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PART THREE

EUCCHARISTIC LITURGIES IN THE ENGLISH INDEPENDENT TRADITION

1645 - 1974

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CHAPTER 8

THE INDEPENDENTS AND THE WESTMINSTER DIRECTORY

Mr. Ney objected, That our Directory about the communion is larger than any Directory which ever he hath seen, and much larger than the Rubricks.

George Gillespie, Notes of Debates and Proceedings of the Assembly of Divines and other Commissioners at Westminster. February 1644 to January 1645, ed. D. Meek, Edinburgh, 1846.

Nay, if our book was a compliance with the papists, as the late assembly have urged against it, assuredly it ill sorted with the prudence of such divines, to present the world with their own establishment under a title borrowed expressly from the papists, their Directory being the same, both name and thing, with the Directorium Sacerdotum, in the Romish Church.

Hammon L'Estrange, Alliance of Divine Offices, 1658, LACT, 1846, p. 51.

The Independents and the Westminster Directory.

In an order of the House of Commons of 18th September, 1643, which was finally passed as an ordinance of both Houses on the 12th October 1643, Parliament empowered the recently convened Westminster Assembly of Divines to debate and propound concerning a Directory of Worship which would replace the Book of Common Prayer.¹ Reform of the Church of England had been high on the agenda of the Long Parliament when it met in 1640, though at this date reform had meant nothing more than the curbing of ceremonial excesses and subordinating Canon Law to parliamentary jurisdiction. But the moderate demands of 1640 had been escalated by the events of civil war, and part of the price the parliamentary side had had to pay for Scottish assistance was acceptance of the Solemn League and Covenant which called for reformation of religion - in doctrine, worship, discipline and government - 'according to the Word of God' and the example of the best reformed churches.² The Puritan Assembly of Divines had been appointed to effect this reformation. It was within the debates of the Assembly that the differences between Presbyterians and Independents clearly emerged.

Robert Baillie, one of the Presbyterian Scottish Commissioners attached to the Assembly, recorded that the Divines had turned their attention to reforming worship in

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1. W. A. Shaw, A History of the English Church During the Civil Wars and under the Commonwealth 1640 - 1660, Vol.1. p. 337; J. Lightfoot, The Journal of the Proceedings of the Assembly of Divines, Works, ed. J. A. Pitman, 13 vols., London, 1824, Vol. 13, p. 17.
 2. The phrase 'according to the Word of God' was inserted at the insistence of the Independents Philip Nye and Sir Henry Vane, to escape the necessity of a Presbyterian Church government.

the belief that there was unanimity on this question, thus deferring the inevitable disagreement on church polity until later.³ However, this plan was not a success, for the compilation of the Westminster Directory represented a watershed in Independent liturgy. Until this point the Independents shared the general Puritan heritage in liturgy. Now, just as they steered a middle course between Presbyterianism and Brownism in matters of church government, so they steered the same course in liturgy. They accepted the general pattern of reformed worship, but refused to be bound by either Calvin or the Genevan Service Book. Baillie, referring to the stubbornness of the Independents over the form of the Directory, admitted, 'We must dispute every inch of our ground'.⁴

The compilation of the Directory for worship was placed in the hands of a subcommittee, consisting of four Scottish Commissioners - Robert Baillie, George Gillespie, Samuel Rutherford and Alexander Henderson, four English Presbyterians - Stephen Marshall (Chairman), Thomas Young, Herbert Palmer and Charles Herle, the latter often siding with the Independent viewpoint, and an Independent - Thomas Goodwin, who, much to Baillie's indignation, took it upon himself to co-opt another Independent, Philip Nye, on to the subcommittee.⁵ The whole Directory, with the exception of the Preface, was finished on the 12th November, 1644, though it was not until the 17th April, 1645 that

3. R. Baillie, Letters and Journals, ed. D. Laing, 3 Vols., Edinburgh, 1841, Vol. 2, p. 117.

4. *ibid.*, p. 195.

5. *ibid.*, p. 131.

the Commons enforced it and abolished the Book of Common Prayer; penalties for the neglect of the former and the use of the latter were also imposed.⁶

In the Preface to the Directory, the compilers appealed to the Word of God, both for authority for the laying aside of the Book of Common Prayer, and for the compilation of the new Directory which gave only 'the generall heads, the sense and scope of the Prayers'. But this appeal to the Word of God neatly disguises four distinct liturgical factors which determined the shape and content of the Directory.

1. Reaction to 'Laudian' liturgical trends.

The great wish of the 'Laudian' school was to bring the Prayer Book communion service more into line with those of the classical rites, and that of the Prayer Book of 1549, and to clothe it with dignified ceremonial. The influence of the 'Laudian' school on the Directory was, as might be expected, a negative one. The Puritan compilers paid respect to the original compilers of the Book of Common Prayer, but stated that because of abuses it had become a source of offence. There would be no possibility of reforming it or altering it; it was simply abolished.⁷

6. A Fine of 40s. for neglect of the Directory; for using the Book of Common Prayer, a £5 Fine for the first offence, £10 for the second, and for a third, one year in prison. Acts and Ordinances of the Inter-regnum. 1642 - 1660, ed. C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait, 3 Vols., 1911, Vol. 1, pp. 755 - 757.
7. The 'Laudian' estimate of the Directory was probably best summed up by Henry Hammond when he referred to it as the 'No-Liturgy'. A View of the New Directorie, Oxford, 1646, p. 95.

2. The Scottish Presbyterians and the Radical Party of the Kirk.

The idea for a Directory of worship for both England and Scotland had originally come from the Scots, for the Solemn League and Covenant had originated amidst a liturgical storm. The 1637 Liturgy for Scotland had been a revision of the Book of Common Prayer with concessions to Scottish Calvinism. In the Eucharistic liturgy, however, the revisers had sought to reintroduce features of the 1549 Book of Common Prayer, including an offertory of bread and wine, an invocation for the sanctification of the elements, and an anamnesis. None of these features was in absolute contradiction to Scottish usage, but the liturgy was interpreted as 'popery'. W. Jardine Grisbrooke points out that for the Scots it was not so much what it was as whose it was; 1637 was the prelate's liturgy.⁸

The Scottish Kirk, in taking first the National Covenant, and then the Solemn League and Covenant, sought to restore the original reformed discipline of John Knox's day, which included the reformed worship of the Book of Common Order (Genevan Service Book). Thus in 1644 the Settled Order, an adaptation of the Book of Common Order, was presented to Parliament for its consideration.⁹

However, it would be wrong to assume that all members of the Kirk felt that a return to reformed standards implied the restoration of the Genevan Service Book. There

8. W. Jardine Grisbrooke, Anglican Liturgies of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, p. 8.

9. Text in P. Hall, Reliquiae Liturgicae, Bath 1847, vol. 1. Appendix.

existed a radical party within the Kirk which questioned certain practices in public worship, including the recitation of the Creed, set prayers, and the singing of doxologies. Samuel Rutherford and George Gillespie, both Scottish members of the subcommittee compiling the Directory, seem to have been associated with this party.¹⁰

3. The Presbyterian Puritans.

The English Puritans inherited both the earlier Puritan criticisms of the Book of Common Prayer, and the proposed alternatives - the various editions of the Genevan Service Book. In 1641 and again in 1643 The Service and Discipline, an abridgement of 1556, was presented to Parliament for consideration. In common with some of the Independents, some Presbyterian members of the Westminster Assembly had been exiled in Holland, and had experienced the freedom of the directory-type of liturgy of the Dutch Reformed Church. However, with the abolition of the Prayer Book, and the compilation of a new order, the Presbyterian Puritans were able for the first time to give liturgical expression to their Eucharistic theology, a factor which should not be overlooked.

4. The Independents.

It is the Independent contribution to the Directory with which we are mainly concerned here. Although sharing the same heritage as the Presbyterians, and differing primarily only on matters of church polity, there does appear to have been a growing prejudice amongst the leading Independents in favour of the 'Forbesian way', or

10. David Stevenson, 'The Radical Party in the Kirk 1637 - 45', in JEH, 25 (1974), pp. 135 - 165.

free prayer. In their Apologeticall Narration the 'Dissenting Brethren' described their practice in the Netherlands, being at pains to establish their conformity with the Reformed Churches:

Our publique worship was made up of no other parts then the worship of all other reformed Churches doth consist of. As, publique and solemne prayers for kings and all in authority, &c, the reading the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament; Exposition of them as occasion was; and constant preaching of the word; the administration of the two Sacraments, Baptisme to infants, and the Lord's Supper, singing of Psalms; collections for the poor, &c every Lords day. 11

But at the same time there was a firm assertion of the right to use free prayer:

Againe, concerning the great ordinance of Publique Prayer and the Lyturgie of the Church, whereas there is this great controversie upon it about the lawfulnessse of set formes prescribed; we practiced (without condemning others) what all sides doe allow, and themselves does practice also, that the publique Prayers in our Assemblies should be framed by the meditations and study of our own Ministers, out of their own gifts, (the fruits of Christs Ascension) as well as their Sermons use to be. 12

The English Independents held the New England Independent, John Cotton, in high esteem. Cotton furnishes us with a full description of Independent worship in New England, and at least with regard to the Eucharist itself, Baillie confirms that such was also the usage of the English Independents.¹³

First then when wee come together in the Church, according to the Apostles direction, 1 Tim 2:1, wee make prayers and intercessions and thanksgivings for our selves and for all men, not in any prescribed forme of prayer,

11. T. Goodwin et al, An Apologeticall Narration, p. 8.
 12. *ibid.*, p. 12.
 13. Baillie, *op. cit.*, pp. 148 - 149.

or studied Liturgie, but in such a manner, as the Spirit of grace and of prayer (who teacheth all the people of God, what and how to pray, Rom 8.26, 27) helpeth our infirmities, wee having respect therein to the necessities of the people, the estate of the times, and the works of Christ in our hands.

After prayer, either the Pastor or Teacher, readeth a Chapter in the Bible, and expoundeth it, giving the sense, to cause the people to understand the reading, according to Neh 8.8. And in sundry Churches the other (whether Pastor or Teacher) who expoundeth not, he preacheth the Word, and in the afternoone the other who preached in the morning doth usually (if there be time) reade and preach, and he that expounded in the morning preacheth after him.

Before Sermon, and many times after, wee sing a Psalme, and because the former translation of the Psalmes, doth in many things very from the originall, and many times paraphraseth rather then translateth; besides divers other defects (which we cover in silence) wee have endeavoured a new translation of the Psalmes into English meetre, as neere the originall as we could expresse it in our English tongue, so farre as for the present the Lord hath been pleased to helpe us, and those Psalmes wee sing, both in our publick Churches, and in private.

The Seales of the Covenant (to wit, the Sacrament of Baptisme and the Lords Supper) are administered, either by the Pastor or by the Teacher; Both the Sacraments we dispense

.... The Lords Supper to such as neither want knowledge nor grace to examine and judge themselves before the Lord. Such as lie under any offence publickly known, doe first remove the offence, before they present themselves to the Lords Table; according to Mat. 5. 23, 24. The members of any Church, if any be present, who bring Letters testimoniall with them to our Churches, wee admit them to the Lords Table with us, The prayers wee use at the administration of the seales, are not any set formes prescribed to us, but conceived by the Minister, according to the present occasion, and the nature of the dutie in hand. The Lords Supper we administer for the time, once a moneth at least, and for the gesture, to the people sitting; according as Christ administred it to his Disciples sitting, (Mat. 26. 20. 26) who also made a Symbolicall use of it, to teach the Church their majoritie over their Ministers in some

cases, and their judiciall authoritie, as co-
 sessorers with him at the last Judgement, (Luk.
 22. 27. to 30.) which maketh us to looke at
 kneeling at the Lords Supper, not only as an
 adoration devised by man, but also as a
 violation by man of the institution of
 Christ, diminishing part of the Counsell of
 God, and of the honour and comfort of the
 Church held forth in it.

In time of solemnization of the Supper, the
 Minister having taken, blessed, and broken the
 bread, and commanded all the people to take
 and eate it, as the body of Christ broken for
 them, he taketh it himselve, and giveth it to
 all that sit at Table with him, and from the
 Table it is reached by the Deacons to the people
 sitting in the next seats about them, the
 Minister sitting in his place at the Table.

After they have all partaked in the bread, he
 taketh the cup in like manner, and giveth
thanks a new, (blesseth it) according to the
 example of Christ in the Evangelist, who
 describes the institution Mat. 26. 27. Mark 14.
 23. Luk. 22. 17. All of them in such a way
 as setteth forth the Elements, not blessed
together, but either of them apart; the bread
first by it selfe, and afterwards the wine by
 it selfe; for what reason the Lord himselve
 best knoweth, and wee cannot be ignorant, that
 a received solemne blessing, expresly per-
 formed by himselve, doth apparently call upon
 the whole assembly to look againe for a super-
 naturall and special blessing in the same
 Element also as well as in the former; for
 which the Lord will be againe sought to doe it
 for us.

After the celebration of the Supper, a Psalme
 of thanksgiving is sung, (according to Mat. 26.
 30.) and the Church dismissed with a blessing. 14

Some things here are of special note. The 'fencing of
 the Table' was carefully adhered to, the Independents
 being particularly careful as to who was admitted to the
 Supper. As in the description given by the separatist
 Robert Browne, two blessings or Eucharistic Prayers were

14. J. Cotton, The Way of the Churches of Christ in New
 England, pp. 66 - 68; Cf. T. Lechford, Plaine
 Dealing, 1642, p. 17, quoted in H. M. Dexter, The
 Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years,
 London, 1880, p. 453.

used relating to the bread and the wine, in strict interpretation of the biblical accounts. The communicants were seated, not kneeling. However, unlike the Church of Scotland, à Lasco and the Dutch Church, the Independents remained in their pews, and did not sit in succession at the table. This proved to be a point of great controversy between the Independents and the Scottish Commissioners in the compilation of the Directory.

These four factors coloured the Assembly's interpretation of 'the word of God'.

The Directory for worship eventually emerged from the subcommittee after, to use its Chairman's words, 'many serious & sad debates about the prayers & difficultyes on both sides'.¹⁵ We have little information regarding the debates and decisions of the subcommittee: two pages of notes from George Gillespie, and sporadic information from Baillie's letters - both Scottish members of the subcommittee. More information is available concerning its passage through the Assembly: the Journal of John Lightfoot, and the manuscript minutes of the Assembly in Dr. Williams's Library.

As with previous Puritan liturgies, the Eucharistic liturgy of the Directory may be considered as two distinct parts, the Morning worship and the Eucharist proper.

15. Minutes of the Sessions of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. (Adoniram Byfield). (Dr. Williams's Library). From a transcript of the Original. Vol. 2. fol. 86.

The pages of the Directory which provided an order for Morning worship consisted of three separate sections: the matter of public prayer, which seems to have been completed by the whole committee; Of Public Reading of the Holy Scriptures, which was given to Thomas Young;¹⁶ and Of Preaching of the Word, being the work of Stephen Marshall, the Chairman.¹⁷ A letter of Robert Baillie reveals that at least to begin with, Goodwin, the elected Independent member of the subcommittee, was in disagreement over the precise sequence of the prayers, and even the whole idea of a Directory:

We were next settling on the manner of the prayer, If it were good to have two prayers, as we use, before sermon, or but one, as they use: If in that first prayer it were meet to take in the King, Church and Sick, as they doe, or leave these to the last prayer, as we. While we are sweetlie debaiting on these things, in came Mr. Goodwin, who incontinent assayed to turn all upside downe, to reason against all directories, and our verie first grounds, also that all prefacing was unlawfull; that according to 1 Tim ii. 1, it was necessare to begin with prayer, and that in the first prayer we behooved to pray for the King. 18

Goodwin's argument concerning the first prayer corresponds with the order given by Cotton. However, Goodwin was reconciled,¹⁹ and the order finally recommended was as follows:

Call to worship (Prefacing).
 Prayer of approach.
 Psalm reading.
 Old Testament chapter.
 New Testament chapter.
 Psalm, sung.
 Prayer before the sermon (some petitions may be deferred until after the Sermon)
 Sermon.
 General prayer. (some petitions may be used before the sermon).

16. Baillie, op. cit., p. 140.

17. *ibid.*

18. Baillie, *ibid.*, p. 123.

19. *ibid.*

Lord's Prayer.
 Psalm, sung.
 Blessing.

The service itself allows some flexibility, not only in what could actually be said in the prayers, but also in the recommended sequence; according to preference, the thanksgiving and intercessions may come before or after the sermon. This flexibility is further illustrated by A Supply of Prayers for Ships where the Directory sequence has been rearranged:²⁰

Prayer of Approach.
 Lord's Prayer.
 Psalm reading.
 Old Testament chapter.
 New Testament chapter.
 Psalm, sung.
 Prayer of Confession.
 Prayer for the Church.
 Psalm, sung.
 General prayer.
 Blessing.

Such flexibility allowed the Independents to adopt a sequence of prayers in accordance with their own preferences.

The call to worship seems to have been an extension of the Votum of Calvin, 'Our help is in the name of the Lord', and Goodwin took exception to it. The prayer of approach echoes the theme of the confession of Calvin and 1556, though it asked in addition for pardon, assistance, and acceptance in the whole service, and a blessing on the particular portion of the Word to be read, thus also combining the prayer of illumination of previous Calvinist/Puritan rites. However, it is interesting to note that similar themes are also combined in one opening prayer in the Dutch liturgy of Datheen.

20. For a fuller discussion see my 'A Supply of Prayer for Ships: A Forgotten Puritan Liturgy'

The directions for the reading of Scripture carefully excluded the Apocrypha. However, dispute arose in the Assembly as to exactly who was to read the lections. The Independents' practice was to limit reading to the Pastor and Teacher, and this was supported by Palmer and Herle; but on Thursday the 13th June, 1644, the Assembly agreed to extend the privilege to those who intended ordination.²¹

The position of the prayer before the sermon seems to have been a compromise; it was not the opening prayer, as the Independent Goodwin demanded (Cf. Cotton), but neither was it after the sermon as was the corresponding prayer in Calvin and 1556. Some of the petitions could be deferred until after the sermon, allowing the pattern of Calvin and 1556. The prayer itself fulfils the function of the Long Prayer and the 'Prayer for the Whole Estate of Christes Church' in these two liturgies, but in both of these, the intercessory prayer presupposed an opening confession. The Prayer of the Directory is a confession and intercession. Its structure and themes are close to the third alternative prayer found in Waldegrave and Middleburg, being a shortened version of Datheen's 'Prayer after the Sermon' in the Dutch liturgy. That of the Directory seems nearer to the original Dutch version of the prayer than the shortened version of Waldegrave and Middleburg.²² Although there is no positive evidence, it may be the case that the compilers, consciously or unconsciously, based the prayer upon that of the Dutch liturgy.

21. John Lightfoot, The Journal of the Proceedings of the Assembly of Divines, (January 1643 - December 1644) p. 284.

22. See appendix.

The Directory provided a comprehensive guide for the preacher to prepare the sermon, laying down careful rules for its structure and content. It would appear to be the only liturgy ever to take the sermon seriously as an integral part of the service, giving it rather more attention than a mere indication of where it was to come in the service. The original text which came from the subcommittee contained a direction to 'abstain in the pulpit from speaking of Latin, Greek and Hebrew', which was debated by the Assembly.²³ Philip Nye had no objection to the use of foreign languages, 'but denied the use of human learning, as poets, &c as too pedantical'.²⁴ The final text recommended abstention from the 'unprofitable use of unknown tongues'.

The prayer after the sermon repeated some of the themes of the prayer before the sermon; in A Supply of Prayer for ships, the same prayer was entitled a 'Thanksgiving'.

The Lord's Prayer was only recommended since the Independents regarded it as an example of prayer, and not something which was required to be used.

The order was to end with a 'Solemn Blessing'. No text was provided in the Directory, but A Supply of Prayer for ships has a multiple blessing (Aaronic, 1 Thess. 2:5, and the Grace):

The Lord blesse us, and keep us; the Lord make his face to shine upon us, and be gracious unto us; the Lord lift up his countenance upon us, and give us his Peace;

23. Lightfoot, op. cit., p. 281. Friday, June 7th, 1644.

24. *ibid.*, p. 282. Presumably Nye disapproved of the Areopagus Speech Acts 17:28!

And the very God of Peace, sanctifie us wholly, that our whole spirit, soul and body, may be preserved blamelesse unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ: And the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God the Father, and the Communion of the Holy Ghost be with us all, Amen.

When the Eucharist was to follow, the blessing might be used at this point in the service, and/or at the end of the Eucharist.²⁵

The absence of the Creed and the Decalogue is explained by the Minutes of the Sessions of the Assembly:

December 16. 1644 ordered' That Dr. Burges inform the Honble Houses of Parliament that the reason why the Assembly have sent up nothing in the Directory concerning the Creed and the Ten Commandments, is because they reserve it for the Directory for catechizing, where they conceive it will be most proper. 26

The compilation of the Eucharistic liturgy proper, entitled 'Of the Celebration of the Communion, or Sacrament of the Lord's Supper', was in the hands of the Scottish Commissioners,²⁷ and it is only to be expected therefore that behind the Directory the Genevan Service Book in its version in the Book of Common Order can be clearly seen. However, it would be quite wrong to assume that the Scots had entirely their own way in the matter; the Independents' Eucharistic rite, as represented by Cotton, was considerably shorter in structure, and they were not anxious to abandon their way of celebration. Baillie complained:

25. *ibid.*, pp. 285, 325.

26. Minutes of the Sessions of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. (November 1644 to March 1649), (Vol. 3 of the Ms.) ed. A. F. Mitchell and J. Struthers, Edinburgh & London, 1874, p. 21.

27. Baillie, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

The unhappie Independents would mangle that sacrament. No catechising nor preparation before; no thanksgiving after; no sacramentall doctrine or chapters, in the day of celebration; no coming up to any table; but a carrying of the element to all in their seats athort the church: yet all this, with God's help, we have carryed over their bellies to our practise. 28

From the evidence that is extant, there appears to have been little discussion on the actual texts of the prayers, but quite heated debates on the rubrics. A quaint piece of ceremonial was propounded by Nye:

Mr. Nye told us his private judgement, that in preaching he thinks the minister should be covered and the people discovered; but in the sacrament, the minister should be discovered, as a servant, and the guests all covered. 29

Not surprisingly, it remained merely Nye's private judgement.

The main problem which faced the subcommittee was over the position for the reception of the elements. The Scottish practice was to sit at the table, as also the practice of the Dutch Church; the Independents remained in their seats and the elements were brought to them by the deacons.

According to Gillespie, the problem was raised in subcommittee as early as March 4th, 1644:

Mr. Marshall, Palmer, Herle, and Goodwin too, said it was enough that the elements be blessed on the table, and that some sit at table, but that the elements may be carried about to others in their pews or seats. Against this we alleged, 1. Christ's example, making use of a table, Luke xxii. 21, and that for a signification, *ibid.* ver.30.

28. *ibid.*, p. 195.

29. *ibid.*, p. 149.

2. The example of the church of Corinth, and the apostles calling it the Lord's table, 1 Cor. x. 21, which is more than partaking of the bread, ver. 17; or the Jews eating of the sacrifices, ver. 18; even an honourable fellowship with Christ opposed to fellowship with devils, ver. 20; and chap. viii. 10, we give bread and drink to many whom we admit not into our fellowship, so as to sit down at table with us.

3. The nature of a feast requireth that the guests be set at table, and that all the guests be set about it, for the use of a table is not for some, but for all the guests, else no table is necessary, but a cupboard. 30

Marshall seems to have been won over, for to the Assembly itself he explained that the intention was that the people should sit down at the table, company after company.³¹ But the Independents were not convinced; during the debates in the Assembly in June and July, Nye, Goodwin and Bridge pressed for communicating everyone in their seats without coming up to a table.³² The final rubric was a compromise, allowing either practice: 'the communicants may orderly sit about it, or at it.'

Another problem was the fraction and administration, it being debated whether the communicants might distribute the bread one to another, and whether every communicant might break the bread for himself after the minister had broken the loaf. The distributing of the bread and the cup from party to party was granted, but 'breaking' the bread, which included cutting it up for distribution, was reserved for the minister.³³

30. George Gillespie, Notes of Debates and Proceedings of the Assembly of Divines and other Commissioners at Westminster. February 1644 to January 1645, ed. D. Meek, Edinburgh, 1846, p. 101.

31. Lightfoot, op. cit., pp. 286 - 287.

32. ibid., pp. 286 - 296; Baillie, op. cit., p. 199.

33. Lightfoot, op. cit., pp. 288 - 289.

According to the rubrics, the Eucharist was to be celebrated frequently, though the Assembly left this to the discretion of the minister and officers of the congregation. In some cases, it was rarely celebrated; for example Thomas Palmer of Aston-on-Trent, Derbyshire, and R. Lancaster of Ampport, Hampshire, were reputed to have rarely administered the communion.³⁴

The order finally agreed upon was as follows:

Exhortation: the benefit of the sacrament;
Excommunication; encouragement of those who labour under the sense of the burden of their sins to communicate.

Words of Institution. 1 Cor. 11: 23 - 27.

Optional explanation of the words.

Prayer of Thanksgiving, or Blessing of the Bread and Wine.

Fraction and delivery: According to the holy Institution, command and example of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, I take this Bread, and having given thanks, I break it, and give it unto you. Take yee, eat yee; This is the Body of Christ which is broken for you, Do this in remembrance of him.

According to the Institution, command, and example of our Lord Jesus Christ, I take this Cup, and give it unto you.

This cup is the new Testament in the Blood of Christ, which is shed for the remission of the sins of many; Drink ye all of it.

Exhortation.

Solemn Thanksgiving.

(The Collection for the Poor is so ordered that no part of the worship is hindered).

The opening Exhortation is a familiar characteristic of previous Puritan liturgies, though the Directory deviated from Calvin, 1556, à Lasco and Datheen in that the Words of Institution did not preface it, nor formed any part of it. In comparison with the Genevan order and

34. Calamy Revised, ed. A. G. Matthews, Oxford, 1934, pp. 380, 313. For further examples, G. F. Nuttall, The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience, Oxford, 1946, p. 94.

its derivations, an inversion in sequence of themes appears to have been made. Calvin and 1556 considered the danger of unworthy eating, excommunication, invitation and encouragement, with a brief reference to the benefits of the sacrament; the Directory commenced with an explanation of the benefits, and ended with the use of the sacrament, with directions which appear to require a brief theological résumé of the Eucharist. In this it came nearer to Datheen's order than to Calvin and 1556.

After the exhortation, the communicants sitting about the table, or at it, the Minister was to begin the action by 'sanctifying and blessing' the elements, the term 'consecration' being rejected by the Assembly.³⁵ The rubric defined the means of this setting apart or blessing:

that those elements now set apart and sanctified to this holy use, by the Word of Institution and Prayer.

This would seem to account for the removal of the Words of Institution from their place in the previous Puritan orders of before the exhortation to now immediately before the Eucharistic Prayer. In Calvin the words were part of the exhortation, for the Word must be preached;³⁶ in 1556 they were placed before the exhortation, as a warrant; in the Directory they still serve both purposes, the Minister being permitted to give a word of explanation, but they were here made an integral part of the setting apart or sanctifying the elements. The words represented the Divine promise or pledge, and reflected Puritan Eucharistic teaching. William Perkins, one of

35. Lightfoot, op. cit., p. 288.

36. Institutes, 4.14.4; see chapter 4.

the Elizabethan Cambridge Puritans, maintaining that the minister's action at the Eucharist was four-fold, explained the second as

his blessing of it, whereby he, by the recital of the promises, & prayers conceived to that end, doth actually separate the bread and wine received from their common unto an holy use. 37

Similarly William Ames taught:

But this word of institution distinctly applied with fit prayers, is called the word of consecration, of blessing, the word of sanctification, and separation. 38

The same teaching was also propounded by Richard Vines, one of the leading Divines of the Assembly.³⁹ The rearrangement of the Calvin/1556/à Lasco/Datheen positioning of the Words of Institution would appear to make explicit the Puritan theology of sanctification or consecration.

The Eucharistic Prayer, termed the Thanksgiving, is of some significance, and needs to be considered at some length.

A Eucharistic Prayer occurs in 1556 and its later Puritan editions, and in Datheen's rite. From the account of John Cotton, the Independent practice, like that of Brown, and probably Barrow, was to have two Eucharistic Prayers, relating to the bread and the wine respectively. This practice they attempted to retain in the Directory; the Minutes of the Assembly record Nye's argument:

37. William Perkins, Workes, 3 Vols., London, 1626-31, Vol. 1. p. 75.

38. William Ames, The Marrow of Sacred Divinity, London, 1642, p. 187.

39. Richard Vines, A Treatise of the Right Institution, Administration and Receiving of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper delivered in XX Sermons at St. Lawrence Jewry, 1657, p. 91.

I have not conceived it to be indifferent to extend the blessing to them both at once. it is the mind of Christ to hold forth these 2 more distinctly than if they were to be blended together in a meale (?)

that place in the 1 Cor. 10.

I believe it is the mind of Jesus Christ to have some kind of distinction in these 2, distinct blessing & distinct receiving by the whole. 40

William Bridge, another leading Independent divine, also appears to have argued that this was the practice in Matthew, Mark and 1 Corinthians.⁴¹

Against a double consecration, George Gillespie argued that Matthew and Mark speak of the thanksgiving over the cup in the past tense, implying only one prayer; and

if ther was a double blessing first at the bread & then at the giving of the cup, then either this was misticall & soe intended, or it was only occasional as the upper chamber was. 42

If there had been a second blessing, Gillespie suggested, then it might not have been an audible prayer at all, but simply a lifting up of the eyes to heaven;⁴³ Gillespie seems to have believed that there was only one blessing.

The Minutes also record that a certain Mr. Walker appealed to Beza's opinion that there was only one prayer used at the Institution, and Walker suggested that that prayer was preserved in John 17.⁴⁴

As the Directory shows, the Independents had to give way to the Scottish and English Presbyterians. In a

40. Minutes of the Sessions, Ms, Vol. 2, fol. 104b.
 41. *ibid.*, fol. 103. The full minute is missing.
 42. *ibid.*, fol. 103b.
 43. *ibid.*, fol. 104.
 44. *ibid.*, fol. 104b.

sermon written during the time that the Directory was in force, Richard Vines explained:

And here let me shew you a reason why the Churches now are not bound to consecrate and distribute the Bread before they consecrate the Wine, as it was in Christs Supper, because the Rite was so at that time, and the thing being meerely occasional, is not obligatory, but indifferent: We pronounce the words of signification, This is my Body, This cup is, &c, severally, but we do not distribute the Bread before we bless the Wine; that Christ did occasionally to the Rite. 45

The fact that Vines bothered to raise the subject in a sermon may suggest that the double consecration was still a live issue, and still practised by the Independents.⁴⁶

The prayer itself divides into three paragraphs. The first two were based upon that of 1556, some of the phraseology of the latter being incorporated with little change: confession, thanksgiving for redemption in Christ, and for the means of grace, and the confession of the name of Jesus. The first paragraph seems to have been the source of the 'General Prayer of Thanksgiving' in the 1662 Book of Common Prayer.⁴⁷

The third paragraph of the prayer was a petition for consecration, or sanctification, and needs some explanation.

The first problem which arises here is the nature of this petition. Both W. D. Maxwell and Horton Davies have classified it as an Epiklesis.⁴⁸ In so far as

45. Richard Vines, op. cit., p. 86.

46. See below for later Independent practice.

47. G. J. Cuming, 'Two Fragments of a lost liturgy?' in Studies in Church History, Vol. 3, Leiden 1966, pp. 247 - 253.

48. W. D. Maxwell, The Liturgical Portions, p. 135; Horton Davies, The Worship of the English Puritans, p.137.

'Epiklesis' means an invocation addressed to God, this is correct, but then it is also true of most prayer. However, in comparative liturgy the term Epiklesis is usually understood to refer to the petition for consecration found in the Eastern and some non-Roman Western Anaphoras. There is a variety of terminology used, but the mature Epiklesis requests God to send the Holy Spirit upon the elements of bread and wine, to make them the Body and Blood of Christ. What we have in the Directory is rather different; God is asked

- (a) to vouchsafe his gracious presence
- (b) and the effectual working of his Spirit
in us
- (c) and so to sanctifie these Elements both of Bread and Wine, and to blesse his own Ordinance, that we may receive by Faith the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ.

Here God the Father sanctifies the elements, and the Holy Spirit works in us, so that by faith we may receive the Body and Blood of Christ. This is certainly not the Epiklesis of the Eastern Anaphoras, and is described more cautiously by E. C. Ratcliff as 'two explicit petitions for sanctifying or consecrating the elements'.⁴⁹

The second problem concerns the source of the petition. For the doctrine, we need look no further than John Calvin; Calvin taught that by faith and through the Holy Spirit the communicant received the Body and Blood of Christ as the bread and wine were received.⁵⁰ But, as we have seen, although Calvin's rite did contain the petition 'that we

49. E. C. Ratcliff, 'Puritan Alternatives to the Prayer Book', in Ramsey et al, The English Prayer Book 1549 - 1662, pp. 56 - 81, p. 69. In note 1, Ratcliff writes, 'This type of petition is not to be taken as a form of epiclesis'.

50. Institutes, 4.17.10.

may with a cōstante and assured fayth, receave bothe
 hys bodye and bloude, yea, verelye CHRIST hymselfe wholye'
 (Huycke's translation), it came after the sermon in the
 Long Prayer, and nowhere near the actual taking of the
 elements; furthermore, it does not make explicit Calvin's
 teaching. Nor does anything corresponding to the petition
 in the Directory occur in 1556 and its later editions.

William McMillan⁵¹ and W. D. Maxwell⁵² have both
 adduced evidence for such a petition for consecration
 being used in Scotland. The 1629 proposed revision of
 the Book of Common Order contained the following petition:

Mercifull father wee beseech thee that wee
 receiving these thy creatures of bread and
 wine, according to thy sonne our Saviour his
 holy institution, may be made partakers of
 his most blissed body and blood. Send doune
 o Lord thy blissing upon this Sacrament that
 it may be unto us the effectual exhibitiv
 instrument of the Lord Jesus. 53

And the petition in the proposed liturgy of 1637,

vouchsafe so to bless and sanctify with thy
 Word and Holy Spirit these thy gifts and
 creatures of bread and wine, that they may be
 unto us the body and blood

would seem to be as much a concession to current Scottish
 usage as a resurrecting of the 1549 Prayer Book rite.

This evidence led E. C. Ratcliff to conclude:

We may, then, reasonably attribute the
 introduction of the petition for sancti-
 fying the bread and wine to the Scottish
 members of the subcommittee. 54

The evidence offered by McMillan and Maxwell certainly
 indicates that the Scottish members of the subcommittee

51. W. McMillan, The Worship of the Scottish Reformed
 Church 1550 - 1638, 1931, p. 170f.

52. W. D. Maxwell, The Liturgical Portions, pp. 134 - 135.

53. Quoted in Maxwell, *ibid.*, p. 135.

54. E. C. Ratcliff, 'Puritan Alternatives to the Prayer
 Book', p. 70.

would favour an explicit petition for consecration. However, there would appear to be no sound reason for attributing this petition in the Directory exclusively to Scottish influence as Ratcliff does. There is ample evidence to show that the petition for sanctification or consecration reflects the thought of the English Puritans, who were only now able to give liturgical expression to their Eucharistic theology. For example, William Fulke wrote:

These words (as every man may see plainley) make nothing for adoration of the Sacrament, but for spirituall reverence to be given to Christ, of them that come to receive the Sacrament, by which we are assured (if we come worthely) that we are made partakers of the verie body and bloud of Christ, after a spiritual manner, by faith on our behalfe, and by the working of the Holy Ghost, on the behalfe of Christ. 55

Similarly Dudley Fenner, commenting upon 1 Cor. 10:5 explained the sacrament as

an instrument whereby truly is communicated by the working of the H Ghost to our faith, the very bodye and blood of Christ. 56

The same teaching is to be found in other English Puritan writings, such as those of William Perkins, Richard Greenham and Walter Marshall.⁵⁷ Furthermore, the liturgical expression of Calvin's teaching was not limited to Scotland; one Reformed rite in particular - and one

55. William Fulke, The Text of the New Testament ... with a confutation, p. 526, on 1 Cor. 11:18.
 56. Dudley Fenner, The Whole doctrine of the Sacramentes, n.p.
 57. William Perkins, A Reformed Catholic, in The Works of William Perkins, 3 Vols., 1626-1631, Vol. 1, p. 610; Cases of Conscience, Vol. 2, p. 83; Richard Greenham, Workes, 1601, p. 479; Walter Marshall, The Gospel Mystery of Sanctification, 1692, p. 44.

known well to some of the members of the Assembly - contained a similar type of petition, namely the Dutch liturgy of Datheen. God the Father was asked that in the Ordinance

thou wilt bee pleased to work in our hearts through the Holy Ghost, that we may give ourselves more and more with true confidence to thy Son Jesus Christ that our broken and burdened hearts may be fed and comforted through the power of the Holy Spirit with his body and blood.

It could be the case that the knowledge of this petition in the Dutch liturgy encouraged the Assembly in the formulation of the petition in the Directory, giving liturgical expression to Calvinist doctrine. There is certainly no need to attribute the petition exclusively to Scottish influence.

The fraction, with words of delivery, followed the Prayer, maintaining the heightening of the fraction which has already been observed in Waldegrave and Middleburg. There appears to have been silence during the administration, though an exhortation could follow. On this point the Independents seem to have had their own way; Stephen Marshall proposed that some sentences should be spoken during the administration, since Jesus spoke to his disciples at the Supper (Luke 22: 15ff). This idea was steadfastly resisted by Herle and Nye.⁵⁸

Possibly a psalm was sung at this point after the administration, since this was the practice of both the Presbyterians and Independents. There is no rubric to this effect, but it was possibly covered by the psalm

58. Minutes, Vol. 2, fol. 110; Lightfoot, op. cit., p. 290.

before the blessing in the order for Morning worship.

The collection for the poor is mentioned at the end of the service; the only material offering allowed by Reformed theology could take place at any convenient point in the service.

At a number of points attention has been drawn to the similarities that exist between the Directory and the Dutch liturgy. Some of the members of the Westminster Assembly knew the Dutch liturgy, and the Ordinance for the introduction of the Directory referred to the example of the best Reformed Churches, suggesting a wider source than merely the Book of Common Order of Scotland. The members of the Assembly were allowed access to whatever books or texts they liked, and thus there is every possibility that the Dutch liturgy had been examined.⁵⁹ Furthermore, the Assembly itself seems to have maintained close contact with the Dutch Reformed Church.⁶⁰ It must be admitted, however, that none of the members of the subcommittee who compiled the Directory, with the exception of Goodwin, had been exiled in Holland, and there is no direct evidence to suggest that the members deliberately drew upon the Dutch rite. The suggestion that the Dutch liturgy formed the source for certain items in the Directory must remain an interesting conjecture.

With the compilation of the Directory we have for the first time a liturgy produced by the English Puritan tradition which was quite distinct from the Book of Common

59. Lightfoot, op. cit., p. 29.

60. S. W. Carruthers, The Everyday Work of the Westminster Assembly, Philadelphia, 1943, p. 36 ff.

Prayer and the Genevan Service Book. It represented a synthesis between previous Independent Puritan and Separatist practices. Nevertheless, behind this liturgy can be seen 1556 and Calvin, and in turn, therefore, Bucer and the Roman Mass. The pedigree is still just discernible.

The Directory also represents an important stage in Independent Eucharistic liturgy. As the Independents emerged clearly as a distinct form of Puritanism, they made their influence felt in the compilation of a written liturgy; after the Directory, the Independents turned their backs upon written liturgical texts for almost two hundred years. And not for another three hundred and thirty years would the 'Congregational men' co-operate with their Presbyterian brethren in the compilation of a Eucharistic liturgy.

APPENDIX

The themes of the Prayer after the Sermon of Petrus Datheen, and the Public Prayer before the Sermon in the Directory.

DATHEEN

1. We acknowledge and confess that we are not worthy to lift up our eyes to heaven ... our sins witness against us.
2. But ... you have ordered us to invoke you in all distress ... for the merit of our Lord Jesus Christ.
3. besides the innumerable benefits ... you have given us grace ... we have deviated, ... we are guilty, ... we have sinned grievously.
4. But ... you are our God ... maintain rather that work that you began in us by your mercy. (Like Israel) we have the covenant which you established in the hand of Jesus Christ our Mediator ... a perfect sacrifice on the cross ... look at the face of your anointed, and not at our sins, so that your wrath may be quenched by his Intercession.
5. ... govern us with your Holy Spirit ... renew us to a better life and bring forth in us true fruits of faith.
6. ... the doctrine of your holy Gospel, that it may be proclaimed and received ... that the ignorant be turned.

THE DIRECTORY

1. To acknowledge our great Sinfulness ... Original sin ... Actual sins ... we having broken all the commandments.
2. To bewaile our blindness of mind, hardness of heart, unbelief.
3. To acknowledge and confess ... we judge ourselves unworthy.
4. Notwithstanding all of which, to draw near to the throne of grace, ... in the riches of that only one oblation, the satisfaction and intercession of the Lord Jesus Christ ... through the same Mediator ... supplicate for mercy.
5. The Lord ... vouchsafe to shed abroad his love in our hearts by the Holy Ghost ... Pardon and reconciliation.
6. with remission of sins through the blood of Christ, to pray for sanctification by his Spirit.
7. To pray for the propagation of the Gospel and kingdom of Christ ... Jews ... the fall of Antichrist ... distressed churches abroad ... cruel oppressions and blasphemies of the Turk.

DATHEEN

7. send faithfull servants into your Harvest ... Destroy false teachers.

8. all Christian congregations.

9. For the secular government, Roman Emperor, the King, and all other Kings and monarchs and Lords.

10. All who suffer persecution from the Pope or the Turk.

11. those in poverty, imprisonment, illness of body or temptation of the Spirit.

12. For protection and guidance. For strength against Temptation.

THE DIRECTORY

8. To pray for all in authority, ... the Kings Majesty ... Queen ... Prince ... Pastors and Teachers ... Universities ... the City ... Congregation ... averting the judgements ... as famine pestilence the sword.

9. For Fellowship with God, and Grace; reverent use of the Ordinances.

10. For the Spirit of Grace ... enjoy the fulness of those joys and pleasures which are at his right hand for evermore.

11. For the Minister ... for his sermon ... that those who hear may receive the word.

CHAPTER 9

THE SAVOY CONFERENCE 1661

The Savoy Conference 1661.

It is with some hesitation that the work of the Savoy Conference of 1661 - a conference between the Presbyterians and the restored Episcopalians - has been included within this study. The Independents had no part in this conference; they did not expect comprehension and nor was it offered to them. Furthermore, the main spokesman for the Presbyterians, Richard Baxter, preferring the title 'mere Catholick' or 'mere Nonconformist',¹ consistently attacked separation and Independency; his own liturgical work must be classed as Presbyterian, and not Congregationalist. However, it is impossible to pass over this attempt at liturgical accommodation without comment. Modern Congregationalists have included Richard Baxter within the Puritan tradition which they claim as their own, and the compilers of the 1948 A Book of Public Worship saw fit to draw upon Baxter's liturgy as part of their own liturgical heritage.² For this reason we consider here the Eucharistic proposals of the Savoy Conference.

In the Declaration to all his loving subjects of the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales, concerning ecclesiastical affairs, Charles II proposed that a number of divines from the Episcopalian and Puritan sides should be appointed to revise the Book of Common Prayer and to

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1. For the use of these titles, F. J. Powicke, A Life of the Reverend Richard Baxter, London, 1924, p. 167; The Reverend Richard Baxter under the Cross (1662 - 1691), London, 1927, p. 71 ff.
 2. ed. N. Micklem, Christian Worship; A Book of Public Worship, Introduction p. xiii.

supply alternative forms in scriptural phrase. As has been pointed out above,³ the terms of reference of the commission appointed in March 1661 seemed to limit the conference's task to a moderate revision of the Prayer Book. The Puritan party interpreted the terms of reference of the commission by the Declaration, and thus provided a blueprint for a revised Book of Common Prayer, and an alternative liturgy. The Savoy Conference provides us, then, with two Eucharistic liturgies: The revised Prayer Book communion, and that of Baxter's Reformed Liturgy.

The Revised Prayer Book Communion

The Puritan criticisms of the Prayer Book, entitled Exceptions against the Book of Common Prayer, were a skilful restatement of the old sixteenth century Puritan complaints.⁴ They were divided into General and Particular complaints and detailed suggested amendments, and together they were intended to correct the Prayer Book and make it acceptable to all who held "the substantials of the protestant religion". The Exceptions which had any bearing on the Eucharistic liturgy may be summarized as follows:

1. General and Particular complaints.

(a) According to Scripture, the minister is 'the mouth of the people to God in prayer' and the people's part is

3. Chapter 2, pp. 65 - 69.

4. Text in E. Cardwell, A History of Conferences, pp. 303-363.

to attend reverently and in silence. Therefore, apart from the 'Amen', all responses should be omitted.

(b) The collects of the day were too short, and were not agreeable to scriptural examples, nor suited to the gravity and seriousness of corporate prayer. The various petitions should be put together into one long prayer.

(c) The Prayer Book was defective because it lacked a preparatory prayer for God's assistance, and failed to mention original and actual sin.

(d) The observance of Saints' days and their vigils had no scriptural warrant.

(e) The words 'priest' and 'Sunday' were to be replaced by 'minister' and 'Lord's Day' respectively.

(f) There were to be no readings from the Apocrypha.

(g) There was to be no use of the surplice, no kneeling for the communion, and as little movement as possible.

2. Detailed suggested amendments.

(a) The opening rubrics were to be transformed into an examination of faith and excommunication of evil doers, in accordance with the King's Declaration of October 1660.

(b) The Decalogue was to be prefaced by the full scriptural introduction, and the fourth commandment to read as in Exodus 20 and Deuteronomy 5 (He blessed the Sabbath'.) The responses were to be omitted, and the Decalogue to be concluded with a prayer by the minister.

(c) Preaching was to be strictly enjoined.

(d) The collection for the poor might be better made at or a little before the departing of the communicants

(Cf. the Directory).

(e) The confession said by the minister only.

- (f) There were faults in the wording of the proper prefaces for Christmas and Whitsunday.
- (g) The 'Prayer of Humble Access' was to be altered to read "that our sinful souls and bodies may be cleansed through his precious body and blood".
- (h) In the 'Prayer of Consecration' a petition for consecration and directions for the fraction were to be added.
- (i) The words of administration were to be scriptural.
- (j) The 'Black' rubric was to be restored.

From these Exceptions, together with the pattern of previous Puritan liturgies, it is possible to piece together the structure of the revision of the Eucharist which is envisaged (the number of the Exceptions summarized above is given in brackets):

Examination and Excommunication (2.a) cf. Directory.
 Prayer for God's assistance, including confession of sin (1.c) cf. Directory.
 The Decalogue and prayer (2.b).
 Long prayer for all estates (1.b).
 Readings.
 Sermon (2.c).
 Prayer after the sermon (?) Cf. Directory, leading up to the subject of the Lord's Supper. Perhaps examination and excommunication here.
 Confession by minister alone (2.e).
 Thanksgiving (?). Cf. Directory; mentioned in the preface to the Exceptions.
 Prayer of Humble Access, emended (2.g).
 Prayer of consecration, with petition for sanctification of the elements and to bless the ordinance (2.h).
 The fraction (2.h).
 Words of administration from Scripture (2.i); communicants may sit or stand.
 Psalm (?) Prayer of oblation or thanksgiving.
 Blessing.
 Collection (2.d).

This outline is, of course, only conjectural, and a different outline could be made equally as well as this.

However, the other liturgy which we have to consider - Baxter's Reformed Liturgy - was to be an alternative form. When this is taken into consideration, it will be apparent that a Prayer Book communion with an order something similar to that outlined above was envisaged, or otherwise Baxter's work would become a replacement rather than an alternative form for the minister. This reform outlined in the Exceptions provided an order which would have stood in the tradition of emended Prayer Books reaching back to the Liturgy of Compromise.

Richard Baxter's Reformed Liturgy

The second provision of the Declaration of 1661 - an alternative form of prayers in scriptural phrase - was left to Richard Baxter (1615 - 1691).

Baxter was without doubt one of the most distinguished Puritan divines of the seventeenth century. After renouncing his chances of a career under Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels, he taught himself theology - Aquinas, Scotus, Durnadus and Ockam being particularly to his taste. He was ordained deacon, and probably priest, in the Church of England.⁵ Following a mastership at Dudley school, and several months as assistant at Bridgnorth, he was appointed lecturer at Kidderminster, and after acting as army chaplain to the parliamentarians, he returned to Kidderminster to replace the deprived vicar, George Dance. While at Kidderminster, he was

5. G. F. Nuttall, Richard Baxter, London, 1965, p. 18. For biographical details see also F. J. Powicke, *opera cit.*

responsible for the organising of the Worcestershire Association of Ministers, and throughout his ministry he was concerned with church unity and peace. Yet despite this, Baxter had an unfortunate manner, and his writings were the cause of much strife. Furthermore he himself disliked contradiction; when he remarked of Cromwell "what he learned must be from himself", the Protector might have said the same of Baxter with equal truth.⁶ It was on account of his unpopularity in some quarters that Baxter at first declined the invitation to serve as a commissioner for the Puritan side at the Savoy Conference. Not only did he change his mind on this matter, but he became their chief spokesman.

Baxter himself recorded that he composed his Reformed Liturgy in a fortnight:

My leisure was too short for the doing of it with Accurateness, (which a Business of that Nature doth require) or for the consulting with Men or Authors. I could not have time to make use of any Book, save the Bible and my Concordance (comparing all with the Assemblies Directory, and the Book of Common Prayer with Hammond L'Estrange). And at the Fortnight's end I brought it to the other Commissioners. 7

However, it would be wrong to suppose that the Reformed Liturgy was the result of a fortnight's work from scratch;

F. J. Powicke was surely correct:

I think we may account for the swiftness and preparedness with which he afterwards wrote out a whole liturgy of his own in a fortnight, by the fact that he was but writing out and supplementing what he had practised at Kidderminster. 8

6. G. F. Nuttall, *ibid.*, p. 80.

7. Reliquiae Baxterianae, ed. M. Sylvester, London, 1696, I.ii. p. 306.

8. F. J. Powicke, A Life, p. 95.

It would be even more accurate to say that the Reformed Liturgy was the embodiment of Baxter's beliefs and practices reaching back to his mastership at Dudley school.

During his early ministry until the civil war, Baxter was acquainted with and used the Book of Common Prayer. But while at Dudley he became convinced by the objections to the Prayer Book of Dr. William Ames and Dr. Burgess.

The result was as follows: Kneeling he 'thought lawful'; the surplice he 'more doubted of' and purposed not to wear it unless compelled; the Ring in Marriage he made no scruple about; the cross in Baptism he resolved never to use; the Prayer Book he 'judged to have much disorder and defectiveness in it but nothing which should make the use of it, in the Ordinary Publick Worship, to be unlawful to them that have not liberty to do better'. 9

During the Commonwealth he had used the Directory, and it was this liturgy which stood firmly behind his own Reformed Liturgy. Baxter had also written on the subject of liturgy in his Five Disputations of Church Government and Worship, 1659, which reveals that he was not entirely ignorant of the classical rites. In the fourth disputation, Baxter examined the word Leitourgia, the worship of God. God has, so Baxter argued, made it our duty to assemble for worship, but the form of liturgy is left to us in a similar way as is the text for the sermon.¹⁰ It is lawful to pray to God in the set words that we find in

9. *ibid.*, p. 23. For Baxter's own 'Exceptions' to the Prayer Book, Reliquiae Baxterianae I. ii, pp. 308 - 316.
 10. Richard Baxter, Five Disputations of Church Government and Worship, London, 1659, p. 362.

Scripture; to pray thus is to use a form, and therefore a form is lawful.¹¹ Jesus used a psalm at the passover or Eucharist, and forms were used in Africa, Asia, and in the Reformed Churches in France, Holland and Geneva; furthermore, some forms were necessary, such as the use of the Words of Institution.¹² But other forms were optional:

Forms were at first introduced in Variety, and not as necessary for the Churches Unity to Agree in one: And they were left to the Pastor's Liberty, and none were forced to any forms of other mens composing. When Basil set up his new forms of Psalmodie and other Worship, which the Church of Neocaesarea were so offended at, he did not for all that impose it on them, but was content to use it in his Church at Caesarea.¹³

Some ministers, Baxter maintained, can do well without a form, and some are better if they use a form; but it is a sin for magistrates and prelates to impose a set form.¹⁴ The safest way of composing a 'stinted' liturgy is to take it all, or as much as possible, - words as well as matter - from scripture; in appealing to ancient venerable forms, there is nothing more ancient and venerable than Scripture itself.¹⁵ It was this latter principle - the use of scriptural words and matter - that Baxter carefully followed in the Reformed Liturgy.

In the Reformed Liturgy¹⁶ Baxter retained the

11. *ibid.*, p. 363.

12. *ibid.*, pp. 364 - 5.

13. *ibid.*, p. 391.

14. *ibid.*, p. 373.

15. *ibid.*, p. 378.

16. Text in Bard Thompson, Liturgies of the Western Church; valuable comments on this liturgy are to be found in E. C. Ratcliff, 'The Savoy Conference' in From Uniformity to Unity 1662 - 1962, ed. G. F. Nuttall and O. Chadwick, 1962, and E. C. Ratcliff, 'Puritan Alternatives to the Prayer Book' in The English Prayer Book 1549 - 1662, M. Ramsey et al.

familiar Puritan separation of the liturgy of Word and Sacrament. The usual Sunday Morning service was entitled 'The Ordinary Public Worship on the Lord's Day'; the following order was proposed:

A prayer for God's assistance, with a shorter alternative.
 The Apostles' or Nicene Creed; sometimes the 'Athanasian' Creed.
 The Decalogue.
 Sentences of Scripture moving the people to penitence.
 Confession of sin and prayer for pardon, with Lord's Prayer, with a shorter alternative.
 Some sentences of Scripture strengthening faith, and for raising the penitent, similar to the 'comfortable words'.
 Psalm 95, 100, or 84.
 Psalms of the day.
 Chapter of the Old Testament.
 A psalm, sung, or Te Deum, said.
 Chapter of the New Testament.
 Prayer for the King and Magistrates.
 Psalm 67, or 98, or some other psalm, or Benedictus or Magnificat.
 Prayer for the Church, extemporized by the minister in the pulpit.
 Sermon.
 Prayer, including a blessing on the word of instruction and exhortation.
 Hymn (optional).
 Blessing.

Professor Ratcliff observed that this service was composed of elements of the Prayer Book Morning Prayer, Litany and Ante-communion without the repetitions, redundancies, and other 'unmeet' liturgicalia of the Prayer Book.¹⁷ Nevertheless, behind this order, that of the Directory is clearly discernible - the prayer for God's assistance, the chapter of both Testaments, and the Long Prayer before or after the sermon.

Baxter's Eucharistic liturgy was entitled 'The Order of Celebrating the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ',

17. 'The Savoy Conference', op. cit., p. 121.

and when celebrated, it was to follow the prayer after the sermon at Morning worship, though no directions regarding the frequency of celebration were given. The order was accepted by the other Puritan commissioners with one exception:

they put out a few Lines in the Administration of the Lord's Supper, where the Word Offering was used: 18

The structure of Baxter's Eucharistic liturgy was as follows:

Explication of the nature, use, and benefits of this sacrament.

Exhortation.

Confession.

The bread and wine are set upon the table, if not previously placed there.

Eucharistic Prayer(s) and three action shape: Prayer to the Father for sanctification of the elements;

Words of Institution; ministerial declaration of consecration.

Prayer to the Son; fraction and libation with appropriate words.

Prayer to the Spirit for worthy communion; administration.

(The prayers may be read as one, followed by the three actions. The communicants may stand, sit or kneel.)

Prayer of thanksgiving.

Exhortation, if there is time.

Hymn in metre, or Psalm (such as 23, 116, 103 or 100).

Blessing: Hebrews 13:20.

As was the case of Morning worship, Baxter based his rite on the Directory. There are differences, but these are accounted for by the latitude allowed by the Directory, and by the fact that the Reformed Liturgy was meant to be a compromise with the Book of Common Prayer. Allowance must also be made for Baxter's own ideas founded upon experience, and it is useful to bear in mind his own

account of his method of celebration at Kidderminster in 1657:

A long table being spread, I first open the nature and use of the ordinance, and the qualification and present duty of the communicants; and then the deacons (3 or 4 grave, pious men chosen and appointed to that office) do set the bread and wine on the table; and in prayer we beseech the Lord to accept of those his own creatures now dedicated and set apart for his service, as sanctified to represent the body and blood of his Son; and after confession of sin, and thanksgiving for redemption, with commemoration of the sufferings of Christ therein, and ransom thereby, we beg the pardon of sin, and the acceptance of our persons and thanksgivings now offered up to God again, and his grace to help our faith, repentance, love, etc. and renewal of our covenant with him, etc. And so after the words of institution etc. I break the bread, and deliver it in Christ's general terms to all present, first partaking myself, and so by the cup: which is moved down to the end of the table by the people and deacons (who fill the cup when it is emptied); and immediately after it, each one layeth down his alms to the poor, and so arise, and the next tableful succeedeth to the last: after which I proceed to some words of exhortation, and then of praise and prayer, and sing a psalm, and so conclude with the blessing. 19

This account serves as a useful bridge between the Directory and the Reformed Liturgy.

The explication on the nature, use, and benefits of the sacrament was to be given by the minister if 'needful'. Baxter's model was Puritan verbosity at its best, covering the whole of salvation history: the creation, the fall, the atonement, and the Eucharist, a 'continued representation and remembrance of his death'. Eight 'holy qualifications' for communion were given:

19. Baxter Manuscripts (Dr. Williams's Library) 3: 156, a letter of March 1657, quoted in G. F. Nuttall, Richard Baxter, p. 53.

1. True belief in the Trinity and the person of Christ.
2. Sense of sin.
3. Desire for pardon.
4. Thanks for God's love.
5. Exercise of holy love and joy.
6. Love to one another.
7. Self-oblation to God.
8. Hope in the coming of Christ and for glorification.

This is probably Baxter's interpretation of the Directory rubric that 'Something concerning that ordinance, and the due preparation thereunto, and participation thereof, be taught'. The exhortation was characteristic of the 'Genevan' family of liturgies. It took the form of an invitation to look upon the sacrificed lamb of God, whose will it is 'to be thus frequently crucified before our eyes'; here the Agnus Dei and the idea of sacrifice reappear in the Puritan tradition. Because of judgement, the congregation was exhorted to revive its love for one another and to receive a 'crucified Christ here represented'.

The confession, said by the minister alone (cf. Exceptions) was constructed out of biblical phrases, and represented the logical conclusion of the 'Word of God' as being the only criterion for liturgical forms. Some of the phrases echoed the Prayer Book 'We do not presume', and this confession corresponded to the Prayer Book communion confession, absolution, comfortable words and 'Prayer of Humble Access'.

After the confession, Baxter suggested the following rubric:

Here let the Bread be brought to the Minister, and received by him, and set upon the Table; and then the Wine in like manner: or if they be set there before, however let him bless them, praying in these or the like words.

Baxter's rubric allows an offertory or presentation of the elements before the Eucharistic Prayer, or allows that the elements may be already upon the table, thus recognising a double practice. One of his sources was Hammon L'Estrange's compilation of the various editions of the Prayer Book, and it may be that this work suggested Baxter's rubric, being a concession to the 'Laudian' divines. The 1549 Prayer Book communion contained a rubric before the Sursum corda requiring the minister to take and prepare the bread and the wine, and to set them both upon the altar, this rubric replacing the 'Little Canon' of the mass. However, the 1552 and subsequent revisions made no such provision, thereby abolishing and excluding any idea of offering the elements to God. Thus Bishop Cosin could comment upon the Prayer Book:

And somewhat is also wanting for a
direction when & where to sett ye Bread
& wine for ye Comm upō yt Table. 20

What appears to have happened was that a double practice arose; some clergy followed the older practice as represented in 1549, while others placed the elements upon the table at the beginning of the service. The 'Laudian' school of divines, believing that the presentation of the elements was an integral part of the eucharistic action, wished for the restoration of the 1549 rubric. Thus in the 1637 Liturgy for Scotland:

20. Cosin, Particulars, 45 (1660), in Works, Vol. 5., cited in ed. G. J. Cuming, The Durham Book, Oxford, 1961, p. 145.

And the Presbyter shall them (i.e. alms) offer up and place the bread and wine prepared for the Sacrament upon the Lord's Table, that it may be ready for that service. 21

The Durham Book, containing the revisions of the Prayer Book proposed by bishops Cosin and Wren in 1661, had the following rubrics before the 'Prayer for the Church Militant':

i. Add: And if there be a Cōmunion, the Priest shall then offer up, & place ye Bread & Wine in a comly Paten & Chalice upon the Table, that they may be ready for the Sacrament, so much as he shall think sufficient.

ii. Read: And if there be a Cōmunion, the Priest shall then offer up, & place upon the Table so much Bread & wine as he shall think sufficient. 22

Baxter's rubric, allowing a two-fold practice, was a genuine compromise; but the permissive use suggests that for Baxter the presentation of the elements was not an integral part of the Eucharistic action, but was purely utilitarian.²³

It was after this rubric that Baxter's Eucharistic action began; it was a systematic reordering and development of the Directory rubric for sanctification 'by the word of Institution and Prayer'.

21. For the Laudian argument, W. Jardine Grisbrooke, Liturgies of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.
22. ed. G. J. Cuming, p. 146.
23. In the resulting book of 1662 the rubric directed: 'And when there is a communion, the priest shall then place upon the Table so much Bread and Wine, as he shall think sufficient'. The double practice seems to have continued. Bishop Hicks, the Non-juring bishop of Thetford, complained that the rubric 'to the great reproach of the clergy, was almost never since (its restoration) observed in Cathedral or Parochial Churches. I say never, (he adds), because I never knew or heard but of two or three persons, which is a very small number, who observed it; but the bread and wine was still placed upon the Table

In his Catechising of Families,²⁴ on the subject of Christ's sacrificed Body and Blood, Baxter argued that the eucharistic action was three-fold: (1) Consecration; (2) Commemoration; (3) Covenanting and communication. It was around this three action shape that he constructed his Eucharistic Prayer(s).

(1) Consecration.

To the question 'What is the consecration?' Baxter wrote:

It is the separating and sanctifying the bread and wine, to this holy use; by which it ceaseth to be mere common bread and wine, and is made sacramentally, that is, by signification and representation, the sacrificed body and blood of Christ. 25

To the reply 'But some say it is done only by saying these words, "This is my body", or by blessing it', Baxter explained:

It is done by all that goeth to a dedication and separation from its holy use; and this is, 1. By declaring that God commandeth and accepteth it, (which is best done by reading his institution,) and that we then accordingly devote it. 2. By praying for his acceptance and blessing. 3. By pronouncing ministerially that it is now, sacramentally, Christ's body and blood. 26

Elsewhere he wrote:

In the consecration, the church doth first offer the creatures of bread and wine, to be accepted of God, to this sacred use. And God accepteth them, and blesseth them to this use; which he

before the Office of the Communion began, without any solemnity, it may be the clerk or sexton, or any other, perhaps unfitter, person, to the great derogation of the reverence due to the holy Mystery'.
W. E. Scudamore, Notitia Eucharistica, London, 1876, pp. 383 - 384.

24. ed. W. Orme, The Practical Works of the Rev. Richard Baxter, London, 1830, Vol. 19.

25. ibid., pp. 274 - 275.

26. ibid., p. 275.

signifieth both by the words of his own institution, and by the action of his ministers, and their benediction. They being the agents of God to the people in this accepting and blessing, as they are the agents of the people to God, in offering or dedicating the creatures to this use. 27

Thus according to Baxter, the prayer, the scriptural warrant and the ministerial declaration were all necessary for consecration.

In the Reformed Liturgy the prayer for consecration called upon God the creator who gave his Son to reconcile us to himself, to

'sanctify these thy creatures of bread and wine, which, according to thy institution and command, we set apart to this holy use, that they be sacramentally the body and blood of thy son Jesus Christ'. 28

The Institution Narrative from 1 Cor. 11 was read, and then the minister was to declare that

'This bread and wine, being set apart, and consecrated to this holy use by God's appointment, are now no common bread and wine, but sacramentally the body and blood of Christ'.

(2) Commemoration.

The commemoration or anamnesis, as the Puritan tradition understood it, was here made clear and distinct. In the classical anaphoras the anamnesis was interpreted in terms of offering the consecrated bread and wine in

27. Christian Economics, ed. Orme, The Practical Works, vol. 4, p. 315.
28. Once again, this is not an epiklesis (W. D. Maxwell and Horton Davies); it resembles more the Quam oblationem of the Canon Missae than the Eastern Epiklesis. See the previous discussion with reference to the Directory. It should be noted that it also corresponds to the petition in the Book of Common Prayer, but expresses a higher doctrine: it asks for the definite sanctifying of the elements.

remembrance of the passion, death and resurrection of Christ; 'Do this' in remembrance equalled 'Offer this' in remembrance. In the 1552 Communion service, Cranmer seems to have interpreted 'remembrance' as the actual eating and drinking of the elements; thus 'Do this as ofte as ye shal drinke it in remembrance of me' was followed immediately by the administration with the words 'Take and eate this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, etc.' The Puritan tradition seems to have centred the 'remembrance' on the visual breaking of the bread and the pouring of the wine, as already witnessed in the heightening of the fraction in the Waldegrave and Middleburg books, and the Directory. Baxter showed the same concern.

As Christ himself was incarnate and true Christ, before he was sacrificed to God, and was sacrificed to God before that sacrifice be communicated for life and nourishment to souls; so in the sacrament, consecration must first make the creature to be the flesh and blood of Christ representative; and then the sacrificing of that flesh and blood must be represented and commemorated; and then the sacrificed flesh and blood communicated to the receivers for their spiritual life.

The commemoration chiefly (but not only) respecteth God the Son. For he hath ordained, that these consecrated representations should in their manner and measure, supply the room of his bodily presence, while his body is in heaven: and that thus, as it were, in effigy, in representation, he might be still crucified before the church's eyes; and they might be affected, as if they had seen him on the cross. And that by faith and prayer, they might, as it were, offer him up to God; that is, might shew the Father that sacrifice, once made for sin, in which they trust, and for which it is that they expect all the acceptance of their persons with God, and hope for audience when they beg for mercy, and offer up prayer or praises to him. 29

Baxter explained further his understanding of commemoration:

It containeth the signal representation of the sacrificing of Christ, as the Lamb of God, to take away the sins of the world. Where the signs are, 1. The materials, the bread and wine. 2. The minister's breaking the bread and pouring out the wine. 3. The presenting them to God, as the commemoration of that sacrifice in which we trust; and declaring to the people, that this is done to this commemoration.

The things signified, are, 1. Christ's flesh and blood, when he was on earth. 2. The crucifying of Christ, the piercing of his flesh and shedding his blood. 3. Christ's offering this to God as a sacrifice for man's sins. And this commemoration is a great part of the Sacrament. 30

And regarding the term 'sacrifice',

As the bread is justly called Christ's body, as signifying it, so the action described was of old called a sacrifice, as representing and commemorating it. And it is no more improper than calling our bodies and our alms, and our prayers sacrifices (Rom. xii. 1; Eph. v.2; Phil. ii. 17, and iv.18; Heb. xiii. 15, 16; 1 Pet. ii. 5f). 31

This explains Baxter's elaborate fraction and libation.

The prayer, which 'chiefly respecteth God the Son',
asked

'by thine intercession with the Father, through the sacrifice of thy body and blood, give us the pardon of our sins, and thy quickening Spirit, without which the flesh will profit us nothing. Reconcile us to the Father: nourish us as thy members to everlasting life'.

In earlier Puritan liturgies, the fraction had been accompanied by the Words of Institution. Baxter broke

30. Catechising of Families in op. cit., p. 280.

31. Ibid.

with this tradition, using his own formula, and being influenced by the Agnus Dei, the chant associated with the fraction in the Roman Mass:

The body of Christ was broken for us,
and offered once for all to sanctify us:
behold the sacrificed Lamb of God, that
taketh away the sins of the world.

And the libation:

We were redeemed with the precious blood
of Christ, as of a Lamb without blemish
and without spot.

The demand for the fraction to be emphasised was made in the Exceptions, and the manual acts required during the words of Institution in the 1662 'Prayer of Consecration' were a minor concession to Puritan wishes.

(3) Covenanting and Communication.

The final part of the three action shape of the Eucharist was the administration. According to Baxter,

It containeth the signs, and the things signified, as communicated. The signs are, 1. The actual delivery of the consecrated bread and wine (first broken and poured out) to the communicants, with the naming what it is that is given them. 2. Bidding them take, eat and drink. 3. Telling them the benefits and blessings given thereby: and all this by a minister of Christ, authorized thus to act in his name, as covenanting, promising, and giving what is offered.

And on the receiver's part the signs are, 1. Freely taking what is offered (the bread and wine). 2. Eating and drinking. 3. Vocal praise and thanksgiving to God, and professed consent to the covenant. 32

Baxter listed the benefits as reconciliation, pardon of sins, everlasting life and strengthening of faith, hope, love, joy, patience and all grace.

As in the case of the Consecration and Commemoration,

this third action in the Reformed Liturgy was accompanied by prayer and words of warrant and explanation. The prayer, addressed to the Spirit, was an 'Epiklesis' as far as the Calvinist tradition understood it:

'illuminate us, that by faith we may see him that is here represented to us. Soften our hearts, and humble us for our sins. Sanctify and quicken us, that we may relish the spiritual food and feed on it to our nourishment and growth in grace'.

Thus the Spirit was asked to act upon the communicant, reflecting Calvin's teaching of communion by faith and the Holy Spirit. The words of administration were based upon those of the Directory.

Baxter provided a version of the substance of the three prayers as one prayer, but in this alternative his careful trinitarian structuring was obscured, for the three prayers concerned with Consecration, Commemoration, and Covenanting and communication, were addressed to the Father, Son and Holy Spirit respectively. He also allowed for the consecration and administration of the bread before the consecrating and administration of the wine, suggesting that the double consecration was still an issue for some.

A rubric provided for flexibility regarding the place and manner of reception - at the table, or not; in the hand, or handing it to one another; no one was forced to stand, sit or kneel. On this point Baxter was offering comprehension to all consciences. His own preference was for sitting; when at Kidderminster, Sir Ralph Clare, the Lord of the Manor and leader of the parish episcopalians, had asked to receive communion

kneeling; Baxter had replied that he was prepared to allow it, but that the example of Christ and the apostles was to receive sitting.³³ The place of the collection was also optional.

After the administration, a prayer of thanksgiving was to follow, being mainly concerned with the benefits of communion. The positioning of the Gloria in excelsis in the Prayer Book may have influenced Baxter here, since the Lucan phraseology occurred in the prayer.

If there was time, an exhortation was provided, reminding the worshippers of God's love and pardon. This was followed by a hymn in metre, or a psalm of praise - 23, 116, 103 (as in the Genevan Service Book) or 100 being suggested. The rite concluded with a blessing from Hebrews 13: 20 - 21; it was very fitting that the Epistle of the Atonement should have been chosen to provide words to conclude a liturgy, much of the language of which dwelt upon the crucifixion.

Baxter's Eucharistic liturgy was an attempt to harmonize the Genevan liturgical family with the Book of Common Prayer, and thus its derivation may be traced back to the Latin Mass through two lineages; though, if we may borrow biological language, in Baxter's Reformed Liturgy the Genevan genes were dominant. But commenting upon his conception of the liturgical action of the Eucharist, E. C. Ratcliff wrote:

Certainly Baxter's eucharistic and liturgical ideas approach more closely to the historic western tradition than the ideas expressed or implied in the Communion

33. F. J. Powicke, A Life, p. 179 ff.

Service of the contemporary Prayer Book. If Baxter could have digested into an historic western liturgical shape what he believed and wished to express, his rite would have commended itself to John Cosin and other High Church Anglicans of the descent of Andrewes and Overall. In matters of worship, Baxter was divided from High Church Anglicans less in doctrine and spirit than in shape, or liturgical form, and letter. 34

Be that as it may, with the failure of the Savoy Conference this latest branch of the Genevan liturgical family died without issue.

34. E. C. Ratcliff, *Puritan Alternatives to the Prayer Book*, in op. cit., p. 79.

CHAPTER 10

A PERIOD OF LITURGICAL OBSCURITY: 1658 - 1800

A Period of Liturgical Obscurity : 1658 - 1800.

Information about the Eucharistic liturgy among the Independents from the time of the Savoy Declaration of 1658 until the end of the eighteenth century is extremely sparse. During this period Independency was synonymous with a refusal to use any set forms of prayer in worship, and thus presents a situation not unlike that already encountered with the Elizabethan Separatists.

For the sources of Independent Eucharistic liturgy during this period we have to rely on a few contemporary accounts that are known to exist:

1. An account from a manuscript common-place book of the Reverend Robert Kirk, a Scottish minister who visited London in 1689/90, and who recorded the worship he witnessed in various Churches.
2. An account of the Morning service at Angel Street Chapel, Worcester, and the Eucharist as celebrated at the Rothwell Independent Meeting, Northampton, both dating from the late seventeenth century.
3. An account of the Morning service and the Eucharist in Isaac Watts's Church at Bury Street c. 1723.

These accounts may be supplemented by the outline of the Lord's Supper recommended to his pupils by Philip Doddridge, together with comments of Samuel Cradock, Isaac Chauncy, and some valuable material from Doddridge's diaries relating to his own celebrations of the Supper.

These sources must be used with caution, bearing in mind that they give us only an outline of worship, and

not a full text of the prayers used.

It is also useful to refer briefly to the liturgical practice of orthodox Presbyterians and Baptists during this same period. We have previously drawn attention to the fact that after the Ejection, the distinction between Presbyterian and Independent ministers was not always clear; Churches sometimes alternated between Presbyterian and Independent ministers, as for example at Reading, where the Presbyterian Samuel Doolittle was followed by the Independent George Burnet, and he again was followed in 1718 by the Presbyterian Richard Rigby.¹ In the same way, Vavasor Powell and John Bunyan belonged to congregations which were both Independent and Baptist. We may suggest that there may have existed some overlap in liturgical practice.

The clear distinction between Morning service and the Eucharist, already inherent in the Genevan rite, practiced by the Separatists, and encouraged by the Directory's lack of direction on frequency of the Eucharist, seems to have been perpetuated in Independency during this period. Whereas the Sunday Morning worship was observed every Sunday, the Eucharist was usually celebrated once a month,² and could be held at night, or

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1. R. Tudur Jones, op. cit., p. 125.
 2. 'From the Bury Street Records' in CHST 6 (1915), pp. 333 - 342; at Angel Street Worcester it was once every two months, William Urwick, Nonconformity in Worcester, London, 1897, pp. 82 - 83; at Fetter Lane, London, it was once a month, when a minister could be found. Fetter Lane Independent Church. Church Book. 1782 - 1820. Ms. 38. 46. Dr. Williams's Library. Doddridge noted that in the early church it was celebrated 'much more frequently among them than with us'. The Works of the Rev. P. Doddridge D.D., vol. 5, p. 338.

at noon, during the afternoon or the morning.³ According to the Bury Street records, it followed after the sermon, while Doddridge presupposed an interval 'between the close of the general service and the administration of the ordinance'.⁴

Morning Worship

An account of Morning worship as conducted by an Independent minister of the name Cockain⁵ was recorded by the Scottish minister Robert Kirk⁶; he also recorded the Morning service of two notable Presbyterian divines, William Bates and, interestingly enough, Richard Baxter. It is valuable to compare the summary of these accounts with the Independent worship of Angel Street, Worcester, and of Bury Street, London (overleaf).

If Kirk's accounts are reliable, the Presbyterian Bates and the Independent Cockain both followed what appears to have been the minimum order of service - prayer, sermon, prayer. Like the order of Datheen, this appears

3. In the evening by the Baptists at Fenstanton, E. B. Underhill, Records of the Churches of Christ, gathered at Fenstanton, Warboys and Hexham 1644 - 1720, London, 1854, pp. 36, 69; at noon or the afternoon at Bury Street, art. cit.; in the afternoon at Fetter Lane, Ms. cit.; in the morning at Deadmans Place, cited by E. P. Winter, 'The Theory and Practice of the Lord's Supper, Among the Early Separatists, Independents and Baptists, 1580 to 1700', B. Litt. thesis (unpublished) Oxford 1953, p. 171.
4. The Works of the Rev. P. Doddridge, D.D., vol. 5, p. 485.
5. Possibly the George Cokayn who was minister during the Commonwealth and Protectorate at St. Pancras, Soper Lane. C. Bernard Cockett, 'George Cokayne' in CHST 12 (1933 - 36), pp. 225 - 235.
6. Given in Donald Maclean, London at Worship: 1689 - 1690, Manchester, 1928.

to have been a basic structure which could be expanded according to taste.⁷ We may assume that Cockain opened with prayer.

Baxter's service followed very closely the order suggested by the Directory, and not that of his own Reformed Liturgy of 1661, suggesting that even he regarded the latter as a dead letter. The same similarity to the Directory underlies orders of Angel Street and Bury Street, though, reflecting Independent opinion expressed at the Westminster Assembly, in both cases the Long Prayer came before the sermon (though not at the opening of the service); in Baxter's service it came after the sermon.

From this sparse evidence it would appear that a wide latitude was allowed in the order of Morning service. Kirk distinctly recorded that Dr. Bates omitted to use the Lord's Prayer, whereas Baxter concluded the Long Prayer with it, as in Waldegrave, Middleburg and the Directory. The Independent accounts have no reference to the Lord's Prayer at all.

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7. Peter Walkden at Newton and Hesketh Lane, Lancashire records the following items: Prayer, readings from the Psalms, Old Testament and New Testament, prayer, sermon, prayer, psalm and dismissal. K. W. Wadsworth, 'An Eighteenth - Century Country Minister' in CHST 18 (1959) pp. 111 - 124. At Fetter Lane, for the acceptance of the pastorate of Dr. Davies, the order was prayer, discourse, reply, acceptance, sermon, prayer, conclusion, Ms. cit., p.9; at a Solemn Humiliation in Suffolk on Thursday September 6th 1744, prayer, psalm, prayer, sermon, psalm, prayer, prayer, singing a hymn composed and read by Mr. Scott, conclusion, in 'Copy of the records of the Congregational Church worshipping at the Quay Meeting Woodbridge'. Ms. 76. 5. Dr. Williams's Library, p. 37 verso; at Denton on June 16th 1784, "there was a public service in the evening. Mr. Toms began with prayer. Mr. Harmer preached from Zechariah IV. 7. and Mr. Tozer concluded with prayer". 'Copy of the Church Book belonging to the Congregational Church at Denton 1725 - 89. Ms. 76.17. Dr. Williams's Library, folio 55.

BATES

MR. COCKAIN

ANGEL STREET

BURY STREET

BAXTER

Singing

Psalm

Psalm

Short Prayer

Short Prayer

Extem

Psalm

O. T. Lesson

Exposition

O. T. Lesson

N. T. Lesson

N. T. Lesson

Hymn

(Psalm or Hymn)

Prayer

Prayer

Long Prayer

Long Prayer

Prayer

Sermon

Sermon

Sermon

Sermon

Sermon

Psalm or Hymn

(Psalm or Hymn)

Prayer

Prayer

Short Prayer

Short Prayer

Long Prayer &
Lord's Prayer

Blessing

Blessing

(Psalm and Blessing?)

John Owen argued that the Lord's Prayer was given at a time when Jesus was a minister of the circumcision; his death and subsequent glorification freed Christians from the obligation of reciting it.⁸ It would appear that most Independents endorsed his conclusion. Doddridge, however, rejected the idea that it was for temporary use only, and insisted that it suits Christians in every age;⁹ he introduced it into Sunday worship at Kibworth.¹⁰

Some idea of the type of prayers used may be gained from sections of Isaac Watts's A Guide to Prayer. This work, as the title implies, was no more than a guide to prayer in general, and not a complete manual for public worship. Watts considered the various parts of prayer: invocation, adoration, confession, petition, pleading, profession, or self-dedication, thanksgiving and blessing. At certain points he gave examples and summaries, which may well reflect his own usage in worship, and the type of prayer used. For example, in the section on thanksgiving we find the following:

We praise thee, O Lord, for thine original designs of love to fallen man; that thou shouldest make a distinction between us and the angels that sinned: what is man, that thou art thoughtful about his salvation; and sufferest the angels to perish for ever without remedy: that thou shouldest chuse a certain number of the race of Adam, and give them into the hands of Christ before all worlds, and make a covenant of grace with them in Christ Jesus, that their happiness might be secured, that thou shouldest reveal this mercy in various

8. J. Owen, A Discourse Concerning Liturgies, Chap. III.

9. Works, Vol. 5. p. 294.

10. J. Hay Colligan, Eighteenth Century Nonconformity, London, 1915, p. 88.

types and promises to our fathers by the prophets, and that in thine own appointed time thou shouldst send thy Son to take our nature upon him, and to redeem us by his death? We give glory to thy justice and to thy grace for this work of terror and compassion, this work of reconciling sinners to thyself by the punishment of thy Son: we praise thee for the gospel which thou hast published to the world, the gospel of pardon and peace; and that thou hast confirmed it by such abundant testimonies, to raise and establish our faith: we give glory to that power of thine that has guarded thy gospel in all ages, and through ten thousand oppositions of Satan has delivered it down safe to our age, and has proclaimed the glad tidings of peace in our nation: we bless thee that thou hast built habitations for thyself amongst us, and that we should be born in such a land of light as this is: it is a distinguishing favour of thine, that among the works of thy creation we should be placed in the rank of rational beings; but it is more distinguishing goodness, that we should be born of religious parents under the general promises of grace. We give thanks unto thy goodness for our preservation from many dangers which we could never foresee, and which we could not ask thee to prevent: how infinitely are we indebted to thee, O Lord, that thou hast not cut us off in a state of nature and sin, and that our portion is not at this time amongst the children of eternal wrath! That our education should be under religious care, and that we should have so many conveniencies and comforts of life conferred upon us, as well as the means of grace brought near to us; and all this before we began to know thee, or sought any of the mercies of this life or the other at thine hands! 11

Dealing with the theme of confession, Watts advised his readers to include

A confession of our sins, both original, which belong to our nature; and actual, that have been found in the course of our lives. 12

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11. A Guide To Prayer, in Works, Vol. IV, p. 125.
 12. ibid., p. 116.

This latter seems to be an echo of the wording of the confession in the Directory and there is no reason to doubt that Watts was acquainted with the work of the Westminster Assembly. Indeed, a knowledge of the Directory would explain why the Bury Street service approximates so closely to it.

In the section concerning petition, Watts gave a comprehensive précis of the intercessions:

In general, we must pray for the church of Christ, for Zion lies near to the heart of God, and her name is written upon the palms of the hands of our Redeemer: and the welfare of Zion should be much upon our hearts; we ought ever to have the tenderest concern for the whole church of God in the world: his church he values above kingdoms and nations; and therefore if we distinguish degrees of fervency in prayer, we ought to plead more earnestly with God for his church, than for any nation or kingdom; that he would enlarge the borders of the dominion of Christ, that he would spread his gospel among the heathens, and make the name of Christ known and glorious from the rising up of the sun to its going down: that he would call in the remainder of his ancient people the Jews, and that he would bring the fulness of the gentiles into his church: that he would pour down a more abundant measure of his own Spirit, to carry on his own work upon the earth. And we are to send up longing and earnest wishes to heaven, that the Spirit may descend and be diffused in plentiful degrees upon churches, upon ministers, upon families, and upon all the saints. We are to pray that God would deliver his church from the power of persecuting enemies; that he would restrain the wrath of man, and suffer not the wicked to triumph over the righteous. We are also in particular to request of God mercy for the nation to which we belong; that liberty and peace may be established and flourish in it; for governors that rule over us, in places of supreme authority or subordinate; that wisdom and faithfulness may be conferred upon them from heaven, to manage those affairs God hath instructed them with on earth. We must pray for our friends, and those that are nearly related to us, that God would deliver them from all evils they feel or fear, and bestow upon them all the good we wish for ourselves here or hereafter. 13

Similarly Philip Doddridge exhorted:

Forget not the public - but pray for them with seriousness. - Plead for Heathens, Jews, Mahometans, Papists, and persecuted Protestants. - Pray for your own country with cordial love and esteem - Remember that praying for the King is part of the condition on which our toleration is granted. - Forget not magistrates, - and ministers. 14

Allowing for the fact that Christian intercessions will always include certain themes, nevertheless in both the above, these are fair summaries of the corresponding section in the Directory. The examples given above from Watts seem to correspond to the substance of the Long Prayer as described in the Bury Street records,

the variety of blessings, spiritual and temporal, for the whole congregation, with confession of sins, and thanksgiving for mercies; petitions also are offered up for the whole world, for the Churches of Christ, for the nation in which we dwell, for all our rulers and governors, together with any particular cases which are represented.

Cockain's prayer as recorded by Kirk was of the same themes, though less comprehensive.

In summary we may say that a wide latitude was allowed in Morning worship, the basic pattern being prayer, sermon, prayer, to which could be added more prayers, psalms, lections and a blessing. In some Independent Churches the service was therefore very close to that suggested by the Directory.

The Eucharist

For the Eucharistic liturgy proper we are dependent upon two contemporary accounts: that of the Rothwell Church in Northamptonshire, under the pastorate of the

Reverend R. Davis, recorded in c. 1700 by an anonymous Anglican; and that of Bury Street in the time of Isaac Watts, 1723.¹⁵ We give both accounts in full.

1. Rothwell

Every member is required to receive the Sacrament as often as it is administered. The Table stands in the midst of the Congregation, near the Pulpit. The Pastor sits in his Chair near the Table, and the Receivers on Forms round about it; the People, as Spectators, at some small distance behind them.

The Pastor prays (all standing) and craves a Blessing on the Bread; then sets it apart in almost the same Words which the Church of England uses; then breaks it into small pieces, and puts them on divers Plates, saying, whilst he is breaking, Thus was our Lord's body torn, mangled, broken, &c. The Bread thus broken is carried in the Plates, by the Deacons, to the several Receivers. The Pastor sits in his Chair Eating with the rest.

As soon as the Bread is Eaten, the Pastor Prays; then pours out the Wine, saying, Behold the Blood of Christ poured out for thee, and for me, and for all of us, &c. Drink ye all of this, drink large draughts of the Love of Christ, &c. as he thinks most proper to express himself. Then he drinks and gives to the Deacons. When all have drunk the Pastor Prays, an Hymn is Sung, and the Assembly is dismissed.

They forbid all private Prayer at this Ordinance, saying, the Pastors Prayers are sufficient. They esteem it a Memorial only: Examine none before they come, saying, There is no need of any more Preparation at that time than any other. In the absence or sickness of the Pastor, there must be no Sacrament.

2. Bury Street

(The first Lord's day in every month the Lord's Supper is administered just after sermon

15. Account of the Doctrine and Discipline of Mr. Richard Davis, of Rothwell in the County of Northampton, and those of his Separation, London, 1700, p. 20. Bury Street Records, art. cit., CHST 6, pp. 334 - 335.

The Lord's Supper is administered alternately by the two pastors (Dr. Watts and Rev. S. Price) (v13) in the plainest manner, just according to the institution, first the history of the institution of this ordinance is read, either out of Matthew's gospel or the first ep. Corinthians, that it may ever be kept in mind to regulate every part of the practice; and the sermons of that day being equally suited to the design of the Lord's Supper, or a commemoration of the sufferings of Christ 'tis but seldom that any other speech or exhortation is made before the celebration.

The minister, taking hold of the plate in which the bread lies, calls upon the people to join with him in seeking for a blessing on it, which is done in a short prayer of eight or ten minutes. Then the minister says "Having blessed this bread, we break it in remembrance of our Saviour's body, &c." Then the loaves, which are before cut in squares, almost through, are broken by the minister into small pieces, as big as walnuts, or therabouts, and taking the plate of bread in his hand, he says, "This is the body of Christ, or the emblem or figure of the body of Christ, which was broken for you: take it and eat ye all of it, in remembrance of our Saviour who died for us", or such like words, which are a plain declaration that the bread represents the body of Christ, according to his own appointment: it is then distributed by the pastor to the deacons, and to one or more of the members who are appointed to it, and it is carried by them to the various members of the church. Then, after a short space, an inquiry being made if all have received the bread, and that those who have not received it are desired to stand up and signify it, the pastor proceeds, in like manner, to pour out the wine, at least into one of the cups, then he asks a blessing on the cup; and then distributes it, as before, to the members or the deacons, and they to some other members of the church, by whom it is carried round to all the seats. In many churches, the pastor is frequently speaking proper sentences or texts of scripture, to awaken the faith, hope, and joy of Christians, and I cannot but approve of it in the main. But our former pastor, Dr. Chauncey, was so much against it, that it was not practised among us. But when most of the members, on some particular occasion, met together, the two pastors proposed it to them, whether we should keep up this practice

or leave them to their own silent meditations. They seemed generally to approve our silence, and this is the reason we omit it.

After this there is a psalm or hymn sung, suited to the ordinance. Then the plate is sent round to collect for the necessities of the poor. After this, particular cases of the members are represented who desire the public prayers of the church; and then, with a prayer offered on this occasion, together with thanksgiving and the final benediction, this service is concluded.

These two accounts may be supplemented by certain elements from Philip Doddridge's lectures to his theological students, Lecture XX, 'On Administering the Lord's Supper', and from his diary in which he recorded meditations and reflections on the sacrament.¹⁶ In the latter Doddridge recorded the Scripture text for meditation, or brief homily, and the substance of his discourse at the breaking of the bread and pouring the wine; he also recorded the substance of 'the prayer', which, from its position, would appear to have been the post communion prayer.

- (1) Extempore meditations on some select texts of Scripture.
- (2) Prayer before receiving the bread, with confession of sin.
- (3) Breaking of bread with discourse.
- (4) Distribution of bread - in silence. Address a word now and then.
- (5) Prayer before the cup.
- (6) Pouring out of wine with discourse.
- (7) Distribution of wine - in silence.
- (8) Singing.
- (9) Prayer of Thanksgiving and Intercession.
- (10) Collection.

The main elements of these three accounts may be compared as follows:

16. ed. T. D. Humphreys, The Correspondence and Diary of Philip Doddridge D.D., 5 Vols., London, 1831, Vol. 5.

<u>Rothwell</u>	<u>Bury Street</u>	<u>Doddridge</u>
	Institution Narrative Matthew or 1 Cor. 11. (Exhortation)	Extempore Medi- tation.
Blessing on bread	Blessing over bread	Prayer with con- fession & Blessing of bread.
Fraction with words.	Fraction with words.	Fraction with discourse.
Distribution.	Distribution - in silence though some ministers quote sentences.	Distribution - in silence but with an occa- sional word.
	Pouring out of wine.	
Prayer over wine.	Prayer over cup.	Prayer over wine.
Pouring out of wine with words.		Pouring out of wine with dis- course.
Distribution.	Distribution.	Distribution.
Hymn.	Psalm or hymn.	Singing.
	Collection.	
		Thanksgiving & intercession.
	Intercession & thanksgiving.	
		Collection.
Dismissal.	Benediction.	

From what is known of orthodox Presbyterianism, the Eucharist was similar in outline, though conforming more to the 1645 Directory, with an exhortation and fencing of the table, a single prayer of consecration and an

admonition afterwards.¹⁷ An account of a Baptist celebration is recorded by Thomas Grantham in Hear the Church: or an Appeal to the Mother of us all, 1687; the order is somewhat fuller than those of the Independents, with an exhortation, a statement of faith, and an exhortation afterwards. However, like the Independents, there was a 'double consecration', the separate consecration of the bread and wine.

The summaries of the three Independent orders show variations, as might be expected in a reconstruction from accounts; but variation should be expected as inherent to Independency. As in the case of the account of Morning service, the Bury Street Eucharist comes very close to that outlined in the Directory; but if the Directory represents a compromise between Puritanism and Separatism in favour of the Genevan Service Book, the Bury Street order shifts the balance back to the Separatists. The Rothwell account - seen through Anglican eyes - is close to the New England celebration as given by John Cotton. All three, however, agree on the double consecration and the deliberate fraction and libation. We may consider these two features further.

(a) The Double Consecration.

The double consecration which the Independents had argued for in the Directory seems to have been the normal

17. The Diary of Samuel Sewell, 5th Series, Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, I. p. 253 ff - Dr. Annesley's celebration at Little St. Helena's London; E. Calamy, A Letter to a Divine in Germany giving a Brief but true Account of the Protestant Dissenters in England, 1717, both cited in H. Davies, The Worship of the English Puritans, pp. 210, 251 - 2.

practice at this period; so Watts's predecessor at Bury Street, Isaac Chauncy carefully noted:

That each Element be distinctly blessed, and apart by it self, by calling upon God in Christ for a Blessing. 18

At Bury Street the blessing over the bread is described as 'a short prayer of eight or ten minutes'. In fact the prayer must have been considerably long by modern standards.¹⁹ Unfortunately we are given no indication of what was in the prayer, other than that a blessing was craved. Samuel Cradock, a leading Independent theologian, writing on the subject of the Lord's Supper, says of Christ:

He blessed the Bread and the Wine severally (as the Jews manner was) by thanksgiving and prayer to God. Hence this Sacrament is called the Eucharist. And this blessing and praying over the Bread and Wine is called the consecration of the Elements, or setting them apart from a common to a holy use. 20

The duty of the minister according to Cradock is

To praise God for the elements of bread and wine; and setting them apart (according to Christ's institution) from a common to this religious use, to pray to God that they be effectual representations, signs and seals of the spiritual blessings they are appointed to signify, to all those who shall receive them in a right manner. And then to distribute the bread and wine so consecrated to the Communicants. And the duty of the communicants is to take and eat of this bread and drink this wine in a right manner. 21

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18. Isaac Chauncy, The Divine Institution of Congregational Churches, Ministry and Ordinances, London, 1697, p. 96.
19. L. Bouyer, Eucharistie: Theologie et Spiritualite de la priere eucharistique, Tournai 1966, comments that the lengthy anaphora of Apostolic Constitutions VIII would take no more than a quarter of an hour when uttered by a celebrant in a hurry. Et Notre Dame, Indiana 1968, pp. 250 - 251.
20. S. Cradock, Knowledge and Practice, together with the Supplement, London, 1702, p. 123.
21. ibid, pp. 123 - 4.

There certainly seems to have been a specific 'consecration'. Doddridge records in his diary, 'I forgot to consecrate the bread in prayer, but afterwards set it apart'.²² The manner of consecration was presumably the Words of Institution, the prayers of thanksgiving, and the fraction and libation together. However, there does seem to have been a specific petition for a blessing in the prayers; at least, Doddridge suggests that this was the case:

May the Holy Spirit in this ordinance take of the things of Christ, and show them unto us, a blessing for which the ancient church used especially to pray at this holy ordinance. 23

Here Doddridge seems to be appealing to the epiklesis of the classical anaphora, but too much must not be read into this.²⁴ The petition probably was similar to that suggested in the Directory. In his consideration of Eucharistic doctrine among the Independents at this time, E. P. Winter found representatives of both Calvinism and Zwinglianism, or subjective memorialism.²⁵ The Savoy Declaration itself, though acknowledging that the sacrament was a memorial only, affirmed the Calvinist doctrine that worthy receivers by faith spiritually receive and feed upon Christ crucified;²⁶ the efficacy of the sacrament depended upon the work of the Spirit and the Word of Institution.²⁷ Doddridge's remark should

22. The Correspondence and Diary, Vol. 5, p. 326 (6th May 1733).
23. *ibid.*, p. 439, (3rd January, 1742).
24. For example, it would be ludicrous to think that 'show' here deliberately echoes anadeixai found in St. Basil!
25. Thesis cited, p. 181 ff.
26. Chapter XXX paragraph II and VII. Cf. Chauncy *op. cit.*, p. 95; Cradock *op. cit.* p. 125.
27. *ibid.*, Chapter XXVIII paragraph III.

probably be interpreted in this sense, namely that the Holy Spirit works in us so that by faith we may receive the Body and Blood of Christ. The same Reformed teaching probably underlies the mention of the Spirit in two hymns of Richard Davis of Rothwell:

The Lamb i' th' midst o' th' Throne of Grace
us now hath freely fed;
And by his Spirit down hath sent
from Heav'n the living Bread. 28

The Blood of Christ, that great High-priest
the Spirit does apply. 29

(b) The Fraction and Libation.

The significance of the fraction and libation was given by Watts in his Second Catechism.

61. Q. What doth the bread signify?
A. The bread when it is broken signifies the body of Christ, which was wounded or broken on the cross for us.
"1 Cor. xi. 23, 24, - He took the bread, and when he had given thanks he brake it, and said, take eat, this is my body which is broken for you."
62. Q. What doth the wine signify?
A. The wine poured out into the cup signifies the blood of Christ, which was poured out in his death to take away our sins.
"Mat. xxvi. 27, 28. And he took the cup, that is, the cup of wine, or the fruit of the vine, as verse 29, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, drink ye all of it; for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins". 30

In the same vein Cradock could identify the Eucharist as 'a visible representation and commemoration of his death till he come to judgment',³¹ and Doddridge in words

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28. R. Davis, Hymns composed on Several Subjects And on Divers Occasions: In Five Parts with a Table to each Part. 7th edition corrected by John Gill, 1748.
Book III, Hymn X verse 2.
29. ibid., Hymn XV verse 3.
30. Works, vol. IV, p. 245.
31. Op. cit., p. 125.

reminiscent of Baxter could speak of Christ being 'crucified and set forth before me'.³² Like à Lasco, it seems to have been a quite deliberate ceremony; the Quay Meeting at Woodbridge had two silver plates and three large silver cups for the communion.³³ Both Watts and Davis appear to have paraphrased the Words of Institution at this point in the service.³⁴ Doddridge seems to have used the fraction and libation as an opportunity to extemporise a short meditation or homily, and carefully preserves some summaries in his diary. For example, the Fourth Sacrament, July 5th 1730:

While breaking the bread, I discoursed of the free love of Christ. What could deserve all this? I appealed to Conscience in pouring out the wine. Had we shed the blood of Jesus, what self-resentment would have attended it! what the guilt of having drawn down such agonies on the Son of God! Let us not increase it by trampling it under foot. When taking the cup I observed: Shall I be ashamed of a public engagement? No. Were the whole world of men and angels assembled, I would glory in it; that I am the disciple of a crucified Jesus; and that I receive this sacred cup in token of my sincere resolution of devoting to him all I am and have, of being his for time, and his for eternity. 35

And June 19th 1731:

In breaking the bread. - Christ commands us to do this in remembrance of him. But, alas, how little do we remember him. Strange

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32. The Correspondence and Diary, Vol. 5, p. 283. Cf. Matthew Henry (Presbyterian), The Communicant's Companion, 1704, p. 159.
33. Copy of the Records. Ms. 76.5. p. 16.
34. Cf. Chauncy, op. cit., pp. 96-67: "That after Consecration, the Bread broken is to be delivered with the words of Distribution, directed to the whole church at once, and by them divided among themselves, and not carried up and down from party to party, or from seat to seat. After the pouring out the wine and blessing it, it ought to be dispensed with the words of distribution in like manner to the whole church, .."
35. The Correspondence and Diary, vol. 5, p. 285.

that we should need a memorial; but how much stranger that we should forget him with it! Nay, sometimes, that we should be ready to forget him at his table; or remember him there in a manner little better than forgetfulness: yet he remembers us in heaven itself. Blessed Jesus, may thy kindness to us, as it shames our unkindness and ingratitude to thee, so cure it. In giving the cup. - It is the cup of blessing - the cup of blessings. O, what a variety of blessings! Here is pardon; and strength; and grace; and the foretaste of glory! We bless it. May God bless it. So let us bless God that gives us this cup, and humbly pray that it may be indeed a cup of blessing to us. May the taste of it refresh us! and may the memory of it refresh us too! 36

Doddridge also recorded the summary of the post-communion prayer. Again we give here two examples to give some idea of the substance of this prayer.

In the prayer, I considered it as an engagement to live and die to the Lord; and as an encouragement to hope that we shall be the Lord's both in life and in death; declaring our dependence upon God, that he would perform his part of the covenant, and upon his grace that we might perform ours. 37

In the prayer I adored God for all his blessings, for Himself, his Son, his Spirit, and Heaven, and cheerfully engaged to covenant duties. Thus we should commemorate the death of Christ, but remember him as a risen Redeemer. 38

On the assumption that these accounts of Independent worship are representative of the denomination during this period, there is a clear link between these accounts and those envisaged by the Directory; this link is even more clear when some of the unsuccessful demands of the Independents regarding the formation of the Directory are taken into account. The practice of two Eucharistic prayers provides a link with the Separatist tradition, and the apparent interest in the fraction and libation provides

36. *ibid.*, p. 309.

37. *ibid.*, p. 290 (6th September 1730).

38. *ibid.*, p. 297 (November 1730).

a parallel with à Lasco's rite. It would be correct to say that the late seventeenth and eighteenth century Independent liturgy had its origin in the Puritan and Separatist rites of the Sixteenth century. Yet at the same time it was a distinctive rite. It consisted of certain fixed elements which were dictated by the Independent understanding of the Gospel accounts of the Last Supper: the Words of Institution, two Eucharistic Prayers, the fraction and libation, and the delivery. The substance of these prayers - with perhaps the exception of a specific petition for blessing - together with other features such as homilies, exhortations, scripture sentences, psalms and the form of blessing, were all left to the discretion of the minister and his congregation. The Liturgy of the Word was still separate from the Eucharistic liturgy proper.

APPENDIX 1

In a previous chapter, attention has been drawn to the fact that towards the end of the eighteenth century the ranks of the Independents were swelled by congregations formed from the work of George Whitefield and the Countess of Huntingdon. The congregations of the latter, at least during her lifetime, were under obligation to use the Book of Common Prayer,¹ and this obligation continued after the Connexion's secession from the Church of England. It is reasonable to suppose that some congregations took the Book of Common Prayer with them into Independency, and that on a very limited scale, the Eucharistic liturgy of the Prayer Book of 1662 became an Independent Eucharistic liturgy.²

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1. Two copies of the Prayer Book were recorded as having been stolen from Spa Fields Chapel on the 20th June, 1780. Edwin Welch, Two Calvinist Methodist Chapels 1743 - 1811, London Record Society, Leicester, 1975, p. 51.
 2. See as an example, E. Smyth, The Form of Prayer of Bethseda Chapel Dublin, 1786 Dublin.

APPENDIX 2

In the Synoptic accounts of the Last Supper it is recorded that after the supper had ended, Jesus and the disciples sang a hymn, which most commentators identify as the Hallel psalms; the second part of the Hallel, psalms 115 - 118, was sung after the passover meal.¹

In obedience to the Scriptural accounts of the Supper, Calvin provided the Nunc dimittis as a post communion psalm in his Eucharistic liturgy. The Genevan Service Book, the Waldegrave and the Middleburg books suggest psalm 103 or another suitable thanksgiving at this point; the Directory too envisaged a psalm after communion. In Baxter's Reformed Liturgy we find that as well as suggested psalms, a hymn was also to be permitted as a post communion, and in both the Independent Rothwell and Bury Street accounts, a hymn may be sung after communion.

By the eighteenth century the hymn was becoming an acceptable feature in worship, and under the patronage of Watts and Doddridge, it became an important element in Independent worship. Some of these hymns were written specifically for the communion, and most probably were used as post communion hymns. Here we list those of Isaac Watts in Hymns and Spiritual Songs, and those of Richard Davis of Rothwell.

Strangely, Philip Doddridge wrote only one hymn which was especially for the eucharist, 'My God, and is thy table spread'.

1. C. E. B. Cranfield, The Gospel according to St. Mark, Cambridge 1966, p. 428.

Isaac Watts: Hymns and Spiritual Songs. Book III
Prepared for the Holy Ordinance of the
Lord's - Supper.

1. The Lord's Supper Instituted, 1 Cor. 11. 23, &c.
'Twas on that dark, that doleful Night.
2. Communion with Christ, and with Saints; 1 Cor. 10.
16, 17.
Jesus invites his Saints.
3. The New Testament in the Blood of Christ; or, the
New Covenant sealed.
The Promise of my Father's Love.
4. Christ's dying Love; or, Pardon bought at a dear
Price.
How condescending and how kind.
5. Christ the Bread of Life; John 6.31, 35, 39.
Let us adore th'eternal Word.
6. The Memorial of our absent Lord; John 16.16.
Jesus is gone above the skies,
7. Crucifixion to the World by the Cross of Christ;
Gal.6.14.
When I survey the wond'rous Cross.
8. The Tree of Life.
Come let us join a joyful Tune.
9. The Spirit, the Water and the Blood; 1 John 5.6.
Let all our Tongues be one.
10. Christ Crucify'd; The Wisdom and Power of God.
Nature with open Volume stands.
11. Pardon brought to our Senses.
Lord, how Divine thy Comforts are!
12. The Gospel=Feast; Luke 14.16, &c.
How rich are thy Provisions, Lord,
13. Divine Love making a Feast, and calling in the Guests,
Luke 14. 17, 22, 23.
How sweet and awful is the Place.
14. The Song of Simeon; Luke 2. 28. Or, A Sight of
Christ makes Death easy.
Now have our Hearts embrac'd our God,
15. Our Lord Jesus at his own Table,
The Memory of our dying Lord.

16. The Agonies of Christ.
Now let our Pains be all forgot,
 17. Incomparable Food; or, The Flesh and Blood of Christ.
We sing th' amazing Deeds
 18. The Same.
Jesus, we bow before thy Feet,
 19. Glory in the Cross; or, not asham'd of Christ Crucify'd.
At thy Command, our dearest Lord,
 20. The Provisions for the Table of our Lord: Or, The Tree of Life, and River of Love.
Lord, we adore thy bounteous Hand,
 21. The Triumphal Feast for Christ's Victory over Sin, and Death, and Hell.
Come let us lift our voices high,
 22. The Compassion of a dying Christ.
Our Spirits joyn t'adore the Lamb;
 23. Grace and Glory by the Death of Christ.
Sitting around our Father's Board
 24. Pardon and Strength from Christ.
Father, we wait to feel thy Grace,
 25. Divine Glories and our Graces.
How are thy Glories here display'd,
- (Doxologies)
26. Blest be the Father and his Love,
 27. Glory to God the Father's Name,
 28. Let God the Father live
 29. Glory to God the Trinity
 30. The God of Mercy be ador'd,
 31. Let God the Father, God the Son,
 32. To God the Father, God the Son,
 33. All Glory to thy wond'rous Name,
 34. Now let the Father and the Son
 35. Honour to thee, Almighty Three
 36. Ye Angels round the Throne.

37. Give to the Father Praise,
38. A Song of Praise to the Blessed Trinity. The 1st
as the 148th Psalm. I Give immortal Praise
39. To him that chose us first
40. To God the Father's Throne
41. To our eternal God,
42. Hosanna to King David's Son
43. Hosanna to the Prince of Grace,
44. Hosanna to the Son
45. Hosanna to the King

Richard Davis: Select Hymns: For the Lord's Table.
Book III.

1. Our Lord and Head we saw did fall a Sacrifice for us;
2. How did the glorious Heaven smile,
3. Hosannah to the Holy One!
4. The Story of eternal Love
5. Ravishing Mercy! wondrous Love!
6. We drunk the Wine, the Fruit o' th' Vine
7. What glorious Sacrifice is this,
8. Nev'r did the Glory of free Grace
9. Tell us, O Jesus, dost thou love?
10. How clean are we, now we are bath'd
11. Behold our Well-beloved's come,
12. O choicest Banquet! rarest Wine!
13. Dear Lord, we in thy Comeliness,
14. O Love, O boundless Love of God!
15. They're Songs of Love they sing above,
16. Who's this that doth from Edom come

17. Immortal Honour, Glory, Pow'r,
18. Behold the bleeding Lord of Life,
19. God from Eternity decreed,
20. Sing Hallelujahs to the Lamb,
21. Now underneath thy Shadow, we sat down with great
delight
22. O! Never was a Face so marr'd
23. Christ is the precious Treasury,
24. Thou worthy, O Jehovah, art
25. I underneath his Shadow sat

(Since Davis's hymns are less well known than those of Watts, we give here the full text of hymns 4 and 7.

Hymn IV.

1. The Story of eternal Love
the Spirit told by Bread and Wine,
That boundless, everlasting Love
that thro' a dying Christ did shine.
2. We do shew forth his Death below,
and he shews forth his Death above:
He, to keep flowing down his Grace,
and we to see, rejoice, and love.
3. Melchizedeck did Abram meet,
with Bread and Wine, the King's b'ing slain,
But our Melchizedeck meets us
whilst in the heat of Wars and Pain.
4. This speaks unfathom'd Love indeed,
Love from Eternity begun:
A boundless Current in a Round,
that to Eternity will run.
5. Christ loves and pours his Soul to Death,
the more the Father's Heart doth move
To Christ; and Christ doth love the more,
O! here's a glorious Round of Love!
6. 'Tis in this Love we're swallow'd up
and shall be swallow'd in for aye,
This is the Ocean, Banner, Shade,
this is the bright eternal Day.
7. This God of Love in Christ belov'd;
this God of Grace we will adore,
We'll praise, and honour, and admire
now and henceforth, for evermore.

Hymn VII.

1. What glorious Sacrifice is this,
our Lord and we do feed upon!
O, what a Banquet's this of Love,
to feed upon his only Son!
2. To eat of his most glorious Flesh,
O, this is heav'nly Manna indeed,
To have Communion with that Blood
the Son of God for us did bleed!
3. United to the Son of Man
with the great God we Union have;
Whatever in the Name of Christ
we ask, we certainly shall have.
4. He prays for us, we pray in him,
we rule and triumph in our Head:
Our mutual Animosities
did bleed to Death with him that bled.
5. Then let us meet with our dear Lord,
i'th' reconciling Sacrifice:
Cast our rebellious Weapons down
at his blest Feet, if ye are wise.
6. Hosannah to the God of Love,
Hosannah to the Highest One,
Hosannah to the Prince of Life,
that sits with Pow'r upon the Throne!

CHAPTER 11

NINETEENTH CENTURY CONGREGATIONALISM: THE CHANGING PATTERN OF 'PUBLIC WORSHIP' AND THE EUCHARIST

By 1815 the Congregationalists were a vastly different body from that of 1760. They were far more numerous, far more energetic and far more optimistic.

R. Tudur Jones, Congregationalism in England 1662 - 1962, 1962, p. 186.

Nineteenth Century Congregationalism: The changing pattern of 'Public Worship' and the Eucharist.

Whereas' the period 1658 - 1800 represents an era of liturgical obscurity within the Independent or Congregational tradition, the nineteenth century witnessed a Liturgical Movement which in addition to debate on the subject of liturgy and worship, resulted in the production of written liturgical texts.¹

The main focus of the nineteenth century Congregational Liturgical Movement was 'Public Worship', which in fact meant the Morning service. In many Churches and Chapels the service must have remained substantially the same as that described by Isaac Watts. William Hale White, alias Mark Rutherford, who had been a Congregational minister, described the order of service that he remembered from his childhood. Each service consisted of a hymn, a Bible reading, another hymn, a prayer, the sermon, a third hymn, and a short final prayer.² 'The first, or long prayer as it was called, was a horrible hypocrisy, and it was a sore tax on the preacher to get through it'.³ It commenced with a confession - though not of individual sins - and became a dialogue with God.⁴ But changes were taking place. W. H. Willans in 1873 could refer to the 'old-fashioned way' of conducting services - hymn, Scripture lesson, Long Prayer, hymn, sermon, hymn and Benediction.⁵ In the previous century Job Orton had

1. Supra, Chapter 2.

2. W. Hale White, The Autobiography of Mark Rutherford, London, 1881, p. 6.

3. ibid.

4. ibid.

5. W. H. Willans, 'Attendance at Public Worship', p. 59.

suggested that the Long Prayer might be divided into two, appropriating the second to intercessions.⁶ His advice was endorsed by the authors of A New Directory, 1812,⁷ and according to G. W. Conder, this practice was common by the mid-nineteenth century.⁸ Other elements of the service could also be tidied up and improved; the reading of lessons could be performed with care, and the 'correct' formula, 'Here endeth the lesson' could be used in preference to 'Thus endeth the reading of the ... lesson'.⁹ Doxologies and the Lord's Prayer could be used, the former to allow the congregation to say 'Amen', the latter so that they might join in.¹⁰ G. S. Barrett (1839 - 1916), minister of Prince Street Chapel, Norwich, advocated the use of intercessory prayer, the Beatitudes and the Creed in public worship.¹¹

However, some of the formularies that appeared suggested rather more radical changes in the order of Morning service; they may be considered under two heads: Directories, and the Book of Common Prayer.

1. Directories

(a) A New Directory, London 1812.

This work, which was by a group of ministers, and included a Preface by the Reverend Samuel Palmer, was addressed to all dissenting members and tutors of Academies. In addition to recommending hints for improving

6. J. Orton, Letters to Dissenting Ministers, ed. S. Palmer, London, 1806, 2 Vols., Vol. 2. p. 60.
 7. A New Directory, p. 53.
 8. G. W. Conder, Intelligent and True Worship, p. 5.
 9. J. S. Pearsall, Public Worship, p. 105.
 10. *ibid.*, pp. 134 - 5.
 11. G. S. Barrett, 'Congregational Worship', in CYB 1897, pp. 87 - 8.

worship, the authors recommended the following outline for Morning worship:¹²

A Few short passages of Scripture, relating to the Resurrection of Christ, the privileges of Christianity, the institution of the Sabbath, the nature and benefit of divine worship.

A short extemporary prayer, praising God for the Sabbath, creation, the Resurrection, and imploring the divine assistance and blessing in the services of the day, for both minister and people.

A general psalm or hymn of praise.

A lesson. O.T.

The General Prayer, and possibly a psalm as recommended in the Westminster Directory.

Second lesson. N.T.

Short extemporary prayer, perhaps grounded on some leading ideas contained in the lesson, and intercession.

Psalm or hymn.

Sermon.

Hymn or psalm.

Short extemporary prayer, taking up and applying the leading ideas of the sermon.

(Blessing).

Professor H. Davies has pointed out that the first item of worship is not, as might have been expected, the element of confession.¹³ Nevertheless, the order suggested does seem to have been based upon the 1645 Directory, the authors having split up the Long Prayer into two, and introduced more singing.

12. A New Directory, pp. 82 - 87.

13. H. Davies, Worship and Theology in England 1850 - 1900, p. 78.

(b) The Congregational Service Book, London, 1847.

Published in London for the use of Congregationalists, the authorship of this book was not acknowledged. The Preface described the work as supplying a want felt among orthodox dissenters. It explained:

A creed is not given, because it is now unnecessary; and prayers are omitted because free prayer is undoubtedly the more scriptural and ancient mode of worship.

The only non-scriptural text given was the Te Deum. The recommended service was as follows:

Let us worship God by Singing:

Venite, or Psalm 84, 92, or 122.

Let us Pray.

Short Prayer.

Psalm for the Day.

First Lesson.

Te Deum, or Benedictus, or Magnificat, or Nunc dimittis.

Second Lesson (New Testament).

Prayer (Long Prayer). Embracing thanksgiving and intercession for the congregation, the church, and the world, and for the sovereign and the country.

Hymn.

Short Prayer. Sermon.

Benediction.

This service seems to represent a 'filling out' of the traditional Congregational service with scriptural elements from the Book of Common Prayer. The Long Prayer has been retained before the Sermon.

(c) Liturgies for Divine Worship, London, 1879.

This liturgy was offered for use for those who wished to use a liturgical service, but who felt those of the Church of England to be too long, though we cannot be certain that it was the work of congregationalists. Five services were offered with the following plan:

A short invocation.

Scriptural statements, with responses, intended to prepare the worshippers for communion with God.

Prayer.

Hymn, chant or anthem.

Praise.

We may presume that these services were to be used in conjunction with readings and a sermon.

(d) Let us Pray, London, (Second edition) 1897.

This collection of prayers was prepared by C. S. Horne, minister of Allen Street Chapel, Kensington, and T. H. Darlow of New College Chapel, Hampstead for the use of free churches. Horne and Darlow were both Congregationalists. It consisted of collections of prayers and intercessions grouped under headings such as 'Opening Prayers', 'Intercessions' and 'Collects'. It drew freely on the material of the Book of Common Prayer. An 'Order of Service' and an 'Order of Morning Service' were recommended.

<u>Order of Service</u>	<u>Order of Morning Service</u>
Hymn	Anthem
Prayer - opening sentences.	<u>Prayer</u> - Opening Sentences A Confession
A Confession	Hymn
A Collect	Lesson
The Lord's Prayer	
Chant (or Anthem)	Chant
I. Lesson	Commandments of Christ with Responses
Anthem (or Chant)	<u>Prayer</u> - A Collect The Lord's Prayer
Prayer - A Thanksgiving or An Intercession or A Short Litany.	Anthem
II. Lesson	<u>Prayer</u> - <u>By the Minister</u>
Notices (if any)	Children's Hymn
Hymn (for Children)	Words to Children
Prayer - <u>By the Minister</u>	Notices (if any)
Hymn	Hymn
Sermon	Sermon

Order of Service

Offertory (if any)
 Hymn
Prayer - Collects
 Benediction

Order of Morning Service

Offertory (if any)
 Hymn
Prayer - Collects
 Benediction

(e) The 'Biblical' Liturgies

In the category of 'Directories' may be included the 'Biblical' Liturgies: A Biblical Liturgy, 1855 by David Thomas, Congregational minister of Stockwell, and A Biblical Service of Prayer for the House of the Lord which bears no date.

The former consisted of verses of Scripture recited alternately between the minister and the congregation, with psalms and the Lord's Prayer. Each service was centred on a theme such as 'The Unity of God'. It seems to have been to supplement free prayer rather than to replace it, and the book went through several editions. The later editions included adaptations of services from the Book of Common Prayer.

A copy of the second work referred to is to be found in the library of New College, London. It has no date, and no author is given. It is kept with some sermons of John Harris (1802 - 1850), and it may be presumed to have been Congregationalist. It gives five orders for worship, each with the following outline:

Exhortation to worship.
 The Nature of acceptable worship.
 A Prayer for Divine assistance in worship.
 Portions of Holy Scripture to be read by the minister and people.
 A General prayer and thanksgiving.
 Lord's Prayer.
 Benediction.

2. The Book of Common Prayer

Attention has already been drawn to the fact that during the latter years of the eighteenth century the Book of Common Prayer, by way of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, came into the Independent tradition on a very small scale. During the nineteenth century its use seems to have become a little more widespread within the denomination, or at least, the use of some of its contents. The influence of the Anglican Morning Prayer upon the Congregational Morning service is already to be seen in The Congregational Service Book, 1847. Several liturgies appeared within Congregationalism which were merely adaptations of the Anglican services: The Book of Common Prayer Adapted for the Use of the Congregational Church, Finchley Common, 1864; Free Church Service Book, 1867; The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, with other Services Prepared for use in the Evangelical Churches by ministers and members of the Established and Nonconformist Churches, 1867;¹⁴ A Form of Morning and Evening Service, for the use of Free Churches, Manchester, 1869;¹⁵ Forms Submitted for the use of Nonconformist Churches, 1870; The Liturgy of the Church of England (Abridged), 1874; Devotional Services for use in Mill Hill School Chapel, 1895;

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14. Strictly speaking this appears to have been prepared for all nonconformists rather than purely Congregationalists. The British Quarterly Review states: 'Nothing can be more admirable than the emendations of this Prayer Book; nothing more Christian and amiable than the Spirit of the Introduction'; but the reviewer thought that it would be of little avail. 'The Book of Common Prayer' in BQR 47 (1868) pp. 69 - 128, p. 126.
15. The services in this volume were praised in the British Quarterly Review for being 'simple and beautiful'. BQR 50 (1869), pp. 591 - 592, p. 591.

and The Free Church Prayer Book, 1897. The services were merely Anglican Morning and Evening Prayer with variations.

The Morning service thus underwent a change. The 'Long Prayer' was being abandoned, and there seems to have been a desire for more participation in the service by the congregation. The old order was filled out with canticles, lessons and shorter prayers. And in some Churches the old style of Morning service which derived ultimately from the ^{Catechumenorum} Missa fidelium of the Roman Mass was given up in favour of a service based upon Morning Prayer of the Book of Common Prayer, derived from the choir offices. An interesting feature of some of these liturgies was the use of material in Morning and Evening services which was taken from the Prayer Book communion service. In A Form of Morning and Evening Service, in the order of Morning service for the second Sunday, two versions of the Sanctus appear as opening sentences; in Liturgies for Divine Worship, the Collect for Purity appears in the first service, and the Sanctus in the second; the Sursum corda and Sanctus, the Prayer for the Whole State of Christ's Church, and part of the Prayer of Oblation, occur in the third, fifth and sixth services of Devotional Services for use in Mill Hill School Chapel. There were no inhibitions regarding the traditional use of such material; the prayers could be utilised because they were well-known devotional prayers.

Another interesting feature of some of these works was the recognition of the liturgical calendar. For example The Book of Common Prayer adapted for the Use of

the Congregational Church, Finchley Common contained the Prayer Book collects for the Temporale; The Free Church Prayer Book contained the Prayer Book collects, Epistles and Gospels for the temporale. The twelfth edition of A Biblical Liturgy contained the temporale Prayer Book collects, and a special service for Easter Sunday. And Let us pray contained collects for Advent, Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascensiontide, Whitsuntide, All Saints Day, Spring Time, Harvest, New Year's Eve, and In commemoration of the departed. In some Congregational Churches the basic Sunday sequence and festivals of the liturgical calendar were being revived.

In contrast with the Morning service, the Eucharistic liturgy of nineteenth century Congregationalism is made conspicuous by its almost universal omission from the liturgical discussion which occurred within the denomination; very little of the literature on 'Public Worship' considered the Eucharist, and only a few of the liturgies which appeared offered an order for the Lord's Supper. This contrast is significant; implicit was a distinction between 'Public Worship' and the Eucharist, suggesting that the Eucharist was not quite so public. The underlying cause of this distinction would appear to have been the prevailing 'memorialist' doctrine of the Eucharist within the denomination.

The Savoy Declaration of 1658 had restated the firmly Calvinist doctrine of the Eucharist of the Westminster Confession; but very different was the weak doctrine expressed in the 1833 Declaration of the Faith, Church

Order, and Discipline of the Congregational, or Independent Dissenters of the Congregational Union:

They believe in the perpetual obligation of Baptism, and the Lord's Supper: the latter to be celebrated by Christian churches as a token of faith in the Saviour, and of brotherly love. 16

It was this weak doctrine which R. W. Dale attacked in his essay, 'The Doctrine of the Real Presence and of the Lord's Supper'.¹⁷ The Savoy Declaration, so argued Dale, gave

no sanction to the theory which seems to be generally accepted by modern Independents, and which represents Baptism and the Lord's Supper as having been instituted simply to perpetuate the memory of historical facts, to illustrate spiritual truths, to make an impression on the hearts of those who celebrate the Rites or who witness their celebration, and to afford an authorized symbolic expression of faith in Christ and brotherly love. 18

'There can be little doubt', Dale concluded, 'that modern Congregationalists, in their extreme dread of high sacramental doctrines, have drifted into pure Zwinglianism; it is possible that some of them have drifted farther still'.¹⁹

Dale himself believed that the bread and wine actually convey what they represent. He used the analogy of a besieging army around a city. If a soldier gave the general a key to the city gate, this would merely be a symbolic act of hope; when the governor of the city does the same thing, this is the real transfer of power.

16. Declaration of the Faith, article XVIII, in W. Walker, Creeeds and Platforms of Congregationalism, 1893, (reprint Boston 1960), pp. 550 - 551.
 17. in ed. H. R. Reynolds, Ecclesia, London, 1870, pp. 315 - 390.
 18. *ibid.*, p. 368.
 19. *ibid.*, p. 371.

Christ is present at His table, though not in the Bread and Wine which are placed upon it. He is there - as a Host with his guests. We do not meet to think of an "absent" Lord, or to commemorate a dead Saviour. We receive the Bread from His own hands, and with it all that the Bread symbolizes. We drink the Cup in His presence, and rejoice that we are His friends - that through His Blood we have received "remission of sins", and that we "have peace with God" through Him. He is nearer to us now than He was to those who heard from His lips the words of institution. It was "expedient" for us that He should go away; for He has come again, and by the power of His Spirit we abide in Him and He in us. In being made partakers of Christ, we are "made partakers of the Divine nature", and become for ever one with God. 20

Dale restated the same doctrine in his Manual of Congregational Principles, 1884, which was compiled for examination purposes. But as he admitted, his view was a minority view - so much so that the section in the Manual on the sacraments had to be withdrawn from the syllabus. Most Congregationalists were of the opinion of J. G. Rogers:

Our sympathies are distinctly with Zwingli, whom we have always regarded as the most consistent of the Reformers on this point, and strong because of that consistency in following his ideas to their logical issue. 21

Zwingli's doctrine had been highly praised in an article in The Congregationalist in 1876,²² and there is little doubt that this was the doctrine of most Congregationalists at this time. Dr. Robert Halley in The Sacraments could see no difference between Zwingli and Calvin, believing Zwingli to be the clearer writer,²³ an opinion which

20. *ibid.*, p. 390.

21. J. G. Rogers, 'Sacramentalism' in The Congregationalist 13 (1884), pp. 980 - 989, p. 981.

22. T. H. Gill, 'Ulrich Zwingli' in The Congregationalist 5 (1876), pp. 321 - 336.

23. R. Halley, The Sacraments, (2nd edition) 2 Vols., London 1844 and 1851, Vol. 2, pp. 227 ff.

J. G. Rogers endorsed.²⁴ Henry Webb dismissed Calvin's doctrine in favour of a doctrine which was distinctly 'Zwinglian'.²⁵ Furthermore, E. Conder explained that such a doctrine was a sign of progress rather than something to lament; Dale's charge of drifting into pure Zwinglianism he wished to describe as being a growth into 'Paulinism' or 'New-Testamentism'.²⁶

The typical understanding of the Lord's Supper was given by J. S. Pearsall in his Public Worship. It is subjective 'memorialism', a mental reflection on the Atonement:

The Lord's Supper is a commemoration of something that is passed, and therefore the simplest symbol, obeying the law of association, recalls to the mind the name, person, and character, and doings of a friend that has been among us and is gone. The Lord's Supper is not so much to give the idea as to retain it. 27

For Pearsall, the emphasis was not 'Do this in remembrance of me', but 'Do this in remembrance of me'.²⁸

The same type of doctrine was expounded by an anonymous writer in the Evangelical Magazine in 1861:

It is simply a memorial - a memorial of an absent Friend and Lord. 29

The writer argued that the sacrament enabled us simply and impressively to remind ourselves and the world of Jesus - but only of his death.³⁰ Though the elements

24. J. G. Rogers, 'Sacramentalism', p. 989.

25. H. Webb, The Ordinances of Christian Worship, London 1873, p. 184 ff.

26. E. R. Conder, 'The Lord's Supper' in The Congregationalist 14 (1885), pp. 169 - 179, pp. 175 - 6.

27. J. S. Pearsall, Public Worship, pp. 89 - 90.

28. *ibid.*, p. 91.

29. Anon, 'An Invitation to Communion' in Evangelical Magazine, N.S. 39 (1861) pp. 862 - 867, p. 862.

30. *ibid.*

were blessed and administered by the apostles or even by Jesus himself, the soul would be no better by this or any other mere bodily reception; it is God's truth, not bread and wine, which nourishes the soul.³¹ A large number of other Congregationalists agreed.³²

The liturgical corollary of this 'memorialist' doctrine was that there was little incentive to question the traditional order of service as inherited from the eighteenth century. The main ingredients for mental reflection were quiet, simplicity, and stillness;³³ if anything, this required a reduction of liturgical forms in the Eucharist rather than any additions. But since the Eucharist was subjective reflection on the Atonement, it did not require the same attention as 'Public Worship'. Much depended upon the state of mind of the communicant,³⁴ and not everyone would be in the right state of mind. Again, as a symbol, it was especially fitted and designed to minister to religious emotion; it appealed to the pathetic, imaginative, mystical side of human nature.³⁵ But depending upon the temperament of the individual, the Lord's presence could equally be realised by a rousing hymn or a sermon.³⁶ Dr. Pye-Smith of Homerton College

31. *ibid.*

32. See also J. Pye-Smith, First Lines of Christian Theology, 2nd edition, London 1861; J. Angell James, 'The Sacraments' in Evangelical Magazine N.S. 20 (1842), pp. 215-221; E. G. Herbert, 'The Congregational Character' in Religious Republics, London 1867, pp. 108-109.

33. J. S. Pearsall, *op. cit.*, p. 94; E. G. Herbert, *op. cit.*, p. 109; H.B.S.K., 'A Quiet Communion Service' in The Christian World, 25th September, 1890, p. 763: "How still everything is! Not a whisper disturbs the solemn quiet".

34. J. Angell James, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

35. E. Conder, 'More thoughts concerning the Lord's Supper' in The Congregationalist 15 (1886), pp. 128-135, pp. 135, 133.

36. *ibid.*

had defined the sacraments as 'didactic, confirmatory of Divine truths and promises and instructive especially to men of inferior cultivation'.³⁷ The implication of this, as Dale was quick to point out, was that as men became more educated and cultivated, so the need for sacraments would disappear.³⁸ It might also imply that 'respectable' people, persons of 'refined taste', were above such sops intended for lesser educated brethren. This would appear to be the underlying reason why, compared with the Morning service, the Eucharistic liturgy in most cases received little attention.

A typical Congregational Eucharist was described by E. G. Herbert in his essay on 'The Congregational Character':

The form is very simple. There is no altar, but the bread and wine are placed on a table covered with a white cloth. A hymn is sung, and then the words of St. Paul describing the Last Supper are read. Sometimes the minister gives a short address, but if he does, his tone is more subdued than at other times. Then, after a short prayer, he repeats the words of the apostle, which tell how our Lord broke the bread, and puts a plate into the hands of each of the deacons, who so carry the broken bread round to the people, as they sit in the pews. After a short interval of silence and another prayer, he distributes the cups of wine in like manner, with the words describing how the Lord took the cup. A collection is made for the benefit of the poor members of the church, and, after another hymn, the benediction is pronounced. Thus, not a display of feeling, but a reserve and restraint of all outward expression of emotion, is characteristic of the service. And yet no

37. J. Pye-Smith, First Lines of Christian Theology, pp. 666 - 667.

38. R. W. Dale, 'The Doctrine of the Real Presence and of the Lord's Supper' in op. cit., pp. 369 - 370.

spectator, observing the pervading stillness which makes audible even the tick of the chapel clock, and the reverent quietness of manner with which the deacons perform their office, and seeing how each communicant after taking the bread and the wine bends the head in silent thought or prayer, could doubt that the occasion was one of the deepest and most solemn feeling. 39

A very similar order for the Eucharist was recommended by Henry Webb, though in this case he suggested that the bread should be broken before the prayer of thanksgiving.⁴⁰ The same order was presupposed by other Congregationalists.⁴¹ The order is still very similar to that of Watts, Davis and Doddridge; the 'double consecration' was retained, and the fraction was still symbolic:

The broken bread shows, how the body of the dear Saviour was broken, when he became a sacrifice for sin. The wine is poured out to intimate, that thus the blessed Redeemer poured out his precious blood on the cross for our salvation. 42

In some places however, the 'double consecration' seems to have been abandoned in preference to one single prayer, a practice for which William Orme could see no scriptural justification.⁴³ Such a service in an old Independent Chapel at eight o'clock on a summer Sunday evening was described in The Christian World in 1890:

39. E. G. Herbert, op. cit., pp. 109 - 110.

40. H. Webb, op. cit., p. 38.

41. R. Halley, The Sacraments, Vol. 2, p. 338; William Orme, The Ordinance of the Lord's Supper Illustrated, London, 1826, pp. 38 - 39.

42. B. H. Draper, Solemn Recollections, Before, At, and After, the celebration of the Lord's Supper, Southampton 1825, p. 11.

43. William Orme, op. cit., p. 39.

Silent Prayer.

Hymn. (Come, let us join our cheerful songs).

Prayer.

'It is the tender pleading of one who feels the goodness of God, the splendid manhood, the saving brotherhood of Christ; that He would come with us and dwell with us, and make us like Himself - loving, gentle, strong to do God's will, and very patient with each other. All the problems of life are brought to the Cross, and grace is asked that in the light which streams therefrom they may be solved in God's time'.

1 Cor. xi Institution.

Distribution of the Bread, in silence.

'And in like manner he took the cup after supper saying this is the new covenant in My blood. This do as oft as ye drink it in remembrance of Me'.

Distribution of wine, in silence.

Collection.

Doxology sung.

Benediction. 44

However, just as the Morning service had been affected by the Anglican Book of Common Prayer, in some instances the Eucharist was influenced by the same source. This may be seen with reference to four liturgies compiled by Congregationalists which included an order for the communion.

1. The Book of Common Prayer Adapted for the Use of the Congregational Church, Finchley Common. 1864.

A copy of this liturgy is to be found in the Congregational Library, Memorial Hall, London. It has no introduction or Preface, and is anonymous. It gives orders of Morning and Evening Prayer, and the Holy Communion.

The Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper, or, Holy Communion.

Anthem. Rev. 1:5,6. or the Easter Anthems,
1 Cor. 5:7; Rom. 6:9; 1 Cor. 15:20;
Rev. 5:13.

44. H.B.S.K., 'A Quiet Communion Service', The Christian World, September 25th, 1890, pp. 763 - 764.

Lord's Prayer.
 Collect for Purity.
 Commandments.
 Collect for the Day.
 Epistle.
 Gospel.
 Anthem. from Rev. 5.
 Creed.
 Prayer for the Church Militant.
 Collects (Post-Offertory Collects).
 The Grace.
 Sermon.
 Invitation, 'Ye that do truly'.
 Confession.
 Collective Absolution.
 Comfortable Words.
 Sursum corda.
 Easter Preface.
 Sanctus.
 Humble Access.
 Prayer of Consecration.
 Words of Administration.
 Prayer of Oblation.
 Gloria in excelsis.
 Hymn.
 Collection for the poor.
 Blessing.

The order followed that of the Book of Common Prayer, the only significant textual variations being in the Prayer for the Church Militant, where 'Bishops and Curates' was replaced by 'all the Ministers of thy Church', a collective absolution, 'have mercy upon us', and the words of administration where thee/thy was replaced by you/your.

2. Free Church Service Book. 1867.

The Free Church Service Book with a Preface by Christopher Newman Hall was used in Surrey Chapel where Newman Hall was minister. In a previous chapter we have already noted Newman Hall's own attachment to the Book of Common Prayer, and the Anglican liturgy is the sole source of the Free Church Service Book. Surrey Chapel had had a liturgical tradition before Newman Hall's pastorate. The Chapel had been built in the previous century for

Rowland Hill who at one time was in close association with the Countess of Huntingdon's preachers.⁴⁵ Although ordained deacon in the Church of England, on account of his itinerant preaching, Hill was unable to obtain Priest's Orders. Later he fell out of favour with the Countess of Huntingdon, and seceded from the Church of England.

Surrey Chapel was built for his use, and there he used the Book of Common Prayer with a few verbal alterations.⁴⁶

In this respect, Newman Hall's liturgy was a continuation of the liturgical tradition of the Chapel, being the Book of Common Prayer services with minor verbal alterations.

The book contained five services, four for ordinary Morning or Evening worship, and the fifth for the Communion. The fourth service was the Ante-communion of the Book of Common Prayer, and was recommended to be used when the Communion was to follow.

For the Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion.

Sentences of Scripture, or Exhortation 'Ye that do truly'.

General Confession, 'Almighty God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ'.

Absolution 'Almighty God ... have mercy upon us'.

Comfortable Words.

Sursum corda, Easter preface and sanctus.

Prayer of Humble Access.

Prayer and Thanksgiving (Prayer of Consecration).

Words of Delivery.

Prayer of Oblation.

Gloria in excelsis.

Hymn and Free Prayer.

Blessing.

45. The Life and Times of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, Vol. 2, p. 317.

46. Newman Hall. An Autobiography, London, 1898, p. 120.

This order was a slavish copy of the Anglican order, omitting most of the rubrics, and with minor verbal alterations: the absolution was collective, avoiding a priestly conception of absolution; the wording of the 'Comfortable Words' was slightly altered; and only the Easter preface was used. The Words of Delivery were also slightly altered:

The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for us, preserve our bodies and souls unto everlasting life. Let us take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for us, and feed on him in our hearts by faith and thanksgiving.

The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for us, preserve our bodies and souls unto everlasting life. Let us drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for us, and be thankful.

There is little significance in the changes here, other than perhaps to indicate that the presiding minister is also a guest at the Supper. Newman Hall's views on the eucharist are not at all clear. He was able to affirm a 'real presence':

We, too, believe in the real presence of Christ. The bread and wine are emblems of it. His actual body is in heaven; it is not in the Sacrament. The bread is not flesh. He will come hereafter, but He is not yet corporeally present. "As often as ye eat this bread, ye do show the Lord's death till He come". But, by His appointment, the bread and wine represent His body and blood; and we, by receiving them, represent and, as a means of grace, spiritually aid, our very union with Him. 47

This qualification of 'real presence', when taken with a further statement that

We may be real partakers of the body and blood of Christ, though we may never have received the bread and wine; 48

47. Newman Hall, Address in CYB, 1867, p. 88.

48. ibid.

would seem to suggest a 'Zwinglian' position, and would place Newman Hall in the main stream of nineteenth century Congregational thought on the Eucharist. It is interesting that Newman Hall seems to have regarded the Prayer Book liturgy as an adequate expression of his beliefs.

3. Let us Pray. 1897.

Although for the Morning service Horne and Darlow offered only an outline for worship together with collections of prayers for the minister to construct his own service, a full order for the Communion was provided.

(Address).

Sentences.

Hymn.

Brief exhortations from Scripture for a right attitude for communion.

Prayer (Collect for Purity).

Lesson. 1 Cor. 11: 22 - 26.

Comfortable Words (2 from BCP; 4 additional).

Exhortation to confession (Ye that do truly).

Prayer (Prayer of Humble Access).

Lord's Prayer.

Distribution: The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?

or The Lord said: This is My body which is given for you: this do in remembrance of Me.

The cup which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ?

or The Lord said: This is My blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins. This do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of Me.

Adding, As often as we eat this bread and drink this cup, we do show the Lord's death, till He come.

(or words of administration from the BCP).

Silent Prayer, or A Prayer by the Minister, or Post Communion Litany (Scripture sentences).

Closing Hymn, with offertory.

Benediction.

This order exhibits some most interesting features. The provision of an address suggests that as in all other cases, the Communion was not regarded as part of the Liturgy of the Word, though of course it may have followed it. The order is a combination of traditional Independent and Book of Common Prayer material. The Independent features are the first exhortation to a right attitude, 1 Cor. 11: 22 - 26 as a warrant, the first set of words of administration, the silent prayer of Scripture sentences after communion, and the position of the offertory. The Anglican material which was freely utilised is the Collect for Purity, the 'Comfortable Words' (adapted), the exhortation to confession, and the Prayer of Humble Access, as also the alternative words of administration. The opening sentences may have been suggested by the Anglican Morning Prayer, or possibly by John Hunter's Devotional Services.⁴⁹

A fascinating question is raised by the apparent absence of the Prayers of Thanksgiving and Blessing. The traditional double consecration was neither provided for, nor hinted at; and nor at first sight does it appear to have been replaced by a single prayer, suggesting perhaps a pronounced 'memorialist' doctrine. However, providing that our judgement is not coloured by an Anglican liturgical fundamentalism, another explanation is possible, namely, that a single prayer of consecration has been provided by the 'Prayer of Humble Access'.

This prayer has its origin as a pre-communion devotional prayer, being included in the 1548 The Order of

49. For the liturgical work of John Hunter, see the following chapter.

the Communion where it came after the Latin Canon of the Mass, and then in the 1549 Book of Common Prayer where it followed the new English Canon. In the 1552 Book of Common Prayer it was used in a new position, after the Sursum corda and Sanctus and before the prayer which in the 1662 Prayer Book was entitled 'The Prayer of Consecration'. Although the rubrics of the 1662 Prayer Book imply that the Prayer of Humble Access was regarded as a pre-communion devotional prayer prior to the consecration, it could in the 1552 book have been intended as part of the Canon. Only a knowledge of its original use in 1548 and a knowledge of the shape of the anaphora in the Classical rites could give rise to the opinion that it must only ever be a pre-communion devotional prayer. Horne and Darlow seem to have had no inhibitions in this respect; they have simply entitled it 'Prayer', but it seems to have been intended as a prayer of blessing:

Grant us therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, ...

If this interpretation of Horne and Darlow is correct, then it provides an interesting new use for Cranmer's prayer.

4. The Free Church Prayer Book. London, 1897.

This liturgy was compiled by the Reverend J. Mountain, minister of St. John's Road Free Church, Tunbridge Wells, one of the Churches of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion. However, it properly belongs to the Congregational Church. By this date most of the Countess's Churches were indistinguishable from Congregationalism,⁵⁰

50. John W. Grant, Free Churchmanship in England 1870 - 1940, nd., p. 97.

and Mountain was a Congregational minister, having been trained at the Nottingham Congregational Institute and Cheshunt College.⁵¹ He was assisted in the compilation of the liturgy by the Librarian of the Congregational Union, T. G. Crippen.⁵²

As a minister of one of the Countess of Huntingdon's churches, Mountain would have inherited the use of the Book of Common Prayer. However, he explained in his Preface that he felt that certain parts of it needed revising, and in his liturgy - which is merely an adaptation of the Anglican liturgy - he made use of the proposals for revision of 1689 (The Liturgy of Comprehension), the revision of John Wesley, A Biblical Liturgy by David Thomas, Newman Hall's Free Church Service Book, which perhaps suggested the title for Mountain's compilation, and The Protestant Prayer Book, 1894 by Charles Stirling.

The order for the Communion follows that of the Book of Common Prayer, but contains some significant variations:

Lord's Prayer, with doxology.
 Collect for Purity.
 Ten Commandments, or Ten Beatitudes.
 Collect.
 Epistle.
 Gospel: Glory be to Thee, O Lord.
 Thanks be to Thee, O Lord, for this
 Thy Holy Gospel.
 Nicene Creed.
 Prayer for the Whole Estate of Christ's Church.
 A General Thanksgiving (BCP).
 The Grace.
 Hymn or Anthem.
 Sermon.
 (Hymn and Dismissal).

51. See the list of Free Church ministers in The Christian World Year Book, 1883. In CYB 1898 it was reported that he had become a Baptist.

52. The Free Church Prayer Book, Preface p. vi.

Offertory Sentences.
 (Hymn and Dismissal).
 An Address (exhortation).
 Invitation, 'Ye that do truly'.
 Confession of Sins, or Absolution.
 An Exhortation.
 A General Thanksgiving.
 Comfortable Words.
 Sursum corda, Easter Preface and Sanctus.
 Prayer of Humble Access.
 Prayer of Institution.
 Fraction.
 Delivery.
 Lord's Prayer.
 Prayer of Oblation.
 Gloria in excelsis.
 Blessing.

A Biblical Liturgy can have been of little help with the Communion service, but the four other acknowledged sources have all been drawn upon, in particular The Protestant Prayer Book of Charles Stirling.

(a) Liturgy of Comprehension, 1689.

This liturgy suggested the Ten Beatitudes which Mountain provided as an alternative to the Ten Commandments. The 1689 liturgy gave eight Beatitudes, Jeremy Taylor's Communion Office 1658 appearing to have been the ultimate source. Mountain used the 1689 proposals, including the responses, but added two further Beatitudes to balance with the Commandments:

Blessed are those servants, whom the Lord,
 when He cometh, shall find watching.
 Blessed are they that hear the Word of God,
 and keep it.

(b) Wesley's Sunday Service, 1784.

Mountain, like Wesley, was writing for a non-episcopal Church; in the Prayer for the Whole Estate of Christ's Church, Wesley had changed the petition 'Give grace, O heavenly Father, to all Bishops, and Curates' to 'all

Ministers of thy Gospel'. Both Newman Hall in his fourth service, and Charles Stirling, were faced with the same problem. Mountain changed the wording to 'all Christian Ministers, Missionaries, and Teachers'.

Again, following Wesley, as had Newman Hall and Stirling, the absolution was made collective, 'have mercy upon us'.

(c) Free Church Service Book, 1867.

Mountain followed Newman Hall in providing only the Easter preface after the Sursum corda.

(d) The Protestant Prayer Book, 1894.

By far the most important source of Mountain's Communion service was that of The Protestant Prayer Book, the product of Evangelicals of the Church of England who had become exasperated by the failure of the bishops and ecclesiastical courts to eradicate Anglo-Catholic doctrine and ritualism. Stirling together with a number of clergy seceded from the Church of England, and carried out a revision of the Book of Common Prayer in such a manner as to exclude a catholic interpretation of ceremonial or doctrine. Concerning the Eucharistic liturgy, Stirling had explained in the Preface:

The Communion Service has been purged of every doubtful phrase, and not a syllable has been retained that can possibly be quoted as suggestive, or permissive, of any "real" or "essential", or "corporal" Presence in, or with, the elements of bread and wine. 53

The influence of Stirling's liturgy is to be seen in the following features:

53. The Protestant Prayer Book, 1894, Preface, p. xii.

1. The responses before and after the Gospel.
2. The text of the invitation to confession: 'Ye that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins, and are in love and charity with your neighbours, and, by the grace of God, are leading a new life, following the commandments of God, and walking in His holy ways: Draw near with faith, and partake of this holy Supper to the comfort and refreshment of your souls, as guests of the Lord Jesus Christ'.
3. An Exhortation: 'Dearly beloved, as we are now gathered at the Table of the Lord, let us seek grace, in full assurance of faith, to surrender ourselves, spirit, soul, and body, to the will of God our Father in all things; for we are not our own, but are bought with a price. Let us therefore with one heart and one voice present unto Him our praises and thanksgivings, even the freewill offerings of our lips, and say:

A General Thanksgiving: 'Almighty and everlasting God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hast purchased to Thyself a Universal Church by the precious Blood of Thy dear Son; We beseech Thee to accept our praises and thanksgivings for this Thine inestimable love towards us, and for the unspeakable benefits and blessings whereof we are thus, in Thy grace and mercy, made partakers.

We adore Thee, O our God, we laud and magnify Thy holy Name for the great salvation which Thou hast so wondrously devised, and so gloriously accomplished, whereby we are delivered, not only from guilt and condemnation, but also from the dominion and love of sin.

May we, by Thy help, evermore be enabled to walk before Thee in holiness and purity of life, that thou mayest be glorified in us at all times.

Grant to us that here at the Table of Thy dear Son we may realize His love, and be brought nearer to Thyself in Him. May Thy Holy Spirit enlighten our understandings and soften our hearts, that we may know and love Thy will. May all our thoughts, and words, and deeds be moulded and directed by His gracious influence and almighty power, that we may glorify Thee here, and hereafter enjoy Thee for ever Amen.

4. Additional Comfortable Words: John 14:27; 1 John 1:7,8.
5. The text of the Prayer of Humble Access: 'so to commemorate, in the eating of this Bread and drinking of this Cup, the death of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ, that we may feed on Him in our hearts by faith, and that we may evermore dwell in Him, and He in us. Amen.'

6. The alteration in the Prayer of Consecration:
'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 realise, by faith, our
oneness with Him'.

Mountain also made alterations in the offertory sentences,
the words of administration, the Prayer of Oblation and
the text of the Gloria in excelsis. The words of
administration were as follows:

Our Lord Jesus Christ, whose Body was given
for you, preserve your body and soul unto ever-
lasting life. Take and eat this in remembrance
that Christ died for you, and feed on Him in
your heart, by faith, with thanksgiving.

Our Lord Jesus Christ, whose Blood was shed
for you, preserve your body and soul unto
everlasting life. Drink this in remembrance
that Christ's Blood was shed for you, and be
thankful.

These words which exclude any notion of Christ's presence
in the elements are in keeping with the changes made by
Stirling, but are not from his liturgy, and nor do they
occur in 1689, Wesley or Newman Hall. The words do,
however, occur in The Book of Common Prayer ... for use in
The Evangelical Churches, 1867, with the exception that
the latter has thee/thou instead of you/your. This may
have been an unacknowledged source here.

In summary we may say that from the writings on the
subject of worship, and from the printed liturgies them-
selves, the Morning service in nineteenth century
Congregationalism underwent a change in its structure and
content. Sometimes this change was limited to the division
of the Long Prayer into two; in some Churches it
involved more congregational participation, including

versicles and responses; in a few Churches the older pattern of service was abandoned for one based upon Anglican Morning Prayer. The Eucharist appears to have been regarded as a separate service, and was less 'public' than Morning worship. The prevailing memorialist view of the sacrament was an important factor in Eucharistic liturgy, remaining substantially the same as that in the previous century. However, some ministers do appear to have abandoned the older pattern for a printed liturgy using material from the communion service of the Book of Common Prayer. It is strange that they seem to have looked no further than the Anglican liturgy for their material, their results being a slavish reproduction of the Anglican formularies, or appearing to be amateur scissors and paste work. Nevertheless, in a denomination which had had no written liturgy since 1645, these orders represent a remarkable liturgical revolution.

CHAPTER 12

THE COMMUNION ORDER IN DR. JOHN HUNTER'S "DEVOTIONAL
SERVICES FOR PUBLIC WORSHIP", 1886-1901

It is now used freely in many Congregational churches up and down England.

Dr. P. T. Forsyth's Tribute in The Christian World,
September 20th, 1917, p. 4.

The Communion Order in Dr. John Hunter's "Devotional Services for Public Worship", 1886 - 1901.

By far the most outstanding and influential liturgical compilation of nineteenth century Congregationalism was the Devotional Services of Dr. John Hunter, which, according to one Congregational writer, may be regarded as the first Congregational liturgy worthy of the name.¹ It was certainly the first viable alternative to the Book of Common Prayer, and its wide influence, which lasted well into the twentieth century, separates it from all other nineteenth century Congregational liturgies.

Dr. John Hunter (1849 - 1917) was very much an 'independent' figure. Although he ministered at York (1871 - 1882), Hull (1882 - 1886), and at the King's Weigh House, London (1901 - 1904), most of his pastorate was spent across the border at Trinity Church, Glasgow.² During his pastorate in England, Hunter often found himself at odds with the Congregational Union, believing that the modern 'Congregationalism' had little to do with Independency. Yet in spite of his Scottish domicile and his individualism, his Devotional Services were extremely popular in England. Originating in 1880 as a few pages of intercessions, confessions and thanksgivings, together with responses for the use of the congregation at York, the work was gradually enlarged to reach its final form of 327 pages in the seventh edition of 1901. After this date it went through many impressions, and at the time of Hunter's death in 1917, it was claimed that the collection

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1. H. Davies, 'Liturgical Reform in Nineteenth Century English Congregationalism' in CHST 17 (1954), pp. 73-82, p. 76.
 2. For biographical details, L. S. Hunter, John Hunter, D.D. A Life, London, 1921.

was in use 'in many parts of the world, and in almost every denomination. Hundreds of ministers who have not introduced it either to pulpit or pew carry it with them to funerals, marriages, or baptisms'.³ The reason for its success, so it has been argued, was its unusual combination of the traditional with the modern; stylistically it is traditional, but equally it is the expression of nineteenth century theology, of Divine immanentism and emphasis on the historic Jesus as mankind's greatest exemplar, and upon the Social Gospel.⁴ But its success must also lie in its originality; most of the prayers were Hunter's own composition,⁵ and the result provided nonconformists with a rich and dignified alternative to the Anglican liturgy.

Hunter was born in Aberdeen, his father being a member of the Church of Scotland and his mother an Episcopalian, and he was well acquainted with the worship of both these Churches. Although at first attracted to the Church of Scotland, Hunter became more and more involved

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3. Tribute from Scotland in The Christian World, 20th September 1917, p. 7. After 1901 Devotional Services was published by J. M. Dent, London. The following information supplied by the publisher gives some indication of its popularity and influence: It was published in 1904 at 3s. 6d. and simultaneously an abridged edition at 1s. 6d. References in the publisher's catalogue do not distinguish between these two editions which were in fact only impressions. In 1920, 1,000 copies were printed; 1924, 1,400; 1930, 1,025; 1935, 1,025; and in 1943, 1,500. The book went out of print towards the end of 1949. The writer, in his duties as Registrar of Marriages, found the 1903 edition in use at Stambourne Congregational Church, Essex, in August 1975. The influence upon the denomination is seen in successive orders which drew upon the Devotional Services.
 4. H. Davies, Worship and Theology in England 1850-1900, Princeton 1962, p. 231.
 5. "Most of the prayers, I believe, are my own". Preface, Devotional Services Fifth Edition 1892, p. vii.

in the Congregational Church, and eventually trained for its ministry at the Nottingham Congregational Institute (1866-68) and Spring Hill College, Birmingham (1868-71). It was at Birmingham that he was first introduced to the writings of F. D. Maurice, which, together with a fondness for Carlyle, Ruskin and Kingsley, accounted for his immanentism and Christian Socialism. The influence of immanentism on his liturgical work was recognised by a reviewer of the fourth edition of Devotional Services, 1890, in The Christian World, who, referring to the Communion Order, suggested that even R. W. Emerson might have been saved to the Christian Church by such a service as this.⁶ The influence of Christian Socialism is to be seen in the social concern of his intercessions, and his conception of the Eucharist as first and foremost a fellowship meal.

Another influence was that of Unitarianism. According to a college friend, Hunter took great pains to acquaint himself with the forms of worship of that body, and was greatly impressed by a little book of prayers by John Page Hopps.⁷ This influence is most marked by Hunter's use in his Devotional Services of James Martineau's Common Prayer for Christian Worship, 1861, and by the fact that all Hunter's prayers were addressed to the Father.

Another stimulus seems to have been the Church Service Society. This society was founded in 1865 by a

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6. The Christian World, 18th September 1890, p. 734. R. W. Emerson (1803-1882), Essayist, Poet and Philosopher, and former American Unitarian minister, was a leading exponent of the idea of spirit immanent in nature.
7. A. J. Griffith, 'A Reminiscence', in L. S. Hunter, A Life, p. 27. The book by Hopps was probably Prayers for Private Meditation and the Home, 1866.

number of ministers of the Church of Scotland to promote liturgical study and to produce forms of worship for the use of ministers in public services. In 1867 it published the Euchologion, a collection of services. This was mainly the work of G. W. Sprott, S. Story and J. Tulloch. Principal Tulloch became a personal friend of Hunter. Furthermore, in 1893, at the instance of some fellow-ministers, Hunter promoted a Congregational Church Service Society, of which the objects were to be 'to promote the regular and systematic culture of the devout life, the revival of worship and reverent observance of Christian ordinances in families and congregations of Christ's Church', and for many years he acted as its secretary.⁸

Believing that the worship of the Free Churches suffered by a lack of congregational participation, Hunter strove to strike a better balance between free and liturgical prayer. Although he was widely travelled and had attended services in Roman Catholic, Coptic, Armenian, Greek and Russian Churches, this experience seems to have had no obvious textual influence on his liturgical work. There is no indication of an interest in liturgical history or ancient texts. Rather, - and here in part lies the success of the Devotional Services - he was content to draw upon the traditional Congregational pattern of worship, clothing the framework with his own prayers.

In the earlier editions of the Devotional Services, Hunter had given collections of various types of prayers which could be put together by the minister to form a

8. *ibid.*, p. 92.

service, though he did recommend an outline for worship which varied from edition to edition. In the fourth edition, 1890, he suggested:

Voluntary.
 The reading of introductory sentences inviting to worship.
 Collect (To which may be added a general confession and thanksgiving).
 Hymn.
 Scripture reading.
 Psalm or Canticle chanted (closed by organ chord).
 Silent meditation.
 Prayer (extempore).
 Anthem.
 Scripture reading.
 Responsive prayer, from Book of Services.
 Hymn.
 Lord's Prayer.
 Sermon.
 Offertory.
 Hymn.
 Benediction.
 (Amen sung at the end of the hymns and prayers, and at the close of the benediction by choir and congregation.)

By the seventh edition Hunter had rearranged the material to form thirteen separate services.

Not until the third edition of the Devotional Services, 1886, did Hunter include a Eucharistic liturgy, suggesting the familiar nineteenth century Congregationalist division between 'Public Worship' and the Eucharist. The order continued to be developed, reaching its final form in the seventh edition, 1901.

Like many nineteenth century Congregationalists, Hunter's Eucharistic doctrine seems to have been a subjective 'memorialism'. In A Plea for a Worshipful Church, 1903, he defined the Supper as a poetic symbol;⁹ in The Coming Church, 1905, he insisted that in its original form the Eucharist was no ecclesiastical or mystical rite,

9. J. Hunter, A Plea for a Worshipful Church, London 1903, p. 59.

but a social meal, and he pleaded for a sympathetic understanding towards those who had no use for sacraments.¹⁰ The language of his Eucharistic liturgy was therefore of commemoration and fellowship, symbol rather than sacrament, though in later life mysticism played around the symbol.¹¹ Something of this latter combination is expressed in a passage in A Plea for a Worshipful Church; the Supper is

the Holy Commemoration, a quickening and inspiring remembrance of the Saviour's Holy Living and Dying; the Holy Eucharist, a service of thanksgiving for all the blessings which have come to us and our race through Jesus Christ our Lord; the Holy Communion, the sign of our communion with God our Father and Jesus Christ His Son, and a help of its realisation - the sign of our communion with all disciples of Christ, with the Church of all ages and lands, and with the Church triumphant, especially with our own dear and holy dead, in a Love from which neither life nor death, things present nor things to come, can separate us. 12

Nevertheless, in his Eucharistic liturgy the dominant idea was that of symbol.

The Order of Communion Service, third edition, 1886.

The structure of the service was as follows:

Sentences.
 Collect (three provided).
 Hymn 'Bread of the World'.
 Readings. Psalm 103: 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 10-12;
 Psalm 116: 12-14, 17; Matt. 26: 26-28.
 Responses: verses of Scripture concerned with the two great commandments, faith, love, peace, and joy, with responses.
 Pause for silent meditation.
 Prayer: The victory of the Cross, confession of sin, Thanksgiving, commemoration of the dead and living.
 Institution: 1 Cor. 11: 23-25.
 Words of administration.
 Offertory. 'Let us do this in remembrance of Christ, for inasmuch as we do good to one of the least of His brethren we do it unto Him'.

10. J. Hunter, The Coming Church, London 1905, pp.15, 57-58.
 11. L. S. Hunter, A Life, p. 208.
 12. op. cit., p. 59.

Hymn.
 Lord's Prayer.
 Benediction (Grace).

The Communion service was quite separate from the Morning services, and although Devotional Services provided collects for the festivals of the Christian year, there was no provision for their inclusion in the Communion. The only borrowing from the Book of Common Prayer was the Collect for Purity, which was one of the three collects provided. Nothing appears to have been borrowed from the Euchologion of the Church Service Society, the most recent edition for Hunter being that of 1884. However, several features were suggested by, or borrowed from, Martineau's Common Prayer for Christian Worship:

(a) The opening rubric and sentences.

Martineau: The Minister, standing by the Lord's Table, shall say one or more of the following sentences:

Hunter: The Minister, standing by the Table, shall say one or more of the following sentences:-

The first sentence, Matt.5: 6, was the same in both, and Hunter used three other sentences which Martineau had used - Matt. 11: 28; Rev.3: 20; Rev.22: 17.

(b) The second collect, 'O God our Heavenly Father', adapted from the 'Prayer of the Veil' which occurs in the Syriac liturgy of St. James, may have been suggested by its use in Martineau's Eighth Service.

(c) The Commemoration of the Dead and Living.

Martineau: We remember the fathers from the beginning of the world; the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, and all who have wrought righteousness We remember the whole family of man;

Hunter: We remember all who from the beginning of the world have wrought righteousness and walked with Thee. We remember prophets, apostles, and martyrs, We remember in this sacred hour of communion the whole family of man;

(d) The words of administration were the first set provided by Martineau:

Take and eat this in remembrance of Christ.
 Drink this in remembrance of Christ.

Only a single Eucharistic Prayer (of consecration) was provided, which was by no means unknown in Congregationalism,¹³ though this may represent the more general influence of Scottish Presbyterianism. Although there seems to have been no conscious attempt at imitating the classical Eucharistic Prayers, many of the themes found in the latter are found in Hunter's comprehensive prayer before the Institution Narrative. The themes of the commemoration of the Dead and Living, suggested by Martineau's service, were developed into a rich commemoration of the communion of saints, a concept which was especially dear to Hunter.¹⁴

The Prayer provides some interesting insights into Hunter's understanding of the Person of Christ and of the Eucharist. Phrases such as 'the gracious beauty of His life', 'the charity of His Cross', 'our knowledge of Thy Fatherhood', 'our human brotherhood', recall the ethos of Ernest Renan's La Vie de Jesus. Many of the nineteenth century 'Lives', in attempting to strip away the myth from the man and questioning the pre-existence of Christ, came

13. Supra, chapter 11.

14. L. S. Hunter, A Life, pp. 201 - 3; 285.

very close to the Unitarian position with which Hunter had much sympathy. Many of the 'Lives' presented the atonement as merely a display of love and an example to be followed, and questioned the reality of the resurrection. Inevitably, they tended to reinforce a 'memorialist' concept of the Eucharist. It is tempting to conclude that in Hunter's Prayer, the 'Quest of the Historical Jesus' finds its liturgical expression.¹⁵ The Prayer itself, together with the Unitarian words of administration amply illustrate Hunter's memorialism:

Help us to yield ourselves to the influence of this hour of holy memories and immortal hopes. . . . We would remember Christ - the gracious beauty of his life, His obedience unto death, the charity of His Cross, and His victory over the world's sin and sorrow. We would remember all that we owe to Him - Impress and quicken our hearts with the memory of our Master and Saviour, . . .

This is contrasted with

We confess with shame that we often forget our Lord. We forget Him in our fear and anxiety, . . . We forget Him in our indolence and weariness in Thy service, Forgive, O God, our forgetfulness. Help us so to enter into the spirit of this service, that we may go out into the world better prepared to remember Christ amid the care and strife and sorrow of our common days.

And Hunter prayed:

Help us to think as He thought, to believe as He believed, and to trust as He trusted. . . . we pray for grace to learn the lessons of His Cross, ..

15. Cf. E. Renan, The Life of Jesus, ET 1864, pp. 83, 85, 127, 175, 215ff; D. Strauss, The Life of Jesus, 2 vols., ET 1879, vol. 1, pp. 282-3, 388ff; J. Seeley, Ecce Homo, 1866, pp. 130ff, 173ff. It is not being suggested that Hunter was a disciple of these writers, but his prayer represents the wide diffusion of many of their basic themes. No doubt many of the 'Lives' were to be found in Hunter's large library. See 'Ministerial Libraries. Dr. John Hunter's Library at the King's Weigh House', in The British Monthly, June 1904, pp. 303 - 306.

at the administration of
And the bread and wine,

Take and eat this in remembrance of Christ.
Drink this in remembrance of Christ.

Unlike the Last Supper, the elements in Hunter's communion had nothing to do with the Lord's body and blood.

No rubrics for the fraction were given. Possibly it was intended to be made during the recital of the Institution. But its omission may well have been deliberate; immanental theology tended to regard the atonement only in terms of a moral example of self-sacrifice and love, and the language of Hunter's Prayer suggests that this was the focus of his memorialism. To remember the life and example of Jesus and the brotherhood of mankind was the object of this liturgy; it was a symbol of commemoration and of moral fellowship.

Hunter continued to develop this liturgy, the definitive text being that of the seventh edition, 1901. Fourth Edition, 1890.

Only minor changes were made in this edition.

- (a) A new Scripture sentence was added, John 15:15.
- (b) A fourth collect was added:

O God, our Father, who in Thy love to our race didst send Thy Son into our world, to bring back the wandering sheep, turn not away Thy face from us, but cleanse us from our secret faults, and mercifully forgive our presumptuous sins, that we may receive these sacred symbols with a sincere mind; through Jesus Christ our Lord. AMEN.

- (c) The sequence of order after the administration was rearranged:

The Lord's Prayer.
Hymn.
Offertory.

(d) The Grace was replaced with the Blessing from the communion service of the Book of Common Prayer, Fifth Edition, 1892.

Rather more changes were made in this edition.

(a) Three new Scripture sentences were added, John 15:12 with Matt. 5: 23-24; part of 1 Cor. 12: 13 and 10: 17; 1 Cor. 5: 7 - 8.

(b) A completely new item was introduced after the sentences, entitled 'Address'. It was a short devotional invitation to communion of three paragraphs. The first paragraph was based on the Invitation of the Book of Common Prayer, 'Ye that do truly and earnestly repent', though with a suitable anti-sacramental alteration: 'draw near with reverence, faith, and thanksgiving, and take the Supper of the Lord to your comfort'. This was followed by two paragraphs which would seem to have come from Hunter's pen: his monumental invitation 'Come to this sacred Table, not because you must, but because you may', which was later utilised in the official compilations of the denomination, and a paragraph which recalls the paraphrase of the Sursum corda of Farel and Calvin:

And now that the Supper of the Lord is spread before you, lift up your minds and hearts above all selfish fears and cares; let this bread and this wine be to you the witnesses and signs of the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit.

(c) The collects were increased to six, the fifth being the Prayer of Humble Access suitably altered: 'Grant therefore, gracious Lord, that, in hunger and thirst after righteousness, we may be filled with Jesus Christ, and ever more dwell in Him, and He in us. Amen'.

(d) The hymn 'A holy air is breathing round' as an alternative to 'Bread of the world'.

(e) The Eucharistic Prayer (of consecration), which reached its final form in this edition, was slightly altered in the second paragraph and enlarged by the addition of four paragraphs:

Holy Father, we pray that we may have communion
 Father of our spirits, God of love
 O God, who art love
 Almighty God, who hast called and redeemed

(f) Martineau's words of administration were replaced by new words, though ones which were hardly less 'memorialistic':

Let us eat of this bread in remembrance of
 Christ; and may the life which was in Him
 be in us also
 Let us drink of this cup in remembrance of
 Christ; and may the spirit in which he
 died be our spirit.

The words underline the immanentist idea that the spirit of Jesus - his outlook and example rather than the Holy Spirit - is also potentially present in everyone, the sacrament serving as a picturesque reminder of the supreme example of Christ and an encouragement to his followers.¹⁶ There is no Divine presence here; Jesus is spoken of in the past tense.

(g) A slight change in the sequence after the administration:

Lord's Prayer.
 Offertory.
 Prayer.
 Hymn, 'Beneath the shadow of the Cross'.
 Benediction.

16. Cf. R. J. Campbell, The New Theology, London, 1907, p. 174: 'Until His spirit becomes our spirit His Atonement has done nothing for us, and, when it does, we, like Him, become saviours of the race'.

Two post-communion prayers were provided, the first being a précis of the Prayer Book 'Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church'. An alternative Benediction was given.

Sixth Edition, 1895.

A crucial stage of development was reached in the sixth edition. The Communion Order of 1892 was given with only minor changes: the hymns were omitted; the collects were reduced to four; a rubric for silent meditation was removed; and a doxology was added to one of the post-communion prayers. However, in this edition Hunter introduced a second Eucharistic liturgy, based upon that of the Scottish Episcopal Church.¹⁷

Second Order.

Sentences (1 Cor. 5: 7b-8; Rev. 3: 20).

Collect for Purity.

The Two Commandments with response.

Collect for Grace and strength to keep the commandments.

Epistle.

Gospel with response 'Glory be to Thee, O God'.

Offertory. Sentences and ascription of glory.

Prayer for the Whole Estate of Christ's Church (including reference to the saints and departed).

1 Cor. 11: 23 - 25.

Invitation.

Confession.

Absolution (collective).

Comfortable Words. Matt. 11: 28 - 30; John 14:27; John 10: 11, 16.

Sursum corda, Preface and Sanctus.

Prayer of Humble Access: 'so to partake of this holy communion of the Saviour's body and blood, that we may be filled with Jesus Christ, and evermore dwell in Him and He in us. Amen.'

Prayer (of consecration).

Hymn.

Words of administration.

Lord's Prayer.

17. Text in W. Jardine Grisbrooke, Anglican Liturgies of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.

Thanksgiving.
 Abbreviated Gloria in excelsis.
 Hymn.
 Benediction.

Hunter made small changes to the text, for example in the 'Prayer for the whole estate of Christ's Church' where 'Bishops and curates' was replaced by 'all ministers of Jesus Christ'. Hunter also abbreviated the post communion thanksgiving and the Gloria in excelsis.

Hunter's main innovation in this order was the rearrangement of the 'Prayer of Consecration'. In the Scottish liturgy the Words of Institution in this prayer were preceded by a petition for consecration in imitation of the epiklesis in the classical anaphora. This petition in the Scottish rite can be traced back via the Non-juring divines to the 1637 liturgy for Scotland, and beyond that to the Prayer Book of 1549. After the institution narrative, the prayer continued with the 'Prayer of Oblation' in imitation of the anamnesis of the classical prayer; again this was ultimately derived from the book of 1549. The use of the Institution Narrative as part of the Eucharistic Prayer was not usual Independent practice, and thus Hunter subtracted it from the Scottish prayer, and inserted 1 Cor. 11: 23 - 25 before the invitation to communion as a warrant for the whole rite. Even so, compared with the position of the narrative in his first order, this was a new position; in the first order the institution followed the Eucharistic Prayer.

Hunter retained the remainder of the Scottish prayer without much further modification, including the petition for consecration, and an anamnesis. This had the textual

result of providing a liturgy with a much 'higher' eucharistic doctrine than that expressed in his first order. Here we give the text of the Prayer of Consecration:

All glory be to Thee, Almighty God, our heavenly Father, that Thou of Thy tender mercy didst give Thy dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the cross that we might live through Him; and who in His holy gospel commanded us to continue a perpetual memorial of His passion and death. Hear us, we beseech Thee, O merciful Father, and of Thy Almighty goodness, vouchsafe to bless and sanctify, with Thy word and spirit, these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine; that we receiving them according to Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of Him, may be partakers of His most blessed body and blood. And we earnestly desire Thy Fatherly goodness, mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of prayer and thanksgiving, most humbly beseeching Thee to grant through Jesus Christ our Lord, that we and 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 we may be filled with Thy grace and heavenly benediction, and made one body with Thy Son Jesus Christ, that He may dwell in us and we in Him. 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. Amen.

Seventh Edition, 1901.

The final form of Hunter's Eucharistic liturgy was that of 1901. A considerable amount of rearranging took place, the two orders of the sixth edition being merged to form a single order. In this new order the material from the Scottish Episcopal liturgy was used only sparingly to supplement Hunter's own order. It is of some significance that none of those elements of the Scottish

rite which represented a high sacramentalism were retained; the petition for consecration and the anamnesis which had meant so much to the Non-jurors and the Scottish Episcopalians were apparently of little importance to Hunter.

(a) The opening sentences were greatly reduced in number, only one of which had been retained from the original communion order of 1886.

(b) The Address was now followed by the confession from the Book of Common Prayer (used in the second order of the sixth edition), 'Almighty God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ'.

(c) The collects were increased to five.

(d) After the collects, Hunter inserted the comfortable words, using here some of the redundant opening sentences from the earlier communion orders.

(e) After the Comfortable Words, Hunter included the Sursum corda, Preface and Sanctus.

(f) The 'Reading' was now said antiphonally, the verses referring to the Institution being removed.

(g) After the Responses, now entitled 'Commandments', Hunter placed the Institution Narrative as a warrant, followed by an introduction to prayer, 'In Communion with Jesus Christ and with all His disciples and friends, let us offer our prayers together to the God of our salvation'.

(h) Only parts of the Eucharistic Prayer need be said, or an extempore prayer may take its place.

(i) The Offering was expanded.

(j) A new thanksgiving was provided.

(k) Only the Book of Common Prayer communion blessing was provided.

The second order of the sixth edition had provided the Confession, the Comfortable Words, Sursum corda, Preface, and Sanctus.

Although in the Devotional Services Hunter provided for some observance of the liturgical calendar (e.g. the fourth edition provided collects for Advent, Christmas, The Close of the Year, The New Year, Lent, Palm Sunday, Good Friday, Easter, Whitsunday, Trinity Sunday, All Saints, The Spring and the Harvest), there were no provisions for its observance in the Eucharistic liturgies. In tracing the growth of Hunter's Eucharistic liturgy through the various editions, it will be seen that in his first order of 1886 he had simply clothed the outline of the usual Congregational type of service. In the succeeding revisions this order was expanded, in particular by adding material from the Book of Common Prayer. This tendency which was most noticeable in the definitive text of 1901, was rather unfortunate, for what had started as an Independent liturgy came to look like yet another adaptation - albeit a drastic one - of the Anglican liturgy. The liturgy which preceded the Eucharistic Prayer became rather too long with the unnecessary addition of the Comfortable Words, Sursum corda, Preface and Sanctus. Yet for those who were satisfied with a memorialistic concept of the eucharist, it provided a dignified order of service. According to P. T. Forsyth, through the Devotional Services Hunter 'helped to wear down the

Nonconformist tradition against liturgical forms, and even where he did not wholly succeed in that crusade he certainly promoted a higher standard of worshipfulness in public services'.¹⁸

18. Dr. Forsyth's Tribute in The Christian World, cited supra.

CHAPTER 13

DR. WILLIAM EDWIN ORCHARD'S 'DIVINE SERVICE', 1919 AND

1926

They believe that the New Testament authorizes every Christian Church to elect its own officers, to manage all its own affairs, and to stand independent of, and irresponsible to, all authority, saving that only of the supreme and divine Head of the Church, the Lord Jesus Christ.

Principles of Church Order and Discipline,
Declaration of Faith, 1833.

Dr. William Edwin Orchard's 'Divine Service', 1919 and 1926.

As a Congregationalist, Dr. W. E. Orchard (1877 - 1955) remains something of an enigma . Ordained an evangelical Presbyterian and first minister of St. Paul's Church, Enfield, he drifted into Liberalism and the 'New Theology', thence to the Free Catholic Movement, and finally into Roman Catholicism. From 1914 - 1932 his spiritual journey took him to the King's Weigh House, and, nominally, Congregationalism. It was whilst as a Congregationalist that his liturgical work flowered - liturgical work which was marked by its radical departure from the ethos of Congregationalism.

During his short ministry at the Weigh House, Dr. John Hunter had introduced his Devotional Services, and these services were still in use when Orchard accepted the pastorate in 1914. But as he himself recalled:

I declared from the outset that while I was willing to use Dr. Hunter's liturgy for the ordinary services, I could never take his Communion Service; for in this he had not only broken away from all historic forms, but he had prefaced it by a series of affirmations as to what it did not mean, which I could never take on my lips. 1

At first therefore, Orchard continued with the Morning and Evening services of Hunter's Devotional Services; at a later date these were replaced by ten different orders of Orchard's own composition, which like those of the Devotional Services, were variations on the pattern

1. W. E. Orchard, From Faith to Faith, London, 1933, p. 118; 'affirmations' may refer to Hunter's Invitation.

of Morning and Evening Prayer of the Book of Common Prayer.² On the other hand, Hunter's communion order was immediately discontinued.

When at Enfield, Orchard had already compiled a liturgical service for the communion service,³ but his last years there had been marked by a growing love of catholic forms of worship. This was to be demonstrated by the special 'Reformed Eucharist' he drew up for his first service at the Weigh House on the 4th October 1914, reported fully in The Christian World.⁴ It had an Introit, Prayer of Invocation, Confession, Kyrie eleison, Absolution, Lord's Prayer, Epistle, the Gradual (Goss's 'O taste and see'), the Gospel, and the Te Deum sung as a Creed. After the notices had been read, two deacons brought in the communion bread and wine, which the minister covered and placed on the communion table at which he stood later to receive 'the offerings and oblations'. After a prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church and the sermon, the communion service continued with the Sursum corda, Sanctus, the Prayer of Humble Access, the Benedictus qui venit, Eucharistic Prayer, Silent Adoration, the Agnus Dei, the commemoration of the Living and the Dead, closing with the Nunc dimittis, and the benediction 'Now unto Him that is able to keep you from falling' (Jude 1: 24 - 25). 'The Service was remarkable' said The Christian World, '- a complete departure, in fact, from the ordinary usage of Free Churches'.⁵ On the 'Order of

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2. An extremely beautiful illuminated manuscript book of Orchard's Ten Orders is now in the custody of Dr. Williams's Library, London.
 3. See Appendix.
 4. 'At the Weigh House. Dr. Orchard's New Ministry. The Communion with a Liturgy', in The Christian World, October 8th, 1914, p. 9.
 5. *ibid.*

Service' sheet for the week commencing 4th October, 1914, Orchard explained:

It will be noticed that a special Order of Service has been compiled for the celebration of the Communion. This is entirely tentative and experimental, but it is hoped that we shall be able to adopt something along these lines for the purpose of a devout and worthy observance of the Lord's Supper. 6

The adoption was swift; by December copies of the new communion service were available priced threepence, and it was celebrated on the first Sunday of each month.⁷

Whereas Hunter's communion service had stood between a Congregational pattern and the Book of Common Prayer, Orchard's rite lay between the Book of Common Prayer and the Roman Catholic Mass.⁸

In the years that followed, Orchard gravitated nearer Roman Catholicism, and his spiritual pilgrimage was reflected in the ceremonial of the services. In 1914 for the Eucharist, he had worn a surplice and white stole. Later he adopted the traditional Western eucharistic vestments, incense was used, and later still, the service of Benediction or Exposition of the Sacrament was introduced into the Weigh House. All this could be justified by the independent nature of Congregational church polity; each congregation was free to determine its own rites and ceremonies.

6. For this Service sheet, see Scrap Book, 1905 - 1917, Dr. Williams's Library, Ms. 209.
7. Order of Service sheet, week commencing December 6th, 1914, in Scrap Book, 1905 - 1917. I have been unable to locate a copy of this Order.
8. In From Faith to Faith, p. 119, Orchard stated that in this service he had followed largely the order, though not always the words, of the Anglican liturgy. In 'The Priestly Sacrifice', The New Catholicism and Other Sermons, London, 1917, p. 9, he made the strange claim that it was 'either scriptural or moulded on Eastern forms'. A comparison of the summary from The Christian World with the BCP and the Roman Mass will

By 1917 Orchard was working on an entirely new service book, and in September of that year the Weigh House Publication Committee was considering the question of its publication;⁹ in February 1918 it was announced that the Oxford University Press had agreed to publish it.¹⁰

The Order of Divine Service finally appeared in 1919; an abridged edition was issued in 1921,¹¹ and a revised edition in 1926. An American edition was also published.

In the Divine Service Orchard provided two Eucharistic liturgies. The first was entitled 'A Simple Observance of the Lord's Supper', and the second, 'The Order for the Celebration of the Eucharist or Sacrament of Holy Communion'. With the advent of the new book the services for Sunday were changed. In a leaflet circulated to the congregation, Orchard suggested the following:

- (1) There should be no 'general' communicating at the monthly 11 a.m. Festal Eucharist.
- (2) There should be a 10 a.m. celebration every Sunday.
- (3) The 'Simple' service to be celebrated once a month after Morning or Evening Service. 12

This plan was adopted in March 1919, with the 'Simple' service being celebrated on the first Sunday in the month,

show our estimation to be correct.

9. Church Committee Meetings Minutes, 1915-1925, September 3rd, 1917, Dr. Williams's Library Ms. 209.
10. *ibid.*, February 11th, 1918.
11. *ibid.*, May 11th, 1921. It was reported that a number of churches would have preferred Divine Service to the Book of Congregational Worship, 1920, had the former been procurable at a lower price.
12. 'The Distribution of the Sacrament'. Copy in Church Minutes, 1916-1926, March 26th, 1919. Dr. Williams's Library, Ms. 209.

and the Festal celebration on the third Sunday.¹³ In July it was decided to use the 'Simple' service on the fifth Sunday evening also.¹⁴

The 'Simple' service had been designed so that the individual communion cups and other customs of the Free Churches should be preserved, but in which there should be no attempt to consecrate the elements, they being regarded purely as symbols, each recipient acting as his own priest and the service being simply a memorial.¹⁵ It took the form of Scripture interspersed with rubrics. The 'President' commenced by reading the Institution, Matt. 26: 20, 21 - 23, 26 - 27, supplemented by phrases from 1 Cor. 11: 24 - 26. The rubrics suggested self-examination, confession, silent invocation of the Holy Spirit, the fraction, adoration and thanksgiving. The bread and wine were administered separately.

After the communion, prayer was suggested, pleading the sacrifice of Christ and making self-oblation, followed by the offering for the poor (in its traditional Congregational position), 2 Cor. 8: 9, and 'The High Priestly Prayer' - John 17: 1, 9 - 10, 20 - 21 - with rubrics suggesting a remembrance of the saints and departed, the living, and the unity of the Church. Matt. 26: 30a introduced a hymn, with John 14: 27 as the benediction.

As far as Orchard was concerned, the 'Simple' service was a concession to Free Church tradition; the main Eucharistic liturgy was the second order. It provided for

13. *ibid.*

14. *ibid.*, July 2nd, 1919.

15. W. E. Orchard, From Faith to Faith, pp. 134 - 135.

1. A Low Celebration, without music.
2. A Festal Celebration, with Choral Setting; omitting the Kyrie Eleison, but including the Gloria in Excelsis.
3. A Solemn Celebration for Penitential Seasons or Requiems; omitting the Gloria in Excelsis but including the Kyrie Eleison.

Writing in 1933, Orchard claimed that this liturgy had been 'carefully compiled from the most ancient sources, and taking advantage of recent research and discussion'.¹⁶ It is difficult to determine exactly what Orchard understood by 'most ancient sources' and 'recent research and discussion'. By 1917 when he was preparing the work, some important liturgical material had been made available, notably the Euchologion of Serapion, and the Apostolic Tradition attributed to Hippolytus.¹⁷ At a more popular level, W. H. Frere's Some Principles of Liturgical Reform (1911) was available. But there is nothing in the Eucharistic liturgy of the Divine Service to suggest that Orchard had taken these into consideration. In the Divine Service he conveniently gave the sources of many of his prayers, and the majority of these were taken from collections by other compilers, for example, Dr. Bright's Ancient Collects and Dr. Selina Fox's A Chain of Prayer Across the Ages. It would seem that Orchard was more accurate in a statement he made earlier when still at the Weigh House, that it consists 'almost entirely of a compilation from other sources'.¹⁸ As the following table illustrates, most of the material was taken from the Book of Common Prayer and the Roman Catholic Mass.

16. *ibid.*, p. 134.

17. F. E. Brightman, 'The Sacramentary of Serapion of Thmuis' in JTS 1 (1899-1900), pp. 88-113, 247-277; R. H. Connolly, The so-called Egyptian Church Order, Cambridge 1916.

18. W. E. Orchard, 'Our Liturgy' in The King's Weigh House

Source - probable or
acknowledged

Introit or Hymn.	
In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.	Roman.
<u>V.</u> I will go unto the altar of God.	Roman.
<u>R.</u> Unto God, my exceeding joy.	
Psalm 43. Judge me O God.	Roman.
<u>V.</u> Our help is in the Name of the Lord.	Roman.
<u>R.</u> Who made heaven and earth.	
Confession.	Syriac James (text from Neale Littledale).
<u>Kyrie Eleison.</u>	Roman.
Absolution, or	BCP
<u>Gloria in Excelsis.</u>	Roman; BCP.
Prayer of the Veil.	Syriac James (Priest's Book of Private Devotion).
Epistle.	
Gradual.	(Roman).
Gospel.	
Nicene Creed or	BCP
<u>Te Deum.</u>	BCP Morning Prayer.
Notices.	
Invitation to communion.	
Hymn.	
The Bidding Prayer.	
The Address.	
The Offertory:	
Collects.	
At the Offering of the Bread.	Roman.
At the Mixing of the Chalice.	Roman.
At the Offering of the Chalice.	Roman.
Versicles and Responses.	Probably suggested by the Roman Oblation of the Faithful, the Offertory Incensation, and the <u>Lavabo.</u>

Source - probable or
acknowledged

The Offertory Prayer.	BCP; Didache.
Communion Hymn.	
Collect for the Day.	
Collect for Purity.	BCP.
<u>Sursum corda</u> , Proper Preface.	BCP.
<u>Sanctus</u> .	BCP.
<u>Orate Fratres</u> .	Roman.
<u>Suscipiat Dominus</u> .	Roman.
<u>Benedictus qui venit</u> .	Roman.
The Eucharistic Prayer.	St. John's Gospel and 'Ancient Liturgies'.
Silent Adoration.	
The Prayer of Oblation.	BCP; <u>Roman Canon missae</u> , <u>Unde et memores</u> and <u>Supplices</u> .
The Lord's Prayer.	
<u>Agnus Dei</u> .	Roman.
The Communion:	
(1) Distribution	(Free Church practice).
Humble Access.	BCP
Words of Admini- stration:	
The Communion of the Body/Blood of Christ.	
(2) Communicants come to the Table	(Roman and Anglican practice)
Lord, I am not worthy, ...	Roman
The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve my soul unto everlasting life.	Roman
What shall I render..?	Roman
The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve my soul unto everlasting life.	Roman
Invitation, 'Ye that do truly'	BCP.
or,	
'Come ye people; the holy and immortal and undefiled mystery is cele- brated; approach with faith and fear; with hands cleansed by peni- tence partake of the gift; for the	

Source - probable or
acknowledged

- Lamb of God is set
forth as a sacrifice
for us.
- or, 'Holy Things for the
holy'.
- Words of Admini-
stration:
The Communion of the
Body/Blood of Christ.
- or, The Body/Blood of our
Lord Jesus Christ
preserve thy soul
unto everlasting life. Roman/BCP
- The Commemoration of the Living,
the Saints and the Departed.
- The Post Communion Prayer. (Various collects)
- Nunc dimmittis. BCP Evening Prayer,
Luke 2: 29-32.
- Benediction. BCP, or Jude 1: 24-25.
- or,
- It is finished: depart in
peace. Roman.

The Introit, Gradual, Epistle and Gospel were left to the celebrant's choice, and the Commemoration of the Living, the Saints and the Departed was left for extemporary prayer. The Eucharistic Prayer, 'in accordance with early usage', could also be extemporary, 'care however being taken to invoke the Holy Spirit, and to use the Words of Institution recorded in the Gospels, or in Saint Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians'.

Despite the heavy dependence upon the Book of Common Prayer and the Roman Mass, Orchard's rite was no mere catholic counterpart to the liturgy of J. Mountain considered earlier;¹⁹ this liturgy was not simply a scissors and paste job. This is most clearly to be seen in the

19. See Chap. 11, pp. 388 ff.

Eucharistic Prayer and the Prayer of Oblation:

THE EUCHARISTIC PRAYER.

Holy Father, we bless thy Name for the Word who was with thee in the beginning; through whom all things were made, from whom all life derives, whose life is the light of men. We give thee thanks that he was in the world when the world knew him not, that the light shineth in the darkness and lighteth every man coming into the world. We bless thee for the law given through Moses, and for the word that came through the prophets; but, most of all, for the Word who became flesh and dwelt among us, so that we beheld the glory of the Only Begotten, full of grace and truth.

And now, as in accordance with his holy institution, we commemorate his last supper with his disciples, and his offering of himself in the sacrifice of the cross, we humbly beseech thee to send down thy Holy Spirit and sanctify these creatures of bread and wine, which now we consecrate to their sacred use; that they may become unto us the most blessed Body and Blood of thy dear Son Jesus Christ our Lord:

Who, in the night in which he was betrayed, took bread; and when he had given thanks, he brake it, saying, Take, eat,

THIS IS MY BODY WHICH IS BROKEN FOR YOU:
this do in remembrance of me.

After the same manner also he took the cup, and gave thanks, saying, Drink ye all of it; for
THIS IS MY BLOOD OF THE NEW COVENANT WHICH IS SHED FOR MANY UNTO REMISSION OF SINS:
this do, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me.

THE PRAYER OF OBLATION.

Wherefore, having in remembrance his blessed passion, his wondrous resurrection, and his glorious ascension into the heavens, we thy servants, together with all thy people, offer unto thy most excellent Majesty, of thine own gifts, this pure, holy and spotless sacrifice, the Bread of eternal life, and the Cup of everlasting salvation; giving thanks that thou hast counted us worthy to stand before thee; and praying that thou wilt accept this sacrifice, and cause it to be borne to the heavenly altar, in the sight of thine awful Majesty; that so many of us as shall here receive the most holy Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ may be fulfilled with all heavenly benediction and grace; granting unto us, who trust in the multitude of thy mercies, some part and fellowship with all thy saints, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences; through Christ our Lord; through whom, and with whom, and in whom, unto thee, O Father Almighty, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

Orchard very skilfully used St. John's Gospel to provide a Christological thanksgiving, emphasising the continuity between the Word of God in the Old Testament with the Word made flesh. The Eucharistic Prayer opened with the word 'Holy', a feature of the Post-sanctus of the West Syrian Anaphora, though since Orchard had broken the connection with the Sanctus by the Orate fratres, this may be purely coincidence. The Epiklesis appears in the Egyptian position, before the Words of Institution, the terminology being of the West Syrian type, but with distinct echoes of the Scottish Communion Office and the American Book of Common Prayer; the petition 'that they may become unto us the most blessed Body and Blood' still allowed a Reformed interpretation of the Spirit working in the communicant rather than on the elements. The 'Prayer of Oblation' was a careful blending of the Book of Common Prayer 'Prayer of Oblation' with the Unde et memores and Supplices of the Roman Canon missae. Orchard here presented a rite in which the Liturgy of the Word and Sacrament were restored in unity, in which the Eucharist was linked to the liturgical calendar, and in which a rich variety of classical Western forms, with some Eastern elements, were reintroduced into the Congregational liturgical tradition.

Orchard's interest was not, however, solely liturgical. The prayers he used and those he composed from sources, betray his doctrinal interest, namely the doctrines of sacrifice and presence in the Eucharist. The sacrificial aspect was emphasised by the use of the Roman Offertory prayers, the versicles and responses which

stressed sacrifice and the altar, the Orate fratres and Suscipiat Dominus, and the 'Prayer of Oblation' in which 'the Bread of eternal life, and the Cup of everlasting salvation' were offered to the Father. The Eucharistic presence was stressed particularly by the Epiklesis and Words of Institution where the words 'This is My Body which is broken for you', 'This is My Blood of the New Covenant which is shed for many unto remission of sins', were printed in large Gothic script. Orchard's gravitation towards Rome meant that these two doctrines became more and more pronounced in his thought.

In his Foundations of Faith, Orchard explained the Eucharistic sacrifice as follows:

the Sacrifice of the Mass is explicitly declared to be neither an addition to, nor a repetition of, Calvary, but the very same offering as that made on Calvary. Since Christ offered Himself by an eternal spirit, this can be continually represented in time as it was on Calvary; save that in the Mass it is now an unbloody sacrifice that is offered, for it is one with the eternal offering which Christ is now making for us in heaven; wherefore it is not so much that Christ comes down to us upon the Altar, but through the Sacrifice of the Altar we are brought into touch with the offering which Christ ever lives to make for us in the heavenly realm, and at the Mass we are actually partaking in the worship of the Lamb once slain and now standing upon the throne. 20

Elsewhere he maintained that the word 'remembrance' (Do this in remembrance of me) meant an objective offering of the sacrifice of Christ's Body and Blood; our offering is one with Christ's eternal offering in heaven, illustrated first in the elevation of the 'Sacred Species',

20. W. E. Orchard, Foundations of Faith, 4 vols., London, 1924-27, Vol. 3, Ecclesiological, p. 126.

and then in the Prayer of Oblation.²¹ On the subject of the Eucharistic presence he wrote:

All that we do in the Mass is to repeat Christ's words, "This is my Body"; "This is my Blood", praying that this may be fulfilled to us, and then treating the elements as if our prayer had been answered. 22

In Foundations of Faith Orchard defended the doctrine of Transubstantiation.

It is not surprising, therefore, that in the revised edition of Divine Service, 1926, in addition to minor rearrangements in the second Eucharistic liturgy, various changes and additions were made in order to heighten the Catholic conceptions of sacrifice and presence.

The minor alterations were mainly in the rubrics, but included the placing of the collects for the day and for Purity in the more traditional position before the Epistle, and the Orate fratres and Suscipiat Dominus were placed before the Offertory Prayer, so removing any interruptions from Sursum corda to the conclusion of the Prayer of Oblation. The latter prayer now made mention of 'his coming again in glory', and included a petition for the Holy Spirit to come down upon the communicants.

The Offertory of the Bread and Wine was stressed by the addition of the Prayer of the Veil, and two further Roman Offertory collects, In Spiritu humilitatis and Veni Sanctificator, increasing the three collects of 1919 to a total of six. The concepts of sacrifice and presence were given further emphasis in the new Eucharistic Prayer:

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21. W. E. Orchard, 'Our Offering of Christ's Sacrifice', in The King's Weigh House Monthly, December 1928.
 22. W. E. Orchard, 'The Meaning of the Mass', in The King's Weigh House Monthly, August 1928; Cf. 'The Real

Holy art thou King of ages, holy is thine only-begotten Son, and holy is thy life-giving Spirit; who through the eternal Word didst create all things and make man after thy likeness; and blessed be thy compassion that thou didst not forget or forsake us when we had fallen away from thee, but didst correct us by the Law and send us the Prophets to prepare the way of thy Christ, and in the fulness of time didst send forth into the world thine only begotten Son, Jesus Christ, our Saviour and Redeemer; who became incarnate by the Holy Ghost, and was born of the Virgin Mary, that he might deliver us from all evil and restore us in his own image; who being declared thy beloved Son, and having fulfilled all thy will, and gathered a holy people unto thy Name, when about to yield himself up freely to his life-giving death upon the cross, thereby to offer himself, once for all, one sacrifice for sins for ever, didst institute this holy communion of his Body and Blood, and command us thus to commemorate and shew forth his death until he come.

[We therefore humbly beseech thee, most merciful Father, that thou wouldest accept and bless this offering which we make unto thee on behalf of thy Holy Catholic Church, which do thou vouchsafe to preserve in peace and unity, together with all thy faithful people throughout the whole world.

Remember, O Lord, thy servants (N. and N.); and all here present, whose faith and devotion are known unto thee, accepting their vows, and bestowing upon them health and salvation; as also thy servants (N. and N.) who have gone before us with the sign of faith, granting to them and to all who rest in Christ a place of refreshment, light, and peace; for all whom, and for all concerning them, we offer up to thee this sacrifice of praise; in communion with and venerating the memory of the ever-blessed Virgin Mary, thy holy apostles and martyrs (Saint N.), and all thy saints; by whose intercessions and merits grant that we may be aided and made perfect; whose oblation of our service and that of thy whole family we beseech thee to make all things, blessed, approved, ratified, reasonable, and acceptable.]

We therefore humbly beseech thee, Almighty Father, to send down thy Holy Spirit and sanctify these thy creatures of bread and wine that they may become for us the most blessed Body and Blood of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, our Lord;

Who, in the night in which he was betrayed, took bread, and when he had given thanks, he blessed, and brake it, and gave to the disciples, saying, Take, eat,

THIS IS MY BODY which is broken for you; this do in remembrance of me.

In like manner also he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave to them, saying, Drink ye all of it;

FOR THIS IS MY BLOOD OF THE NEW COVENANT WHICH IS SHED FOR MANY UNTO REMISSION OF SINS: this do, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me.

Who, the day before he suffered, took bread into his holy and venerable hands, and with eyes uplifted towards heaven, unto thee, O God, his almighty Father, giving thanks unto thee, he blessed, brake and gave to his disciples, saying, Take and eat ye all of this,

FOR THIS IS MY BODY. In like manner, after supper, taking also this excellent chalice into his holy and venerable hands, and giving thanks to thee, he blessed, and gave to his disciples saying, Take and drink ye all of it,

FOR THIS IS THE CHALICE OF MY BLOOD, OF THE NEW AND ETERNAL TESTAMENT: THE MYSTERY OF FAITH, WHICH SHALL BE SHED FOR YOU AND FOR MANY UNTO THE REMISSION OF SINS. As often as ye shall do these things, ye shall do them in memory of me.

In the second edition Orchard explained the new Prayer thus:

In particular the Eucharistic Prayer has been entirely re-shaped in accordance with the most recent liturgiological research, making use of the earliest available material, so that it now represents a conflation of the Greek, the Egyptian, and the Roman Rites.

But the sacrificial aspect was now emphasised by the optional inclusion of a conflation of the Roman Te igitur, Memento Domine, Communicantes, Hanc igitur and Quam oblationem: 'accept and bless this offering', 'for all whom, and for all concerning them, we offer up to thee

this sacrifice of praise' and 'which oblation ... make ... blessed, approved, ratified reasonable, and acceptable'.

The Eucharistic presence was likewise accentuated. There was a subtle change in the Epiklesis: 'that they may become for us' would appear to refer to the elements as in the Quam oblationem, 'ut nobis fiat', replacing the more subjective words 'unto us' of the 1919 text. Furthermore, the optional use of the Roman Qui pridis and Simili modo would seem to suggest not so much an ecumenical approach to liturgy as an indication that like-words mean like-doctrine.

Orchard explained a change in the Prayer of Oblation as follows:

The insertion of a second petition for the Holy Spirit in the Prayer of Oblation, put here for the preparation of the communicants, as seems to have been the original purpose of an Epiclesis at this point, rather than for the sanctification of the elements, which should come beforehand, may perhaps serve to indicate how the ideas underlying the Greek and Roman liturgies may be reconciled by including both.

Orchard's Eucharistic liturgy was a complete return to the classical rites, though with a decidedly Western bias, and including many late features such as the Roman Offertory collects. It was a rich liturgy, and in particular, the Eucharistic Prayer of 1919 illustrated how a very Scriptural prayer could be composed without departing from the classical shape of the anaphora. Had its author been concerned primarily with the restoration of the traditional pre-Reformation shape of the Eucharistic liturgy within Congregationalism, and shown a little

more diplomacy, it might have been of some influence within the denomination. But the liturgy could not be separated from Orchard's own advance towards Roman Catholicism. The ultimate reason for the lack of influence of the Divine Service was not so much its liturgical forms as the ceremonial and doctrines with which it became inextricably bound. When its author was wearing traditional catholic vestments and using incense, and was expounding and defending the Sacrifice of the Mass and Transubstantiation, it was hardly likely that many Congregationalists would look with sympathy at this liturgy. In fact, as Orchard himself admitted, some of the Weigh House congregation were offended by the advances, and dropped away.²³ Various Congregational liturgical books borrowed individual prayers from Divine Service, but its Eucharistic liturgy was tacitly ignored. Writing in 1927 Orchard admitted of the Divine Service

we have actual knowledge of only one or two Churches here or in America who have adopted it. This would seem to indicate that our preference is merely a peculiarity. 24

In 1933 Orchard became a Roman Catholic. The Divine Service remained in use at the Weigh House, though the ceremonial fell into disuse. Later parts of the liturgy were also abandoned. In 1965 the Weigh House congregation amalgamated with the Whitefield Memorial Church, Tottenham Court Road.²⁵ The surviving copies of Divine Service from the Weigh House remain on the hymn-book shelves of the Whitefield Memorial Church - unused.

23. W. E. Orchard, From Faith to Faith, pp. 135 - 136.

24. W. E. Orchard, 'Our Liturgy', in op. cit. But he himself regarded it as a contribution to the quest for a perfect liturgy. *ibid.*

25. For details see Elaine Kaye, The History of

Yet in spite of its lack of influence, it remains a quite remarkable rite belonging to the Congregational tradition.

the King's Weigh House Church, London, 1968.

APPENDIXA PRECURSOR TO DR. W. E. ORCHARD'S DIVINE SERVICE?

The Divine Service prepared by Dr. W. E. Orchard for use at the King's Weigh House church is reasonably well known to students of Free Church liturgical history. First appearing in 1919, Orchard's work was a rich liturgical compilation drawing on many sources, and arranged with some respect for the classical liturgical traditions of both East and West. An abridged version was published in 1921, and a revised edition in 1926. Whilst in terms of comparative liturgy these nominally 'Congregational' services were far superior to those contained in the Congregational Union's Book of Congregational Worship, 1920, the blatant emphasis on the divine presence and the concept of sacrifice in the main eucharistic rite, together with the Western Catholic ceremonial with which Orchard clothed his services, effectively disqualified the work from serious consideration by fellow Congregationalists.

However, the Divine Service was not Orchard's first liturgical composition. In his autobiography, From Faith to Faith, Orchard recorded that when minister of St. Paul's Presbyterian Church, Enfield, he compiled some liturgical forms for use by the congregation:

I introduced some simple liturgical forms, which were printed and circulated to the congregation, and these were gradually improved and increased, as experiment proved which were the most suitable, and what the congregation could most readily adopt. I think ours must have been one of the first liturgies, actually placed in the hands of the people, to be used in a

Presbyterian Church; for strong traditional prejudices had to be overcome on that score, enshrined as they were in the story of Jenny Geddes in St. Giles Cathedral, though I have heard it affirmed that that story is quite legendary. 1

Orchard also provided a liturgical form for the communion service.²

These liturgical compilations mentioned by Orchard may perhaps be identified with Service Book, Presbyterian Church of England, St. Paul's Enfield. The book has no date of printing (it was for private circulation only), and no author is given. It may be divided into three parts:

1. (a) Six orders for Morning Prayer, each with a similar structure of Introit, Prayer of Invocation, A General Confession, The Collect, The Lord's Prayer, a versicle with response, Psalm or Canticle, The Morning Lesson, Hymn, and a Litany or similar (e.g. Beatitudes) with a concluding prayer. (b) A Communion service was also provided - Opening sentences, Collect for Purity, a form of Kyries, Reception of new members, The Institution Narrative, The Prayer of Thanksgiving (Sursum corda, preface and Sanctus), The Prayer of Consecration, The Distribution of the Bread, Silent Prayer, The Distribution of the Wine, Silent Prayer, The Prayer for the Church Catholic, and the Benediction.
2. A collection of psalms numbered 785 - 795.
3. A collection of hymns numbered 796 - 840.

In 1975 the Church Secretary at St. Paul's Enfield,

1. W. E. Orchard, From Faith to Faith, 1933, p. 104.
 2. *ibid.*, p. 105.

Mr. D. McNair, L.D.S., kindly supplied the present writer with a copy of Service Book. Mr. McNair wrote:

To the best of my knowledge the enclosed booklet contains the only specifically "Dr. Orchard" services used at St. Paul's and it included a communion service. It is many years since these services were used - I have been a member for about 20 years and they have not been used in that time.

In the British Museum Catalogue the same Service Book is listed as Presbyterian Church of England, and the date is given as c. 1920. If this date is correct, then it would be unlikely that the composition could be attributed to Orchard who became minister of the King's Weigh House church in October 1914. However, the date given in this Catalogue is probably related to the date of acquisition rather than to a definite knowledge of the date of printing. A copy of Service Book is also to be found among the papers relating to St. Paul's Enfield at the United Reformed Church History Society Library at Tavistock Place. It was donated to the Presbyterian Historical Society in 1922 by Mrs. Macpherson, widow of the Reverend E. B. H. Macpherson, and neither this copy nor the St. Paul's papers shed any further light on the date and authorship.

For the following internal reasons the present writer is inclined to identify Service Book as the work of Orchard.

1. Inside the cover of the copy supplied by Mr. McNair was a printed leaflet for 'A Service of Contrition', the title page of which included a quotation from Julian of Norwich. This leaflet is similar to those which Orchard

produced for special services at the King's Weigh House,³ and Julian of Norwich was amongst his favourite spiritual writers.⁴ This in itself points to very little, for even if the leaflet was the work of Orchard, it may have nothing whatsoever to do with the book. However, the service outlined in the leaflet is identical in structure with the six orders for Morning Prayer in Service Book, pointing to common authorship.

2. In the third order for Morning Prayer 'A General Supplication' is provided for minister and people; it is in fact based upon Psalm 51. In his autobiography Orchard commented:

Even in my eclectic and tolerant congregation however I found there was some objection to saying together the fifty-first Psalm as a general confession, while yet there was none to singing it to a chant; the principle no doubt being, that, although prayers ought not to be provided, praise has to be. 5

3. With regard to the communion service he drew up for St. Paul's Enfield, Orchard states that it had 'a definite consecration prayer'.⁶ The Service Book communion service has the following 'definite consecration prayer':

THE PRAYER OF CONSECRATION

Minister. Most merciful and mighty Father: grant unto us at this hour the gift of thy Holy Spirit, that we may make a full and acceptable offering of ourselves unto thee; and that, as now we consecrate these common elements of bread and wine to their sacred use, we may so feed on Christ in our hearts, that we shall be made members of his

3. Ms. 209, Dr. Williams's Library. Scrap Book. This remark concerns the format rather than the order of service.

4. From Faith to Faith, pp. 101 - 102.

5. ibid., pp. 104 - 105.

6. ibid., p. 105.

Body, and so drink of his Cup that we shall be cleansed in his most precious Blood, and ever more dwell in him and he in us. Amen.

It might also be added that in the communion service of Service Book, 'The Prayer for the Church Catholic' (this is a heading; no text was given) comes after the administration, corresponding to the position of 'The Commemoration of the Living, the Saints, and the Departed' in the principal Eucharist of the Divine Service.

The date of the compilation would seem to be a matter for conjecture. In the acknowledgment at the back of Service Book it was noted:

The REV. JOHN HUNTER, D.D., has graciously given permission for the Litanies on pages 7, 11, 13 to be taken from his 'Devotional Services'.

This acknowledgment seems to imply that at the time of compilation Hunter was still alive and had personally granted permission for the use of material from Devotional Services. If this inference is correct, then the book must pre-date Hunter's death in 1917. If, as we have suggested, the work is that of Orchard, then it must pre-date October 1914 when he became minister at the King's Weigh House. Since Orchard's interest in spiritual writers and liturgy followed his period of association with the 'New Theology' which came to the fore in 1907, we suggest a date c. 1908 - 1910.

Although the evidence is slender, nevertheless there is some justification for attributing this work to Orchard. Our suggestion is that Service Book forms an

important liturgical landmark in Orchard's pilgrimage from faith to faith, being a precursor to his celebrated Divine Service.

CHAPTER 14

WHAT MEAN YE BY THIS SERVICE? : THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION LITURGIES, 1920 AND 1936.

SIR - During the May meeting week last year a conference was called at the Blackheath Congregational Church to consider the need for a re-statement of Christian thought and the discovery of a technique of the Christian life, which should take into account the changes demanded by the knowledge and issues of our day.

To the Editor of The Christian World, February 9th, 1933, p. 7.

If you marry the spirit of your generation, you will be a widow in the next.

Dean Inge, Diary of a Dean, p. 12.

If we only see in Christ a supreme case of human religion, or if we see in the Cross but a manifestation of love and not its grand crucial action of judgment and grace, we cannot see in the Supper the meaning the Church has found in it;

P. T. Forsyth, The Church and the Sacraments, 1917, p. 248.

What mean ye by this Service? : The Congregational Union Liturgies, 1920 and 1936.

Nearly fifty years were to pass before the Congregational Union, on behalf of the whole denomination, felt able to take up the suggestion made in 1873 by W. H. Willans, that the Union should itself prepare an order for worship.¹ Liturgical services were becoming more common amongst Congregationalists, and in 1916 a liturgical service was used at a meeting of the Union.² The Congregational Year Book of 1919 reported that a committee had been appointed to compile a book of liturgical services for use at option.³ One of the members of the Committee, Sir John McClure, LL.D., D.Mus., was elected Chairman of the Union in 1919, and in his Spring Address took the opportunity of speaking about public worship. According to McClure, there was a steadily growing conviction among Congregationalists that the advantages of a liturgy greatly outweighed its defects.⁴ However, any compilation that the denomination produced should not be a mere pasticcio:

Any liturgy prepared for the use of Congregationalists becomes in some measure their contribution to the worship of the Church Universal, and must bear on it the impress of their spiritual experience and religious conceptions. our liturgy if it is to be sincere, cannot be a mere copying or even adaptation of others, but must be a real expression of the best thoughts and highest aspirations to which our faith and order have enabled us to attain. 5

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1. 'Attendance at Public Worship', CYB 1874, p. 59.
 2. CYB 1917, p. 44.
 3. CYB 1919, p. 20.
 4. 'The Public Worship of God' in CYB 1920, p. 56.
 5. *ibid.*

In 1920 the slender volume appeared, entitled Book of Congregational Worship. Its scope was limited, and the Literature Committee of the Union had to supplement it with special orders for laying foundation stones and the dedication of a Church.⁶ In 1936 it was replaced by a new compilation, A Manual for Ministers. Both books contained Eucharistic liturgies.

To compile orders of Morning worship for optional use by Congregationalists was in itself not a particularly difficult task. But the compilation of a Eucharistic liturgy for the whole denomination was an entirely different matter. When Hunter and Orchard compiled their Eucharistic liturgies, they were able to use what material they wished and to express what doctrine(s) they wished. If other Congregationalists, or even other Churches, liked the services and doctrines expressed, they were free to use them. However, the liturgies of Hunter and Orchard did not pretend to represent anyone's views other than those of the author. While it was true that no one would be forced to use the compilations of the Congregational Union, nevertheless they appeared as the official liturgical forms of the denomination, and as such were bound to reflect and influence the mind of the denomination. Here was the great difficulty; what was the mind of the denomination on Eucharistic liturgy and doctrine?

In 1936 a commission on the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper reported that a very wide variety of views were to be found within the denomination, ranging from a 'high' view to those whose attitude

6. Report of the Literature Committee, CYB 1932, p. 164.

approximated to that of the Quakers. Some Churches seemed to have had no considered doctrine of the sacraments at all.⁷ The situation had in fact changed very little from that described by R. W. Dale some fifty years before.

In theory the Roman Catholic views of W. E. Orchard had a legitimate place in the denomination, simply because Congregational church polity allowed such; on the whole, however, Orchard was alone in his views. A 'high' view of the sacraments was taught by Dr. P. T. Forsyth (1848 - 1921). Forsyth had studied in Germany under Ritschl,^{and} in his early years had been a noted liberal; gradually he moved towards orthodoxy, and in 1901 he became Principal of Hackney Theological College. An extremely rich doctrine of the Eucharist was put forward in The Church and the Sacraments, 1917. Forsyth rejected a mere memorialistic conception of the Eucharist; how can we have a mere memorial of one who is still alive, still our life, still present with us and acting in us?⁸ Mere memorialism was, so Forsyth argued, a more fatal error than the Mass, and a far less lovely one.⁹ Symbol was a better word than memorial, but even this was not adequate; sacrament, insisted Forsyth, meant that something is done; it is an act of Christ really present by his Holy Spirit in the Church.¹⁰ A sacrament is an opus operatum.¹¹

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7. The Report of the Commission on the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, 1936, in CYB 1937, pp. 94 - 119. For a detailed study see J. K. Gregory, 'The Understanding of the Lord's Supper among English Congregationalists 1850 - 1950', D.Phil. Thesis, Oxford University, 1956 (unpublished).
8. P. T. Forsyth, The Church and the Sacraments, London 1917, pp. 228 - 229.
9. *ibid.*, p. xvi.
10. *ibid.*, p. 177.
11. *ibid.*, p. 229.

.. it is an act of the Church more than of the individual. Further still, it is an act created by the eternal Act of Christ which made and makes the Church. At the last it is the act of Christ present in the Church, which does not so much live as Christ lives in it. It is Christ's act offering Himself to men rather than the act of the Church offering Christ to God. 12

According to Forsyth, the important part of the Eucharist was the action which was symbolised, the breaking rather than the bread, the outpouring rather than the wine.¹³ Thus the fraction was important, and the signs really convey what they signify.

Another 'high' view was implied by C. H. Dodd in an article on Eucharistic symbolism in St. John's Gospel, where Dodd argued that the discourse on the Bread of Life in chapter six is an exposition of Christ's words 'This is my Body', teaching a mystical doctrine of salvation, 'not ~~such~~^{so much} because Christ does something for us, as because He gives Himself to us'.¹⁴

However, Forsyth and Dodd were not typical of the denomination. Most Congregationalists were 'Zwinglian' in belief, often asserting a 'real presence', but with so many qualifications and negations that, to use Orchard's words, 'the meaning becomes almost "this is not my Body; this is not my Blood";'.¹⁵

Principal A. E. Garvie of New College, in an article in The Christian World affirmed a 'real presence' in the

12. *ibid.*,

13. *ibid.*, p. 240.

14. C. H. Dodd, 'Eucharistic Symbolism in the Fourth Gospel', in The Expositor, 1911, pp. 530 - 546, p. 546.

15. W. E. Orchard, Foundations of Faith, Vol III, Ecclesiological, p. 115.

Eucharist, but rejected the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist and Zwinglian conceptions of the sacrament, preferring 'personal presence' to a metaphysical or spiritual explanation.¹⁶ In The Holy Catholic Church from the Congregational Point of View, he maintained:

He is really present at the Lord's Supper without any such limitation to the elements unless we are prepared to maintain that the material is more real than the spiritual. It is the whole Christ who presents Himself to faith, so that the believer has communion with Him. 17

But the 'whole Christ' was certainly not the humanity of Christ which had been laid in the grave and was no more.¹⁸ Garvie accepted the authenticity of the command to repeat the rite, but he was far less certain that Jesus had meant any more than that he should be remembered at every common meal.

He never meant the ordinance, so significant in its simplicity, to be transformed into a sacred mystery, set apart from the daily life of believers. At every meal believers can and ought to remember and commune with Christ. 19

The presence of Christ at the Supper was such as could be enjoyed at any meal; thus the elements of bread and wine were not essential to the rite.

A very similar train of thought was to be found in the communion addresses of J. G. Greenhough in Eden and Gethsemane. Greenhough affirmed a 'real presence', but denied that it had anything to do with the bread and wine:

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16. A. E. Garvie, 'The Valid Sacraments', in The Christian World, February 13th, 1936, p. 8; ibid., Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus, London, 1907, pp. 367-368.
17. A. E. Garvie, The Holy Catholic Church from the Congregational Point of View, London, 1920, p. 114.
18. ibid., p. 114.
19. ibid., p. 103; Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus p. 367.

The bread was blessed and the cup was blessed, not in the sense that their nature was changed, but as He blessed almost every common thing He touched, making them sacred in their suggestiveness, investing them with the power of lifting human thought up to the heavenly level. 20

The analogy with 'almost every common thing He touched' led Greenhough to state:

The Communion Supper only brings into prominence that which is always going on, without which we should lose all power to love and serve; 21

Presumably other things could also bring this into prominence; there could be unlimited sacraments, because it was the thoughts, feelings, and spirit in which we do something, which make a sacrament.²²

Wherever bread is eaten, and wherever men take some simple drink to allay their thirst, and that is much the same as to say, wherever human beings live, there the materials for this highest religious service are found, and there the memory is helped to recall and realise once more the Divine sufferings which were endured for human sin, and the pitiful dying love which brought the world salvation. 23

The bread and wine were a help to the memory; no doubt other things would do just as well. According to B. J. Snell, the bread and wine are symbols which are not essential either to commemoration or to communion, but merely helps to both.²⁴ The logical conclusion of this type of thought was in fact suggested by Bertram Smith of the famous Wrigley and Smith partnership at Salem Chapel, Leeds. In an interview with The Christian World Smith

20. J. G. Greenhough, 'The Meaning of the Feast', in Eden and Gethsemane. Addresses for Communion Services, Manchester, 1903, p. 60.

21. ibid., p. 64.

22. J. G. Greenhough, 'The Sacramental Aspect of Common Things', Eden and Gethsemane, p. 117.

23. ibid., p. 116.

24. B. J. Snell, 'The Lord's Supper', in Eden and Gethsemane, pp. 128, 131.

suggested that sometimes it would be good to change the symbols at the monthly communion service:

I should like to have them sit and look at a picture sometimes. 25

Here was the realisation of Dale's fear of a drift beyond 'Zwinglianism'.

By the early decades of the twentieth century, 'memorialism' had found a new powerful ally in New Testament Higher Criticism. It exerted influence in three particular ways.

1. In more general terms the Liberal Theology which resulted from Higher Criticism weakened the Eucharist by attacking the traditional doctrines of the Atonement and the Resurrection.

Liberalism came to the fore in Congregationalism with the 'New Theology' which appeared in 1907, and again in the early 1930's with the Blackheath Group; both movements attempted to express the Christian faith in contemporary language and ideas.

The New Theology was associated with R. J. Campbell, T. Rhondda Williams, J. Warschauer and K. C. Anderson, and made its debut in a series of books in 1907.²⁶ Its main theme was that God is immanent in all things, and that an incarnation was therefore unnecessary. Christ was a man in whom God appeals to us as never before; he is the unique standard of human excellence, a standard which men must attempt in order to fulfil their destiny.

25. Rev. B. Smith of Salem Chapel Leeds, in The Christian World, September 24th, 1925, p. 12.

26. R. J. Campbell, The New Theology, London, 1907;
T. Rhondda Williams, The New Theology, Bradford 1907;
J. Warschauer, The New Evangel, London, 1907;
K. C. Anderson, The New Theology, London, 1907.

Jesus is 'Friend', 'Guide' and 'Brother'. The Atonement cannot be understood in terms of a ransom or a sacrifice, for these terms were no longer meaningful. The Cross was merely an example of self-sacrifice; it is not something that Christ has done for us, but something which, if we are willing, He may do in us.²⁷ Wherever love is ministering to human necessity, and the very same spirit which was in Jesus is seen - the spirit which heals and saves - there is the Atonement.²⁸ For Atonement to be effective, it has to be repeated on the altar of human hearts.²⁹

The Resurrection was also interpreted in subjective terms, either as a vision, or, according to

T. Rhondda Williams:

The first disciples could, I believe, come upon their faith through the tremendous influence which Jesus had had upon them. We do not easily surrender to death those we love - we tend naturally to believe in their survival; this is still more especially the case with the great souls; it would be very specially the case with some personality that entirely dominated our lives; it must have been inevitable in the case of Jesus. 30

There was no divine presence at the Eucharist, or at least, no more than in any other part of God's creation; certainly Jesus could not be present. The Eucharist was a memory of Jesus and an expression of brotherhood; the fraction was only a symbol of the example of love. The New Theology reinforced the argument of J. Morgan Gibbon (1855 - 1932), minister of Stamford Hill Church, London, that the great significance of the

27. J. Warschauer, The New Evangel, p. 158.

28. R. J. Campbell, The New Theology, p. 168.

29. *ibid.*, p. 166.

30. T. Rhondda Williams, The New Theology, p. 120.

Supper was as a means of pledging each other in Jesus Christ, solely on the grounds of faith and service.³¹

The same themes of the New Theology were updated and repeated by the Blackheath Group. This was a group of liberal Congregationalists formed in 1933 and concerned to re-state Church thought to take into account the changes demanded by the modern age.³² God may be apprehended by all the common and normal endowments of our nature as human beings, and the same divine power which was available for Jesus is available for all men.³³ In Frank Lenwood's Jesus - Lord or Leader?, the Atonement and Resurrection were given a subjective interpretation similar to that of the New Theology. For Lenwood, the Communion service was 'the most perplexing of our ritual'.³⁴ As well as being a memorial of the death of the Master, it was also a sacrament of the 'divine hospitality' which carries with it the brotherhood of those who receive it.³⁵ His obvious embarrassment with the Eucharist led Lenwood to point out that the Quakers had maintained the spiritual life without any sacraments.³⁶

If these two movements had any influence on Eucharistic thought in the denomination, it was to reinforce a 'memorialist' concept.

2. The nature of the Eucharist was called in question by the Religio-historical school of thought. German scholars

31. J. Morgan Gibbon, 'The Social Value of the Lord's Supper', in Eden and Gethsemane, p. 203.

32. See the letter to the editor, The Christian World, February 9th 1933, p. 7. J. W. Grant, Free Churchmanship in England 1870 - 1940, pp. 303 - 304.

33. See the Group's Statement in The Christian World, February 9th, 1933, p.7.

34. F. Lenwood, Jesus - Lord or Leader?, London 1930, p. 301.

35. *ibid.*, p. 302.

36. *ibid.*

such as Otto Pfleiderer, Albert Eichhorn and Wilhelm Heitmüller had suggested that the Pauline view of the sacraments, and those which subsequently developed in the early Church, were the result of Hellenization, in particular, the direct influence of the mystery cults. Since this approach tended to throw suspicion on the Catholic understanding of the Eucharist, it appealed to some Congregationalists. A leading article in The Christian World explained the Christian sacraments as having their origin in the Eleusinian Mysteries from the East, and the Persian cult of Mithras.³⁷ The sacrament became a mystery because the peoples to whom Christianity was preached had already a religion of such mysteries, had minds already filled with prepossessions concerning them, mental moulds which were bound to shape the doctrine this way.³⁸ The article pointed out that the mental conditions which shaped the doctrine had no claim to control the views of Christians now; scholars of the first rank agreed with the Quakers that Jesus had no thought of the perpetuation of the Eucharist. The writer added that the Quakers appeared not to have done badly in adhering to that view.

The mystery cult argument was used - though with more caution - by J. V. Bartlet, Professor of Church History at Mansfield College, Oxford, and by E. J. Price, Professor and Principal at Yorkshire United Independent College, Bradford.³⁹ It was also used by Harry Bulcock who was

37. Anon., 'Sacraments', in The Christian World, February 13th, 1908, p. 11.

38. *ibid.*, p. 10.

39. J. V. Bartlet, 'The Eucharist in the Early Church', in Mansfield College Essays, London, 1909; E. J. Price, 'The Eucharist in History and Experience', in The Congregational Quarterly, 5 (1927), pp. 135-148.

associated with the Blackheath Group and was chairman of the Union of Modern Free Churchmen. In A Re-stated Faith: Positive Values, Bulcock was cautious: the influence of the mystery cults was an open question. The meal of the early Christian community was in the nature of a Church social gathering, but with his doctrine of the revelation of an Inward Christ, Paul stated in 1 Cor. 11 what he believed Christ intended the meal to be, namely, a solemn religious communion.⁴⁰ But in A Modern Churchman's Manual Bulcock was more definite. The actual forms of the sacrament could be traced to a circle of animistic and magical ideas. The Last Supper does not seem to have been intended by Jesus to have become a recurring rite, or to have had a 'communion' significance. There are grounds for believing that the development of meaning was due to Paul who combined the Agape meal with the sacramental doctrines of the Mystery cult communion meals.⁴¹

For those who accepted the implications of this school of thought, the Supper should probably have never been repeated, and at best was an ecclesiastical custom expressing fellowship.

3. Although as late as 1941 Harry Bulcock was still propounding the mystery cult theory, most scholars recognised that it was a theory which went beyond the available evidence. But Higher Criticism still questioned the authenticity of the command of Jesus for the rite to

40. H. Bulcock, A Re-stated Faith: Positive Values, London, 1934, pp. 58 - 60.

41. H. Bulcock, A Modern Churchman's Manual, London, 1941, pp. 30 - 31.

be repeated. Several Congregational scholars had doubts regarding its authenticity. C. J. Cadoux, Vice-Principal of Mansfield College and a New Testament theologian explained:

In regard to the question whether Jesus gave instructions for the rite to be repeated, the difficulty lies in the fact that, while such instructions are reported by Paul (1 Cor. xi. 24 fin., 25 fin.) and in the ungenune text of Lk. xxii. 19 fin., they are omitted in Mk. and (most strangely) in Mt. It is almost equally hard to believe that (i) the Disciples would have practised the rite constantly and Paul have twice written, "Do this in remembrance of me", if Jesus had not given any such injunction, and (ii) that Mk. and Mt. would have omitted this injunction if he had. We must, for the reasons given, leave the question undiscussed and undecided here, observing only that the act of Jesus in distributing the bread and wine was emphatically a communal act, and that, if he was known among his Disciples and friends by his special manner of breaking bread and sharing wine when at table with them (Lk. xxiv. 30f., 35L; 1 Cor. xi. 24f. ["This do", not "This eat", "This drink"]), the solemn circumstances of the Last Supper might suggest to the Disciples the repetition of the act in his memory, even if Jesus himself had not explicitly enjoined such repetition in actual words. 42

The same agnosticism was expressed by Dr. R. Mackintosh, Edward Grubb, and A. D. Martin.⁴³ The implications were put quite bluntly by Dr. Albert Peel, the editor of The Congregational Quarterly, historian and a minister: No one today would claim categorically that the two sacraments were instituted by Christ and that He ordered

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42. C. J. Cadoux, The Historic Mission of Jesus, London, 1941, p. 311; Cf. ibid., Catholicism and Christianity, London, 1928, p. 397.
43. R. Mackintosh, Proceedings of the Fifth International Congregational Council, ed. A. Peel, London 1930, pp. 139-140; Edward Grubb, 'The Last Supper', in The Congregational Quarterly 8 (1930), pp. 57 - 63, pp. 60 - 61; A. D. Martin, 'The Administration of the Communion Service', in The Congregational Quarterly 10 (1932), pp. 73 - 81, p. 76.

them to be perpetually observed. No one could claim that the sacraments were indispensable, in so far as the like grace can be otherwise mediated. No one could deny that Christians have lived faithful and devout lives without the use of sacraments. The repetition of the words of blessing (Institution) savours of magic and is something entirely aloof from the spirit, the simplicity, of Jesus Christ. The experience of the Society of Friends and others has shown that symbols are not necessary.⁴⁴

The overall impact of Higher Criticism may be summarised as follows:

(a) If Jesus instituted the Eucharist, it was merely as a social meal expressing solidarity and fellowship.

(b) It was doubtful whether Jesus did in fact institute the rite. It may have been perpetuated by the early Church, as a reminder of Jesus and as a fellowship meal. It could be justified on psychological grounds, for many found it a helpful symbol.⁴⁵ But it was not necessary, and for some it was a tiresome custom.

(c) Ideas of Divine Presence of mystical communion with God were derived either from Paul or the mystery cults (or both), and were a departure from the Gospel meaning of the Supper.

It is impossible to estimate how widespread these views were in the denomination, but clearly they served to reinforce the already dominant subjective memorialist conception of the Eucharist. Nor did they stimulate

44. A. Peel, Christian Freedom, London, 1938, pp. 67-84.

45. For this justification see 'Sacraments', in The Christian World, February 13th, 1908, and H. Bulcock, A Modern Churchman's Manual.

study of the early liturgy by members of the denomination. When Congregationalists did turn a scholarly eye to liturgy, the Jewish table prayers and the Didache were interesting in providing a background to the rite, but later liturgies could not be taken seriously.⁴⁶

The shape of the Congregationalist Eucharistic liturgy was also being affected, from an entirely different and unexpected quarter. In the nineteenth century the movement for total abstinence grew very quickly within the denomination,⁴⁷ and it demanded that at the Communion service unfermented grape juice should be used rather than alcoholic wine. But the adoption of grape juice raised the question of hygiene, for it did not possess the sterilising properties of alcohol which gave some protection in the use of common cups. In answer to the problem, trays of individual Communion cups came into vogue at the turn of the century. 'Hygienic Communion Services' were advertised in the Congregational Year Book 1905 by Geo. Bambridge of Sunderland, and in an advertisement in 1912, Townshends Limited of Birmingham claimed that five hundred Congregational Churches used their trays of cups. 'Why use the insanitary common cup at the Lord's Table which courtesy would forbid at your own?' asked the advertisers. The advantages were listed as purity, safety from infection, unhindered devotion, and permanently increased attendance at the communion.

46. J. V. Bartlett, 'The Eucharist in the Early Church'; E. J. Price, 'The Eucharist in History and Experience'.

47. A. Peel, These Hundred Years, London, 1931, pp. 280 - 283.

Trays were also provided for individual portions of bread. Since the trays had to be prepared beforehand, it meant that where they were adopted, the fraction and libation were lost; from P. T. Forsyth's point of view, the heart of the Eucharistic action was torn out of the rite.

It was the culminative effect of these various factors which led A. D. Martin (1869 - 1940) to suggest a new order for the Lord's Supper.⁴⁸ Martin was extremely critical of the individualism of the new communion trays which he described as 'suggestive of the laboratory of a chemistry class',⁴⁹ and he recalled with nostalgia the celebrations at Lewisham High Road Church which he had attended as a youth. But such nostalgia certainly did not suggest to Martin a return to Calvinistic orthodoxy; Martin was uncertain that Christ had in fact instituted the Eucharist, and therefore the Church was not bound by the very form of the original supper in the Upper Room:

In the first place, the Church is at liberty, if a spiritual convenience require it, to re-shape the Communion service according to modern experience. In the second place, in such re-shaping we should preserve the largest possible measure of continuity with the past, and of community with contemporary believers. 50

There could be no return to the common cup; in order to recapture the communal aspect of the Supper, Martin was prepared to surrender the Reformation protest against the Roman Catholic practice of communion in one kind, and

48. A. D. Martin, 'The administration of the Communion Service'.

49. *ibid.*, p. 75.

50. *ibid.*, p. 77.

to advocate communion in bread only. The order of service which he proposed was as follows:⁵¹

Introductory sentences, or, occasionally, the recital of what has been called John's 'alternative sacrament', the story of the washing of the disciples' feet.

Hymn.

Various prayers, including always a prayer for the blessing of all the departed.

Mark's Narrative of the Supper.

Salvator Mundi and Gloria in excelsis.

Jesus said: John 6: 27 - 29, 33, 35, 37, 48, 51, 63.

Bread distributed.

Private prayer.

Triumphant hymn and offertory.

It is unfortunate that Martin did not reveal 'the past' with which this liturgy was supposed to be continuous.

In a situation of such diverse views a suitable solution would have been for the Congregational Union to have provided a selection of Eucharistic liturgies which would cater for the whole denomination: perhaps a rite based upon the classical liturgies, such as Orchard had compiled; that of John Hunter which was obviously popular within the denomination; an outline of an order for those who stood firm on free prayer; and possibly an order of an experimental nature for those liberals who felt unable to use more traditional rites. But this comprehensive course was not followed by the Union; the Book of Congregational Worship, 1920, contained a single order for the Communion; A Manual for Ministers contained two orders of a similar nature. In both instances the Congregational Union presented a particular type of Eucharistic liturgy as a norm for the denomination.

51. *ibid.*, p. 79.

Book of Congregational Worship, 1920.

Under the chairmanship of the Rev. B. J. Snell, M.A., B.Sc., the committee responsible for the compilation of this book comprised the following persons:

Sir John D. McClure, LL.D., D.Mus.; A. D. Snow, J.P.; the Revs. T. H. Darlow, M.A., E. M. Drew, B.D.; P. T. Forsyth, M.A., D.D.; C. Bentley Jutson; T. H. Martin, M.A., W. Charter Piggott; Arthur Pringle; Richard J. Wells, and Thomas Yates. Darlow had to retire because of ill-health.

Some of the members of the committee had previously produced liturgical compilations: Sir John D. McClure, Headmaster of Mill Hill School, may have been responsible for Devotional Services for use in Mill Hill Chapel, 1895,⁵² and compiled Devotional Services for use in the Tiger Kloof Native Institution, Vryburg 1912;⁵³ T. H. Darlow, with C. S. Horne, had compiled Let us Pray (second edition 1897); P. T. Forsyth, Intercessory Services for aid in Public Worship, Manchester 1896, and Arthur Pringle had produced some litanies for his church at Purley.⁵⁴ Only Let us Pray had contained a Eucharistic liturgy.

The 1920 book contained ten orders of worship, which were of a similar type to those of Hunter and Orchard, being based loosely upon Morning and Evening Prayer of

52. McClure became Headmaster in 1891, and was responsible for the new chapel. See K. M. J. Ousey, McClure of Mill Hill, London, 1927.

53. A copy is to be found in the British Museum.

54. A. E. Peaston, The Prayer Book Tradition in the Free Churches, p. 188.

the Book of Common Prayer, with canticles, collects, versicles and responses.

The Eucharist, entitled 'Holy Communion', came immediately after the tenth order of worship, but was a quite separate service, having no obvious link with the 'Liturgy of the Word'.

Hymn.

Scripture sentences: John 3:16; Romans 8:32;

1 Tim.1:15; Matt. 11:28; John 6:35b;

John 6:37b; Matt.5:6; Rev.3:20.

Invitation, 'Ye that do truly and earnestly'.

Confession: Psalm 51: 1-3, 10-12.

Sursum corda, Preface and Sanctus.

Institution. 1 Cor.11: 23-26.

Prayer of Commemoration and Thanksgiving.

Silent prayer.

Distribution: This is My body which is broken
for you.

This cup is the New Testament
in My blood.

Lord's Prayer.

Collect, 'O God of unchangeable power and
eternal light'.

or, Didache 9, prayer over the bread.

Collect for the departed.

Hymn of praise and thanksgiving, or Gloria
in excelsis.

John 13. Selected verses, The Washing of the
disciples' feet, or other suitable passages.

The Offertory.

Blessing. Hebrews 13: 20-21.

Of the eight scripture sentences provided, three were suggested by the 'Comfortable words' of the Book of Common Prayer, and two by Hunter's order in the seventh edition of Devotional Services. The Book of Common Prayer had supplied the Invitation, the Sursum corda, preface and sanctus, most of the substance of the Prayer of Commemoration and Thanksgiving, the collect for the departed (part of the final collect in the burial service and part of the 'Prayer for the Church Militant') and the Gloria in excelsis. A Gelasian collect, part of Didache 9 and Scripture completed the rite.

The Prayer of Commemoration and Thanksgiving commemorated both the Supper and the sacrifice of the Cross, made oblation of the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, and of ourselves, and had a petition for a fruitful communion. The material was mostly from the Prayer Book, - the prayers of Consecration, Oblation and Humble Access. The Commemoration of the sacrifice, and the petition for a fruitful communion including the indwelling of Christ, together with the words of administration which stressed 'broken for you', and 'The cup of the New Testament in My blood' perhaps reflect the influence of P. T. Forsyth, for there was rather more in these words than a bare memorial. Nevertheless, in liturgical terms the rite was very timid and unimaginative. Apart from the instance of the use of the Didache which was then in vogue, and a Gelasian collect which Orchard had included in the Divine Service, the committee does not seem to have been able to look beyond the Book of Common Prayer. The order lacked the originality of Hunter and the wide catholic sources of Orchard. There was no link with the liturgical calendar, nor were there any lections in the rite. If this book was a landmark in the history of the Congregational Union, it was hardly likely to be regarded as a landmark in christendom's liturgical literature; with regard to the Eucharist, McClure's words had fallen on deaf ears.⁵⁵

A Manual for Ministers, 1936.

The precise origin of A Manual for Ministers is not clear. In the Congregational Year Book 1932, the Literature Committee reported that it was having to

55. See supra.

supplement the 1920 book with special services for occasions such as the dedication of a Church.⁵⁶ In the Year Book of 1935 it was again the Literature Committee which reported that the 1920 book was being expanded into the form of a manual or a directory, and that the first draft was then under consideration.⁵⁷ It was a completely metamorphosed book which appeared in 1936, with a foreword by the Secretary of the Congregational Union, S. M. Berry. No actual committee was named as being responsible for the work, but Berry referred to a 'group of men', and singled out for special mention Mr. H. W. Lyde, and the Reverends H. Bulcock, Maldwyn Johnes, W. J. McAdam, John Phillips, W. Charter Piggott and Malcolm Spencer. Of these, John Phillips, the chairman, had studied under A. E. Garvie at London, and described himself as a liberal evangelical;⁵⁸ Charter Piggott had served on the committee responsible for the 1920 book; H. Bulcock, whose liberal views have already been noted, had compiled Orders of Service for Free Church Use for Prenton Church;⁵⁹ and Malcolm Spencer was Secretary of the Social Service Committee.⁶⁰

The minutes of this 'group of men' were taken down by Maldwyn Johnes, but no longer survive. However, according to the Rev. John Phillips, the Chairman, the Literature Committee had wanted a different kind of book

56. CYB 1932, p. 164.

57. CYB 1935, p. 202.

58. Letter to the writer, 27th August, 1975.

59. Copy in the Congregational Memorial Library, London. Bulcock later compiled The Modern Churchman at Prayer. Some Orders of Worship, London, 1943.

60. Spencer's The Social Function of the Church, London, 1921, presented the liberal idea that men could build the Kingdom of God.