.

Lord have mercy upon us.
Christ have mercy upon us,
Lord have mercy upon us.⁶⁴

The words themselves are those of the 1549 Prayer Book, later adopted by the Scottish, American and South African Churches.⁶⁵ But the Canadian proposal was alone in naming the Kyrie, and in suggesting it as an optional addition to the Decalogue or Summary.

The Kyrie completed the preparatory section of the Synaxis, and was followed by the common and proper Collects, the Epistle, Gospel, Creed and Sermon, in which the Faith was proclaimed. Traditionally, at the beginning of this section a greeting had been exchanged between celebrant and congregation, but this had been omitted from the Prayer Book of 1552 and its heirs.⁶⁶ Almost all revisions had restored this salutation in its customary form,⁶⁷ and as

⁶² Minute Book B, p. 161f.

⁶³ *ibid.* p. 175.

⁶⁴ The Green Book, p. 4.

⁶⁵ Wigan, *op. cit.* pp. 11, 40, 53, and 74.

⁶⁶ The Book of Common Prayer 1918 Canada, p. 268.

⁶⁷ Wigan, *op. cit.* pp. 11, 40, 54, 64, 74, and 84.

suggested in the Questionnaire,⁶⁸ the Canadian revisers at North Hatley proceeded to do likewise:⁶⁹

Then shall the Priest say:

The Lord be with you.
Answer: And with thy spirit.⁷⁰

The Anaphora or Mass of the Faithful begins with the Offertory. In 1548 Cranmer replaced the proper Offertorium of the Mass with a large number of common Offertory Sentences, any one of which could be said by the priest alone in the manner of the old Offertorium, or a number of which could be sung by the choir while the people made their offering.⁷¹ However, the offering made at this point was, in Cranmer's mind, simply a collection of money to be used for the work of the Church.⁷² As a result Sentences were chosen with a view to discouraging miserliness and to encouraging generosity. Unfortunately, however, many of them could be interpreted in a manner that suggested the mechanical buying of God's favour, and these had fallen into virtual disuse. So the question in 1951 was, which Sentences

⁶⁸ Minute Book B, p. 161f.

⁶⁹ *ibid.* p. 177.

⁷⁰ The Green Book, p. 4.

⁷¹ The First and Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. (London, 1952) pp. 217 and 219.

⁷² *ibid.* pp. 380, 381f and 389. A comparison of the rubrics in 1552 with those of 1549 shows all reference to bread and wine removed and no mention of them made until the Minister is ordered to receive in both kinds at the time of Communion.

should be retained.⁷³ At North Hatley, after some consideration the most mercenary were weeded out, and the remaining collection was headed by two which clearly established the note of self-offering connected with the offering of the bread and wine.⁷⁴

OFFER unto God thanksgiving, and pay thy vows
unto the most High. Psalm 50:14

And they came, every one whose heart stirred
him up, and every one whom his spirit made
willing, and they brought the Lord's offering.
Exodus 35:21 ⁷⁵

The first of these is found in a number of revisions since 1662. The second is uniquely Canadian, introduced in 1918, but now moved to a place of prominence.⁷⁶

The note of self-offering connected with the bread and wine was further emphasized in the rubrics which governed the Offertory. In 1549 the priest had been ordered to set the bread and wine upon the altar.⁷⁷ In 1552 all reference to bread and wine was removed from the

⁷³ Minute Book B, p. 161f.

⁷⁴ *ibid.* p. 169.

⁷⁵ The Green Book, p. 5.

⁷⁶ Wigan *op. cit.* Appendix B, p. 2334.

⁷⁷ The First and Second Prayer Book of Edward VI, p. 219.

Offertory,⁷⁸ and when the reference was restored in 1662 the priest was simply ordered to "place" the bread and wine upon the Table.⁷⁹ Hallam and Palmer suggested that the priest should "present and place" the elements on the altar⁸⁰ and this was accepted at North Hatley.⁸¹

The use of the phrase "present and place" with this reference is curious, because from 1662 onward it had been used solely to describe what the priest was to do with the money offered by the congregation. Other later revisions directed in some words that the elements be offered, but only the Canadian revisers repeated the phrase used in the previous rubric concerning the money.

Whilst these Sentences are in reading, the Deacons, Churchwardens or other fit person appointed for that purpose, shall receive the alms and other offerings by the people, in a decent bason to be provided by the Parish for that purpose; and reverently bring it to the Priest, who shall humbly present and place it upon the holy Table.

And when there is a Communion, the Priest shall then present and place upon the Lord's Table so much Bread and Wine as he shall think sufficient.⁸²

The last of the changes designed to restore the emphasis on the Offertory was the provision of a blessing

78 *ibid.* p. 382.

79 Wigan, *op. cit.* p. 31.

80 Minute Book B, p. 161f.

81 *ibid.* p. 169.

82 The Green Book, p. 5 and 6.

that could be said over the alms and oblations. It is a quotation of parts of the blessing spoken by King David over the free-will offerings of the people of Israel for the Temple.⁸³

Then may be said:

BLESSED be thou, O Lord God, forever and ever.
All that is in the heaven and in the earth is
thine. All things come of thee and of thine
own do we give unto thee. Amen.⁸⁴

At North Hatley this was first presented in an extended form, as part of a Report on the Offertory, but not adopted.⁸⁵ However, when the matter of an Offertory prayer was re-opened, the shorter form passed,⁸⁶ giving the 1952 Rite a blessing similar to that in the Scottish Prayer Book.⁸⁷

Since 1552, in most parts of the Anglican Communion the Offertory has been followed by the Intercession of the Church, introduced by a bidding to "pray for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth."⁸⁸ In preparing their memorandum for the Committee, Bishop Hallam and Fr. Palmer suggested the possibility of additional biddings for use at this time.⁸⁹ So at North Hatley when a working

⁸³ I Chronicles 29:10-14.

⁸⁴ The Green Book, p. 6.

⁸⁵ Minute Book B, p. 169.

⁸⁶ *ibid.* p. 183.

⁸⁷ Wigan, *op. cit.* p. 42.

⁸⁸ Wigan, *op. cit.* p. 31.

⁸⁹ Minute Book B, p. 161.

Committee was set up to consider the Intercession,⁹⁰ this matter was included and a recommendation followed for a series of biddings. This was accepted unanimously⁹¹ and with only minor changes of wording printed in the 1952 Rite:

Then shall one of the Ministers ask the Prayers of the people by means of Biddings, as well for members of the congregation who are in need, as for the world at large; using such Biddings as follow. And he may, at his discretion include short periods of silence for secret prayer. He shall always say one or more of the following:

Let us pray for Christ's holy Catholick Church; that is, for the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the world.
 Let us pray for peace on earth and for the unity of all Christian people.
 Let us pray for our missionaries at home and abroad.
 Let us remember before God those of our brethren who have departed this life and are at rest.
 Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth.⁹²

These biddings, written by Bishop Carrington, are unique to the Canadian Prayer Book.⁹³

Criticism of the Canadian Prayer Book, both before and after the revision of 1918, had centred on the act of blessing the elements. Thus it is not surprising that in the second revision much attention was given to this section of the Rite.

⁹⁰ *ibid.* p. 179.

⁹¹ *ibid.* p. 185.

⁹² The Green Book, p. 6.

⁹³ Interview with Fr. Palmer.

In 1662 the central prayer of the Anaphora, or Canon, had been designated "the Prayer of Consecration".⁹⁴ This had been a laudable attempt to identify one of the central acts of the Eucharist, but it had orphaned the preceding dialogue, Preface, and Sanctus which were also part of the same act. In meetings subsequent to North Hatley this was corrected by placing a title in the rubric preceding the dialogue.⁹⁵

After which the Priest shall proceed with
THE THANKSGIVING.⁹⁶

In this the Canadian revisers were following closely the precedent of the Scottish Prayer Book, the Proposed English Liturgy of 1928, the South African Liturgy and the Liturgy of Ceylon.⁹⁷

By ancient custom the act of thanksgiving began with a dialogue between celebrant and congregation. After completing the action of the Offertory the priest rallied the people for the next step with the exclaimer: "The Lord be with you", to which they responded: "And with thy

⁹⁴ Wigan, op. cit. p. 35.

⁹⁵ Minute Book B, p. 223.

⁹⁶ The Green Book, p. 7.

⁹⁷ Wigan, op. cit. pp. 42, 68, 78, and 87.

spirit."⁹⁸ This greeting had been included in the Liturgy of 1549, which kept the traditional order,⁹⁹ but omitted from 1552,¹⁰⁰ since, presumably, those who were to give thanks had been addressed in the invitation preceding the Confession, and had drawn near. Although the Anglican Church did not adopt the theology or ceremony of 1552,¹⁰¹ it did, for the most part, in 1662, adopt its form. Thus the greeting remained absent although the rationale behind its absence was gone.

Bishop Hallam and Fr. Palmer in their Questionnaire asked the Committee whether the mutual salutation should be returned (as in practise it often had been for some time), or whether instead the Pax should be inserted here.¹⁰² The first reaction at North Hatley was to restore the traditional

⁹⁸ The Rev. William Moskell. The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England. (London, 1846) p. 72.

⁹⁹ The First and Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. p. 219.

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.* p. 387.

¹⁰¹ Gregory Dix. The Shape of the Liturgy. (Westminster, 1952) p. 672. "It is not a disordered attempt at a catholic rite", Dix says, "but the only effective attempt ever made to give liturgical expression to the doctrine of 'justification by faith alone.'" The practise of moving the altar down to the chancel and setting it lengthwise between the choir stalls (in which the communicants could gather) was also abandoned.

¹⁰² Minute Book B, p. 161.

Greeting.¹⁰³ After some consideration, however, it was decided to replace it with the traditional form of the Pax, but to make this exchange of the peace the final act of the Offertory.¹⁰⁴ The Rite was printed that way in 1951, but at the final review in 1952 the Pax was made the opening exchange in the dialogue initiating the Thanksgiving,¹⁰⁵ and finally was accepted with the omission of the word "always".¹⁰⁶

In wording, the Canadian version of the Pax was slightly different from that used in other Anglican Rites, but it is its position which really makes it unique. The only parallel is that of the Bombay Liturgy which begins the dialogue with a trinitarian invocation of God's grace upon the congregation.¹⁰⁷

THE PEACE of the Lord be with you.
 Answer: And with thy spirit.
 Priest: Lift up your hearts.
 Answer: We lift them up unto the Lord.
 Priest: Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.
 Answer: It is meet and right so to do.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ "The peace of the Lord be always with you. And with thy spirit."

¹⁰⁴ Minute Book B, p. 181.

¹⁰⁵ Minute Book B, p. 223.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.* p. 239.

¹⁰⁷ Wigan, *op. cit.* p. 101.

¹⁰⁸ The Green Book, p. 7.

The opening section of the Thanksgiving was further revised in 1952 by the addition of a number of Proper Prefaces, as follows:

Upon New Year's Day and to the Eve of the Epiphany and upon the Feast of the Transfiguration.

BECAUSE in the mystery of the word made flesh, thou hast caused a new light to shine in our hearts, to give the knowledge of thy glory, in the face of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Therefore with Angels, &c

Upon Passion Sunday, and until Maundy Thursday inclusive.

FOR the redemption of the world by the death and passion of our Saviour Christ, both God and man; who did humble himself, even to the death upon the Cross, for us sinners, who lay in darkness and the shadow of death; that he might make us the children of God, and exalt us to everlasting life. Therefore with Angels, &c

Upon Trinity Sunday.

WHOM with thy co-eternal Son and Holy Spirit we confess as one God in Trinity of Persons and in Unity of substance. Therefore with Angels, &c

Upon All Saints' Day, and the Feasts of Apostles, Evangelists, and St. John Baptist, except when a Proper Preface of any principal feast is appointed.

WHO in the multitude of thy saints hast compassed us about with so great a cloud of witnesses, that we, rejoicing in their fellowship, may run with patience the race that is set before us, and together with them may receive the crown of glory that fadeth not away. Therefore with Angels, &c¹⁰⁹

and the modification of that for Whitsunday by the omission after "from heaven" of the phrase "with a sudden great

¹⁰⁹ The Green Book, p. 8.

sound, as it had been a mighty wind, in the likeness of fiery tongues;"

Upon Whitsunday, and six days after.

THROUGH Jesus Christ our Lord; according to whose most true promise, the Holy Ghost came down as at this time from heaven, lighting upon the Apostles, to teach them, and to lead them to all truth; giving them both the gift of tongues, and also boldness with fervent zeal constantly to preach the Gospel unto all nations; whereby we have been brought out of darkness and error into the clear light and true knowledge of thee, and of thy Son Jesus Christ. Therefore with Angels, &c¹¹⁰

Some of these changes were suggested in the Questionnaire¹¹¹ and others were proposed at North Hatley for consideration of a working group.¹¹² The Report of this group, headed by Fr. Palmer, was accepted with little change.¹¹³

The Proper for New Year's Day etc. was taken from the American Prayer Book,¹¹⁴ that for All Saints' etc, is found in both the American and Scottish Liturgies,¹¹⁵ and the modification to the Whitsunday Preface is American.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁰ *ibid.* p. 8.

¹¹¹ Minute Book B, p. 161f.

¹¹² *ibid.* p. 181.

¹¹³ *ibid.* p. 189-191.

¹¹⁴ Wigan, *op. cit.* p. 223.

¹¹⁵ *ibid.* p. 231.

¹¹⁶ *ibid.* p. 227.

Two of these Proper Prefaces were uniquely Canadian: the work of Fr. Palmer. The one for Passion Sunday etc. was, with the omission of the word "miserable" before "sinners" an extract from the First Exhortation in the 1549 Prayer Book¹¹⁷ which Palmer converted to this use. The Preface for Trinity Sunday was, apparently, Palmer's own composition.

All these changes in the Thanksgiving were significant. But, important as they were, the major task for the revisers lay in dealing with the Prayer of Consecration. The lack of any change here had been the chief complaint of many people after the first revision of 1918. The 1662 Prayer, they said, did not establish at the start a proper note of praise, and was not inclusive enough to represent the thinking of the early Church.

To answer the first criticism Hallam and Palmer made two suggestions.¹¹⁸ The first was to begin the Prayer with the introductory phrase used in the American Liturgy and the English 1928: "All glory be to thee..."¹¹⁹ The alternative suggestion was to begin with the phrase "Blessing and glory and thanksgiving be unto thee..." This appears to be an

¹¹⁷ First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI, p. 215.

¹¹⁸ Minute Book B, p. 161f.

¹¹⁹ Wigan, op. cit. pp. 58 and 69.

adaptation of an act of praise from the Book of Revelation¹²⁰ and was probably suggested by Bishop Hallam.¹²¹ The Committee's choice of the second phrase clearly established the note of praise, and gave the 1952 Prayer of Consecration a distinctly Canadian introduction.

The criticism that the 1662 Prayer of Consecration was not inclusive enough could be met by the addition of a third paragraph to the present two. The simplest way of doing this, and the one most commonly recommended, was to add the so-called Prayer of Oblation¹²² to the Prayer of Consecration by use of the conjunctive word "Wherefore". Hallam and Falmer dutifully presented this option to the Committee,¹²³ but it was not considered by them to be a sound choice.¹²⁴

120 The Revelation to St. John 7:12.

121 Interview with Archbishop Clark. Both Fr. Palmer and Archbishop Clark refer to Bishop Hallam's intimate knowledge of the Bible and his aptness at quoting from it.

122 Wigan, op. cit. p. 36.

123 Minute Book B, p. 161f.

124 The Rev. Roland F. Palmer S.S.J.E. Letter to the Rev. M.C.D. Hutt, The Canadian Churchman vol. 80, no. 1 (Jan. 1, 1953) p. 2. Palmer reminds Hutt of the fact pointed out by Gregory Dix that the Prayer of Oblation in its 1662 form consisted only of a verbal and mental giving of thanks and not the offering to God of the whole saving work of Christ.

The sort of addition considered necessary is first illustrated in a proposal put forward by Fr. Palmer.¹²⁵ It involved the addition of two paragraphs. In the first, an act of oblation was followed by an anamnesis, the models for which, Palmer said, were the American and Scottish prayers. The second paragraph began with a statement, taken from the Bidding Prayer in the Canadian Book of 1918, which identified our oblation with Christ's sacrifice. It concluded with the formal doxology from the Prayer of Oblation.

However, when the two men drafted the Questionnaire this solution with its derivative wording was rejected. Their first recommendation was a paragraph which contained the same traditional elements of anamnesis, oblation and doxology, but which in wording was an original composition probably drawn up jointly.

Wherefore, we do this in remembrance of Him who died, and rose again, and ever liveth to make intercession for us, presenting unto thy divine Majesty this thanksgiving and service of thy whole family through the merits and mediation of the same thy beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord, by whom and with whom in the unity of the Holy Spirit, all honour and glory be unto thee, Father Almighty, world without end. Amen.¹²⁶

As a second choice they suggested the addition of the Prayer of Oblation, but with the introductory clause:

¹²⁵ The Rev. Roland F. Palmer, S.S.J.E. Letter to The Right Rev. W.T. Hallam on the subject of the Prayer of Consecration, April 20, 1950. With the Armitage Papers.

¹²⁶ Minute Book B, p. 161f.

O Lord and heavenly Father, whose beloved Son died, and rose again and ever liveth to make intercession for us, we thy humble servants entirely desire...¹²⁷

When the Sub-Committee met at North Hatley, they unanimously accepted Hallam and Palmer's composition.¹²⁸ There were only three changes made at that time: after the opening "Wherefore" was inserted the phrase "O Lord and heavenly Father"; "thanksgiving and service" became "thank-offering and service"; and, in the doxology after the words "Holy Spirit" they added "the Lord and Giver of Life".¹²⁹

Reviewing their decision later, the Committee was satisfied with the choice they had made. Subsequent changes to the new paragraph were only minor matters of wording.¹³⁰ The only important addition to the Prayer of Consecration after North Hatley was the insertion in the first paragraph of a reference to the Incarnation in the list of Christ's saving acts: "... to take our nature upon him and...". The change of the word "Testament" to "Covenant" was a matter of clarification.¹³¹

¹²⁷ *ibid.* p. 161f.

¹²⁸ *ibid.* p. 171.

¹²⁹ *ibid.* p. 175.

¹³⁰ *ibid.* p. 211 and 235.

¹³¹ Minute Book B, p. 209.

The Prayer of Consecration which was presented to the General Synod of 1952 carried throughout the evidence of many individual suggestions and much discussion in Committee. In its final form it was traditional in thought and consisted mostly of the familiar Prayer of 1662. However, its new paragraph was essentially the work of Bishop Hallam and Fr. Palmer, and it was this addition which gave the Prayer its distinctively Canadian expression.

When the Priest, standing at the Lord's Table, hath so ordered the Bread and Wine, that he may with the more readiness and decency break the Bread before the people, and take the Cup into his hands; he shall say THE PRAYER OF CONSECRATION, as followeth:

BLESSING and glory and thanksgiving be unto thee Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who of thy tender mercy didst give thine only Son Jesus Christ to take our nature upon him and to suffer death upon the Cross for our redemption; who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world; and did institute, and in his holy Gospel, command us to continue, a perpetual memory of that his precious death, until his coming again.

Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee; and grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood; who, in the same night that he was betrayed, took Bread; and, when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying Take, eat; this is my Body which is

a Here the Priest is to take the Paten into his hands:

b And here to break the Bread:

c And here to lay his hand upon all the Bread:

given for you: Do this in remembrance of me. Likewise after supper he took the Cup; and, when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this; for this is my Blood of the new Covenant, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins: Do this, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me.

d Here he is to take the Cup into his hands:

e And here to lay his hand upon every vessel (be it Chalice or Flagon) in which there is any Wine to be consecrated.

Wherefore, O Lord and heavenly Father, in union with all thy holy Church, we do this in remembrance of him who died, and rose again, and ever liveth to make intercession for us, presenting unto thy divine Majesty this our thankoffering and service, through the merits and mediation of thy beloved Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, by whom, and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. Amen.¹³²

Another change that the 1952 Rite made from the 1918 Prayer Book was the introduction of a period of silence at the end of the Prayer of Consecration.

Then shall the Priest kneel down at the Lord's Table, and after a short period of silence shall, together with all that shall receive the Communion, humbly say this prayer following:¹³³

There is no exact parallel to this in other Rites, but traditionally at the end of the Canon in the Roman Rite there had been a pause in the liturgy for private devotions and the Fraction.¹³⁴ The Anglican Rite ordered the

¹³² The Green Book, p. 9.

¹³³ The Green Book, p. 9.

¹³⁴ Maskell, op. cit. p. 106ff.

Fraction within the Prayer of Consecration, but the silence had been restored in Scotland, South Africa and Ceylon.¹³⁵

A very noticeable change was the removal of the Prayer of Humble Access from immediately before the Prayer of Consecration to a place before the Communion.¹³⁶ The Questionnaire had proposed three alternatives: to leave it before the Prayer of Consecration, to place it after the Comfortable Words¹³⁷ as in the English Liturgy of 1928, or to place it immediately before the Communion.¹³⁸ At North Hatley the last suggestion was adopted.¹³⁹ This corresponded to the way the prayer had been used in the first English liturgy and to the way it was used in many revisions of the Prayer Book since that time.¹⁴⁰

The final major alteration in the 1918 Rite was the disposition of the Exhortations.¹⁴¹ These were in effect

¹³⁵ Wigan, op. cit. pp. 47, 80, and 89.

¹³⁶ The Green Book, p. 9.

¹³⁷ *ibid.* p. 7. Short quotations from the Bible, so called because of the reference in the introduction to their nature.

¹³⁸ Minute Book B, p. 161f.

¹³⁹ *ibid.* p. 181.

¹⁴⁰ Wigan, op. cit. pp. 21, 48, 59, 80 and 90.

¹⁴¹ The Green Book, p. 11-13.

short homilies designed to instruct the people on the nature and purpose of Communion, the attitude in which they ought to come to it, and the desirability of frequent reception of the Sacrament. They had long since dropped out of general use, but were valued by many as historical documents of the Faith.

In the 1918 Prayer Book they had retained their traditional place after the Intercession.¹⁴² The Questionnaire suggested they be placed at the end of the Rite, that the first two be combined as had been done in the Scottish Liturgy and that the third be shortened.¹⁴³ At North Hatley the Committee adopted this suggestion entirely, with the additional direction that the third Exhortation become the first.¹⁴⁴ Fr. Palmer was given the task of doing this, and, with a few changes in wording suggested by the General Committee,¹⁴⁵ his work was accepted.

In the details of their re-wording the Exhortations were peculiar to the Anglican Church of Canada. However,

¹⁴² The Book of Common Prayer Canada 1918, p. 275f.

¹⁴³ Minute Book B, p. 161ff.

¹⁴⁴ *ibid.* p. 189.

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.* p. 241.

in placing them at the end of the Rite the Canadian revisers were following precedents already established in the Scottish Liturgy, the American, and the South African.¹⁴⁶

When the Central Revision Sub-Committee first met in 1943 there were many who wanted to begin immediately on what they all knew to be their most important task: the revision of the Eucharist. However, Bishop Hallam would have none of this,¹⁴⁷ and under his direction they began their long apprenticeship, cutting their teeth, so to speak, on other less sensitive parts of the Book. Thus, as we have seen, when work on the Eucharist did begin the way had been well prepared, the setting carefully chosen, and the work done was reviewed again and again. The Revisers felt they had done well.

Their feeling of accomplishment is expressed in an exchange of letters between Fr. Palmer and Bishop Hallam during the summer following North Hatley. Four days after the conference ended Palmer wrote regarding the Prayer of Consecration, the very heart of the Rite, that they had preserved the advantages of 1552 and included those of 1549. It would have been a mistake, he went on, to try and gather all the ideas about the Eucharist into one prayer,

¹⁴⁶ Wigan, op. cit. pp. 41 and 56, and A Book of Common Prayer And Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites And Ceremonies Of The Church ... Set Forth by authority for use in the Church of the Province of South Africa (London, 1954) p. 248.

¹⁴⁷ Interview with Fr. Palmer.

because then it would have become complicated like the Roman Canon, or the Eastern, or 1549, or the Scottish Prayer of Consecration. The 1952 Rite, he concluded, suggested all the ideas in a word or two and left the thought to be expanded in some other part of the service.¹⁴⁸

Two months later, Palmer wrote again. After time for reflection and study, he was still satisfied with the Prayer of Consecration. "I am glad," he wrote, "the words of institution are still the climax of our Prayer."¹⁴⁹ And Bishop Hallam replied: "What an example of being led to a common mind was the Quebec meeting! ... Yes I agree with you about the Consecration Prayer - the Trinitarian aspect has been restored and the balance too. I am thankful for the anamnesis."¹⁵⁰

A year later, in the fall of 1952, the same sense of satisfaction is evident in the careful wording of the Committee's Report to the General Synod. "Your Committee considers the revision of the Office for Holy Communion to be the most important part of their task and ... has

¹⁴⁸ The Rev. R.F. Palmer, S.S.J.E. Letter to The Right Rev. W.T. Hallam, on the subject of Prayer Book revision, dated June 19, 1951, now with the Armitage Papers, Wycliffe College, Toronto, Ont.

¹⁴⁹ The Rev. R.F. Palmer, S.S.J.E. Letter to the Right Rev. W.T. Hallam on the subject of Prayer Book revision, dated August 14, 1957, now with the Armitage Papers, Wycliffe College, Toronto, Ont.

¹⁵⁰ The Right Rev. W.T. Hallam. Draft of a letter to The Rev. R.F. Palmer, S.S.J.E. on the subject of Prayer Book revision, undated, now with the Armitage Papers, Wycliffe College, Toronto, Ont.

carefully reviewed the proposed revision ... Your Committee considers that the work of revision is sufficiently far advanced that the production of a Draft Book for the next General Synod would be possible ..."¹⁵¹

The Committee, it is felt, has done its work and is confident of its results. Certainly, there may have been an occasional oversight or some detail that could be improved. "Your Committee ... hopes that it will receive ... suggestions at an early date in order that they may be given careful consideration ..."¹⁵² However, during the three years before the next General Synod when the Draft Book would be presented for approval there would be ample time for modifications which might polish the piece.

Fr. Palmer, the Committee's public spokesman, expressed the same point of view when he wrote in The Canadian Churchman, the national paper of the Anglican Church of Canada, that there was "no widespread desire for any great changes in the present Service."¹⁵³ In regard to the paragraph added to the Prayer of Consecration the Committee had

¹⁵¹ General Synod. Journal of Proceedings 1952, p. 294.

¹⁵² *ibid.* p. 294.

¹⁵³ The Rev. Roland F. Palmer, S.S.J.E., Letter to The Rev. M.C.D. Hutt, The Canadian Churchman vol. 80, no. 1 (January 1, 1953) p. 2.

not adopted the Scottish-American models advocated by such people as Shreve and Vroom after 1918. Nor had they opted for the common expedient of simply tacking on the so-called Prayer of Oblation. Palmer felt they had done better. They had said "in as few words as possible, what we want to say."¹⁵⁴ And of the Canon as a whole he wrote: "the proposed revision has artistic liturgical form and contains references in logical order to all the matters found in the longer American and Scottish rites ..." "The Epiiclesis," he admitted was "the sole exception ... For our people, the Lord's words of institution will always be the climax of the Prayer."¹⁵⁵

Palmer's words reflected the satisfaction expressed in the Committee's Report. They had worked hard and long and conscientiously. The threat of party strife, feared so greatly when work began in 1943, had been avoided. They had refused the easy path of adopting one or other of the ready-made solutions proposed by this group or that. They had risen above faction to strive together for the good of the Church as a whole. The long apprenticeship had produced a good and distinctive revision. The rite was put

¹⁵⁴ *ibid.* p. 2.

¹⁵⁵ *ibid.* p. 2.

out "for information and study."¹⁵⁶ There was no inkling then of the avalanche of criticism to come.

¹⁵⁶ General Synod. Journal of Proceedings 1952, p. 294.

III

REACTION TO THE 1952 RITE

On February 6, 1953, for the first time since the General Synod had approved the 1952 Rite for study by the Church at large, the members of the Central Revision Sub-Committee gathered for a meeting. Their mandate now was to present a Draft Prayer Book to the next Synod in 1955, and Bishop Hallam had prepared a program to accomplish this end. Fourteen other sub-committees had been appointed, each with some particular part of the Prayer Book to work on. The Central Revision Sub-Committee would receive their reports for study, and occupy itself further with ancillary matters related to the Eucharist. The Rite itself, however, would not be touched until the February meeting of 1954, in order that the Church could examine it and communicate its reaction.¹⁵⁷

Almost a year later when the Committee met after Christmas it is noted in the Minutes that comments and criticisms from many sources across Canada had been brought to

¹⁵⁷ Minute Book C, p. 11.

them.¹⁵⁸ The Committee did not preserve these and there is no specific reference to their content in the Minutes, however enough survives in other sources to give us the gist of what was said.

The responses fall generally into three categories according to their intent. The first group focussed on specific items in the 1952 Rite, and these began to come in quickly.

On September 8, 1952, even before the General Synod ended, the Rev. M.C.D. Hutt wrote to Bishop Hallam that the 1952 Rite had some good points, but the Prayer of Consecration was still inadequate.¹⁵⁹ He later elaborated on this criticism in a letter to The Canadian Churchman.¹⁶⁰ The Intercession, he wrote, ignores the doctrine of the Communion of Saints, and the Prayer of Consecration has no epiclesis, no oblation, and an anamnesis that "defies

¹⁵⁸ Minute Book C, p. 37.

¹⁵⁹ The Rev. M.C.D. Hutt, Letter to the Right Rev. W.T. Hallam on the subject of the revised Eucharist, dated September 8, 1952, now with the Armitage Papers in Wycliffe College, Toronto, Ont.

¹⁶⁰ The Canadian Churchman, published monthly in Toronto had become the semi-official voice of the Anglican Church of Canada. In October 1954 it was stated to be the national journal of the Church.

description."¹⁶¹ Others who shared Hutt's sense of frustration felt the Church should give up altogether its attempts at revision. Better, wrote the Rev. W.R. Hibbard, to keep the 1918 Prayer Book than endorse this "hodge-podge."¹⁶² And Archdeacon Catchpole, Clerical Secretary of the Diocese of Kootenay sent to Bishop Hallam a resolution of the Synod that intensive study be given the Eucharist, but no revision authorized "until the mind of the Church is clearer."¹⁶³ On inquiring as to what had occasioned this motion,¹⁶⁴ Hallam was informed that the members of Synod did not like the "introduction of new phrases and unfamiliar words." It would be preferable, added Catchpole, to keep the service we have and add the familiar Prayer of Oblation to the Prayer of Consecration.¹⁶⁵ In this he echoed the sentiments

¹⁶¹ The Rev. M.C.D. Hutt, Letter to the editor, The Canadian Churchman, vol. 79, no. 20 (Oct. 16, 1952) p. 314.

¹⁶² The Rev. W.R. Hibbard, Letter to the editor, The Canadian Churchman, vol. 80, no. 4 (Feb. 19, 1953) p. 50.

¹⁶³ The Ven. D.S. Catchpole, Letter to the Right Rev. W.T. Hallam on the subject of revision of the Eucharist, dated June 28, 1954, now with the Armitage Papers in Wycliffe College, Toronto, Ont.

¹⁶⁴ The Right Rev. W.T. Hallam, Letter to the Ven. D.S. Catchpole, on the subject of revision of the Eucharist, dated July 10, 1954, now with the Armitage Papers in Wycliffe College, Toronto, Ont.

¹⁶⁵ The Ven. D.S. Catchpole, Letter to the Right Rev. W.T. Hallam, on the subject of revision of the Eucharist, dated July 15, 1954, now with the Armitage Papers in Wycliffe College, Toronto, Ont.

of the Rev. W. Fergusson, Principal of the Anglican Theological College in Vancouver. Referring to a motion passed unanimously by the Synod of the Ecclesiastical Province of British Columbia in the summer of 1953 to keep the Eucharist in its 1662 form but add the Prayer of Oblation after the Prayer of Consecration, Fergusson advised that this course had the greatest chance of succeeding.¹⁶⁶

Equally critical of the Rite, but more positive in their approach, were a number of theologians at Trinity College in Toronto. They noted numerous minor improvements, although in general they thought the Rite lacked flexibility and responsiveness to the seasons of the Christian Year. Moreover, the Pax and the Lord's Prayer were displaced. As for the addition to the Prayer of Consecration, they agreed that it would, in theory, bear an orthodox interpretation, but would not in fact convey the same to the general reader. Furthermore, the language was "flat and insipid" expressing nothing of the mystery and awesomeness of the Sacrament.¹⁶⁷

The most positive response came from the clergy of the Deanery of East York in the Diocese of Toronto. They

¹⁶⁶ The Rev. W. Fergusson, Letter to the Right Rev. W.T. Hallam, on the subject of revision of the Eucharist, dated December 3, 1953, now with the Armitage Papers in Wycliffe College, Toronto, Ont.

¹⁶⁷ The Rev. C.J. de Catanzaro, Letter to the editor, The Canadian Churchman, vol. 80, no. 14 (July 16, 1953) p. 221f.

were receptive to the 1952 Rite as a whole, although they objected to the Kyrie, the Pax, moving the Prayer of Humble Access, and adding the introductory phrase to the Prayer of Consecration. Their response to the new paragraph of that prayer is enigmatic. "We feel the third paragraph of this Prayer of Consecration is a compromise between adding the Prayer of Oblation to the Prayer of Consecration and not adding it there, and that in its proposed form it is unsatisfactory."¹⁶⁸

A second group of responses are those which criticise the Rite as a whole. In his aforementioned letter to Bishop Hallam, the Rev. M.C.D. Hutt concluded that the Canadian revisers had "blithely ignored" all the revisions in other parts of the Anglican Communion.¹⁶⁹ The Trinity College group as well observed that the 1952 Rite was so distinct as to set the Canadian Church apart.¹⁷⁰ This criticism was a common factor in the responses of many

¹⁶⁸ Deanery of East York, Response to the Report of the Committee on Revision of the Book of Common Prayer, undated, now with the Armitage Papers in Wycliffe College, Toronto, Ont.

¹⁶⁹ See above (footnote 159) the Rev. M.C.V. Hutt, Letter to the Right Rev. W.T. Hallam, September 8, 1952.

¹⁷⁰ See above the Rev. C.J. de Catenzaro in The Canadian Churchman July 16, 1953.

groups,¹⁷¹ and it found a ready-made answer in "The Proposed Canadian Eucharist"¹⁷² drawn up by Fr. Hawkes of the Society of St. John the Evangelist and published in the Society's paper about the same time as the 1952 Rite.¹⁷³ "The Proposed Canadian Eucharist" Fr. Hawkes stated, was based on the Prayer Book of 1549, the English Church Union Proposal of 1923, the Rite drawn up by Vroom in 1915 and the Rites of the Anglican Churches in Scotland, the United States, South Africa and Ceylon. The impact of this proposed Rite was soon illustrated in the response made to the Committee by the Rural Deanery of Lethbridge. After commending some of the changes in the 1952 Rite and condemning others, they submitted a rite of their own modelled after that of Fr. Hawkes.¹⁷⁴

Without attempting to produce a liturgy for the revisers, the Rev. C.J. de Catanzaro essayed a similar

171 Those of the Deanery of Cookshire in Quebec, the Deanery of Manitoulin, the Deanery of Halifax, and Anglican Action (a group of about 25 Toronto clergy) are preserved in the Armitage Papers in Wycliffe College, Toronto, Ont.

172 The Rev. John G. McCousland, S.S.J.E., Letter to the Right Rev. W.T. Hallam on the subject of the revised Eucharist, dated October 30, 1952, now in the Armitage Papers in Wycliffe College, Toronto, Ont. Fr. McCousland so named the Rite in his letter.

173 "The Order for the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist and Administration of the Holy Communion," His Dominion, vol. 1, no. 3 (Aug. 1, 1952) p. 5, and vol. 1, no. 4 (Nov. 1, 1952) p. 3-4.

174 Rural Deanery of Lethbridge, "Lethbridge Deanery Chapter Proposed Eucharistic Rite," dated April 21, 1953, now with the Armitage Papers in Wycliffe College, Toronto, Ont.

critique in a paper entitled "Some Notes on the Proposed Communion Office."¹⁷⁵ His purpose he said was to assess the merits of the 1952 Rite on sound liturgical principles "especially as embodied in other Anglican eucharistic rites ..."¹⁷⁶ There follows a detailed examination of the Rite which concludes that the Committee has made a good start "but has by no means given us a finished product ... The Committee should", he advises, "... continue its labours with the assistance of more professional liturgiologists from our colleges."¹⁷⁷

These criticisms of the Rite-as-a-whole by Frs. Hawkes and de Catanzaro, though damaging, were calm, scholarly and constructive, but others revealed strong feelings and a potential for divisiveness. In late 1953 a series of articles in The Anglican Outlook and News Digest showed that some clergy felt that, after all the years of trying, the people entrusted with revision of the Eucharist had betrayed them. And in revealing this the articles also showed that the old party distrusts were still there, beneath the surface, but with power enough to rise up and threaten the whole process of revision.

¹⁷⁵ The Rev. C.J. de Catanzaro, "Some Notes on the Proposed Communion Office" undated, now with the Armitage Papers in Wycliffe College, Toronto, Ont.

¹⁷⁶ *ibid.* p. 1.

¹⁷⁷ *ibid.* p. 3.

It began with an article entitled "The Proposed Revision of the Communion Office - A Criticism"¹⁷⁸ by the Rev. R. Cowan of Lethbridge, Alberta. "The proposals," he wrote, "... constitute little more than superficial changes in the present rite and ... the recovery of an understanding of the Eucharistic action and Eucharistic Theology appears to have been all but ignored." A detailed criticism follows in which the Anaphora is compared unfavourably with Dix's four-action shape.¹⁷⁹ The key to the whole failure of the 1952 Rite he believed could be found in the addition to the Prayer of Consecration. The Rite should have contained a clear and concise statement defining and interpreting the Eucharistic action. Such a statement traditionally and logically comes at the conclusion of the Prayer of Consecration. What the 1952 Rite offered in this place was a brief paragraph in which the key phrases "do this in remembrance of him who died" and "thankoffering and service" are

¹⁷⁸ The Rev. R. Cowan, "The Proposed Revision of the Communion Office - A Criticism" The Anglican Outlook and News Digest vol. 8, no. 9 (Aug.-Sept., 1953) p. 13f. This journal was published independently in Montreal by a group of Anglicans in the ecclesiastical province of Canada. They could be characterized generally as high church and socially involved.

¹⁷⁹ Gregory Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy (Westminster, 1945) p. 78-82. Discussing the Eucharist as it developed classically Dix writes of the Anaphora: "The eucharist itself now follows, a single clear swift action in four movements, with an uninterrupted ascent from the offertory to the communion, which ends decisively at its climax."

at best ambiguous and at worst "shallow and shoddy."¹⁸⁰

As was to be expected, Cowan's angry remarks brought forth a reply in kind by Canon Abraham of London, Ontario¹⁸¹ He began by defending the work of the Committee. They had, he wrote, produced a "provisional rite" which did not change any Anglican doctrine or principles. From this faint praise, however, he moved on quickly to attack Cowan's position. It was, he claimed, "undiluted Romanism" from which would surely follow the doctrine of Transubstantiation, worship of the Host, Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, the Feast of Corpus Christi, Requiem Masses, the English Missal, and other things which "the Thirty-First Article succinctly terms 'blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits'".¹⁸²

If the tone of Abraham's Article might have made some readers think that an anti-ritualist pamphleteer had been resurrected from the nineteenth century, the basic danger he perceived was none-the-less a current reality:

¹⁸⁰ Cowan, op. cit. p. 14.

¹⁸¹ The Rev. Canon Alford Abraham, "A Reply to The Rev. R. Cowan," The Anglican Outlook and News Digest, vol. 9, no. 2 (Dec. 1953) p. 11f.

¹⁸² Quoted from Articles of Religion, XXXI "Of the One Oblation of Christ finished upon the Cross" The Book Of Common Prayer 1959 Canada. (Toronto) p. 710.

that sanction of the 1952 Rite would revive the old party divisions and split the Church. Canon W.H. Davison, rector of the Church of St. John the Evangelist in Montreal, perceived the same possibility. Davison was a member of the Central Revision Sub-Committee and a responsible leader in the Church. In addition to this, however, as rector of one of the oldest churches in Montreal and one that pioneered in the Catholic revival of the previous century, Davison was a spokesman for many clergy in Quebec and other parts of the country. He warned Hallam that, particularly in regard to the new paragraph added to the Prayer of Consecration, the Prayer Book must make more allowance for the desires of Anglo-Catholics or "supplementary" books would be used by the clergy.¹⁸³ And of course, if one party in the Church was not bound by the new Prayer Book, then others would feel free to ignore it also.

¹⁸³ The Rev. Canon W.H. Davison, Letter to the Right Rev. W.T. Hallam, on the subject of divisions in the Central Revision Sub-Committee, dated October 11, 1954, now with the Armitage Papers in Wycliffe College, Toronto, Ont. The books to which Davison was referring were, most commonly, The English Missal. London, W. Knott & Son Limited, 1933. A reproduction of the Roman Missal with English translations from the Latin provided in which the Anglican Rite of 1662 is interleaved as an alternative; The English Catholic Prayer Book. London. The Faith Press Ltd. which re-arranged the 1662 Rite and "enriched" it so as to approximate more closely the Roman Rite, and The Book of Common Prayer with the Additions and Deviations Proposed in 1928. Oxford. The University Press.

Perhaps the most widely held reaction to the 1952 Rite was that expressed by the Rev. J.C. Kirby in another article written for Anglican Outlook and News Digest at this time.¹⁸⁴

One had (he says) ... expected that when the Order for Holy Communion came up for revision, some cognizance would be taken of the results of the liturgical studies of the recent past, results which were being incorporated in revisions going on in other parts of our own Communion ... If the present revision as it now stands is passed by General Synod, we shall, in effect, be ignoring the work of the great liturgical scholars of our time, many of whom are members of our own Communion...

One cannot help thinking that this rite as it stands is the result of a belief that there is no great desire for revision of the Prayer Book, and that those who do desire it are being given a few 'enrichments' to satisfy them.¹⁸⁵

Polite or passionate, this group of respondents was all agreed that the 1952 Rite was a failure, perhaps a dangerous one. That was bad enough, but the worst was yet to come. There was a third type of response to the 1952 Rite. And this type was the most probing of all, for it criticised not the details of the Rite, nor its over-all form, but the method by which the revisers went about their work.

¹⁸⁴ The Rev. J.C. Kirby. "The Proposed Revision," The Anglican Outlook and News Digest, vol. 9, no. 2 (dec. 1953) p. 9f.

¹⁸⁵ Kirby, op. cit. p. 10.

In a private submission to the General Committee on Revision of the Book of Common Prayer, the Rev. Graham Cotter, Ph.D., then a lecturer in English at the University of Toronto, told the members that he was "profoundly disquieted" by the 1952 Rite.¹⁸⁶ There follows a devout and scholarly review of the structure of the Rite, comparing it with other traditional models, both Anglican and non-Anglican, and examining it in terms of the needs of contemporary society. Cotter concluded that while the 1952 Rite "attempts to turn parts of the service to greater spiritual significance"¹⁸⁷ nowhere did it reflect a recognition that its basis (the 1552-1662 Rite) was theologically and structurally unsatisfactory. The consequence of which was that "the proposed rite does not give us a better liturgy either in terms of orthodox eucharistic doctrine or in terms of our modern situation."¹⁸⁸ And finally, mindful of one of the

¹⁸⁶ The Rev. Graham Cotter, Ph.D., "A Critique of the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper proposed in The Report of the Committee on Revision of the Book of Common Prayer" dated The Feast of the Transfiguration, 1953, now with the Armitage Papers in Wycliffe College, Toronto, Ont.

¹⁸⁷ *ibid.* p. 9.

¹⁸⁸ *ibid.* p. 9.

arguments used to get the 1918 Prayer Book accepted,¹⁸⁹ he recommended that General Synod "should consider postponing the final issue of a revised Communion rite..." rather than "authorize an inadequate rite because the Draft Book ... was finished and printer's expenses could be cut down by eliminating delay."¹⁹⁰

Cotter's criticism of the Committee's basic failure to understand their task and the possible shallowness of their approach to revision was the strongest they had received. But in light of their real attempts to read the mind of the Church, perhaps the most discouraging was that of the Rev. A.S. Dewdney of the Montreal Diocesan Theological College, who wrote in The Anglican Outlook and News Digest that the great majority of people in the Anglican Church were not being effectively informed about the proposals for revision.¹⁹¹ As a result, he went on, the new Rite would not be made up of elements which had won their place by popular support over the years, but by elements which reflected the thinking of a few.

¹⁸⁹ Armitage, op. cit. p. 115.

¹⁹⁰ Cotter, op. cit. p. 10.

¹⁹¹ The Rev. A.S. Dewdney, "Democracy and Prayer Book Revision," The Anglican Outlook and News Digest vol. 9, no. 2 (Dec. 1953) p. 12.

All in all, the message was clear enough. The 1952 Rite was too little for those who had wanted a revision, unappealing to those who were satisfied with some form of the 1918 Prayer Book, and liturgically unsuitable to all who had any special knowledge in the field. The Committee found themselves back at square one, so to speak. As the secretary, the Rev. Dr. Ramsey Armitage, put it in the internationally circulated journal Pan Anglican: in the work of producing a new Canadian Prayer Book it is to the Eucharist that "the most intensive study must yet be given..."¹⁹² And when the Central Revision Sub-Committee met at the end of 1953, Bishop Hallam began by issuing a statement he had prepared for public release to the effect that no revised Prayer Book would be possible for a number of years yet. He pointed out that even the legally required steps could take as much as eight years.¹⁹³

¹⁹² The Rev. Dr. Ramsey Armitage, "Canadian Prayer Book Revision," Pan Anglican vol. iv, no. 2 (Oct. 1953) p. 20.

¹⁹³ Minute Book C, p. 37.

IV

THE CARRINGTON PROPOSAL

In the various reactions to the 1952 Rite, two observations appeared over and over again. First, that the revision was too provincial; it set the Canadian Church apart from other branches of the Anglican Communion. In one way or another Cowan, Kirby, Cotter, de Catanzaro, Hawkes and others had all expressed this objection. And secondly, there was the apprehension that this revision, apparently produced in little over a year, was only a token gesture; it followed no well thought-out principles, because, so it seemed to some, its intent was only to placate the demands of those few who would persist in making cause over the lack of change in 1918; it was an exercise in cosmetics which would be pressed through the legal machinery to completion and allow the Church once more to rest from its labours, having, like Alice in Looking-Glass Land, run as fast as it could and remained exactly where it always had been.

These criticisms placed the Committee in a difficult position. The door of revision once opened could not again be shut: there was no going back to the 1662 Rite of the old Prayer Book. Nor did Anglicans in Canada want a

"Canadian" liturgy. If this much was evident, however, it was less evident what people did want, and how much change would be acceptable. It might have seemed that since the Committee had asked for comment and had received it, they should proceed to analyse it and act on it. But this they dared not do. Within the Committee a remarkable degree of harmony had been achieved amongst members of various schools and parties. In the Church at large, however, the old rivalries and suspicions still lived on, dormant to a large degree, but strong and capable of erupting.¹⁹⁴ To have produced a further revision which could even seem to be based on the influence of any one critic, or group of critics, would have destroyed the Committee's credibility as a body representing the whole Church and doomed its work to failure. It might have jeopardized the possibility of revision for years to come. It would certainly have soured the post-war buoyancy of the Church.

The Committee's initial reaction to the criticism was to remain studiously aloof and allow it to run its

¹⁹⁴ Interview with Archbishop Clark. Cf. also Interview with Dr. Armitage, and Interview with Fr. Palmer. The controversy in 1956 over the oblation in the Prayer of Consecration is one evidence of this. Led by Bishop Dean and Canon Abraham, the Evangelicals protested that this was an unacceptable change in theology. So strong was the reaction that it was feared that, unless this was changed, a large segment of the Church would refuse to use the new liturgy.

course. At the February meeting in 1953 the Chairman, Bishop Hallam, outlined a program of work for the next year, according to which there would be no further consideration of the Eucharist until the regular meeting of February 1954.¹⁹⁵ At this meeting and at the May and November meetings of 1953, reports of other sub-committees were considered and the process of preparing a draft Prayer Book for presentation to General Synod in 1955 was continued.

In the face of incipient rejection however, this policy of detachment wavered and then broke. The Secretary's statement in the October issue of the prestigious Pan Anglican was the first official recognition that the 1952 Rite was unsatisfactory.¹⁹⁶ But a one-line reference was hardly enough to deal with the level of reaction taking place in the Church, and two months later it was felt necessary to call an extraordinary meeting of the Committee.

At this meeting the first item of business recorded in the Minutes is the reading by the Chairman of a statement for public release. It declared that no Prayer Book would be possible for a few years.¹⁹⁷ Apart from the time needed

¹⁹⁵ Minute Book C, p. 11.

¹⁹⁶ cf. above p. 59.

¹⁹⁷ Minute Book C, p. 37(1).

by the Committee for revision of the 1952 Rite, the Canons of the Church required that a draft copy be submitted for examination, ammendment and approval at one meeting of the General Synod. Then, if accepted, it must be ratified by a following meeting three years later. And, finally, it would have to be passed to the Provincial Synods for their approval. The statement was an assurance that the Committee recognised the dissatisfaction with the 1952 Rite, and that due process would allow six to eight years for consideration of any new proposal.

Apart from the fact that it had to be said at all, the statement issued by the Committee was calm and reassuring, but the circumstances of the meeting indicate the urgency that was felt at the time. Since its inception the Central Revision Sub-Committee, in an almost unbroken pattern, had met in February, May and November of each year, and the regular meeting in February 1954 was scheduled to be concerned with the 1952 Rite. That, in the present circumstances, was evidently felt to be too long to wait. A special meeting was called to begin after Christmas, which, the feast being on Friday that year, went on from Monday until Thursday, New Year's Eve.¹⁹⁸ It was an awkward time to meet, and only the Chairman, Secretary, and seven other

¹⁹⁸ Minute Book C, p. 37(1).

members attended. Furthermore, it interrupted the orderly pattern of the Committee's work, which pattern was not re-established again until after the General Synod of 1955.

The statement for public release took up the first of the eight sessions at this meeting. The work of the Committee during the remaining seven gave rise to a second remarkable circumstance.

Many comments and criticisms of the 1952 Rite had been brought to this meeting, along with a Resolution from the Synod of the Ecclesiastical Province of British Columbia objecting to having the Rite forced upon them.¹⁹⁹ These gave the Committee members a good idea of what was wanted (or perhaps, not wanted). However, only nine out of twenty-eight members of the Committee had been able to get to Montreal Diocesan Theological College for the meeting: Bishop Hallam and eight priests. The rules of procedure stated that unless the laity was represented a vote on any change could not stand.²⁰⁰ But the Committee proceeded to make a large number of changes anyway. What this might have led to will never be known.

¹⁹⁹ *ibid.* p. 37(2). The whereabouts of these comments, and those received after publication of the Draft Prayer Book in 1955, is unknown. It is doubtful if they have survived.

²⁰⁰ Minute Book A, p. 29.

In the midst of these unusual goings-on a "communication" was received from Bishop Carrington who had been unable to attend. It was "of such weight and importance"²⁰¹ that further changes in the Rite were postponed. This communication was a Memorandum in which Carrington outlined his thoughts on the nature and scope of Eucharistic revision. After some consideration the Committee decided to send a copy to all its members, and to postpone any further meeting until the spring.

The Carrington Memorandum was not at once appreciated for the seminal document that it was. The initial response of the Committee seems to have been to regard it as a sort of blue-print for revision: a presentation of particulars for their consideration. This may be seen for example in the handling of the Prayer of Consecration. At first a specific proposal of Carrington's was adopted almost in its entirety. Later, the wording was greatly changed, but the concept was retained, and this signalled a significant development in approach to the document itself. As the Committee worked with it, and as they came to appreciate its underlying ideology, they came to realize that the Memorandum was less a source of specific suggestions than a model for their project; an historical document whose

²⁰¹ Minute Book C, p. 37(7). From this time on Carrington became more of a central figure in the work of revision. For a biographical sketch see: Kelley, A.R. and D.B. Rogers. Anglican Episcopate of Canada. Vol. II. Anglican Church of Canada, Toronto. 1961.

premises were based on an understanding of the Anglican Communion, and an appreciation of its situation in the post World War II era. It was this comprehension which made it so influential, and which must be examined briefly now.

For the first 250 years after the Reformation the Anglican Communion consisted solely of the State Church of England, Ireland and Wales, and the Episcopal Church of Scotland.²⁰² As colonies were acquired by England during this time, chaplains were appointed to them under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London and in accordance with the law. The Church in the colonies was, then, a simple extension of the State Church and so functioned. Its structure was that provided by the Religious Settlement of 1662.

This began to change when the English election of 1830 brought the Whigs to power with a mandate for reform.²⁰³ The Establishment, thereafter, underwent some dismantling, and the government became less involved in supporting the Church. The most notable example of this trend was the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1869, but other

²⁰² "The Anglican Communion", F.L. Cross, The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church (London, 1958) p. 53. After 1784 the Church in the U.S.A. was in a position similar to that of Scotland because of the establishment of political independence.

²⁰³ Alec R. Vidler, The Church in An Age of Revolution (Penguin Books, 1961) p. 45f.

significant moves of a positive nature were also taking place. In 1841 C.J. Blomfield, Bishop of London, established the Colonial Bishops' Council, an act which gave recognition to the fact that provincial churches were setting up administrative organizations and becoming something other than chaplaincy services to Britons on service overseas. In 1855, for the first time, an Anglican bishop was consecrated in one of these growing provincial churches. Gradually independence from both the British State and the See of Canterbury was coming about.

All official ties to the English State eventually disappeared from provincial Churches of the Anglican Communion, but an over-all structure and cohesion remained by virtue of the colony's membership in the British Empire and the resultant "unofficial" structure which this provided to the local branch of the Mother-country's State Church. But an implied structure is tenuous at best, and it is less than coincidental that at this time the Lambeth Conferences began.²⁰⁴ As first envisaged by the Canadian Church these would have supplied the structure removed by "de facto" disestablishment in the colonies. However, strenuous objections to such an authoritarian role were raised and the Conferences became an unofficial voice only. Nevertheless,

²⁰⁴ Philip Carrington, The Anglican Church in Canada. (Toronto, 1963) p. 135ff.

their decisions carried considerable influence, and the gathering of bishops from all over the world every ten years was both a reminder to provincial Churches of their common origin and a visible assertion of their coherence.

But if throughout the nineteenth century the ghost of the old form lingered on by virtue of common cultural ties, even this was exorcised by the upheavals of the twentieth. The Empire did not survive World War I in much more than name, and the Commonwealth which was to replace it was as nebulous in structure as the Anglican Communion itself.

The final blow was World War II. From it the Anglican Communion seemed to emerge even more bereft of any cohesive structure than before. Not only was the old political form gone, but in its place were the emerging forms of a new wave of nationalism; hostile often to the old powers, and desirous of independence; unconcerned often with the old ideologies, and secular by intent or default. True enough, the Anglican Communion did not face the problems of the new world alone. Other Churches were in the same position; their global offspring separated from home, come to maturity and ready for independence yet faced with threats and problems, in need of "mutual society, help and comfort". But after centuries of separation, ecumenism, however prayerfully desired, however cogently motivated,

was not a thing to be "taken in hand, unadvisedly, lightly, or wantonly; but reverently, discreetly, advisedly, soberly, and in the fear of God;..."²⁰⁵

Thus, in 1948, when the bishops convened once again at Lambeth, two issues confronted the Anglican Communion with the question of its continued survival: nationalism and ecumenism.

Toward the new nationalism arising in the Third World the bishops were cautiously sympathetic,²⁰⁶ and while recognizing that enthusiasm might have to give way temporarily to claims for order and stability, declared that the latter should neither be a cloak for exploitation "nor be allowed to delay full and responsible freedom of indigenous peoples."²⁰⁷ At the same time, however, they rejected any

²⁰⁵ Book of Common Prayer 1959 Canada, p. 564.

²⁰⁶ The Lambeth Conference, The Encyclical Letter from the Bishops; together with Resolutions and Reports. (London, 1948) pp. 30-31, Resolutions 18, 20, and 21. (Hereafter referred to as Lambeth 1948) The matter was approached on the basis of three assumptions which asserted the transcendent nature of the Church; that the law of God is above all sovereign rights of nations, and that the Church therefore must condemn any usurpation of power by the State that opposed basic Christian truths; that Christians must guard against encroachment by the State on the freedom of individuals and voluntary groups, including the right of the Church to order its worship, teach, and evangelize; and that since the quest for social order was likely to pit conservatives and progressives against each other the Church must seek to contain both groups and become an agent of healing.

²⁰⁷ "The Church and the Modern World" Lambeth 1948, p. 16.

claim put forward by nationalists which implied that the nature and destiny of man was to "give himself entirely in obedience and service to the nation or group" of which he was a member.²⁰⁸ In particular, in the struggle of opposing ideologies, they warned that the Church faced "great dangers where the State is unsympathetic or hostile, ..."209

The approach to ecumenism was the traditional one expressed in the intercession of the Eucharist: "inspire continually the universal Church with the spirit of truth, unity and concord ..."210 Christian unity was always a major concern and any ventures toward it must be viewed thankfully, but a sharing of oneness in Christ would be a by-product of a sharing in the spirit of truth and not a direct product of human endeavour.

Four dioceses of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon were taking part with Methodists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists in the experimental Church of South India. This provided the major case study for the Conference but similar movements toward unity were at work in other parts of the Anglican Communion as well. It was concluded that

208 *ibid.* p. 19.

209 *ibid.* p. 20.

210 Book of Common Prayer 1959 Canada, p. 75.

since the ecumenical movement sought to draw all Christian bodies into a truly comprehensive Church, the Anglican Communion, because of its inclusive nature, had a special role to play. It would be wrong therefore to move too quickly and by so doing allow it "to be dispersed before its particular work was done."²¹¹ The bishops recommended as a result that any union scheme take care not to "put any member of our family of Churches out of communion with it ..."²¹².

Consideration of these two major issues led the Conference to conclude that the way ahead held out great promise in the direction of one world portended by the United Nations. But it also contained the danger of fragmentation along nationalistic lines. In such a situation it was felt to be a paramount importance for the world-wide Anglican Communion to preserve its unity and strengthen its bonds in order that it might give to all nations "a Christian way of life that is supra-national, that makes for goodwill among nations, and that offers an international standard by which all nations may be judged."²¹³

This was easier said than done. The preservation of its unity and strength was a problem for the Anglican

²¹¹ "The Encyclical Letter from the Bishops", Lambeth 1948, p. 23.

²¹² *ibid.* p. 23.

²¹³ *ibid.* p. 23.

Communion because of its make-up: a great number of national churches, provinces and missionary dioceses, each taking on local colour, reflecting national cultures and developing various characteristics of its own. If the Church was to play what seemed its proper role, it would be necessary "to maintain such a unity of faith and order as will preserve its unity of purpose and spirit." And essential to the latter was the Prayer Book. "We find the authoritative expression of that faith and order in the Book of Common Prayer, together with the Ordinal. This book is the heritage of the whole Anglican Communion, and, while revisions of it are made to suit the needs of different Churches, it provides our accepted pattern of liturgical order, worship, and doctrine which is to be everywhere maintained."²¹⁴

The Prayer Book then was to play a key role in the future of the Anglican Communion. And Archbishop Carrington was to play a key role in the future of the Prayer Book, particularly that of the Canadian Church and the Eucharistic rite which lay at its heart.

At the end of the 1930's when the Canadian Church had finally agreed to consider the possibility of further revision of its Prayer Book, Carrington had been one of the early respondents to the questionnaire sent out by the

²¹⁴ *ibid.* p. 23.

Committee on Prayer Book Revision.²¹⁵ There must be, he replied, a strong case made for the general principle of revision, as opposed to a process of tacking on bits and pieces. In any revision, he went on, three criteria must be met; "that the changes are consonant with the original English Prayer Book in theology, ... in beauty of expression and in appropriateness to the tradition which it is proposed to change."²¹⁶

Ten years later at Lambeth, because of the conclusions reached about the Ecumenical Movement and the Church in the Modern World, one of the most important reports of the Conference was that on the Anglican Communion.²¹⁷ The chairman of the committee which produced the Report, and its author, was Philip Carrington.

Being both catholic and reformed, the Report began, the Anglican Communion had a distinctive character, of which the Prayer Book was both "the embodiment" and "the means by which the Anglican tradition has been sustained."²¹⁸

²¹⁵ cf above p. 10.

²¹⁶ Replies received by the Committee on Prayer Book Revision, May 19, 1938. Now with the Armitage Papers, Wycliffe College, Toronto, Ont.

²¹⁷ "The Anglican Communion" Lambeth Conference 1948, pp. 81-87.

²¹⁸ *ibid.* p. 83.

An illustration of the role of the Prayer Book was to be observed in the handling of the question of authority. As the Church expanded into various cultures and developed autonomous provinces, centrifugal tendencies had led to the consideration, and rejection, of a number of solutions to the problem: a central legislature, a modified papacy, an appellate tribunal. In the end what had developed was a moral and spiritual authority derived from God and given expression in the Scripture, the Tradition, the Creeds, the Ministry of Word and Sacraments, the witness of saints, and the acceptance in charity of the "concensus fidelium."²¹⁹ "Liturgy in the sense of the offering and ordering of the public worship of God," the Report concluded, "is the crucible in which these elements of authority are fused and unified in the fellowship and power of the Holy Spirit."²²⁰

This was not to imply a fixed and immutable liturgy though. Reference was made in the Report to Resolutions 36 and 37 of the Lambeth Conference of 1920 which stated that the Book of Common Prayer was the standard of doctrine and practise, but which allowed local variation insofar as the unifying features of the Prayer Book were retained. In

²¹⁹ *ibid.* p. 84.

²²⁰ *ibid.* p. 85.

1948, however, with a number of revisions completed and others contemplated this statement was in need of a good deal more precision, and the Committee on the Anglican Communion decided that the time had come to examine more specifically the features necessary to the safeguarding of unity.²²¹ This concern was given expression and impetus in a formal Resolution:

The Conference holds that the Book of Common Prayer has been, and is, so strong a bond of unity throughout the whole Anglican Communion that great care must be taken to ensure that revisions of the Book shall be in accordance with the doctrine and accepted liturgical worship of the Anglican Communion.²²²

Carrington's three criteria of 1938 may be seen as a sort of colloquial version of Resolutions 36 and 37 of the Lambeth Conference of 1920. In his 1948 Report the laconic statements of 1920 are put more sanguinely and pointed to the immediate situation of on-going revision in various branches of the Church. But there was no strengthening yet of their "raison d'etre." That was to come in his address to the Anglican Congress in August of 1954 at Minneapolis.

The theme of the Congress was "The Call of God and the Mission of the Anglican Communion," and the Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church forestalled any blasé

²²¹ *ibid.* p. 86.

²²² Resolution 78. Lambeth Conference 1948, p. 46.

approach to the topic by drawing attention to the fact that many delegates would be going on to the Ecumenical Conference at Evanston, Illinois. The Anglican Church had no intention of becoming isolationist; it must have a strong and positive self-image in order to play its role in the years ahead.²²³

Following this the Archbishop of Canterbury raised again the issues with which the Bishops had struggled at Lambeth: the ecumenical movement, secular humanism, and, the issue deriving from these two, the role of the Anglican Communion.²²⁴

The Congress itself was structured around four consequent themes: the Vocation of the Anglican Communion, its Worship, its Message, and its Work. The fundamental consideration, that of Vocation, was begun by the Bishop of London who reviewed the historical and theological position of the Anglican Church.²²⁵ This was followed by Carrington's

²²³ The Right Rev. Henry Knox Sherrill, "Address by the Presiding Bishop" in Report of the Anglican Congress 1954, ed. Powell Mills Dowley (Greenwich, 1954) p. 8-11. (Henceforth referred to as Anglican Congress 1954).

²²⁴ The Most Rev. and Rt. Hon. Geoffrey Francis Fisher. "Address by the Archbishop of Canterbury", Anglican Congress 1954, p. 12-18.

²²⁵ The Rt. Rev. and Rt. Hon. J. William C. Wand, "The Position of the Anglican Communion in History and Doctrine", Anglican Congress 1954, p. 25f.

address on the structure of the Anglican Communion,²²⁶ and concluded by a consideration of the place of the Communion in Christendom and its relationship to other Communions by Professor J.P. Hickenbotham of the University College of the Gold Coast.²²⁷

Archbishop Carrington began his consideration of structure in the Anglican Communion by reviewing briefly the conditions that presently existed: the individual Provinces all had constitutions, but there was no legislation at the inter-provincial level. What then, he went on to ask, was the source of unity in the Anglican Communion? The Lambeth Conferences? They were an expression of unity, but did not provide any basis for its existence. The clue, he thought, lay rather in the role played by the Archbishop of Canterbury. In the Anglican Communion his was not a position of policy-making power, but of dignity and respect. As Anglicans, Carrington said, "we offer him our respectful 'hommages'."²²⁸

²²⁶ The Most Rev. Philip Carrington, "The Structure of the Anglican Communion", Anglican Congress 1954, p. 44f.

²²⁷ The Rev. Professor J.P. Hickenbotham, "Our Place in Christendom and our Relations with Other Communions", Anglican Congress 1954, p. 52f.

²²⁸ The Most Rev. Philip Carrington, "The Structure of the Anglican Communion", Anglican Congress 1954, p. 45.

"It was in such a way that the great apostolic centres of Christianity acquired in primitive times, a position of influence and prestige", he went on.²²⁹ As a result of the apostolic mission, later vested in the historic episcopate, dioceses formed which in turn associated in larger families. On a world-wide scale these families shared a union which ultimately reached a climax in the General Council. But at whatever level the Church was considered it had a unity which came from a common origin, a common inheritance in faith and order, and which "expressed itself everywhere in an identical pattern of church life."²³⁰ In such a form the Church had come to Britain, and in such a form, via the Anglican Communion, it had spread around the world.

In the Anglican Communion then, Carrington concluded, structure is internal and spiritual. It does, however, take on corporate forms as it propagates itself in various parts of the world.

The primary creative factor in the Anglican approach to the nature and structure of the Church as a whole would appear to be the idea of Gospel and liturgy, or Gospel-in-liturgy, if we may use that word in the broadest sense for the de facto historical continuum of life and faith and worship in the fellowship which forms the actual existential substance of

229 *ibid.* p. 45.

230 *ibid.* p. 46.

historic Christianity. It is the Spirit continually clothing itself in bodily historical form, the structural features being the creation of this inner life, which is from God.²³¹

The result, consequently, wherever the Church exists, is a "pattern of church life in a recognizably identical form."²³² This pattern of Christian life is expressed in the Book of Common Prayer, and, Carrington added, "this compendium of faith, worship and church order, is the principal institutional factor which governs and maintains our unity."²³³

Prayer Book revision then, was not an isolated activity in the life of the Church, nor did it involve only one dimension of that life. Prayer Book revision carried implications for the whole nature of the Church and for the faithfulness of Christians in the mission of Christ in the world. Any undertaking of Revision must be done, said Carrington, with the recognition that the Prayer Book is not a final authority in its own right.²³⁴ It is a transcript of the pattern of Church life which Anglicans have made for their own use at one point in their existence. Thus the Book of 1662 is representative of a medieval

²³¹ *ibid.* p. 48.

²³² *ibid.* p. 46.

²³³ *ibid.* p. 47.

²³⁴ *ibid.* p. 49.

Western form of the Christian life, albeit reformed and expressed in the vernacular. In this form it is a satisfactory expression of the Faith, but not necessarily complete, exhaustive, or final.

Revision then is both possible, and from time to time desirable. But two basic criteria must be met. A revision must, like the 1662 Book, be a transcript of the pattern of Church life: a transcript of the apostolic faith and mission as it has found valid expression at some time and place in history; and presumably the revision in its own time and place will give a fuller and clearer expression to that faith and mission. Furthermore, a revision must not break the unity of the Body; it must, rather, create "mutual recognition which issues in mutual admission to communion."²³⁵

Archbishop Carrington closed his address by saying that the Anglican Church stood for the old historic Christianity and sought to add nothing new. And his observations about the Prayer Book were of that nature. There was a long-standing sentiment in the Anglican Church that the "incomparable" liturgy should be preserved. There was also a long-standing awareness that in the Book of Common Prayer, as nowhere else, the faith and order of the Church were set

²³⁵ *ibid.* p. 49.

out. What Carrington did was to go beyond this in his thought, and present the Book of Common Prayer as the expression of what the Church is: the outward and visible sign of the faith and the mission given through Christ to the first apostles and maintained to the present in the community of that faith and by the successors of those apostles.

For the work of Prayer Book revision Carrington's thesis held three implications. In the first place it must be recognized by the revisers that the rites and ceremonies of the Church were "sacramentals": "the Spirit clothing itself in bodily historical form ..."²³⁶ Secondly, any changes made must be theologically sound: must preserve the faith and order "which was once for all delivered to the saints."²³⁷ And finally, prayer book revision could not be a provincial thing, disregarding or simply incognizant of the forms used by other parts of the Church; it must effect that "mutual recognition which issues in mutual admission to communion."²³⁸

Such were the ideas of Archbishop Carrington on the Prayer Book and its revision. From the point of view of

²³⁶ *ibid.* p. 48.

²³⁷ The Letter of Jude 1:3 (King James Version).

²³⁸ The Most Rev. Philip Carrington, "The Structure of the Anglican Communion", Anglican Congress 1954, p. 49.

their impact in the Canadian revisers it was important that they did not have to stand or fall alone. At one time it might have been possible for the revisers to argue that a certain genre of revision had appeared after World War I in Prayer Books that were published at the end of the twenties, but that the decade after World War II called for something different. In the year prior to the Congress, however, their attention was increasingly drawn to arguments to the contrary. In the notice of meeting sent out to members of the Committee in November 1953, Dr. Armitage called their attention to the Episcopal Church's "Prayer Book Studies, Vol. IV, The Eucharistic Liturgy."²³⁹ And on November 28th Bishop Makita sent Bishop Hallam a translation of the liturgy in the forthcoming Prayer Book of the Nippon Sei Ko Kai.²⁴⁰ In both cases the earlier revisions of the twentieth century had been influential models. And just a few days before the Congress began Fr. Palmer, who had been meeting with various committees on Prayer Book revision in the dioceses of British Columbia, wrote Hallam that they wanted

²³⁹ Ramsey Armitage, Notice of Meeting of the Central Revision Sub-Committee, dated November 26, 1953, now with the Armitage Papers, Wycliffe College, Toronto, Ont.

²⁴⁰ The Right Rev. Timothy Makita, Letter to The Right Rev. William T. Hallam on the Eucharist of the Nippon Sei Ko Kai, dated November 28, 1953. Now with the Armitage Papers, Wycliffe College, Toronto, Ont.

the Prayer of Consecration to be followed by the Prayer of Oblation and the Lord's Prayer. "The fact that almost every Anglican revision has done as they propose that we should do supports their proposal." And, he added, "I think the more of the Prayer of Oblation which we place after the Consecration the more we shall meet the wishes of the Province of British Columbia and many other churchmen of various schools of thought."²⁴¹

With this in mind Hallam went off to the Anglican Congress, and it is worth noting that other Canadian delegates were there as well who were also members of the Central Revision Sub-Committee: Bishops Clark of Edmonton, Martin of Brandon and Waterman of Nova Scotia; R.S.K. Seeley, Provost of Trinity College, Toronto; Archdeacon Maddock and Canon H.R. Hunt; and Messers Richard H. Pook and Peginald H. Soward, lay delegates from Winnipeg and Toronto respectively. At the Congress the two speakers who addressed the delegates on the topic of Worship were acknowledged experts in the field of liturgy. Their statements not only supported the theme of Carrington's address, but powerfully reinforced the observations and recommendations of his Memorandum.

²⁴¹ The Rev. Roland F. Palmer, Letter to The Right Rev. William T. Hallam on the subject of the Prayer of Consecration, dated August 1, 1954, now with the Armitage Papers in Wycliffe College, Toronto, Ont.

The first of these speakers was Massey H. Shepherd Jr. of the Church Divinity School of the Pacific. He noted that in the matter of Prayer Book revision differences were not striking except in the Eucharist.²⁴² Here, as Carrington had also outlined in his Memorandum, two schools could be distinguished by their treatment of the Prayer of Consecration: that of 1549, exemplified in Scotland, the United States, South Africa, India and Japan; and that of 1552 which provided the model for England, Ireland, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The central difference was the Oblation, and Shepherd went on to discuss its treatment in each school. His own decision lay with the 1549 type. "The Prayer of Consecration in the First Prayer Book is the true touchstone," he affirmed, "by which Anglican reformation of worship may be tested. It sets forth in summary our understanding of the Christian faith and ethic ..."²⁴³

The Right Rev. D. Colin Dunlop, Dean of Lincoln Cathedral, who followed Shepherd, began by noting liturgical trends in the Anglican Communion, and again, members of the Committee who had read the Memorandum must have had a

²⁴² The Rev. Professor Massey H. Shepherd Jr. "Our Anglican Understanding of Corporate Worship," Anglican Congress 1954. p. 77f.

²⁴³ *ibid.* p. 75.

sense of "deja vu." There was, the Dean noted, a restoration of the Old Testament through the use of Introits, Graduals and lessons. The Eucharistic oblation was being set against a wider background than just the events of Calvary; now it was seen in the context of Creation, the Incarnation, Resurrection, Ascension, and work of the Holy Spirit. The Intercession was being re-drawn in litany-form, and the Benedictus Qui Venit restored.²⁴⁴

As for future revisions, they should be modest in scope, keep as much of the familiar as possible, and aim at establishing a single authorized Rite within which, however, alternatives should be allowed.²⁴⁵ In all revisions, he concluded, two considerations were of utmost importance: to what extent the new proposals would provide appropriately for the worship of the people; and how well they would promote the common approach to the Catholic faith which is described as Anglicanism.²⁴⁶

The effect of all this on the Canadian revisers may be indicated by a remark of Bishop Hallam to Fr. Palmer on his return from the Congress. The Bishop, at least, seems

²⁴⁴ The Right Rev. David Colin Dunlop, "The Liturgical Life of the Anglican Communion in the Twentieth Century," Anglican Congress 1954, p. 89-90.

²⁴⁵ *ibid.* p. 96.

²⁴⁶ *ibid.* p. 99.

to have been completely won over. "But the words 'precious death, mighty resurrection and glorious ascension'", he wrote, "are more emphatic than 'he died and rose again'. There is a worthiness and nobility about them. I note that they are in practically all the revisions."²⁴⁷ It is quite probable that Hallam was not only influenced by the speakers and the discussion which followed, but by experiencing the revised Rites in the worship of the Congress.²⁴⁸

Hallam was not the only one impressed. Following the Christmas 1953 meeting at which the Committee had first received Carrington's Memorandum, the next consideration of the Eucharist was on April 29, 1954. It was a tense and contradictory meeting as may be inferred from a letter subsequently sent to the Bishop by one member, warning of a reactionary and divisive spirit coming into the Committee.²⁴⁹ By contrast the meeting of the General Committee two months after the Congress was noteworthy for the uncharacteristically large and significant number of changes introduced

²⁴⁷ The Right Rev. William T. Hallam, Draft of a letter to the Rev. Roland F. Palmer, on the subject of the Prayer of Consecration, dated "after September/before Toronto meeting 1954," now with the Armitage Papers in Wycliffe College, Toronto, Ont.

²⁴⁸ cf. Anglican Congress 1954, p. 231-237.

²⁴⁹ The Rev. Canon W.H. Davison, Letter to the Right Rev. W.T. Hallam, on the subject of division in the Central Revision Sub-Committee, dated October 11, 1954, now with the Armitage Papers at Wycliffe College, Toronto, Ont.

and approved.²⁵⁰ A long road lay ahead still, but now there was confidence as among travelers who with a sigh of relief realize they have gotten back on the right road and can get on with their journey.

Archbishop Carrington's Address to the Anglican Congress had stated a thesis about the nature of the Book of Common Prayer, and some consequent hypotheses concerning its revision. In the light of this the Memorandum appears to be a delineation of some of the concrete implications of these hypotheses. But, since the Memorandum preceded the Address by eight months, the question is: how much of Carrington's thesis was a conscious part of the Memorandum.

As his reply to the 1938 Questionnaire showed, and the Report he authored for Lambeth in 1948*, none of it was foreign to the Archbishop's way of thinking, and the contents of the Memorandum might simply have been a product of his past thought and current reading. However, the indications are that the Memorandum was, if not an outcome of the

²⁵⁰ Minute Book C. p. 191-205. The items dealt with range from troublesome ones such as the Decologue, Summary, and Kyrie, to those of great impact such as the Prayer of Consecration, the Pax and the Thanksgiving after Communion.

* See above, p. 73.

thesis on Anglican Structure, then, at least, a parallel development with it.²⁵¹

The Congress had been initiated at the Lambeth Conference of 1948. By the spring of 1952 planning was sufficiently advanced that administrative personnel were in place, and the topics agreed on. In June a Memorandum went out to the representatives in each branch of the Anglican Communion setting forth the topics and the themes within each topic on which lectures were required. The first topic was "Our Vocation" and one of the theme addresses was "The Structure of the Anglican Communion."²⁵²

It is quite possible that Carrington would soon have known the contents of this Memorandum. The Canadian representative was the Very Rev. R.S.K. Seeley, Provost of Trinity College and a member of the Central Revision Subcommittee. True enough Seeley was not at the Committee meetings, but Dr. Cosgrave, the former Provost, still at Trinity, was, and also Dr. Armitage was just across Hoskin Avenue at Wycliffe College.

²⁵¹ The evidence is admittedly circumstantial. Carrington's papers dealing with the revision of the Prayer Book are not in the General Synod Archives nor, apparently, those of the Diocese of Quebec. If still extant they seem to be lost. The evidence available, however, is convincing.

²⁵² The Right Rev. Thomas N. Caruthers, "Memorandum To Representatives of the Branches of the Anglican Communion", dated June 9, 1952, now in the Archives of the Church Historical Society, Austin, Texas.

The local representatives of the Editorial Committee were asked to submit the names of speakers for each theme; speakers who could best present the material. Carrington was nominated as a speaker in September 1952 on the theme of the Organization and Methods of the Church.²⁵³ However, due to a re-organization of the topic he was re-assigned to the related theme of Structure three months later.²⁵⁴ This was finalized shortly thereafter.²⁵⁵ Thus, at the beginning of 1953, Carrington knew his topic and presumably began preparing it. At about the same time, with reaction to the 1952 Rite already becoming apparent, Hallam designated the meeting of the Committee in February 1954 as the time when the Eucharist would next be discussed. Knowing this, Carrington, as he worked on his paper for the Congress, and as he heard the critics of the 1952 Rite, prepared his Memorandum for that February Meeting.

253 "Suggestions Made At The Meeting of the Program Committee in Boston," dated September 11, 1952, now in the Archives of the Church Historical Society, Austin, Texas.

254 "Memorandum to Program Committee of Anglican Congress," dated December 20, 1952, now in the Archives of the Church Historical Society, Austin, Texas.

255 The Right Rev. Thomas N. Carruthers, Letter to The Right Rev. Henry Knox Sherrill, Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church, on the subject of speakers for the Anglican Congress, dated March 6, 1953, now in the Archives of the Church Historical Society, Austin, Texas. "We have three speakers for the presentation of the first topic ... Our Vocation ... signed up: The Bishop of London, the Archbishop of Quebec, and the Rev. Prof. James Hickenbotham of the Theological School of the University of the Gold Coast."

In summary then, four observations may be made about the Carrington Memorandum and its influence on the Canadian revision. To begin with, Carrington was an historian and his thoughts about the Prayer Book developed in the context of an awareness of the Church's historical position in the world. At the Lambeth Conference of 1948 the crucial nature of this position was made clear, and, as well, the necessity of taking steps to meet the challenges which the post-war world presented. As this Conference led to the Congress, so too it was the seed-bed of Carrington's thoughts on the Book of Common Prayer. The ideas he expressed at Minneapolis were not new, but, rather, the fruition of his earlier thinking and experience. And furthermore, this thinking, was, as shown by the speeches of Shepherd and Dunlop, very much in the mainstream of the Church's consensus on the role of the Prayer Book. Finally, the timing of his invitation to address the Congress makes it quite possible, and even likely, that the Memorandum developed in parallel with his speech.

The Memorandum then was not a list of suggestions opportunistically conceived to win approval where 1952 had failed. It was a guide-post pointing the way; a plan of approach to the problem of revision based on soundly thought-out and widely-held ideas about the place and role of the Book of Common Prayer in Anglicanism. It was a statement of principles designed to keep the Canadian

Church within the framework of on-going revision in the world-wide Church while at the same time contributing to the process, and avoiding what its revision threatened to become at the end of 1953 - a provincial reaction to local pressures.

THE CARRINGTON MEMORANDUM AND
THE CHANGES IN THE 1952 RITE

Between 1952 when a revised Liturgy was made public and 1959 when it took its final form a large number of changes took place. Some of these were more significant than others; some were more noticeable than others; many had been suggested by one or more of the critics of 1952; but virtually all were influenced by suggestions made by Archbishop Carrington in his Memorandum to the Central Revision Sub-Committee.

A number of the changes came directly from some recommendation made in the Memorandum, but most of them, while based on his suggestions, were developed out of the policy set forth therein and at the Congress. All these changes, for example, fulfill the aim of bringing the Canadian revision into the mainstream of Anglican liturgical practise from the separate and unique position created for it by the 1952 Rite. An interesting phenomenon within this trend, which does not however deflect it from the over-all goal, is to be found in the inclusion of some features which, while unique to the Canadian liturgy, were also personal contributions of the Archbishop. These as much as the over-all direction given to the revision indicate the degree of influence the Archbishop had on the work in Canada.

A minor change in the Liturgy, and yet one that did much to make the 1952 Rite distinctive, was the greeting between priest and people with which the service might be opened.²⁵⁶ It was a small thing; innocent, desirable even when considered logically, certainly not the brunt of major criticism. And yet it seemed out of place: unwelcome. When the Committee met in December 1953 they tried replacing it with the smoothly familiar,

The Lord be with you;
And with thy spirit.²⁵⁷

But that was not satisfactory either. Carrington seemed to understand that the difficulty lay not with the wording, but with the inclusion at all of an element that belonged to a different genre of liturgy, and in a section of his Memorandum entitled "Little Salutations and Admonitions" averred that Anglicans generally were not likely to welcome "the multiplication of these features."²⁵⁸ It was subsequently dropped altogether.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁶ The Green Book, p. 3.

²⁵⁷ Minute Book C, p. 37.

²⁵⁸ Memorandum, p. 8. At this time Anglican liturgies were of the medieval type: congregational participation was minimal; listening, reading, and watching were maximized. Direct involvement of the congregation in doing the Liturgy as in the Primitive type was as yet unknown outside the pioneering parishes of the Liturgical Movement.

²⁵⁹ cf. The Book of Common Prayer 1959 Canada, p. 67. There is no entry in the Minutes recording this change, but in the Draft Prayer Book of 1955 the greeting is gone.

Thus the next draft of the Rite left the commencement of the Liturgy as it had been since 1662 with the prayers of the priest at the foot of the altar; still an unsatisfactory beginning in the eyes of many.²⁶⁰ In the end, although the greeting was not restored, its place was filled, in the mode proper to Western liturgies, by the provision of entrance psalms.

The 1952 Rite in failing to have made provision for the use of psalms (and in shortening some of the Ten Commandments) had continued what Carrington called "the stupid hostility to the Old Testament..."²⁶¹ Psalmody, he noted, "was certainly a feature of the primitive liturgy"²⁶² and with the increasing emphasis on the Eucharist the provision of psalms only for the daily offices meant that congregations were becoming unfamiliar with them. He recommended the systematic provision of psalms for optional use.²⁶³

The matter was discussed by the Committee at its spring meeting in 1956²⁶⁴ and the following September the General Committee approved a Table of Psalms "at the

²⁶⁰ Draft Prayer Book Canada 1955, p. 67.

²⁶¹ Memorandum, p. 1.

²⁶² *ibid.* p. 2.

²⁶³ *ibid.* p. 2.

²⁶⁴ Minute Book I, p. 43.

Eucharist for Optional Use."²⁶⁵ Rubrical direction was subsequently provided for Introits²⁶⁶ and Graduals.²⁶⁷

An Introit (See pages 1 to liv) may be sung or said as the Priest proceeds to the holy Table.²⁶⁸

Here may follow a Psalm (see pages 1 to liv) or a Hymn.²⁶⁹

The Decalogue had been trimmed in 1952 by shortening the second, fourth and tenth commandments.²⁷⁰ As a result of which, Carrington noted with some asperity, the tenth commandment, stating simply "Thou shalt not covet", both contradicted St. Paul²⁷¹ and ignored the social context which alone gave it meaning. "The Ten Commandments, like the Shema," he wrote, "are Hebrew liturgical texts which passed directly into the apostolic church as fundamental formulas, with sanction from our Lord."²⁷² They were good liturgy furthermore, since they recollected the first Covenant, the common heritage of Jews and Christians alike.

²⁶⁵ *ibid.* p. 54.

²⁶⁶ *ibid.* p. 109.

²⁶⁷ *ibid.* p. 336.

²⁶⁸ The Book of Common Prayer 1959 Canada, p. 67.

²⁶⁹ *ibid.* p. 70.

²⁷⁰ Green Book, p. 3.

²⁷¹ I Corinthians 12:31 and 14:39, (King James' Version).

²⁷² Memorandum, p. 1.

They should be kept in full and their Hebrew character emphasized.

Many comments had been received by the Committee urging that greater place be given the Old Testament in the Liturgy,²⁷³ and the Committee had already moved at the Christmas meeting of 1953 to restore the Commandments in their entirety.²⁷⁴ Subsequent changes went further to bring out their Hebrew character,²⁷⁵ but the difficulty of their length, which had led to the shortened version, remained a matter of concern.²⁷⁶ As it appeared in the 1959 Prayer Book, the Decalogue could be emphasized or not as the individual priest chose.

²⁷³ Most commentators though had in mind a series of readings from the Old Testament and not a re-emphasis of the Decalogue. Carrington does not mention lessons from the Old Testament. He himself was leading a sub-committee in the preparation of Collects, Epistles and Gospels for the Liturgy, but appears to have depended largely on the work of a current English group which did not include a third reading in its choices.

²⁷⁴ Minute Book C, p. 37.

²⁷⁵ *ibid.* pp. 59 and 91.

²⁷⁶ *ibid.* p. 193. A rubrical change was approved which would allow the "commentary" in the second and fourth commands to be omitted. Also the return to the 1918 formula allowed their use to be minimized to once a month.

Then shall the Priest, facing the people, rehearse the TEN COMMANDMENTS or else the Two Great Commandments of the Law. The Ten Commandments shall always be read at least once in each month on a Sunday at the chief Service of the day.

It shall suffice to read the first paragraph of the Second and of the Fourth Commandment.

The people, still kneeling, shall after every Commandment sing or say the Kyrie, asking God's mercy for their transgressions in the past, and grace to keep his laws in time to come.

Minister.

HEAR the Law of God which was given to Israel in old time. God spake these words and said: I am the Lord thy God; Thou shalt have none other gods but me.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister. Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them.

For I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, and visit the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, and show mercy unto thousands in them that love me and keep my commandments.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister. Thou shalt not take the Name of the Lord thy God in vain: for the Lord will not hold him guiltless, that taketh his Name in vain.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister. Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath day. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all that thou hast to do; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God.

In it thou shalt do no manner of work, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, thy man-servant, and thy maid-servant, thy cattle, and the stranger that is within thy gates. For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister. Honour thy father and thy mother; that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister. Thou shalt do no murder.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister. Thou shalt not commit adultery.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister. Thou shalt not steal.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife nor his servant, nor his maid, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is his.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and write all these thy laws in our hearts, we beseech thee.²⁷⁷

One of the elements of the 1952 Rite which had attracted popular attention was the so-called "New Commandment" added to the Decalogue.²⁷⁸ It had, as well, attracted much criticism, and was one of the oddities which Carrington recommended be "objectively reconsidered."²⁷⁹ The retraction of such an injunction from a list of Christian imperatives was a delicate matter, but clearly the Committee recognized that its inclusion at this point was inappropriate.

²⁷⁷ Book of Common Prayer 1959 Canada, pp. 67-69.

²⁷⁸ Green Book, p. 3, based on St. John 13:34.

²⁷⁹ Memorandum, p. 8.

The first move was to separate it from the Decalogue by a short space,²⁸⁰ in which form it was printed in the Draft Book of 1955.²⁸¹ This did not resolve the real criticism, that its addition to the Decalogue was both theologically and liturgically anomalous, but by the spring of 1956 controversy over the Prayer of Consecration far overshadowed the "New Commandment" and it was first dropped,²⁸² then picked up again as an Offertory sentence for Maundy Thursday.²⁸³

Maundy Thursday. Our Lord Jesus Christ saith:
A new commandment I give unto you, that ye
love one another; even as I have loved you,
that ye also love one another. St. John 13:34.²⁸⁴

As an alternative to rehearsing the Decalogue the first Canadian revision had provided verses from St. Matthew's Gospel in which Christ "summed up" the Commandments.²⁸⁵ The change made in the wording of the Summary in the 1952 Rite had indicated the Jewish origin of the text,²⁸⁶

²⁸⁰ Minute Book C, p. 37 and 59.

²⁸¹ Draft Prayer Book Canada 1955, p. 69.

²⁸² Minute Book I, p. 43.

²⁸³ Minute Book III, p. 425.

²⁸⁴ Book of Common Prayer 1959 Canada, p. 73.

²⁸⁵ Matthew 22:37f.

²⁸⁶ Green Book, p. 4. This is based on form found in Mark 12:29f.

but Carrington, with his historical awareness of the sources of Christian liturgy,²⁸⁷ wished the derivation to be emphasized. "The Jewish character of the 'Shema'" he wrote, "...should also be perfectly clear."²⁸⁸ And it was, of course a Jewish summation of its injunctions which was the logical alternative to the Hebrew Decalogue. But within the Committee now another view seems to have taken shape which held that "alternative" meant a "Christian" statement in place of a Hebrew statement; a new covenant parallel to that of the old covenant. A long debate ensued over the form.

At Christmas 1953 Fr. Palmer had moved a form of the Summary like that of St. Mark, but which by including the textual referents, clearly showed that Christ was quoting the sixth chapter of Deuteronomy and Leviticus 19.²⁸⁹ At the spring and fall meetings of 1954 further motions introduced the New Testament comments of St. Mark and St. Matthew warranting that these were indeed the summation of the Torah.²⁹⁰ And finally, in the spring of 1956 a Report was presented which would have broken the Summary into two

²⁸⁷ Memorandum, p. 1. "Actually Christian liturgy is simply Hebrew liturgy with the gospel."

²⁸⁸ *ibid.* p. 2

²⁸⁹ Minute Book C, p. 37.

²⁹⁰ *ibid.* pp. 59 and 193.

commandments with a response after each, followed by the "New Commandment" and a final response. The textual references identifying the Old Testament sources of the first two commandments were deleted. This Report was adopted.²⁹¹ But the attempt to produce a Christian "Trilogue" as an alternative to the Hebrew Decalogue was seen by a number of Committee members to be fraught with difficulties, and the final solution was to return to a form very like Palmer's original motion which did, as Carrington desired, make apparent that the Christian Summary was derived from the Jewish Shema.²⁹²

OUR Lord Jesus Christ said: Hear O Israel, The Lord our God is one Lord; and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it; Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hand all the Law and the Prophets.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and write both these thy laws in our hearts, we beseech thee.²⁹³

An intriguing question was raised in connection with the Offertory. In the 1952 Rite a blessing derived from I Chronicles was provided for optional use with the offering of the elements.²⁹⁴ With reference to this Carrington noted

²⁹¹ Minute Book I, p. 43.

²⁹² Minute Book II, p. 302.

²⁹³ Book of Common Prayer 1959 Canada, p. 69f.

²⁹⁴ Green Book, p. 6.

that he personally agreed with the "many" who thought a short prayer would be better at this point.²⁹⁵ And, he went on to draw attention to the fact that "if ancient liturgical precedent is to be considered, the Offertory should come after the Church Militant Prayer." But, he concluded, "I do not think this can be done."²⁹⁶

In the years following, the blessing was considered only once and then simply to clarify the way it would be printed.²⁹⁷ In spite of Carrington's personal inclination, the support of the "many", and the influence of Queen Elizabeth II's Coronation service in which such a prayer was used, the issue seems never to have arisen. Perhaps the reason for this is that the main point being made here in the Memorandum was about the position in the Rite of the Offertory itself, and, since Carrington felt that nothing could be done about that, he simply let the lesser matter go. As will be seen in the case of the position of the Lord's Prayer, he could press a point when he chose.

In line with his concept of the role of the liturgy in the world-wide Church, it will be noted that the effect of the recommendations in the Memorandum is to replace

²⁹⁵ Memorandum, p. 2.

²⁹⁶ *ibid.* p. 2.

²⁹⁷ Minute Book C, p. 37. Two minor changes occur subsequently in the way the verses of I Chronicles 29: are printed, but neither is recorded in the Minutes.

almost all the features which had made the 1952 Rite unique. Among the exceptions one remarkable one was the series of biddings which introduced the Intercession.²⁹⁸ These, written originally by Carrington himself,²⁹⁹ remained untouched, including the final four words of the last bidding which irritated many theologians but of which the Archbishop was particularly fond.³⁰⁰

In fairness though to Archbishop Carrington two things should be noted at this point. To have changed the position of the Offertory would have set the Canadian Church apart from other Anglican liturgies in a very significant way, and thus, too, would have violated the first two points of his own general policy.³⁰¹ Here, and perhaps at other points as well, Carrington was willing to defer from what was "correct" to what was appropriate to the time and place. And secondly, the items of his own which Carrington did promote and which were unique to Canada were neither highly

²⁹⁸ Green Book, p. 6.

²⁹⁹ Palmer Interview.

³⁰⁰ "Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth." The last four words were added by Cranmer in 1552 allegedly to forestall any intercession for the departed. After 1952 the only change in the bidding was to drop the explanatory clause from the end of the first bidding. Minute Book I, p. 45.

³⁰¹ Memorandum, p. 1.

significant liturgically nor disturbing in use. For example, printing a number of biddings at the head of the Intercession was unique to the Canadian Rite, but it was common practise for this to be done verbally.

A much more generally sensitive matter was the greater recognition which many desired for the Communion of Saints in the Intercession, and the wish to pray for souls of the departed. This was not just a matter of theology. After two devastating world wars, Reformation traditions putting the latter beyond thought simply had to make way for contemporary pastoral need, and as for the former, if disillusioned hearts were to find any heroes in the mid-twentieth century they would be readier, it was thought, to look to hagiography than to humanism.³⁰²

The 1952 Rite had been subject to much criticism for failing to move on this matter as other revisions had done.³⁰³ Carrington's recommendation was cautious: "A little more than we have suggested would be better," but, "...the verbose clauses of 1928 should be avoided."³⁰⁴ And just such a motion had been made by Palmer and Seaborn, then

³⁰² In 1954 the concept of the anti-hero was still below the general surface. Christopher Fry was one who set a tone of resurgent faith and hope before the wave of "angry young men" (Bates, Sillitoe, Koningsburer, et al.) swept all before them.

³⁰³ Wigan, op. cit. pp. 46-47, 67, 76-77, 86-87, 120-121.

³⁰⁴ Memorandum, p. 2.

Dean of Carrington's cathedral, at the Christmas meeting of 1953.³⁰⁵ On the basis of reaction to the Draft Book of 1955 this was subsequently modified by omitting a direct reference to saints³⁰⁶ but otherwise the only changes that took place were to clarify the wording of the statement.³⁰⁷

We remember before thee, O Lord, all thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fear; and we bless thy holy Name for all who in life and death have glorified thee; beseeching thee to give us grace that, rejoicing in their fellowship, we may follow their good examples, and with them be partakers of thy heavenly kingdom.³⁰⁸

In the 1952 Rite the penitential preparation, consisting of an Invitation, General Confession, Absolution, and the "Comfortable Words" had been left in its 1552 position. But the Confession had been changed by the omission of references to God's just wrath at human sin and the intolerable burden which sin placed on man. In this, as in many other points, the Canadian Rite had been unique among Anglican liturgies.³⁰⁹ However, in his Memorandum

³⁰⁵ Minute Book C, p. 37.

³⁰⁶ Minute Book I, p. 45.

³⁰⁷ Minute Book I, pp. 45, 55 and 73.

³⁰⁸ Book of Common Prayer 1959 Canada, p. 76.

³⁰⁹ Wigan, op. cit. pp. 48, 57, 67, 77, 121, and 127. The other major exceptions to the use of the 1662 confession were the Bombay Liturgy which virtually assumes the practise of private confession, and the Liturgy of Ceylon which removes the clauses and also puts the act at the beginning of the Rite.

Carrington observed: "We did well on this,"³¹⁰ and passed on to object to its being moved to any other point in the Rite. Subsequently no further change in wording took place in spite of a determined effort by some Committee members in 1956 to restore the excised phrases.³¹¹ Again, as with the Biddings, although the change was virtually unique to Canada it was one introduced by Carrington himself when the Eucharist was first considered, and he maintained it subsequently.³¹²

There is a note in the Memorandum that the Archbishop had been asked to suggest two changes in the Comfortable Words, and he did so briefly. But his own feelings were that these phrases as they stood represented the evangelical element of the Eucharist at its best.³¹³ No action was ever taken on the matter.

The major item of contention in the 1952 Rite had been the eucharistic action at the heart of the Liturgy, and now, as before, it was given long and careful consideration.

The opening exchange in the dialogue with which the 1952 Canon began, in effect the Pax, had been one of the features which most notably set the Canadian Rite apart from

³¹⁰ Memorandum, p. 2f.

³¹¹ Minute Book I, p. 48.

³¹² Minute Book B, p. 179 and 211.

³¹³ Memorandum, p. 3.

other liturgies. Along with the salutation beginning the Synaxis, Carrington felt this should be "objectively reconsidered."³¹⁴ His own preference was to put the Pax in its traditional position at the end of the Canon.³¹⁵

The Committee moved quickly to restore the traditional greeting to the opening dialogue³¹⁶ but after some delay left the matter of the Pax to the General Committee.³¹⁷ When this body met after the Congress it agreed to include the Pax and appears to have taken for granted that it should, as in other Rites, follow the Prayer of Consecration.³¹⁸

"I still plead," wrote Carrington, noting that the Preface, now much reduced, had in earlier times been the opening statement of the Canon, blessing God for his mighty acts in creation and history; "I still plead for an optional 'Special Preface' for any Sunday, such as 'We bless thee for our creation, preservation, and all the blessings of this life; but above all for thine inestimable love in the

³¹⁴ Memorandum, p. 8.

³¹⁵ *ibid.* p. 4.

³¹⁶ Minute Book C, p. 37.

³¹⁷ *ibid.* p. 69.

³¹⁸ *ibid.* p. 201. cf. Wigan, *op. cit.* pp. 47, 70, 89, 108, 134, and Prayer Book Studies, Vol. IV, p. 334.

redemption of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ: Therefore with angels etc."³¹⁹

Liturgically, of course, Carrington was quite correct, but only three other Anglican liturgies had such a preface,³²⁰ and the Committee was not in haste to act on the request so nothing was done for a number of years. The matter must have been discussed however, for when action finally was taken it was in the form of a compromise, avoiding the Special Preface idea, but adding the words "Creator, and Preserver of all things" to the Vere dignum.³²¹

It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty, Everlasting God, Creator and Preserver of all things.³²²

A common feature in almost all the revised liturgies of the Anglican Communion was the "Benedictus qui venit" removed in 1552 on the grounds that it might support the

³¹⁹ Memorandum, p. 3. The quotation is from "A General Thanksgiving," Book of Common Prayer 1959 Canada, p. 14.

³²⁰ The Proposed Liturgy of 1928 and as well those of Ceylon and South Africa had special Prefaces for any Sunday though they did not fulfill the function Carrington had in mind. Wigan, op. cit. p. 229.

³²¹ Minute Book I, p. 105.

³²² Book of Common Prayer 1959 Canada, p. 78.

doctrine of the corporeal presence of Christ in the Sacrament. "I am sure I do not know why we failed to restore it", wrote Carrington, noting that it was certainly apostolic.³²³ It was also in wide use, having never been removed from the commonly used musical setting of the liturgy. At Christmas 1953 a motion was put allowing it as an option after the Sanctus.³²⁴ Subsequent to that the only further change was a resolution put by Dean Seaborn and Fr. Palmer to allow its use, if wished, immediately before the Communion³²⁵ which Carrington thought had been its original position.³²⁶ Thus it entered the 1959 Rite.

Either here, or immediately before the Communion, the Priest and people may say or sing:

BLESSED is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord; Hosanna in the highest.³²⁷

Revision of the Prayer of Consecration had been the major task of the Committee preparing the 1952 Rite. In

³²³ Memorandum, p. 3.

³²⁴ Minute Book C, p. 37. "It is understood that the Benedictus QV placed in this position is in relation to the Service as a whole." This note added by the Secretary to the Minutes indicates that a number of the Committee could have answered the Archbishop's question for him.

³²⁵ Minute Book I, p. 105.

³²⁶ Memorandum, p. 3.

³²⁷ Book of Common Prayer 1959 Canada, p. 81.

the criticism which followed it had also been the chief element under attack, and from 1953 on was the prime concern of the Committee.

Carrington's Memorandum gave it careful treatment.³²⁸ He began by delineating the two Anglican traditions; that of 1549 from which came the Prayer in the liturgies of Scotland, America, South Arrica and others; and that of 1552 which was the source of the current English, Irish, Canadian, Australian and New Zealand prayers. The basic question was whether Canada should change from the 1552 model to that of 1549.

The Archbishop went on to discuss the faults of the 1549 model (in particular the epiclesis³²⁹), and the advantages of the 1552. He felt a reasonable policy called for an anamnesis, some form of oblation ("a clause which in some way or another mentions the bread and wine in connection with the holy action of the service, ..."), and a

³²⁸ Memorandum, p. 3-6 and 8-9.

³²⁹ *ibid.* p. 3. "The idea of the essentiality of a long consecratory prayer or 'Canon' built upon a theology of how the consecration is effected, cannot possibly be regarded as early or 'primitive'. This applies with special force to the question of the 'epiclesis' or invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the elements, which some theologians regard as vital. The early Christians do not seem to have listened to prayers of this description."

doxology.³³⁰ But this could not be accomplished, he noted, simply by adding the so-called Prayer of Oblation³³¹ to the Prayer of Consecration, as had long been done in British Columbia. The Prayer lacked an anamnesis, intruded a self-oblation into the offering of the oblation of Christ, and in any case was too lengthy. His solution was to present two models based on the Prayer of Oblation but omitting the self-offering elements; one model structured on the lines of 1549 and the other on those of 1552.³³²

At their meeting in the spring of 1954 the Committee accepted in principle the proposals made by Carrington³³³

³³⁰ *ibid.* p. 4.

³³¹ Book of Common Prayer Canada 1918, p. 287.

³³² cf. Massey H. Shepherd Jr. "Our Anglican Understanding of Corporate Worship" Anglican Congress 1954 p. 78-83. Shepherd comments that "the basic difference between the two types of Eucharistic liturgy is centered in the Oblation, whether it is made before or after communion." He notes that in 1552 Cranmer removed a specific reference to an Offertory of bread and wine and placed the Prayer of Oblation after communion "to make more clear his notion that the Church cannot offer any sacrifice to God except the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving;" and even this only after receiving Christ in Holy Communion. By adding, after the words in the 1549 Prayer of Consecration "these thy holy gifts" the phrase "which we now offer unto thee" the inclusion of the Eucharistic elements in the Eucharistic sacrifice, and hence the concept of a material involvement in the Oblation of Christ, was made explicit. Added by the Non-Jurors to the Scottish liturgy the phrase had since been part of that model.

³³³ Minute Book C, p. 69.

and then after study adopted his 1552 model.³³⁴ Next fall, however, after the Congress, at the meeting of the General Committee, a Report on the Prayer of Consecration was presented by Archbishop Clark which made extensive changes in wording after the fashion of other revised Anglican liturgies, and moved to the 1549 model with a clearly worded oblation of the elements³³⁵ and a form of epiclesis.³³⁶ With some minor changes in phrasing the Prayer appeared thus in the Draft Prayer Book of 1955.³³⁷

Having been approved first by the General Committee and then by the General Synod, it is doubtful that any further change was contemplated in the Prayer of

³³⁴ *ibid.* p. 71.

³³⁵ *ibid.* p. 197. "And looking for his coming again (in power and great glory), we present unto thy divine Majesty this holy Bread of eternal life and Cup of everlasting salvation."

³³⁶ *ibid.* p. 197. "And we humbly beseech thee, that by an inspiration of the Holy Spirit, all we who are partakers of this holy communion, may be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction through Jesus Christ our Lord,..."

³³⁷ Draft Prayer Book 1955, p. 81-82.

Consecration. But then, unexpectedly, strong objections were raised by Low Churchmen over the wording of the oblation.³³⁸

At the first meeting of the Committee in 1956 a new draft of the anamnesis and oblation, based on suggestions by Carrington, was accepted for study³³⁹ and after further changes adopted.³⁴⁰ The new paragraph in the Prayer of Consecration now had its final form; clearly of the 1552 school.

Wherefore, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth we thy humble servants, with all thy holy Church, remembering the precious death of thy beloved Son, his mighty resurrection, and glorious ascension, and looking for his coming again in glory, do make before thee, in this sacrament of the holy Bread of eternal life and the Cup of everlasting salvation, the memorial which he hath commanded; And we entirely desire thy fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, most humbly beseeching thee to grant, that by the merits and death of thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in his blood, we and all thy whole Church may obtain

³³⁸ "And looking for his coming again in glory, we present unto thy divine Majesty this holy Bread of eternal life and this Cup of everlasting salvation, ..." Draft Prayer Book Canada 1955, p. 82 cf. Alfred Abraham, "The Prayer Book Scrutinized", The Canadian Churchman, Vol. 83, nos. 3 and 4, February 2 and 16, 1956, pp. 55-82. R.S. Dean "The Draft Prayer Book - A Comment", The Canadian Churchman, Vol. 83, no. 9, May 3, 1956, p. 201-205.

³³⁹ Minute Book I, p. 15.

³⁴⁰ *ibid.* p. 30.

remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his passion; And we pray that by the power of thy Holy Spirit, all we who are partakers of this holy Communion may be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction; through Jesus Christ our Lord, by whom and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, world without end.³⁴¹

Carrington's strong recommendation of the "Benedictus qui venit" raised the issue of including too the "Agnus Dei". Like the Benedictus it had been removed from the 1552 Prayer Book but left untouched in Merbecke's music for the Liturgy. But that it should likewise be restored wrote Carrington, foreseeing the inevitable, did not follow at all. "The Agnus Dei is a twelfth-century addition to the Latin rite, and ... could well be left to priests or organists as a choir feature if so desired."³⁴² When the request came the Committee were in agreement that the Agnus Dei "shall not be introduced into this form".³⁴³

This rather tentative denial however smacked more of adherence to Carrington than of conviction on the part of the Committee, and it is not surprising to find them

³⁴¹ Book of Common Prayer 1959 Canada, p. 82-83.

³⁴² Memorandum, p. 3.

³⁴³ Minute Book C, p. 73.

willing to reconsider.³⁴⁴ The "Agnus Dei" was finally accepted as an optional feature for use very much in the way Carrington had suggested,³⁴⁵ and appeared thus in the new Prayer Book.

In the Communion time, Hymns or Anthems such as the following may be used:

O LAMB of God, that takest away the sin of the world, have mercy upon us.

O Lamb of God, that takest away the sin of the world, have mercy upon us.

O Lamb of God, that takest away the sin of the world, grant us thy peace.³⁴⁶

A much more contentious issue was the place of the Lord's Prayer in the Canon. In 1552 Cranmer had placed it after Communion, and there it remained in the 1952 Rite.³⁴⁷ In this case it was failure to act which had made the Canadian Rite exceptional among revised Anglican liturgies, and strong recommendations were made for the return of the Prayer to its traditional place at the end of the Prayer of Consecration.

³⁴⁴ Minute Book II, p. 151. A successful motion by Armitage and Palmer to print the Agnus Dei at the end of the Liturgy as a permissive anthem indicated that no essential opposition existed to this popular devotion.

³⁴⁵ *ibid.* p. 304.

³⁴⁶ Book of Common Prayer 1959 Canada, p. 84.

³⁴⁷ Green Book, p. 10.

Carrington, of course, having opted for the 1552 model of the Canon, was unlikely to be sympathetic. "The idea," he wrote, "that this is the proper place for the Our Father is of course an unsound generalization of the older liturgiologists, who relied unduly on statements of Chrysostum, Augustine, and Gregory."³⁴⁸ With the addition of St. Cyril of Jerusalem to this list of witnesses it is almost as if the Archbishop had swayed himself. "There is," he adds, "much to be said for placing it here..." But he would agree to the change only if the Prayer of Humble Access were to be said by the Priest alone, in which case the Our Father would prove useful in breaking the long sacerdotal monologue. A faint recommendation! There was little likelihood of the Prayer of Humble Access being said by the priest alone, and less of the Lord's Prayer being moved for such a reason.

In the spring of 1954 when the place of the Our Father was first considered the Committee was unanimous that it remain after Communion.³⁴⁹ However, several key members, including Fr. Palmer, were absent from this meeting, and Palmer at least did not agree with the

³⁴⁸ Memorandum, p. 6.

³⁴⁹ Minute Book C, p. 73.

decision.³⁵⁰ At the meeting of the General Committee in the fall he tried to reverse it, but in this and in other attempts over the next three years, he was unsuccessful.³⁵¹ In fact Palmer stood virtually alone. When he could get his motions seconded at all only two members voted with him, and finally the Committee ended the matter by overwhelmingly upholding their original decision to support Carrington's recommendation.

Theological fitness, the precedent of every other current Anglican revision,³⁵² the desire of a large part of the Canadian Church;³⁵³ all were to no avail: the Prayer Book of 1959 retained the Lord's Prayer as the first act of thanksgiving after Communion.

³⁵⁰ The Rev. Roland F. Palmer, Letter to The Right Rev. William T. Hallam on the subject of the Canon, dated August 1, 1954, now with the Armitage Papers, Wycliffe College, Toronto, Ont. Dr. Carrington "is overpowering at times, and pushes us to decisions against our better judgement. I think this has been so in the matter of the Lord's Prayer. A place before Communion is almost universal, ..."

³⁵¹ Minute Book C, p. 201. cf. also Minute Book I, p. 105 and 106, Minute Book II, p. 302, Minute Book III, p. 393.

³⁵² Wigan, op. cit. pp. 47, 59, 70, 80, 89, 107, 124 and 134.

³⁵³ cf. above p. 81.

When all have communicated, then shall the Priest say the Lord's Prayer, the people repeating with him every petition.

Let us pray.

OUR Father who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name, Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread; And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive them that trespass against us; And lead us not into temptation, But deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, For ever and ever. Amen.³⁵⁴

The second act was the Prayer of Thanksgiving. It had come into the 1662 Rite unchanged from the Second Prayer Book of 1552, and had continued to be used with little if any change in the various revisions since then. The 1952 Canadian Rite left it unchanged as well, to no one's great consternation. But now it was to be altered significantly. This seemed to go against the principle of bringing the Canadian Liturgy into line with the others, but a change here would not have a high profile and, as in other similar cases, it was a change promoted by Carrington. It had, as well, the effect of reinforcing the 1552 theology of oblation.³⁵⁵

In formulating a new third paragraph for the Prayer of Consecration, Carrington had begun on the assumption

³⁵⁴ Book of Common Prayer 1959 Canada, p. 85.

³⁵⁵ cf. above (this chapter p. 17) fn 1.

that the element of self-oblation in the old Prayer of Oblation should be transferred to the Prayer of Thanksgiving after Communion.³⁵⁶ In order to accomplish this he had suggested a form that the prayer might take.³⁵⁷ With a few changes in wording this was adopted by the Committee in the spring of 1954.³⁵⁸ Subsequent changes restored a wording in the first paragraph closer to that of the common form³⁵⁹ and a theology closer to that of the 1549 Prayer,³⁶⁰ but the inclusion of the element of self-oblation remained in all the forms.

Then shall the Priest say
 ALMIGHTY and everliving God, we most heartily thank thee that thou dost graciously feed us, in these holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious Body and Blood of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ; assuring us thereby of thy favour and goodness towards us; and that we are living members of his mystical body, which is the blessed company of all faithful people; and are also heirs through hope of thy everlasting kingdom.

³⁵⁶ Memorandum, p. 5. The origin of this device is the form used in A New Prayer Book: proposals for the revision of the Book of Common Prayer and for additional services and prayers, drawn up by a Group of Clergy, together with a forward by William Temple, D. Litt, Bishop of Manchester. Part I The Order of Holy Communion. I. The Office. (London, 1923), p. 17.

³⁵⁷ *ibid.* p. 7.

³⁵⁸ Minute Book C, p. 73.

³⁵⁹ Wigan, *op. cit.* p. 8.

³⁶⁰ Minute Book C, p. 201, Minute Book I, p. 106 and Minute Book II, p. 243, in which a form suggested by Dr. Crawfoot of Huron College is amended by the Committee to become the final version.

And here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice unto thee. And although we are unworthy, yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences; through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.³⁶¹

Finally, in the matter of the "Gloria in excelsis," Carrington noted that its first appearance was in the Apostolic Constitutions at the end of the Liturgy, and only later did the Latin Rite place it at the beginning "No good reason," he concluded, "can be assigned for changing its position in our rite."³⁶² Originally intended for Sundays and holy days, it might be omitted at other times, he thought.

A number of the critics of 1952 had suggested placing the Gloria at the beginning of the Rite, but if this was discussed by the Committee, the idea had no support.³⁶³ There was, however, agreement to extend the permission to omit it, allowed in the 1952 Rite on weekdays in Advent and Lent, to all ferial weekdays, as Carrington had suggested.³⁶⁴

³⁶¹ Book of Common Prayer 1959 Canada, p. 85-86.

³⁶² Memorandum, p. 7.

³⁶³ Memorandum, p. 1. All the general principles stated by Carrington would militate against such a move, in particular the last. It was a change already made by a number of High Church parishes.

³⁶⁴ Minute Book C, p. 201.

With this stipulation and in the amended form of the 1952 Rite³⁶⁵ it was printed in the new Prayer Book.

Then shall be said or sung Gloria in Excelsis. On a weekday which is not a festival it may be omitted.

GLORY be to God on high, and in earth peace, good will towards men. We praise thee, we bless thee, we worship thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks to thee for thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty.

O Lord, the only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ; O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, that takest away the sin of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sin of the world, receive our prayer. Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father, have mercy upon us.

For thou only art holy; thou only art the Lord; thou only, O Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father. Amen.³⁶⁶

There were other changes made in the Eucharistic Rite subsequent to 1952, changes not commented on in the Memorandum. Some of them were significant, such as the inclusion of an invocation in the forms for consecrating additional elements at the Communion; some, such as the addition of titles to distinguish the sections of the Liturgy, were quite noticeable, but, these notwithstanding, the major influence in the development of the Rite was the Carrington Memorandum.

³⁶⁵ Green Book, p. 10.

³⁶⁶ Book of Common Prayer 1959 Canada, p. 86.

VI

CONCLUSION

So the Liturgy of the Canadian Church was complete. At the General Synod of 1959 the Report of the General Committee was presented by Archbishop Clark and won, with the rest of the Prayer Book, resounding approval. Bickering over jots and tittles might have gone on forever, but there was a real sense that this was what the Church wanted. Carrington would normally have presented the Report himself, but now, in the absence of the Primate, he, as ranking archbishop, sat in the Chair and watched as the delegates clapped, cheered and broke into song. Sixteen years of work, the chief of it on the Eucharist, was brought to a fitting end.

He had commented on eighteen points in the Liturgy. Of these, the Collect for the Queen was as he would have it in the 1952 Rite and did not come up again for discussion. The Creed too remained as he wished it. As for the remaining sixteen matters, fourteen were eventually resolved very much in the way he had suggested. In some things, such as the opening greeting of the 1952 Rite, or the use of the "Agnus Dei" the Committee virtually adopted his suggestion. In others such as the Prayer of Consecration, they had

retained his model, but, he would have to admit, greatly enhanced the form by their own contributions. Of all the factors commented on in the Memorandum only the Offertory was not changed in accordance with his ideas, and he himself had not expected that it would have been. And then there was his plea for the extension of the "Vere dignum" after the manner of its primitive use. It had been acted on minimally and he had pressed for no more, recognising perhaps that here too the time had not yet come.

With all its changes, the Rite remained a modification of the 1662; it was founded on that. But two other documents were fundamental as well.

In the case of the 1952 Rite the Hallam-Palmer Questionnaire had been formative, and, for all its faults that Rite had made an important contribution to the final outcome. Of a score of significant changes proposed in 1952, three out of four remained a part of the final Rite; moving the long Exhortations from their interruptive place in the middle to one at the end of the Rite; the addition of Proper Prefaces for more seasons of the liturgical year; and the presentation of the elements at the Offertory, were some of them. In a similar way the Carrington Memorandum was formative of the 1959 Rite.

Such a statement is, of course, in both cases in danger of over-simplifying the facts. The Questionnaire did not limit discussion to the matters it brought up, and at

almost every point suggested two or three courses of action the Committee might take. So too in the latter case, the final Rite would have been very different if it had simply been reproduced from the Archbishop's Memorandum. Carrington was not the only one to make very significant contributions to it. The men who met in Montreal after Christmas in 1953, before the Memorandum had been received, had already begun many of the changes which gave 1959 its shape. But as the Minutes make clear, they were reacting to criticism: they had not formulated any clear-cut purpose, any positive goal to be achieved.

This was Carrington's great contribution, implied in the Memorandum, expressed at the Congress; to provide the underlying direction and motivation, the absence of which had led to much criticism in 1952. In the new world rushing to birth in the second half of the twentieth century it was necessary for the Anglican Church of Canada to be integrated into a strong family of Churches mutually identifiable by the faith and lifestyle expressed in the Prayer Book, and particularly in the Liturgy which was at its heart. It was a goal whose legitimacy all could recognize and identify with, and, in the years following, the Canadian revisers never wavered from it. In addition to this, Carrington made a second contribution by means of the general policies stated at the beginning of the Memorandum. They provided

the rationale for the Committee's day to day work. And a third level of contribution was the provision of suggestions as to how the Committee might move on specific items of the Rite. In some cases these were adopted with little change. In more the idea they embodied was maintained, but the form modified.

But when all the allowances are made for the work of others, it is still true that Carrington set out to do something and accomplished it. The Canadian Church emerged from the process of revision with a liturgy clearly of the family of revised Anglican Liturgies. It was, too, a good expression of the life of the Church in Canada at that time; 1552 in essence, but with compromises in the direction of 1549; basically conservative, making only the necessary changes, and these as smoothly as possible. Even in the Prayer of Consecration, although the presence of a third paragraph was itself novel, the language was hallowed by custom and much of the phrasing was familiar.

In its development the Rite had passed through three stages: 1952, 1955, and 1959, and these taken as a whole were in their own way a sort of probing to successive levels of the nature of the Anglican Church of Canada.

The 1952 Rite was a sample taken from the surface. The choice of "home-grown" elements over ones derived from traditional sources was, for Anglicans, an assertion of Canadian nationalism. It reflected the surge of growth and development caused by World Warr II; the self-confidence and energy of a country which had shot from a

state of semi-colonial dependence to be one of the leading industrial nations of the world. It was also a good example of the dangers foreseen at Lambeth 1948; namely of being caught up in the growth of domestic powers and capabilities to the extent that while aware of other liturgical developments these were not allowed to impinge on the Canadian process. There seemed to be no awareness of the Canadian Church as being a part of a whole which might be adversely affected by the actions of that part. However, this self-confidence and energy and freedom of action gave the 1952 Rite another characteristic as well. Looked at now, it can be seen to have been ahead of its time. The greeting at the beginning of the Rite, for example, and the spare wording of the third paragraph of the Prayer of Consecration are not of the same genre as other Rites of its day; they would fit in better today.

The 1955 Rite was a return to the traditional, and, by virtue of its Prayer of Consecration, to the 1549 type of Liturgy. In this sense it fulfilled the dreams of Bishop Williams of Quebec, Dean Shreve, Archdeacon Vroom and all the other post-1918 protagonists for revision of the Liturgy. The majority of Canadian Anglicans would probably have accepted it. But for some, at the deep level of conscience, its theology of oblation simply could not be tolerated, and once this was made clear it was modified. A high priority goal of the revisers, then, and, as the outcome of the 1955

General Synod showed, of most Churchmen, was a traditional Rite that all could use without reservation. The 1955 Rite revealed in the Canadian Church a comprehensive spirit and a desire for solidarity.

And finally, the Rite of 1959. Gregory Dix has pointed out that there are two kinds of liturgy differentiated primarily by the way they are formed: that which was the devised expression of a body of doctrine and law, and the classical type which developed secondarily over a period of time as a result of common faith and customary usage.³⁶⁷ The 1959 Rite was of the latter type: a codification of the belief and custom of Anglicans in Canada; the "concensus fidelium", arrived at after two trial Rites allowed for the interaction of revisers and people.

It was not a new Liturgy. In fact quite the contrary. It was traditional in form and language. And rather than introducing new elements, it frequently simply gave official recognition to changes long desired and often practised without sanction. It took no lead in the formation of contemporary liturgies, but brought the Canadian Church solidly into step with the world-wide Anglican Communion. It was the last revision of the old Anglican Liturgy before the impact of modern scholarship and contemporary language created a whole new school of revisions, and it was the only modern revision of the 1552 type.

³⁶⁷ Dix, op. cit. p. 718f.

A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX A

THE HALLAM-PALMER QUESTIONNAIRE

SUGGESTED QUESTIONNAIRE REGARDING THE REVISION OF THE COMMUNION

- The Sub-Committee to discuss whether such should be used and if so, when and to whom it should be sent -

1. PREPARATION (Note the headings are for convenience of discussion. They are not proposed for inclusion in the B.C.P.)

- 1) Should there be some opening sentences, general and seasonal, for optional use when Service is used alone?
- 2) Lord's Prayer. Always used? or on what occasions?
- 3) Decalogue. Shortened? Printed in full with part marked for omission? Printed in short form?
- 4) Summary. In present form? or from St. Mark 12:29-31?
- 5) Rules for use of Decalogue and Summary, including permission to use Summary after the rehearsal of X Commandments.
- 6) The Lesser Litany? as response to Summary (American) or alternative to Summary (1928)? or as optional Anthem for use after Decalogue or Summary.

.. THE COLLECTS

- a) Mutual Salutation "The Lord be with you" before?
- b) Collects for the King. Obligatory? Optional? After Collect of day? Printed with other extra Collects at end of office?
- c) Rubric to allow additional Collects from B.C.P. or appointed by ordinary?
- d) Rubric to limit total number of Collects to three?

1. LECTIONS

- a) Use "Lesson" in place of "Portion of Scripture appointed for the Epistle"?
- b) Draw rubrics to allow for assistant ministers?
- c) Rubric to allow for optional use of Anthem, Psalm or Hymn after the Epistle?
- d) Provision for Epistles and Gospels for principal Black Letter Days, Week Days of Lent, etc? By giving a table? by printing Collects with the extra ones at end of service, each Collect followed by reference to suggested Epistle and Gospel?

THE CREED

- a) Add "Holy" before "catholic", put "The Lord, the Giver"?
- b) Rubric to call for Creed on Sundays and holy days? Left optional on other days.

NOTICES AND SERMON

Sermon obligatory?

L. OFFERTORY

- a) Which sentences to be retained? New ones? Seasonal sentences (Irish Book)?
- b) Bread and Wine to be "presented and placed"?
- c) Rubric to cover requests or biddings before Prayer for Church?
- d) Omit "militant here in earth"?
- e) Revise wording of Prayer for Church: "Kings, Princes and Governors"? "Punishment of wickedness...virtue"? Petition for enjoying in freedom the blessings of justice and peace? Other petitions? Paragraph the Prayer?

.. EXHORTATIONS

Print at end of Office? Combine the two? (See South African Book)

1. PREPARATION OF COMMUNICANTS

- a) Shorten Exhortation "Dearly Beloved"? Retain part for use among Prefaces?
- b) Shorten Confession? Omit "provoking...against us"? omit "the remembrancegrievous unto us"? "the burden...intolerable

THE CANON OF CONSECRATION

- a) Mutual Salutation before "Lift up"? or "Peace of the Lord be always with you, etc."?
- b) "Holy Lord, Almighty Father, Everlasting God"?
- c) Omit "Amen" after Sanctus?
- d) Additional Prefaces? All Saints (other Saints Days?), Transfiguration, etc.? Passiontide? Maundy Thursday?

Prayer of Humble Access. Position of? as now? after Comfortable Words? (1928), immediately before Communion? American.

Prayer of Consecration. Add some such words as "All glory be to thee" at beginning to give prayer form of a Thanksgiving? or "Blessing and glory and thanksgiving be unto thee"?

Provide a conclusion to the Prayer?

- a) A doxology containing reference to passion, resurrection and ascension? On some such form as:

"Wherefore we do this in remembrance of Him who died, and rose again, and ever liveth to make intercession for us, presenting unto thy divine Majesty this thankoffering and service of thy whole family through the merits and mediation of the same thy beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord, by whom, and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. Amen.

b) Or optional use of Prayer of Oblation "O Lord and heavenly Father" after Prayer of Consecration? Prayer of Oblation to read "O Lord and heavenly Father, whose beloved Son died, and rose again and ever liveth to make intercession for us; we thy humble servants entirely desire, etc."

c) Prayer of Oblation as added to read "Wherefore O Lord and heavenly Father....." or some such introductory words.

RECEPTION OF THE SACRAMENT

1) Salutation "The peace of the Lord be always with you. Answer. And with thy spirit." before priest and people receive?

2) Shortening of words of delivery? Either half provided both halves are said in hearing of every communicant?

THE LORD'S PRAYER

Position? here? or after Prayer of Consecration?

Preface to Prayer "As our Saviour Christ hath commanded and taught us, we are bold to say"?

THANKSGIVING FOR COMMUNION

a) Place of Prayer of Oblation, if not already settled?

b) Paragraph the Prayer?

c) Rewrite two clauses in Prayer "Almighty and ever living", "very members....in his mystical Body" and "by the merits of his most precious death and passion." (cf. American & Scottish)

GLORIA IN EXCELSIS

a) Place? here? or before Collects at beginning?

b) Remove the redundant phrase not in original "thou that takest away....mercy upon us."?

c) Add "Jesus", "O Jesus Christ, with the Holy Ghost"?

d) Use of Gloria. Every celebration? Sundays and Holy Days? Sundays in Advent and Septuagesima to Easter omit?

RUBRICS

Whether to gather all the rubrics into one place? Before the Office? in which case starting the Office with a fresh heading as with Morning Prayer? After the Office?

Some are now before, and some after, and a few general ones scattered through the Office.

For "the table" use "the Lord's Table" or "the Holy Table"?

Whether to omit both references to position of minister at the Lord's Table? i.e. "north side" in rubric before first Lord's Prayer and "before" in rubric before Prayer of Consecration.

Use instead "at the Lord's Table" and so leave him free to stand before, or behind, or at either end.

Whether to insert a general rubric governing Hymns, Psalms and Anthems?

APPENDIX B

THE CARRINGTON MEMORANDUM

Central Revision Sub-Committee
on Revision of the Book of Common Prayer.

All Members of the Committee are requested
to study this Memorandum which has been
submitted by the Archbishop of Quebec

ON THE REVISION OF THE EUCHARISTIC LITURGY

The draft of a revised service of Holy Communion put out in 1952 has been very successful in creating a public interest, and in eliciting criticisms and suggestions. We ought to be well-satisfied with this response. The major contributions should be tabulated, showing the reaction of each to the more important points.

In considering the points which have been raised, I cannot help wondering whether our Committee is now sufficiently representative of all points of view. I would welcome at least one representative of the modern Anglo-Catholic point of view, even though I do not always feel sympathetic with it myself. Nor do I quite know where we would look for advice on liturgical points. We have all read some liturgiology, but are we abreast of modern study? Unfortunately, as I consider in my mind some men I know of who have interested themselves in the subject, I cannot help thinking that they seem to be rather too devoted to the propagation of particular theories or points of view. I would not care to have our committee invaded by such propagandists, though their value to us, outside the committee, is undoubtedly very great.

General Policy Our mandate from the Canadian Church has never suggested that there is a general demand for drastic changes. Our own interpretation of it has been to revise the Prayer Book in such a way as not to disturb the devotional life of the congregation which uses it; to leave it in all essentials very much the same; and above all not to take away phrases or features which have become familiar.

I do not think that any familiar phrase or feature should be deleted, transformed, or transposed, unless an exceedingly strong case can be made out for doing so.

I do not think we should take into account at all the pressure which is brought to bear by active groups with special points of view, unless we are convinced that the changes they ask for are right and wise in themselves, and would be welcomed in the church at large.

The fact that a certain change has already been introduced should leave us cold. As I was told at a gathering of clergy, we are not revising the Prayer Book for the benefit of that class of church, but for the great majority.

Introit Prayers The opening Our Father is an example of a familiar devotion which should not be taken away. It is the one occasion on which the congregation hears the Our Father, that is if the priest says it audibly as he is told to do; on all other occasions it is repeated by the whole congregation, sometimes rather perfunctorily. The two repetitions in our service, in two different ways, is a stroke of liturgical genius. And it enables the priest to begin the service on the highest possible level.

The Commandments I was impressed by the emphasis on the Old Testament in some of the briefs which I read. The stupid hostility to the Old Testament seems to be going. Actually Christian liturgy is simply Hebrew liturgy with the gospel. There are no other sources. And the Ten Commandments, like the Shema, are Hebrew liturgical texts which passed directly into the apostolic church as fundamental formulas, with the sanction of our Lord.

We should retain, therefore, or even emphasize further their Hebrew character. They are readings from the Law of Moses, which were, beyond all doubt, quite universal in the primitive Church. They are good liturgy because they are part of the old

redemption-drama of Exodus, being given by God through Moses to his people. It is good for our people, as well as for the Jews themselves, to realize that the religion of Jesus Christ was founded on that redemption-drama; on God and what he has done for us.

The tenth Commandment should be restored. As it is in our draft, it says 'Thou shalt not covet'. St. Paul said that we should covet. What we are not to covet is other peoples' houses and wives and so forth. This Commandment also preserves the social character of the whole document which we have also erased in the fourth Commandment.

The world needs these Commandments whole and entire.

The Jewish character of the 'Shema': (Hear, O Israel the Lord thy God is one God, and thou shalt love the Lord thy God etc.) should also be made perfectly clear. Our Lord and his apostles said it twice a day, and pious Jews still do, though not with the addition from Leviticus.

These liturgical texts help us to begin our worship by approaching the deity who is the creator of the covenant by virtue of which we approach him at all.

I do not think that other Old Testament extracts could take their place; for in these extracts God is speaking to his people. Furthermore we have wisely followed the principle that the printing of alternatives in our Prayer Book is baffling to most of the people who use it.

Psalms If we are seriously going to recommend the introduction of Psalmody into the eucharistic liturgy, we must be prepared to say what Psalms should be used, and at what point. This would necessitate very careful study.

The argument in favour of introducing Psalmody is that it was certainly a feature of the primitive liturgy, and also that congregations which rarely get Morning Prayer will be unfamiliar with the Psalms. A short selection of very simple and beloved Psalms, (e.g. 15, 23, 103) might be drawn up for optional use at certain seasons or occasions, but not printed at length in the Service. I do not know what demand for it there is.

Offertory I note that many think that a short prayer like that in the Coronation service would be better than the verses from Chronicles. I agree. (It is worth noting that, if ancient liturgical precedent is to be considered, the Offertory should come after the Church Militant Prayer. I do not think this can be done).

The bidding, 'Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here on earth' is a beautiful phrase which should not be taken away from us. It does not in the least prevent anyone from remembering the departed, in fact it leads on naturally to that thought. The omission of the last four words destroys the music of the phrase, and would leave most minds thinking of the church on earth only.

Church Militant Prayer The prayer for the departed could be enlarged a little and made more definite; but the verbose clauses of 1928 are not happy. A little more than what we have suggested would be better.

The Penitential Preparation We did well on this. The varied suggestions which come forward from time to time to put it in another place, are all open to some objection. They seem to be based on theoretical grounds. Many of the difficulties felt by students of liturgy would never be felt by anyone, from merely using the service as it stands; and similar criticisms could be made of other

ways of placing it. We are accustomed to it where it is, and there would be no advantage in moving it.

I have been asked to suggest two changes in the Comfortable Words: first that another translation should be found for 'propitiation'; the Greek word appears to imply the idea of means of forgiveness. Secondly, it has been suggested that we should add, 'and not for our sins only, but for the sins of the whole world!'

I have heard sporadic demands for the abolition of the Comfortable Words; but surely the evangelical element in our service must remain; and here it is, at its best.

The Sanctus This Hebrew liturgical text has been considerably reduced during the course of Church history. And in our service generally, there is little vision of Almighty God as creator and redeemer and judge. The preface to the Sanctus was essentially a 'Thanksgiving' or Eucharist for the work of God in creation and history; indeed it is the beginning of the 'eucharist' from which the service receives its name.

I still plead for an optional 'Special Preface' for any Sunday, such as, 'We bless thee for our creation, preservation, and all the blessings of this life; but above all for thine inestimable love in the redemption of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ: Therefore with angels etc.' Most of those who heard these words in the eucharist, would not hear them again on that Sunday; and would it matter if they did?

The Benedictus This is one of the few liturgical devotions which we can confidently think of as apostolic, and I am sure I do not know why we failed to restore it; probably because we could not decide where to restore it. Adding it to the Sanctus is not primitive, but with our new arrangement, its place there could be better justified. I do not doubt that its original position was after the breaking of the bread and the prayer which accompanied that; i.e. after the prayer of consecration.

Perhaps, too, we felt that if we restored the Benedictus, we would have to insert the Agnus Dei; but this does not follow at all. The Agnus Dei is a twelfth-century addition to the Latin rite, and I have heard it objected to by theologians: e.g. W.K. Lowther-Clark. It could well be left to priests or organists as a choir feature if so desired.

The Consecration Prayer A. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS. There are two Anglican traditions on this point. The one we belong to is that of the English and Irish churches, and is followed in New Zealand, Australia, etc.; it is based on the 1552 rite. The other is that of the Scottish church, which is followed in the U.S.A., and in the S. African and other revisions; it is based on the 1549 rite with considerable modifications.

Should we give up the Anglo-Irish tradition, and accept the Scottish-American tradition? The hesitation of the Canadian Church in seriously considering the question, may have saved us from serious errors on this point.

The case for the Scottish-American tradition is supported by arguments drawn from the older schools of liturgical study; and these are no longer free from objection on scholastic grounds. The idea of the essentiality of a long consecratory prayer or 'Canon' built upon a theology of how the consecration is effected, cannot possibly be regarded as early or 'primitive'. This applies with special force to the question of the 'epiklesis' or invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the elements, which some theologians regarded as vital. The early Christians do not seem to have listened to prayers of this description. They are characteristic of the imperial period beginning at the end of the fourth century, when the mysteries were withdrawn

from the laity. Our own service is built upon the theory that they are the people's prayers, even though they are said by the priest. It is a valid criticism of the Scottish-American tradition that it is too long and calls for unduly-prolonged intellectual attention.

The Anglo-Irish tradition has been severely handled by liturgiologists of the old school, but a number of things can be said in its defence. The fact that it is not built on a theological schema is in its favour. The fact that it contains essential liturgical devotions in some apparent confusion, apparently aligns it with the most primitive practice. But the confusion is only apparent; the alternation of varied devotions creates a dramatic effect which is more in the style of liturgy than any theological construction could be. In particular the short consecration prayer, breaking off abruptly for the communion, is most dramatic and effective. It is short, and every word counts. It speaks of nothing but Jesus. Now the Scottish-American rite loses that glorious evangelical effect, by continuing on into a liturgical passage of great grandeur but undue verbosity, which goes on, in its turn, into prayers of invocation and oblation, which continue to such a length that the effect, upon the heart, of the words of Jesus, is left behind before the final doxology is reached. Of course, if this was all murmured to God in an undertone very fast, it would not matter so much; but we cannot recommend that.

It is worth noting that the Roman church solves the problem in this way. It has a long series of devotions which it calls the Canon; but these devotions do not actually have any logical connection with one another; they are ancient offertory prayers, and intercessions, and memorials. The congregation is not asked to follow them. The effect of a Roman Mass is very simple and evangelical; first the Sursum Corda, Preface, Sanctus, and Benedictus, which are sung; then a fairly brief silence of a holy character in which the priest murmurs the canon, a server drawing attention to the words of Jesus when they come; the final doxology is sung aloud, then come the Fraction, Pax and Agnus Dei, and the Lord's Prayer follows. It is simple, dramatic and in my opinion evangelical. It is not unlike a primitive service in what it says aloud.

B. THE 1952 RITE. Our own proposed revision is obviously based on a reasonable policy which steers between the two alternatives we have been discussing. It avoids the long connected prayer which calls for rather intensive mental attention on the part of the people; but it admits that our present consecration prayer could be lengthened with advantage. Judged by the standards of antiquity, it seems to call for an act of remembrance of the death and resurrection of the Lord; a clause which in some way or another mentions the bread and wine in connection with the holy action of the service; and a doxology. But we felt that this could be done within limits which would not detract from the beauty of the prayer as it stands.

The comments we have received suggest that there is no great objection to something of the sort, and some support for the view that we have not gone far enough in what we have done. Actually our rather hesitating action has been very effective in drawing these comments, and we should consider whether what we have done should be strengthened.

A new factor should be taken into consideration however. The over-all length of the service has to be considered; and the complication which is involved in this factor, by the two alternative prayers after the Communion, the prayer of oblation and the prayer of thanksgiving, which should both be incorporated into the service as a whole if the time-factor was of no importance.

Nor should we neglect the relevant fact that the Province of British Columbia has, for a whole generation, permitted the use of the prayer of oblation after the prayer of consecration, as a method of meeting these problems under existing conditions

A Canadian revision ought to take into account such action as one of its Provinces has taken.

The expedient is widely advocated, and in some cases actually put into practice, even without authority. It suffers from several disadvantages however: one is that it does not provide what is required in the way of commemoration of the death and resurrection of our Lord; and another is that it brings in factors which ought not to obtrude at this point; our selves, our souls, and our bodies, could be kept for a later point, it is felt by many. The consecration prayer, as it stands, is the liturgical expression of the Christian redemption-drama; it consists of what Christ did, and what Christ commanded, and our re-enactment of the redemption-drama should remain Christ-centred. If we add the whole prayer of oblation, we destroy the present evangelical character of the consecration prayer.

A new suggestion has appeared, however, in more than one quarter, and might advantageously be studied:

1. The prayer of oblation could be partitioned, and the first portion used as part of the new ending of the consecration prayer.
2. The remainder of the prayer of oblation could be combined with the prayer of thanksgiving, which could advantageously be shortened.

This calls for a rather more radical handling of the present rite, but I believe that it could be done without seriously lengthening it. It would have the additional merit of disposing of the present difficulty of the two alternative post-communion prayers.

It would import into the end of the consecration-prayer a reference to 'we and all thy whole church'; but this is no more than does appear in the second-century texts. The Didache in Syria, the Apostolic Tradition in Rome, and Sarapion in Egypt, all have a prayer for the unity of the whole church, in the prayer after the words of Jesus, or fraction, as the case may be; Sarapion interposes an invocation of the Logos, and the Apostolic Tradition interposes a prayer for the Holy Spirit, according to the text of the Latin translation. The prayer for the unity of the church is constant, and no doubt was the source and origin of the intercessions which are placed after the consecration in the Greek rite.

The following texts are merely offered as examples of what could happen if this principle were adopted by the Committee. The first is based entirely on the 1662 text of the prayer of the oblation, with the addition of clauses of commemoration and offering which were suggested by the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus. The second is based on language taken from the 1549 text, except for the clause about the advent. The ascension is omitted since it is hard to say that the eucharist commemorates the ascension, while, on the other hand, it was closely associated with the thought of the advent in apostolic times, and the eschatological note is rather missing from our liturgy.

DRAFT of ANAMNESIS and OBLATION based on the present Prayer of Oblation (first clause) with additional introductory material.

Based on 1662 only

(And therefore, O heavenly Father, we
(remember before thee his precious death
(and glorious resurrection, and humbly
(present before thee these gifts of bread
(and wine; Entirely desiring thy fatherly

Based on 1549.

Wherefore, O Lord, according to his holy
word and institution, we hereby offer
unto thy Divine Majesty, these gifts of
bread and wine, in remembrance of his
precious death and mighty resurrection,

(Based on 1662 only)

(Based on 1549)

goodness, mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving: Most humbly beseeching thee to grant, that, by the merits and death of thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in his blood, we and all thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his passion: Through the same Jesus Christ our Lord, by whom and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, for ever and ever.

and looking for his coming again in glory: Hear us, we beseech thee, and, with thy Holy Spirit, bless and sanctify this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, and grant, O Lord, that by the merits and death

and so forth as in the parallel column.

Noted And here all the people shall say or this sing, Amen.

1662 Line 4, 1549 Line 3: 'before thee these' is ugly; it looks as if the phrase 'thy Divine Majesty' was necessary.

The 1549 Invocation of the Spirit is moved to this more logical position, and related to the prayer of oblation.

In the reference to 'we and thy whole church', the prayer thinks of what Christ does for us, not of what we do for him.

The rubric about the prayer is strongly recommended. The popular 'assent' to the eucharistic prayer is a very early feature of Christian liturgy (second century) and is theologically very sound. In the Didache, Hosanna, Maranatha, and Amen, are among the refrains which come at this point.

The most primitive texts would seem to combine at this point the thoughts of the advent and the unity of the catholic church.

The Prayer of Humble Access There seems no place for it but this. It is definitely a prayer of approach to the reception of the Communion. If it is said by the congregation, this will compensate for the added length of the consecration prayer said by the priest alone. Something for the people between the consecration prayer and the communion would be good.

If the priest says it alone, it will not stand out from the consecration prayer. But this brings up the question of the Our Father.

The Our Father The idea that this is the proper place for the Our Father, is of course an unsound generalization of the older liturgiologists, who relied unduly on statements of Chrysostom, Augustine, and Gregory. It appears in this position in the description of the rite given to catechumens by Cyril of Jerusalem, but it appears there with the intercessions, to which it looks as if it belongs.

There is much to be said, however, for placing it here, and it might precede the Prayer of Humble Access which would thus become a pendant to it. If this prayer is not said by the people, but is said in their name by the priest, it would be a very obvious improvement to place the Our Father before it, thus breaking the continuous monologue of the priest, and investing his recitation of the prayer of humble access with a new character.

The Prayers of Thanksgiving and Oblation The following attempt to combine the two prayers is based on the principle that under the new arrangement, thanksgiving can be the first thought after Communion. The Prayer of Thanksgiving comes first, but is considerably reduced.

We thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, who hast fed us in these holy mysteries with the heavenly food of the most precious Body and Blood of thy dear Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, assuring us thereby that we are living members of his mystical body, which is the blessed fellowship and company of all faithful people: And we most humbly beseech thee so to assist us with thy grace, that we may ever continue in that holy fellowship, and do all such good works as thou hast prepared for us to walk in.

And here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls, and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice unto thee; humbly beseeching thee that all we who are partakers of this holy Communion, may be filled with thy grace and heavenly benediction.

And although we are unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto thee any sacrifice, yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all praise and glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

The opening phrase strikes at once the note of thanksgiving (eucharist) or rather continues it.

The condensations in this prayer are obvious. We omit the clause about favour and goodness as vague and not sufficiently confident at this point. We suggest that the second clause about being heirs through hope of the everlasting kingdom, appears to contrast unfortunately with the first clause about the mystical body, as if they were two separate conceptions instead of being aspects of one; (what is really required is a reference to the saints in light?)

The expression 'heavenly food' is Johannine. 'Heavenly food', 'mystical body', and 'ever continue' lift the prayer up. 'Spiritual food' is a phrase found in Didache, but its meaning there is very different from what the words convey to the modern mind. The word 'spiritual' is unfortunately not a strong word today.

I have tried out 'for ever and ever' in both doxologies, since objection has been voiced on the committee to 'world without end'.

The prayer is not much longer, if longer at all, than the present Prayer of Oblation.

Optional Omissions It is to be hoped that we will not follow the Roman example in omitting Creeds and Glorias for funerals. These are the very occasions when they are needed as affirmations of the Christian faith and hope. Moreover they are the people's part in the service; and our service is still rather too much the work of the priest.

The omission of these features in the Roman rite is due to historical causes of quite another nature. The rite itself is not at all happy in its provision for the departed, and we need not follow or be led by it.

It is true that the Creed is a late comer as a eucharistic feature; but it must be noted that its appearance in this character was an accompaniment of the loss of Holy Baptism as a normal public service; in earlier and better days the people constantly heard the Creed at their Sunday morning service, or prior to it, as part of their sacramental worship.

The Gloria in Excelsis is quite another matter. It was a morning hymn of great antiquity. It appears first in the 'Apostolic Constitutions', at the end of the liturgy. Later on it was adopted in the Latin rite, and placed at the beginning of

the liturgy for use on Sundays and Holy Days. No good reason can be assigned for changing its position in our rite. It has become so strong a feature of our rite in this position that it should not be taken away from us. On the other hand, it may be argued that it need not be said on all week-days.

Little Salutations and Admonitions I do not think that Anglicans generally would welcome the multiplication of these features.

Our own suggested salutations at the beginning of the service and before the Sursum Corda have been criticized, and should be objectively reconsidered. The same is true of our addition to the Ten Commandments.

It is to be hoped that none of the rather stilted and formal admonitions before the Our Father, whether in east or west, will be adopted. 'Instructed by saving precepts', and 'we are bold to say' are unhappy; they grate. And this proves that the idea itself is unnecessary. The words 'Our Father' are sufficient introduction for instructed Christians.

Furthermore a popular vernacular liturgy does not need little introductions and explanations; if the rite is properly constructed it should explain itself as it moves.

The Prayer for the Queen This is another of the familiar features which most of us would not wish to be taken away. The better of the two prayer prays

- a. for the whole church, and
- b. for the sovereign to whom God has committed the rule and government.

The latter is a strong feature of Jewish and apostolic thinking. It follows the Commandments, and is an interesting orientation of devotional thought; more than simply a prayer for the sovereign and civil power. It is hard to see how it could be strengthened, except perhaps by an expansion of the thought of the whole church, and the extension of the thought of the Queen's sovereignty to include quite definitely her government in Canada and her people there. This is a Canadian rite, and so perhaps this suggestion is not out of place.

I do not understand what advantage there would be in placing this prayer after the collect or collects of the day.

Experimental texts produced by partitioning the Prayer of Oblation, and using its first paragraph as the basis of a conclusion for the Prayer of Consecration. The connecting links in A are suggested by the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus; in B by the 1549 Rite.

A. Based on 1662 only, with new connecting links:

B. Based on 1549, with one substitution.

And therefore, O heavenly Father, we remember before thee his precious death and glorious resurrection, and humbly present before thee these gifts of bread and wine: Entirely desiring thy fatherly goodness mercifully to accept

Wherefore, O Lord, according to his holy word and institution, we hereby offer unto thy Divine Majesty, these gifts of bread and wine, in remembrance of his precious death and mighty resurrection, and looking for his coming again in glory; hear us, we beseech thee, and with thy Holy Spirit, bless and sanctify

this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; most humbly beseeching thee to grant that, by the merits and death of

thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in his blood, we and all thy whole church may obtain remission of our sins and all other benefits of his passion; through the same Jesus Christ our Lord, by whom and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, for ever and ever.

And here all the people shall say or sing Amen.

Experimental text produced by shortening the Prayer of Thanksgiving, and combining it with the remainder of the Prayer of Oblation.

We thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, who hast fed us in these holy mysteries with the heavenly food of the most precious Body and Blood of thy dear Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, assuring us thereby that we are living members of his Mystical body, which is the blessed fellowship and company of all faithful people; and we most humbly beseech thee so to assist us with thy grace, that we may ever continue in that holy fellowship, and do all such good works as thou hast prepared for us to walk in.

And here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice unto thee, humbly beseeching thee that all we who are partakers of this holy Communion, may be filled with thy grace and heavenly benediction.

And although we are unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto thee any sacrifice, yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all praise and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

APPENDIX C

REPORT OF
THE COMMITTEE ON REVISION
OF THE
BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER
(GREEN BOOK 1952)

NOTICES OF MOTION

A member of the Committee will move:

1. That the Report of the Committee on the Revision of the Book of Common Prayer be printed for general circulation through the Church Book Room.
2. That the permissive use of the present Revised Offices for the Baptism of Children and for the Solemnization of Matrimony be extended to the next General Synod.
3. That the production of a Draft Book be authorized and that the Committee on Business relating to Prayer Book and Hymn Book be instructed to enter into contract with a competent firm for the publishing of the Revised Prayer Book when completed, including the printing of a Draft Book for each member of the next General Synod.

THE ORDER FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF
THE LORD'S SUPPER
OR
HOLY COMMUNION

¶ *Every Parishioner shall communicate at the least three times in the year, of which Easter to be one. And every Parishioner shall contribute regularly of his substance to the maintenance of the worship of God, and the spread of the Gospel, according as God shall prosper him.*

¶ *In Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, and Colleges, where there are many Priests and Deacons, they shall all receive the Communion with the Priest every Sunday at least, except they have a reasonable cause to the contrary.*

¶ *If any one be an open and notorious evil liver, or have done any wrong to his neighbours by word or deed, so that the Congregation be thereby offended; the Curate, having knowledge thereof, shall call him and admonish him, that in any wise he presume not to come to the Lord's Table, until he have openly declared himself to have truly repented and amended his former evil life, that the Congregation may thereby be satisfied, which before were offended; and that he have recompensed the parties, to whom he hath done wrong; or at least declare himself to be in full purpose so to do, as soon as he conveniently may.*

The same order shall the Curate use with those betwixt whom he perceiveth malice and hatred to reign; not suffering them to be partakers of the Lord's Table, until he know them to be reconciled. And if one of the parties so at variance be content to forgive from the bottom of his heart all that the other hath trespassed against him, and to make amends for that he himself hath offended; and the other party will not be persuaded to a godly unity, but remain still in his frowardness and malice: the Minister in that case ought to admit the penitent person to the holy Communion, and not him that is obstinate. Provided that every Minister so repelling any, as is specified in this, or the next precedent paragraph of this Rubrick, shall be obliged to give an account of the same to the Ordinary within fourteen days after at the farthest. And the Ordinary shall proceed against the offending person according to the Canon.

¶ *There shall be no Celebration of the Lord's Supper, except there be a convenient number to communicate with the Priest, according to his discretion.*

THE SERVICE

¶ *The Lord's Table, at the Communion time, shall have a fair white linen cloth upon it. And the Priest, standing at the Table, shall say the Lord's Prayer with the Collect following, the people kneeling.*

¶ *First this salutation may be said:*

GRACE be unto you and Peace from God our Father and from the Lord Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

OUR Father who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name, Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done, in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread; And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive them that trespass against us; And lead us not into temptation, But deliver us from evil. *Amen.*

The Collect

ALMIGHTY God, unto whom all hearts be open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid. Cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love thee, and worthily magnify thy holy Name; through Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

¶ *Then shall the Priest, turning to the people, rehearse distinctly the TEN COMMANDMENTS: and the people still kneeling shall after every Commandment ask God mercy for their transgression thereof for the time past, and grace to keep the same for the time to come, as followeth:*

Minister: HEAR the Law of God which was given to Israel in old time : God spake these words and said ; I am the Lord thy God : Thou shalt have none other gods but me.

People: Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister: Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them.

People: Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister: Thou shalt not take the Name of the Lord thy God in vain : for the Lord will not hold him guiltless, that taketh his Name in vain.

People: Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister: Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath day. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all that thou hast to do; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God.

People: Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister: Honour thy father and thy mother; that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

People: Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister: Thou shalt do no murder.

People: Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister: Thou shalt not commit adultery.

People: Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister: Thou shalt not steal.

People: Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister: Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

People: Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister: Thou shalt not covet.

People: Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister: HEAR also what our Lord Jesus Christ saith: A new commandment I give unto you That ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another.

People: Lord, have mercy upon us, and write all these thy laws in our hearts, we beseech thee.

¶ *Or, he may rehearse instead of these Commandments (which however shall be said at least once a month on a Sunday, and on the great Festivals), the following:*

OUR Lord Jesus Christ saith : The first of all the commandments is : Hear O Israel : The Lord our God is one Lord : And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength : this is the first commandment.

And the second is like, namely this : Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

People: Lord, have mercy upon us, and write both these thy laws in our hearts, we beseech thee.

¶ *Then may Kyrie eleison be sung or said.*

Lord have mercy upon us.

Christ have mercy upon us.

Lord have mercy upon us.

¶ *Then shall the Priest say:*

The Lord be with you.

Answer: And with thy spirit.

¶ *Then may follow this Collect for the King, the Priest standing as before and saying:*

Let us pray.

ALMIGHTY God, whose kingdom is everlasting, and power infinite : Have mercy upon the whole Church; and so rule the heart of thy chosen servant *N.*, our King and Governor, that *he* (knowing whose minister *he* is) may above all things seek thy honour and glory : and that we and all *his* subjects (duly considering whose authority *he* hath) may faithfully serve, honour, and humbly obey *him*, in thee, and for thee, according to thy blessed Word and ordinance; through Jesus Christ our Lord, who with thee and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth, ever one God, world without end. *Amen.*

¶ *Then shall be said the Collect of the day. And immediately after the Collect the Priest, or he that is appointed, shall read the Epistle saying: The Epistle (or the Scripture appointed for the Epistle) is written in the . . . Chapter of . . . beginning at the . . . verse. And the reading ended, he shall say: Here endeth the Epistle (or the Scripture appointed for the Epistle). Then, the people all standing up, the Priest, or one appointed to read the Gospel, shall say: The Holy Gospel is written in the . . . Chapter of the Gospel according to Saint . . . beginning at the . . . verse.*

¶ *Here shall be sung or said:*

Glory be to thee, O Lord.

¶ *And, the Gospel ended, the people shall in like manner sing or say:*

Thanks be to thee, O Lord.

¶ *Then shall be sung or said this Creed following, the people still standing as before.*

I BELIEVE in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, And of all things visible and invisible.

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, Begotten of his Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of very God, Begotten, not made, Being of one substance with the Father; By whom all things were made : Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven, And was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, And was made man, And was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate. He suffered and was buried, And the third day he rose again according to the Scriptures, And ascended into heaven, And sitteth on the right hand of the Father. And he shall come again with glory to judge, both the quick and the dead : Whose kingdom shall have no end.

And I believe in the Holy Ghost, The Lord, The Giver of Life, Who proceedeth from the Father and the Son, Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, Who spake by the Prophets. And I believe One, Holy, Catholick, and Apostolick Church. I acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins. And I look for the Resurrection of the dead, And the Life of the world to come. Amen.

¶ *Then the Curate shall declare unto the people what Holy-days, or Fasting-days, are in the week following to be observed. And then also (if occasion be) shall notice be given of the Communion; and the Banns of Matrimony published, and Excommunications and other ecclesiastical notices read. And nothing shall be proclaimed or published in the Church during the time of Divine Service, but by the Minister; nor by him anything but what is prescribed in the Rules of this Book, or enjoined by the King, or by the Ordinary of the place.*

¶ *Then may follow the Sermon.*

¶ *Then shall the Priest return to the Lord's Table, and begin THE OFFERTORY, saying one or more of these Sentences following, as he thinketh most convenient in his discretion.*

OFFER unto God thanksgiving, and pay thy vows unto the most High.

Psalm 50 : 14

And they came, every one whose heart stirred him up, and every one whom his spirit made willing, and they brought the Lord's offering.

Blessed is he that considereth the poor and needy : the Lord shall deliver him in the time of trouble.

Exodus 35 : 21

Psalm 41 : 1

Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.

St. Matthew 5 : 16

Lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven; where neither rust nor moth doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through and steal; for where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.

St. Matthew 6 : 19

Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do unto them; for this is the Law and the Prophets.

St. Matthew 7 : 12

Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven.

St. Matthew 7 : 21

Remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, It is more blessed to give than to receive.

Acts 20 : 35

He that soweth little shall reap little; and he that soweth plenteously shall reap plenteously. Let every man do according as he is disposed in his heart, not grudgung, or of necessity; for God loveth a cheerful giver.

2 Corinthians 9 : 6

Let him that is taught in the word minister unto him that teacheth, in all good things. Be not deceived, God is not mocked; for whatsoever a man soweth that shall he reap.

Galatians 6 : 6

As we have opportunity, let us do good unto all men; and especially unto them that are of the household of faith.

Galatians 6 : 10

Charge them who are rich in this world, that they be ready to give, and glad to distribute; laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come.

1 Timothy 6 : 17

To do good and to distribute forget not; for with such sacrifices God is well pleased.

Hebrews 13 : 16

Whoso hath this world's goods, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?

1 St. John 3 : 17

¶ *Whilst these Sentences are in reading, the Deacons, Churchwardens or other fit person appointed for that purpose, shall receive the alms and other offerings of the people, in a decent bason to be provided by the Parish for that purpose;*

and reverently bring it to the Priest, who shall humbly present and place it upon the holy Table.

¶ And when there is a Communion, the Priest shall then present and place upon the Lord's Table so much Bread and Wine as he shall think sufficient.

¶ Then may be said:

BLESSED be thou, O Lord God, forever and ever. All that is in the heaven and in the earth is thine. All things come of thee and of thine own do we give unto thee. *Amen.*

¶ Then shall one of the Ministers ask the Prayers of the people by means of Biddings, as well for members of the congregation who are in need, as for the world at large; using such Biddings as follow. And he may, at his discretion include short periods of silence for secret prayer. He shall always say one or more of the following:

Let us pray for Christ's holy Catholick Church; that is, for the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the world.

Let us pray for peace on earth and for the unity of all Christian people.

Let us pray for our missionaries at home and abroad.

Let us remember before God those of our brethren who have departed this life and are at rest.

Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth.

¶ After which the Priest shall say *THE INTERCESSION.*

ALMIGHTY and everliving God, who by thy holy Apostle hast taught us to make prayers and supplications, and to give thanks, for all men: We humbly beseech thee most mercifully to accept our alms and oblations, and to receive these our prayers, which we offer unto thy divine Majesty; beseeching thee to inspire continually the universal Church with the spirit of truth, unity, and concord: And grant that all they that do confess thy holy Name may agree in the truth of thy holy Word, and live in unity and godly love.

We beseech thee also to lead all nations in the way of righteousness; and so to guide and direct their governors and rulers, that thy people may enjoy the blessings of freedom and godly peace: And grant unto thy servant *N our King*, and to all that exercise authority under *him*, that they may truly and impartially administer justice, to the maintenance of thy true religion and virtue.

Give grace, O heavenly Father, to all Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, and specially to thy servant *N our Bishop*, that they may both by their life and teaching set forth thy true and living Word, and rightly and duly administer thy holy Sacraments: Prosper, we pray thee, all those who proclaim the Gospel of thy kingdom among the nations: Enlighten with thy Holy Spirit all who serve mankind in labour, learning, and industry: To all thy people give thy heavenly grace, and specially to this congregation here present, that, with meek heart and due reverence, they may hear and receive thy holy Word; truly serving thee in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life.

And we most humbly beseech thee of thy goodness, O Lord, to comfort and succour all them, who in this transitory life are in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity, especially those for whom our prayers are desired.

And we also bless thy holy Name for all thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fear; beseeching thee to give us grace so to follow their good examples, that with them we may be partakers of thy heavenly kingdom.

Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate, to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. *Amen.*

¶ Then shall the Priest say to them that come to receive the holy Communion:

YE that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins, and are in love and charity with your neighbours, and intend to lead a new life, following the commandments of God, and walking from henceforth in his holy ways: Draw near with faith, and take this holy Sacrament to your comfort; and make your humble confession to Almighty God, meekly kneeling upon your knees.

¶ *Then shall this general Confession be made, in the name of all those that are minded to receive the holy Communion, by one of the Ministers; both he and all the people kneeling humbly upon their knees and saying:*

ALMIGHTY God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Maker of all things, Judge of all men: We acknowledge and confess our manifold sins and wickedness, Which we from time to time most grievously have committed, By thought, word, and deed, Against thy Divine Majesty. We do earnestly repent, And are heartily sorry for these our misdoings. Have mercy upon us, most merciful Father; For thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, Forgive us all that is past; And grant that we may ever hereafter Serve and please thee In newness of life, To the honour and glory of thy Name; Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

¶ *Then shall the Priest (or the Bishop, being present) stand up, and turning himself to the people, pronounce this Absolution.*

ALMIGHTY God, our heavenly Father, who of his great mercy hath promised forgiveness of sins to all them that with hearty repentance and true faith turn unto him: Have mercy upon you; pardon and deliver you from all your sins; confirm and strengthen you in all goodness; and bring you to everlasting life; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

¶ *Then shall the Priest say:*

Hear what comfortable words our Saviour Christ saith unto all that truly turn to him:

COME unto me all that travail and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you.
St. Matthew 11 : 28

So God loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, to the end that all that believe in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.
St. John 3 : 16

Hear also what Saint Paul saith:

This is a true saying, and worthy of all men to be received, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.
1 Timothy 1 : 15

Hear also what Saint John saith:

If any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and he is the propitiation for our sins.
1 St. John 2 : 1, 2

¶ *After which the Priest shall proceed with THE THANKSGIVING.*

THE PEACE of the Lord be with you.

Answer: And with thy spirit.

Priest: Lift up your hearts.

Answer: We lift them up unto the Lord.

Priest: Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.

Answer: It is meet and right so to do.

¶ *Then shall the Priest turn to the Lord's Table, and say:*

IT is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty, Everlasting God.

¶ *Here shall follow the proper Preface, according to the time, if there be any specially appointed; or else immediately shall follow:*

THEREFORE with Angels and Archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious Name; evermore praising thee, and saying:

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts, heaven and earth are full of thy glory: Glory be to thee, O Lord most High.

PROPER PREFACES

¶ *Upon Christmas Day, and until New Year's Day, and upon the Festivals of the Purification and the Annunciation.*

BECAUSE thou didst give Jesus Christ thine only Son to be born as at *this time* for us; who, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, was made very man of the substance of the Virgin Mary his mother; and that without spot of sin, to make us clean from all sin. Therefore with Angels, &c.

¶ *Upon New Year's Day and to the Eve of the Epiphany and upon the Feast of the Transfiguration.*

BECAUSE in the mystery of the Word made flesh, thou hast caused a new light to shine in our hearts, to give the knowledge of thy glory, in the face of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Therefore with Angels, &c.

¶ *Upon the Epiphany, and seven days after.*

THROUGH Jesus Christ our Lord, who, in substance of our mortal flesh, manifested forth his glory, that he might bring us out of darkness into his own marvellous light. Therefore with Angels, &c.

¶ *Upon Passion Sunday, and until Maundy Thursday inclusive.*

FOR the redemption of the world by the death and passion of our Saviour Christ, both God and man; who did humble himself, even to the death upon the Cross, for us sinners, who lay in darkness and the shadow of death; that he might make us the children of God, and exalt us to everlasting life. Therefore with Angels, &c.

¶ *Upon Easter Day, and until the Eve of the Ascension Day inclusive, and at memorial services.*

BUT chiefly are we bound to praise thee for the glorious Resurrection of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord: for he is the very Paschal Lamb, which was offered for us, and hath taken away the sin of the world; who by his death hath destroyed death, and by his rising to life again hath restored to us everlasting life. Therefore with Angels, &c.

¶ *Upon the Ascension, and seven days after.*

THROUGH thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord; who after his most glorious Resurrection manifestly appeared to all his Apostles, and in their sight ascended up into heaven to prepare a place for us; that where he is, thither we might also ascend, and reign with him in glory. Therefore with Angels, &c.

¶ *Upon Whitsunday, and six days after.*

THROUGH Jesus Christ our Lord; according to whose most true promise, the Holy Ghost came down as at this time from heaven, lighting upon the Apostles, to teach them, and to lead them to all truth; giving them both the gift of tongues, and also boldness with fervent zeal constantly to preach the Gospel unto all nations; whereby we have been brought out of darkness and error into the clear light and true knowledge of thee, and of thy Son Jesus Christ. Therefore with Angels, &c.

¶ *Upon Trinity Sunday.*

WHIOM with thy co-eternal Son and Holy Spirit we confess as one God in Trinity of Persons and in Unity of substance. Therefore with Angels, &c.

¶ *Upon All Saints' Day, and the Feasts of Apostles, Evangelists, and St. John Baptist, except when a Proper Preface of any principal feast is appointed.*

WHO in the multitude of thy Saints hast compassed us about with so great a cloud of witnesses, that we, rejoicing in their fellowship, may run with patience the race that is set before us, and together with them may receive the crown of glory that fadeth not away. Therefore with Angels, &c.

¶ *After each of which Prefaces shall immediately be sung or said.*

THEREFORE with Angels and Archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious Name; evermore praising thee, and saying:

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts, heaven and earth are full of thy glory: Glory be to thee, O Lord most High.

¶ *When the Priest, standing at the Lord's Table, hath so ordered the Bread and Wine, that he may with the more readiness and decency break the Bread before the people, and take the Cup into his hands; he shall say THE PRAYER OF CONSECRATION, as followeth:*

BLESSING and glory and thanksgiving be unto thee Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who of thy tender mercy didst give thine only Son Jesus Christ to take our nature upon him and to suffer death upon the Cross for our redemption; who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world; and did institute, and in his holy Gospel, command us to continue, a perpetual memory of that his precious death, until his coming again.

Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee; and grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood; who, in the same night that he was betrayed, ^atook Bread; and, when he had given thanks, ^bhe brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying Take, eat; ^cthis is my Body which is given for you: Do this in remembrance of me. Likewise after supper he ^dtook the Cup; and, when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this; for ^ethis is my Blood of the new Covenant, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins: Do this, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me.

a Here the Priest is to take the Paten into his hands:

b And here to break the Bread:

c And here to lay his hand upon all the Bread:

d Here he is to take the Cup into his hands:

e And here to lay his hand upon every vessel (be it Chalice or Flagon) in which there is any Wine to be consecrated.

Wherefore, O Lord and heavenly Father, in union with all thy holy Church, we do this in remembrance of him who died, and rose again, and ever liveth to make intercession for us, presenting unto thy divine Majesty this our thank-offering and service, through the merits and mediation of thy beloved Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, by whom, and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. *Amen.*

¶ *Then shall the Priest kneel down at the Lord's Table, and after a short period of silence shall, together with all that shall receive the Communion, humbly say this prayer following:*

WE do not presume to come to this thy Table, O merciful Lord, Trusting in our own righteousness, But in thy manifold and great mercies. We are not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under thy Table. But thou art the same Lord, Whose property is always to have mercy: Grant us therefore, gracious Lord, So to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, And to drink his blood, That our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, And our souls washed through his most precious blood, And that we may evermore dwell in him, And he in us. *Amen.*

¶ *Then shall the Minister first receive the Communion in both kinds himself, and then proceed to deliver the same to the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, in like manner, (if any be present,) and after that to the people also in order, into their hands, all meekly kneeling. And, as he delivereth the Bread, he shall say:*

THE Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life: Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving.

¶ *And the Minister that delivereth the Cup shall likewise say:*

THE Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life: Drink this in remembrance that Christ's Blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.

¶ *If the consecrated Bread or Wine be all spent before all have communicated, the Priest is to consecrate more according to the Form before prescribed: Beginning at Our Saviour Christ in the same night, &c. for the blessing of the Bread) and at Likewise after supper, &c. for the blessing of the Cup.*

¶ *When all have communicated, the Minister shall return to the Lord's Table, and reverently place upon it what remaineth of the consecrated Elements, covering the same with a fair linen cloth.*

¶ *Then shall the Priest say the Lord's Prayer, the people repeating with him every petition.*

Let us pray.

OUR Father, who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name, Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread; And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive them that trespass against us; And lead us not into temptation, But deliver us from evil.

For thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, For ever and ever. Amen.

¶ *After shall be said as followeth:*

O LORD and heavenly Father, we thy humble servants entirely desire thy fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; most humbly beseeching thee to grant, that by the merits and death of thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in his blood, we and all thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his passion. And here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice unto thee; humbly beseeching thee, that all we, who are partakers of this holy Communion, may be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction. And although we be unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto thee any sacrifice, yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service; not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Jesus Christ our Lord; by whom, and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. *Amen.*

¶ *Or this:*

ALMIGHTY and everliving God, we most heartily thank thee, for that thou dost graciously feed us, who have duly received these holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious Body and Blood of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ; and dost assure us thereby of thy favour and goodness towards us; and that we are very members incorporate in the mystical body of thy Son, which is the blessed company of all faithful people; and are also heirs through hope of thy everlasting kingdom, by the merits of his most precious death and passion. And we most humbly beseech thee, O heavenly Father, so to assist us with thy grace, that we may continue in that holy fellowship, and do all such good works as thou hast prepared for us to walk in; through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. *Amen.*

¶ *Note, That at the discretion of the Minister both the foregoing prayers may be used.*

¶ *Then shall be said or sung Gloria in Excelsis.*

GLORY be to God on high, and in earth peace, good will towards men. We praise thee, we bless thee, we worship thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks to thee for thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty.

O Lord, the only-begotten Son, Jesu Christ; O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, that takest away the sin of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sin of the world, receive our prayer. Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father, have mercy upon us.

For thou only art holy; thou only art the Lord; thou only, O Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father. Amen.

¶ *At the discretion of the Minister, this Hymn may be omitted on any weekday in Advent or Lent.*

¶ *Then the Priest (or Bishop if he be present) shall let them depart with this Blessing.*

THE Peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord :

And the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be amongst you and remain with you always. *Amen.*

¶ *Collects to be said after the Offertory, when there is no Communion, every such day one or more; and the same may be said also, as often as occasion shall serve, after the Collects either of Morning or Evening Prayer, Communion, or Litany, by the discretion of the Minister.*

ASSIST us mercifully, O Lord, in these our supplications and prayers, and dispose the way of thy servants towards the attainment of everlasting salvation; that, among all the changes and chances of this mortal life, they may ever be defended by thy most gracious and ready help; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

O ALMIGHTY Lord, and everlasting God, vouchsafe, we beseech thee, to direct, sanctify, and govern, both our hearts and bodies, in the ways of thy laws, and in the works of thy commandments; that through thy most mighty protection, both here and ever, we may be preserved in body and soul; through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

GRANT, we beseech thee, Almighty God, that the words, which we have heard this day with our outward ears, may through thy grace be so grafted inwardly in our hearts, that they may bring forth in us the fruit of good living, to the honour and praise of thy Name; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

PREVENT us, O Lord, in all our doings with thy most gracious favour, and further us with thy continual help; that in all our works, begun, continued, and ended in thee, we may glorify thy holy Name, and finally by thy mercy obtain everlasting life; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

ALMIGHTY God, the fountain of all wisdom, who knowest our necessities before we ask, and our ignorance in asking: We beseech thee to have compassion upon our infirmities; and those things, which for our unworthiness we dare not, and for our blindness we cannot ask, vouchsafe to give us for the worthiness of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

ALMIGHTY God, who hast promised to hear the petitions of them that ask in thy Son's Name: We beseech thee mercifully to incline thine ears to us that have made now our prayers and supplications unto thee; and grant that those things, which we have faithfully asked according to thy will, may effectually be obtained, to the relief of our necessity, and to the setting forth of thy glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

¶ *Upon the Sundays and other Holy-days (if there be no Communion) may be said all that is appointed at the Communion, until the end of the Intercession together with one or more of these Collects last before rehearsed, concluding with the Blessing.*

THE EXHORTATIONS

¶ *At the time of the Celebration of the Communion the Priest may say this Exhortation. And note, That this Exhortation shall always be said on a Sunday in Advent and a Sunday in Lent.*

DEARLY beloved in the Lord, ye that mind to come to the holy Communion of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, must consider how Saint Paul exhorteth all persons diligently to try and examine themselves, before they presume to eat of that Bread, and drink of that Cup. For as the benefit is great, if with a true penitent heart and lively faith we receive that holy Sacrament; (for then we spiritually eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood; then we dwell in Christ, and Christ in us; we are one with Christ, and Christ with us;) so is the danger great, if we receive the same unworthily. For then we are guilty of the Body and Blood of Christ our Saviour; we eat and drink our own condemnation, not discerning the Lord's Body. Judge therefore yourselves, brethren, that ye be not judged of the Lord; repent you truly for your sins past; have a lively and stedfast faith in Christ our Saviour; amend your lives, and be in perfect charity with all men; so shall ye be meet partakers of those holy mysteries. And above all things ye must give most humble and hearty thanks to God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, for the redemption of the world by the death and passion of our Saviour Christ, both God and man; who did

humble himself, even to the death upon the Cross, for us miserable sinners, who lay in darkness and the shadow of death; that he might make us the children of God, and exalt us to everlasting life. And to the end that we should alway remember the exceeding great love of our Master and only Saviour Jesus Christ, thus dying for us, and the innumerable benefits which by his precious blood-shedding he hath obtained to us; he hath instituted and ordained holy mysteries, as pledges of his love, and for a continual remembrance of his death, to our great and endless comfort. To him therefore, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, let us give (as we are most bounden) continual thanks; submitting ourselves wholly to his holy will and pleasure, and studying to serve him in true holiness and righteousness all the days of our life. *Amen.*

¶ *When the Minister giveth warning for the Celebration of the holy Communion, (which he shall always do upon the Sunday, or some Holy-day, immediately preceding), after the Sermon or Homily ended, or else after the Nicene Creed, he may read this Exhortation following, or the first paragraph thereof, at his discretion; provided always, that he read the whole Exhortation upon some Sunday before Christmas Day, Easter Day and Whitsunday, the people all standing.*

DEARLY beloved on . . . I intend, through God's assistance, to celebrate the Lord's Supper; and to administer to all such as shall be devoutly disposed the most comfortable Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ; to be by them received in remembrance of his meritorious Cross and Passion, whereby alone we obtain remission of our sins, and are made partakers of the kingdom of heaven.

Wherefore it is our duty to render most humble and hearty thanks to Almighty God our heavenly Father, for that he hath given his Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, not only to die for us, but also to be our spiritual food and sustenance in that holy Sacrament. Which being so divine and comfortable a thing to them who receive it worthily, and so dangerous to them that will presume to receive it unworthily; my duty is to exhort you in the mean season to consider the dignity of that holy mystery, and the need of devout preparation for the receiving thereof, so that ye may come holy and clean to such a heavenly Feast, in the marriage-garment required by God in holy Scripture, and be received as worthy partakers of that holy Table.

The way and means thereto is : First, to examine your lives and conversations by the rule of God's commandments; and whereinsoever ye shall perceive yourselves to have offended, either by will, word, or deed, there to confess yourselves to Almighty God, with full purpose of amendment of life. And if ye shall perceive your offences to have been against your neighbours; then ye shall reconcile yourselves to them; being ready to make restitution. Ye must also be ready to forgive others that have offended you, as you would have forgiveness of your offences at God's hand. Therefore if any of you be a blasphemer of God, an hinderer or slanderer of his Word, an adulterer, or be in malice or envy, or in any other grievous crime, repent you of your sins, else come not to that holy Table.

And because it is requisite, that no man should come to the holy Communion, but with a full trust in God's mercy, and with a quiet conscience; therefore if there be any of you, who by this means cannot quiet his own conscience herein, but requireth further comfort or counsel, let him come to me, or to some other discreet Minister of God's Word, and open his grief; that by the ministry of God's holy Word, he may receive the benefit of absolution, together with spiritual counsel and advice, to the quieting of his conscience, and the avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness.

¶ *In case the minister shall see the people negligent to come to the holy Communion, he may add the following:*

I, for my part, shall be ready to celebrate the holy Eucharist; and according to mine office, I call you in Christ's behalf to come to this heavenly feast. It is an easy matter for a man to say, I will not communicate, because I am otherwise hindered with worldly business. But such excuses are not so easily accepted before God. If anyone say, I am a grievous sinner, and therefore I am afraid to come; wherefore then do ye not repent and amend? For as the Son of God

willingly yielded up his soul by death upon the Cross for your salvation; so it is your duty to receive the holy Communion, in remembrance of the sacrifice of his death, as he himself commanded.

Wherefore I bid you in God's Name not to separate yourselves from your brethren, but to prepare yourselves, and to come to feed upon the banquet of this most heavenly food. For the obtaining whereof we shall not cease to make our humble petitions to our heavenly Father.

¶ *The Bread and Wine for the Communion shall be provided by the Curate and the Churchwardens at the charges of the Parish.*

¶ *And to take away all occasion of dissension which any person hath or might have concerning the Bread and Wine, it shall suffice that the Bread be such as is usual to be eaten; but the best and purest Wheat Bread that conveniently may be gotten.*

¶ *And if any of the consecrated Bread and Wine remain after the Communion the Priest and other Communicants shall then reverently eat and drink the same.*

¶ *After the Service ended, the alms and other offerings of the people shall be counted without delay by the Churchwardens or their deputies. And the Minister and Churchwardens shall dispense them in accordance with the purposes for which, as prescribed by lawful authority, they were collected.*

¶ *Whereas it is ordained in this office for the Administration of the Lord's Supper, that the Communicants should receive the same kneeling; (which order is well meant, for a signification of our humble and grateful acknowledgment of the benefits of Christ therein given to all worthy Receivers, and for the avoiding of such profanation and disorder in the holy Communion, as might otherwise ensue). It is here declared, that thereby no Adoration is intended, or ought to be done, either unto the Sacramental Bread or Wine there bodily received, or unto any Corporal Presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood. The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is Faith.*

APPENDIX D

THE
HOLY COMMUNION
OR
HOLY EUCHARIST
FROM
THE BOOK OF
COMMON PRAYER
1959
CANADA

THE
HOLY COMMUNION
OR
HOLY EUCHARIST
WITH THE COLLECTS
EPISTLES AND GOSPELS

It is the duty of every confirmed person, after due preparation, to partake of the holy Communion frequently, and particularly on the greater Holy-days, of which Easter is the chief.

It is the duty of every parishioner to contribute regularly of his substance, as God shall prosper him, to the maintenance of the worship of God and the spread of the Gospel.

In Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, and Colleges, where there are many Priests and Deacons, they shall all receive the Communion with the Priest every Sunday at the least, except they have a reasonable cause to the contrary.

The Minister shall frequently remind the people of what is required of those who come to receive the Lord's Supper, as set forth in the Catechism and the Exhortations.

It shall also be his duty to warn individually any whom he knows to be living in grievous sin, that they presume not to come to the Lord's Table until they give evidence that they truly repent; and if they do not heed his warning, he shall refuse to administer the Communion to them.

He shall deal in the same manner with those between whom he perceives malice and hatred to exist, not allowing them to be partakers of the Lord's Table until they be reconciled. But if one of the parties is willing to forgive and, to the best of his ability, to make whatever amends may be proper, and the other party refuses to do so, the Minister shall admit the penitent person to the holy Communion and refuse him that is obstinate.

Before repelling any from the Lord's Table under the provisions of this rubric, the Minister should consult with the Bishop or the Archdeacon.

After so repelling any, he shall within fourteen days give a written account to the Bishop, who shall take such action as he deems necessary.

There shall be no Celebration of the Lord's Supper, except there be at least one person present to communicate with the Priest.

THE ORDER FOR
THE ADMINISTRATION OF
THE LORD'S SUPPER
OR
HOLY COMMUNION

The Lord's Table, at the Communion time, shall have a fair white linen cloth upon it.

An Introit (see pages l to liv) may be sung or said as the Priest proceeds to the holy Table.

The Priest, standing at the Table, shall say in an audible voice the Lord's Prayer with the Collect following, the people kneeling.

OUR Father who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name, Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread; And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive them that trespass against us; And lead us not into temptation, But deliver us from evil. Amen.

THE COLLECT.

ALMIGHTY God, unto whom all hearts be open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid: Cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love thee, and worthily magnify thy holy Name; through Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then shall the Priest, facing the people, rehearse the TEN COMMANDMENTS or else the Two Great Commandments of the Law. The Ten Commandments shall always be read at least once in each month on a Sunday at the chief Service of the day.

It shall suffice to read the first paragraph of the Second and of the Fourth Commandment.

The people, still kneeling, shall after every Commandment sing or say the Kyrie, asking God's mercy for their transgressions in the past, and grace to keep his laws in time to come.

THE COMMUNION

Minister.

HEAR the Law of God which was given to Israel in old time. God spake these words and said: I am the LORD thy God; Thou shalt have none other gods but me.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister. Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them.

For I the LORD thy God am a jealous God, and visit the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, and show mercy unto thousands in them that love me and keep my commandments.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister. Thou shalt not take the Name of the LORD thy God in vain: for the LORD will not hold him guiltless, that taketh his Name in vain.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister. Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath day. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all that thou hast to do; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the LORD thy God.

In it thou shalt do no manner of work, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, thy man-servant, and thy maid-servant, thy cattle, and the stranger that is within thy gates. For in six days the LORD made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the LORD blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it.

THE COMMUNION

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister. Honour thy father and thy mother; that thy days may be long in the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister. Thou shalt do no murder.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister. Thou shalt not commit adultery.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister. Thou shalt not steal.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his servant, nor his maid, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is his.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and write all these thy laws in our hearts, we beseech thee.

Or he may rehearse, instead of these Commandments, the following:

Minister.

OUR Lord Jesus Christ said: Hear O Israel, The Lord our God is one Lord; and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it:

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Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and write both these thy laws in our hearts, we beseech thee.

Then may be sung or said:

Lord, have mercy upon us.
Christ, have mercy upon us.
Lord, have mercy upon us.

Then the Priest shall say:

The Lord be with you;
People. And with thy spirit.
Let us pray.

Then may follow this Collect for the Queen.

ALMIGHTY God, whose kingdom is everlasting, and power infinite: Have mercy upon the whole Church; and so rule the heart of thy chosen servant *ELIZABETH*, our Queen and Governor, that she, knowing whose minister she is, may above all things seek thy honour and glory: and that we and all her subjects, duly considering whose authority she hath, may faithfully serve, honour, and humbly obey her, in thee, and for thee, according to thy blessed Word and ordinance; through Jesus Christ our Lord, who with thee and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth, ever one God, world without end. *Amen.*

Then shall be said THE COLLECT OF THE DAY, together with any other Collects appointed to be said.

Then, the people being seated, the Priest or other person appointed shall read THE EPISTLE, saying: The Epistle [or The Lesson] is written in the . . . chapter of . . . beginning at the . . . verse. And the reading ended, he shall say: Here endeth the Epistle [or the Lesson].

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Here may follow a Psalm (see pages l to liv) or a Hymn.

Then shall the people stand for THE GOSPEL; and the Deacon or Priest who reads shall say: The Holy Gospel is written in the . . . chapter of the Gospel according to Saint . . . beginning at the . . . verse.

Then shall the people sing or say:

Glory be to thee, O Lord.

And after the reading of the Gospel they shall sing or say:

Praise be to thee, O Christ.

Then shall be sung or said this Creed by the Priest and people. It may, however, at the discretion of the Minister, be omitted on weekdays which are not Holy-days.

I BELIEVE in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, And of all things visible and invisible:

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, Begotten of the Father before all worlds; God, of God; Light, of Light; Very God, of very God; Begotten, not made; Being of one substance with the Father; Through whom all things were made: Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven, And was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, And was made man, And was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate. He suffered and was buried, And the third day he rose again according to the Scriptures, And ascended into heaven, And sitteth on the right hand of the Father. And he shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead: Whose kingdom shall have no end.

And I believe in the Holy Ghost, The Lord, The Giver of Life, Who proceedeth from the Father and the Son, Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, Who

THE COMMUNION

spake by the Prophets. And I believe One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church. I acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins. And I look for the Resurrection of the dead, And the Life of the world to come. Amen.

Here on Sundays the Minister shall announce what Holy-days and what days of Fasting, Abstinence, and Solemn Prayer are to be observed during the week, and publish Banns of Marriage and such other communications as are enjoined by lawful authority.

THE SERMON.

Then shall the Priest, standing at the Lord's Table, begin

THE OFFERTORY

saying one or more of the following Sentences:

OFFER unto God the sacrifice of thanksgiving, and pay thy vows unto the Most High. *Psalm 50. 14.*

And they came, every one whose heart stirred him up, and every one whom his spirit made willing, and they brought the LORD'S offering. *Exodus 35. 21.*

Blessed is he that considereth the poor and needy: the LORD shall deliver him in the time of trouble. *Psalm 41. 1.*

Give unto the LORD the honour due unto his Name; bring an offering and come into his courts. *Psalm 96. 8.*

Remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, It is more blessed to give than to receive. *Acts 20. 35.*

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To do good and to distribute forget not; for with such sacrifices God is well pleased.

Hebrews 13. 16.

The following Sentences may be used instead at the seasons named, and also at other times.

Advent. As we have opportunity, let us do good unto all men; and especially unto them that are of the household of faith. *Galatians 6. 10.*

Christmas. Brethren, you know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that you through his poverty might become rich.

2 Corinthians 8. 9.

Epiphany. Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.

St Matthew 5. 16.

Lent. I beseech you, brethren, by the mercies of God, that you present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service.

Romans 12. 1.

Passiontide. Walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and hath given himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God.

Ephesians 5. 2.

Maundy Thursday. Our Lord Jesus Christ saith: A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another; even as I have loved you, that ye also love one another. *St John 13. 34.*

Easter and Festivals. Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing.

Revelation 5. 12.

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Ascension Day. Lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither rust nor moth doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through and steal; for where your treasure is, there will your heart be also. *St Matthew 6. 20, 21.*

Whitsunday. Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do unto them; for this is the Law and the Prophets.

St Matthew 7. 12.

Trinity. Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven.

St Matthew 7. 21.

Rogation and Harvest. He that soweth little shall reap little; and he that soweth plenteously shall reap plenteously. Let every man do according as he is disposed in his heart, not grudgingly, or of necessity; for God loveth a cheerful giver.

2 Corinthians 9. 6, 7.

The Churchwardens, or others appointed by them, shall collect the offerings of the people, and reverently bring them to the Priest, who shall humbly present and place them upon the holy Table.

The Priest shall also at the time of the Offertory present and place on the Lord's Table so much Bread and Wine as he shall think sufficient, the same being brought to him, if so desired, by the Churchwardens or other representatives of the people.

The Bread shall be the best and purest wheat bread, whether leavened or unleavened, and the Wine pure grape wine, with which a little water may be mingled.

Then may be said or sung:

BLESSED be thou, LORD God of Israel, for ever and ever. All that is in the heaven and in the earth is thine.

All things come of thee, and of thine own have we given thee. *1 Chronicles 29. 10, 11, 14.*

THE COMMUNION

Then shall one of the Ministers ask the prayers of the people, using always either the first or the last of the following Biddings, together with one or more others if so desired; and he may provide short periods for silent prayer.

Let us pray for Christ's holy Catholic Church.

Let us pray for peace on earth and for the unity of all Christian people.

Let us pray for our missionaries at home and abroad.

Let us remember before God those of our brethren who have departed this life and are at rest.

Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth.

Then the Priest shall say THE INTERCESSION.

ALMIGHTY and everliving God, who by thy holy Apostle hast taught us to make prayers and supplications, and to give thanks, for all men: We humbly beseech thee most mercifully to accept our alms and oblations, and to receive these our prayers, which we offer unto thy Divine Majesty; beseeching thee to inspire continually the universal Church with the spirit of truth, unity, and concord: And grant that all they that do confess thy holy Name may agree in the truth of thy holy Word, and live in unity and godly love.

We beseech thee also to lead all nations in the way of righteousness; and so to guide and direct their governors and rulers, that thy people may enjoy the blessings of freedom and peace: And grant unto thy servant *ELIZABETH* our Queen, and to all that are put in authority under her, that they may truly and impartially administer justice, to the maintenance of thy true religion and virtue.

Give grace, O heavenly Father, to all Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, and specially to thy servant *N. our Bishop*, that they may both by their life

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and doctrine set forth thy true and living Word, and rightly and duly administer thy holy Sacraments: Prosper, we pray thee, all those who proclaim the Gospel of thy kingdom among the nations: And to all thy people give thy heavenly grace, and specially to this congregation here present, that, with meek heart and due reverence, they may hear and receive thy holy Word; truly serving thee in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life.

And we most humbly beseech thee of thy goodness, O Lord, to comfort and succour all them, who in this transitory life are in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity, *especially those for whom our prayers are desired.*

We remember before thee, O Lord, all thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fear: and we bless thy holy Name for all who in life and death have glorified thee; beseeching thee to give us grace that, rejoicing in their fellowship, we may follow their good examples, and with them be partakers of thy heavenly kingdom.

Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate, to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. *Amen.*

Then shall the Priest or one of the Ministers say:

YE that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins, and are in love and charity with your neighbours, and intend to lead the new life, following the commandments of God, and walking from henceforth in his holy ways: Draw near with faith, and take this holy Sacrament to your comfort; and make your humble confession to Almighty God, meekly kneeling upon your knees.

THE COMMUNION

Then shall this general Confession be made by all those that are minded to receive the holy Communion, both Priest and people humbly kneeling.

ALMIGHTY God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Maker of all things, Judge of all men: We acknowledge and confess our manifold sins and wickedness, Which we from time to time most grievously have committed, By thought, word, and deed, Against thy Divine Majesty. We do earnestly repent, And are heartily sorry for these our misdoings. Have mercy upon us, most merciful Father; For thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, Forgive us all that is past; And grant that we may ever hereafter Serve and please thee In newness of life, To the honour and glory of thy Name; Through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Then shall the Priest (or the Bishop if he be present) stand up, and turning himself to the people, pronounce this Absolution.

ALMIGHTY God, our heavenly Father, who of his great mercy hath promised forgiveness of sins to all them that with hearty repentance and true faith turn unto him: Have mercy upon you; pardon and deliver you from all your sins; confirm and strengthen you in all goodness; and bring you to everlasting life; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Then shall the Priest say:

Hear what comfortable words our Saviour Christ saith unto all that truly turn to him.

COME unto me all that labour and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you.

St Matthew 11. 28.

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God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, to the end that all that believe in him should not perish, but have eternal life.

St John 3. 16.

Hear also what Saint Paul saith.

This is a true saying, and worthy of all men to be received, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.

1 Timothy 1. 15.

Hear also what Saint John saith.

If any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and he is the propitiation for our sins.

1 St John 2. 1, 2.

The Priest shall then proceed with the holy Eucharist in

THANKSGIVING AND CONSECRATION

as follows:

THE Lord be with you;

People. And with thy spirit.

Priest. Lift up your hearts;

People. We lift them up unto the Lord.

Priest. Let us give thanks unto our Lord God;

People. It is meet and right so to do.

Then shall the Priest turn to the Lord's Table, and say:

IT is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty, Everlasting God, Creator and Preserver of all things.

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Here shall follow the Proper Preface, if there be any specially appointed, or else immediately shall be said or sung:

THEREFORE with Angels and Archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious Name; evermore praising thee and saying:

HOLY, Holy, Holy, Lord God of hosts, Heaven and earth are full of thy glory. Glory be to thee, O Lord Most High.

*Priest and
People.*

PROPER PREFACES.

Upon Christmas Day, and during the Octave thereof, and upon the Feast of the Annunciation.

BECAUSE thou didst give Jesus Christ thine only Son to be born *as at this time* for us; who, by the operation of the Holy Spirit, was made very man of the substance of the Virgin Mary his mother; and that without spot of sin, to make us clean from all sin. Therefore with Angels, *etc.*

After the Octave of Christmas to the Eve of the Epiphany, and upon the Feasts of the Purification and of the Transfiguration.

BECAUSE in the mystery of the Word made flesh, thou hast caused a new light to shine in our hearts, to give the knowledge of thy glory, in the face of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Therefore with Angels, *etc.*

Upon the Epiphany, and seven days after.

THROUGH Jesus Christ our Lord, who, in substance of our mortal flesh, manifested forth his glory, that he might bring us out of darkness into his own marvellous light. Therefore with Angels, *etc.*

THE COMMUNION

Upon Passion Sunday, and until Maundy Thursday inclusive.

FOR the redemption of the world by the death and passion of our Saviour Christ, both God and Man; who did humble himself, even to the death upon the Cross for us sinners, who lay in darkness and the shadow of death; that he might make us the children of God, and exalt us to everlasting life. Therefore with Angels, *etc.*

Upon Easter Day, and until the Eve of Ascension Day inclusive, and at memorial services.

BUT chiefly are we bound to praise thee for the glorious Resurrection of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord: for he is the very Paschal Lamb, which was offered for us, and hath taken away the sin of the world; who by his death hath destroyed death, and by his rising to life again hath restored to us everlasting life. Therefore with Angels, *etc.*

Upon Ascension Day, and until the Eve of Whitsunday inclusive.

THROUGH thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord; who after his most glorious Resurrection manifestly appeared to all his Apostles, and in their sight ascended up into heaven to prepare a place for us; that where he is, thither we might also ascend, and reign with him in glory. Therefore with Angels, *etc.*

Upon Whitsunday, and six days after, and at Ordinations and Synods.

THROUGH Jesus Christ our Lord; according to whose most true promise, the Holy Spirit came down *as at this time* from heaven, lighting upon the disciples to teach them, and to lead them into all truth; giving them both the gift of tongues,

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and also boldness with fervent zeal constantly to preach the Gospel unto all nations; whereby we have been brought out of darkness and error into the clear light and true knowledge of thee, and of thy Son Jesus Christ. Therefore with Angels, *etc.*

Upon Trinity Sunday.

WHOM with thy co-eternal Son and Holy Spirit we confess as one God, in Trinity of Persons and in Unity of Substance. For that which we believe of thy glory, O Father, the same we believe of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Therefore with Angels, *etc.*

Upon All Saints' Day and other Festivals of Saints.

WHO in the multitude of thy Saints hast compassed us about with so great a cloud of witnesses, that we, rejoicing in their fellowship, may run with patience the race that is set before us, and together with them may receive the crown of glory that fadeth not away. Therefore with Angels, *etc.*

After each of which shall be said or sung:

THEREFORE with Angels and Archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious Name; evermore praising thee and saying:

HOLY, Holy, Holy, Lord God of hosts, Heaven and earth are full of thy glory. Glory be to thee, O Lord Most High. *Priest and People.*

Either here, or immediately before the Communion, the Priest and people may say or sing:

BLESSED is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord: Hosanna in the highest.

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Then shall the Priest proceed with the Prayer of Consecration and the Breaking of the Bread before the people.

BLESSING and glory and thanksgiving be unto thee Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who of thy tender mercy didst give thine only Son Jesus Christ to take our nature upon him, and to suffer death upon the Cross for our redemption; who made there, by his one oblation of himself once offered, a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world; and did institute, and in his holy Gospel command us to continue, a perpetual memorial of that his precious death, until his coming again.

Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee; and grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood; who, in the same night that he was betrayed, ^atook Bread; and, when he had given thanks, ^bhe brake it; and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat; ^cthis is my Body which is given for you: Do this in remembrance of me. Likewise after supper ^dhe took the Cup; and, when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all, of this; for ^ethis is my Blood of the new Covenant, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins: Do this, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me.

Wherefore, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, we thy humble servants, with all thy holy Church, remembering the precious death of thy

a Here the Priest is to take the Paten into his hands

b And here to break the Bread

c And here to lay his hand upon all the Bread

d Here he is to take the Cup into his hands

e And here to lay his hand upon every vessel (be it Chalice or Flagon) in which there is any Wine to be consecrated.

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beloved Son, his mighty resurrection, and glorious ascension, and looking for his coming again in glory, do make before thee, in this sacrament of the holy Bread of eternal life and the Cup of everlasting salvation, the memorial which he hath commanded; And we entirely desire thy fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, most humbly beseeching thee to grant, that by the merits and death of thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in his blood, we and all thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his passion; And we pray that by the power of thy Holy Spirit, all we who are partakers of this holy Communion may be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction; through Jesus Christ our Lord, by whom and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, world without end.

And all the people shall answer

Amen.

After a short period of silence the Priest shall say:

THE peace of the Lord be always with you; People. And with thy spirit.

Then shall the Priest kneel down at the Lord's Table, and shall, together with all that shall receive the Communion, humbly say this prayer following

WE do not presume to come to this thy Table, O merciful Lord, Trusting in our own righteousness, But in thy manifold and great mercies. We are not worthy So much as to gather up the crumbs under thy Table. But thou art the same Lord, Whose property is always to have mercy: Grant us therefore, gracious Lord, So to

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eat the Flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, And to drink his Blood, That our sinful bodies may be made clean by his Body, And our souls washed through his most precious Blood, And that we may evermore dwell in him, And he in us. Amen.

Then shall the Priest first receive

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in both kinds himself, and then proceed to deliver the same to the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, in like manner, (if any be present,) and after that to the people also in order, into their hands, all meekly kneeling. And, as he delivers the Bread, he shall say:

THE Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life: Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving.

And the Minister that delivers the Cup shall likewise say:

THE Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life: Drink this in remembrance that Christ's Blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.

In the Communion time, Hymns or Anthems such as the following may be used:

OLAMB of God, that takest away the sin of the world, have mercy upon us.

OLamb of God, that takest away the sin of the world, have mercy upon us.

OLamb of God, that takest away the sin of the world, grant us thy peace.

If the consecrated Bread or Wine be all spent before all have communicated, the Priest shall consecrate more according to the manner before prescribed; saying for the blessing of the Bread:

Hear, O merciful Father, we beseech thee, the prayer and thanksgiving which we offer through Jesus Christ our Lord, who, in the same night etc.

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If it is necessary to consecrate in both kinds, the Priest shall continue: Likewise after supper he took the Cup; and, when he had given thanks, etc.

For the blessing of the Cup only, he shall say:

Hear, O merciful Father, we beseech thee, the prayer and thanksgiving which we offer through Jesus Christ our Lord, who after supper took the Cup; and, when he had given thanks, etc.

And he shall always continue to in remembrance of me.

When all have communicated, then shall the Priest say the Lord's Prayer, the people repeating with him every petition.

Let us pray.

OUR Father who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name, Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread; And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive them that trespass against us; And lead us not into temptation, But deliver us from evil.

For thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, For ever and ever. Amen.

Then shall the Priest say:

ALMIGHTY and everliving God, we most heartily thank thee that thou dost graciously feed us, in these holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious Body and Blood of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ; assuring us thereby of thy favour and goodness towards us; and that we are living members of his mystical body, which is the blessed company of all faithful people; and are also heirs through hope of thy everlasting kingdom.

And here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice unto thee.

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And although we are unworthy, yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences; through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. *Amen.*

Then shall be said or sung Gloria in Excelsis. On a weekday which is not a festival it may be omitted.

GLORY be to God on high, and in earth peace, good will towards men. We praise thee, we bless thee, we worship thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks to thee for thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty.

O Lord, the only-begotten Son, Jesu Christ; O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, that takest away the sin of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sin of the world, receive our prayer. Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father, have mercy upon us.

For thou only art holy; thou only art the Lord; thou only, O Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father. *Amen.*

Then the Priest (or the Bishop if he be present) shall let them depart with this Blessing.

THE peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord: And the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be amongst you and remain with you always. *Amen.*

If any of the consecrated Bread and Wine remain, the Priest and other Communicants shall reverently eat and drink the same,

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either when all have communicated, or immediately after the Blessing. In the latter case, immediately after the Communion the Priest shall reverently place the same upon the holy Table, and cover them with a fair linen cloth.

If there be no Communion, the Priest or Deacon may say all that is appointed, until the end of the Intercession, together with one or more of these Collects and the Lord's Prayer, concluding with the Grace.

ASSIST us mercifully, O Lord, in these our supplications and prayers, and dispose the way of thy servants towards the attainment of everlasting salvation; that, among all the changes and chances of this mortal life, they may ever be defended by thy most gracious and ready help; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

O ALMIGHTY Lord, and everlasting God, vouchsafe, we beseech thee, to direct, sanctify, and govern, both our hearts and bodies, in the ways of thy laws, and in the works of thy commandments; that through thy most mighty protection, both here and ever, we may be preserved in body and soul; through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

GRANT, we beseech thee, Almighty God, that the words, which we have heard this day with our outward ears, may through thy grace be so grafted inwardly in our hearts, that they may bring forth in us the fruit of good living, to the honour and praise of thy Name; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

PREVENT us, O Lord, in all our doings with thy most gracious favour, and further us with thy continual help; that in all our works, begun,

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continued, and ended in thee, we may glorify thy holy Name, and finally by thy mercy obtain everlasting life; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

ALMIGHTY God, the fountain of all wisdom, who knowest our necessities before we ask, and our ignorance in asking: We beseech thee to have compassion upon our infirmities; and those things, which for our unworthiness we dare not, and for our blindness we cannot ask, vouchsafe to give us for the worthiness of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

ALMIGHTY God, who hast promised to hear the petitions of them that ask in thy Son's Name: We beseech thee mercifully to incline thine ears to us that have made now our prayers and supplications unto thee; and grant that those things, which we have faithfully asked according to thy will, may effectually be obtained, to the relief of our necessity, and to the setting forth of thy glory; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

THE EXHORTATIONS

At the time of the Celebration of the Communion, either immediately before the Sermon or before Ye that do truly etc., the Priest may say this Exhortation, the people standing. This Exhortation shall always be said on a Sunday in Advent and a Sunday in Lent.

DEARLY beloved in the Lord, ye that mind to come to the holy Communion of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, must consider how Saint Paul exhorteth all persons diligently to try and examine themselves, before they presume to eat of that Bread, and drink of that Cup. For as the benefit is great, if with

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a true penitent heart and living faith we receive that holy Sacrament; (for then we spiritually eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood; then we dwell in Christ, and Christ in us; we are one with Christ, and Christ with us;) so is the danger great, if we receive the same unworthily. For then we are guilty of the Body and Blood of Christ our Saviour; we eat and drink our own condemnation, not discerning the Lord's Body. Judge therefore yourselves, brethren, that ye be not judged of the Lord; repent you truly for your sins past; have a lively and stedfast faith in Christ our Saviour; amend your lives, and be in perfect charity with all men; so shall ye be meet partakers of those holy mysteries. And above all things ye must give most humble and hearty thanks to God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, for the redemption of the world by the death and passion of our Saviour Christ, both God and Man; who did humble himself, even to the death upon the Cross, for us miserable sinners, who lay in darkness and the shadow of death; that he might make us the children of God, and exalt us to everlasting life. And to the end that we should always remember the exceeding great love of our Master and only Saviour Jesus Christ, thus dying for us, and the innumerable benefits which by his precious blood-shedding he hath obtained to us; he hath instituted and ordained holy mysteries, as pledges of his love, and for a continual remembrance of his death, to our great and endless comfort. To him therefore, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, let us give (as we are most bounden) continual thanks; submitting ourselves wholly to his holy will and pleasure, and studying to serve him in true holiness and righteousness all the days of our life. *Amen.*

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When the Minister gives warning for the Celebration of the holy Communion, he may read this Exhortation following, or the first paragraph thereof, at his discretion; provided always, that he read the whole Exhortation upon some Sunday before Christmas Day, Easter Day, and Whitsunday, the people all standing.

DEARLY beloved, on . . . I intend, through God's assistance, to celebrate the Lord's Supper; and to administer to all such as shall be devoutly disposed the most comfortable Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ; to be by them received in remembrance of his meritorious Cross and Passion, whereby alone we obtain remission of our sins, and are made partakers of the kingdom of heaven.

Wherefore it is our duty to render most humble and hearty thanks to Almighty God our heavenly Father, for that he hath given his Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, not only to die for us, but also to be our spiritual food and sustenance in that holy Sacrament. Which being so divine and comfortable a thing to them who receive it worthily, and so dangerous to them that will presume to receive it unworthily; my duty is to exhort you in the mean season to consider the dignity of that holy mystery, and the need of devout preparation for the receiving thereof, so that ye may come holy and clean to such a heavenly Feast, in the marriage-garment required by God in holy Scripture, and be received as worthy partakers of that holy Table.

The way and means thereto is: First, to examine your lives and conversations by the rule of God's commandments; and whereinsoever ye shall perceive yourselves to have offended, either by will, word, or deed, there to confess yourselves to Almighty God, with full purpose of amendment of life. And if ye shall perceive your offences to

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have been against your neighbours, then ye shall reconcile yourselves to them, being ready to make restitution. Ye must also be ready to forgive others that have offended you, as you would have forgiveness of your offences at God's hand. Therefore if any of you be a blasphemer of God, an hinderer or slanderer of his Word, an adulterer, or be in malice or envy, or in any other grievous crime, repent you of your sins; else come not to that holy Table.

And because it is requisite, that no man should come to the holy Communion, but with a full trust in God's mercy, and with a quiet conscience; therefore if there be any of you, who by this means cannot quiet his own conscience herein, but requireth further comfort or counsel, let him come to me, or to some other discreet Minister of God's Word, and open his grief; that by the ministry of God's holy Word, he may receive the benefit of absolution, together with spiritual counsel and advice, to the quieting of his conscience, and the avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness.

The Minister may add the following:

I, FOR my part, shall be ready to celebrate the holy Eucharist; and according to mine office, I call you in Christ's behalf to come to this heavenly Feast. It is an easy matter for a man to say, I will not communicate, because I am otherwise hindered with worldly business. But such excuses are not so easily accepted before God. If any one say, I am a grievous sinner, and therefore I am afraid to come; wherefore then do ye not repent and amend? For as the Son of God willingly yielded up his soul by death upon

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the Cross for your salvation; so it is your duty to receive the holy Communion, in remembrance of the sacrifice of his death, as he himself commanded.

Wherefore I bid you in God's Name not to separate yourselves from your brethren, but to prepare yourselves, and to come to feed upon the banquet of this most heavenly Food.

Whereas it is ordained in this office for the Administration of the Lord's Supper, that the Communicants should receive the same kneeling; (which order is well meant, for a signification of our humble and grateful acknowledgement of the benefits of Christ therein given to all worthy receivers, and for the avoiding of such profanation and disorder in the holy Communion, as might otherwise ensue;) It is here declared, that thereby no Adoration is intended, or ought to be done, either unto the Sacramental Bread or Wine there bodily received, or unto any Corporal Presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood. The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is Faith.

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