

HOLY COMMUNION IN THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND  
IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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## SUMMARY

The purpose of this thesis is to indicate the extent to which nineteenth century eucharistic thought and practice underwent a process of change within the Church of Scotland. It seeks also to identify those aspects of the Sacrament which were most affected by such a process, and to examine the theological and cultural influences which brought about a development of eucharistic thought throughout the course of the century.

The thesis begins by showing that the older Scottish Reformed Communion did not remain intact, either in form or in theological emphasis. Within a century of the inauguration of Reformed discipline and teaching, such was the diversity of belief and practice that the nature of sacramental orthodoxy was seriously affected.

A review of the relevant literature of the first half of the nineteenth century reveals that much of the debate on the Lord's Supper in Scotland focussed upon the issue of the frequency of celebration. There is no doubt that the prevailing practice of the Church of Scotland was disposed to maintain a system of infrequent celebration allied to the observance of the Communion "Season". However, the theological treatises of the time show a persistent and influential advocacy of greater frequency (not all of it confined to the Auld Kirk), and advanced arguments which raised a greater awareness in the Church of the meaning and purpose of the Lord's Supper.

The early nineteenth century debate over the matter of frequency also draws attention to that epoch's preoccupation with the death of Christ as an aspect of sacramental thought which received undue consideration, overshadowing the old Reformed emphasis upon the Supper as a means of entering into communion with Christ who was not only crucified, but incarnate, risen and ascended. Consequently, in place of the traditional teaching of Calvin, an impoverished and un-

Reformed memorialist view is identified as having been adopted by many ministers and congregations in their practical approach to the Sacrament.

The thesis goes on to attribute such an understanding to the predominance of the federal or covenant theology within the Church of Scotland. An examination is made of the origin and nature of federalism and its effect upon nineteenth century eucharistic belief and usage. Through the influence of covenant theology, the Lord's Supper is seen to have been relegated to the role of an appendage to the Word, and the celebration of the Sacrament to be in no sense "efficacious", other than as an aid to devotion and a ratification of what had already been done by the covenant of works and the covenant of grace in the life of the believer.

However, the thesis also shows that the liturgical awakening of the early nineteenth century helped to bring about the gradual and irreversible recession of federalism in the life of the Church. Moreover, it is argued that Romanticism provided a background for such a change. Thus, the Romantic emphasis upon history (and especially upon the themes of the Middle Ages) quickened the Church's awareness of its continuity with earlier times and gave to signs and symbols a new value and a greater force.

With the assertion of the values of Romanticism and the erosion of federal theology, other influences made themselves felt in the nineteenth century Scottish Church. Anglican scholars unaffected by Tractarianism were known and admired by some, at least, of their peers within the Auld Kirk, in spite of a popular suspicion of episcopacy. Thus, Scottish writers on the Eucharist made no attempt to exclude from their treatises the theological insights of certain Anglican divines. The survival of Cudworth's concept of "a feast upon a sacrifice" in Scottish sacramental sermons and manuals testifies to this fact in a remarkable way.

In view of the burgeoning of German influence upon Scottish cultural and intellectual life - beginning tentatively in the last decades of the eighteenth century to become one of the established features of Scottish life by 1850 - due account is taken of the practice by which students of divinity spent a semester at a German university. In the light of this development, the possibility of a more precise German impress upon Scottish eucharistic thought is examined. The evidence does not bear out the hypothesis, but German influence upon Scottish students of divinity certainly caused among them a "creative restlessness" which made it hard for them to come to terms with a Scotland still emerging from the last stages of an outmoded federalism.

German influence manifested itself obliquely, however, during the decade 1850-1860 and prior to the founding of the Church Service Society in 1865. Moreover, this influence was specifically related to the Eucharist and was transmitted to the Church of Scotland through the work of John Williamson Nevin and Philip Schaff of the American (German) Reformed Church. In particular, Nevin's eucharistic theology in The Mystical Presence (1846) and the formulation of the Mercersburg Liturgy (1857) presented a challenging reassessment of the classical Calvinist understanding of the Lord's Supper and its application to the Church's sacramental worship. The thesis traces the earlier German influences upon both Nevin and Schaff, examines the content of The Mystical Presence and the liturgical significance of the Mercersburg movement, and assesses the role of both in the eucharistic thought and practice of the Church of Scotland.

The view is advanced at this stage that the liturgical development of the nineteenth century, particularly in relation to the Lord's Supper, cannot adequately be surveyed without taking into account the Communion psalmody, and latterly hymnody, of the Church. Reference is made to the earlier, comprehensive Reformed heritage of praise; to its decline under the influence of Puritanism and federalism; and to the significant role played by metrical psalms and Scripture

paraphrases in the Scottish Communion of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The subsequent importance of the widening of the Church's repertoire of praise, through the publication of The Scottish Hymnal, is noted. Its eucharistic content is examined and the role of the earlier Catholic Apostolic hymnbook is evaluated. Further, eucharistic themes which emerged as nineteenth century sacramental theology and liturgy developed are identified in the Church's hymnody and, in many cases, are regarded as evidence of the continuing process of change which affected the Eucharist throughout the century.

If the appearance of The Scottish Mission Hymnbook (1912) marked one aspect of the Scoto-Catholic party's concern for eucharistic worship and praise, the earlier publication of William Milligan's Ascension and Heavenly Priesthood of Our Lord (1892) marked the priority which they placed upon profound eucharistic doctrine held "everywhere always and by all". The articulation of Catholic sacramental teaching by Milligan is reviewed, and the progress and importance of the Scoto-Catholics within the Church's life is traced in the writings of John Macleod, James Cooper and H.J. Wotherspoon. Their understanding of the Eucharist is represented as the holding together of a number of strands of thought which, having appeared as fragile filaments earlier in the century, were by its end possessed of a greater strength and durability.

The thesis concludes by indicating the manner in which some of the late nineteenth century eucharistic themes were developed or modified by circumstances and events as this present century progressed.



## CHAPTER ONE

## "SO EXCELLENT A GIFT AND TREASURE"

THE REDISCOVERY OF COMMUNION IN THE SCOTTISH REFORMED CHURCH

"Most merciful Father, we render to Thee all praise, thanks and glory, for that it hath pleased Thee of Thy great mercies to grant unto us, miserable sinners, so excellent a gift and treasure, as to receive us into the fellowship and company of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ our Lord, whom Thou deliveredst to death for us, and hast given Him unto us as a necessary food and nourishment unto everlasting life".

These words from John Knox's Liturgy<sup>1</sup> well express the reverence with which the great Reformer regarded the Lord's Supper. It was indeed to him "so excellent a gift and treasure" and a quite indispensable means of fortifying the life of the believer. He shared with Calvin the understanding that "this Sacrament is a singular medicine for all poor sick creatures",<sup>2</sup> and his eucharistic order represents a return to the essential words and acts of Christ in the Upper Room. Conscious, perhaps, of this deliberate purging of the Eucharist of all excrescences, Knox sets out his justification for his order which, by modern liturgical standards, is sparse and unembellished: "we restore unto the Sacrament his [sic] own substance, and to Christ His proper place".<sup>3</sup> Thus, the constituent parts of the service embody the fundamentals laid down by scriptural precedent. The words of institution from I Corinthians 11: 23-26 provide the warrant for the celebration and are related to the exhortation and warning against eating and drinking unworthily contained in the verses which follow. The narrative and exhortation conclude with an account of "the true eating of Christ in

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1. The Book of Common Order of the Church of Scotland, Commonly known as John Knox's Liturgy, Church Service Society, Historical Introduction by the Rev. G.W. Sprott, D.D., Edinburgh and London, 1901, pp. 125-126.

2. ibid., p. 123.

3. ibid., p. 126.

the Sacrament", which relies heavily upon the teaching of Calvin. Thereafter there is a prayer of thanksgiving for creation and redemption, and for the work of Christ, and an acknowledgement of our dependence upon Him alone for all the promises of the Gospel. There follows the observance of the manual acts of Christ together with the words of invitation and the distribution to the people while a narrative from the Scriptures is read concerning the death of Christ. The service concludes with the prayer of thanksgiving, the singing of a psalm and the pronouncing of the blessing by the minister.<sup>1</sup>

For Knox the blasphemous character of the Mass was that it obscured Christ while purporting to convey His real presence to the people. He believed, however, that the Supper as celebrated by the Reformers set Christ at its heart and revealed Him to the communicants in a way that the Mass could never do. The simplicity, even starkness, of the service allowed the words of Christ to construct the pattern of sacramental worship. Not long after he preached his first sermon in St. Andrews in 1547, Knox and John Rough entered into controversy with the Grey Friars and Black Friars there. The Article they presented on the sacraments stated that the "Sacraments of the New Testament ought to be ministered as they were instituted by Christ Jesus, and practised by his Apostles: nothing ought to be added unto them; nothing ought to be diminished from them".<sup>2</sup> This was to be the criterion of the "right ministration" which Knox repeatedly called for in the celebration of the Supper and which became one of the distinguishing marks of the Reformed Church. Such was the firm adherence to the scriptural institution and norm that he wrote with much

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1. ibid., pp. 120-127.

2. William Croft Dickinson (editor), John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland, London, 1949, vol. 1. p. 87.

satisfaction, "there is no realm this day upon the face of the earth, that hath them [the sacraments] in greater purity".<sup>1</sup> It is for this reason that Eustace Percy passed judgement on Knox that he "is the restorer of the Sacrament rather than just the thunderous preacher" and that "his conception of the centrality of the Sacrament has set a lasting seal upon the Church of Scotland, differentiating it from all other Protestant communions, and making it, in the strict sense of the term, a "Eucharistic Church".<sup>2</sup>

The so-called "golden age of presbyterianism" which succeeded the Reformation very largely maintained the standards of Knox in sacramental "right ministration", although variation in practice inevitably began to emerge. G.W. Spratt notes signs of tension between those who disliked being tied to set forms and those who followed the precise words of the book.<sup>3</sup> Moreover the question of kneeling, raised at the Assembly of Perth in 1618, proved to be very contentious and the source of much confusion.<sup>4</sup> Yet the older presbyterian tradition largely kept faith with the teaching of the Reformers and adhered to the sacramental doctrine of The Scots Confession.

However, by 1645, the era of the Westminster documents, the influence of federal theology began to assert itself through the puritan domination of Scottish church life which became a reality for almost the next two hundred years. Consequently, as the nineteenth century was ushered in the sacramental heritage of John Knox was all but lost sight of. Certainly his Book of Common Order had long since ceased to be used in the Church of Scotland and the teaching of the Reformers about the Lord's Supper was almost entirely obscured by the narrow categories of covenant theology. It could no longer be said that the

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1. ibid., vol. 2, p. 3.

2. Eustace Percy, John Knox, London, 1937, p. 65.

3. Spratt, Book of Common Order, xxxvii.

4. ibid., xli.

Church of Scotland was a "Eucharistic Church". The place of the Supper had by now become peripheral to the Church's life and the Knoxian desire for at least monthly Communion, partially reiterated in the injunction of The Directory for Public Worship that the Communion was frequently to be celebrated, was virtually ignored.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, in sacramental worship the use of canticles, the Gloria, the Belief and the Lord's Prayer withered through neglect and in the space of two hundred years the Church's eucharistic praise remained rooted in the metrical psalms of various editions, most of which reflected a decline in musical quality.<sup>2</sup>

However, the inexorable decline of the older Scottish sacramental tradition in the face of the growing influence of federalism meant that there was a marked discontinuity of thought with regard to the Lord's Supper and a decided failure in the nineteenth century to identify, let alone promote, the ideals of the old Calvinist teaching. Popular commentators in our own time who lament this or that deficiency in Scottish cultural life are wont to look back and to attribute the blighting of the arts and music to the narrow inhibitions of Calvinism. Ironically, Calvinism had, by the eighteenth century, long since lost its position to federalism and although today's hostile critic would wish to persist in his indictment of Calvinism the two castes of mind were different in almost every respect. Moreover, popularly held beliefs within the Church, concerning sacramental customs, are often similarly lacking perspective. What is thought to be an old tradition of sacramental practice may well be found to be relatively modern. Thus, the universally accepted Scottish practice of sitting in the pew to receive Communion is not steeped in the antiquity that the average communicant imagines, and surprise is expressed when the custom is attributed to the year 1828 when Dr. Thomas Chalmers found the

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1. The Directory for Public Worship, London, 1645.

2. Spratt, op. cit., p. 207.

difficulties of serving large congregations at the long table in St. John's, Glasgow, almost insuperable. Moreover, the extraordinary place of honour given by many congregations to the metrical psalm, "Ye gates lift up your heads on high", would also suggest associations going back many centuries. The reality was that Andrew Thomson, minister of St. George's, Edinburgh, wrote the tune of the same name no earlier than 1820. Again, the view that the Church of Scotland was from Reformation times inspired by Bible-centred worship is somewhat confounded by the fact that the General Assembly, as late as 1856, felt constrained to pass an Act making the reading of Scripture obligatory at each diet of worship. The Church of the nineteenth century had all but turned its back upon the Church of 1560.

It was, indeed, not until the mid-nineteenth century that some conscious attempt was made to re-state the older tradition. Thus in 1840, John Cumming, minister of Crown Court, London, brought out an edition of John Knox's Liturgy<sup>1</sup> and a decade later William Cunningham edited and re-issued the Works of John Calvin. The Free Church, to which Cunningham belonged, had of course a vested interest in rediscovering that older tradition, for it was important that the new Church could point with confidence to the rock whence it was hewn and not be found wanting in orthodoxy. Thus, the majority of Free Churchmen in the immediate post-Disruption years struggled to win acceptance as the true expositors of Reformation theology, in contradistinction to the men of the Establishment whom they represented as heterodox in much more than the matter of patronage. In time the desire to be thought

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1. There were four editions of Knox's Liturgy in the nineteenth century: that of Edward Irving in 1831, of Cumming in 1840, of Sprott and Leishman in 1863. (under the imprimatur of the Church Service Society), and of John Laidlaw in 1886.

theologically respectable waned and Free Churchism took on the mantle of a more daring liberalism, but it was an early pre-requisite of recognition in the councils and assemblies of European Protestantism that Free Church credentials should be impeccable. Cunningham and his friends saw that they were.

The mid-century flurry of activity to establish a Calvinist neo-orthodoxy, however, was only a part - and a relatively small part - of the emergence from the dominance of federalism. Foreign travel and study abroad widened the horizons of students of divinity. The Established Church was the last to take up the opportunities which study at Göttingen, Heidelberg, Halle and Tübingen afforded. On the other hand, while the Seceding and Free Church students had easily stolen a march on the Auld Kirk in this respect, the latter had for generations regarded the Grand Tour as a legitimate part of the broadening of the younger minister's experience. Many a chaplain or tutor in a noble family gained immeasurably from the cultural, social and educational kaleidoscope of such journeyings, often extending to a year or more in duration. It is true that professors such as J.T. Beck at Tübingen would help his young Scots to appreciate the different facets (in his case, Lutheran) of Reformation ideology; but the Lehrjahr hardly fitted them for a return to become bastions of Calvinist orthodoxy.

There was also a decidedly different atmosphere in the first half of the century because of the extraordinary spell cast over many a mind by the Romantic movement which generated interest in the past, and particularly in the chivalry, symbolism and idealism of the Middle Ages. Romanticism stimulated an imaginative element in the

human mind; it apportioned greater meaning to signs and less to speculative and abstract thought and it imposed a sense of unity and cohesion upon many of the events and situations which would ordinarily have appeared as random and haphazard. The growing emphasis of Romanticism influenced sacramental thought by giving a greater prominence and significance to the form of the eucharistic celebration so that it was no longer looked upon as a mere "badge of profession" or as an appendage, powerless to do other than underline the legalistic and systematized provisions of the theology of covenant. Now, too, under the influence of Romanticism the Communion was invested with a sense of mystery and was seen as making it possible for the communicant to share in the essential unity of mankind, God and the natural world.

In reality, there was little similarity between the spirit of Romanticism and the spirit of the older Calvinism. Yet, strangely, each complemented the other. The rediscovered Calvinism brought about a strengthening of the theological basis of sacramental worship and, from quite a separate source, Romanticism deepened the sense of reverence at the innate sacredness of the bread and wine. The Oxford movement, the "high-church" movement in Prussia, and the Mercersburg movement in the American (German) Reformed Church all came into being when theological and liturgical reflection fused with the atmosphere of nineteenth century Romanticism. Of the three, of course, the Mercersburg movement alone expressed its Romantic influence through the vehicle of a historic Calvinism which looked back further still to the Fathers of the early Church and to the Apostle Paul. Calvin's doctrine of "union with Christ", by the acting of the Spirit upon the faith of the communicant to make him one with the glorified humanity of the ascended Lord, certainly had its theological roots; but such a statement of the nature of the believer's experience of Communion with the Christ of God might also be said to have had something of the appeal of Romanticism to John Williamson Nevin. Here

was a "model" which itself drew imaginatively upon the use of scriptural imagery rather than merely allotting to the Sacrament the somewhat static role of an aid to devotion. Such a model of the experience of Communion also harnessed the typically Romantic idea of the drive towards a unity with nature and, in religious terms, with the Creator.

The intermingling of theological insights with Romanticism did not, however, bring about tangible results in the liturgical and sacramental practice of the Church until well into the middle of the century. Preoccupation with the issues raised by the Disruption virtually suspended any creative development in these areas in the years immediately before and well beyond 1843. When, therefore, Scotland did turn to these matters it proved to be much later and with rather less controversy than the Established Church in England had experienced. The Church Service Society, founded in 1865 at a time when the patience and energy of many were exhausted by the prolonged Disruption controversy, turned to the vigorous and critical examination of the Kirk's forms of worship. Some liturgical research had already been done by dedicated individuals and the literature of Reformation theology and worship was now easily accessible. Moreover, the liturgical material of the Irvingites, the Catholic Apostolic Church, was known to some in the Church of Scotland even if few emulated John Macleod of Govan in belonging simultaneously to both. The progress of the Oxford movement was vehemently discussed in the periodical literature of the day in which "Puseyism" became a term of abuse and not a little suspicion. Positive liturgical influences, not unnaturally, emanated from Mercersburg rather than Oxford particularly because of Nevin's assessment of Calvin's doctrine of the Supper, his controversy with Charles Hodge who was well-known and respected in Scotland, and his formulation with others of the Liturgy of the American (German) Reformed Church. The publications of the Society showed a familiarity with the Catholic Apostolic Liturgy and the Liturgy of Mercersburg. They had, moreover, the additional merit of providing



material which could be used in the framing of Euchologion without the charge of aping Anglicanism being made and sustained. The order of eucharistic worship in Euchologion served as the liturgical norm in the Church of Scotland for many generations following, and marked the reassertion of its properly Catholic origins and heritage.

This Catholic heritage was adumbrated with scholarly industriousness by the Scoto-Catholics who came into their own in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Sympathetic with the aims of the Church Service Society they yet believed that a more profound theological assessment of the Church's Catholic and Reformed faith was needed to give a firmer basis to liturgical renewal and to create a more enduring and doctrinally sound churchmanship. The ablest of them was William Milligan, but John Macleod, James Cooper and H.J. Wotherspoon were not lacking in ability and all round competence. All had an ardent desire to see the Eucharist become the chief act of worship on the Lord's Day within the Church of Scotland, and to advance this view they wrote prolifically and powerfully in the literature of the Scottish Church Society which they founded in 1892.

The contention, then, of this thesis is that the Holy Communion within the Church of Scotland in the nineteenth century evolved by way of the various internal forces and external influences described in the above review. Old patterns of thought in Scotland located in such institutions as the fast day and infrequency of celebration broke up and altered, partly because they had had their day and partly because the windows of the Scottish Church were opened to let in the invigorating air of the Continent of Europe. Romanticism, opportunities for travel and study abroad, the ecumenism of the German universities and, later, the ineluctable commitment to supplement the use of the psalter with the broadly-based hymnary, all played their part to make the Scottish churchman more aware of the Church's catholicity. The last two decades of the century also saw the publication of manuals of practical theology for

younger ministers.<sup>1</sup> Their approach to the Lord's Supper had none of the narrow sectarian attitude of the earlier federalism, and in conjunction with Wotherspoon's The Divine Service of 1893, The Scottish Mission Hymnbook of 1912, and the 1923 and 1929 editions of Prayers for Divine Service, the Scottish divine whose ministry spanned the divide of the centuries could only feel, with the Psalmist, that his feet had been set in a large room. The Knoxian sacramental tradition had been rediscovered, but with much else from earlier and honourable times which witnessed to the practice of the Church, One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic.

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1. Robert Milne, Directory and Guide to the Ministerial Office of the Church of Scotland; Edinburgh, 1888; James Robertson, The Christian Minister, His Aims and Methods, Edinburgh, 1899; William Hastie, Outline of Pastoral Theology, Edinburgh, 1904; George Anderson, The Scottish Pastor: A Manual of Pastoral Theology, Edinburgh, 1911.

## CHAPTER TWO

THE SCOTTISH COMMUNION AND FREQUENCY OF CELEBRATION

Scottish history is full of popularly held misconceptions which have led academic historians to devote much time to their rebuttal.<sup>1</sup> The record of church life in Scotland has had more than its fair share of embellishment in this respect. Pride of place, of course, has been given to the elevation of the probably legendary figure of Jenny Geddes as folk champion against the allegedly shameful practice of reading prayers in public worship. Conveniently mislaid, in order to perpetuate the Geddes myth, has been the fact that in St. Giles, Edinburgh, she would have been well used to prayers being read from John Knox's own Book of Common Order. The contempt which she is reputed to have expressed was directed, then, not against read prayers as such, but against the English Liturgy of Archbishop Laud which supplanted the indigenous Scottish Liturgy of Knox.

A somewhat less dramatic if persistent myth which has similarly seduced the popular Scottish mind is that which contends that the Church of Scotland has on all fronts and within all parties always upheld infrequent Communion as a matter of principle. However, even the most casual research will easily reveal that both Knox and Calvin were advocates of much greater frequency of celebration.<sup>2</sup> That the Scottish custom did not approximate to their view did not mean that the principle had been surrendered.

It was certainly eroded. Puritan influence upon Scottish worship brought about the relegation and loss of much that was of value in presbyterian services of the late

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1. G. Donaldson (editor), Common Errors in Scottish History, London, 1956 [Historical Association General Series No. G32].

2. John Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion, edited by John T. McNeill, translated by Ford Lewis Battles [Library of Christian Classics, 20-21] vol. 2, London, 1961, Book 4, ch. 17, 43-44; W.D. Maxwell, John Knox's Genevan Service Book 1556, Edinburgh and London, 1931, Appendix E, pp. 201-205.

sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Zwinglian attitudes also took hold in such a way as to detract from the importance of the Sacrament and later evangelicalism placed a distorted emphasis upon conversion to the virtual exclusion of all else. It was, however, the firm and long-lasting grip of federal theology which radically altered the role of the Lord's Supper in Scottish church life. The covenant of grace had to be held in tension with the covenant of works, and the Sacrament which so supremely mediated God's love to fallen man and had spoken of God's mighty acts, became increasingly preoccupied with the acts of man; for the idea of "covenant" had now been reduced to the status of "bargain", and the stress lay upon the fulfilment of the contracting parties' obligations to each other.<sup>1</sup>

It is therefore hardly surprising that relative indifference to sacramental matters prevailed well into the nineteenth century. The need for frequency or infrequency of Communion seemed to be dictated by merely personal or denominational tastes. Thus Principal George Hill, the leader of the Moderates, held the view that, while it is certainly fitting for Christians to make remembrance of the death of Christ in the Lord's Supper, that redemptive act could also be kept in mind by prayers, by reading the Scriptures, by preaching and by the Sacrament of Baptism. Therefore, Hill maintained, "it does not appear essential, that the particular and solemn method of showing the Lord's death, which he has appointed, should form part of their stated worship".<sup>2</sup>

This attitude was reflected also in the writing of John Dick, professor of theology in the United Secession

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1. A full analysis of this is made by James B. Torrance in "Covenant or Contract"? Scottish Journal of Theology, vol. 23, No. 1, February, 1970.

2. George Hill, Lectures in Divinity, Edinburgh, 1833 edition, vol. 2, p. 415.

Church. Dick's Lectures were widely read in Scotland and their influence extended to the United States where they were a standard textbook for many presbyterians.<sup>1</sup> He could not discern any definitive guidance in Scripture or in apostolic practice concerning frequency of celebration, and he asserted confidently that churches are "at liberty to regulate their procedure according to their own views of expediency and utility". Certainly, Dick counselled against the Sacrament being treated with disrespect so as to bring about its neglect in the life of the Church. However, he did not believe that it should be regarded as pre-eminent over all other ordinances. Such an error, in his estimate, would lead to the kind of spiritual pride which nourishes itself upon the mistaken belief that the greater the frequency the greater will be the moral and spiritual excellence of those who communicate.<sup>2</sup>

Yet there were distinct signs that the true Reformed view was beginning to recover lost ground. At the outset of the eighteenth century, Daniel Campbell, minister of Glassary, had produced a scholarly and pungent little treatise which advocated greater frequency of celebration within the Church of Scotland.<sup>3</sup> Campbell's work reviewed the evidence in support of frequency from the Scriptures, the early Church, the Fathers and the Reformation, and thus provided a convenient pattern which later writers on the subject adopted with little alteration. Gradually, under the influence of such writing, the courts of the Church attempted to make good the erosion which had taken place by drawing attention to the matter of infrequency. Consequently, Acts of the General Assembly enjoining more frequent celebration were passed in 1701, 1711, 1712 and 1724. The Act of 1711 gives an indication of the Assembly's impatience with the prevailing practice

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1. John Dick, Lectures on Theology, 4 volumes, Edinburgh, 1834.

2. ibid., vol. 4, p. 240.

3. Daniel Campbell, The Frequent and Devout Communicant, Edinburgh, 1703.

and its desire to see change effected. "The General Assembly considering, that in some places, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is administered only in the Summer Season, where-through People are deprived of the Benefit of that holy Ordinance during the rest of the Year, do therefore recommend to Presbyteries to do what they can to get it so ordered, that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper may be administered in their Bounds, through several months of the Year".<sup>1</sup>

Later, a significant Report was issued by the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr on 5th October, 1748. Prompted by the Presbytery of Glasgow, the Synod set up a special committee which investigated the matter of more frequent Communion and recommended that four times a year should be the norm in every parish, with only one day for public fasting or preparation. It is obvious from this that the Church has been extraordinarily cautious in its approach to sacramental orthodoxy. Two hundred and thirty nine years later, the recommendations of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr have not yet been implemented in some parishes in Scotland.

Notwithstanding the Church's slowness to change, however, a different attitude to the sacramental life within the Church was in the process of forming, and it must be recognized that Hill and Dick, while typical of a large body of opinion in Scotland, were by no means unchallenged. The Directory for Public Worship, adopted by the General Assembly of 1645, clearly stated that "The Communion, or Supper of the Lord, is frequently to be celebrated".<sup>2</sup> It is true that the same passage from the Directory allowed that "how often may be considered and determined by the ministers and other church governors of each congregation", thus introducing a measure of

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1. See John Erskine, A Humble Attempt to Promote Frequent Communicating, Glasgow, 1749, p. 31.
  2. "Of the Celebration of Communion", The Directory for Public Worship, 1959 edition, p. 152.

ambiguity. Nevertheless, the underlying principle was clear, and on this the courts of the Church and subsequent apologists on behalf of frequency confidently took their stand.

Accordingly, the revival of interest in frequency of celebration which took place during the first half of the eighteenth century caused others to examine the position more closely. The Acts of Assembly and the deliberations of the Synods were the stimulus which lay behind the writings of the leading Evangelicals, Thomas Randall of Inchtute and John Erskine of Greyfriars. The former's Letter concerning Frequent Communicating<sup>1</sup> had the practical effect of supporting the more sustained discussions on the subject by John Erskine and, indeed, they collaborated on a later treatise on the same subject.<sup>2</sup>

Randall was an interesting figure in his own right. An ancestor of the late Archbishop Randall Davidson, he studied in Utrecht in 1761 and later at Leyden. His licensing was carried out by the classis at Rotterdam in 1769, and his Dutch credentials were presented by him to the Presbytery of Perth on the occasion of his induction to Inchtute.<sup>3</sup>

Erskine shared some of Randall's knowledge of the Continent, not by travel but by constant correspondence with many of the leading Continental churchmen.<sup>4</sup> He learned Dutch at the age of sixty to keep abreast of the theological developments in that country and he was, without doubt, one of the most formidable figures in the Scottish Church to advance the cause of frequent Communion.

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1. [Thomas Randall] Letter to a Minister from His Friend concerning Frequent Communicating, occasioned by the late Overture of the Synod of Glasgow and Air [sic] upon that Subject, Glasgow, 1749.

2. Thomas Randall, John Glas and John Erskine, The Celebration of the Lord's Supper Every Lord's Day, shewn to be the Duty and the Privilege of Every Christian Church, Edinburgh, 1802.

3. A.L. Drummond, The Kirk and the Continent, Edinburgh, 1956, p. 140.

4. ibid., pp. 157-158.

His Frequent Communicating provided a great impetus to the efforts of those who advocated greater frequency, and others in later generations referred to him with the deference and respect which he himself had reserved for John Willison of Dundee. In advancing the case for a change in sacramental practice he carefully weighed up the scriptural evidence; popular prejudices against frequency were painstakingly brought out into the open and shown to be lacking in theological substance; current practical difficulties were discussed and possible alternatives outlined; and, with considerable learning, the history and tradition of the Church was critically reviewed.

Erskine quoted with approval the sentiment of St. Augustine favouring daily reception of the Sacrament. However, Augustine went on to show that no honour or dishonour attached to frequency of reception per se. The daily communicant was not necessarily morally and spiritually superior to other Christians who received the Sacrament less often. By way of illustration, he drew a contrast between Zacchaeus who, in the Gospel, gladly received Jesus into his house, and the Roman centurion who won Jesus's praise with his humble response, "I am not worthy that thou shouldst come under my roof". According to the judgement of Augustine, neither received a place of honour at the expense of the other. Each response to the Lord has an integrity and authenticity of its own which is to be respected. By the same token, Augustine held that neither the daily communicant nor the less frequent attender at the Lord's Supper gained authority for his respective view at the other's expense. Both were entitled to their opinions, so long as the sacredness of the Sacrament was in no way diminished.

John Erskine, however, showed a less indulgent attitude than that of St. Augustine in that he regarded the latter's finely-balanced assessment as giving rise to the notion "that men might pay their reverence to the Sacrament by turning their back on it". In defence of



Augustine, Erskine emphasized that the saint's remarks were made in response to a specific question about daily communicating. He was in no doubt that, had the great doctor of the Church been asked about the sufficiency of communicating once, or even three times, a year he would have replied with a strong negative and advocated the practice of weekly Communion.<sup>1</sup>

Erskine briefly surveyed the Fathers of the Church, and found that their mind on the matter was less clouded than he interpreted St. Augustine's to be. He concluded from his reading of them that "during the first four Centuries, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was dispensed oftener than once a week, and that it was a constant Branch of the Sanctification of the Sabbath".<sup>2</sup> He saw the apostolic example as adding great weight to his case, and from the Gospel, the Acts, and the Epistles he deduced that Communion was celebrated "at least once a week".<sup>3</sup> Moreover, he regarded those who accept apostolic authority in one sphere but not in another as being utterly inconsistent. Thus, apostolic practice led to the far-reaching and<sup>4</sup> radical change whereby the Sabbath, the seventh day of the week, gave place to the first day of the week, the Lord's Day, which became the Christian Sabbath. Such a monumental change was accepted without demur. Yet the apostolic example in respect of frequency of celebration of the Supper, though involving no radical change and constituting a clarification of the Lord's will, was not felt to be binding amongst a majority of Scottish churchmen.<sup>4</sup>

Erskine also encountered the argument against frequency based upon the old adage, "familiarity breeds contempt". He, however, couched the objection in slightly different terms: "We had better part with

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1. Erskine, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

2. ibid., p. 18.

3. ibid., p. 16.

4. ibid., p. 10.

Frequency than Reverence". His counter-argument was equally crisply put: if something is a duty, then it remains a duty no matter what dangers may accompany it. Even if the danger of irreverence were real (and Erskine does not for a moment concede this point), nowhere in the Bible is there authority given for departing from the will of Christ that the Communion should frequently be celebrated. Thus, "disobedience to Christ is not part of the Respect we owe to the Lord's Table".<sup>1</sup> This fear that the Sacrament would in some way be debased through familiarity proved to be one of the points which all supporters of frequent Communion thought fit to take seriously in their writings. John Warden of Gargunnock, writing after Erskine, showed himself sensitive to the qualms of the traditionalists, and yet firmly expressed his own conviction that the Lord's Supper should have a much more prominent place within the life of the Church of Scotland. Warden was convinced of the advantages which accrue to church people through frequent communicating, but saw also the necessity of adequate preparation so that the Sacrament was not debased through informality. However, he made plain that those who were quite content with a status quo which admits only annual communicating (or even less) were guilty of a "very great sin". He also criticized those who would not stir themselves to receive the Sacrament "unless it come to their door" and saw such discipline in relation to the Lord's Table as "evidence of much estrangement from the Spirit of God, and want of hungering and thirsting after Christ".<sup>2</sup>

Warden's comment about the attitude of church people

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1. Erskine, op. cit., pp. 33-34.

2. John Warden, A Practical Essay on the Lord's Supper, Leith, 1764, pp. 80-81 (1809 edition).

in his own time was revealing. It is, for instance, significant that he could deliver such an unqualified rebuke in connection with "the very great sin of such as are contented and fully satisfied" with an annual attendance at the Sacrament. That the common practice could be regarded as "a very great sin" by one of the more respected and influential parish ministers is a measure of the increasing dissatisfaction with the custom prevailing by the middle of the eighteenth century. His censure, too, of the communicants who would not stir themselves to go any distance to the Sacrament has a peculiarly modern ring.

In drawing attention to the evidence from the Gospel and Epistles, together with that of apostolic practice, Warden followed in the footsteps of Erskine and Randall. Not for him, however, a dispassionate analysis of the facts as he saw them; he was personally committed to the principle of frequent Communion. Thus, he did not attempt to hide his impatience with those who upheld the status quo: "Learned men observe that unfrequency in this duty, crept in with other errors and defections in the Church of God".<sup>1</sup> Warden's own position was therefore stated in a confident and quite uninhibited way, and must surely have reflected the vigorous opinions of the growing number of ministers who challenged the assertions of scholars like Principal George Hill. By the end of the eighteenth century, it could fairly be said, the principle of frequent Communion had been rediscovered not by a few isolated and eccentric individuals, but by the Church at large.

In any examination of the frequency of Communion in Scotland the contribution of the main presbyterian bodies outwith the Establishment must not be overlooked. It was a substantial contribution and in many respects kept

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1. ibid., p. 80.

the principle of greater frequency of celebration before the Kirk in such a way as to evoke both positive and negative reactions in the form of pamphlets, catechisms, reviews and treatises. It has often been thought that the prominent sacramental issues within the smaller seceding bodies have been peripheral and somewhat eccentric. It must be conceded that a number of matters relating to Communion practice within these churches have been thoroughly divisive, and have appeared to later generations to be the result of giving an undue weight to relatively minor theological insights. The "open table controversy" and the debate between the "lifters" and the "anti-lifters", to which we shall later allude briefly, come most readily to mind. This suspicion is only partially borne out, however, for there were distinguished men outside the Establishment who, far from being preoccupied with the parish-pump theological squabbles emanating from their own denomination, were aware of the wider issues which Christians of other traditions were raising.

Thus John Glas, founder of the small sect which bore his name, examined with skill and learning John Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice and Altar Unveil'd.<sup>1</sup> That Glas should take seriously the work of an Anglican whose writings showed marked affinity to the Non-juring tradition was a measure of his own particular ability to labour on behalf of such an intense and exclusive body as the Glasites, and yet not to lose touch with the wider theological scene. Over a century later, in 1846, David King's The Lord's Supper<sup>2</sup> emerged from the traditions of the United Secession Church and yet exemplified the most catholic scholarship. King himself, like John Cairns, W.B. Robertson and others, was possessed of no narrow sectarian spirit. Many had travelled widely, and though fiercely loyal to the Seceder

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1. John Glas, A View of the New Communion Office Printed at London in 1718 Together with Some Thoughts occasioned by reading Mr. Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice and Altar Unveil'd. In Two Letters, Edinburgh, 1743.

2. David King, The Lord's Supper, Edinburgh, 1846.

and United Presbyterian tradition nevertheless maintained contacts with Christians of many denominations throughout Europe and America.<sup>1</sup>

It should not, therefore, be surprising that there were Seceders who were concerned about frequency of Communion and the scriptural and theological issues which it raised. As early as 1795, a pamphlet appeared in which greater frequency was advocated.<sup>2</sup> This served as a precursor to the lengthy and influential Letters on Frequent Communion by John Mason.<sup>3</sup> Mason was sent to America by the General-Associate (Anti-Burgher) Synod to help with work amongst Scottish emigrants. He became minister of the Scots Presbyterian Church in the City of New York, but because he advocated the reunion of the two branches of the Secession, he became persona non grata with the Synod. Consequently, he joined the first Reformed Synod and, near the end of his life, the Established Church.<sup>4</sup> A noted Evangelical, Mason, by his forceful advocacy of greater frequency of Communion and a more prominent place for the Lord's Supper in the life of the Church, displayed a commitment to sacramental ideals not generally held by most Evangelicals in the 1790s. His controversies with Bishop Hobart were widely known, and some of his sacramental teaching may have been formulated as a means of defending himself against Hobart's attacks.

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1. David King, Notices of the State of Religion in France, Switzerland and Germany, Edinburgh, 1837. For the extraordinary international flavour of John Cairns's scholarship see the list of his published works in A.R. MacEwen, The Life and Letters of John Cairns, London, 1898, pp. 789-790.
  2. [The Rev.....Christie], An Address to Christian People under the Inspection of the Reformed Presbytery, concerning the more Frequent Dispensing of the Lord's Supper, by one of themselves, Glasgow, 1795.
  3. John Mason, Letters on Frequent Communion, Edinburgh 1798.
  4. William MacKelvie, Annals and Statistics of the United Presbyterian Church, Edinburgh, 1873, pp. 47, 654.

Mason's importance lies in two directions. First, he added considerable weight to the writings of Erskine, Randall, Warden and others who, between them, built up such a formidable case for more celebrations of the Lord's Supper. Moreover, he became the leading authority in sacramental matters within the seceding churches, and his main work was referred to long after his death by many within his own tradition who wished to increase the number of Communion in the year.

In this connection, and as a direct result of Mason's Letters, an interesting series of events took place in Oakshaw Street Associate congregation, Paisley, one of the more prominent West of Scotland charges of the Associate Synod. The Letters, having been widely read in Paisley, and particularly within the Oakshaw Street congregation, caused practical changes to be effected.<sup>1</sup> Instead of two celebrations of the Sacrament annually, the number of Communion was fixed at four in the year by the kirk session, only to lead to surprising congregational pressure for monthly Communion. Consequently, a resolution reflecting this desire was passed at a congregational meeting in 1804, but difficulties arose and the matter was not acted upon. However, in 1817, the question of frequency was raised again, and in 1819 it was the unanimous decision of the session that "a privilege so great and important could not, without a violation of their trust, be longer withheld from the people". As a result, it was planned to have monthly Communion, which suggestion was put to the members of the congregation by visits to their homes, and agreed to by the great majority. Finally, on the fourth Sunday of October, 1819, monthly Communion became the norm at Oakshaw Street.<sup>2</sup> Thus, a quite radical break with the traditional Scottish Communion practice took place in

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1. ibid., p. 566.

2. William France, A Historical Sketch of the United Presbyterian Church, Oakshaw Street, Paisley, Paisley and Glasgow, 1853, pp. 17-19.

that year. It shows not only a surprising openness to new thinking on the part of the session and congregation concerned, but it also reveals the remarkable influence of Mason's Letters.

John Mason was a man of considerable personal gifts and while his writings were indeed a solid contribution to the sacramental thought of the day it must be said that a measure of the deference paid to his views arose from his own stature as a churchman as well as from respect for his intellect.<sup>1</sup> He enjoyed the highest reputation within the churches of the seceding tradition, a reputation which distance did not obscure, since he succeeded in making frequent trips to his homeland for the purpose of recruiting younger ministers to work in the expanding American mission field.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the college of the Reformed Church in which he was appointed one of the first professors was the result of a plan of his own devising. In fact, this institution was a forerunner of the new and latterly world-renowned Union Theological Seminary.<sup>3</sup>

In 1803 there appeared Two Sermons on the Lord's Supper by Robert Little of Perth, in which he advocated weekly celebration of the Sacrament. Neither Mason's views nor "extreme" opinions such as those of Little were allowed to go unchallenged, however, for 1805 saw the publication of A Disquisition on the Observance of the Lord's Supper, to which was appended a hostile review of Mason's Letters.<sup>4</sup> The author of this pamphlet would appear to have been Alexander Duncan, a minister of the

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1. Mason also produced A Plea for Sacramental Communion on Catholic Principles, New York, 1821, reprinted Paisley, 1822.
  2. Robert Small, A History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church, Edinburgh, 1904, vol. 2, p. 309.
  3. See article "John Mitchell Mason" in Dictionary of American Biography, London and New York, 1933, vol. 12, pp. 368-369.
  4. Anon., A Disquisition on the Observance of the Lord's Supper with a view to the Defence of the Presbyterian Plan of Administrating that Ordinance, Edinburgh, 1805.

Secession.<sup>1</sup> Thus there were obviously limits to the extent to which even the adventurous Seceders could absorb new insights without flinching! Understandably, William France's Historical Sketch which commemorated his church's centenary minimized the difficulties which lay in the wake of proposals for more frequent Communion within the Oakshaw Street congregation. Andrew Ferrier, however, was more objective, drawing a realistic picture of his father's inflexible will pitted against a minority who opposed monthly celebrations so strongly as eventually to precipitate their withdrawal from the congregation.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of the fact that the Church of Scotland still remained doggedly conservative and reluctant to change, Erskine, Mason and others like them had formulated the strongest case in support of frequent Communion, and there were signs that the cause was gathering momentum within the Establishment and in the other major presbyterian churches in Scotland. There was undoubtedly a slower rate of change within the Church of Scotland than was true of the seceding bodies. They acted as a stimulus to the Kirk, perhaps even as a goad to rouse a somewhat drowsy giant whose passivity served to promote a policy of laissez faire in the practical details surrounding the Supper. The Church of Scotland was still extremely guarded in its attitude to any innovations in Communion observance. Consequently, as late as 1838, the Church of Scotland Magazine published without undue self-consciousness an ultra-cautious and tentative article "On the Propriety of a More Frequent Observance of the Lord's Supper".<sup>3</sup> Certainly, there had been an earlier attempt to grapple with the subject when, in 1832, Henry Grey, minister of St. Mary's, Edinburgh, raised some of the

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1. See Andrew Duncan, The Scottish Sanctuary, Edinburgh, n.d., p. 116.

2. Andrew Ferrier, Memoir and Sermons of the late Rev. Dr. Ferrier, Paisley, Glasgow, 1841, pp. 245-246.

3. "On the Propriety of a More Frequent Observance of the Lord's Supper", Church of Scotland Magazine, vol. 5, February, 1838, No. 1.



issues. It is true that his approach was a good deal less tentative in that he saw frequency of celebration as constituting a duty.<sup>1</sup> Grey, however, was scarcely typical of most Scottish ministers in that he had seriously contemplated ordination in the Church of England before finally committing himself to the service of the Kirk. Furthermore, the wayward genius of Edward Irving was no more representative of the Establishment which a few years after the publication of his book on the sacraments was to cut him off as a heretic.<sup>2</sup>

Nonetheless, a change of pace was discernible in the Church of Scotland and as the amount of published material from her ministers began to increase, so the position of the minister of St. Mary's, Edinburgh, became less unusual. All the ingredients of a chain-reaction were present in the situation, although it is difficult to say with complete certainty that each link was connected to the next by the principle of cause and effect. However, the circumstances would suggest more that a mere random series of events.

Unlike the churches of the seceding tradition the Church of Scotland had experienced nothing comparable to the "lifting controversy" which, during the last two decades of the eighteenth century had quickened interest in sacramental affairs. This rather bizarre episode in Scottish church life centered upon the Rev. David Smyton of Kilmaurs who believed that those ministers within Secession congregations who had abandoned the traditional practice of laying their hands upon, and lifting, the elements prior to the consecration prayer were in grave error because they had departed from the precedent of Christ, who "took bread".<sup>3</sup> Whether Mason's Letters were produced in the aftermath of the general heightening of seceding interest in the Lord's Supper engendered by this

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1. Henry Grey, The Duty and Desirableness of Frequent Communion with Christ in the Sacrament of the Supper, Edinburgh, 1832.

2. Edward Irving, Homilies on the Sacraments, London, 1828.

3. John McKerrow, History of the Secession Church, Edinburgh, 1839, vol. 1, pp. 422-429.

controversy, it is hard to say. It is, however, safe to assert that Mason, having himself been brought up within the General Associate (Anti-Burgher) Synod, would have followed the debate closely at a time when his own academic potential was about to be realized. In turn, publication of the Letters stimulated a veritable rash of reviews, pamphlets and catechisms,<sup>1</sup> and the subject of frequent Communion was thus kept well before the Scottish people until as late as 1830 when there appeared A View of the Mode of Celebrating the Lord's Supper in the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland.<sup>2</sup> This tried to be impartial and non-sectarian in approach. Mason was referred to at length and his views met with the approval of the author who obviously regarded him as an authority to be treated with respect, on the same level of importance as John Erskine himself. The anonymous writer drew a useful sketch of the contemporary position regarding the frequency of celebration. From this, we learn that two years before Henry Grey's book appeared the norm regarding frequency in country parishes had changed from once in the year to twice. Moreover, the practice in the larger cities had altered to the extent that, while the twice-yearly Seasons were retained, there were additional Communion which took place without the observance of the extra days usually connected with preparation. This was particularly prevalent in Secession and Relief congregations, and in some chapels-of-ease within the Established Church.<sup>3</sup>

Thus, although Henry Grey was very much in a minority in the city of Edinburgh and, indeed, in Scotland as a whole, he nonetheless represented a movement which was much wider than the Church of Scotland. He was a link in the chain

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1. Among these were several by Scots in America, viz., William Marshall, A Catechism for Youth, Kilmarnock 1806; Alexander MacLeod, The Ecclesiastical Catechism, New York, reprinted Paisley, 1819; and Gilbert McMaster, The Shorter Catechism Analysed, New York, reprinted 1820.

2. "A Presbyterian", A View of the Mode of Celebrating the Lord's Supper in the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland, Edinburgh, 1830.

3. ibid., p. 31.

which kept the principle of frequent Communion alive at a time when there were very few others in the Kirk to advance this view. He also helped others to deal with the Holy Communion, including the question of frequency, at greater depth in the years that lay ahead. He was to John Erskine of Greyfriars what Dr. William Ferrier was to John Mason, for although, since the Reformation, there had been a number of men prepared to write about their opinions regarding frequency there were relatively few willing to implement these opinions in the life of the parish church. Grey was one of that select band.

We have seen that Grey of St. Mary's had, in his youth, felt himself strongly enough attached to the Church of England to think seriously about taking holy orders within that communion.<sup>1</sup> In this he was not alone. Robert Story also intended to enter the ministry of the Church of England, and only gave up the idea in 1813 in the face of the strongest opposition from his mother.<sup>2</sup> Part of the influence of the Anglican Church over the hearts and minds of such men lay in her more seemly worship, based upon a liturgy rather than upon the inspiration of individual ministers; and this influence obtained even before the highly developed sacramental emphasis of the Tractarians had taken root within the Church of England.

However, it would be misleading to infer that men with a "sacramental instinct" did not exist in Scotland. James Cooper advanced the view that while Zwinglianism was still entrenched in Scottish religious life, "it is far more in words than in feelings". He saw the balance as being redressed by the fact that in the previous century Willison and Boston, renowned for their evangelicalism,

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1. C.M. Birrell, Thoughts in the Evening of Life, London, 1871, p. 6.

2. R.H. Story, Memoir of the Life of Robert Story, Cambridge, 1862, pp. 27f.

"used language about the Eucharist which might have come from the lips of a French Jesuit".<sup>1</sup> It was said, too, of Matthew Leishman, minister of Govan from 1821 to 1874, that he returned from the Continent in 1818 with a "twenty volume edition of Boussuet, and a small library of the masters of post-mediaeval eloquence - Fenelon, Massilon, even Gabriel Barletti, the Dominican, and the Jesuit Bourdaloue, most virile of French preachers".<sup>2</sup> He himself celebrated the Sacrament at Govan twice a year and in this respect was unremarkable. Moreover, his practical approach to the Lord's Supper was conservative and in keeping with the older Scottish tradition of the rigid observance of the Fast Days.<sup>3</sup> Yet his outlook was Catholic and his sacramental thought was far removed from the Zwinglianism to which Cooper referred. He held firmly to the teaching of The Scots Confession and, in particular, would have rejected, with Edward Irving, the view that the elements were simply "naked and bare signs". It may be regretted that Leishman did not relate his doctrine of the Lord's Supper to a greater frequency of celebration. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that he was not one of the most typical exponents of the prevailing position and it is not without significance that John Macleod, who was appointed his successor at Govan in 1875, was able to introduce weekly Communion, and that James Fleming Leishman, his son and minister of Kelso (Linton), was to become one of the ablest liturgists Scotland has produced, and one of the strongest advocates of frequent Communion.

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1. James Cooper, The Revival of Church Principles: in the Church of Scotland (pamphlet), 1895, p. 14.
  2. J.F. Leishman, Matthew Leishman of Govan and the Middle Party of 1843, Paisley, 1921, p. 42.
  3. Erskine, op. cit., p. 36. "We ought never to approach God in any Ordinance without a reverent, penitent humble frame, and a Heart broken for Sin. But it would be a strange Inference, that therefore there ought to be a Fast-Day, with three Sermons.....every time the Sacrament is dispensed".

This authentic Scottish sacramental tradition, however, did not prevent invidious comparisons being made between the worship of the Church of Scotland and that of the Episcopal Church and the Church of England. Lawrence Lockhart of Inchinnan, a close friend of Matthew Leishman, saw the drift of many of the younger generation and attributed this to the unattractiveness of so much Scottish worship. He therefore advocated the reform of the Church's worship, making his views widely known.<sup>1</sup> Others witnessed the exodus of many within the Establishment to the Episcopal Church and, prophetically, two years before the Disruption Norman Macleod predicted that a growth of the influence of that Church was at hand. "I am much mistaken in the signs of the times", he wrote, "if an Episcopal era is not near for Scotland's ecclesiastical history".<sup>2</sup> To many in the Church of Scotland comparison of the forms of worship inevitably brought them to the conclusion that the services of the Kirk were sadly in need of overhaul.<sup>3</sup> This was attested quite independently by the Duke of Argyll, Principal Campbell of Aberdeen, and Robert Wallace, minister of Greyfriars, who subsequently became editor of "The Scotsman" newspaper and Member of Parliament for Edinburgh.<sup>4</sup> Campbell's view of the prevailing situation was particularly striking. He noted the "estrangement of the upper ranks" from the Church of Scotland and attributed this apostasy to the "defect of the system of Public Worship" and "the unfavourable contrast which, in that respect, she presents to the Episcopal Church".<sup>5</sup> Wallace, writing at a later date, made a similar judgement when reviewing the defections to Episcopacy which had taken place in previous

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1. Leishman, op. cit., p. 122.

2. Donald Macleod, Memoir of Norman Macleod, D.D., London, 1876, vol. 1., pp. 153-154.

3. See J.A. Lamb, "Aids to Public Worship in Scotland", Scottish Church History Society Records, vol. 13, part 2, 1958, p. 184.

4. Euchologion, or A Book of Common Order, Edinburgh, eighth edition, 1905 (annotated by G.W. Spratt), Introduction, xiii, cites the Duke of Argyll who in Presbytery Examined 1848, drew attention to this phenomenon.

5. ibid., Introduction, xiv.

decades.<sup>1</sup>

In 1831, Principal George Hill commented that the doctrinal differences between the Church of Scotland and the Church of England in sacramental teaching were too insignificant to be divisive.<sup>2</sup> At this period, when the standards of the Church of England had not come to be interpreted in the light of Tractarian theology, it would appear that the difference between the official positions of the respective Established Churches, as embodied in the Westminster Confession and the Thirty Nine Articles, were minimal. Some twenty years later, however, the differences were hard to conceal if due weight is given to the opinion of Dean Stephens, who singled out 1850 "as marking an epoch in the history of the Church of England" in which there were "multiplied services, and more frequent celebration of Holy Communion; the due observance of Holy Seasons and Holy Days".<sup>3</sup> If, in 1749, John Erskine maintained that the Kirk could learn from the Church of England in such matters as frequency of Communion, how much more true was this by the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the year 1850 passed in the life of the Church of Scotland without any epoch-making change in respect of the Lord's Supper: the Disruption put paid to that and created something of a theological moratorium which lasted for at least a decade, at the most conservative of estimates.

Between 1830 and 1855 a number of published works on the Lord's Supper appeared in Scotland. Prominent amongst these was A Doctrinal and Practical Treatise by James Grierson, minister of Errol, who "went out" at the Disruption and who made the significant observation in his

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1. Robert Wallace, "Church Tendencies in Scotland" in Sir Alexander Grant (editor), Recess Studies, Edinburgh, 1870. p. 193.

2. Hill, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 145.

3. Life of W.F. Hook, p. 438, quoted by L.E. Elliot-Binns, Religion in the Victorian Era, London, 1936, p. 66.

4. Erskine, op. cit., p. 23.

Preface that before the appearance of his own work in 1839 "there had not for nearly a century been presented to the public any regular treatise on the Lord's Supper, avowedly from the pen of a Minister of the Church of Scotland".<sup>1</sup> The only exceptions he allows are Watson of Burntisland and the authors of several catechisms and services. David King's work of considerable scholarship commanded attention well beyond his own seceding tradition,<sup>2</sup> and the later Communion Table by John Cumming, minister of Crown Court, London, also gained wide acceptance in mid-century Scottish church life.<sup>3</sup> However, the question of frequency, while still being advanced by the various catechisms and instructional manuals of the time, was raised in a relatively formal way without having a direct bearing upon the practical circumstances in the parishes of the land. What, perhaps, can be said of the 1850s is that, partly through the example of Anglican worship, an increasing amount of liturgical and historical research was carried out, providing a factual basis for future advance in sacramental thinking. This began, earlier, with John Cumming's edition of John Knox's Book of Common Order appearing in 1840 and stimulating new interest in the Reformer's actual position in relation to a set liturgy. This, in turn, served to raise amongst a wider circle the related questions of frequency of Communion and the nature of the Lord's Supper. Then, in 1843, William Cunningham, professor of church history at New College, Edinburgh, brought before the public an edition of Robert Bruce's Sermons on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. With the advent of the '50s one publication followed another, with the cumulative effect of causing passions to rise on the subject of worship, and the central act of worship, the Lord's Supper.

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1. James Grierson, A Doctrinal and Practical Treatise on the Lord's Supper, Edinburgh, 1839.
  2. David King, The Lord's Supper, Edinburgh, 1846.
  3. John Cumming, The Communion Table: or Communicant's Manual: A Plain and Practical Exposition of the Lord's Supper, London, 1855.

In 1852, an influential article appeared in The Edinburgh Review on the subject of Knox's Liturgy.<sup>1</sup> The author, Professor Lorimer, dispelled many of the myths which had grown up around Scottish Reformed worship. The groundwork for further appreciation of the history of Reformed liturgies was laid down by C.W. Baird in his Eutaxia,<sup>2</sup> published in America in 1855, widely read in Scotland, and the subject of an influential review by G.W. Sprott in The Edinburgh Christian Magazine a year later. However, it was the publication of Robert Lee's Prayers for Public Worship in 1857 which caused most controversy and helped to bring into the open many of the inadequacies of Scottish worship and sacramental practice. A.A. Bonar's Presbyterian Liturgies reinforced the already animated interest in the services of the House of God by its appearance in 1858. Such an accumulation of articles, essays, reviews and books of prayers came to a head with the highly significant founding of the Church Service Society within the Church of Scotland in 1865. The Society built upon the research of previous years and disseminated liturgical literature which was both scholarly and practical and was responsible for shaping the liturgical usages of the Kirk for generations to come. The declared intent of the Society was "the study of liturgies - ancient and modern - of the Christian Church, with a view to the preparation and ultimate publication of certain forms of prayer for public worship, and services for the administration of the sacraments".<sup>3</sup> Its whole emphasis was Catholic, with due weight being given to the traditions of the universal Church. Consequently, the sympathies of her members lay in the direction of the more frequent celebration of the Holy Communion.

Yet scholarship on its own was not to be sufficient to alter Scottish sacramental practice. Strong intellect

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1. James Lorimer, "John Knox's Liturgy", Edinburgh Review, vol. 95, April, 1852, pp. 453-481.

2. C.W. Baird, Eutaxia, or a Chapter on Liturgies: Historical Sketches, London, 1856.

3. From the Constitution of the Church Service Society.



wedded to burning conviction was needed to make an impact upon a Church fixed in her ways and reluctant to change. These qualities were to be found most notably in the last quarter of the century amongst men like G.W. Sprott, Thomas Leishman and John Macleod who sought to hold Catholic faith and Evangelical truth in tension. Their unique contribution to sacramental thought in Scotland is set out in a subsequent chapter.

The Disruption of 1843 was a complex phenomenon with sociological and political roots which went deeper than the ostensible cause, the narrowly theological debate concerning the role of patronage in the Church. Whatever the true reasons for the rise of the Free Church, however, none can deny that its growth was dramatic. The enthusiastic intensity of Free Church life yielded almost immediate results which affected the celebration of Holy Communion, according to one assessment from within. Thus, the report of a Committee of the Free Presbytery of Edinburgh, concerning Communion Seasons, stated that "spiritually minded Scotchmen" had always had a strong desire for more frequent celebration of the Supper. Traditionally, support for greater frequency was adduced from the practice of apostolic times. The report does not deny the validity of the apostolic precedent, but maintained that a stronger and more fundamental cause lay not so much in the reverence for authority, however venerable, but in the "instincts of the religious life". Therefore (their argument runs), when spiritual values and concerns were uppermost in the Church's life this ethos expressed itself in a greater desire for more frequent Communion. The change in the large towns from twice yearly to quarterly celebrations is advanced by the Committee as evidence of this movement within the Free Church.<sup>1</sup> The same source indicated, also, that the quarterly Communion was the norm within the Free Presbytery of Edinburgh.

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1. Report of Committee of the Free Presbytery of Edinburgh on Communion Seasons, Edinburgh, 1886, p. 4.

However, there were also clear signs in the writings of other Free Churchmen that this increase in frequency was received with only a cautious acceptance. Thus C.A. Salmond's Bible Class Primer which was widely used in the last decades of the century showed complete awareness of the tendency towards greater frequency in all the churches. Yet he obviously felt that the Free Church was not in any sense bound by the past - even the past represented by the early Church - and reserved the right of different groups of Christians to decide for themselves the measure of frequency "in obedience to the dictates of their hearts, and according to what, in the light of their circumstances, appears to be most really fitted to prompt the glory of Christ and the good of His people".<sup>1</sup>

J.S. Candlish adopted a similar position when, in pleading for freedom in regard to the details of the Sacrament, he stressed that the Word of God was the sole guide for eucharistic practice. However, he failed to take account of the fact that details for one Christian may well be central tenets of belief for another. By his silence on the question of frequency he appeared to share Salmond's "optional" interpretation about the number of celebrations appropriate in the course of a year.<sup>2</sup>

Yet the true reasons for Free Church restraint about frequency of Communion are to be found in a different direction. As the Free Church emerged as a formidable religious force in the land, so there were stirrings within the Church to trace her lineage back to an unimpeachable source in the golden age of presbyterian history. The search tended to concentrate on the exponents of federal theology rather than on the Reformers themselves, and the

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1. Charles A. Salmond, Our Christian Passover: A Guide for Young People in the Serious Study of the Lord's Supper, Bible Class Primers, Edinburgh, n.d., pp. 36-37.
  2. James S. Candlish, The Christian Sacraments, Handbooks for Bible Classes, Edinburgh, n.d., p. 89.

theology of the Westminster divines came to be the quarry from which much later Free Church thought was hewn.<sup>1</sup> By mid-century, the Established Church was beginning to turn its back on federalism and to think in categories which reflected a different era. After the Disruption, the Free Church had an enthusiasm and a momentum which the Church of Scotland did not possess, yet paradoxically, by following the will-o'-the-wisp of federal theology, she reached the 1870s less able to take account of modern thought than the Auld Kirk. Thus John Tulloch of St. Andrews saw the Free Church, represented by Cunningham and Candlish, as standing for the most rigid orthodoxy and viewing the Established Church as lax and liberal, even as a betrayer of the old traditional faith of Reformers and Covenanters. According to Tulloch's assessment, the theologians and people of the Free Church were backward-looking, entrenching themselves behind what he called "the old confessional barriers of the Scottish faith". From this fortress, they viewed with suspicion all who adopted a more liberal attitude, particularly the exponents of a "low and unsound doctrinal theology" to be found in substantial numbers within the Established Church.<sup>2</sup>

Traces of the influence of the federal theology and therefore of the traditions of the previous two centuries recur again and again in Candlish's The Christian Sacraments. His work was undeniably thorough and scholarly. He stressed the union of Christ with the believer in the sacraments. However, Calvin's reference to the Lord's Supper as a "seal", which was taken up and over-worked by the federalists within their distorted and inadequate Christology, was given undue weight in Candlish's thought. His sacramental theology has none of

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1. Interim Report of the Special Commission on Baptism, The Church of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1959, p. 8.
  2. John Tulloch, "Progress of Religious Thought in Scotland", The Contemporary Review, vol. 29, March, 1877, pp. 538-539.

the richness and balance of Calvin, although the language and terminology are derived from him. He uses the analogy of a keepsake to illustrate his understanding of the Sacrament. The keepsake, given by one friend to another, concentrates in itself the most profound associations of affection and loyalty. Indeed, its value as a gift is purely secondary to its primary function of evoking in the recipient an unshakeable conviction about the reality of the donor's love. In the same manner, Candlish observed, the ordinance of the Supper is given by Jesus to the disciples as a token of the reality of His eternal love for them. Such an analogy explains the classical Calvinist tenet that "the sacraments are not only signs but seals". Candlish also made reference to the sacraments as being "badges of Christian profession". It is true that he did not exaggerate the importance of this interpretation, but he still regarded it as deserving of special attention in his treatment of the theme.

It therefore becomes apparent that the impulses which led Free Churchmen back to a re-examination of the Westminster tradition led also to a relatively static understanding of the Lord's Supper. The celebration of Holy Communion may have increased from twice to four times a year, but this did not result from any radical re-appraisal of the meaning and value of the Communion in the life of the Church. While developments in thought can be traced in the writings of leading Free Churchmen like Bonar, Bannerman and Candlish, neither the increase in frequency nor such developments betokened a substantial shift in emphasis from the Calvinistic and federalist influences in the Westminster theology which won from them such wholehearted allegiance.

## CHAPTER THREE

SOME THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE PERIOD 1750-1800

The foregoing study of the frequency of Communion and the issues which it raised did no more than touch upon some of the more important theological factors underlying the movement for greater frequency in the life of the major presbyterian churches in Scotland. Without such theological examination, however, the question of frequency must necessarily occupy a position of relative insignificance in the history of the Scottish Church. In fact, the true significance of the movement towards frequency is intimately bound up with the changing currents of theological opinion. It is important, therefore, that some study of these opinions should be made, to determine more fully the motives which lay behind some of the alterations in sacramental practice.

The picture is not always tidy and well-defined. One suspects, too, that sometimes new Communion customs and traditions took root in spite of theologically infertile soil, as, for instance, the role of the remarkable Letters on Frequent Communion would suggest. Again, these new traditions occasionally appeared to be the outcome of non-theological factors. It would be hard to prove that the Free Church's attitude to frequency was motivated by some form of post-Disruption triumphalism; yet the sociological background would lead us to believe that this was at least as important as the influence of contemporary theology. Yet, however blurred and imprecise the theology underlying the movement for greater frequency may have been, changes in practice were still largely wrought because men endeavoured to grapple with the deeper issues of the meaning of the Word and Sacrament. We now turn to an examination of some of these issues.

"The old theology of Scotland might be emphatically described as a covenant theology". Such was the assessment of one well-fitted to distinguish the dominant tendencies in Scottish post-Reformation theology.<sup>1</sup> The federal theology arose in Scotland in the sixteenth century and proved to be one of the most influential movements of thought Scotland has known. By the eighteenth century federalism was still a powerful force in religious life and thought and, although considerably modified, was still easily recognizable as the basis of a whole theological system. The study of federalism in depth is beyond the scope of this present enquiry, since it is a vast subject involving the literature and history of some two centuries. Nevertheless, some coherent sketch of covenant theology is necessary so that the changing emphasis in sacramental thought may become more intelligible.<sup>2</sup>

The use of federal categories of thought in Scotland has been attributed to Robert Rollock (1543-1599), principal of the University of Edinburgh and, for the last year of his short life, minister of Greyfriars.<sup>3</sup> McCrie stressed, however, that federalism was no isolated Scottish phenomenon and showed how the system was an accepted method of interpreting revelation for such Continental theologians as Heinrich Bullinger, Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer and John Alasco. In particular,

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1. James Walker, The Theology and Theologians of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1888, p. 37.
  2. Much of this survey is indebted to Walker, Theology and Theologians; John Macpherson, The Doctrine of the Church in Scottish Theology, Edinburgh, 1903; C.G. McCrie, The Confessions of the Church of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1907; and Baptism in the Church of Scotland: An Historical Survey to 1843, The Church of Scotland: Interim Report of the Special Commission on Baptism, Edinburgh, May, 1958; John McLeod, Scottish Theology in Relation to Church History since the Reformation, Edinburgh, 1943.
  3. Interim Report on Baptism, p. 22; Hew Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae, Edinburgh and London, 1866 edition, Part I, p. 39.

the works of the Dutchmen John Cocceius<sup>1</sup> and Herman Witsius<sup>2</sup> came to be widely read in Scotland, and thereby provided considerable impetus to an intellectual movement which was already spreading rapidly. However, the federal theology was not wholly dependent upon Continental scholars for its strength. The English puritans firmly adhered to it,<sup>3</sup> and within Scotland by the mid-sixteenth century several indigenous federalist works of lasting influence were published. McCrie attributed to two of these works in particular the distinction of first setting in motion and, later, of consolidating federal theology in Scottish life. Thus, the rise of federalism was associated with the publication in 1645 of The Marrow of Modern Divinity, while the flowering of covenant teaching emerged in The Sum of Saving Knowledge published five years later.<sup>4</sup> In discussing the issues raised in The Sum, McCrie set out the results which can be expected from such a thoroughgoing "theology of contract". His appraisal of federalism revealed a system of thought which was as unattractive as it was a misrepresentation of the scriptural basis of the Church's life. Thus, federalism equated the gospel of the grace of God with a legal contract. Moreover, the nature of the contract gave the impression that the two contracting parties were on an equal footing. An agreement was struck between God and the sinner. For his part, the sinner agreed to enter into the contract while the Deity, for His part,

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1. John Cocceius, Summa Doctrina de Foedere et Testamenti Dei Explicata, 1654.
  2. Herman Witsius, The Economy of the Covenants between God and Man: comprehending a complete body of Divinity, Utrecht, 1693, translated by W. Crookshank.
  3. See John S. Coolidge, The Pauline Renaissance in England: Puritanism and the Bible, Oxford, 1970.
  4. The former was written anonymously by 'E.F.', a 'poor inhabitant' of London, and republished in 1719; the latter is reputed to be the work of David Dickson of Irvine and James Durham of Glasgow.

agreed to enter into a relationship of grace with the sinner, so that in fact there was "the reducing of salvation to a mercantile arrangement". Nor, indeed, was that the only blemish which was caused by the federalist position. By a most contrived artifice the First and Second Persons of the Trinity were also seen to be parties to a bargain which, when upheld and carried out by those divine contracting parties, caused redemption to be effected. The bargain struck, as it were, between the Father and the Son involved the laying down of the conditions of salvation, the extending of promises and the giving of pledges for the benefit of the sinner. Apart from the devious air of unreality engendered by the whole federalist system, there was also the equally obvious smack of the workings of a human reason which was too clever by half. McCrie's confident and instinctive feeling for the true nature of Christian teaching enabled him the more readily to identify the distortions and confusions of federalism. Thus, he himself was able to write of it with clarity and understanding, "the simple story of salvation is thrown into the crucible of the logic of the schools and it emerges in the form of a syllogism".<sup>1</sup> Eucharistic thought in Scotland was undoubtedly affected by federalism, and it will be shown below in what way this influence came to be felt. A more immediate concern, however, must be to elucidate some of the basic principles of federal theology in more detail so that the implementation of these principles might be observed in the various eighteenth and nineteenth century writers who dealt with the Lord's Supper.

The central element of federal theology, as the name suggests, was the idea of covenant. Apart from that idea, the federalists contended, neither Word nor Sacrament was intelligible. Initially, the concept of covenant was seen to have two parts to it. There was, firstly, the

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1. C.G. McCrie, Confessions, pp. 72-73.



covenant of works (which was sometimes called the covenant of life). The covenant of works was intimately bound up with the first of what McCrie called "three great Divine manifestations - Creation, Revelation, Redemption".<sup>1</sup> There is no mediator of this covenant, and it is made on condition of man's own personal obedience to his Creator. James Walker described the covenant of works as resting upon the relationship that existed between God the Creator and man the creature. This relationship revealed a number of important features, not least that human beings, because of their imperfections through sin, were "on probation", as it were, in the eyes of the Deity. Also in evidence was the corollary that this probationary state of mankind was inseparable from the outworking of the purpose of God within the whole of His Creation. The covenant of works also reinterpreted the role of Adam in such a way as to make him the federal head of humanity, by which "all men are viewed as being in him morally and legally". This reinterpretation of the role of Adam indicated a very significant change from the non-federal categories of thought wherein Adam was understood as being related to the rest of mankind in much the same way as a parent is related to a child. The federal understanding, however, meant that God had entered into a pact with Adam (and by implication with all mankind morally and legally united to him) so that if his human will is aligned in all things to the Divine will he (and those he represents) shall receive eternal blessedness as their reward; but if that alignment of wills fails to occur, then eternal death is all that disobedient humanity can expect.<sup>2</sup>

The second covenant, the covenant of grace, expressed the condescension of God to man. Christ is the Mediator of this covenant which came into effect by his death.

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1. ibid., p. 61.

2. Walker, op. cit., p. 74.

Furthermore, through Christ's mediatorial role, the gospel inheritance was made over to the faithful. The setting of the covenant of grace was, of course, mankind's inability to keep the conditions of the covenant of works. All that should have been the lot of fallen, disobedient mankind was the just and fitting harvest of eternal death, under the terms of the earlier covenant. However, mankind's endemic failure led to what Walker could only call "transcendent counsellings", by which the three Persons in the Godhead conferred together over man's consistent disobedience. The outcome of the conference was that salvation was decreed, and that the Second Person of the Trinity, the Son, was charged with the task of effecting such a salvation. Thus, the covenant of grace ratified the eternal "transcendent counsellings" and represented the strategem whereby the Son became incarnate, suffered, and died on behalf of the elect of God who, through these sufferings would receive redemption, by means of this vicarious work of Christ.<sup>1</sup>

The federal theology did not imply that the Old and New Testaments spoke of different covenants of grace. They affirmed the oneness of that covenant, by distinguishing between two dispensations of it. They pointed first to a rite such as circumcision as being a sacrament of the old dispensation; a sacrament, moreover, of a promise which was yet to come. By typology such sacraments corresponded to the sacraments of the new dispensation, which differed in that they were seals of a fulfilled reality, rather than signposts to promises which were as yet unfulfilled. Through these latter sacraments of the new dispensation, the divine reality was conveyed "in greater fullness, evidence, and spiritual efficacy".<sup>2</sup> Through Word and Sacrament, Christ the Mediator of the new covenant of grace applied and communicated His redemption to all for whom

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1. ibid., pp. 75-76.

2. Interim Report on Baptism, p. 31. The above section relies largely upon the interpretation of federalism set forth in this work.

He died, revealing to men the mysteries of salvation.

None of the formularies of the Church of Scotland appears to have been influenced by federalism from 1560 to 1616.<sup>1</sup> However, the Westminster Confession reflected the dominance of the system by the middle of the seventeenth century. Significantly, the chapter "Of God's Covenant with Man" is placed near the beginning of the Confession, immediately after "Of the Fall of Man, of Sin and of the Punishment thereof". However, the Confession tended to depreciate the evangelical nature of the sacraments, so as to depart from the Reformed tradition and that of the greater number of early sixteenth century divines. Thus, it appeared to spurn the approach of Robert Bruce in favour of George Gillespie, who did not accept the Lord's Supper as a "converting ordinance". Robert Bruce's understanding of the Lord's Supper, particularly through the sermons which he preached in St. Giles',<sup>2</sup> represented the classical exposition of the eucharistic teaching of the Reformed tradition. His position, though well in advance of our period, provides a useful norm against which to measure the development of sacramental thought in later times, and especially in the lengthy period in which federal theology grew in influence and eventually gained the ascendancy in the thinking of the Scottish Church.

Bruce's teaching had its roots in the theology of Calvin and, like Calvin, in the thought of the Fathers of the early Church.<sup>3</sup> Thus, in giving prominence to the idea of "union with Christ" in his sacramental thought,

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1. McCrie, op. cit., p. 67.

2. Robert Bruce, The Mystery of the Lord's Supper translated by T.F. Torrance, London, 1958.

3. Interim Report on Baptism, May, 1958, p. 20.

Bruce went far beyond the interpretation of such a union which was frequently outlined by later federalist theologians. The concept for Bruce involved much more than a sharing in the benefits of Christ's death and resurrection. The essence of the sharing implied in "union with Christ" meant a sharing in Christ's own humanity - a humanity which had within itself the power both to save and to sanctify the communicant.<sup>1</sup>

Closely related to this view was Bruce's refusal to separate the work of Christ upon the Cross from the work of Christ in His incarnate life of healing, preaching, teaching and self-offering. In their own way, both reflected the fact that the entire activity of Christ upon this earth was the expression of atonement. "This union between atonement and incarnation makes 'the whole Christ' (as Bruce constantly spoke of Him) our salvation, and not just His 'benefits' or His 'acts' of obedience". Thus, it is the 'whole Christ' who is offered to the communicant in the Supper, and "We are saved by His life as well as by His death, and are sanctified through union with Him".<sup>2</sup>

A third aspect of Bruce's thought which merits consideration is that which relates to the derivation of the word "Sacrament". To him, only the New Testament term "mystery" ( $\mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  Ephesians 3:9) could adequately comprehend the meaning of a sacrament. This usage pointed to the mystery of the incarnation which, as we have seen, gave much content to Bruce's theology of the Supper; and also to the mystery of the union between Christ and the Church. Such an emphasis, embracing Christ and the Church through the use of that one word, did justice to the nature and meaning of a sacrament which the alternative rendering, "sacramentum", failed to do. "Sacramentum" materially shifted the emphasis from the work of God in the mystery of

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1. idem.

2. idem.; Bruce, op. cit., Introduction, p. 33 and pp. 46-47.

Christ and His Church to the more human response embodied in the idea of an oath taken by the Roman soldier on enlistment in the Emperor's army.<sup>1</sup>

A final aspect of Bruce's thought began as an insight which was both positive and creative. When, however, it was taken up and adapted by later theologians in different circumstances, it assumed an emphasis which was restrictive and at variance with the classical Reformed teaching of Bruce himself. As part of his sacramental doctrine he pointed to the importance of feeling in relation to the majesty and mercy of God. The awareness of this latter divine attribute led him to speak of the communicant gaining "access to God's presence" through prayer and true repentance. In itself, of course, the advocacy of this type of spiritual experience was quite in keeping with the teaching of the New Testament, and especially the writings of St. Paul. However, in the hands of the later federalists such a view was not simply the application of high sacramental doctrine to heart and conscience; for it came to be associated increasingly with a more scrupulous examination of conscience and an undue importance being placed upon "assurance". In all of this, such a quest for assurance and "the pacification of conscience" came to be couched in moralistic and legalistic categories of thought and, particularly under the federal theologians, the gospel of the grace of God tended to fall into the background of the economy of salvation.<sup>2</sup>

It is not difficult, then, to see the differing approaches of Robert Bruce and George Gillespie, the former desirous of regarding the Supper as a "converting ordinance", the latter denying such a view. In writing about the nature of the Lord's Supper in Aaron's Rod

1. ibid., p. 40.

2. Interim Report on Baptism, pp. 20-21; Bruce, op. cit., pp. 181-186.

Blossoming, Gillespie freely allows that "the word is not only a confirming and comforting, but a converting ordinance", but sees the sacrament as "not a converting, but a confirming and sealing ordinance, which is not given to the Church for the conversion of sinners, but for the communion of saints". He advances the view, in this respect, that the Supper is "not appointed to put a man in the state of grace, but to seal unto a man that interest in Christ and in the covenant of grace which he already hath.....". He further emphasizes the nature of the sacraments as "sealing ordinances", whose function is "not to give, but to testify what is given, - not to make, but confirm saints".<sup>1</sup>

It was against such a background that the prevailing Westminster understanding of the sacraments was founded upon the view that they were seals of faith in the Gospel rather than seals of the Word of the Gospel.<sup>2</sup> Thus, Bruce's earlier insistence upon a sacramental "union with Christ" receded; his additional insistence upon "the whole Christ" and the atoning work of Christ's life (and not only His death upon the Cross) is lost sight of; and the idea of the Sacrament as μυστηριον loses much of its force. The shift in emphasis was from the grace and love of God and the centrality of Christ to the moralism and legalism of the federal theology. Therefore, since the sacraments were seen to be seals of the covenant of grace, they were also seen to be seals of the covenant's commands and promises. This shift in emphasis, slight though it might appear in verbal expression, virtually meant that the sacraments were relegated to a peripheral position in the life of the Church. This secondary role is seen in the typical Westminster definition that the sacraments "confirm our interest in Christ". The concept enshrined

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1. George Gillespie, Aaron's Rod Blossoming; of the Divine Ordinance of Church Government Vindicated, Edinburgh, 1844 edition, p. 229.

2. Interim Report on Baptism, p. 32.

in these words provides us with a glimpse of the uneven manner in which federalist ideas were accepted.<sup>1</sup> Attention has been drawn, for instance, to the way in which Robert Bruce's idea of "assurance" and "the pacification of the conscience" became grist to the mill of later federalists in spite of the fact that Bruce himself not only pre-dated federalism but could never have shared its narrow tenets of belief. A similar taking over of non-federalist teaching by the later federalists occurs in the case of William Guthrie. Guthrie was accustomed to using the phrase "the confirmation of our interest in Christ" (or "our gracious state in Christ"). However, Guthrie did not believe in a limited atonement and he held that Christ died for all men. Therefore, his use of the above phraseology was that interpretation which was current in the period before the Westminster Standards, and in keeping with the more biblical and evangelical spirit of the epoch.<sup>2</sup> The theologians in the parishes of the land, then, were often men who maintained side by side in their preaching the attitudes of federalism and, in certain beliefs and interpretations, the insights of Robert Bruce and the older Scottish presbyterian tradition.

Since the federal theology spanned some two centuries within the history of the Church of Scotland, modifications took place from decade to decade whereby the rise of novel and diverse theological tendencies inevitably altered the direction of covenant theology, or whereby federalism itself gave rise to further developments within its own system. Therefore, when an increasing stress was placed on spiritual experience and assurance of faith in the Church, this in turn began to have profound consequences for the accepted federalism of the age. The stress on spiritual experience led to two notable developments. Firstly, there was a drift away from the old Reformed understanding of the Church to a view that embraced the

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1. ibid., pp. 59-60.

2. ibid., p. 32.

concept of the "gathered Church". Subsequently, a new vocabulary emerged by which God's dealings with the faithful came to be described. Words like "transaction", "device", "bargain", "contract" and "paction" were frequently used in the popular preaching of the day and the idea of the grace of God came to be understood in psuedo-commercialized terms, after the manner of McCrie's evaluation of the current usages in The Sum of Saving Knowledge.

The emphasis on the gathered Church also helped to bring about a further division in the covenant of grace, so that there were eventually three covenants instead of two. James Walker draws attention to the different attitudes which prevailed in respect of the doctrines of covenant:

"Dickson and Rutherford spoke of both the covenant of redemption, and of the covenant of grace or reconciliation; by the former, they meant the covenant between the Father and the Son; by the latter, a distinct and subordinate covenant based on the former, between God and his people, under which, in fact, the blessings of redemption are administered: the former, so far as man was concerned, absolute; the latter having as its condition faith. Boston and Gib refused the distinction between the covenant of redemption and the covenant of grace, asserting that there is no such distinction in the Bible, - the covenant of redemption and the covenant of grace in their view being only two names of the same thing.....".<sup>1</sup>

Historically, the origins of such a distinction lay neither with Dickson nor Rutherford but with English puritans like Stephen Charnock and John Owen.<sup>2</sup> However, as the influence of the puritan element in Scottish religious life grew so also did such manifestations of puritan doctrine take root within the Established Church.

In outline the theological development of the covenant of grace is simple. Yet the consequences of this development were far-reaching in Scottish presbyterianism.

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1. Walker, op. cit., p. 77.

2. McCrie, op. cit., p. 70.



Doctrinally, the covenant assumed two parts: an absolute covenant of redemption and a conditional covenant of grace. The covenant of redemption was eternal in character in that its substance involved a contract between the Father and the Son for the salvation of the elect. Through this contract, the Son undertook to become the Incarnate Mediator who would fulfil the covenant from the side of God and from the side of man. As a result of this division, the second part of the covenant of grace (known now as the covenant of reconciliation or the covenant of grace) became a subordinate covenant by which Christ conferred redemption as an inheritance to men who fulfilled the covenant of faith. From this, it is clear that Christ is no longer seen as the Head of all men, but only of the elect.<sup>1</sup> The fundamental unity between creation and redemption is no longer held intact, and the classical Calvinist view that our human nature was taken up and sanctified and healed in Christ Himself, so that He was the representative and Head of all humanity, is set aside. Increasingly, as a result of the above division, union with Christ came to be conceived of in forensic and legal terms, in which His relationship to the believer and the believer's response to Him assumed the nature of a contract.<sup>2</sup>

The practical outcome of this attitude, in relation to the sacraments, was that the evangelical stress upon "union with Christ" was subjugated to an un-evangelical stress upon the believer's relationship with his Lord in terms of a forensic transaction. Consequently, while the Church's role as the fellowship within which the transaction was realised and to which response was made was considerably strengthened as a legal and ecclesiastical institution, the sacraments tended to be regarded as appendages to the Church rather than as means of grace intimately related to the person of Christ.

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1. For a later development of this, see Daniel Dewar, Elements of Systematic Divinity, Glasgow, 1866, vol. 3, p. 292, where he examines the question, "To whom should the Lord's Supper be Administered"?
  2. Interim Report on Baptism, pp. 40-41.

The Covenanting background to much modern Scottish church history also played a significant part in bringing about the above interpretation of the sacraments. The old Reformed view of the Church, accepted by Calvin and Knox, that the visible Church was virtually to be equated with the whole of society, insofar as that society was coterminous with the National Church, lost ground to the idea that the Church could only truly be the invisible Church of the elect.<sup>1</sup> The Reformers had never ignored the tension that existed between the visible and invisible Church, but they had, on the whole, come down in favour of the visible Church as being most consonant with their theological standpoint, partly because of their ideal of national churches, and partly because of their reluctance to enter into human judgements about the identity of the true elect of God. This question of arbitration in matters of faith and life, they believed, adorned the throne of God more fittingly than the realm of man. In keeping with this, we find Knox plainly acknowledging that the Church of God at Frankfurt was a mixture of hypocrites and saints; and he was content that it should remain so, for while he would in no way commend such a situation, the alternative of the gathered church commended itself to him even less.<sup>2</sup>

The persecution of the Covenanters inevitably brought about a reaction against the ecclesiology of the early Reformed divines. The former laid great emphasis upon experiential faith and personal covenanting, which led to a greater separation of the spiritual church of the elect from the visible church. The logical development of this position, as touching the sacraments, was to identify the Lord's Supper as a seal of the invisible church, and especially as a badge of those who showed evidence of conversion. Thus, the Supper became a sacrament of internal experience.<sup>3</sup> A good example of this is seen in the

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1. ibid., pp. 48-50.

2. ibid., p. 40.

3. ibid., p. 50.

preaching of William Dalgliesh, who was minister of Peebles from 1751 to 1807:

"As the Lord's Supper was ordained to be a ratification of the covenant of grace between God and his people, we must celebrate it by a sincere and solemn renewal of our compliance with this covenant. When we come into God's gracious presence, and to his table, to receive the sacred symbols of the Mediator of this covenant, and the seals of its blessings, the pious sentiments of our soul should be these, or such as these: Now it is in mine heart to make a covenant with the Lord. And as there is no covenant by which solemn men can be saved but the covenant of grace, I bless thee, O God, for this covenant of salvation, and come now solemnly to ratify my compliance with it.....O God, O God, I accept thy covenant of salvation with all my heart; and in public sign and seal of this acceptance of it, I receive these symbols of the body and blood of thy Son, the great Mediator of it, and the sure seals of all the blessings of his covenant. God of salvation, accept of this my solemn deed, and preserve me steadfast for ever in thy holy covenant".<sup>1</sup>

Almost all these elements of federal theology were brought about by the secular political movements of the day, although it must be said that the division between Church and State was much less pronounced than in our own time, and there was of necessity a considerable overlap of the boundaries of the two estates. Certainly G.D. Henderson was writing of another age when he alluded to the fact that theology appeared to play a remarkably small part in the Scottish Reformation and that the religious revolution was only part of a wider movement.<sup>2</sup> There is, however, much of truth in the latter part of his observation as it is applied to the age of federalism. There was no dearth of theology and theological debate, and in that respect his comment does not fit. But his is a timely reminder that theology cannot be isolated from the social, political

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1. William Dalgliesh, Sermons on the Chief Doctrines and Duties of the Christian Religion in their Natural Order, Edinburgh, 1799, vol. 2, pp. 60-61.
  2. G.D. Henderson, Review article on W. Croft Dickinson's edition of John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland, The Scottish Historical Review, October, 1951, p. 182.

and cultural ethos of the time. Thus, due weight has to be given to the influence upon the theological thought of the National Covenant of 1638 and the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643, neither of which can be regarded solely as political documents. The extent of this commingling of political and religious thought does not concern us here; it is sufficient to draw attention to the dangers of categorizing and oversimplifying the issues.

To summarize the effects of federalism upon the Scottish theological milieu is not easy, since covenant theology was for so long an integral part of the national life and character, and not merely a passing phase which was superimposed upon it. By virtue of this, it is difficult to extricate the strands of federal thought which made a lasting impression, particularly on the sacraments. There are, however, a number of general principles which emerge from what has been said above.

Most obviously, as federalism took hold upon Scottish life and thought, the meaning of the word "covenant" was gradually distorted so that it came to be understood as a "bargain" or "contract", implying the setting out of conditions on the side of both God and man. As a consequence of this, the evangelical nature of the sacraments was undermined by federalism. Thus, they became seals and pledges of a reality which had been fulfilled by Christ in the New Covenant, by His death, and He applied His redemption to all for whom He died, through them.

Furthermore, the sacraments became "badges of Christian profession" in such a way as to indicate that the communicant was of the elect and had undergone an experience of faith. Thus, again, the Communion no longer had a central role in influencing the course of the Christian life, but rather pointed to the progression in Christian experience which had taken place through the operation of the Word of God upon the life of the Christian, independently of the Lord's Supper itself.

Federalism, therefore, by its stress on spiritual experience, and the consequent emphasis on the Church Invisible (i.e. the elect), narrowed the significance of Christ's death and made the sacraments peripheral rather than central, with relevance and effectiveness for the "gathered Church". Moreover, the tripartite division of the covenant of God with man led to a neglect of the emphasis on "union with Christ", and its replacement by a form of forensic transaction. Once again, an erosion of the sacraments took place so that they became appendages to the Church rather than means of grace intimately related to Christ.

At the time when the federal theology held pride of place, a central role - indeed, a pre-eminent role - was allotted in sacramental theology to the death of Christ. The meaning and significance of the Lord's Supper emerged from the contemplation of that death. In one sense, of course, there was nothing new about this, for eighteenth century Scotland shared with the four Evangelists, the Apostle Paul, the Fathers of the Church, and each successive Christian age, faith in the Christ who was "crucified, dead and buried". However, in the Scotland of 1750 the federal emphasis which extrapolated the concept of covenant from the Scriptures and interpreted the Gospel according to that concept, placed much greater weight upon the death of Christ to the neglect of other aspects of the Christian story. Traditional orthodoxy had generally succeeded in regarding the life and experience of Jesus as a totality, so that His crucifixion was held in tension with His incarnation, and both of these events with His resurrection and ascension. Now, under the federal scheme, the death of Christ became the very cornerstone of a theological system. Consequently, successive theologians of the period sought to interpret all the ordinances of God in terms of the death of Christ as the overarching truth of the whole economy of our salvation. Thus, John Mason felt no paradox in advocating frequency of Communion when his understanding

of the Lord's Supper was dominated by the death of Jesus and its federal implications.

"This holy ordinance contributes as much, if not more than any other, to keep alive in the earth the memory of that sacrifice which, through the ETERNAL SPIRIT, our High Priest offered up unto God. In a powerful appeal to the senses, it arrests attention, and strikes with awe, while the scenes of Gethsemane and Calvary pass along in symbolic review".<sup>1</sup>

It is with this in mind that Mason referred to the Sacrament as "the commemoration of the REDEEMER'S DEATH".<sup>2</sup> Interpreted in accordance with the federal scheme of things such a definition, as we shall see, could present the Lord's Supper as an important link in the logical chain of covenant theology. Often, however, the death of Christ was regarded in a passive way, and the analogies which were struck between that death and the Supper rendered the latter inessential and on the level with any tangible aid to spirituality. One of the earliest proponents of frequent Communion, John Erskine, continually stressed the importance of the Holy Communion while advancing his argument in favour of frequency; but he then negates much of that argument by portraying the ordinance in a narrow and inadequate light.

He constructed an imaginary scene of a friend who, being mortally wounded in defending our life from danger, gives us his picture a short time before he dies. Such a picture, Erskine suggested, would then be "a token and remembrance" of his friendship and affection for us. Our only proper course is to honour it by hanging it in the most prominent position within our house, where it might be easily seen. To do otherwise by allowing it to be hidden or obscured, gathering dust as a piece of inconsequential lumber, would be the height of ingratitude. However, a place in the chief room would ensure that it

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1. Mason, op. cit., p. 19.

2. ibid., p. 12.

would be looked upon often and have our affection for our friend and our remembrance of his sacrificial act etched upon our mind. If this is true in the realm of human relationships, Erskine continued, then how much more appropriate must it be in the relationship between the Christian and his Saviour? Moreover, if the Saviour has with careful and deliberate provision given us His Supper "as a representative of his death", how is it either to His honour or to our benefit that we should effectively lay it aside, which we virtually do by our infrequent use of this sacred ordinance?<sup>1</sup>

Erskine developed his argument for more frequent Communion by appealing to the Fathers of the Church in some detail. However, it became increasingly clear that while he wished to follow their practice, he did not fully appreciate the theological standpoint from which it sprang. His analogy of frequently looking at the picture of a departed friend "thereby to renew, and, if possible, to increase an affectionate Remembrance how much we were indebted" to him, revealed his sacramental thought as being in grave danger of lapsing into the most superficial memorialism. It is in this sense that his zeal for frequent celebration would appear to have run ahead of his theological understanding of the Lord's Supper.

The position, however, is further complicated by the fact that Erskine's statements concerning the doctrine of the sacraments have to be taken along with the obvious personal reverence with which he regarded them. Clearly, there were different facets to his own attitude, some well-defined and easily recognizable, others inchoate but none the less real. A man of considerable learning, with a knowledge of the early Church and both Scottish and Continental Reformed thought, Erskine was still conditioned

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1. Erskine, op. cit., p. 5.

by the federalist ethos of his time. Thus, his understanding of the Lord's Supper was made up of a number of elements each of which stood in a position of unresolved tension in relation to the others. In this respect, Erskine was no different from many fellow-Evangelicals of his time such as Robert Balfour<sup>1</sup> and even Thomas Chalmers. The "mixed mind" in which Moderatism and Evangelicalism co-existed was not uncommon.

The overtly memorialist attitude outlined above has therefore to be viewed along with the more personal and evangelical approach of other passages. Side by side with his analogy of the picture, for instance, he was able to write that in the Sacrament we see "the loving and lovely Jesus" giving Himself as a sacrifice and atonement for our sins and purchasing for us "A happiness large as our wishes, and lasting as eternity". The death of Jesus took place that he might "secure grace and glory, and every good thing, not to us only, but to an innumerable multitude, which no man can number". Moreover, in that death reflected through the ordinance of the Supper "we behold the height and depth, the length and breadth of divine love to a perishing world".<sup>2</sup> Present there are traces of the different strands that contributed to his theology of the Lord's Supper. While it does not give an entirely adequate theological motive for the advocacy of frequent Communion - who is desirous of remembering a death persistently and regularly? - it takes us part of the way by depicting the Sacrament as a means whereby the benefits of Christ's death are applied to the life of the believer.

Erskine, then, is something of an enigma. He cannot easily be summed up as a mere theological stereotype, a conventional and unoriginal product of the age in which he lived. That the federalist influence is present cannot be denied. But there is an authentic evangelical passion in his writing which is drawn from the same tradition as

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1. Minister of the Outer High Kirk, Glasgow, from 1779.

2. Erskine, op. cit., p. 5.



the oft-quoted John Willison of Dundee,<sup>1</sup> and which offsets the cold legalism of the theology of contract with a strongly intimate devotion to Christ. This tension, so evident in Erskine, is seen also in the work of Warden and Mason. Neither had the flexible mind and wider vision of Erskine; yet both were biblical in emphasis and through their comprehensive knowledge of the Scriptures were able to counteract the more oppressive elements of federalism. Warden, in particular, reflected the older presbyterian tradition of the Reformers which asserted itself in the face of the accustomed language of covenant theology.

The argument for frequency of celebration which Warden advanced was based in part on the premise that "We should partake often in this ordinance, because we are ready to forget Christ, as to the heart-impressing and lively memorial of him".<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere he records that one of the ends or designs of the Lord's Supper is "to give a lively representation of a dying and redeeming Christ, and of his matchless love to poor sinners".<sup>3</sup> Thus, the Sacrament for Warden was a means of keeping Christ - and especially the death of Christ - before the heart and mind of the communicant. This "keeping up the memorial of Christ" is one of the principal reasons for observing the ordinance.<sup>4</sup>

Having established that the Sacrament is a "lively representation" of the death of Christ, and that it involves making a memorial, in some sense, of that death, Warden proceeds to examine the meaning of our Lord's words, "This do in remembrance of me". These words convey three distinct impressions to Warden. There is, firstly, the fact that the observance of the Sacrament is an obligation

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1. ibid., p. 7 and passim.

2. Warden, op. cit., p. 80.

3. ibid., p. 66.

4. ibid., p. 67.

laid upon us by the love of Christ, for any reflection upon "Christ's doing, dying and redeeming love" must surely lead us to do what he had bidden us do. Then again, and most obviously, the words lead us to understand that in partaking of the Sacrament "We are to remember our Lord Jesus Christ". Finally, the words of observance have the additional force in that every time the Sacrament is celebrated Christ's death and redemption, wrought for us, are kept in remembrance by us for our own spiritual benefit, but also that His name might be remembered in all generations.<sup>1</sup>

The stress which Warden placed upon the death of Christ is, however, not simply a case of drawing attention to the crucifixion and passion of our Lord as a convenient paradigm of the love of God. It is true that he saw the love of God graphically portrayed in this act; but there can be little doubt that its importance derives from a deeper source: through the Supper's representation of the death of Christ Warden saw the Lord "as a full and sufficient Saviour".<sup>2</sup> Thus, he advanced the view that the act of administration of the Sacrament was, in fact, the Lord's breaking of the bread; and that what is signified in this is the body of the Lord being broken for sinners. Further, the Saviour who is presented and applied to the believer in the Sacrament is not only the crucified Saviour but "such a Saviour, as has completed the whole work of redemption, he had to do in the world". Against this understanding of Christ's work of redemption, then, Warden regards His death as "the completing and finishing stroke of that work".<sup>3</sup> It is therefore not hard to see that for Warden it is the death of Christ, and the redemption which that death wrought, which presented Christ to mankind in the fullest light. It is by command of the Saviour and

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1. ibid., pp. 67-73.

2. ibid., p. 57.

3. ibid., p. 39.

Redeemer Christ that the Sacrament is celebrated in the life of the Church. It is done primarily as a representation of the death of Christ, and it is through the Sacrament, understood in this way, that the full promise of the Gospel message, together with the benefits of Christ, are made over to the devout communicant.

The apparent contradiction implicit in a desire for more frequent celebration of a sacrament which is, essentially, a representation of the death of Christ, is therefore close to being resolved. Erskine, Warden and, later, Mason saw the death of Christ as it was contemplated in terms of the Supper, as setting in motion a whole system of evangelical, covenanted truth by which men came to lay hold upon Christ with firmer grasp, to use the phrase of Robert Bruce.<sup>1</sup>

On occasion, Warden's language was ambiguous. At one point he claimed:

"...by the sacrament, and the delivery of bread and wine therein, Christ makes over himself to the believing communicant, to be theirs without reserve or reversion".<sup>2</sup>

This, however, must be understood within the context of the federal scheme, and a more typical expression of the same truth was conveyed by Warden in a later passage in which he drew an analogy between the authority of an earthly king and the authority of Christ in relation to the sacramental elements. It is the king's authority which confers upon a comparatively worthless piece of lead or wax the power to "seal and confirm a gift and possession of many thousands". By that same token, Warden adduced that similarly valueless elements of bread and wine were able to "seal and apply Christ and his benefits" not by any intrinsic worth attaching to them or to the minister of the Sacrament, but by the due appointment of the Lord Himself.<sup>3</sup> It is in these

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1. Bruce, op. cit., pp. 63-64.

2. Warden, op. cit., p. 43.

3. ibid., p. 64.

terms that the desire to have frequent celebration of the Sacrament can be reconciled with a theology of the Sacrament in which the death of the Lord is the dominant note; for without the contemplation of that death none of the benefits of Christ's redemption is available. The concomitant of such an understanding of the Lord's Supper was the deliberate eradication of any attitude which might be interpreted as crediting to the Sacrament any grace, merit or efficacy which was not potentially present in the preaching of the Word. Thus Warden is constrained to remark that while the Word may be of benefit to sinners without the sacraments, it cannot be said that sacraments are profitable without the Word.<sup>1</sup> A similar thought, moreover, prompts Mason to question whether there was a single blessing to be expected in the Communion which ought not to be expected "in every approach to God through the faith of Jesus".<sup>2</sup>

Much of the language and some of the spirit of the above owes a debt to John Calvin. The close bond between Word and Sacrament in the Reformed tradition is maintained. However, Warden and Mason go further by making the Sacrament appear to be an appendage to the Word, a fact that has already been identified as a feature of federalism. Consonant with this, Mason strictly avoided the view that the Sacrament conveyed to the communicant gifts or benefits which were not available to him from God in other ways. Moreover, in refuting the contention that prolonged preparation was necessary before the Sacrament could be approached, Mason denied that "we therein make a nearer approach to God than in other duties, and therefore need more cautious and thorough preparation".<sup>3</sup>

The centrality of the death of Christ in the federal understanding of the Lord's Supper was, then, overemphasized

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1. ibid., pp. 19-20.

2. Mason, op. cit., p. 66.

3. ibid., p. 51.

to the exclusion of other aspects of the place and person of Christ. This meant that the Supper increasingly became divorced from the person of Christ, so that even the Reformed teaching of the Scots Confession concerning Christ's presence in the Sacrament fell into the background. The Sacrament conveyed no distinctive benefits; the Word itself did all that needed to be done for the spiritual well-being of the believer. Furthermore, the terminology of federalism, closely connected as it was to the death of the Lord, obscured the understanding of the Holy Communion as an evangelical ordinance, associated with the interpretation of Willison, Boston and earlier presbyterian divines.

The history of the doctrine of Holy Communion in the Church Universal has been largely the history of the various interpretations of the nature of Christ's presence in the Sacrament.<sup>1</sup> The same variation in interpretation has been a feature in the development of sacramental teaching in Scotland since the Reformation. The differences have not been as marked as those found between the separate branches of the historic traditions of Christendom. Yet, for all that, they have not been negligible. It is therefore edifying to note the attitude of John Willison of Dundee to Christ's presence in the Sacrament, and to compare it with that of John Warden as a representative of federalism.<sup>2</sup> Writing in 1747, Willison asks:

"What are the sacraments without Christ's presence in them? O let us never be satisfied with communion Sabbaths, without communion with Christ in them".<sup>3</sup>

This statement, implying as it does the fullest

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1. See, for example, D. Stone, A History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, 2 volumes, London, 1909.
  2. John Willison, Sacramental Meditations and Advices, Aberdeen, 1841 edition, Introduction, vi, (first published 1747).
  3. Notwithstanding the dominance of federalism, Thomas Leishman's spiritual awakening was attributed to Warden's preaching. See J.F. Leishman, Linton Leaves, including a biography of Dr. Thomas Leishman and some sidelights on Catholic Reunion, Edinburgh, 1937, p. 95.

teaching on the sacramental presence of Christ, would appear to be matched by Warden's understanding of the benefits accruing to the faithful from the Communion which strengthens the Lord's people, allowing the Christian to "feed on Christ" and Christ to be "made meat and drink to him".<sup>1</sup> Indeed there is no lack of grandeur in the language which Warden employs to describe the benefits of the Sacrament, as when he compares the solemnity of taking possession of an earthly fortune with the far more august and solemn conferral of the grace and glory of the eternal God in and through the Sacrament. "O with what solemnity and holy awe, should ministers of the gospel administer, and people partake of this!"<sup>2</sup>

Superficially, Willison and Warden would appear to be saying the same thing. This, however, would be an erroneous conclusion, for the facts lead to differing interpretations. There is, first, the question of the realism of the language employed. Willison had many such passages in his writings, all of them consistent with the identity which he saw between the sacramental presence and the person of Christ. Warden's language, as we shall see, is qualified and relatively inconsistent on this point. It is true, secondly, that while Willison was a thoroughgoing evangelical in his beliefs and in the statement of them, Warden had not successfully resolved the tension within him between the evangelical and the federalist. As in previous instances, there was an element of personal evangelicalism running ahead of an intellectual and theological position. However, the more sustained development of Warden's theological position vis-a-vis Christ's presence shows it to be less realistic than Willison's, particularly when the typically federalist language connected with the benefits of the Sacrament is brought into consideration.

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1. Warden, op. cit., p. 74.

2. ibid., p. 64.

The linguistic hallmarks of the theology of covenant are to be seen in words like "represent", "exhibit", "pledge", "token", "ratify", "confirm", "interest", "apply", and "seal". All these words have an honourable place in the history of the Scottish Church from the works of Calvin and the Westminster Confession through the writings of Established churchmen like Erskine and Warden and Free churchmen like Bannerman and Candlish a century later, to the early twentieth century manifesto of Scoto-Catholic churchmanship, A Manual of Church Doctrine.<sup>1</sup> Needless to say, the fact that these words have been in use for some three hundred years is in no way a guarantee that the content of sacramental teaching has remained unaltered throughout that time. If the words themselves were constant, the same could not be said for the world in which they were spoken, nor for the theology of the lengthy period which revealed new and changing insights to each successive generation, after the manner of a kaleidoscope. Thus, any form of primitivism (whether grounded in Scripture, the Reformation or federal theology) which would seek to enunciate the same inspired formula from age to age, believing that it must be true for every generation, is doomed to failure. Experience has taught this, together with scholarship in the light of experience.<sup>2</sup>

These words, therefore, have a particular meaning within the context of eighteenth century federalism. Warden identifies the uses of the Supper as being three-fold and as being most fittingly conveyed by the words, "to represent Christ", "to apply Christ", and "to seal Christ" and all his benefits to those who believe.<sup>3</sup> Much of the

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1. H.J. Wotherspoon and J.M. Kirkpatrick, A Manual of Church Doctrine, London, 1923.

2. On this, see, e.g. J.H. Newman, An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine, London, 1845, and the very different approach in Robert Rainy, Delivery and Development of Christian Doctrine [Cunningham Lecture for 1873], Edinburgh 1874, in which he regards doctrinal development to have taken place in the sense that the Church has been given a fuller understanding of scriptural truth.

3. Warden, op. cit., p. 57.

work of the theological writers of the federal period is an exposition of this one theme. Certainly, this is true of Warden, for these phrases echo and re-echo through the pages of his treatise on the Lord's Supper.<sup>1</sup> He unfolds the theme by providing a commentary on each of these words in turn. Thus, in considering the word "represent" he regards the death of Christ as being closely related: Christ is represented "as a full and sufficient Saviour" through the Cross. Representing Christ also means a presenting and putting of Christ and all the blessings of the Gospel into the hands of the communicant, and involves, too, a bringing Christ to remembrance in such a way that Christ and His benefits are sealed and applied to the believing soul.

In making use of that latter word, "apply", Warden takes up the federal interpretation by which "the Sacrament applies the benefits of Christ in a way of law or deed". He goes so far as to describe the Sacrament as being "a further deed in law" which gives certainty and assurance to the believer "of his particular interest in Christ, and in all the benefits of the new covenant". He further sees a kindred meaning of "apply" in relation to the Sacrament as bequeathing the blessings of the covenant through the outward actions of delivering the bread and wine to the communicant at the appointment of the Lord Himself.

Warden's interpretation of the Word, "seal", as applied to the Sacrament, makes use of the analogy previously alluded to of the king's authority conferring a power upon a worthless piece of lead or wax, to make it a seal with a quite new significance. It is therefore to him "a ratifying, confirming and insuring the believer's interest in the possession of Christ and his covenanted blessings". All of this has been ratified by His death, but just as the will brings the provisions into effect on the death of the subject, so the "seal" of the sacramental new covenant

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1. ibid., passim.



brings about the inheritance of Christ and His blessings. Such, indeed, is the power and authority of this seal that, in Warden's understanding, "the believer's after-transgressions cannot make [it] of no effect"; and such is the all-pervasive nature of the sacramental seal that it "seals the promise to us, seals us to be his people, and seals his grace to us to enable us to walk in his ways".<sup>1</sup>

It becomes clear that the nature of the gift associated with the Lord's Supper is somewhat in dispute. Willison firmly and consistently sets forth a warmly evangelical belief that what is received in and through the Sacrament is nothing less than Christ Himself. Warden, however, faces in two directions at once. On the one hand, he wishes to affirm in an evangelical way that Christ is received through the Sacrament as the gift of God to the communicant. Yet on the other hand, he is influenced by the federal system to maintain that what is received in the Sacrament is the grace of God and faith, the gift of God, both of which ratify and strengthen the prior experience of Him which the communicant has known. So the Sacrament is a seal of the benefits of God to bestow further grace and deeper faith upon the already believing communicant. Consequently, the doctrine of the elect becomes a key issue in the system, and the worth of the communicant together with the authenticity of the Christian experience become more prominent aspects in the life of the Church.<sup>2</sup> Thus the direct, personal reception of Christ in the Communion falls into the background in federalism and is not seen to be a reality within the limits set by covenant theology. There is no special presence; the Word of God and Christian experience of God render the idea of Christ's "sacramental presence" irrelevant, untrue, and too far removed from the Gospel-centred daily life of the

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1. ibid., pp. 57-64.

2. Warden makes frequent reference to "the worthy communicant". See ibid., pp. 37, 39, 73-75, 106, 143, 151-152.

communicant in which God is continually revealing Himself in the covenants He makes with His people.

Just as John Erskine revealed a considerable admixture of moderatism and federalism in his predominantly evangelical position, Principal George Hill's well-known moderatism was similarly not immune from clear traces of federalism. There is no attempt to reconcile the somewhat uneasy tension which exists in Warden; for, with Hill, the tension is resolved, but at the expense of the person of Christ and His traditional role in the sacramental teaching of the Church Universal. Thus Hill is able to write extensively of the Lord's Supper without mentioning the name of Christ. The language of "contract" and "bargain" emerges forcefully in Hill's theology, and the Sacrament is a solemn engagement of "the worthy Communicants" to fulfil their part of the covenant. In return, "God confirms His promise to them in a sensible manner". So far from conveying Christ in a personal way to the communicant - however that encounter may be understood or interpreted - the Sacrament represents a tangible sign to all that God's promises are to be trusted. Moreover, stress is put upon the very tangible nature of the Supper as the appropriate vehicle for "giving a stronger impression of the truth of the promise" and conveying "to the mind an assurance that it will be fulfilled". It would not be a distortion of the federal position to say that in the Lord's Supper Christ is not the gift, but that the gift consists of grace and faith to accept the propositional statements of Christian truth upon which covenant theology rested. Warden himself bears this out when he writes:

"The Lord's Supper strengtheneth their faith of assent to Gospel truths, particularly, that Christ was really crucified and slain, for the remission of sins and salvation of sinners, as the scripture asserts.....".<sup>1</sup>

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1. ibid., p. 74.

Both Erskine and Warden make reference to a form of consecration. The idea of consecration by a priest was, of course, anathema to Calvin and left the topic of consecration one of the more sensitive areas of debate in the post-Reformation Church. Consequently, the gravest suspicion adhered to any theory of consecration which suggested, however indirectly, that a physical change took place in the elements of bread and wine, or that consecration as an act was associated with any particular prayer or gesture in the rite of the Lord's Supper. The federalists reflected this suspicion and approached the subject of consecration with great caution. Yet the principle of consecration was admissible to them so long as the nature of the elements after consecration was described in terms which would dispel any theory of transubstantiation.

"The elements being consecrated by prayer and giving of thanks, there is really and indeed a change made thereupon; which change is not physical and intrinsic of the nature of the elements themselves, but moral, external and relative".<sup>1</sup>

As Calvin had stated his conviction that "We do not think it right for us to bring Him down from heaven",<sup>2</sup> so Warden is faithful to the vision of the Reformer in concluding that "Christ, as to his body, is now in heaven, and must remain there till the last day; and therefore cannot be in or with the bread, or the wine of the sacrament here on earth".<sup>3</sup> By reason of the consecration, however, Warden insists that the bread and wine are no longer "common or ordinary"; they are rather to be regarded as sacramental bread and wine which, "though common before, now signify, represent, seal and apply Christ, and all the benefits of God's covenant of grace, to the worthy receiver".<sup>4</sup>

It is significant that even at the very point of the reception of the consecrated bread and wine, Warden's

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1. ibid., p. 33.

2. Calvin, Institutes, Book 4, Chapter 17, 31, p. 1403.

3. Warden, op. cit., p. 35.

4. ibid., p. 39.

federal-evangelical tension reveals itself. He speaks of the communicant "taking Christ",<sup>1</sup> and Christ "giving himself",<sup>2</sup> but even more prominent is the language of covenant theology which speaks of "sealing and applying Christ".<sup>3</sup> Thus his description of the appropriate inner thoughts of the communicant corroborates the view expressed above that the Sacrament does not so much convey Christ, as truths of the Gospel about Christ. Consequently, the communicant is bidden to take the bread as the seal and token that Christ's body was broken for him. Not only so, but the elements are a further seal and token that all the blessings of the eternal covenant are made over to him. All that remains for the worthy communicant to do is "to believe without doubting, that all are his, and now irreversibly sealed to him".<sup>4</sup>

Warden dwells on the act of communicating in some detail. When speaking of the reception of the cup by the communicant, the emphasis he makes is less connected with the gift of Christ Himself than with "discerning", "believing", "taking hold on", and "being fully persuaded of" the truths embodied and represented in the Sacrament. He makes several quite specific points about the reception of the cup which illustrate this. Thus, the communicant must not only discern the blood of Christ as represented by the cup, but he must also believe that this blood was truly shed for the remission of sins, as indicated in the Scriptures. Furthermore, he is also to believe that by the shedding of Christ's blood the new covenant was confirmed to the people of God. In the Sacrament, therefore, he is to take hold of "this atoning and redeeming blood and all covenant blessings" and to believe that peace with God has been made over to him. Consequently, in taking the cup of the Lord, he is to regard it as "the

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1. ibid., pp. 74-75.

2. ibid., pp. 52-53.

3. ibid., pp. 37-38, 66-67.

4. ibid., pp. 146-147.

Lord's seal, pledge, and token of his interest in the new testament". He should then come away from the Sacrament rejoicing in the knowledge that all the legacies of the New Testament "are confirmed and ratified to him without reversion".<sup>1</sup>

This belief that through the Sacrament, the Holy Spirit works upon the mind and the imagination to strengthen the communicant's faith in the mighty acts of God in Christ is seen most cogently in the federalist's interpretation of the Lord's words, "This do in remembrance of me".<sup>2</sup> The fuller understanding of anamnesis, to which we refer below, had not come to light during the period of the dominance of federalism; and, indeed, had it been part of the body of knowledge about the Communion at that time, it is unlikely that the federalist interpretation of the Sacrament could have assimilated it in any coherent way. The significance given, therefore, to the dominical words was governed by the peculiarly limited Anglo-Saxon meaning: the bringing to mind by an act of memory and will of an event or episode from the past.

Without minimizing the powerful hold of federalism over Scottish theological thought, there is nevertheless one qualification which can legitimately be made. The qualification is suggested most readily by another glance at the career of Principal George Hill. Although his major work was not published until 1821, he must be reckoned as more typical in outlook of the eighteenth than the nineteenth century. He would appear to have been fully conversant with the federalism of his time. and while as a teacher he would feel obliged to point to and describe the ethos of different schools of thought, his writing does not give the impression that he is ill-at-ease with the federalism which he is describing. A further example from his Lectures will illustrate this fact.

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1. ibid., pp. 151-152.

2. St. Luke 22: 19; I Corinthians 11: 24.

In writing of these who apply the phrase "covenant of grace" to the Sacrament, he says:

"For while they hold that the sacraments yield no benefit to those, upon whom the signs employed in them do not produce the proper moral effect, they regard these signs as intended to represent an inward invisible grace, which proceeds from Him by whom they are appointed, and as pledges that this grace will be conveyed to all in whom the moral effect is produced. The sacraments, therefore, in their opinion, constitute federal acts, in which the persons who receive them with proper dispositions, solemnly engage to fulfil this part of the covenant, and God confirms his promise to them in a sensible manner; not as if the promise of God were of itself sufficient to render any event certain, but because this manner of exhibiting the blessings promised gives a stronger impression of the truth of the promise, and conveys to the mind an assurance that it will be fulfilled".<sup>1</sup>

Hill, as a moderate rather than an evangelical within the Church of Scotland, would not by nature and inclination gravitate towards the federalist manner of expressing theological truth; yet it appears that he can hardly help himself. In this respect, Hill is an even more telling witness to the dominance of federalism. His dependence upon the phraseology of federalism is further revealed when he defines the Lord's Supper as a "sensible sign which might establish a reliance upon his [God's] promise, and constitute the ground of a federal act between him and his creatures".<sup>2</sup> Federalism had quite clearly a far-reaching effect not only upon those who were naturally disposed to receive its tenets, but also upon others, like Hill, who were perhaps more liberal in their sympathies and less emotionally and psychologically attuned to the covenant theology but were unable to shake off the language of federalism.

The scope of covenant theology, however, was sufficient for it to colour the language and attitudes of scholars and preachers who lived well into the latter part of the nineteenth century. A.K.H. Boyd of St. Andrews, in one of

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1. Hill, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 380.

2. ibid., p. 376.

his reminiscing anecdotes, attributes to the professor of divinity at Edinburgh, T.J. Crawford, a chief role in the early discussions which led to the formation of the Church Service Society. With disarming frankness Boyd recounts how Crawford "had been got hold of by those who had persuaded him that he must be silent", and since he "never had the nature of a controversialist" he withdrew from the arena of public debate.<sup>1</sup> Crawford's writings, however, show him to be dependent upon the language of federalism<sup>2</sup> and he was, on the face of it, a somewhat unlikely convert to the liturgical interests of the new Society. However, John Tulloch has shown how in the 1860s the breach in the older categories of thought became irreparable, causing an upheaval in Scottish theology which spanned at least a decade.<sup>3</sup> "There are many signs", wrote Tulloch in his masterly survey, "that the old and hard crust which so long enclosed the religious thought and life of Scotland is rapidly breaking up". Crawford's vacillating position with regard to the Church Service Society may well have been a mark of the uncertainty felt by many of his generation as they were unconsciously drawn into a changing theological climate which was no longer willing to accommodate the thought of a federalism on the wane. Principal Daniel Dewar of Aberdeen died in his eightieth year in 1867 and so reached this period of change just as his powers were failing. Dewar and Crawford in the Establishment, with Candlish and others in the Free Church, tried to perpetuate the language and theology of the past two centuries of federalism. Their efforts were in vain; but what is remarkable is the fact that they should, so late in the nineteenth century, represent the traditions of covenant theology with such vigour and conviction.

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1. "A.K.H.B.", "The new liturgics of the Scottish kirk" Blackwood's Magazine, vol. 148, November 1890, pp. 659-675; reprinted in Boyd's St. Andrews and Elsewhere, London, 1894. On Crawford, see the latter, pp. 207-208.
  2. T.J. Crawford, The Fatherhood of God., Edinburgh and London, 1866.
  3. John Tulloch, "The Progress of Religious Thought in Scotland", The Contemporary Review, vol. 31, March, 1877, p. 535.

## CHAPTER FOUR

THE OLDER SACRAMENTAL STANDARDS AND THE EMERGENCE  
OF A NEW APPROACH 1800-1850

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The accepted time-scale which measures decades and determines the end of one century and the beginning of another is, of course, a purely arbitrary human convenience. The dawning of the nineteenth century, however, did bring with it significant developments in the field of eucharistic thought and practice. Accordingly, the line of demarcation between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was less arbitrary than is usual in these matters, and a genuine freshness of approach to the Lord's Supper is discernible. By anticipating the nineteenth century by one year, it is possible to see something akin to the "codifying" of sacramental practice taking place. The production of such manuals of practical theology as The Pastoral Care<sup>1</sup> and The Scotch Minister's Assistant<sup>2</sup> brought about the emergence of a written standard which affected the mode of worship for years to come. Moreover, by ensuring that the substance of orders of service no longer had to depend upon a virtual oral tradition but upon an order which was a printed formula generally accepted within the whole Church, these manuals left the way open for more objective and critical discussion of existing sacramental thought and observance.<sup>3</sup>

Professor Gerard and the minister of Kiltarn were not without support from other quarters in the creation of an atmosphere in which sustained and critical thought about the Lord's Supper could take place. Within Scotland, the

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1. Alexander Gerard, The Pastoral Care, London, 1799.
  2. [Harry Robertson], The Scotch Minister's Assistant, or a Collection of Forms for Celebrating the Ordinances of Marriage, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, according to the Usage of the Church of Scotland, with Suitable Devotions for Church and Family Worship, Inverness, 1802.
  3. Service books were not, of course, foreign to the Reformed tradition of worship, but were lost to the Church under the predominant puritan influence of the seventeenth century. See, e.g., John Knox's Genevan Service Book of 1556.



early nineteenth century saw a resurgence of evangelicalism which softened in some degree the forensic approach of federalism. Moreover, in common with the rest of Europe, Scotland came under the influence of the Romantic movement which helped to throw into greater prominence the outward signs of religious life in Church and sacraments. Related to this was the desire to appreciate and understand the past and, indeed, to idealise it in the manner of Sir Walter Scott's novels.

Within the Church, there were additional factors which contributed substantially towards the change in the climate of eucharistic thought. Not least of these was the indirect influence which the Episcopal Church exerted upon the Kirk through her own orderly worship and sacramental emphasis. A significant exodus from the Church of Scotland to the Episcopal Church forced the former to set her house in order. Partly under such stimulus, the first half of the century saw a remarkable proliferation of forms of worship and pamphlets critical of the existing services. Some, like those of Gerard and Robertson of Kiltarn, were deliberate attempts to meet practical needs, without any great pretension to either liturgical competence or historical research. Into this category would also fall the work of John Logan, Thomas Wright, A.G. Carstairs, Alexander Brunton and William Liston, all of whose writings appeared within the period 1800-1850. Eventually, however, historical and liturgical interest motivated the publication of later works like Bonar's Presbyterian Liturgies and Baird's Eutaxia, both of which must rank as forerunners of the later liturgical studies produced by the Church Service Society after its formation in 1865.

It is against such a background that Gerard and Robertson should be seen as ushering in a new era. Taken as representing mere isolated effusions, apart from these wider influences, their work is undoubtedly primitive and far from revolutionary. However, as products of their own

time and reflections both of the Church's dissatisfaction with the past and aspiration for the future, they provided subsequent generations not only with a standard against which other liturgical work could be measured, but with a solid foundation upon which developments in worship could take place. Something of that dissatisfaction, together with a hint of the aspiration, was stated by Robertson when he wrote that every clergyman "is left to exercise his own talents....with no other assistance than a few general instructions laid down in the Directory".<sup>1</sup>

It is important at this juncture to establish factually and in some detail the order for the celebration of the Lord's Supper in use during the early nineteenth century; for the rudiments of liturgical practice which were later laid down emerged from these earlier forms. Moreover, as the form and order of service became less inchoate, so the awareness of the theological principles underlying the language of the prayers was heightened.

Attention is focussed first on the various elements of the Lord's Supper set out in the work of Gerard and Robertson. There are differences of emphasis, as we shall see, but the general approach to the Sacrament is similar in both. Neither is greatly original with regard to the service and its order. They reflect the traditional usage of the time although, of the two, Gerard was more anxious to eliminate any blemishes and to encourage what he deemed to be the more constructive approach. In this respect, his work is more didactic than Robertson's.

Far more noticeable than their differences, however, is the common ground they shared with respect to the details of service. Two decades after The Scotch Minister's Assistant the pattern remained substantially the same. The broad lines laid down by Gerard and Robertson were followed

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1. [Robertson], op. cit., Introduction, iii-iv.

by John Logan of Leith in his sacramental order.<sup>1</sup> Logan, however, paid rather more heed to detail than either of his predecessors. Consequently, for our present purpose, his order illustrates more fully the manner in which an early nineteenth century Lord's Supper was celebrated. The order which Logan adopted is as follows:

Psalm 65 "Praise waits for thee in Zion, Lord"

Prayer (Adoration; Confession; Prayer  
for Pardon; Petition)

Morning, or Action Sermon (Text: "And  
being in an agony", St. Luke 22: 44)

Prayers (asking God's blessing on the  
celebration of the Sacrament)

The Lord's Prayer

Psalm 18 "Floods of ill men affrighted me"

Fencing of the Tables

Psalm 24 "Ye gates, lift up your heads on high"

(Upon the giving out of a Psalm such as this,  
the Minister desires the Elders to bring  
forward the Sacramental Elements, and the  
Communicants to take their seats at the  
Communion Table).

Prayer of Consecration

(This prayer is pronounced by the Minister  
standing at the head of the Communion Table  
to which he has now descended from the  
pulpit, and the addresses to the Communicants  
are all afterwards delivered successively at  
this place).

Addresses to Communicants before and after  
the Services of the Tables

Table First

Address

Words of Institution (during which the  
Minister breaks and gives the bread,  
and gives the cup)

Address (ctd.)

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1. John Logan, Sermons, including a complete detail of the Service of a Communion Sunday, according to the Usage of the Church of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1821.

Psalm 103 vv. 1-2 "O thou my soul, bless God  
the Lord"

Table Second  
Address  
Words of Institution  
Address (ctd.)

Psalm 103 vv. 3-4 "All thine iniquities who doth"

Table Third  
Address  
Words of Institution  
Address (ctd.)

Psalm 103 vv. 8-10 "The Lord our God is merciful"

Table Fourth  
Address  
Words of Institution  
Address (ctd.)

Psalm 23 "The Lord's my Shepherd, I'll not want"

(The Service of Four Tables is not typical.  
Usually it is more numerous, and sometimes  
as many as 10-12)

Concluding Exhortation from the Pulpit

Prayer (Adoration; Thanksgiving; Confession;  
Prayer for Pardon; Petition;  
Intercessions)

Psalm 121 "I to the hills will lift mine eyes"

Blessing (all standing)<sup>1</sup>

That this order for the celebration of the Lord's Supper was the norm for early nineteenth century sacramental worship is borne out by the testimony of A.G. Carstairs in 1829. Carstairs set out what he regarded as the traditional eucharistic service of the Church of Scotland. This he did in some detail and it is difficult to discern any significant difference, as far as structure and order are concerned, from Logan's service some eight years earlier. Carstairs's order is accompanied by a description of the Scottish Communion service which sheds further light upon the more practical aspects of the contemporary celebration of the Lord's Supper.

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1. ibid., pp. 152-191.

He first draws attention to the design of the Scottish parish church, allowing for the "long table" being set up for the Communion in front of the pulpit. To this "long table" come the communicants to receive the elements, seated. When "the more ordinary service of the Lord's day is performed", the sacramental elements are brought forward by the elders and placed upon the Communion Table. The minister then reads the Warrant, or Words of Institution from St. Paul, after which the Fencing of the Tables takes place, in which he warns communicants of eating and drinking unworthily, connecting this to the qualification which would ordinarily admit or debar those who come or those who stay away from the Supper. Thereafter the minister descends from the pulpit (as in Logan's description) and takes his place at the head of the Table. Prayer is offered, followed by an address to the communicants, the repetition of the Words of Institution, the breaking of the bread and the presenting of both bread and wine to those sitting nearest to him. In this passing of the elements, the elders attend upon the communicants and stand at the foot of the Table where they receive the bread and wine. The action takes place in silence. When all have received at that particular "table" the minister once again briefly addresses those who have communicated. A psalm is sung while the communicants return to their seats. Carstairs states that it is the usual custom for all the "tables", except the first, to be served by ministers from neighbouring parishes who are specially invited to assist the presiding minister on that occasion. When all have communicated in this way, there follows a concluding address from the pulpit, further prayer to God and the singing of a psalm.<sup>1</sup>

This mode of celebrating the Lord's Supper was observed, with only minor modifications, for the next half-century.

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1. A.G. Carstairs, The Scottish Communion Service: with the Public Services for the Fast Day, Saturday and Monday, before and after Communion, Edinburgh, 1829, Introduction, ix-x and pp. 113-208.

This did not mean, however, that the relatively static liturgical background to the Sacrament prohibited development in eucharistic doctrine. One of the paradoxes of the period is enshrined in the way in which the traditional order of eucharistic worship is maintained by men like Bonar<sup>1</sup> and, much later, A.K.H. Boyd of St. Andrews, while their understanding of the Lord's Supper indicated that they possessed a wider and more Catholic eucharistic theology than could be adequately expressed in the prevailing order of worship. Boyd's essays and articles in the periodical literature of the day were wide-ranging, witty and influential. His balanced, somewhat detached approach, apparently free from dangerous enthusiasms and the extremes of party-spirit, permitted him to make telling observations and to raise questions for discussion without causing undue provocation or offence. Thus, as C.A. McDonald, he touched upon some of the areas of church life which could not be left unattended.<sup>2</sup> The reform of worship he selected as one such area. Much later, he recorded the progress of the Church in adopting changes in its worship, in another important article.<sup>3</sup> While the earlier piece raised the matter of the urgency of liturgical reform, and the later piece reported upon liturgical developments, both contributed significantly to the quickening of interest in worship and sacraments in Scotland.

Boyd nevertheless had great sympathy with those who felt threatened by innovations in worship. In a perceptive and moving passage<sup>4</sup> he articulated his feelings about the naturalness of being attached to "the dear old ways" even when accepted and revered customs did not, in reality, have their roots in antiquity and were often "graceless innovations against which our fathers had striven and protested: something not of Scottish origin and character at all".

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1. Part of Bonar's Presbyterian Liturgies contained "Forms of Prayer for Ordinary Communion Sabbaths, and Other Services of the Church".
  2. C.A. McDonald, "Some further talk about Scotch affairs", Fraser's Magazine, vol. 56, July, 1857, pp. 1-15.
  3. "A.K.H.B.", "The new liturgics of the Scottish kirk", Blackwood's Magazine, vol. 148, November, 1890, pp. 659-575.
  4. A.K.H. Boyd, Occasional and Memorial Days, London, 1895, pp. 285-286.

The tension between cramping liturgy and expansive theology was thus realistically accepted by "A.K.H.B." who, by sensitive touch and felicitious phrase was able to make the best of an increasingly uncomfortable situation. For others, like James Cooper, the tension existed in a more acute form. Cooper's 1876 order for the celebration of Holy Communion for use in St. Stephen's, Broughty Ferry, betrayed certain unease when compared with the 1892 order which he used in East St. Nicholas, Aberdeen. Checks and limitations were obviously imposed upon him in his earlier years in Broughty Ferry which were not in evidence during his time in Aberdeen. The impression given by Cooper's Broughty Ferry order is that traditional Scottish sacramental practices such as the fencing of the tables are included more out of respect for popular feeling than out of personal conviction. There is, too, prolixity and tentativeness so uncharacteristic of his later services as to suggest that he was trying to escape from the narrow heritage of earlier eucharistic practice to an order that was more in keeping with his Catholic principles. The new wine of the Sprotts, the Coopers, and the Milligans could not be contained within the old bottles which the Kirk provided. The only aspect of the changing scene to excite comment is that the old order of worship should have retained its place unaltered in Scottish church life for so long.

Within the Church of Scotland, the one break with the conservatism of the past took place at the level of expediency rather than liturgy or theology. During his ministry at the Tron Church, Glasgow, followed by his brief appointment to the new St. John's Church in 1819, Thomas Chalmers became increasingly dissatisfied with the length of the Communion service as he carried out his ministry in these rapidly expanding urban parishes. Accordingly, he altered the mode of communicating from the old practice of sitting round the long table, which involved rising from the pew and coming forward to receive the sacrament, to that of remaining seated in the pew which was covered with a white cloth and represented an extension of the Holy Table

to the people. There were those, of whom James Begg was one,<sup>1</sup> who saw in the innovation not only a practical alteration affecting the reception and distribution of the elements, but also theological implications striking at the very root of the Church's life. W.D. Maxwell traces the origin of the practice to the Zwinglian customs at Zürich and indicates that its secondary roots lay in the method of communicating in mid-seventeenth century English Nonconformity.<sup>2</sup> While he shows that he is aware of the Acts of Assembly regarding the reception of Communion at the Table, and that such Acts were reflected in the injunction to adhere to this custom in the Directory for Public Worship, Maxwell fails to expose the deeper issues involved.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the usual interpretation laid upon Chalmers's action is that he was forced to adopt such an innovation because of the great difficulty of administering the Sacrament, according to established practice, in an urbanized and densely populated Glasgow parish in the grip of the Industrial Revolution. Certainly, several practical developments gave substance to the case for departing from the accepted precedent. Pews were installed in churches throughout Scotland by the nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup> Glasgow's population did indeed rise dramatically under the influence of industrialization. Most important, however, was the fact that under the old system

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1. James Begg, A Treatise on the Use of the Communion Table in celebrating the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, Glasgow, 1824. See also "A Presbyterian", Views of the Mode of Celebrating the Lord's Supper in the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland, Edinburgh, 1830; and related articles in the Edinburgh Christian Instructor for June, 1821, vol. 20, No.6; August, 1821, vol. 20, No. 8; November, 1821, vol. 20, No. 11; and March, 1823, vol. 22, No. 3.
  2. W.D. Maxwell, An Outline of Christian Worship, London 1936, p. 126.
  3. ibid., p. 131.
  4. George B. Burnet, The Holy Communion in the Reformed Church of Scotland 1560-1960, Edinburgh, 1960, p. 268.



each "table" might lay upon communicants the obligation of listening to three addresses: the first prior to the giving of the elements; the second between the giving of the bread and the cup; and the third after all at that particular "table" had received the Communion. Spratt's terse summary of the old Scottish order - "one Table, many companies, and no superfluous addresses" - was, by the time of Thomas Chalmers, relegated to a past far beyond the personal recall of all but the very oldest communicants.<sup>1</sup> Thus the length and tedium of the sacramental service laid an immense and unrealistic burden upon the worshipper. The innovation of receiving the Communion in the pew dealt with such unbridled loquaciousness by means of this radical, if originally un-Scottish solution.

However, while such explanations with regard to utilitarian factors have some force they do not get to the heart of the matter. It is important to appreciate the vehemence with which "Table Communion" were defended by earlier Scottish churchmen. In 1645, Scottish commissioners at the Westminster Assembly vigorously opposed the idea of reception by the communicant in the pew. Robert Baillie bluntly stated the position which obtained for generations: "To come out of their pews to a Table they [the English Puritans] deny the necessity of it; we affirm it necessary, and will stand to it".<sup>2</sup> Spratt assesses the attitude of the Scottish commissioners as being one in which they regarded the practice of English Independency as being "very irreverent", but goes much further in arguing that they believed that "distinctive principles" were involved and that an espousal of the pew system "was to fall from Churchism into Sectarianism".<sup>3</sup> The same writer interprets the subsequent widespread change from the old tradition as being symptomatic of "the decay of Church principles, and

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1. G.W. Spratt, The Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland, Edinburgh and London, 1882, pp. 130-131.

2. ibid., p. 131.

3. ibid., pp. 131-132.

consequent tendency to Independency all along the line".<sup>1</sup>

After the affair of St. John's, Glasgow, the matter was subject to review by the General Assembly of 1824. The strong adherence to "Table Communion" appeared to be reaffirmed, but "opinion was in favour of the change, and the encroachment went on".<sup>2</sup> In fact, Chalmers's innovation (by this time spread to the Tron and St. George's, Glasgow) was condemned. At the instigation of James Begg, the Presbytery of Hamilton transmitted an overture to the General Assembly of 1825, resulting in an Assembly deliverance that the law of the Church of Scotland was still to "dispense the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to the people seated at or around the Communion table or tables".<sup>3</sup> In effect, however, as Leishman and Burnet both made clear, the day-to-day reality of the matter was somewhat different. The Assembly upheld the law in principle for the whole Church, but quite anomalously and naively granted a dispensation in 1827 to the three miscreant Glasgow congregations, St. John's, the Tron, and St. George's. Indeed, the legislation of 1645 enjoining congregations to sit at the Table to receive the Communion has never been repealed.<sup>4</sup>

The threat to the old, traditional "Table Communion" raised matters of principle which were not immediately obvious to the superficial observer who saw in the debate only differing interpretations as to ways and means of "doing" the Sacrament. By the same token, too, more subtle attitudes may have helped to add weight to the argument of those who advocated a departure from the old system. It might, for example, be adduced that the spirit

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1. ibid., p. 133.

2. Thomas Leishman, "The Ritual of the Church of Scotland" in R.H. Story (ed.), The Church of Scotland Past and Present, London, n.d., vol. 2, p. 422.

3. Burnet, op. cit., p. 269.

4. ibid., p. 270.

of the times militated against the old custom. The building of new churches, especially in urban communities, would inevitably reflect in style and design something of the cultural and social tendencies of the period. Less than a decade after Chalmers's innovation the democratic spirit which advanced the cause of "the people" found expression in the Reform Bill of 1832 with its emphasis upon the corporate nature of society and the resulting erosion of oligarchical and elitist groups within that society. Thus, the adoption of the pew system of receiving the Sacrament would find a sympathetic reaction amongst many who saw the change as the ratification in the spiritual realm of a philosophy of corporatism which was inexorably coming into its own in the secular arena.

It could also be argued that the mere perpetuation of church interiors dominated by long tables set in front of the pulpit would prove to be unaesthetic and dull from the point of view of the architect of ecclesiastical buildings. Hence, the creative and imaginative young architect would welcome opportunities to breach the traditional style. His cause was to be assisted by the course of history. Romanticism was laying down principles in the nineteenth century which affected architecture no less than art, music and literature,<sup>1</sup> and it was not long before Tractarianism would be using and adapting such principles to promote certain essential ideas about the nature of Christian worship. In the forefront of these was the strongest possible affirmation of the majesty and glory of God. This emphasis represented a clear departure from the rationalism of the previous century. It found practical expression in church buildings in which the idea of gathering around Table or Altar (and under the pulpit) receded, to be supplanted by an architectural statement of the majesty and mystery of God involving the distancing of the people from the central acts of the service, and especially of the eucharistic service.

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1. H.G. Schenk, The Mind of the European Romantics, London, 1966, pp. 38, 95.

Much of this did not come about until the Oxford Movement had gained fuller momentum in the 'forties and 'fifties; and what realisation there was of these ideals took place in the Church of England rather than in the Church of Scotland. Certainly, a great deal of suspicion and hostility regarding Tractarianism prevailed in the Scottish Church which was, in any event, too preoccupied with the events of the Disruption to feel the impact of Newman, Keble and Pusey. For all that, however, the germ of the new emphasis was real enough and in the air sufficiently to encourage architects to be more venturesome in their design of Scottish church interiors, especially when the hint of change was suggested within the Establishment itself by Chalmers's action and the ambiguous rulings of subsequent General Assemblies.

Outwith the Church of Scotland, the practice of simultaneous Communion took hold after considerable controversy,<sup>1</sup> but generally the form of worship embodied in the traditional order of service remained unchanged. Preoccupation with the controversies which led up to the Disruption undoubtedly diverted attention from sacramental matters; and in the years following the Disruption it became a point of honour, particularly within the Free Church, to claim to be the true representative and guardian of the old Scottish tradition. This explains in large measure the interest of the Free Church in Scotland's theological past. It also explains the motives which led to the publication of the Wodrow Society volumes, through which the historic positions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries might be made available as monuments of orthodoxy, to remind the churchmen of the nineteenth century that the old paths were also the best. Such orthodoxy within the Free Church did not encourage receptiveness to new ideas especially in the outward forms of church life.

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1. See David King, Lord's Supper, Appendix, Note D, pp. 273-275

On the part of the Establishment, therefore, there was no great desire to appear to have embraced heterodoxy by challenging accepted Communion practice. Consequently, for several decades after the Disruption the form of the Lord's Supper remained intact. Nonetheless, it was the Church of Scotland which recovered her initiative in these matters through the ability and independence of mind of men like John Tulloch and Norman Macleod. Tulloch was far from being an extremist in matters of worship,<sup>1</sup> and Macleod was in reality a conservative in matters of liturgical innovation. However, in their breadth of intellect, their personal courage, and their willingness to criticize the Kirk's unthinking traditionalism, they contributed greatly towards bringing about a different ethos. Inevitably, worship and sacraments benefited from the less austere atmosphere which they helped to create; obedience to the presbyterian past became less important than adherence to the truth which was revealed in the present.

It must also be said that the post-Disruption years felt the influence of two other figures of great moment. Thomas Erskine of Linlathen, though an Episcopalian by upbringing, was at the centre of the Pollok House group whose members were largely drawn from the ranks of the Church of Scotland clergy who were dissatisfied with the rigidity and formalism of federal theology. Erskine's writing challenged the premisses of federalism and caused the Church to look more to the grace and love of God in her understanding of the Christian faith.<sup>2</sup> John McLeod Campbell of Row similarly challenged the thinking of his times, and although he was subsequently deposed he nevertheless continued to exercise the minds of many Scottish ministers in paths other than federalism. His Christ the Bread of Life<sup>3</sup> brought a freshness of approach to the

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1. See Tulloch's sermon on "Christian Worship" in Some Facts of Religion and Life, Edinburgh, 1877.

2. See especially, Thomas Erskine, The Unconditional Freeness of the Gospel, Edinburgh, 1828.

3. John McLeod Campbell, Christ the Bread of Life, Glasgow, 1851.

Lord's Supper by examining, especially, the Johannine teaching, while The Nature of the Atonement<sup>1</sup> ran counter to the accepted views on the exclusiveness of salvation. Both Erskine and McLeod Campbell made it possible for Tulloch and Norman Macleod to make their own distinctive contribution in the knowledge that the narrow conservatism of Scottish theology no longer stood unrivalled and unchallenged in its precepts.

When, therefore, the Church Service Society of the Church of Scotland was founded in 1865 its impact was all the greater. It is unlikely that attempts to review the worship of the Church would have met with success had not the tight grip of federalism been slackened. Moreover, as the century drew to its close, the considerable liturgical research of the Church Service Society was complemented by the more theological aims of the Scottish Church Society, and a new era of Scottish church life was ushered in.

The early nineteenth century concern for worship - even in the rudimentary fashion presented by Gerard and Robertson - brought into perspective yet another question: the link between the form and order for the celebration of the Lord's Supper on the one hand, and the understanding of the nature of the Sacrament on the other. In this connection, the presence of some printed order which came to have wide acceptance within the Church had two consequences. Firstly, the fixed, invariable elements which gave not only structure but also continuity with Scripture and tradition, emerged in greater relief and were therefore given greater prominence. Secondly, as these elements became more prominent, so they were in greater measure examined and, in some instances, altered. The "fencing of the tables" affords a good example of such development.

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1. John McLeod Campbell, The Nature of the Atonement, Cambridge, 1856.

Alexander Gerard stated the traditional case for the fencing of the tables by taking account of the fact that, within the company of those who profess Christianity, some are either grossly ignorant of the true nature of that faith or by their lives show themselves to be scandalously at variance with it. Those who reveal such deficiencies merely serve, by their attendance at the Sacrament, to bring it into contempt. The fencing of the tables seeks to prevent the sacred nature of the Lord's Supper being impugned. Nevertheless, Gerard states, the Sacrament may well be a means of improvement for communicants who have faults and weaknesses, and it is consequently important that the exclusion from the Supper of sinners should not be carried out with too great a severity and inflexibility.<sup>1</sup> The scriptural criterion underlying the fencing was, of course, that of being able to "discern the Lord's body".<sup>2</sup> In summary form Gerard defines the fencing of the tables as "describing those who are unfit for this part of worship, and those who are fit".<sup>3</sup> Yet, consonant with his cautionary word about severity, he shows that he is highly sensitive to the ministerial responsibilities involved in the fencing. Thus, in affirming that the essence of ministry is service rather than power or status, he regards this characteristic of ministry as coming into its own particularly at the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Consequently, the role of the servant makes it entirely fitting for the minister to deliver warnings to the communicant concerning the duty of self-examination before approaching the Table of the Lord. Gerard, however, states his preference for such a pastoral role to be carried out with humility and patience rather than in the accustomed stern and authoritarian manner whereby the minister became the source of such oft-repeated

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1. Gerard, op. cit., p. 380.

2. I Corinthians 11: 28-29.

3. Gerard, op. cit., p. 381.

pronouncements as "I debar and exclude".<sup>1</sup>

His scruples, however, were not shared by the author of The Scotch Minister's Assistant, who used the phrase "I debar" in a manner which would suggest that for him it had become part of the set liturgy associated with the fencing of the tables.<sup>2</sup> Yet Robertson of Kiltearn was not unthinking with regard to his warnings at the Sacrament. Drawing from our Lord's encounter with the Syrophenician woman he avers that the Sacrament is "children's bread" which should not be cast before the profane and immoral. He further draws attention to the ancient liturgical formula of the Sancta sanctis, "holy things for the holy", at which declaration those unfit for the Sacrament departed. Robertson then employs language reminiscent of the prayer from the Liturgy of Malabar: "Hearts full of rancour and malice, are not meet to come to this feast of love. Feet that walk in the unhallowed paths of sin, are not fit to tread in God's holy courts....." He is, it is true, unable to avoid the strong denunciatory language of the conventional fencing and lays down plainly that "Christ debars from his holy table all profane and scandalous sinners....."<sup>3</sup> In this respect, there is much in Robertson's writing that is entirely predictable and in keeping with the spirit of the age. However, it is surprising to find him apparently familiar with the Liturgy of Malabar which is later echoed in John Warden's words: "Shall these feet that run to a communion, run into sin? Shall these eyes that beheld a slain and crucified Christ in the signs thereof, any more look upon vanity"?<sup>4</sup>

The Sancta sanctis was used in the Liturgy of the

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1. ibid., pp. 383-384.

2. [Robertson], op. cit., pp. 81-82.

3. ibid., pp. 86-87.

4. Warden, Practical Essay on the Lord's Supper, p. 172.



Catholic Apostolic Church and came into the Church of Scotland through the 1867 edition of Euchologion. In his A Scotch Communion Sunday, A.K.H. Boyd appends a footnote to the effect that his description of the fencing of the tables is "abridged from a Fencing compiled wholly in the words of the Standards of the Church, by the Rev. T.J. Crawford D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh".<sup>1</sup> This, also, made use of the Sancta sanctis. The eucharistic services of the Scoto-Catholic group also incorporated it, as in The Divine Liturgy, 1892 (James Cooper's order at the East Parish of St. Nicholas, Aberdeen), and H.J. Wotherspoon's The Divine Service, 1893. It appears again in Prayers for Divine Service in both the 1923 and 1929 editions, published by authority of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Unaccountably, the Sancta sanctis was not included in the 1940 Book of Common Order, but its retention in the Church was ensured through its inclusion in the Ordinal and Service Book.<sup>2</sup>

It is perhaps due to the influence of Thomas Wright of Borthwick that a gentler and more compassionate note emerged in the fencing of the tables. Wright was a man of great sensibility whose prayers and sermons possessed a lyrical quality approached by none of his contemporaries, with the one possible exception of John Logan. To modern ears his words have the ring of the highly subjective and sentimental; but there is little doubt that he brought a new warmth to public worship in Scotland. W.W.D. Gardiner has described Wright's The Morning and Evening Sacrifice as heralding the reformation of worship in the nineteenth century. Of Wright, he declared that his "Catholic conception of the range of Christianity in relation to

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1. [A.K.H. Boyd], A Scotch Communion Sunday, London, 1873.
  2. Ordinal and Service Book for Use in the Courts of the Church, The Church of Scotland, London, 1931.

human nature and life, deserved better than the deposition he received".<sup>1</sup> More than most, he was disposed to dwell on the positive aspects of the love of God in Jesus Christ. Indeed, the very devotional and intimate nature of his writing at times served to obscure the scholarship which lay at the heart of his work.

Wright did not depart from the traditional practice of excluding the profligate and the profane from the Lord's Supper, and in this respect he was no different from his contemporaries. Indeed, he appears to have had no qualms about accepting the attitude to fencing which had been handed down, for he argues that to preserve the meaning and purpose of the Sacrament "its observation must be fenced by the most awful prohibitions, and the sanctity of its enclosure preserved by an utter rejection of the unbelieving and the profane".<sup>2</sup> In this, he is pursuing the approach taken earlier by Warden who justified the fencing of the tables on the grounds that the Sacrament is holy and holiness implies a certain measure of worthiness in the communicant.<sup>3</sup> Wright's individuality is asserted, however, in his address to the communicants at the fencing of the tables. By far the greater part of his emphasis lies not with the deficiency of the unworthy communicant, but with the unutterable beauty of Christ who is the Host at the Supper. Again, great weight is placed upon the exhortation to the communicant to come to the Sacrament. This, indeed, is not new in most addresses at the fencing; it is a question of balance, however, and where others chose to sound the warning note with greater force than the call to participate, Wright elected to take the opposite course.

The change in attitude regarding the fencing of the tables was nevertheless uneven. Witness, for instance, the remarkably conservative view of A.G. Carstairs, the

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1. W.W.D. Gardiner, "The Scottish Tradition in Worship" Church Service Society Annual, May, 1939, p. 24.

2. Thomas Wright, The Last Supper, or Christ's Death kept in remembrance, Edinburgh, 1828, pp. 234-235.

3. Warden, op. cit., p. 25.

tenor of whose remarks might be thought to place him in the eighteenth rather than the nineteenth century. Writing in 1829, Carstairs continues to use the expression which Gerard deprecated in 1799: "we debar you". Where there is no resolve to repent of wrong-doing, but rather a "habitual violation of these laws" without any fear of God in this refusal to change the course of a life, Carstairs boldly and in the name and authority of Christ declares that "we debar you from this ordinance, for just as light is incompatible with darkness, so also is Christ with Belial".<sup>1</sup>

It is true that the exclusiveness of Carstairs's address at the fencing is balanced by his words of invitation in the same address. However, he has little in common with the approach of Thomas Wright. Although writing only a year after the publication of The Last Supper he showed little desire to develop the views set forth there. On the contrary, even for the 1820s Carstairs had a remarkable predilection for the themes of death and suffering; and he had a high estimate of the salutary effects which might be brought about by the communicant dwelling upon such themes. There are indications of this in the fencing of the tables, but his most interesting example emerges from his fast-day forenoon sermon, on which he pours scorn on those who live carelessly in the misguided assumption that a death-bed contrition and conversion is always available. He advances the thought that the example of the penitent thief could simply represent a dangerous and false precedent in that his own moral reformation and repentance may have begun to take place before he hung upon the cross. Carstairs, therefore, feels it appropriate to ask, "From his example, would you take courage to delay your repentance"? One of the thieves did, in fact, taste of Paradise, but the other constitutes an awful warning which should grip our imaginations far more than the change of heart of

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1. Carstairs, op. cit., p. 147.

the other - a change of heart which was apparently only achieved upon the cross. Greater certainty of a change of heart will come rather from reflecting upon the impenitent thief, upon "the cold dews of death [which] were gathering on his countenance, while every member was writhing with pain, and his lips quivering with agony....". Against such a background as this, Carstairs concluded, can one presume that one's death-bed will be the scene of a true act of contrition and repentance? Such presumption would be foolish in the extreme when madness or some far-reaching incapacity might easily put such a last-minute repentance beyond reach.<sup>1</sup>

A similar note is struck by Andrew Thomson of St. George's, Edinburgh, not as an address at the fencing of the tables but as an exhortation after the Communion. Thomson, too, used the thought of death as the possible source of repentance and reformation in the chastened communicant. He differed from Carstairs only in degree. He points first to the inevitability of death and the duty to be watchful and ready in the face of this knowledge. Each celebration of the Sacrament, indeed, acts as a reminder that there will be some who will not be alive to see the next, having "bidden an everlasting adieu to this land of ordinances and probation". Since we know not who shall be of this number the thought of the brevity of life should be deeply impressed on the minds of all of us. Idleness, carelessness and procrastination should be set aside; we should not "put our immortal interest to the hazard of an unexpected call"; but we should rather be "active, and faithful, and unremitting" in discharging the stewardship of our lives to God.<sup>2</sup> In the main, Carstairs was not typical of those who were his contemporaries in the way in which he blatantly attacked the sensibilities of his

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1. ibid., p. 147.

2. Andrew Thomson, Sermons and Sacramental Exhortations, Edinburgh, 1831, pp. 65-66.

hearers. Appeals to heart and conscience were commonplace, but the rather less awesome, if direct, language of Thomson was more usual.

By the time of William Liston of Redgorton, however, the ethos of Thomas Wright would appear to have been established in the Church of Scotland. Liston made it clear that he could provide only general principles as to the fitness or worthiness of the communicant, and that it was the individual's responsibility to draw the appropriate conclusions regarding his own spiritual state. By this time the emphasis had moved, as Gerard had wished, from the minister actively pronouncing words of exclusion to the communicant searching his own soul and conscience.

Both minister and communicant had a role to discharge in 1843 as in 1799, but during the intervening half-century the burden had moved from one to the other. It was a fine but important distinction. In speaking of those whose practice was not consonant with their profession, Liston described them as those "who must be debarred from coming to this holy table". Yet the exclusion is made in an impersonal fashion and there was no attempt to adopt the formula, embraced by Robertson, "I debar and exclude". More significantly, Liston did not feel that such a role fell within the province of a minister. The communicant was directed to Scripture for his standards, and there is in Liston much less of the denunciatory prose of earlier writers. His most felicitous passages occur when he issues the invitation to communicate. Here, there is no reluctance to make use of a formula of a more positive type: "In the name and authority.....I invite".<sup>1</sup> Liston regarded his function as being "called to open wide the gates of the temple, and to invite the friends and disciples of our Lord to come as welcome guests to his table".<sup>2</sup> In this sentence, the mood of his approach to

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1. William Liston, The Service of the House of God, according to the practice of the Church of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1843, pp. 248-249.

2. ibid., p. 249.

the Sacrament and the communicant is summed up.

The fencing of the tables continued to be an integral part of the Scottish Communion till late in the century. James Cooper adhered to the practice at St. Stephen's, Broughty Ferry, in 1876, and A.K.H. Boyd continued to observe it in 1873. Nevertheless, modifications had begun to take place early in the nineteenth century, particularly with the increasing reticence in employing such phrases as "I debar", and the gradual shift in emphasis from the exclusion to the invitation. Along with these changes came a growing reluctance to dwell on fear and judgement as central themes in the fencing of the tables; consequently a greater compassion and understanding was in evidence at this part of the service. Increasingly, too, the desire grew for the Scriptures to speak for themselves at the fencing, rather than to indulge in extensive and sometimes, highly subjective ministerial interpretation. Thus, there is in Gerard's Pastoral Care reference to the Ten Commandments, while in Logan's order and later in those of Bonar and Boyd, both Ten Commandments and the Beatitudes are set out in full as a major part of the address at the fencing of the tables.

The prayer of consecration represented yet another constant element in the eucharistic celebration. In the period under review, just as the sacramental order was incomplete without the fencing of the tables, so the consecration was essential to the service. There was by no means, however, a common mind with respect to the nature and purpose of consecration. This confusion is evident in the diversity both in language and intention. Traditionally, the question of consecration impinged upon a sensitive area in Scottish church life, as we have seen in the previous chapter's examination of Erskine and Warden and their reflection of the Calvinist attitude regarding the consecration of the elements.

In the nineteenth century, however, notwithstanding the very real reservations which were felt about consecration, the practice of the Established Church clearly acknowledged the place of the rite in the eucharistic service. The nature of consecration was debated, and the Roman view violently rejected, but at no point was the Church seriously disposed to terminate the practice.

The consecration prayer of John Logan begins fittingly with adoration and praise. These elements in turn flow into contemplation of God's self-communication, His forgiveness of sins and the coming of our Lord. At this point Logan inserts the invocation: "...descend now, make thyself known to us, and fill this house with thy glory".<sup>1</sup> This aspect of the prayer gives way to a specific petition regarding bread and wine, and the communicants. Thus, he asks that the bread and wine should be set apart to represent Christ's body and blood. This setting apart is done "in the name, and by the death only, of the Lord Jesus Christ", with the petition that the elements may convey to the faithful "the grace of the new covenant". He prays that the bread may become the bread of life, and the wine a foretaste of "that wine which is for ever new in the Kingdom of the Father".<sup>2</sup>

As with so many other aspects of the service, Logan has the ability and the theological insight to state lucidly and briefly what he deems to be the central intention of the prayer of consecration. Those who followed him were not always as lucid or as brief, but it was to be expected that the pattern laid down by Logan would be taken up and developed throughout the nineteenth century. Robertson of Kiltarn tended to be rather more lyrical and less theological than Logan in his consecratory prayer. Nonetheless, a serious attempt was made to follow a biblical norm and the end result is not to

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1. Logan, op. cit., p. 174.

2. ibid., pp. 174-175.

be despised. He approaches the consecration by making use of the image of the marriage-supper of the Lamb, and he prays that those who come to the Sacrament may be clothed with the wedding-garment. There follows a prayer that those who come may exhibit humility, faith, love and hope. "Bless to us", he continues, "the provisions of thy house, and satisfy our soul with the bread of life". He asks that Christ's flesh may be found to be meat indeed, and his blood to be drink indeed. There is a further petition which asks that the communicants may know that their sins have been forgiven and that they might be sent forth to live no longer to themselves, "but unto him who died for us and rose again".<sup>1</sup> Typically, there would appear to be a deliberate ambiguity about what is being consecrated: the communicants or the sacramental elements. The rather unspecific language of Robertson's prayer, however, may well have been an attempt to divert attention from the author's own uncertainty as to the nature of consecration. By the use of such expansive and felicitous phrases as "clothe us with the wedding-garment" and "bless to us this day, the provisions of thy house", he may have attempted to meet all contingencies; although it may be said that both communicants and elements may have been covered in the intention of the prayer, and it is intention in these matters which is of real account.

Thomas Wright of Borthwick's The Morning and Evening Sacrifice was obviously designed to meet not only the needs of ministers but also of lay people who were to attend the Lord's Supper, or who had communicated. His prayers are therefore more personal and less formal, with certain emotional undertones which give a distinctive ring to his devotional writings. The note of love and thankfulness is pre-eminent, and there is strong emphasis upon the feeling of the devout communicant. Thus, in speaking of

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1. The Scotch Minister's Assistant, p. 236.



the reception of the elements, he writes in a form of prayer that he may be made thankful that Christ, who died for sinners, "appointed this memorial of his dying love". When he comes to the table to receive the bread and wine, he continues, "may I be joyful in thy sanctuary, and feel how blest a thing it is to be permitted on this earth to receive such pledges of eternal life".<sup>1</sup> Yet it is noteworthy that, amidst Wright's lyricism, he does not omit a reference to the bread and wine as having been "consecrated in his name".

In Wright's later work, The Last Supper, he is at pains wholly to identify the Eucharist with the Supper in the Upper Room: "It is a repetition of the last supper". Consequently, the significance of the Sacrament emerges solely from the actions of our Lord on the night on which he was betrayed, and the response of the disciples to his initiative. Thus, for Wright, the minister represents the Lord, and the communicants are the first disciples. This he holds to be "unquestionably the only form that entirely accords with the institution, or that can preserve its idea, in its original distinctions, in the minds of the faithful".<sup>2</sup> None would quarrel with the view that the Lord's Supper is a meal and that it owes its origin to the Supper of our Lord with his disciples on that night of betrayal. To say, however, that the Sacrament must reflect only the Upper Room, as Wright and his Scottish contemporaries maintained, is to fail to see the tension that must always exist between Supper and Eucharist, and between pre-crucifixion event and post-resurrection celebration. Wright is more than wary of the latter and speaks of the elements at their consecration in terms which remove from them any vestige of "mystery" or "hocus pocus".<sup>3</sup> Thus, he describes the elements of bread and wine

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1. Wright, Morning and Evening Sacrifice, p. 184.

2. Wright, Last Supper, p. 62.

3. Originally, of course, from the Canon of the Mass, Hoc est enim Corpus meum.

as "emblematic", the bread an emblem of his body broken, the wine of his blood shed. The consecration of the bread and wine is, for Wright, that which gives to the elements their figurative character. He attributes all misguided views of the Sacrament to a false attitude to consecration. It has been transformed into "the most perplexed and mystical of all ceremonies that have ever darkened the imaginations or lessened the mutual goodwill of the human race", by such wrong-headed attitudes; and the essential simplicity, truth and beauty of the Lord's Supper have been needlessly obscured.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of the uneven approach of such writers there is little doubt that a coherent position regarding the Lord's Supper was beginning to emerge. The exacting discipline of attempting to devise the form and content of eucharistic services stimulated growth in the awareness of what could properly be said and done in the celebration of the Sacrament. Thus, the translation of theological ideas into a printed form of words set up norms which were tested in the light of Scripture and in the sacramental practice of the parishes, bringing about the acceptance of emphases which were congenial to the prevailing theological and cultural ethos of the times.

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1. Wright, Last Supper, p. 66.

## CHAPTER FIVE

THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND AND THE ANGLICAN  
SACRAMENTAL TRADITION

The folk memory of ancient feuds between Scotland and England never quite died out, although occasionally there were signs of closer relationships. Knox had ministered to English exiles at Frankfurt and had left his imprint upon the Communion order in the prayer book of Edward VI.<sup>1</sup> Later, the formulation of the Westminster documents which were to be so determinative for Scottish religious life proved that the national boundaries could be swept aside at a time of common cause. However, the signs of apparent unity between the two churches were exceedingly fragile. Whether the Jenny Geddes legend has any historical basis or not, the imposition of Laud's liturgy was undoubtedly an affront to the Scottish people, and such affronts were remembered. Remembered, too, were the grim days leading up to the Revolution Settlement, with "the Killing Time" as their bloody centrepiece. The long ascendancy of the federal or covenant theology, moreover, had drawn some of its inspiration from the socio-political National Covenant of 1638 and the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643. The very longevity of the federal influence gave to the folk memory a fertile matrix in which all the myths, legends and martyrdoms of the covenanting years could grow, almost all of them engendering a hatred of Episcopacy both Scottish and English.

With the dawning of the nineteenth century, therefore, resentment against the representatives of Episcopacy was well implanted in the national mind and character. This resentment was further fuelled by the application of the Test Acts which effectively prevented members of the Church of Scotland from studying at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. In addition, critics of all things English

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1. P. Lorimer, John Knox and the Church of England, London, 1875, pp. 201-207 and 98-136.

found ample scope for their invective with the advent of the Oxford movement. The preaching and writing of Keble, Pusey and Newman were denounced with great vehemence as popery and anti-Catholic feeling, never far from the surface in Scotland, swiftly turned objective criticism of the Oxford men into vilification and abuse. Nor was the Episcopal Church free from such opprobrium. The saintly Alexander Jolly, bishop of Moray, expounded a eucharistic teaching not dissimilar from that of Pusey and Newman in his Christian Sacrifice,<sup>1</sup> and found little sympathetic understanding outside his own denomination. A decade later, Robert Stevenson, minister of St. George's, Edinburgh, expressed fears about the drift of members of the upper stratum of society from the Church of Scotland to the Episcopal Church and noted how those who left adduced the infrequency of the celebration of Communion as one of the reasons for their defection.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, Norman Macleod wrote that he perceived signs which caused him to conclude that there would be a considerable growth in the membership of the Episcopal Church.<sup>3</sup> Similar observations were made by the Duke of Argyll in 1848 when he pointed to the move in the direction of the Episcopal Church and advocated the urgent review of the worship of the Church of Scotland.<sup>4</sup> Much of this criticism was accepted by many within the Established Church without demur, but the fact that the Episcopal Church was gaining men and women of influence and stature from the Church of Scotland added to the resentment and innate hostility which were the legacy of earlier days. This resentment showed itself again in a more voluble way when Bishop Wordsworth of the Scottish Episcopal Church presented well-intentioned if ill-judged proposals for church unity in Scotland. Such were the

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1. Alexander Jolly, The Christian Sacrifice in the Eucharist Considered as it is the Doctrine of Holy Scripture, Embraced by the Universal Church of the First and Purest Times, by the Church of England, and by the Episcopal Church in Scotland, London, 1831.
  2. Kirk Session Minutes of St. George's, Edinburgh, vol. 2, pp. 191-192, Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh, CH2/554/2.
  3. D. Macleod, Life of Norman Macleod, vol. 1, pp. 153-154.
  4. Duke of Argyll, Presbytery Examined, London, 1848 (2nd edition, 1849), pp. 284-292.

protests that the already remote possibility of a rapport being struck between the two churches vanished completely and Wordsworth's suggestions were regarded as being fool-hardy or mischievous or both. By mid-century the two churches appeared to have no common ground of any kind and polemical attacks on the Episcopal Church in the religious periodicals of the day served only to sour the already unwholesome atmosphere further.<sup>1</sup>

In view of the pall of unrelieved suspicion which publicly clouded relationships between the churches, it might reasonably be thought that theological and devotional works emanating from the English and Scottish Episcopal traditions would be given short shrift within the Church of Scotland. This, however, was not so. As often happens, the impasse between the churches did not prevent individual ministers from gaining much from Anglican writing. This had for long been the case. John Erskine of Greyfriars, writing at the close of the eighteenth century on frequency of celebration, had stated that the Kirk could learn from the Church of England in the matter of frequency because she was more scriptural.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, Edward Irving's Homilies on the Sacraments showed clear signs of having been influenced by the teaching of the great Anglican theologian, Richard Hooker. Irving is reputed to have found a copy of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity in a farmhouse near Annan and such was his interest in what Hooker taught that he used money he could ill afford to purchase his complete works. His biographer indicated the central place Hooker occupied in shaping Irving's views on the sacraments when she cites his own reactions to what Hooker had written: "I found

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1. See "Apostolical Succession: Absurd Claims of Scotch Episcopalians", Church of Scotland Magazine, vol. 5, November, 1838, p. 59; "Bishop Forbes and the Scottish Episcopal Synod", British and Foreign Evangelical Review, vol. 7, No. 26, October, 1858, Art. 7; "Scotch Episcopacy", Macphail's Edinburgh Ecclesiastical Journal, vol. 3, 1848, p. 241; "Popery and Scotch Episcopacy Compared", ibid., vol. 8, 1850, p. 161; "The latest Idea of Bishop Wordsworth", ibid., vol. 17, 1854, p. 372; "Scottish Episcopacy the Pioneer of Popery", ibid., vol. 23, 1857, p. 112.

2. Erskine, Humble Attempt, p. 23.

such a masterly treatise upon the whole subject of the Sacraments, that I scrupled not to rank as one of his disciples, and to prefer his exposition infinitely to my own.....<sup>1</sup> Irving was expelled from the ministry of the Church of Scotland in 1833 and thereafter his efforts were directed towards the establishment of the Catholic Apostolic Church in which, surprisingly, he was given only a relatively small role to play. However, his influence upon those whom he left behind him in the Church of Scotland did not diminish, and through his book on the sacraments the insights of Hooker were shared by many outside the Anglican Communion.

Many other leading Scottish churchmen of the Establishment had the independence to make up their own minds about the worth of the Church of England and her preachers and scholars. Matthew Leishman of Govan regarded her more highly than English Presbyterianism, and when his daughter married an Irish Presbyterian and went to live in London he had no hesitation in commending to her the ministrations of the Church of England, many of whose clergy "preach the very same doctrine you have been accustomed to hear at home", in contrast to English Presbyterians who are, "both ministers and people, very unsound in the faith".<sup>2</sup> Similarly, Dr. James Robertson, while owning to an acute dislike of Puseyism, felt no betrayal of the Church of Scotland in reading the English divines, Butler, Barrow and Samuel Clarke.<sup>3</sup> A.H. Charteris frankly records Robertson's "admiration of the Church of England, as the bulwark of theological truth and the home of consecrated learning".<sup>4</sup> Norman Macleod, too, shared the same ungrudging admiration of Anglican worship and learning<sup>5</sup> and

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1. Mrs. M. Oliphant, Edward Irving, vol. 1, p. 417; Howard G. Hageman, Pulpit and Table, London, 1962, p. 86.

2. J.F. Leishman, Matthew Leishman of Govan, p. 231.

3. A.H. Charteris, Life of the Rev. James Robertson, Edinburgh, 1863, p. 49.

4. ibid., p. 355.

5. D. Macleod, op. cit., vol. 1. p. 72.

freely conceded that when he met men of the calibre of Dean Stanley, Maurice, Davies, Ludlow and Hughes, "I feel how I could enjoy heaven with them".<sup>1</sup> Significantly, in the same breath in which he makes that admission Macleod expresses a revulsion and unhappiness at the "narrow, exclusive, hard hyper-Calvinist schools". Such indiscretions were, of course, quickly seized upon by his opponents who attacked his views in general and his supposed anglo-philia in particular with great vehemence. The Free Church Record directed its spleen at Good Words and its editor in an unprecedented attack in 1862 and 1863. However Norman Macleod was accustomed to being at the centre of controversy and, although saddened by the bitterness of the criticisms made against him, he stood his ground and the flood-tide abated.

Something of Macleod's largeness of vision and indifference to party-spirit is to be seen in the life of John Tulloch whose breadth of scholarship and acquaintance with churchmen and theologians of traditions not his own gave to his judgements an authority and incisiveness few in Scotland possessed in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Professor A.C. Cheyne has drawn attention to "his almost uncanny gift for concentrating upon men and movements whose importance has been little diminished by the passage of time".<sup>2</sup> This is particularly in evidence in his St. Giles' Lectures of 1885 in which he reviewed the chief men and the main tendencies in religious thought in Britain between 1820 and 1860. Coleridge, the "Oriental school", the Oxford movement, Maurice and Kingsley, Robertson and Ewing - all are assessed with a confidence and ease born of a profound knowledge of his times.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, his sureness of touch did not desert

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1. ibid., vol. 2, p. 127.

2. A.C. Cheyne, Introduction, p. 9, to John Tulloch, Movements of Religious Thought in Britain during the Nineteenth Century (Victorian Library edition), Leicester, 1971.

3. Tulloch, Movements of Religious Thought; Robertson is F.W. Robertson of Brighton.

him when he evaluated the work of the earlier Caroline divines or examined, in his greatest work, Christian philosophy in England in the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> This he dedicated to Dean Stanley who invited him to lecture in the nave of Westminster Abbey.<sup>2</sup> Tulloch enjoyed the close friendship not only of Stanley but of Benjamin Jowett and also, significantly in view of the hostility he aroused in other quarters, Bishop Wordsworth of the Episcopal Church.

His preoccupation with the Caroline divines gave him the capacity, perhaps unique amongst Scottish churchmen, to understand the theological background to Alexander Jolly's sacramental teaching, for Jolly frequently called up the support of Lancelot Andrewes, Jeremy Taylor, Herbert Thorndike, Simon Patrick and John Cosin in The Christian Sacrifice. Tulloch's interests, however, were wider than the detailed examination of the nuances of eucharistic theology. He did not, therefore, subject Jolly's work to any close scrutiny and, indeed, nowhere does he appear to make reference to him. Nevertheless, it is inconceivable that Tulloch, steeped as he was in the writings of the Carolines, had no knowledge of Jolly or the eucharistic theology which he developed within the Episcopal Church and which was largely indebted to the same divines. The field was too narrow for the wide-ranging observations and deductions of Tulloch whose gifts were best equipped, as some of his own essays indicate, to identify "movements" and "tendencies". Some appreciation of the significance of Jolly was shown within the Scoto-Catholic group within the Church of Scotland, most specifically by James Cooper.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Principal Tulloch, "The English and Scotch Churches", The Contemporary Review, vol. 19, January, 1872, p. 223-237; Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century, 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1872.
  2. Mrs. M. Oliphant, A Memoir of the Life of John Tulloch pp. 215-216, 275, 344.
  3. James Cooper, Seeking a Right Way. A sermon preached on the Day of Intercession for Christian Unity in Scotland, 13th October, 1901, Glasgow, 1901, p. 15.



Yet it must be concluded that Jolly's eucharistic teaching did little to influence the Kirk's prevailing thinking about the Lord's Supper.

The role which Robertson, Macleod and Tulloch played in relation to the Church of England was nevertheless important, for they proved that individual ministers of stature within the Church of Scotland could defy popular opinion by standing apart from the current anti-Episcopal bias which conditioned the attitudes of lesser men. By their independent stance they drew attention to the importance of the best Anglican devotional and theological writing at a time when the Church was reluctant to concede that any good could come out of Episcopacy. John Tulloch had acted as a natural successor to Norman Macleod in his refusal to accept that the traditional, static religious attitudes of the day were both immutable and sacrosanct. The "Sabbath controversy" had caused hysterical voices to be raised against the liberal approach of Macleod and his interpretation of the true significance of the Lord's Day. Tulloch, for his part, felt the full weight of disapproval at his criticism of the unthinking acceptance of creeds and confessions as being on the same footing as Scripture. Moreover, he advanced the view, to a chorus of conservative denunciation, that true religion was not to be confused with the intellectual exercise of theology, and must be carried out in a spirit of enquiry and exploration in a continually changing world.<sup>1</sup> The background against which he made such a claim was made up of the emergence of biblical criticism (presented in its most sceptical and extreme form by David Strauss) and the circulation of the Darwinian theory of evolution. Inevitably, his liberal claims called forth deep suspicions amongst the credal and scriptural traditionalists who saw Tulloch's pleas for an enquiring spirit as leading down the path to the rationalistic unbelief of a previous age.

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1. John Tulloch, Theological Controversy; or, the function of debate in Theology, 4th edition. Edinburgh, London, 1866, pp. 6-7; Religion and Theology. Edinburgh. London, 1875, p. 12; and "Dogmatic Extremes", The Contemporary Review, vol. 23, January, 1874, pp. 182-196.

When John Tulloch died in 1886, fourteen years after the demise of the great minister of the Barony of Glasgow, A.K.H. Boyd said of him that "the foremost man since Norman Macleod was taken of the Scottish Church".<sup>1</sup> The passing of each was in its own way a watershed in the life of the Church of Scotland. Norman Macleod had written in his journal in 1869, "I believe all our churches are breaking up",<sup>2</sup> without perhaps fully comprehending the manner and consequences of that disintegration. Nine years later, when John Tulloch was installed as Moderator of the General Assembly, he gave some more precise indication of the result of that process of change which Macleod has prophesied: "a wiser, more loving and comprehensive, in a word, a more catholic spirit" had emerged during the course of the previous generation.<sup>3</sup> To this spirit Tulloch attributed the changed attitude towards other churches in Scotland, and there is little doubt that he was himself of very great importance in helping to bring about that change.

There is another aspect of Anglican influence upon nineteenth century Scottish sacramental thought which unfolds in a curious way. Far from emanating from a complete work of sacramental theology, evidence of indebtedness on this occasion is adduced from the recurrence of a single phrase which originated with Ralph Cudworth: "a feast upon a sacrifice". The phrase itself indicates an attitude towards the Lord's Supper which seeks to hold both sacrifice and fellowship together as legitimate, and not mutually exclusive, interpretations of the Supper. The focal point of the discussion is the Table or Altar and the doctrinal positions which arise from an examination of its use at the Communion. The phrase is of some importance as an example of the way in which potentially divisive views about the

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1. A.K.H. Boyd, "A Word of Principal Tulloch", Life and Work April, 1886, pp. 57-58.

2. D. Macleod, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 316.

3. John Tulloch, Position and Prospects of the Church of Scotland, (Moderatorial Address, 1878), pp. 10-11.

Supper can be held together. However, its use is rather more interesting when seen in the context in which it recurs. Its life-span of almost two hundred years imparts to the phrase a continuity which helps to shed light on the different movements of thought which engross it into their particular system. It provided an interesting sidelight on the transmission of ideas; but, specifically, it shows in a rather unexpected way how Scottish churchmen were aware of the sacramental discussion within the Church of England, and how they adopted insights of this type with an apparent lack of reticence.

Ralph Cudworth (1617-1688), the Cambridge Platonist, first made use of the phrase in his Discourse concerning the True Notion of the Lord's Supper, published in London in 1642. Through his distinction as a scholar, the concept which lay behind the phrase gained acceptance with other theologians, and it is employed not only in England but also in Scotland long after Cudworth's demise. Cudworth was "the most eminent of the Cambridge men".<sup>1</sup> The movement described as Cambridge Platonism arose within the puritan and Calvinistic Emmanuel College in the University of Cambridge, but Cudworth did not fit into the traditional ethos of Emmanuel. Though regarded as a puritan, his puritanism, according to Powicke, was far more a matter of ethical values or even political attitudes than a theological acceptance of the traditional puritan position.<sup>2</sup> The Cambridge Platonists developed a role which was akin to that of a via media between the puritans on the one hand and the high-churchmen on the other, and it was perhaps the expression of this moderate stance in sacramental matters which made Cudworth's teaching acceptable to a variety of individual Scottish preachers and theologians.<sup>3</sup>

In his True Notion of the Lord's Supper, Cudworth

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1. F.J. Powicke, The Cambridge Platonists, London, 1926, p. 110.

2. idem.

3. See John Tulloch, "The Cambridge Platonists - Their Historical Position", The Contemporary Review, vol. 17, May, 1871, pp. 237-260.

begins by marshalling evidence from the Old Testament and from classical and non-Christian writers to show that there has always been a close association between feasting and the making of a sacrifice. With this as a basis for further argument he goes on to apply the same standard to the Lord's Supper in the New Testament, which in the same manner as the Jewish and pagan sacrifices established a close relationship between feasting and the offering up of a sacrifice. He applies the phrase epulum sacrificiale to this relationship, to denote that it is "a feast upon a sacrifice", or alternatively epulum ex oblatis, "a feast upon things offered up to God". With the aid of further biblical evidence, Cudworth strengthens his main thesis that the Lord's Supper is "a feast upon a sacrifice" by pointing out the sacrificial nature of the Passover. His contention is that "the Passover was a true and proper Sacrifice, and therefore a Pascall-Feast, a Feast upon a Sacrifice".<sup>1</sup> The latter part of the book explores further the nature of the Lord's Supper as understood in this way.

The middle course between puritans and high-churchmen which the Cambridge Platonists represented in theological matters is amply demonstrated by Cudworth's reticence about calling the Table "the Altar". The Sacrifice has already taken place, and can in no sense be repeated within the Church's sacramental system. Thus, the stress which is made is upon the once-for-all aspect of the Sacrifice of Christ. This is the foundation of the sacrament and cannot ever be thought of as being humanly contrived. The human element in the sacrament is "the feast", where there is the sharing, the fellowship meal and the consequent strengthening of the communicants as they sit at the Table.<sup>2</sup>

It was naturally in England that the concept of the Lord's Supper as a "feast upon a sacrifice" came to be used,

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1. Cudworth's A Discourse concerning the True Notion of the Lord's Supper, London, 1642, pp. 15-17.

2. ibid., pp. 54-55.

although in diverse ways often inconsistent with Cudworth's own interpretation. Dr. C.W. Dugmore refers to Simon Patick's Mensa Mystica of 1660 as drawing implicitly upon the idea.<sup>1</sup> The phrase is also used by John Johnson in his The Unbloody Sacrifice of 1714-1718, but he differed in his understanding of it from Cudworth and others who, as we have seen, believed that the sacrifice had taken place once-for-all upon Calvary and that there was in no sense a re-offering of the sacrifice in the Eucharist. For Johnson, a sacrifice took place in the Eucharist in which Christ, the Priest, offered up His Body and Blood.<sup>2</sup>

However, it is easy to see that Cudworth's position would not easily commend itself to the non-juring and high-church parties in the Church of England, although his phraseology might conveniently be used by some of them. His stress on the "once-for-allness" of the sacrifice of Christ, together with his view of the Lord's Supper being a feast consequent upon that one sacrifice, and his suspicion of the use of the word "Altar", all served to align his theological position with the tenets of classical Reformed theology. In this respect, it is interesting to find George Gillespie, the seventeenth century Scottish divine, making considerable use of Cudworth's idea of "a feast upon a sacrifice."<sup>3</sup> Gillespie develops the idea of the Lord's Supper as a feast which is also "a type and representation of the everlasting feast and communion with Christ in glory". This outward resemblance of "carnal feasting" must be preserved to meet the requirements laid down by a sacrament, namely, that there should be an earthly or visible part and a heavenly or invisible part. Without the external, earthly feasting there would be no possibility of holding

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1. C.W. Dugmore, Eucharistic Doctrine in England from Hooker to Waterland, London, 1942, p. 113.

2. ibid., p. 143.

3. George Gillespie, A Treatise of Miscellany Questions, Edinburgh, 1649.

to the analogy between the sign and the thing signified.<sup>1</sup> Having established that position, Gillespie goes on to affirm that the Table is no Altar and that the Lord's Supper is no sacrifice, but rather epulum ex oblatiis, "a feast upon the body and blood of Christ offered upon the crosse for us". At this juncture, Gillespie makes reference to Cudworth and acknowledges his indebtedness to him for this understanding of the nature of the Supper.<sup>2</sup>

Obviously, while he had disavowed the Calvinist position,<sup>3</sup> Cudworth was nevertheless persona grata in the eyes of the representatives of the Calvinist Kirk of Scotland. It would appear that the use of the term fell into abeyance for a time after George Gillespie, but the main "ingredients" of Cudworth's concept continued to be preserved in the Church of Scotland. Typically, John Warden upheld the once-for-all nature of the Lord's sacrifice,<sup>4</sup> and John Erskine attributed the use of the word "feast" in relation to the Lord's Supper to Thomas Randall of Inchtute.<sup>5</sup> However, the reappearance of the phrase occurs in the writings of the learned John Glas, minister of Tealing from 1718-1728, who was deposed for his opposition to the idea of a National Church. Glas had considerable grasp of the issues which were previously debated by Cudworth, and in his Treatise on the Lord's Supper showed himself to be familiar with the theological terrain which the Cambridge Platonist had covered. He made clear that St. Paul was setting forth the sharing in the bread and wine as "a representation of a feast upon Christ's sacrifice". He also enters into the controversy regarding the question of "Table" or "Altar", regarding the latter appellation as a "very old mistake, of applying the notion of an altar to the table on which the bread and wine were set in the Lord's Supper".<sup>6</sup>

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1. ibid., p. 223.

2. ibid., p. 227.

3. See Powicke, op. cit., p. 111.

4. John Warden, A Practical Essay on the Lord's Supper, Leith, 1764.

5. John Erskine, A Humble Attempt, p. 44.

6. John Glas, "A Treatise on the Lord's Supper", Works vol. 5, Perth, 1783, second edition, p. 72.

The precise usage of Cudworth is to be found again in another minister of the Church of Scotland who was to undergo deposition. Thomas Wright of Borthwick, in his The Last Supper, shows that he is well aware of Cudworth's contribution to the eucharistic debate. He engrosses in the text of his work a Note which is headed, "Meaning of the ceremony, or fundamental idea on which it is founded", and in the first sentence makes reference to Cudworth's book, by title, without attributing it to him at this point. As the Note proceeds, however, Wright makes direct reference to Cudworth, although he misquotes the title of his Discourse when he refers to it on this second occasion. He deals with the Lord's Supper as it has been historically regarded as a sacrifice and concedes that this interpretation of the Supper has traditionally had powerful support throughout the whole Church.<sup>1</sup> Reference is then made to Cudworth's idea of the Supper as being "a feast upon a sacrifice" and that "this is the idea on which several of the best treatises, explanatory of the Supper, during the last century, are founded". He concludes, however, that in recent times the idea appears to have fallen into neglect because the descriptive phrase "a feast upon a sacrifice" does not wholly explain the nature of the Last Supper in the Upper Room nor, he acknowledges, does it give a satisfactory raison d'etre for all subsequent celebrations.<sup>2</sup> Thomas Wright, having dispensed with Cudworth's "true notion" as a means of understanding and interpreting the Lord's Supper, advances his own principle of interpretation which is that "the whole ceremony is properly performed in the form of a Supper, in imitation of that 'Last Supper' which was succeeded by events of such transcendent moment to the human race".<sup>3</sup>

The comparative neglect which, Wright tells us, had befallen Cudworth's theory was somewhat too final a judge-

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1. Wright, Last Supper, pp. 374-375.

2. idem.

3. idem.

ment. Charles Watson, minister of Burntisland, published a small work on the Lord's Supper three years before the Disruption.<sup>1</sup> In it, the same note of feasting is discernible. "A Communion service", he writes, "will be to us what he has made it to thousands - a feast and a banquet".<sup>2</sup> However, it is of even greater interest to find that when Watson speaks of the Passover he explicitly uses the phraseology of Cudworth: "The passover was at once a sacrifice and a feast - a feast upon a sacrifice".<sup>3</sup> Watson however, was not alone in the Church of Scotland as one who knew Cudworth's work or was at least acquainted with his terminology. After travelling on the Continent as a tutor, Robert Shanks was appointed an agent of the Scottish Reformation Society in 1833.<sup>4</sup> In the same year as his appointment, Shanks translated a polemical volume from the French of Peter du Moulin, but also incorporated his own "Concise Historical Account of Opinions Relating to the Eucharist".<sup>5</sup> This was a wide-ranging and knowledgeable piece of work in which he, too, showed his familiarity with Cudworth's "feast upon a sacrifice".<sup>6</sup>

Yet the most scholarly and informed treatise on the Lord's Supper in the middle of the nineteenth century came not from a minister of the Church of Scotland, but from David King, the distinguished pastor and scholar of the United Secession Church, and latterly of the United Presbyterian Church.<sup>7</sup> King handles his materials with skill, and his sources show a breadth of scholarship not often

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1. Charles Watson, Four Addresses on Subjects Connected with the Lord's Supper, Edinburgh, 1840.

2. ibid., p. 76.

3. ibid., p. 3

4. William Ewing (Editor), Annals of the Free Church of Scotland, 1843-1900, Edinburgh, 1914, vol. 1, p. 313.

5. Robert Shanks, "A Concise Historical Account of Opinions Relating to the Eucharist", in Peter du Moulin, The Anatomy of the Mass, Tr. by Shanks, Edinburgh, 1833.

6. ibid., p. 20 and passim.

7. David King, The Lord's Supper, Edinburgh, 1846.



seen in Scotland in the discussion of sacramental matters. In the body of the text he has three references to Cudworth's Discourse as well as many other references to the Fathers, and to English and German theologians. King's recourse to Cudworth is in respect of minute points of exegesis which do not concern us here, but in an extensive and illuminating "Notice of Authors who may be consulted on the Lord's Supper" mention is made of Cudworth and of his concept of the Lord's Supper as "a feast upon a sacrifice". Of Cudworth, he writes that he was "the first, I believe, who represented the Lord's Supper as a feast, on or after a sacrifice". King, however, holds that the representation is open to weighty objections. These he deals with by enlisting the aid of "Mr. Bickersteth" whose words he quotes at length.<sup>1</sup> It is clear from King's lengthy criticism of Cudworth that the latter was nevertheless a force to be reckoned with in 1846, or else Dr. King would have dismissed him summarily and without taking the trouble to quote at length from the Rev. Edward Bickersteth.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, King's strictures on Cudworth's concept of "a feast upon a sacrifice" did not prevent Dr. John Cumming of Crown Court Church, London, from using the idea in 1855.<sup>3</sup> Again, the Passover is used as a paradigm of the Lord's Supper in such a way that two elements of the Passover are distinguished: the painful part, by which the lamb is killed (interpreted under the new covenant as Christ's sacrifice upon the cross), and the pleasant part, by which there is a feasting upon the lamb's flesh (interpreted as the feasting given to Christians in participating in the bread and the wine of the Sacrament). It is this "pleasant part", writes Cumming, which Christ has bequeathed to us as "the feast after the sacrifice". The same point is

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1. ibid., p. 310.

2. Edward Bickersteth, A Treatise on the Lord's Supper, London, 1838.

3. John Cumming, The Communion Table, or Communicants Manual: A Plain and Practical Exposition of the Lord's Supper, London, 1855.

4. ibid., pp. 43-44.

made in another passage in which he underlines also the close connection between the feast and the communicant's "closing with Christ", and the utter uniqueness of the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross. The sacrifice, he maintains, can only be regarded as something finished and done with, for it cannot be repeated. We are called not to a sacrifice but to "the festival which follows after the sacrifice".<sup>1</sup>

However, Dr. John Cumming's use of the phrase was by no means the last instance, for even as late as 1899 the words are to be found in a volume by Dr. Norman Macleod of Inverness.<sup>2</sup> The Macleods of Morven have produced many great ministers for the Kirk, and this latter was one of their number. The son of John Macleod of Morven, his brother was John Macleod of Govan and his uncle was Norman Macleod of the Barony of Glasgow. Macleod of Inverness was a Doctor of Divinity of the Universities of Glasgow and St. Andrews and he became Moderator of the General Assembly in 1900.<sup>3</sup> In his book, he makes numerous references to the Lord's Supper as a feast, and this is for him undoubtedly an important aspect of the meaning of the Supper. He writes, for instance, of "the holy feast", "this sacred feast", "the commemorative feast", and "a feast of joy". As with Dr. Cumming and others before him he examines with considerable care the relationship between "Jewish and Christian feasts" - the Lord's Supper and the Passover. In making this comparison he uses the analogy of shadow and substance and of type and anti-type.<sup>4</sup> In adopting this usage, Macleod of Inverness approximates not only to the language of Professor Milligan<sup>5</sup> and Dr. John Macleod of Govan, but also to the liturgical theology of the Catholic

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1. ibid., pp. 146-147.

2. Norman Macleod, Church, Ministry and Sacraments, (The Guild Library), London and Edinburgh, 1899.

3. Hew Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae, vol. 4, p. 118; vol. 6, p. 459.

4. Macleod, op. cit., pp. 91-93.

5. See especially William Milligan, The Resurrection of Our Lord, pp. 274-290, for an extended discussion of "Sacrifice" couched in overtly typological terms.

Apostolic Church which, by the end of the century, had reached its peak of development.<sup>1</sup> That Church, with which John Macleod had very close associations, produced two complex charts, with accompanying notes, on the Order for Morning and Evening Prayer, and the Order for the Holy Eucharist. Both are undated, but from personal inscriptions it would appear reasonable to place them between 1890-1891. In each chart, the pattern of Old Testament type, New Testament anti-type and liturgical anti-type is followed out in considerable detail. Furthermore in setting out the Order for the Holy Eucharist, the familiar phrase from Cudworth occurs, slightly altered, as "Feasting on the Sacrifice". The wider context of this phrase is a reference to "The Passover Feast, the leading Type".

It is in the same context of a reference to the Passover that Norman Macleod employs the phrase. He isolates three separate ideas in the Paschal celebrations - Representation, Appropriation, and Sustenance. Of the latter, he writes that when the lamb was eaten, roasted with fire, "it became the strengthening food of the accepted offerer - a feast upon the Sacrifice".<sup>2</sup> Macleod and his younger brother must be understood as being champions of a form of neo-orthodoxy which had come to assert itself in the latter part of the nineteenth century. It must be remembered that both brothers wrote their theology at a time when biblical criticism was no longer the enfant terrible which was seen but not heard with any great respect within the Establishment. The Free Church, with Robertson Smith and Marcus Dods in the vanguard, led the challenge to the old orthodoxy with such vigour that by the 1890s the infant had most certainly come of age, and exercised considerable influence within the main branches of the presbyterian

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1. The relative strength of that Church in Scotland at that time is indicated by the number of leaflets etc., published in Glasgow, Dundee and Greenock.

2. Macleod, op. cit., p. 93.

Church of Scotland.<sup>1</sup> Earlier, on the Continent, Strauss and Renan were men of international renown who had advanced the cause of theological liberalism immeasurably. However, Macleod of Inverness reveals few traces of the liberal influence of biblical criticism in his writings on the Lord's Supper. The categories of thought were old, but they were not simply echoes of the earlier part of the century, a regurgitation of the rather moralistic theology of that time. On the contrary, there was a catholicity of thought about his approach which, while it was old, nevertheless took sacramental thought in Scotland beyond the narrow limits which had confined it in former years. As it was with the elder Macleod, so with his younger brother, so with Milligan, and so with Cooper. The reaction of this neo-orthodox typology set in firmly.

It was not new outside Scotland. This was the tool adopted many years earlier in England by members of the Oxford movement who trembled for the ark of the Lord in a day of undogmatic and insubstantial religion, so foreign to the apostolic faith as they understood it.<sup>2</sup> This was the tool adopted, too, by J.B. Cardale<sup>3</sup> and, later, by Bramley-Moore and Willis of the Catholic Apostolic Church, as they sought to elaborate the principles upon which the

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1. Rev. Professor Lindsay, "The Critical Movement in the Free Church of Scotland", The Contemporary Review, vol. 33, August, 1878, pp. 22-34; and Principal Tulloch, "Progress of Religious Thought in Scotland", ibid., vol. 29, March, 1877, pp. 535-551.
  2. E.g., John Keble, "On Eucharistic Adoration", p. 70, quoted in Owen Chadwick, The Mind of the Oxford Movement, London, 1960, p. 199. "Christ's Sacrifice is the one great reality, summing up in itself all the memorial sacrifices of old. In the Christian scheme, it is 'proportionable' to them; and of course it stands in the same rank and relation to them, as the other anti-types in the Gospel to their several types and shadows in the law".
  3. [J.B. Cardale], Readings upon the Liturgy and Other Divine Offices of the Church, London, 1874.

Liturgy had been drawn up. This, also, was the tool adopted by Milligan, Macleod of Govan, James Cooper,<sup>1</sup> and the Scottish Church Society as an assertion of orthodoxy in the face of so much subjective Christianity. It is true that Cudworth's concept was an ancient one in an age when the antiquity of a doctrine in no way commended it. But was not the motto of the Scottish Church Society "Ask for the old paths.....and walk therein"?<sup>2</sup> Moreover, although Cudworth's approach was conservative it was also eminently biblical, as was the typological method of exegesis. Hence, the Scotland of the 1890s experienced fresh theological tension as the current of liberalism came to be challenged by the new orthodoxy. In the more biblically conservative wing of the Church there was thus a return to scholars of an earlier generation whose work was often generally typological in approach and whose orthodoxy was unimpeachable.<sup>3</sup> The years of the Disruption controversy were theologically barren, and indeed served to delay the impact upon Scotland of a number of Continental and English works of scholarship. By the beginning of the last quarter of the century, however, the wounds were healing and the Kirk once more looked beyond her own frontiers.

There was also a reawakening in the understanding of the Church's worship and sacraments, and influences from outside the Church of Scotland came to be felt. Both

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1. "He was reasonable in address and was seldom strained, unless when, as sometimes, he pushed Old Testament typology to its limit, and even then he was interesting and his conclusions at least were edifying". Quoted by H.J. Wotherspoon in James Cooper: A Memoir, London 1926, pp. 103-104.
  2. Archdeacon Philip Freeman's Principles of Divine Service, 2 vols., London, 1855, has the Latin inscription on the title page, Stare super antiquas vias, which would suggest that the Society's motto came not only from Jeremiah, but from the promptings of Archdeacon Freeman.
  3. John Marshall Lang exemplified the Scottish high-churchman who was aware of contemporary scholarship in Scotland and beyond, but who still owed some allegiance to typological thought. See J. Marshall Lang, The Last Supper of Our Lord and his words of consolation to the disciples [The Household Library of Exposition], Edinburgh, 1883, p. 84.

William Milligan and James Cooper found it natural to make reference to Freeman's Principles of Divine Service, which dealt explicitly with the liturgical office of the Church of England, and was yet able to impart to those who had an ear to hear certain guidelines for a theology of worship which had been sadly lacking within the Kirk.<sup>1</sup> In Freeman, we find a nineteenth century successor to Cudworth by virtue of his typological comparison of Jewish and Christian worship.

Cudworth's influence, together with the typological method, continued to be in evidence down to the end of the century. Even such a minor theological work as James Booth's The Lord's Supper, which circulated in Scotland, revealed that influence in the expansion of the title, "A Feast after Sacrifice".<sup>2</sup> The view, therefore, that Scottish theology was self-contained and totally independent of English thought is erroneous and, indeed, the English influence was not restricted to the puritan and Brownist ethos of earlier times. The deposed John Glas, for example, displayed considerable acquaintance with Anglican theological and liturgical developments;<sup>3</sup> James Grierson, minister of Errol, showed a marked respect for Jeremy Taylor in the course of his sacramental writings;<sup>4</sup> and John Campbell Shairp, later in the century, revealed considerable knowledge of the Oxford movement and favoured the English rather than the German pattern of educational

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1. Writing to G.W. Sprott about a future project for the Society, Cooper says, ".....the book is not to be a rival to your Worship and Offices, but a sort of Scottish Freeman on the Principles of Divine Service". Wotherspoon, op. cit., p. 204.
  2. James Booth, The Lord's Supper, A Feast After Sacrifice, London, 1870. The author was the vicar of Stone, Staffordshire.
  3. [John Glas], A View of the New Communion Office, 1743.
  4. James Grierson, A Doctrinal and Practical Treatise on the Lord's Supper, Edinburgh, 1839, p. 87.

discipline.<sup>1</sup> In spite of a publicly declared suspicion of Episcopacy, individual ministers of the Church of Scotland showed themselves to be remarkably open to scholarship from the south, a tendency which increased as the century wore on. The knowledge of Cudworth's position amongst Scottish churchmen bears this out, and the fact that his concept of "a feast upon a sacrifice" was thought worthy of attention by Church of Scotland writers over a lengthy period provided additional evidence of theological connections between the two countries in the nineteenth century.

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1. See especially his John Keble. An Essay on the Author of the Christian Year, Edinburgh, 1866; Culture and Religion in Some of their Relations, Edinburgh, 1870; and Studies in Poetry and Philosophy, Edinburgh, 1886.

## CHAPTER SIX

SCOTTISH STUDENTS, GERMAN THEOLOGY AND THE EUCHARIST  
1850-1870

The years 1850-1870 brought into focus another development in Scottish church life which could hardly be ignored in any attempt to trace the formation of eucharistic thought within the Church of Scotland in the nineteenth century. By mid-century, German thought and culture were regarded with profound respect and the Church reflected this widespread interest by turning to the works of the theologians of that country. Thus, German theology in translation became readily available. It was studied avidly and received frequent mention in the religious periodicals of the day and in more specialized journals like the Biblical Cabinet which reviewed works of German theology for British readers. Consequently, a significant number of parish ministers busied themselves with the learning of German and the translation of the most important works of the day. Early in the century, Alexander Smith, minister of the Chapel of Garioch, acquired something of a reputation through such work,<sup>1</sup> as did Nathaniel Morren of Greenock who, in the 1820s and 1830s, introduced the works of German theologians to many of his fellow ministers.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, throughout the third decade of the century, Robert Menzies, minister of Hoddam, made available the writings of the revered and influential F.A.G. Tholuck,<sup>3</sup> while John Cairns, from the Secession tradition, revealed a quality of theological scholarship which won him respect in Scotland and on the Continent as an expositor of German thought.<sup>4</sup> The

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1. Scott, Fasti, vol. 6, p. 152.

2. Nathaniel Morren, Biblical Theology, Edinburgh, 1835, has an extensive bibliographical note on German works in translation.

3. Translator of F.A.G. Tholuck, Exposition of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1833-1836, and Exposition, Doctrinal and Philological, of Christ's Sermon on the Mount, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1834-1837.

4. See Alexander R. MacEwen, Life and Letters of John Cairns, London, 1898, Appendix on the list of his published works.



linguistic facility and the awareness of German theology which they displayed were by no means unusual as the century advanced, and they are to be regarded as being representative of a sizeable group within the Scottish presbyterian churches with a working knowledge of German scholarship. Particularly in the rise of biblical theology German thoroughness was without equal, and their leading scholars won recognition, as did their universities, amongst the theologically literate Scottish public.<sup>1</sup>

In addition, the dissemination of German theological writing was complemented by the practice, first adopted by the churches of the Secession tradition, whereby Scottish students of divinity spent a semester at one of the faculties of theology in Germany. This exodus to the universities of Germany was aided by the fact that Seceding and Free Church students had no wish to be indebted for further study to one of the four Scottish faculties of divinity which were dominated by a suspect Establishment. Connections with the English universities were tenuous, and the Test Acts had ensured that students of theology from alien, northern, presbyterian climes would have little interest in trying to breach whatever barriers remained in order to gain entry to Oxford or Cambridge.<sup>2</sup> Germany, however, had traditional links with Scotland and provided a more natural outlet for the academic aspirations of Seceders and Free Churchmen, and later of students of the Established Church. By the decade 1860-1870, the well worn path from Scotland to Germany had been trodden many times, and continued to be followed by others to their great advantage until the outbreak of the Great War in 1914.

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1. See e.g., "Sketches of the University of Heidelberg", Fraser's Magazine, vol. 20, 1839, and "A Gallery of the Chief Theologians of the Universities of Germany", British and Foreign Evangelical Review, vol. 3, 1853, pp. 376, 733.
  2. J.D. Mackie, The University of Glasgow, 1451-1951, Glasgow, 1954, pp. 128-129; John Veitch, Memoir of Sir William Hamilton, Bt., Edinburgh, 1869, pp. 29-30.

No one German university held a monopoly in attracting Scottish students of divinity. Heidelberg, Berlin, Halle, Leipzig, Bonn and Tübingen all commanded a following and, as Philip Schaff indicated in his survey of the universities and theologians of Germany, each possessed its men of distinction.<sup>1</sup> Göttingen, early famous for medicine, had also acquired a certain reputation for literature and philosophy which, at different times, had attracted Samuel Taylor Coleridge<sup>2</sup> and the Tractarian, Edward Bouverie Pusey.<sup>3</sup> Much earlier than Pusey's sojourn, the less distinguished figure of the Rev. Stair Park MacQuhae, minister of St. Quivox, Prestwick (then simply Mr. Stair MacQuhae), spent some time in 1819 undergoing the rigours of Göttingen philosophy.<sup>4</sup> Others from the Seceding traditions, in the 1840s, found the personage of Tholuck congenial to them at Halle, even if the place itself was plainly uncongenial with its "wretched muddy pavements, gloomy air, and an intolerable smell arising from peat bogs".<sup>5</sup>

It was, however, Tübingen which benefited most from certain factors which worked in its favour between 1850 and 1870. One of these was the relationship of mutual respect between the Catholic and Protestant faculties of theology at Tübingen, the work very largely of Johann Adam Möhler who, in less than a decade, had brought his own Roman Communion to re-examine the doctrine of the nature of the Church. Against a background of strife and bitterness in post-Disruption Scotland Tübingen was able to present a picture of religious harmony rarely witnessed by

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1. Philip Schaff, Germany; its Universities, Theology and Religion, Edinburgh, 1857.
  2. Götz von Selle, Die Matrikel der Georg-August Universität zu Göttingen, 1734-1837, Hildesheim and Leipzig, 1937, p. 22 No. 18574; Basil Willey, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, London, 1972, p. 57 and pp. 74-75; Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 11, p. 307 (at Göttingen from January-June, 1799).
  3. von Selle, Matrikel, p. 102, No. 32005.
  4. von Selle, ibid., p. 82. "MacQuhae, St. 26108". See also A.M. Wright, The Life and Times of Dr. William Mackenzie, Founder of the Glasgow Eye Infirmary, Glasgow, 1973, pp. 29, 54.
  5. Schaff, op. cit., p. 72.

young Scots nurtured in the language of polemics and defensiveness. Furthermore, J.T. Beck, the Tübingen professor of theology, was gradually able to establish a different kind of reputation for the faculty of theology as his star ascended and that of F.C. Baur waned. The radicalism of Baur thus gave place to the more conservative neo-orthodoxy of Beck, and Tübingen was no longer regarded as the seat of dangerous heresy which had caused reactions of suspicion in the Scotland of earlier years.

The substance of Beck's lectures can be determined with a considerable degree of certainty since his doctrinal theology was published in 1874 as Die christliche Liebeslehre.<sup>1</sup> It is possible, therefore, to gain detailed insight into his approach to Baptism and the Eucharist from his later work, and to deduce from it the main emphasis in sacramental teaching which he would have set before his students in his forty years at Tübingen. It is not without interest that Beck made much of the connection between the Supper and the ascension of Christ. In this, of course, he was something of a precursor of William Milligan. Scottish ministers who aligned themselves with the Scoto-Catholic position in which the Supper and the idea of the heavenly priesthood were inter-related would, in retrospect, be able to identify the affinity between Milligan and Beck. One in particular, Theodore Marshall, was a student of theology at Tübingen in 1864.<sup>2</sup> He was for many years parish minister of Caputh and latterly Moderator of the General Assembly in 1908; he also was a notable figure in the Scottish Church Society and delivered The John Macleod Memorial Lecture for 1906.<sup>3</sup> His sympathy with

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1. J.T. Beck, Die christliche Liebeslehre. Fortsetzung des „Leitfaden der christlichen Glaubenslehre“. Zweite Abteilung: Die Lehre von den Sakramenten. Stuttgart, 1874.

2. Universitätsmatrikel, No. 00157.

3. John Macleod and Church Reform, Edinburgh, 1906. See also Fasti, vol. 4, p. 148.

the accepted Scoto-Catholic position was not therefore in doubt. Although recorded as attending Beck's class in Christian ethics,<sup>1</sup> it is probable that he would also have heard him lecture in Christian doctrine as did Malcolm Taylor,<sup>2</sup> William Boyd,<sup>3</sup> and William Stevenson,<sup>4</sup> his colleagues at Tübingen.

It would be unrealistic to expect that young Scottish ordinands, limited in their command of German, could assimilate every nuance of Beck's treatment of the Eucharist. Moreover, because of his premature death, William Boyd cannot be regarded as being of significance in any assessment of Beck's long-term influence.<sup>5</sup> With Theodore Marshall, however, Taylor and Stevenson emerge as men of well above-average ability who were to contribute much to religious life in Scotland and abroad. Malcolm Taylor was appointed to the chair of ecclesiastical history at Edinburgh in 1877, after serving in charges in Dumfries, Montrose and Crathie. Not a prolific writer, he chose to serve the University of Edinburgh administratively as secretary to the University Court from 1892 until 1915, a post which he held in conjunction with his church history chair until his resignation from the latter in 1908.<sup>6</sup> It could well be said that Taylor was a man of influence in the Church of Scotland. William Stevenson was a Free Church student who, almost immediately after his return from Tübingen, was ordained as a missionary for work in Madras.<sup>7</sup> It is clear that Beck's influence upon

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1. Universitätsarchiv, 40/139.

2. See Verzeichnis der Beamten, Lehrer und Studierenden der königlich württembergischen Universität Tübingen, Tübingen, n.d., p. 10, No. 126; also Universitätsarchiv, 40/228.

3. Universitätsmatrikel, No. 00156; Universitätsarchiv, 40/26.

4. Universitätsmatrikel, No. 00141; Universitätsarchiv, 40/221. William Stevenson, "MS Notes of the Lectures of Professors Beck and Oehler delivered in the summer of 1863" shed little new light upon the influence of Beck's eucharistic thought upon his Scottish students.

5. Scott, Fasti, vol. 5, p. 359.

6. Scott, Fasti, vol. 7, p. 391.

7. William Ewing, Annals of the Free Church, vol. 1, p. 327.

Stevenson was enduring, for while in Madras he translated into English a small work on doctrine published in Germany jointly by J.T. Beck and Julius Lindenmeyer.<sup>1</sup> Yet another Free Church student, David Douglas Bannerman, the son of the professor of theology at New College, Edinburgh, retained in his possession a copy of another book by Beck,<sup>2</sup> which had on the fly-leaf the hand-written inscription "D. Douglas Bannerman, June 1864" - barely a month after his matriculation as a student at Tübingen.<sup>3</sup> Bannerman went on in later life to become a recognised Free Church authority on worship, being elected as President of the Public Worship Association of the Free Church and thereby sharing partial responsibility for the publication of A New Directory for Public Worship.<sup>4</sup>

The presence at Tübingen of some thirty Scottish students between 1850 and 1870 raises interesting possibilities regarding Beck's influence upon Scottish eucharistic thought, particularly in view of the above initial, tentative indications that his impact upon some at least, of his students was long lasting. On the face of it, this purported German influence upon Scottish students of divinity is sufficiently marked to merit examination. If it appears that the theological influences brought to bear upon their lives emanated from a common source and were cumulative rather than isolated, the conclusion might reasonably be drawn that evidence of these influences might be made manifest in the long-term in the shaping of Scottish eucharistic theology. It is therefore appropriate at this stage to elaborate the nature and development of German

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1. J.T. Beck and Julius Lindenmeyer, Outlines of Christian Doctrine (translated from the German by William Stevenson) Madras, 1879.
  2. J.T. Beck, Die christliche Menschenliebe das Wort und die Gemeinde Christi, Basel, 1842.
  3. Universitätsmatrikel, No. 00155; Universitätsarchiv, 40/8
  4. A New Directory for the Public Worship of God. Prepared by the "Public Worship Association in Connection with the Free Church of Scotland", Edinburgh, 1898. See also D.D. Bannerman, The Worship of the Presbyterian Church, Edinburgh, 1884.

influence upon Scottish church life, and to discern, if possible, the effect of such influence on the Holy Communion.

Germany was a constant factor in the diverse influence which changed the nature and character of the Scottish Church in the nineteenth century. As the cradle of Romanticism, as the source of an immense range of theological writing, as the country of universities and scholarship par excellence, and as a mandatory place of discovery and extended visitation for those engaged in the Grand Tour, Germany increasingly became the heart of European life and letters, and the magnet which drew many to her seats of learning and centres of culture.

The Scot in Europe was no new phenomenon. There is, indeed, little doubt about the truth of the claim that Scotland has traditionally been "a microcosm of Europe".<sup>1</sup> The Scottish Reformation was itself witness to this and John Knox was "known and esteemed by the principal persons among the Reformed in France, Switzerland and Germany".<sup>2</sup> Approximately half a century after the Reformation Scots are to be found in academic posts throughout Europe: Duncan Liddel in the chair of mathematics at Helmstedt and pro-rector of the University in 1604;<sup>3</sup> Robert Boyd of Trochrig at Montauban as professor of philosophy about 1605, and at Saumur from 1606-1614;<sup>4</sup> and John Cameron initially at Bergerac, Sedan and Heidelberg, occupied the chair of divinity at Saumur in 1618 and moved to Montauban in 1624.<sup>5</sup> John Forbes of Corse was perhaps the greatest

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1. "Jesus and No Quarter", Times Educational Supplement, 19th May, 1950, p.301.
  2. T. McCrie, John Knox, Edinburgh, 1811, vol. 2, p. 236.
  3. T.A. Fischer, The Scots in Germany, Edinburgh, 1902, pp. 220-222; William Anderson, The Scottish Nation, Edinburgh, 1877, vol. 2, pp. 665-666.
  4. ibid., vol. 1, p. 366.
  5. James Walker, The Theology and Theologians of Scotland, pp. 4-6; also Anderson, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 539-541.

intellectual representative of Scotland to sojourn on the Continent in the seventeenth century. He had a truly European reputation and was of such distinction in divinity and Hebrew that he took part in a public disputation against the Lutheran archbishop at Uppsala in Sweden in 1618.<sup>1</sup> As the seventeenth century proceeded Scottish academic links strengthened with Holland rather than with France and Germany. David Calderwood wrote Altare Damascenum while there in 1623;<sup>2</sup> John Livingstone spent the latter part of his life in theological study at Rotterdam;<sup>3</sup> and Samuel Rutherford declined the post of professor of divinity at both Herderwyck and Utrecht.<sup>4</sup>

The influence of Holland faded in due course, allowing the German universities to come into prominence by the latter part of the eighteenth century, especially in medical and legal studies. The University of Göttingen was founded in 1736, and the matriculation album of Göttingen yields the names of Robert Dundas of Arniston,<sup>5</sup> James, 5th Earl of Balcarres,<sup>6</sup> and Alexander Crichton,<sup>7</sup> all engaged in medicine or law between 1736 and 1785. The younger Andrew Duncan is also to be found there in 1790.<sup>8</sup>

As the eighteenth century drew to its close, the Rev. James Macdonald of Anstruther visited Weimar and struck up

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1. D. Macmillan, The Aberdeen Doctors [Hastie Lectures for 1906-1909]. London, 1909, pp. 47-48; Anderson, op cit., vol. 1, p. 236.
  2. Walker, op. cit., pp. 6-7; also Anderson, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 528-532.
  3. Anderson, ibid., vol. 2, pp. 678-679.
  4. Walker, op. cit., p. 13; Anderson, op. cit., vol. 3, pp. 393-395.
  5. von Selle, Matrikel, p. 29, No. 14364.
  6. ibid., p. 5, No. 8294A; see also Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 33, p. 284.
  7. von Selle, op. cit., p. 24, No. 14770.
  8. ibid., p. 29, No. 17324; see also Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 16, p. 29.

an acquaintanceship with Goethe himself.<sup>1</sup> In a letter to Böttinger, headmaster of the Gymnasium at Weimar, Macdonald indicates that in Edinburgh there were between ten and eighteen men who made up a small Scoto-German group "who understood the German language and read German books with eagerness".<sup>2</sup> He singles out for special mention Lord Glenlee, Henry Mackenzie (author of The Man of Feeling), and the Rev. Dr. George Husband Baird who had become principal of the University of Edinburgh at the remarkably early age of thirty-three.<sup>3</sup> Baird, like many ministers of his time, had been tutor in a family of influence and standing.<sup>4</sup> The tutors often had the opportunity to travel on the Continent with their young charges and, indeed, it was in this way that James Macdonald of Anstruther had been able to travel to Weimar. Similarly, William Ritchie, later minister of St. Andrew's, Glasgow, and instigator of "the organ controversy", travelled for five years throughout Europe as tutor to Lord Inverurie, the eldest son of the Earl of Kintore, attending most of the famous universities of Holland and Germany.<sup>5</sup> Alexander Hill, son of Principal George Hill, acted as tutor for no less than nine years, some of which time he spent on the Continent.<sup>6</sup> John Wylie, later minister of Carluke, also spent a substantial period in Europe between 1815-1817, while acting as tutor to Charles Lockhart;<sup>7</sup> and Robert Menzies, later to be

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1. Alexander Gillies, A Hebridean in Goethe's Weimar: The Reverend James Macdonald and the Cultural Relations between Scotland and Germany, Oxford, 1969, p. 10.
  2. ibid., p. 79; letter dated June, 1798.
  3. idem.
  4. Scott, Fasti., vol. 1, p. 68; tutor in family of Col. Blair of Blair, 1784.
  5. James Thomson, History of St. Andrew's Parish Church, Glasgow, Glasgow, 1905, pp. 25-26.
  6. Scott, Fasti., vol. 7, p. 402; H.M.B. Reid, The Divinity Professors in the University of Glasgow, 1640-1903, Glasgow, 1923, p. 311.
  7. John Wylie, Pastoral Reminiscences, Carluke, 1858, pp. 324-325, give an insight into his support for greater frequency of celebration and the adoption of an optional, partial liturgy within the Church of Scotland.



minister of Hoddam for forty-three years, spent a lengthy time on the Continent as tutor in the family of Trotter of The Bush.<sup>1</sup> For six months of that time Menzies lived in Munich on his own learning German.

These names represent only a very small proportion of the many who travelled on the Continent in their capacity as tutor. Without doubt their acquaintance with German life and theological thought added to the awareness of German culture which had grown in Scotland from the beginning of the century. This awareness was, of course, heightened considerably by the fashion which had been established whereby families of substance made "The Grand Tour" of Europe. Certainly, the Grand Tour had been in vogue at least from the time of the Restoration and did not wane until the 1840s. Some of the time spent abroad was often devoted to travel and, sometimes, study in Germany. Thus, William Mure, who became member of Parliament for Renfrewshire from 1846-1855, studied at Göttingen<sup>2</sup> and sent his friend, David Dundas, a letter outlining his impressions and experiences of Hanover.<sup>3</sup> Diaries, too, were kept by travellers such as Sir James Carnegie in 1818;<sup>4</sup> members of the family of Hope of Luffness during the period 1818-1823;<sup>5</sup> William Robertson-Macdonald in his Journal of a Tour of Germany of 1823;<sup>6</sup> and the family of Hope of Craighall who recorded impressions of Germany relating to the period 1832-1857.<sup>7</sup>

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1. The Lanark Manse Family, p. 17; see also Scott, Fasti, vol. 2, p. 249.

2. von Selle, op. cit., p. 92, No. 26486.

3. Scottish Record Office, Dundas of Ochtertyre MSS., GD. 35/.44, letter of 25th February, 1818.

4. William Fraser, History of the Carnegies, Earls of Southesk, vol. 1, pp. 233-234.

5. S.R.O., GD. 364, bundles 263, 425 and 1295-1297.

6. National Library of Scotland, Catalogue, vol. 2 No. 3975-3977.

7. S.R.O., GD. 377, bundles 279-283.

The cultivated mind was further stimulated by means of the circulation of German literature in translation. Robert Pearse Gillies was not himself of the first rank as a writer, but he was remarkably industrious and dedicated as a popularizer. His Memoirs of a Literary Veteran<sup>1</sup> revealed wide-ranging connections with others who shared his interest in Germany, and his articles in Blackwood's Magazine, "Horae Germanicae" and "Horae Danicae", were eagerly read by many for whom German literature was a new experience. However, the earliest to appreciate the value of German literature was Henry Mackenzie. It was he who in 1788 stimulated Sir Walter Scott's interest when he delivered a lecture to the Royal Society of Edinburgh on the subject of the German theatre. As a result of this lecture, Scott set himself the task of learning German and was soon reading the works of Bürger and Schiller.<sup>2</sup> By the second decade of the nineteenth century German literature was highly regarded in Scotland. That this esteem should continue was in no small measure due to the commitment of Sir William Hamilton, principal of Edinburgh University and friend of such dissimilar men of German sympathies as Robert Pearse Gillies, John Cairns of the United Presbyterian Church, and James Ferrier, latterly incumbent in the chair of moral philosophy at St. Andrews from 1845.<sup>3</sup> Hamilton's interest in Germany had been quickened by his membership of the circle in Edinburgh to which Gillies belonged and which included professors Duncan and Jamieson, Dr. (afterwards Sir) David Brewster, and J.C. Colquhoun, who had studied at Göttingen,<sup>4</sup> and was later to become

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1. R.P. Gillies, Memoirs of a Literary Veteran; including Sketches and Anecdotes of the Most Distinguished Literary Characters from 1794 to 1849, 3 vols., London 1851.
  2. Paul Girardin, Robert Pearse Gillies and the Propagation of German Literature in England at the end of the XVIIIth and the beginning of the XIXth Century, Bern, 1916, p. 13.
  3. John Veitch, Memoir of Sir William Hamilton, Bt., pp. 135 and 271; E.S. Haldane, James Frederick Ferrier, London, 1899, pp. 71-75.
  4. von Selle, Matrikel, p. 23, No. 19863.

Sheriff of Dunbartonshire.<sup>1</sup> This circle stimulated him to learn German in a competent fashion, although he possessed the rudiments of the language from visits to Leipzig and Dresden in 1817 and 1820.<sup>2</sup> German processes of thought fascinated him, his regard for German scholarship was high, and as one who knew and understood the theological controversies of his day Hamilton's friendship with John Cairns was significant in that the latter was probably the foremost expositor of German theology in Scotland.

It was, however, Thomas Carlyle who was most closely associated with teutonic culture and literature and whose early years of involvement with German thought coincided with Sir William Hamilton's own awakening to the intellectual power of Germany. His first major work, Sartor Resartus, appeared in 1833-1834 and was marked by his new-found love of German life and letters.<sup>3</sup> Translations of Goethe and Schiller followed and his History of German Literature, though unfinished, appeared in 1830.<sup>4</sup> Thereafter, Carlyle maintained his interest in the literature of Germany and was described by Henry Crabb Robinson as "the supremest German scholar in the British Empire".<sup>5</sup> His relationship with Goethe grew more intimate so that, when Carlyle applied for the vacant chair of moral philosophy at St. Andrews, he solicited, and received a testimonial from him.<sup>6</sup>

Thus, the lure of the German university was reinforced for many Scottish students by the enthusiastic reception accorded to German literature by Scottish writers and

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1. Veitch, op. cit., p. 92.

2. ibid., pp. 89-91.

3. Thomas Carlyle, Sartor Resartus, 1833-1834.

4. Thomas Carlyle, History of German Literature, 1830, [Unfinished].

5. J.A. Froude, Thomas Carlyle: A History of the First Forty Years of His Life, 1795-1835, London, 1882, vol. 1, p. 426.

6. ibid., vol. 1, pp. 416-421.

academics of the standing of Carlyle and William Hamilton. Germany became "the place to go" for the furtherance of academic studies; but those who went were aware of the cultural rewards which could accrue from such a visit, and their plans were laid with both theology and culture in mind. The great intellectual figures of the nineteenth century, like Carlyle and Coleridge, were polymaths in their approach to knowledge, and Germany seemed to be the country where the appetite of the polymath might be satisfied.

The renewal of the tradition of Scottish students undertaking theological studies in Germany was, therefore, set in motion against the background of wider secular developments which embraced the Grand Tour, advances in German scientific and intellectual achievement, and the well-established role of the minister as tutor in families which were affluent enough to indulge in Continental travel. There were a few notable examples of students of divinity who travelled or studied in Germany in the years before the traditional Lehrjahr was established. Thus, James Sanson, later minister of Leadhills and reputed to be Scott's model for "Dominie Sampson", travelled extensively on the Continent in the 1780s;<sup>1</sup> Stair MacQuhae, who succeeded his father at St. Quivox was, as we have seen, at Göttingen in 1818-1819; David Aitken, latterly minister of Minto, met with Tholuck and Wegscheider at Halle in 1826;<sup>2</sup> and John Aiton, author of Clerical Economics and minister of Dolphinton, travelled to Germany in 1840 and set down his impressions in 1842.<sup>3</sup>

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1. W.S. Crockett, The Scott Originals, Edinburgh, 1912, (Third edition, 1932), pp. 81-84.

2. "Germany in 1826: Extracts from a Diary of the Late Revd. David Aitken, Minister of the Parish of Minto from 1827-1864", The Scottish Review, vol. 24, 1894, pp. 106-125.

3. John Aiton, Eight Weeks in Germany, Edinburgh, 1842.

Strangely, all of these belonged to the Auld Kirk. The first group initiative, however, originated within the Secession and Relief tradition and almost coincided with John Aiton's private visit. A.R. MacEwen identified his father as one of the first "landlouping students of divinity" to study at Halle and Berlin under Hengstenberg, Neander and Tholuck. In fact, W.B. Robertson and Alexander Renton matriculated in 1841, precursors of a sizeable number from the later United Presbyterian Church who enrolled at Halle, and were followed in 1843 by Alexander MacEwen and Henry Erskine Fraser.<sup>1</sup> John Cairns, at Berlin from 1843-1844, opined that the "very worst of the professors are intelligent men", and particularly developed a high regard for Neander. At Berlin, Cairns met John Logan Aikman, John Mitchell, William Graham and Alexander Wallace, all drawn to Berlin by the reputation of Neander in church history.<sup>2</sup> Knowledge of German theology and church life was not only gleaned from formal attendance at university lectures. Thus, David King of the United Secession Church published an account of his travels on the Continent in 1837;<sup>3</sup> John Eadie and Alexander MacEwen took with them in 1846 James Harper, who had not himself studied in Germany, and visited Halle, Berlin, Frankfurt and Leipzig;<sup>4</sup> and later, in 1857, William Arnot, W.B. Robertson and John Cairns attended the Evangelical Alliance in Berlin, at which Cairns had the signal honour of being selected to address the Alliance (which he did in German) as the representative of English-speaking Protestantism.<sup>5</sup>

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1. From information given in Die Matrikel der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg and corroborated in the biographical material referred to within this chapter. Robertson matriculated on 25th November, 1841, Renton on the same day, Fraser on 11th May, 1843 and MacEwen on 26th May, 1843.
  2. Recalled by Cairns in his funeral sermon for Aikman, published in In Memoriam: J. Logan Aikman, D.D., Edinburgh, 1885, pp. 26-27.
  3. David King, Notices of the State of Religion in France, Switzerland and Germany, Edinburgh, 1837.
  4. James Brown, Life of John Eadie, D.D. LL.D., Edinburgh 1878, pp. 115-116.

The first Free Church student to study in Germany, John Nelson, attended the University of Berlin in the very year of the Disruption. His sojourn in Germany, however, probably had more to do with his close friendship with John Cairns than with the Free Church's desire to regard the forging of contacts with the Continent as a first priority in 1843.<sup>1</sup> Any sustained movement of Free Church students in Germany did not take place until 1852 when Gavin Carlyle and Andrew Wilson enrolled in philosophy at Tübingen.<sup>2</sup> Wilson, the son of the founder of Wilson College, Bombay, turned away from the ministry and became editor of "The Times of India" in 1873. Carlyle, however, went on to hold pastorates within the Presbyterian Church of England and was well respected for the work which he did in Kensington and Ealing.<sup>3</sup> John James Stevenson became an architect of note in Glasgow notwithstanding the fact that he was the first Free Church student to matriculate in theology at Tübingen.<sup>4</sup> During the Summer semester of 1856, according to the University archives, he attended Professor Keller's lectures on the history of German literature, Dr. Leibnitz' lectures on philosophy, and, for the greater part of his time, the general study of theology.<sup>5</sup>

It is with J.J. Stevenson's brother William, however, that the influence of Professor J.T. Beck becomes most apparent.<sup>6</sup> In 1863, his course included lectures from Professor Oehler on the Messianic prophecies and the Epistle to the Hebrews, and from Professor Beck on the Acts

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1. In Memoriam: John Nelson, D.D., Edinburgh, 1878, pp. 28-30.
  2. Carlyle: Verzeichnis, p. 25, No. 750; Universitätsmatrikel, No. 00007. Wilson: Verzeichnis, p. 10, No. 711.
  3. See "The Middlesex County Times", 17th February, 1912, 21st February, 1914 and 21st February, 1919. Also, The United Reformed Church History Society, 86, Tavistock Place, London, WC1, has a file of cuttings relating to Carlyle.
  4. Verzeichnis, p. 11, No. 149; Universitätsarchiv, 40/227.
  5. Universitätsarchiv, 40/221 (or ? 227).
  6. Universitätsmatrikel, No. 00141.

of the Apostles, the Epistles to Timothy and Christian doctrine.<sup>1</sup> It is almost certain that this latter series of lectures on doctrine prompted Stevenson to publish what was a virtual synopsis of Beck's lectures for use by the Church in Madras.

Andrew Melville, later to become Principal Clerk to the Free Church General Assembly, matriculated in theology<sup>2</sup> in the same year as William Stevenson, with D.D. Bannerman following in 1864. Of others recorded at Tübingen in the 1860s, George Robson<sup>3</sup> became Moderator of the Free Church General Assembly in 1903 and was known for his interest in German theology, particularly through his translations of the works of Dorner and Warneck.<sup>4</sup>

Perhaps the earliest regular student of theology in the nineteenth century from the Established Church was William Mackintosh, afterwards minister of the parish of Buchanan. It is true that David Aitken had first-hand knowledge of church affairs in Prussia and of the theologians of the University of Berlin, but his status was that of traveller rather than student. Mackintosh enrolled as a student at Berlin in the session 1843-1844, and was known to John Cairns and William Graham as something of a rara avis in view of his Auld Kirk credentials.<sup>5</sup> In addition however, he attended classes at Tübingen before returning home<sup>6</sup> and might be said to have blazed the trail

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1. Universitätsarchiv, 537/570, aus 40/221.
  2. Verzeichnis, p. 12; Universitätsmatrikel, No. 00141.
  3. Universitätsmatrikel, No. 00155. See John A. Lamb (ed.), Fasti of the United Free Church of Scotland, 1900-1929, Edinburgh, 1956, p. 333.
  4. I.A. Dorner, Geschichte der protestantischen Theologie, 1867, (English translation by George Robson), 2 vols., 1871; G. Warneck, Geschichte der protestantischen Missionen, (English translation by George Robson of 7th edition, 1901).
  5. "Reminiscences by William Graham, D.D.", In Memoriam: J. Logan Aikman, D.D., p. 34.
  6. William Knight, Some Nineteenth Century Scotsman, p. 317.

to that seat of theological learning. Nevertheless, Mackintosh was ahead of his time and it was not until more than a decade later that students of the Established Church began to attend the universities of Germany - and Tübingen in particular - in any appreciable numbers.

Thus, Malcolm Campbell Taylor matriculated in theology at Tübingen in 1855. His brother, Duncan, emulated him in engaging in theological study in Germany, although he went to Heidelberg in 1857,<sup>1</sup> and found himself in the company of Oswald Dykes, R.J. Sandeman, John Murray, John Hutchison and Stevenson Smith, all of whom were either Free Church or United Presbyterians.<sup>2</sup> Thereafter, students of the Established Church were to be found at Tübingen from 1860 onwards. James Gillespie entered the faculty of theology in the Autumn of 1862,<sup>3</sup> and William Boyd, Theodore Marshall and John Monteith are listed for the year 1864.<sup>4</sup> Monteith, his appetite whetted, studied also at Bonn and Heidelberg. Four years later, Henry Cowan, later professor of ecclesiastical history at the University of Aberdeen, matriculated at Tübingen,<sup>5</sup> and Thomas Martin and Alexander Marshall followed him in 1870, the former minister of the Barony of Glasgow in 1900, in succession to Dr. John Marshall Lang.<sup>6</sup>

Material from the University archives at Tübingen, covering the period 1855-1870, affords an interesting glimpse of the courses pursued by Scottish students of theology at that university. As expected, much of the

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1. Gustav Toepke und Paul Hintzelmann, Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg, 7 Bände, Heidelberg, 1884-1916. See vol. 6, p. 310, No.234.
  2. ibid., vol. 6, pp. 290, 291, 293 and 295 respectively.
  3. Verzeichnis, p. 11; Universitätsmatrikel, No. 00134.
  4. Monteith is listed in the Universitätsmatrikel as No. 00157. See also Scott, Fasti, vol. 2, p. 316.
  5. Universitätsmatrikel, No. 00216.
  6. Martin: Universitätsmatrikel, No. 00248; Marshall: No. 00248.



emphasis was on the study of the Old and New Testament books. Thus, Malcolm Taylor is to be found at Dr. Oehler's lectures on "An Introduction to the Old Testament",<sup>1</sup> while James Gillespie and John Craig are recorded as having heard the same lecturer expatiate on the prophet Isaiah.<sup>2</sup> Oehler also provided a course on the Epistle to the Hebrews which, as has been noted, was attended by William Stevenson. The versatile Dr. Oehler employed his gifts, too, in the teaching of Christian Symbolics, a course taken by William Boyd.<sup>3</sup>

However, the most prominent of the Tübingen teachers was undoubtedly Professor J.T. Beck, whose long and distinguished career spanned some forty years. A letter exists in the hand of Thomas McCune, Established Church student of divinity later appointed by the Free Church as a missionary to British Guiana, in which he made contact with the University of Tübingen in 1844 to seek to further his "darling study" (as he termed it somewhat quaintly) in the field of biblical criticism.<sup>4</sup> Undoubtedly, McCune was motivated to address his request to the divines of Tübingen because of the reputation of the school of criticism associated with F.C. Baur. By the 1850s, however, Beck's conservative approach had established itself and succeeded in attracting foreign students in considerable numbers. With Baur's death in 1860, Beck's position at Tübingen was unchallenged. Much of his attention was given to the examination of a variety of scriptural books, especially from the New Testament. Consequently, Stevenson

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1. Universitätsarchiv, 40/228.

2. ibid., 40/70 and 40/39.

3. ibid., 40/26.

4. Universitätsarchiv, 573/70 aus 130/352. Letter dated "Stranraer 10 June 1844", McCune requests acceptance as an "external" student. C.f. A Scottish Student in Leipzig. Being Letters of W.G. Blackie, his Father and his Brothers In the Years 1839-1840. London and Glasgow, 1932, Appendix, Note 12, p. 177.

heard him lecture on the Acts of the Apostles; Boyd, Ephesians; Alexander Robertson and Stevenson again, Timothy; James Gillespie, Peter; and John Craig, the Apocalypse.<sup>1</sup> His wide interests, however, led him beyond biblical study into other subjects which were approached in a strictly biblical fashion. His lectures, therefore, extended to treat of Christian ethics and Christian doctrine, the latter being of particular significance insofar as they incorporated teaching on the Eucharist and laid before his students his own understanding of Holy Communion. Moreover, his concern that his students should be equipped with an adequately developed theology of the sacraments is reflected in the fact that his course of lectures made provision for instruction on Baptism and Holy Communion („Sakramentslehre“). The records of the university archives reveal that Joseph Robinson<sup>2</sup> and John T. Craig<sup>3</sup> both sat under Beck for this course, and in addition to his lectures on Christian doctrine (attended by Malcolm Taylor, William Boyd and William Stevenson). It is likely that his exposition of other New Testament subjects would also touch upon the nature and content of the Eucharist.

J.T. Beck's Die christliche Liebeslehre provides us with a detailed survey of his own opinion in relation to the two dominical sacraments. He is certainly scriptural. Great use is made of Old Testament passages which point to the origins of Jewish festivals and to their significance for the development of the Christian sacraments.<sup>4</sup> He draws copiously from the Book of Psalms especially where they shed light on the biblical understanding of the importance of bread and wine.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, his arguments about

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1. See Universitätsarchiv, Nos. 40/221, 40/26, 40/179, 40/76 and 40/39.

2. See Universitätsarchiv, No. 40/179.

3. Universitätsarchiv, No. 49/39.

4. Beck, Die christliche Liebeslehre, pp. 123-125.

5. ibid., p. 120.

the nature of the Lord's Supper are based to a large degree upon quotations from and interpretations of St. John's Gospel and the Epistles.<sup>1</sup> Yet even Beck's conservative scriptural emphasis offered potentially great rewards to the Scottish student who followed his arguments and imbibed his distinctive approach; for, devoid though it was of the expansive philosophical theology of John Tulloch, there was a warm evangelicalism at the heart of Beck's thinking. As he takes the reader from one closely argued procession of scriptural passages to another, an understanding of the Eucharist emerges which does not have an exact counterpart in the Scotland of the same period. There is about his writing something of the devotional intimacy of Willison of Dundee, from earlier times, and something also of a foretaste of the Scoto-Catholic, William Milligan, in his references to the divine-human nature of Christ and the place in sacramental thinking of the ascension.

Beck's eucharistic thought disposes of the idea that a "memorialist" view of the Lord's Supper is in any sense adequate. Using a phrase reminiscent of John Warden, and Calvin before him, he states that "the Lord exhibited his Body and Blood in the meal"<sup>2</sup>, and shows that while the Supper is ordained as a memorial of the Lord,<sup>3</sup> "our remembrance is not the origin but the effect of this food and drink".<sup>4</sup> The images which he adopts to express the nature of the Sacrament derive from two fundamental biblical images, sometimes regarded separately, sometimes held in tension: sacrifice and feast. Here, once more, is an

1. ibid., pp. 126ff., 130 and 138.

2. ibid., p. 118.

3. ibid., p. 119.

4. ibid., p. 118: "Darin liegt nun vor Allem: unser Gedenken ist nicht die Ursache, sondern ist die Wirkung von diesem Essen und Trinken erst zum Mahl des Herrn machen, soll uns den Leib Christi zu essen und sein Blut zu trinken geben, sondern der Herr gibt uns zu essen und gibt uns zu trinken mit den Worten: 'das ist mein Leib, mein Blut'. Er speist und eben dadurch soll sein Gedächtniss in uns erhalten werden".

echo of the familiar "feast upon a sacrifice" occurring with Cudworth and recurring in the works of Glas, Watson of Burntisland, Wright of Borthwick, John Cumming and Norman Macleod of Inverness. Beck does not use the phrase in this overt way, but, having touched upon the sacrificial aspect of the Supper, he goes on to emphasise that it is to be considered also as a banquet at which the presence of Christ is a reality. This sacramental presence of Christ, he reaffirms, is not a matter of imagination or mere mental recollection on the part of the believer.<sup>1</sup>

Beck then turns to the matter of the place of the altar and its relationship to the sacrifice of Christ. He observes, in passing, that "the blood was the soul of the animal" which was sacrificed in the worship of the temple, and in this observation he comes near to the affirmation of William Milligan that, in the Old Testament dispensation, the blood of an animal offered in sacrifice represents its life rather than its death.<sup>2</sup> This important truth, the fruit of a deeper understanding of biblical theology, leads Beck to deduce according to the New Testament dispensation that "the blood of Jesus is blood sanctified by His holy revivifying Spirit".

In Beck's judgement, therefore, the holiness of the altar consists in its being the place where God accepts sacrifice. Sacrifice stands at the very heart of the altar's use in religious rite. However, the altar focuses upon yet another concept which arises out of its role as a place of sacrifice. We give back to Him what belongs to Him in the first place. But when God accepts the sacrifice, He sanctifies it, and returns it to man as a gift of His sanctification. Thus, God and man share "one

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1. ibid., p. 200.

2. ibid., p. 126. "Das Blut der Opferthiere ist ein mit thierischer Seele verbundenes Blut".

3. idem.

possession and one joy".<sup>1</sup> Consequently, all who eat of the sacrificial offering are in communion with the altar in such a way as to make the altar not only a place of sacrifice but also a place of fellowship, and the traditional elements of feasting and sacrificing have their relationship of complementarity maintained.<sup>2</sup>

In order to emphasize the spiritual nature of the sacramental bread and wine, and to provide a scriptural basis for that spiritual dimension, Beck draws attention to the manna on which the Israelites fed on their journey through the wilderness. At first sight, it would appear that Beck's scriptural conservatism has led him to read too much into the episode of the manna (at least as far as the manner of its provision is concerned), for he advances the hypothesis that the manna was already there in the clouds, at God's instigation, waiting to be used. However, he cleverly widens the argument and, drawing on the episode of the manna as an analogy, points to the fact that there are other gifts and graces of God, unseen and unrecognized, which are similarly waiting to be utilized and received. In support of this thesis, Beck refers to the Psalmist's words, "Lord, we are your creation....the earth is full of your goodness". Developing this scriptural insight, not many steps from the idea of the manna waiting in the clouds, he sets out the view that the Creation is equivalent to the expression of the Spirit of God. Creation is recognizable as a divine revelation and, furthermore, we acquire a spiritual faculty through such revelations. While the phrase, "the sacramental nature of the universe" has enjoyed greater use amongst the theologians of the twentieth century than those

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1. ibid., p. 128: "ein Gut und ein Freude".

2. ibid., pp. 126-127. See also the additional passage on p. 127: "Der Altar ist nicht nur die Opferstätte, sondern auch die Stätte, wo der Mensch mit Gott und Gott mit dem Mensch Gemeinschaft pflegt, und zwar, da es sich um Mahlzeit handelt, eine Gemeinschaft des Essens und Trinkens, eine Communion".

of the nineteenth, it is an almost identical sentiment which Beck is seeking to express in his reference to Creation and Spirit.<sup>1</sup>

The Spirit, moreover, works in such a way as to demonstrate the power of God. It was the action of the "life-giving Spirit" which had the closest of ties with the Genesis account of Creation and the Old Testament concept of the Divine Wisdom.<sup>2</sup> It is not difficult, then, to discern an immediate and obvious application of this truth in the manner in which Christians regard the sacramental elements of bread and wine. The relationship between the bread and the wine and the Body and Blood stands at the centre of any investigation into the nature of the Holy Communion. Beck seeks to define that relationship and does not shrink from asking the question, "How is the Body and Blood of Christ connected with the bread and wine"? He answers categorically that it is "through the vitalizing Spirit" that a connection is made between them.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, according to Beck's interpretation, the Spirit which quickens the understanding and reveals the power of God in the grace-bearing, material elements of Creation is the same Spirit which effects a unity, by the same power of God, between the bread offered in the Sacrament and the Body of Christ, and the wine offered and the Blood of Christ.<sup>4</sup> It is the same Spirit, also, which works in and through the life of the believing Christian communicant so that the nourishing grace of the Supper bears fruit in the quality of his daily life, and leads him to search and yearn for that eternal life which is Christ's special gift to those who love him.

It is clear that Beck's view of the Supper goes far beyond the narrowly memorialist interpretation common in Scotland throughout the nineteenth century. He does not seek to commend the Sacrament as a means of reflecting in a

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1. ibid., p. 134.

2. ibid., p. 166.

3. ibid., p. 157.

4. ibid., p. 158.

devotional spirit upon the dying Lord, thereby drawing forth deeper feelings of love, shame and repentance, all issuing in a new resolve to live a life of more obedient discipleship. The Cross and the acts of the Upper Room are not for him primarily an object-lesson designed to play upon mind and heart and to effect a degree of moral reformation. Nor, indeed, is the Sacrament "a badge of Christian profession", ratifying all that God has already done in bringing the believer to experience conversion and sanctification. To Beck, the real presence lay at the heart of the Supper, and that presence was "activated" or "released" by the work of the Spirit upon the elements and upon the spiritual discernment of the communicant.<sup>1</sup>

In support of his view of the real presence Beck elaborates upon two aspects of the nature of Christ. He dwells upon the matter of the Church's orthodoxy in positing the two natures of Christ, divine and human. This suggests to Beck that the heavenly and earthly elements of His whole being have been fused, and there therefore exists in Christ a combination of earthly and heavenly wisdom, in the same manner in which it existed in God before the foundation of the world.<sup>2</sup> Christ, then, is particularly the embodiment of the intrinsic qualities of bread and wine, because nothing has existed outwardly without Him, and yet everything is created within His being.<sup>3</sup>

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1. ibid., p. 139. See Beck's stress upon the "life of glory" ("Leben der Herrlichkeit"). He maintains that the supernatural, eternal world is different from the present world not only in outward form but in being. It is the "life of glory". „Es ist Ueberirdische, das Ewige, das von der jetzigen Welt nicht durch blosse äussere Form (Fortdauer) verschieden ist, sondern durch sein Wesen, und dieses Wesen kann man gegenüber unsrer vom Tod zerfressenen Welt nicht nachdrücklicher bezeichnen als: es ist Leben, Leben der Herrlichkeit".

2. ibid., pp. 150-151.

3. ibid., p. 151.

This understanding of the nature of Christ has very deep implications for the nature of the Lord's Supper, especially insofar as it is interpreted as being a manifestation of the power of God and a means of the faithful communicant receiving the real presence of Christ. "Christ", he says, "has not life within Himself like the rest of the world, like a creature. He has life within Him in the same manner that God has, and the two main expressions of divinity are SPIRIT and ETERNITY, and the eternal spiritual life within Him exists".<sup>1</sup> The power-giving presence of the Lord is given through the Holy Spirit because, with the Lord's Supper, the physical aspect of a man's existence is less important than the spiritual. For this reason, the Lord's Supper was not instituted to make the blind see or the lame walk.<sup>2</sup> Every meal and drink maintain and refresh life, yet all our ordinary food and drink cannot prevent death. It lies, however, within the capacity of the Supper to give eternal life.<sup>3</sup>

These effects of the Supper are regarded by Beck as being in direct consequence of the two natures of Christ. He goes on, however, to lay considerable emphasis upon another aspect of the nature of Christ which is illumined by His ascension; and in this he approaches the more highly developed position of William Milligan. Beck concludes that by the resurrection and ascension the whole physical body of Christ has undergone transformation; or, according to the mystical theology of St. Paul, the body of Christ has been glorified. This means, in Beck's understanding of Scripture, that since Christ's earthly substance has been elevated into the heavenly realm, His body and blood

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1. ibid., p. 166.

2. idem.

3. ibid., p. 177.



have also been glorified.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, as an indication of the comprehensiveness of Beck's sacramental teaching, some consideration should be given to his assessment of the effect of the Supper on the life of the communicant. Reference occurs at various points of Die christliche Leibeslehre to the phrase "life of glory", which Beck designates as the aim and objective of Christian discipleship. It is also the aim and objective of the Supper: to bring the communicant into the realm where the "life of glory" is a reality.

Closely related to this "life of glory" is the state of being which the Gospel describes as eternal life. This is one of the blessings of the sacramental meal: "the careful listener is given a meal by the Lord Himself whereby He creates eternal life".<sup>2</sup> It is indeed the Supper which quickens this capacity to become a "careful listener", for it is the working of the Spirit of Jesus in and through the bread and wine which nourish "the taste for the divine".<sup>3</sup> The gift of eternal life, mediated through the Supper, naturally implies that death has been set aside and vanquished, and Beck certainly understands the Supper as a sign of the defeat of death and an experience, in consequence, of the most profound rejoicing.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, there is also what Beck refers to as "the transfiguring effect of the Holy Supper".<sup>5</sup> Christ's risen and ascended body is mediated to us through the Sacrament, and is seen

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1. ibid., p. 200, and particularly this: "Dadurch ist sein Leib und Blut verklärt worden; Klarheit, Verklärung macht das Licht (Luk 2:9 Mt. 17:2), und so ist der Leib Christi durch die höchste Verklärung reinste und feinste Lichtkörper geworden (vgl. 1 Kor. 15:40-43), der eben daher, wo er es will, eindringen kann wie das Licht mit seiner reinigenden und belebenden Kraft".

2. ibid., p. 142.

3. ibid., p. 218.

4. ibid., pp. 143-146.

5. ibid., p. 162.

as an instrument of the power of God. This transfiguring capacity of the Sacrament he describes in general terms, but he incorporates the idea of the force and power of the eucharistic gifts: "the effect is spiritual, deriving from the Spirit of the Lord, nourishing unto eternity from the vitalizing strength of the Lord, which is derived from His spiritually transfigured Body and Blood".<sup>1</sup>

John Tulloch spent some time at Tübingen in 1864 with the secretary of the theological society of the University of Edinburgh. His visit not only gave him an enthusiasm for German theology which remained with him for the rest of his life, but also contributed to the more tolerant awareness of theological views which were not indigenous to Scotland, and created in him a breadth of understanding which Tulloch's opponents would have ascribed, uncharitably, to his dangerous liberalism.<sup>2</sup> From his impressions of Tübingen it is possible to trace the enlargement of his own theological conspectus and, almost as a corollary, a certain impatience with his fellow Scots at Tübingen in that they had very largely failed to grasp the opportunities for more adventurous thinking afforded to them even in the post-Baur era by members of the two faculties of theology, Catholic and Protestant, which existed side by side in a manner totally unknown in Scotland. Thus Tulloch recognised in the presence of Drs. Beck, Kuhn and (in the Roman Catholic faculty) Hefele what he described as "the materials of controversy"; and he recorded his disappointment that his countrymen at Tübingen in 1864 "upon the whole..... adhered steadily to Dr. Beck, and seemed to open their minds only too little to the wider conflicts of theological opinion in Germany".<sup>3</sup>

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1. ibid., p. 163.

2. John Tulloch, "Tübingen in 1864", Macmillan's Magazine, September, 1864, vol. 10, pp. 430-442.

3. John Tulloch, Theological Controversy, or the Function of Debate in Theology, An Address to Edinburgh University Theological Society, 1865, p. 6.

That "steady adherence" to Dr. Beck certainly implied that the Scottish student's inclination lay in the direction of Beck's resolute opposition to modernity, and his constant upholding of a scriptural conservatism in total contradiction to the view of his liberal predecessor, Baur.<sup>1</sup> However, Beck's conservative orthodoxy cannot be quite so easily dismissed, as Tulloch sought to do, as the predictable and "safe" diet of theological pabulum already being served in generous portions within the divinity halls of Scotland. The detailed survey of his opinions in Die christliche Liebeslehre reveals a well developed eucharistic teaching which dealt with the understanding and significance of the Sacrament at a deeper level than one was accustomed to find in the Scotland of the 1860s. Moreover, in certain emphases, notably in his awareness of the centrality of the ascended Christ, he showed that his mind was grappling with an area of biblical theology later to be more fully explored by William Milligan and others of the Scoto-Catholic group. Accordingly, he cannot simply be regarded as a mere stereotype of Scottish theological conservatism of that period.

Nevertheless, there is little evidence to suggest that Beck's Tübingen lectures exerted any great and lasting influence upon the Scottish students who sat at his feet from 1855 onwards. There is little doubt that the students who studied in Germany, from the United Presbyterian, Free Church and Auld Kirk traditions, looked back upon the experience as being a high privilege. The funeral addresses delivered much later in the period around 1880 indicate that the excitement and companionship of the German Lehrjahr had made a deep impression, as had the characteristics and qualities of the university teachers. We look in vain, however, for tangible signs of a prevailing German influence in eucharistic matters. Both Tholuck and Beck were representative of the culture of their time, and of the theological power of the German universities.

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1. Schaff, Germany, p. 101.

Their influence, however, appears to have been mediated by way of impressions upon young minds rather than by the handing down of any detailed system of theology. The fact that Beck's lectures were translated by William Stevenson for subsequent use in India is of undeniable interest; but it is not sufficient evidence from which to conclude that Beck's eucharistic teaching had repercussions in the parishes of Scotland, or even in the catechisms and handbooks employed in the instruction of communicants.

Furthermore, there are no firm grounds for assuming that a proven connection existed between the churchmanship of the Scoto-Catholics and the eucharistic teaching of J.T. Beck. It is certainly noteworthy that Theodore Marshall, a student at Tübingen, became a leading member of the Scottish Church Society at a later stage in his career; and that the Society exhibited an affinity, in some respects, with Beck's sacramental thought. On investigation, however, any connection between Beck's theology of the Eucharist and Marshall (or, indeed, the Scottish Church Society) would appear to be based upon conjecture. This is not, of course, to dismiss as negligible the impact of study in Germany upon Scottish students in general, and upon Theodore Marshall and others, like Henry Hamilton<sup>1</sup> and Thomas Martin,<sup>2</sup> who shared his churchmanship. It is, however, to conclude that in the specifically eucharistic context the conjunction between the two remains very much an open question in the absence of incontrovertible facts.

At the outset, then, it was by no means far-fetched to entertain expectations that German eucharistic thought

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1. Toepke and Hintzelmann, op. cit., vol. 6, p. 382, No. 184. Hamilton was at Heidelberg, matriculating on 8th May, 1860, having previously studied at Berlin. He became minister of the parish of Hamilton.
  2. Universitätsmatrikel Tübingen, No. 00248. Martin matriculated on 3rd June, 1870. See also, Augustus Muir, John White, London, 1958, p. 441.

could have caused a marked difference in the traditional Scottish mode of understanding the Sacrament. Reference has been made in sufficient detail to the manner in which German influence manifested itself, first through the enthusiastic acceptance by the influential few of German cultural ideas; and thereafter by the remarkable availability of German theology in translation, and the establishment of the custom of the theological semester at a German university. The Tübingen connection, though, however popular it became, failed to make any lasting impression upon the eucharistic thought and practice of the Church of Scotland. Nor, indeed, did the similar link with Heidelberg amongst Free Church students from 1856 produce any more dramatic results in the sphere of sacramental theology. For changes in the liturgy and theology of the Eucharist in Scotland, therefore, we must look in other directions, whatever the apparent initial strength of German influence.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

THE MERCERSBURG MOVEMENT: ROMANTICISM IN  
GERMANY AND AMERICA

The Mercersburg movement took its name from the obscure village in which was situated the seminary of the American German Reformed Church. The movement itself had its origins in the meeting of minds associated with the appointment of John Williamson Nevin and Philip Schaff as professors at Mercersburg. However, it was by no means as isolated a phenomenon as the name of the Appalachian village would suggest. It arose as an expression of nineteenth century Romanticism and had its counterpart in the liturgical movement in the Church in Prussia, in Tractarianism within the Church of England, and in the later founding of both the Church Service Society and the Scottish Church Society within the Church of Scotland.

What happened at Mercersburg was of considerable significance for the development of Scottish sacramental thought in the nineteenth century. In the first place, through Nevin and Schaff there arose a greater awareness of the worship of the Catholic Apostolic Church. The liturgical antecedents of Mercersburg were in some sense similar to those of the Church of Scotland which followed in the development of its worship features from the liturgies of both the Catholic Apostolic and American German Reformed Churches.

Moreover, the interest in German theology which was stimulated in Scotland from about 1830 onwards was to some extent made more coherent by Nevin and Schaff who were able to articulate the movements of thought in German church life better than any other interpreters of their time, with the one possible exception of John Cairns.

Further, Nevin and Schaff tried to claim the authority of the Reformed standards for their Catholic principles in worship and theology, and particularly in the theology of

the Eucharist. Their experience was similar to that of Macleod, Milligan, Cooper and Wotherspoon in Scotland later in the century. In this respect, therefore, familiarity with the tensions and objectives of Mercersburg gave a degree of confidence and direction to the Scoto-Catholics.

George Lewis, the arch-Protestant minister of St. David's, Dundee, travelled widely in the United States in 1844 and, inter alia, took note of the statistics relating to the German Reformed Church in that country.<sup>1</sup> In Cincinnati he was struck by the fact that 14,000 Germans were employed locally, and that German manners and fashions were greatly in evidence.<sup>2</sup> He observed that there was one German Reformed congregation in Cincinnati,<sup>3</sup> and recorded that in his travel further south he had discovered two congregations in New Orleans,<sup>4</sup> and one in St. Louis, the latter numbering three hundred members, paying a stipend of five hundred dollars and worshipping in a building with nine hundred sittings.<sup>5</sup>

The unsuspecting Lewis pronounced no adverse judgement on the theological position of this emigré Church, probably because his cursory inspection revealed nothing more than a traditional conservative and evangelical body whose counterpart could be found within segments, at least, of American (or even Scottish) presbyterianism. Had he stayed to investigate more closely, however, Lewis would have found much within the German Reformed Church which would have aroused his deepest misgivings, susceptible as he was to the slightest trace of Romanism. That year, 1844, saw the first meeting of the two Mercersburg professors whose collaboration was to change the face of the German Reformed Church in the United States.

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1. George Lewis, Impressions of America and the American Churches, Edinburgh, 1845.

2. ibid., p. 311.

3. ibid., p. 309.

4. ibid., p. 222.

5. ibid., p. 254.

John Williamson Nevin (1803-1886) was brought up within the Cumberland Presbyterian Church on the traditional puritan teaching of the time. At Princeton he displayed such academic promise that he was appointed to an assistant lectureship. This was arranged by Dr. Charles Hodge and allowed the professor to travel in Europe for two years on behalf of Princeton, in the knowledge that lectures to his students were being competently dealt with.<sup>1</sup>

After the return of Charles Hodge in 1828 Nevin's temporary appointment terminated according to plan and he moved on after a brief interval to a permanent lecturing post at the new Western Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church, located at Pittsburg and opened in 1830, albeit with the most slender of resources.<sup>2</sup> There he remained for almost ten years, teaching and working out in his own mind the true nature of orthodoxy in biblical scholarship, church history and Christology. The Nevin of early Princeton days would not have been greatly distinguishable from George Lewis when measured against the narrow orthodoxy of Old School presbyterianism. By the late 1830s, however, he had become a theologian who breathed a quite different atmosphere. Nevin was undoubtedly affected by the Romantic movement, and amongst the diverse factors which modified and enlarged his earlier thinking the softening influence of Coleridge, in his approach to the Bible, and Neander, in his approach to church history, are readily discernible. Indeed, Nevin himself drew attention to Neander's impact upon him in the course of his intellectual and theological development. "The new views of history" which, he said, had been revealed to him by Neander were "an actual awakening of the soul".<sup>3</sup> Therefore, what he gained from Neander far exceeded the normal intellectual instruction

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1. John Nevin, My Own Life: The Earlier Years, Lancaster, Penn., 1964 edition, (Papers of the Eastern Chapter, Historical Society of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, No. 1). See pp. 1-6, 28-29.

2. ibid., pp. 76f

3. ibid., p. 143.



imparted by teacher to pupil. His discovery of the man and his message lay in the realm of spiritual experience, a fact which is easily understood when it is borne in mind that for Neander two considerations were paramount in the study of church history: it should always be regarded as "a procession of witness", and it could only flourish where there was a consecrated heart - or, as he himself put it in his favourite Latin tag, pectus est quod theologum fecit.<sup>1</sup>

Nevin tells us that he came to know of Neander in an indirect way, but that he eventually embarked upon a study of German and read as his first significant German book Neander's Geist des Tertullianus. He experienced increasing dissatisfaction with the undogmatic, unhistorical and unchurchly versions of presbyterian orthodoxy at both Princeton and Western Seminary, and the writings of German theologians imposed new disciplines of history and theology upon him. It was, therefore, in keeping with Nevin's theological development that he should accept, in May 1840, a unanimous call to be professor of theology within Marshall College, the German Reformed Church seminary at Mercersburg.

Philip Schaff (1819-1893) was appointed professor of biblical literature and ecclesiastical history at Marshall College four years later at the age of twenty-five. Swiss by birth, he was educated in Germany at the Universities of Tübingen, Halle and Berlin. On 25th October, 1844, the German Reformed Church synod heard Schaff deliver his inaugural lecture entitled Das Princip des Protestantismus. This was translated by Nevin and published with the addition of the translator's Introduction.<sup>2</sup> In that Introduction Nevin felt constrained to explain the "true transatlantic

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1. A.L. Drummond, German Protestantism since Luther, London, 1951, p. 132.

2. Philip Schaff, The Principle of Protestantism as Related to the Present State of the Church, English translation and Introduction by J.W. Nevin, Chambersburg, Penn., 1845. See also 1964 edition, vol. 1 of "Lancaster Series of the Mercersburg Theology", edited by Bard Thompson and G.H. Bricker.

German tone" of the lecture by drawing attention to the thoroughgoing German nature of Schaff's upbringing and education and also the quite unforeseen manner, strangely parallel to his own experience, in which Schaff had left Berlin for Mercersburg.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, Schaff's lecture, in spite of its declaratory, uncompromising title, proved to be more eirenic in spirit and unexpected in content than many of the audience would have liked. It was devoid of the customary cliches of denominational triumphalism which accompanied discourses on such a subject and, lacking the simplistic generalisations about Protestantism and Romanism, left many of those who heard with the impression that they were on uncertain and unfamiliar ground. Again, therefore, Nevin did not miss the opportunity to defend his new colleague's position. He showed that he was aware of the suspicion and uncertainty which greeted Schaff's lecture but maintained that moderate judgement always became impossible to exercise when "virulent controversy" forced its participants "to have an eye for anything less than extremes".<sup>2</sup>

Nevin and Schaff were admirably equipped to complement each other in this scholastic enterprise. Nevin's ability to discern the sweep of the Church's story through personalities as well as through institutions had been imparted to him by David Mendel - "Neander". Just as Neander himself stressed in his adopted name that aspect of the faith embraced by the Pauline doctrine regarding the new humanity in Christ, so Nevin based his understanding of Calvin's doctrine of the Eucharist upon the Pauline imperative of "union with Christ". Furthermore, his years at Union College, Schenectady, brought home to him the dangers of private judgement and revivalistic religion, cutting across as they did the churchly traditions of historic Christianity. With the recollection of his experiences at Schenectady in

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1. ibid., pp. 28-29. See also J.H. Nichols, Romanticism in American Theology: Nevin and Schaff at Mercersburg, Chicago, 1961, p. 88.

2. Schaff, op. cit., p. 33.

mind, Nevin later bitterly described the revivalist and his assistants as "miserable obstetricians, the whole of them".<sup>1</sup> His chief criticism of their activities was that they were grounded in the principle that "regeneration and conversion lay outside of the Church, had nothing to do with baptism and Christian education, required rather a looking away from all this as more of a bar than a help to the process".<sup>2</sup> This led him to search for religious truth founded not on the subjective but on objective features of Christianity; and in this search the Church, its worship and sacraments were revealed as being invested with a "given-ness" which countered the vagaries of individual interpretation. It was against such individualism that Nevin addressed the German Reformed Church through the publication in 1843 of The Anxious Bench.<sup>3</sup>

Schaff came from the quite different background of German Protestantism, but his theological outlook proved to be substantially the same as that of his colleague, Nevin.<sup>4</sup> He was fully aware of the ebb and flow of German religious life throughout the previous century; of how the eighteenth century was largely a time of controversy between Protestant and Roman Catholic; of how that controversy gave way at the close of the century to an indifference born of irreligious rationalism; of how the early nineteenth century afforded to both Protestant and Roman Catholic almost unique ecumenical opportunities; and of how the reviving churches entrenched themselves later in the century behind the defences of confessionalism.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Nevin, op. cit., p. 9.

2. ibid., p. 10.

3. The "Anxious Bench" referred to the equivalent of the penitent's stool used at revivalist meetings. Nevin's Anxious Bench was a tract warning against the doctrinal dangers of revivalism. See Nichols Mercersburg Theology, p. 8.

4. ibid., pp. 10-11.

5. Schaff, Germany, p. 182.

The influences which were brought to bear upon the intellectual development of Philip Schaff are important enough to merit further detailed consideration. Most obviously, they illustrate the manner in which he arrived at his own theological position. However, such was the closeness of their co-operation that his own position was bound up with that of Nevin, and the systematic exposition of doctrine in which they both shared and to which they both contributed by means of lectures, pamphlets, articles, sermons and books drew all their labours into a coherent whole in the Mercersburg theology.

In considering the theological growth of Schaff, the Swiss Protestant, one has to pay heed to Sailer, the German Roman Catholic bishop. Johann Michael Sailer (1751-1832) was the most significant figure in German Catholicism of the late eighteenth century. His role, however, was not simply of importance within his own communion. A contemporary of Goethe who was privileged to live at a time of great creativity in German culture, he encouraged his students to read particularly the works of Lessing, Herder, Kant and Jacobi.<sup>1</sup> He was aware of the writings of Protestant theologians in Germany and worked closely with Hamann, Lavater, Stilling and others.<sup>2</sup> Sailer was regarded as "the German Fenelon" and he proved to be the first Roman Catholic of his time to be listened to with respect by the Protestants of Germany.<sup>3</sup>

Under the influence of Romanticism he restated the current ecclesiology which understood the Church according to legal concepts. Sailer reinterpreted St. Paul so that the mystical conception of the Church became dominant. Thus, the growth of the Church was seen by Sailer in organic terms as the mystical body of Christ and, in keeping with the

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1. Alexander Dru, The Church in the Nineteenth Century: Germany 1800-1917, London, 1963, p. 43.

2. Schaff, Germany, p. 182. See also R. Gregor Smith, J.G. Hamann, 1730-1788, London, 1960.

3. Dru, op. cit., p. 41.

Romantic influence which was beginning to gather momentum, the visible Church became a central part of the life of faith. Sailer also recovered the emphasis upon personal religion within the Church. In general, his insights and powerful influence led Roman Catholicism in Germany out of the era of rationalism into the era of Romanticism.<sup>1</sup>

All this Sailer brought about during the pre-confessional years of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, years of which Schaff remarked that "the reviving faith of the nineteenth century moved first in the broad channel of general Christianity".<sup>2</sup> Sailer's contribution to Catholicism was in fact also a stimulus to Protestant thought in Germany, for the process of secularization caused the mixing of Catholic and Protestant populations until, after 1803, there were no purely Catholic lands.<sup>3</sup>

When Philip Schaff came to study at Tübingen in 1837, Johann Adam Möhler (1796-1838) had moved from Tübingen to Bavaria only two years previously. Since 1817, when the Catholic faculty of theology opened, there had been both Catholic and Lutheran faculties within the University of Tübingen, resulting in an inevitable exchange of ideas.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, such was the reputation that Möhler had won for the Catholic faculty that it became the focal point for the most powerful theological movement in Southern Germany.<sup>5</sup> In consequence, no student of the Protestant faculty of theology could be unaware of the thinking which emanated from the Tübingen of Möhler, and a mere two years after his departure the issues which he had raised were still widely debated and discussed.

There were a number of historical factors which gave even greater point and relevance to the teachings of Möhler.

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1. ibid., pp. 42, 46-47.

2. Schaff, Germany, p. 182.

3. Dru, op. cit., p. 18.

4. Serge Bolshakoff, The Doctrine of the Unity of the Church in Khomyakov and Moehler, London, 1946, p. 226.

5. Nichols, Romanticism in American Theology, p. 66.

It was fortuitous, for example, that he was able to build upon foundations which had been partially laid down by Johann Michael Sailer, who was some forty-five years his senior. In addition Möhler's birth coincided with the flowering of the ideals of the French Revolution which, by the end of the eighteenth century, were felt with great force in Germany. Moreover, not only the ideas but also the armies of Napoleon were to invade Germany, and as a result for the first time there arose amongst the multifarious states a national solidarity (popularly in existence, even if not yet a reality constitutionally) which directed itself against the common enemy. This relatively new-found unity within the German people coincided, too, with the increasing strength and influence of the Romantic movement, and aided Möhler in recovering a sense of the Church's catholicity,<sup>1</sup> a theme which he developed more fully in his best known works, Die Einheit der Kirche<sup>2</sup> and Symbolik.<sup>3</sup>

Möhler also turned away from the rationalism of the eighteenth century as Sailer had attempted to do, and found new insights in the patristic writings.<sup>4</sup> He toured the universities of Germany but found most stimulus not from the Catholic theological faculties but from the lectures of Protestants like Planck at Göttingen and Neander at Berlin.<sup>5</sup> The latter particularly impressed him, and Möhler paid Neander the highest compliment in asserting that he was the first German Protestant to understand the Fathers.<sup>6</sup>

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1. ibid., p. 3.

2. J.A. Möhler, Die Einheit der Kirche oder Das Princip des Katholizismus, 1825.

3. J.A. Möhler, Symbolik, oder Darstellung der dogmatischen Gegensätze der Katholiken und Protestanten nach ihren öffentlichen Bekenntnisschriften, 1832. (English translation, London, 1843, as Symbolism, or Exposition of the Doctrinal Differences between Catholics and Protestants, as evidenced by their symbolical writings).

4. Bolshakoff, op. cit., p. 240.

5. Dru, op. cit., p. 62.

6. Drummond, op. cit., p. 132.

His own study of the patristic sources led him inescapably to the ancient liturgical texts. With this background from antiquity Möhler was ably equipped to study the contemporary liturgy of the Church. He emerged, in fact, as a precursor of the liturgical movement within the Roman Communion. Ecumenically, he made a number of serious attempts to understand the theological position of the Eastern Orthodox Church. In the realm of ecclesiology he never failed to stress the corporate aspects of the Church and to regard tradition as a growing and developing organism capable of adaptation and change, while yet remaining true to itself and its divine constitution.<sup>1</sup>

The development of Möhler's ecclesiological thinking has been traced by J.R. Geiselman who draws attention to three distinct phases. There is, first, the phase in which his lectures in canon law influenced him. The Church is therefore seen to be a hierarchical, legal society which Christ founded. His second phase is that which reveals the influence of Romanticism, and is marked by the publication in 1825 of Die Einheit der Kirche. At this stage in his development, Möhler altered his view so as to regard the Church as a fellowship of the Spirit rather than as a hierarchical society. Thus, he saw the primary task of the Church as being the imparting of life rather than the teaching of doctrine. The third stage was something of a synthesis, as outlined in Symbolik, between the previous phases. The synthesis, however, is to be found in Christ who represents the external and human, and the internal and divine by virtue of his being the God-Man.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Nichols, Romanticism, pp. 66-67; J.R. Geiselman's article on Möhler in Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, Siebster Band, Freiburg, 1962; and Alf Härdelin, Tractarian Understanding of the Eucharist, pp. 80-82.
  2. J.R. Geiselman, "Johann Adam Möhler und die Entwicklung seines Kirchenbegriffs", Theologische Quartalschrift, 112 (1931), pp. 1-19. Härdelin, op. cit., pp. 82-83, makes reference to Geiselman's monograph and draws attention to the different phases of his ecclesiology.

In all these attitudes and concerns, Möhler was the product of the age of Romanticism and idealism. In him the eighteenth century preoccupation with rationalism and moralism ceased to have any relevance, and the Romanticism underlying his writing made a great appeal to Nevin and Schaff.<sup>1</sup> James Hastings Nichols thus speaks of Johann Adam Möhler as the theologian "whose ideas came be detected in many Mercersburg discussions, even when his name is not mentioned".<sup>2</sup>

There was an additional influence upon Philip Schaff from German Protestant church life which was to prove significant in his later encounters with the Catholic Apostolic Church and the English Tractarians. This was the "Evangelische Katholizität", formulated and led by Ludwig von Gerlach, the jurist and adviser to Frederick William IV.<sup>3</sup> The latter's father, Frederick William III, had reigned in Prussia from 1797 until 1840. In 1817, he had forced a union of Lutherans and Reformed churchmen in Prussia, causing much bitterness because of the insensitive manner in which the union had been carried through. Again, in 1822, Frederick William had forced his new liturgy, the Agenda, on the united church and in so doing had merely succeeded in intensifying opposition to his ecclesiastical schemes. Thus his far-sighted, even visionary schemes caused deep-seated resentment and failed to gain the popular support required properly to integrate his measures into Prussian church life. Consequently, although Frederick William III's sincere but insensitive autocracy prevailed until his death in 1840 it did not go unchallenged, and the eventual outcome of his schemes was in little doubt.<sup>4</sup>

When, therefore, Frederick William IV succeeded his father the enforced union of Lutheran and Reformed was

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1. Nichols, Romanticism, pp. 66-67.

2. Nichols, Mercersburg Theology, p. 4.

3. ibid., pp. 6, 13.

4. Drummond, op. cit., pp. 197-198; Schaff, Germany, p. 182.



proving unworkable. Frederick William's support came from the leading laymen, Stahl and von Gerlach, and from the pastors and theologians, Löhe, Kliefoth, and Vilmar. They were not prepared to moderate their views to accommodate those who opposed them. Moreover, their conservatism was akin to that of the traditional English Tory who stood for King and Church, and their "Tory" suspicion of any kind of dissent made the break-up of the union of churches in Prussia inescapable.<sup>1</sup> Theologically, they had similar objectives to the Tractarians. They set great store by the Church's past and its historical continuity, and they regarded the signs of that continuity as being enshrined in the Church herself, together with her ministry and sacraments. This ecclesiology was well expressed by a leading exponent of Lutheran high-churchism, K.F.A. Kahnis,<sup>2</sup> who articulated the sentiments of many of his contemporaries in stating categorically that membership of the invisible Church was not possible for those who did not belong to the visible Church, and that the invisible Church, on its own, was an abstraction.<sup>3</sup>

The "Evangelische Katholizität" to which Schaff adhered in the early 1840s was still a movement of unity between Prussian Lutherans and Reformed churchmen. The departure from these ecumenical ideals and the move towards Lutheran confessionalism was to come after Schaff had set sail for America. Ludwig von Gerlach later compared the theological positions of the 1820s and 1850s by describing the earlier phase as emphasizing the Christian's experience of sin and

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1. ibid., p. 201.

2. Kahnis was the author of the widely-read Die Lehre von Abendmahl, Leipzig, 1851. There are four references to this work by the later Scottish U.P. scholar, J.C. Lambert, in his Kerr Lectures for 1903, published as The Sacraments in the New Testament.

3. Quoted by Alf Härdelin in "The Eucharist in the Theology of the Nineteenth Century", Eucharistic Theology Then and Now, S.P.C.K. Theological Collections, 9, London, 1968, p. 79.

grace, while the experience of the latter period was founded on the God-given objective gifts of Church, confession, ministry, worship, sacrament and discipline.<sup>1</sup> However, although Schaff left for Mercersburg before the full flowering of the high-church movement in Prussia, he was nevertheless able to follow its course and trace its change of character from the earlier years of the "Evangelische Katholizität". In 1853 he published his History of the Apostolic Church<sup>2</sup> in which was included a "General Introduction to Church History". In this, his understanding of high-churchism in Prussia is clearly revealed. He discerns, for example, that Marheineke of the United Evangelical Church of Prussia was Lutheran in his emphasis, particularly in his tendency to adopt mysticism in his approach to the history of the Church. This suited the Hegelian manner of understanding history better than the less speculative Reformed Church approach. Hegelian philosophy was used as "a bridge to strictly symbolical Lutheranism" by others of the same stamp, notably Theodore Kliefoth and Kahnis.<sup>3</sup> An indication that Kliefoth was known in Britain lies in the fact that a work of minor theological importance by James Booth quotes from Kliefoth's Liturgische Abhandlungen.<sup>4</sup>

In effect, the development of Prussian theology and church life played its part in preparing Schaff for the Mercersburg high-churchism which he was to find awaiting him in John Williamson Nevin. Moreover, quite independently of each other and before their initial meeting they had discovered something of the Oxford movement. Nevin had come across one of the Tracts for the Times and through the stimulus of Tractarian doctrine had come to think more deeply about ecclesiology.<sup>5</sup> Schaff, en route to Mercersburg from Germany

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1. Nichols, Mercersburg Theology, pp. 11-12.

2. Philip Schaff, History of the Apostolic Church, with a General Introduction to Church History. Translated by E.D. Yeomans, New York, 1853.

3. Nichols, Mercersburg Theology, pp. 173-174.

4. James Booth, The Lord's Supper, A Feast After Sacrifice, p. 103.

5. Howard G. Hageman, Pulpit and Table, London, 1962, p. 92.

visited Oxford and imbibed some of the same spirit which was clearly emerging in German Lutheran confessionalism.<sup>1</sup> The Oxford movement and Lutheran confessionalism were not, of course, unrelated for they sprang from the common source of a Romanticism which affected the whole of Europe,<sup>2</sup> and, to a lesser extent, the United States. Nichols, indeed, makes clear the interrelation when he writes:

"What Möhler meant to Roman Catholicism, Khomiakov to Russian Orthodoxy, Löhe and Kliefoth to Lutheranism, or Newman, Pusey and Wilberforce to the Church of England - that was akin to what Nevin and Schaff meant to the dominant Reformed and Puritan tradition in America".<sup>3</sup>

Furthermore, of the early Tractarians, E.B. Pusey in particular had identified himself with the warmth of evangelical piety associated with German evangelicals such as F.A.G. Tholuck of Halle.<sup>4</sup> This was never appreciated by those who used the epithet "Puseyism" as a pejorative term, not least by those who applied it to the exponents of the Mercersburg theology. Nevin - not one to court popular support with over-simplifications - may have provoked the charge of Puseyism by his refusal to allow rhetorical abuse to pass for the disciplined intellectual criticism which he meted out to his theological opponents. He was not prepared to brush an uncongenial point-of-view aside with ridicule or bluster. Criticism, therefore, had to be scrupulously fair in order to be truthful. "All error of this sort [Puseyism]", he said "involves truth, apprehended in a

1. D.S. Schaff, Life of Philip Schaff, New York, 1897, pp. 86ff; also Hageman, op. cit., p. 89.
2. H.G. Schenk, The Mind of the European Romantics, Introduction, xxi, regards Turkey as the only European country not affected.
3. Nichols, Romanticism, p. 3.
4. See H.P. Liddon, Life of E.B. Pusey, London, 1895, 3rd edition, vol. 1, Chapters 4, 5 and 8 especially; also Härdelin, Tractarian Understanding, pp. 33 and 104 for the relationship of Pusey to Tholuck and Evangelicalism; also Drummond, op. cit., pp. 127-128.

one-sided or extreme way, with the sacrifice of truth in the opposite direction. Mere denunciation and abuse only serve to give a firmer foothold to error".<sup>1</sup>

Thus, the principles of Tractarianism were, in the eyes of Nevin and Schaff, weighty enough to demand rigorous examination. In fact, they discovered in that examination that the writings of R.I. Wilberforce were especially congenial to them.<sup>2</sup> Nevin's article entitled "Wilberforce on the Incarnation" appeared in 1850,<sup>3</sup> and included lengthy and approving quotations from Wilberforce in support of his own submissions. Again, in 1854, a further article by Nevin appeared with the title "Wilberforce on the Eucharist".<sup>4</sup> The theological ideas of Mercersburg and Oxford, through Wilberforce, had a common German source in Johann Adam Möhler, and this was undoubtedly a factor in the sympathy which Nevin and Schaff felt for Wilberforce's theological position. James Hastings Nichols regards Nevin and Wilberforce as having "drawn much from the same German springs" and draws attention to A.M. Fairbairn's description of Wilberforce's work as "an expansion of a section in Möhler's Symbolik, which, in turn, is an application of the Hegelian idea to the Catholic Church". Alf Härdelin, too, is aware of the apparent dependence of Wilberforce upon Möhler as far as the Church is concerned, but he shows caution in defining the extent of Möhler's influence on the grounds that Wilberforce's work on The Doctrine of the Incarnation has only two explicit references

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1. Nevin's Introduction to Schaff's Protestantism, p. 37.
  2. R.I. Wilberforce, The Doctrine of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, in its Relation to Mankind and to the Church, London, 1848, and The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, London, and Oxford, 1853.
  3. Mercersburg Review, II, March 1850, p. 307; see also Nichols, Mercersburg Theology, p. 77.
  4. Mercersburg Review, VI, 1854, p. 186.
  5. A.M. Fairbairn, Catholicism, Roman and Anglican, New York, 1899, p. 324; quoted by Nichols in Mercersburg Theology, pp. 77-78.

to Möhler, neither referring directly to Symbolik.<sup>1</sup> However, Härdelin is able to discover several close similarities between Wilberforce's Doctrine of the Eucharist and Möhler's Symbolik,<sup>2</sup> although he concedes in an earlier comment<sup>3</sup> that a more detailed comparison of Wilberforce and Möhler would be required to ascertain the degree of the former's dependence upon the latter.

None of this meant, of course, that the Mercersburg men agreed with the Tractarian theology set out by Wilberforce. On the contrary, in many respects they were highly critical of it. Nevin wrote that "Ecclesiasticism, as held by Rome and also by Oxford, is indeed a terrible error; but it does not follow that the mere negation of ecclesiasticism is the truth". He goes on to add in a significant phrase that "The error itself includes the truth - a vast, great, precious, glorious truth....".<sup>4</sup> Perhaps as the years passed the emphasis of Nevin on the "terrible error" diminished to allow the "glorious truth" embodied in Wilberforce's writings to emerge more clearly. At any rate, James Hastings Nichols rightly draws attention to the incontrovertible fact that Wilberforce was a figure whom they regarded with the utmost seriousness in the shaping of their own position. The relationship between them was not totally impersonal. Nevin received at least two letters from Wilberforce and Schaff, while on a visit to England in 1854, spent time with Wilberforce and F.D. Maurice.<sup>5</sup> Thus, the earlier protestations against the errors of Oxford may not have reflected the reality of their own thinking.

Philip Schaff's sojourn in Oxford was complemented by yet another theological pilgrimage undertaken before he set sail to America. The Catholic Apostolic Church had been in

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1. Härdelin, Tractarian Understanding, pp. 86-87.

2. ibid., pp. 146-147.

3. ibid., pp. 86-87.

4. Nevin's Introduction to Schaff's Protestantism, p. 37.

5. Nichols, Mercersburg Theology, p. 78.

existence for more than a decade and had carried its mission to America and Germany. It is possible that Schaff had become acquainted with it while he was at Berlin, for his attendance at the magnificent Catholic Apostolic Church at Gordon Square, London, would appear to have been as deliberate as his visit to the seat of Tractarianism. In a letter to his wife, Schaff described the impression which the Gordon Square church made upon him, and delivered himself of the verdict that the Eucharist which he attended "was the most beautiful and perfect liturgical service" he had ever experienced.<sup>1</sup> It is clear from Schaff's remarks that he had been greatly moved by what he saw, and there is firm evidence that both the 1857 "Provisional Liturgy" and the 1866 revised Order of Worship of the German Reformed Church in America were compiled under the influence of the Catholic Apostolic Liturgy.<sup>2</sup>

As the mission of the Irvingites began to bear fruit on the Continent, so a number of intellectuals were attracted by its position. Chief of these was Heinrich Thiersch (1817-1885), professor of church history at Marburg. Schaff showed from his writing that he was aware of Thiersch's theological work and, indeed, of his spiritual development. He was of sufficient stature to be regarded by him as one of "the other distinguished German divines of the age".<sup>3</sup> In the course of his work, What is Church History?<sup>4</sup> Schaff further describes Thiersch as "one of the most learned opponents of Dr. Baur and the Tübingen School", and the Catholic Apostolic Church to which he attached himself as "the most churchly, Catholic, hierarchical, sacramental and liturgical" of all the Protestant sects. In particular, he won the respect of Schaff for the conciliatory posture which he adopted towards the vexed question of the

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1. Quoted by Hageman, op. cit., p. 89.

2. ibid., pp. 90-91; see also Nichols, Mercersburg Theology, p. 263.

3. Schaff, Germany, pp. 141-142. The phrase is, in fact, the extended sub-title of the book.

4. Philip Schaff, What is Church History?, Translated by J.W. Nevin, Philadelphia, 1846.

relationship between Catholics and Protestants, traditionally an area dominated by polemic and antagonism.<sup>1</sup>

Schaff's ecumenical mind was not disposed to condemn the theology of the Catholic Apostolic Church any more than he was wont to condemn Tractarianism out of hand.<sup>2</sup> He had his criticisms of both, but in a passage in "The General Introduction to Church History" he went out of his way to state that "Irvingism contains many elements of truth, well worthy of the most serious consideration; and it is to be expected that, through the writings of Thiersch, it will exert some influence on German theology".<sup>3</sup> Nevin, too, was acquainted with the work of Heinrich Thiersch, particularly in the field of patristic thought;<sup>4</sup> but his own knowledge of the Irvingites came some five years earlier through his contact with W.W. Andrews, a Congregationalist minister from Connecticut whose articles on the Eucharist appeared in 1846 and lent support to the beleaguered but determined Nevin.<sup>5</sup> Andrews himself was greatly influenced in his thinking by the Catholic Apostolic Church and, in 1849, he became a member, having already made Nevin aware of the Irvingite theological standpoint.

The liturgical development of the German Reformed Church in America was remarkable and indicates the degree to which that somewhat provincial Reformed tradition, based on the old Palatinate liturgy, was influenced by the Liturgy of the Catholic Apostolic Church. H.G. Hageman has drawn attention to the similarities between the two liturgies, and to the dependence of the Mercersburg order upon that of the Irvingites. His comparison yields noteworthy points of

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1. See "General Introduction to Church History" in Schaff's What is Church History? Also quoted by Nichols, Mercersburg Theology, pp. 178-179.
  2. See Schaff, "Der Irvingismus und die Kirchenfrage", Der Deutsche Kirchenfreund, III, 1850.
  3. Nichols, Mercersburg Theology, p. 179.
  4. ibid., p. 23.
  5. Hageman, op. cit., p. 90.

agreement. Firstly, the Catholic Apostolic Liturgy and the German Reformed Order of Worship begin with the invocation of the Trinity followed by a confession of sin. There is, moreover, a striking similarity between the Catholic Apostolic confession and that included in the German Reformed Church Order, the differences being apparent in only minor verbal variations. Again, both orders have the prayer of the veil and a similar eucharistic prayer, except that Schaff added some liturgical material from the Eastern Church which does not find a place in the Liturgy of the Catholic Apostolic Church. Furthermore, the thanksgiving in the eucharistic prayer in both services ends with the Sanctus and the Benedictus qui venit; and in conclusion, the post-Communion prayer, the use of the Te Deum as post-Communion thanksgiving, and the final blessing represent elements common to both.<sup>1</sup> The Liturgy of the Catholic Apostolic Church exerted the same considerable influence upon the notable Euchologion, first issued in 1867 by the Church Service Society of the Church of Scotland. This influence is also discernible in a number of subsequent liturgical publications emanating from the Church of Scotland, particularly the later seminal volumes embodied in the 1923 and 1929 editions of Prayers for Divine Service and the 1940 Book of Common Order.<sup>2</sup> Thus, the eucharistic prayer in Euchologion was described by G.W. Spratt as being "a compilation from many sources, but.....based ultimately upon the Eastern Liturgies, like the American (German) Reformed, and Catholic Apostolic Services, from which it is largely borrowed".<sup>3</sup>

Spratt was aware of the dangers of a "mechanistic"

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1. ibid., pp. 90-91.

2. Prayers for Divine Service in Church and Home, By Authority of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, Edinburgh and London, 1923; Prayers for Divine Service, By Authority of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, Edinburgh and London, 1929; Book of Common Order of the Church of Scotland, By Authority of the General Assembly, London, 1940.

3. Spratt, Worship and Offices, p. 118.



approach concerning the use of set prayers and formulae. He showed as much in drawing attention to the appended note to Knox's Liturgy which refuted the idea that the mere repetition of the words of institution made the Sacrament. Nevertheless, he believed that there were certain historical guidelines to be observed in these matters. Traditionally, the consecration at the Communion had involved the use of the epiklesis or invocation of the Holy Spirit in conjunction with the words of institution.<sup>1</sup> In this respect, he enlists the support of Thomas Boston and George Gillespie, neither of whom might at first sight appear to be in the same line of ecclesiastical descent as Spratt. However, he shows that Gillespie strongly defended the primitive and Eastern view which was based upon the belief that the invocation of the Holy Spirit was fundamental to the consecration.<sup>2</sup> Spratt goes on to quote the contention of Boston: "The elements are consecrated by the word of institution, thanksgiving and prayer". He thinks fit, indeed, to draw on Boston again when he says that "the Popish consecration hits not the mark; for these words, 'This is My Body', were uttered by our Lord after the consecration".<sup>3</sup> Having advanced the witness of history in this way, Spratt concedes that the blessing of the Sacrament does not lie in the use of "an absolutely correct form of words". Yet he does not find it wise to depart from the form which has been agreeable to the greater part of Christendom and which has not been found to be wanting in any quarter.<sup>4</sup> Certainly, the modern service books of the Church of Scotland from Euchologion to the 1940 Book of Common Order have not failed to include the invocation of the Holy Spirit in the eucharistic prayer. In this respect, also, the influence of both the Catholic Apostolic Liturgy and the American German Reformed Order is evident. Spratt

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1. ibid., p. 119.

2. ibid., p. 121.

3. idem.

4. idem.

includes both in a list of "Books of Reference" in his Worship and Offices,<sup>1</sup> and in the introduction to the eighth edition of Euchologion he indicates that he regards the influence of both as contributing to the gradual progression towards liturgical worship in the Church of Scotland.<sup>2</sup>

The invocation of the Holy Spirit in the prayer of consecration in the German Reformed Order is significant in that it maintained the ancient practice of the Eastern Church within the context of Reformed worship. In a similar way, J.B. Cardale and others responsible for the framing of the Catholic Apostolic Liturgy retained the usage, thus indirectly keeping it before liturgical scholars of the Reformed tradition. In the American German Reformed Church this emphasis upon the invocation of the Holy Spirit clearly reveals the hand of John Williamson Nevin. Ordinarily, Schaff was the practical liturgist of the Mercersburg movement, while Nevin was the theologian who examined the broader principles of worship.<sup>3</sup> However, Nevin's presentation of the Calvinist understanding of the Lord's Supper in The Mystical Presence<sup>4</sup> emphasized afresh Calvin's own belief in the centrality of the Holy Spirit. It is, therefore, easy to trace Calvin's concern with the work of the Spirit in the Eucharist being taken up by Nevin in the prayer of consecration which sought to be faithful to the insights of the Reformer:

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1. Sprott, Worship and Offices, pp. 52-53.

2. Euchologion, eighth edition, 1905, Introduction xiv-xv.

3. Hageman, op. cit., p. 90.

4. John W. Nevin, The Mystical Presence and Other Writings on the Eucharist, edited by Bard Thompson and George H. Bricker, Lancaster Series on the Mercersburg Theology, vol. 4, Philadelphia and Boston, 1966. The original edition of John W. Nevin, The Mystical Presence. A Vindication of the Reformed or Calvinistic Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, was published in Philadelphia in 1846.

"Almighty God, our heavenly Father, send down, we beseech Thee, the powerful benediction of Thy Holy Spirit upon these elements of bread and wine, that being set apart now from a common to a sacred and mystical use, they may exhibit and represent to us with true effect the Body and Blood of Thy Son, Jesus Christ; so that in the use of them we may be made, through the power of the Holy Ghost, to partake really and truly of his blessed life, whereby only we can be saved from death, and raised to immortality at the Last Day".<sup>1</sup>

In this German Reformed invocation, Nevin set out to express an orthodoxy which was both Catholic and Reformed. Its language and sentiments attempted to be faithful to Calvin, and it so commended itself to the churches of the Reformed tradition that it appeared, in a shortened version, in the Church of Scotland Prayers for Divine Service, 1923, and later in the 1940 Book of Common Order in adapted form:

"And we most humbly beseech Thee, O merciful Father, to look upon us, as we do now make that Memorial of Thy Son's most blessed Sacrifice which He hath commended us to make; and send down Thy Holy Spirit to bless and consecrate these Thine own gifts of bread and wine which we set before Thee, that the bread which we break may be unto us the Communion of the Body of Christ, and the cup which we bless the Communion of the Blood of Christ; that we, receiving them, may by faith be made partakers of His Body and Blood, with all His benefits, to our spiritual nourishment and growth in grace, and to the glory of Thy most Holy name",<sup>2</sup>

It is also possible, however, to point to material in the Church of Scotland tradition which was not merely influenced by the American German Reformed Church, but which was taken directly from its liturgy and engrossed in Scottish service books. Thus, Euchologion, in the First Evening service attributes the greater part of the material used to the Order of Christian Worship of that Church.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Nichols, Mercersburg Theology, p. 277. Nichols includes the whole Order.
  2. Prayers for Divine Service, 1923, p. 69.
  3. Euchologion, eighth edition, 1905, Appendix p. 420.

The German Reformed Church also drew the attention of Scottish liturgical scholars to the work of J.H.A. Ebrard, the German historian of sacramental doctrine. In 1847, August Ebrard had published his Reformiertes Kirchenbuch in which he had distinguished in his Introduction three types of Reformed worship after the pattern of Zwingli, Calvin and Melancthon respectively. In his book, moreover, he had taken the observance of the Christian Year in worship further than any other Reformed service book.<sup>1</sup> Parts of the Reformiertes Kirchenbuch were translated by B.C. Wolff at Baltimore for the Mercersburg Review and thus introduced Ebrard's work to the English-speaking world.

This process was further extended when C.W. Baird drew on Ebrard's work for his Eutaxia in 1856 and for A Book of Public Prayer which appeared the following year.<sup>2</sup> Eutaxia, especially, was widely known and read in Britain and America, being regarded by Spratt as one of the formative liturgical texts of the nineteenth century. Spratt himself provided evidence of the dissemination of Ebrard's ideas by his specific reference to "Ebrard's Reformed Church Books" in his Worship and Offices.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, Ebrard's comment that "the Scottish Church has no liturgical forms, not even for Baptism and the Lord's Supper" may well have acted as a stimulus to ministers of the Kirk who were possessed of any liturgical awareness.<sup>4</sup>

Further evidence that the small group of Scottish liturgists of that period were cognizant of development in both America and Germany is to be seen in the work of A.A. Bonar, particularly in his Presbyterian Liturgies

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1. The Anglican B.C.P. was an exception. See M.D. Slifer, "The Liturgical Tradition of the Reformed Church in the U.S.A.", Studia Liturgica, vol. I, December, 1962, No. 4, p. 237; Nichols, Romanticism, p. 289; and Hageman, op. cit., p. 69.
  2. C.W. Baird, Eutaxia, or a Chapter on Liturgies, New York, 1856; and C.W. Baird, A Book of Public Prayer, New York, 1857.
  3. Spratt, op. cit., p. 52.
  4. Hageman, op. cit., p. 43.

of 1858.<sup>1</sup> Bonar showed himself to be familiar with Eutaxia and quoted freely from it. He also referred to the American Dutch Reformed Liturgy of 1857 and made use of Mercersburg material, especially draft prayers for the festivals of the Christian Year which had appeared not long before in the Mercersburg Review as examples of the liturgical work of the German Reformed Church in America. H.G. Hageman perhaps overstates the position when he argues that "the liturgical activity of the various American Reformed Churches was responsible for the development of similar activities in Great Britain".<sup>2</sup> Sprott's list of factors contributing to the nineteenth century liturgical awakening in Scotland reveals a more complex, and probably more accurate, picture.<sup>3</sup> He traces the roots of the revival of worship in the Church of Scotland to the liturgical practices of the Irvingites and the eventual publication of the Liturgy. Thereafter, he allocates a place of importance to Dr. John Cumming's edition of Knox's Liturgy, The Book of Common Order, 1564, which appeared at Cumming's instigation in 1840; the Duke of Argyll's Presbytery Examined, 1848, and the 1849 Overture to the General Assembly for a book of devotion for Highland and Colonial use. Sprott estimated that the influence of Nevin and Schaff began to make an impression upon Scotland from 1849 onwards. Throughout the next decade pamphlets, articles and liturgical material appeared in some profusion. After Principal Campbell's pamphlet, "Scattered Sheep", in 1851, there followed Principal Lorimer's notable article on John Knox's Liturgy in the Edinburgh Review of 1852, and Baird's Eutaxia in 1856, reviewed by Sprott himself in 1856 in the Edinburgh Christian Magazine. A year later, the prolific

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1. A.A. Bonar, Presbyterian Liturgies with Specimens of Forms of Prayer for Worship as Used in the Continental Reformed and American Churches; with the Directory for the Public Worship of God Agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster; and Forms of Prayer for Ordinary and Communion Sabbaths, and for other Services of the Church, Edinburgh, 1858.
  2. Hageman, op. cit., p. 73.
  3. Euchologion, eighth edition, 1905, Introduction, xiii.

pen of A.K.H. Boyd appeared in 1857 under the pseudonym of C.A. McDonald, discussing in Fraser's Magazine<sup>1</sup> the question, "Should the Church of Scotland have a liturgy?", while in the same year A. Maitland Makgill Crichton further raised the question of Scottish worship in a pamphlet entitled "Spots on the Sun", and Dr. Robert Lee published his Prayers for Public Worship. The decade ended with Dr. Crawford's General Assembly Committee publishing Prayers for Social and Family Worship in 1859. Spratt's list finally refers to the influential Moderatorial Address of Dr. Bissett, delivered in 1862, and to the Report of the General Assembly Committee on Worship, under Dr. Hill, which was laid before the Church in 1864. Thus the growing momentum initiated by such indigenous publications sets the role of Mercersburg in perspective. However, there is little doubt that interested Scots had access to material originating in both Germany and America at the middle of the century.

The liturgical compilations of the Mercersburg men gained acceptance far beyond America and elements of the 1866 revised Order of Worship, in particular, became permanently enshrined in other Reformed service books. Considerable though this contribution was, however, the main work of the Mercersburg movement relating to eucharistic thought still remained Nevin's The Mystical Presence, to which we now turn.

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1. July, 1857.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

THE MERCERSBURG HERITAGE

The study of the Mercersburg movement and its two principal figures is of importance because that movement can legitimately be understood as representing a eucharistic revival.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, it is clear that such a revival, through the Mercersburg Liturgy, was not only known to G.W. Sprott and his colleagues within the Church of Scotland, but regarded as a factor which influenced the shaping of liturgical and sacramental thought within Scotland.

Much of the theology of this eucharistic revival was embodied in The Mystical Presence published in 1846 six years after Nevin's appointment as professor at the American German Reformed Church seminary at Mercersburg, Pennsylvania. It is said that he came to the seminary "with a stout adherence to Calvin's doctrine of the Lord's Supper",<sup>2</sup> and, indeed, The Mystical Presence was a powerful exposition of the Reformed doctrine of the Lord's Supper, especially as taught by John Calvin. The work was written in response to criticism in the German Reformed Church which led in 1845 to charges of heresy being made against Nevin and Schaff, although the charges related primarily to Nevin's own alleged Romanist understanding of the Eucharist.

The book was given a mixed reception. In Germany, particularly, the reaction was highly favourable. Krummacher wrote to Schaff that Nevin's thesis was "historically and exegetically impregnable throughout".<sup>3</sup> Even more significantly, Nevin's understanding of the Reformed position received almost unqualified support from the publication of J.H.A. Ebrard's history of the Lord's Supper.<sup>4</sup> This

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1. Nichols, Romanticism, p. 84.

2. Bard Thompson and George H. Bricker in Editors' Preface to the 1966 edition of The Mystical Presence, p. 8.

3. Nichols, Mercersburg Theology, p. 245.

4. idem.

authoritative work<sup>1</sup> was widely read outside Germany and was referred to with respect by the Tractarian, Wilberforce.<sup>2</sup> However, Nevin looked in vain for the vindication of his eucharistic theology in America, and amongst the theologians of his own Church. The situation was further aggravated by the two year silence of his old professor, Charles Hodge, who abandoned his passive stance to pour scorn upon The Mystical Presence in the Princeton Review. In reality, however, Hodge was discredited and shown to have no convincing theological arguments to match those of Nevin.<sup>3</sup>

The situation was curious, for it exposed the weaknesses of the German Reformed Church in particular and American Protestantism in general. Nevin had given his monograph the sub-title, "A Vindication of the Reformed or Calvinistic Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist", and his words were not lightly chosen. Thus, The Mystical Presence was meant to still the criticisms which had been made of his earlier teaching on the Eucharist by assuring his critics of the orthodoxy of his position; hence his stress on "Reformed or Calvinistic Doctrine". However, the anomaly of the situation which became increasingly clear to Nevin was that the American German Reformed Church had long since departed from the sacramental teaching of John Calvin. Indeed, by the most glaring inconsistency, Calvin's Reformed doctrine of the Supper proved to be both uncongenial and un-Reformed to churchmen of the German Reformed tradition.

Nevin exposed the infidelity of his Church's position to its original Reformed principles and pointed out the inadequacy of Zwingli's teaching on the Supper, which was now the main influence in the German Reformed Church. J.H. Nichols illustrates the extent of the drift of the Protestant churches of the time from Reformed doctrine by pointing to

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1. J.H.A. Ebrard, Das Dogma vom heiligen Abendmahl und seine Geschichte, Frankfurt -am-Main, 1845-1846.
  2. See R.I. Wilberforce, The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, pp. 46, 92-94.
  3. Thompson and Bricker (Editors' Preface), The Mystical Presence, p. 13.



the apostasy of Eastern Lutheranism: "The Lutheran Observer, a powerful though unofficial organ, had wholly abandoned Luther for Zwingli, and from that position was attacking Calvinism as papist".<sup>1</sup>

Nevin's critique of the Reformed view of the Eucharist was seized upon outside America, also, and regarded with no great enthusiasm even if the invective against him was less violent. The British and Foreign Evangelical Review printed a review article on The Mystical Presence in 1852, and in that issue made a comparison between Nevin's position and that of R.I. Wilberforce.<sup>2</sup> However, the Church of the Disruption period was too preoccupied to dwell on the reflections of the relatively obscure Nevin, teaching at a little-known church college and opposed by someone of the standing and proven academic distinction of Charles Hodge whose writing upon the subject of the Lord's Supper was widely read and accepted in Scotland. Thus, while The Mystical Presence was duly noted in Scotland, its true worth was not appreciated until G.W. Sprott recognized in it a milestone in both eucharistic and liturgical development.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, while not directly quoted by the Scoto-Catholics (though Wilberforce made several references to him),<sup>4</sup> Nevin shared with them a view of sacramental theology which took seriously the doctrine of the Incarnation; and although his own attitudes were part of the wider phenomenon of Romanticism he gave to the Scoto-Catholics a feeling that their views were corroborated by the work of others who shared their churchmanship, and that they were not themselves seeking to advance Catholic teaching in isolation.

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1. Nichols, Mercersburg Theology, p. 198.

2. "The Doctrine of the Reformed Church on the Lord's Supper", British and Foreign Evangelical Review, vol. 2, June, 1852. This was a re-publication of Hodge's Princeton Review article. Articles 4 and 6, British and Foreign Evangelical Review, vol. 3, No. 10, 1853, were devoted to the similarity between Nevin and Wilberforce.

3. Euchologion, eighth edition, 1905, Introduction, xiii.

4. Wilberforce, op. cit., p. 173: "Dr. Nevin (Mystical Presence) shows that Calvin maintained principles, which the Presbyterians have entirely abandoned". See also p. 178.

Several factors which Nevin saw as being of vital importance coalesced in him so as to make the Sacrament "the very heart of the whole Christian worship".<sup>1</sup> The theological rationale of his work was the idea of the "mystical union" which is to be found in St. Paul and which was taken up by John Calvin. This, in The Mystical Presence, is the initial statement he makes, and upon which his eucharistic thought rests:

"The question of the Eucharist is one of the most important belonging to the history of religion. It may be regarded indeed as in some sense central to the whole Christian system. For Christianity is grounded in the living union of the believer with the person of Christ; and this great fact is emphatically concentrated in the mystery of the Lord's Supper.....".<sup>2</sup>

Nevin's view of the Reformed Church of his day led him to the conclusion that the ground upon which the Church stood was quite different from that on which it took its stand in the sixteenth century. Such a shifting of ground he attributed to "an unchurchly, rationalistic tendency".<sup>3</sup> Nevin holds that any alteration in understanding the Eucharist must inevitably issue in changes of belief which will radically alter attitudes to Christ's person, the idea of the Church and the doctrine of salvation.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, he also regards as normative for eucharistic thought the view of the nature of the union between Christ and the Church.<sup>5</sup> Having made these important observations, he then goes on to develop them as he devotes himself to an examination of the original doctrine of the Reformation concerning the Eucharist.

The Reformed view as interpreted by Nevin after Calvin is that "nothing less than such a real participation of his living person is involved always in the right use of the

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1. Nevin, Mystical Presence, 1966 edition, p. 9.

2. ibid., p. 27.

3. ibid., pp. 28-29.

4. ibid., p. 31.

5. idem.

Lord's Supper".<sup>1</sup> Much of what follows is an unfolding of the nature of that union between the believer and Christ, according to the teaching of John Calvin. Thus, union with Christ does not emerge as a result of our humanity, or our oneness with Adam and, similarly, it is more than a moral unity where "two or more persons are bound together by inward agreement, sympathy, and correspondence".<sup>2</sup> Nevin's understanding of sacramental union with Christ is at this point full of interest in that it runs counter to much of the teaching of Scottish federal theology. There, he denies that the Sacrament represents a merely moral approach to God, and that the worshipper's communion with Christ consists in "the good exercises of his own mind, the actings of faith, and contrition.....the solemn recollections, the devotional feeling, the pious resolutions" which he may be prompted to make in the course of the sacramental service.<sup>3</sup> In the same way Nevin denies that the Eucharist is only a sign to assist memory and heart in recalling for a devotional purpose past events relating to the Lord's life and death. The well-worn illustration of the picture of a friend, employed earlier by John Erskine and others, is regarded by Nevin as a totally inadequate analogy of the claim which the Sacrament makes upon the believer. Nor, indeed, is the idea of the Eucharist as a pledge of our consecration to Christ any more acceptable to him since "all this would bring with it in the end nothing more than a moral communication with Christ".<sup>4</sup> He therefore disposes of many of the peripheral views of the Sacrament held by Christians whose faith is distorted by the bias of rationalism. Amongst these, of course, must be numbered the exponents of federal theology within the Church of Scotland which had itself departed from the teaching of Calvin under their influence.

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1. idem.

2. ibid., p. 32.

3. ibid., pp. 32-33.

4. ibid., p. 33.

From criticizing the attitudes held traditionally by federalists and those akin to them, Nevin prepares to expound a more Christ-centred understanding of the Sacrament which is not merely about the arousal of pious feelings but which "embodies the actual presence of the grace it represents in its own constitution". Such grace is more than the encouragement that we should rely on the promise of God; it is the "very life of the Lord Jesus Christ himself".<sup>1</sup> He goes on to underline the fact that the communion which the believer has is with the total divine and human nature of Christ. In so stating the Reformed position Nevin at the same time rejects any understanding of that communion which is less than the whole nature of Christ, divine and human. Therefore he is at pains to deny that communion is "not simply with Christ in his divine nature separately taken, or with the Holy Spirit as the representative of his presence in the world". The believer, then, receives "Christ himself in his whole living person" and does not simply communicate with his Spirit or his divine nature. "The communion", he writes, "is truly and fully with the man Christ Jesus, and not simply with Jesus as the Son of God".<sup>2</sup> It is because of this fact that Nevin affirms, in the same passage, that it is "real communion with the Word made flesh". The nature of this participation in Christ Nevin holds to be "real", "substantial", and "essential" and should not be thought of as being in any sense either a figurative or moral participation. This is the true Reformed position which he states in opposition to rationalism. He asserts the same Reformed position with the errors of Romanism in mind, and particularly the doctrine of transubstantiation.

Nevin here states his understanding of transubstantiation according to Roman Catholic teaching. However it is at this point that doubts arise regarding his grasp of the doctrine. He appears to be fully aware of the Aristotelian distinction between "substance" and "accidents", expounded

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1. ibid., p. 35.

2. idem.

so powerfully in the works of Thomas Aquinas.<sup>1</sup> Thus he writes of the accidents that they are "outward properties, sensible qualities only" which "remain the same"; and of substance that it is "converted supernaturally into the true body of the glorified Saviour". However, his claim in the same passage that "the elements of bread and wine in the sacrament are literally transmuted into the actual flesh and blood of Christ" betrays a failure to comprehend the actual teaching of Aquinas.<sup>2</sup> In common with many contemporary critics of the Roman view of the eucharistic presence Nevin attributes to it a gross physical quality which it did not possess.

The matter, of course, was far from simple. Härdelin has shown convincingly how the Tractarians found it hard to give verbal expression to the theory of transubstantiation. From an initial condemnation of the doctrine as being erroneous, impossible to justify from Scripture and inconsistent with the witness of antiquity,<sup>3</sup> they set themselves the task of making a comparison between Article 28 of the Thirty Nine Articles and the current Roman teaching regarding transubstantiation.<sup>4</sup> The motive for such an investigation was practical, for if it could be proven that the charges made against transubstantiation in Article 28 could not be borne out when applied to contemporary Roman teaching, the way would be open to members of the Church of England to place a more Catholic interpretation upon the doctrine of the eucharistic presence than had hitherto been possible. In the event, Newman, Ward, Wilberforce and Faber left the Church of England for the Roman obedience and thereby furnished posterity with their own answer to the question.

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1. Thomas Aquinas, "The Eucharistic Presence", Summa Theologiae, vol. 58 (3a. 73-78), Notes and Introduction by William Barden O.P., London, 1965, pp. 53-91 and 207-214 (Appendix 3, "The Metaphysics of the Eucharist").
  2. Nevin, Mystical Presence, p. 36.
  3. Härdelin, Tractarian Understanding, pp. 184-185.
  4. ibid., pp. 184, 188, 192-194.

However, the theological investigation upon which they were earlier engaged was not irrelevant to the Church of England and those who stayed within the fold as Tractarians.

Newman's earlier criticisms of transubstantiation had been trenchant. It was "the answer to an improper question put by reason",<sup>1</sup> or, as Isaac Williams stated it, the awful result of trying to extract eucharistic doctrine "from the holy silence, which adoring reverence suggests".<sup>2</sup> It was founded upon the notion of a "carnal" presence, which interpretation he saw as the result of the rationalistic tendency to look for what is "sensible".<sup>3</sup> It was, according to Newman's Tract 90, a "shocking doctrine". However, such was the complexity of the matter (allied to the growth of his own ideas) that he later admitted that he might be mistaken about the meaning of transubstantiation and that it was a doctrine which indicated the greatness of the sacramental gift.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, when he examined the Anglican formularies he sought to establish that they did not reject the Catholic doctrine of the real presence, and that what Article 28 found repugnant was the teaching of the Schoolmen regarding the eucharistic presence rather than the generally-held position of the Roman Catholic Church.<sup>5</sup>

Such an examination of Article 28 inevitably led to a more detailed assessment of the meaning of transubstantiation. Thus, Hurrell Froude, while holding that the theory was an unauthorized gloss on Christ's words, did not agree with the view that it implied a "sensible" presence. The fact that bread and wine continued to be perceived after consecration he attributed not to a delusion but to the deliberate act of God who was concerned to exercise the faith of the believer.<sup>6</sup>

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1. ibid., p. 186; Härdelin's phrase.

2. ibid., p. 187; quoted by Härdelin from Tract 87.

3. idem.

4. ibid., pp. 187, 189.

5. ibid., pp. 191-192.

6. ibid., p. 189.

Moreover, Faber drew attention to the opinion of the old Anglican divines who opposed transubstantiation as "absurd and contradictory to the evidence of the senses", and declined to share their attitude on the grounds that "substance" was a metaphysical notion rather than an object of sense perception.<sup>1</sup> But it was W.G. Ward and R.I. Wilberforce who explored the nature of transubstantiation most exhaustively. Ward raised the question about the precise meaning of "substance" and clarified the scholastic definitions of "substance" and "accidents" to prepare the ground for a more profound and true consideration of these categories of thought as they were applied to the eucharistic presence. "Substance", therefore, denoted that which was inconceivable to the senses, whose real nature was unknown to us; while "accidents" referred to that which could fall within the cognizance of the senses and, in the case of sacramental bread and wine, was not changed by the consecration. Ward adduced the proposition that when English churchmen rejected transubstantiation they were, in fact, rejecting a doctrine which implied the annihilation of the bread and wine so as to allow the senses directly to perceive Christ's body and blood. He concluded that such an interpretation of transubstantiation did not take proper account of the distinction between "substance" and "accidents", and was based upon a misunderstanding of philosophical terminology.<sup>2</sup>

William Barden has stated his belief that Thomas Aquinas, in utilizing the categories "substance" and "accidents", was making a distinction which ordinary people make in the course of their daily lives. In simple terms, Barden explains that distinction as corresponding to that which exists between our intelligence and our senses. "Our senses", he writes, "are confronted by the appearances of a thing; our intelligence touches the thing itself that exists, reaches

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1. idem.

2. ibid., p. 193.

it as an existential ground of being for all the surface qualities that affect it".<sup>1</sup> In the Summa, Thomas Aquinas posits a similar argument in less popular language:

"Now what limits everything in its actual existence is its form. Hence, no natural or created agent can act except to change form. For this reason every change that takes place according to the laws of nature is a changing of form. But God is unlimited actuality.....Hence, his action reaches out to the whole extent of the being of a thing. He is then able to bring about not merely a changing of form, so that different forms follow after one another in the same subject, but the changing of the whole being of a thing, so that the complete substance of this is changed into the complete substance of that.

And this actually happens by divine power in this sacrament. The complete substance of the bread is converted into the complete substance of Christ's body, and the complete substance of the wine into the complete substance of Christ's blood. Hence this change is not a formal change, but a substantial one. It does not belong to the natural kinds of change, and it can be called by a name proper to itself - 'transubstantiation'.<sup>2</sup>

Of all the Tractarians, R.I. Wilberforce perhaps comes closest to an understanding of transubstantiation. He analyses the use of the word "substance" in the Baconian and Aristotelian philosophical traditions, showing that in the Baconian approach "substance" is used as an alternative to matter, while according to the Aristotelian usage it

1. Aquinas, op. cit., Appendix 3, pp. 211-212.

2. ibid., pp. 70(71)-72(73). "Determinatio autem cujuslibet rei in esse actuali est per ejus formam. Unde nullum agens naturale vel creatum potest agere nisi ad immutationem formae. Et propter hoc omnis conversio quae fit secundum leges naturae, est formalis. Sed Deus est infinitus actus, ut in Prima Parte habitum est. Unde ejus actio se extendit ad totam naturam entis. Non igitur solum potest perficere conversionem formalem, ut scilicet diversae formae sibi in eodem subjecto succedant: sed conversionem totius entis, ut scilicet tota substantia hujus convertatur in totam substantiam illius.

Et hoc agitur divina virtute in hoc sacramento. Nam tota substantia panis convertitur in totam substantiam corporis Christi, et tota substantia vini in totam substantiam sanguinis Christi. Unde haec conversio non est formalis, sed substantialis. Nec continetur inter species motus naturalis, sed proprio nomine potest dici 'transubstantiatio'".



denotes something entirely different from matter. Thus he approximates to the position outlined by Aquinas in regarding "substance" as an object to the intellect and the mind only. The "accidents", on the other hand, are not abstract and are perceived by the senses. He saw the Aristotelian philosophy as providing what he called a "convenient medium" for conveying the doctrine of the nature of the eucharistic presence, but he did not regard adherence to that philosophical definition as being mandatory.<sup>1</sup> Wilberforce's views were certainly known to Nevin, but the former did not seek to explain and evaluate every aspect of the Roman teaching on transubstantiation, and Nevin could be forgiven for lapsing into inconsistency and failing to grasp fully the implications of "substance" and "accidents". The Tractarians, who were exercised most of all by the theory, did not themselves arrive at a unanimous conclusion as to its meaning. Pusey maintained, indeed, that he did not understand the Roman doctrine concerning the eucharistic presence and, later, identified the theory of transubstantiation with the belief in a physical change in the bread and wine after consecration. There was, therefore, excuse for the Reformed churchman, Nevin, in his looseness of expression.<sup>2</sup>

Having given his account of the Roman theory of transubstantiation, Nevin proceeds to defend himself against charges of Romanism by stating the Calvinist view regarding the sacramental bread and wine. Thus, he emphasizes the fact that Calvin would not accept the possibility of any change in the physical nature of the elements: bread and wine remain bread and wine. Moreover, he repudiates the view that any idea of a "local presence", residing in the elements, can be held by the Reformed Church. Consequently, such a position eliminates the belief that the elements "comprehend or include the body of the Saviour in any sense", for the body of Christ is not upon the Holy Table but in

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1. Härdelin, op. cit., pp. 194-195.

2. ibid., p. 197.

heaven, according to the teaching of the Scriptures.<sup>1</sup>

Nevin points out, however, that Calvin was prepared to accept the phrase "real presence" if it were to be applied to "a presence that brings Christ truly into communion with the believer in his human nature, as well as in his divine nature".<sup>2</sup> This leads him to make an important distinction when speaking of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Thus, a real presence has to be affirmed, as against the idea that Christ is not present to the communicant; and a spiritual real presence has also to be affirmed, as against the view that Christ's presence is locally and corporeally present to the believer.<sup>3</sup> One cannot avoid the impression that Nevin's qualifications upon the nature of Christ's presence have been imposed partly through an uncertain grasp of the Roman position regarding transubstantiation and the real presence.

Nevin goes on to present what he sees as the central tenet of the Reformed argument concerning the communicant's communion with Christ. There is a "vast local distance" between the communicant, who is on earth, and the body of Christ, which is in heaven. However, by the power and ministration of the Holy Spirit this spatial separation between the two is rendered of no importance. The bread and wine are symbols which are received in "an outward way"; but the essence of the sacramental communication is spiritual and the communicant participates in the spiritual reception of Christ's body and blood for his nourishment. By this receiving of Christ, Calvin means that the believer participates in the Saviour's life or living energy. He does not regard the communion to be in any sense a communion with the material particles of Christ's body.<sup>4</sup> This interpretation of the nature of the communion with Christ

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1. Nevin, op. cit., p. 37.

2. ibid., p. 38.

3. ibid., pp. 38-39.

4. ibid., p. 39.

gives to the Eucharist what Nevin describes as "an objective force", by which he means that "the virtue that it possesses is not put into it by the faith of the worshipper in the first place, to be taken out of it again by the same faith, in the same form".<sup>1</sup> The importance of the role of faith cannot be set aside, nor can the Eucharist be understood in a manner which is ex opere operato. However, Nevin insists that while faith is the condition of its efficacy for the communicant it is not the principle of the power of the Sacrament itself.<sup>2</sup>

Nevin then turns his attention to the evidence which, taken cumulatively, makes up the Reformed doctrine of the Lord's Supper. He therefore reviews the various testimonies of confessions and the writings of individual Reformers to elicit a coherent and internally consistent body of sacramental teaching which might authoritatively be referred to as the Reformed position on the Eucharist. Thus, he examines the view of the Early Helvetic Church, Calvin, Farel and Beza, the Gallican, Scots and Belgic Confessions, the Heidelberg Catechism, Ursinus, Hospinian and the Synod of Dort.<sup>3</sup> Nevin's assessment of the Westminster Confession, in particular, is of considerable interest. His approach to the Confession is in some sense comparable to the later attempt of Cooper, Macleod and Wotherspoon to draw support for their Catholic principles from the Confession, although Nevin, for his part, was not so dependent upon the Scottish evidence of historical theology as they were.

He acknowledges that the roots of the Westminster Confession lay, in some measure, in puritan soil which might be regarded as inimical to the objective and mystical in the life of the Church. Nevertheless, he still discerns in the Westminster Confession the doctrine of the real presence "in its full force". He goes on to qualify the importance of the Confession while yet finding its position of interest and

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1. idem.

2. ibid., p. 40.

3. ibid., pp. 295-389, the greater part of the latter half of the book.

supportive of his own understanding of the Reformed teaching. It suggests to him, particularly, "how deep the old Calvinistic doctrine had lodged itself in the heart of the church".<sup>1</sup> Nevin concedes that both the Confession of Faith and the larger Catechism make statements about the Supper which might be seen in an ambiguous way; but he is confident that, when examined against the background of Calvin's doctrine of the Eucharist, the construction placed upon the Westminster Confession must interpret its sentiments in a fuller and more spiritual manner than that represented by the puritan influence in the Church of Scotland. He therefore sees the Confession as testifying to "a spiritual real presence - a communication by faith with the body and blood of Christ, which involves union and communion with his person.....".<sup>2</sup>

From a survey of the Reformed past, Nevin turns to an examination of his own time. He is in no doubt that the view of the Lord's Supper in the Protestant Church of his day "involves a wide departure from the faith of the sixteenth century".<sup>3</sup> Indeed, Nevin claims that when the view which he has been representing as the Reformed position is brought forward, it is either categorically denied that the Reformed Church ever believed anything of the sort, or it is argued that such a view, even if it were held by Calvin, simply reflects the fact that a residue of Romanist attitudes continued well into the era of the Reformation.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, he is led to write:

"A real presence of the whole Christ in the Lord's Supper, under any form, is counted a hard saying, not to be endured by human reason, and contrary to God's word".<sup>5</sup>

In order to substantiate this charge, Nevin cites a number

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1. ibid., p. 81.

2. ibid., p. 82.

3. ibid., p. 90.

4. ibid., p. 94.

5. ibid., p. 95.

of writers whose works were treated with respect in his generation, to show how prevalent the puritan influence was. He quotes extensively from Thomas Ridgley, Jonathan Edwards, Samuel Hopkins, Joseph Bellamy, Timothy Dwight, Ashbel Green and John Dick, showing in a painstaking way how the "puritan theory of the power and virtue of the sacraments is not the theory that was held by Calvin and that appears in the symbolical books of the first Calvinistic churches".<sup>1</sup> Interestingly, and in keeping with a survey of the earlier sacramental literature outlined in a previous chapter in this thesis, the thought and language employed are those of federalism. John Dick, whose Lectures on Theology were widely used in Scotland and America, was well-known as a minister and professor at the Secession divinity hall (later United Presbyterian) in Glasgow.<sup>2</sup> Of his theological position concerning the Supper Nevin writes, "Dr. Dick virtually pronounces himself at variance with all the early Reformed symbols".<sup>3</sup> In comparing the modern puritan view of the Lord's Supper with that of the Reformers, Nevin makes reference to a telling sentence from the older tradition of puritanism embodied by John Owen. "There is a peculiar communion with Christ in this ordinance", writes Owen, "which we have in no other ordinance". Nevin further attributes to him the gloss on this latter statement, that this has been the faith of the Church in all ages.<sup>4</sup> John Dick is selected as a representative of the modern puritan view, holding that Christ is present in all ordinances; "and he is present in the same manner in them all; namely, by his Spirit, who renders them effectual means of salvation".<sup>5</sup> Thus, drawing on references to Dwight in addition to Dick, Nevin concludes that the "idea of a peculiar sacramental power, belonging to this form of worship as such, seems to have no place at all in his system".<sup>6</sup>

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1. ibid., pp. 95-104.

2. Robert Small, History of the Congregations of the U.P. Church, vol. 2, p. 25.

3. Nevin, op. cit., p. 105.

4. ibid., p. 106.

5. idem.

6. ibid., p. 107.

A further comparison is made between the old Reformed view that "the sacramental transaction is a mystery; no, in some sense an actual miracle";<sup>1</sup> and the puritan attitude which eliminates all mystery and, in the case of Dick, rejects Calvin's doctrine as incomprehensible.<sup>2</sup> There is also the question of the objective force of the Eucharist which is affirmed by the Reformers but, in effect, rejected by the puritan understanding of the Supper. Nevin reiterates the point which he made above that the sacramental union between the sign and the thing signified is real, and that while faith is needed the existence of virtue in the Sacrament does not depend upon it.<sup>3</sup> Thus he writes: "Unbelief may make it of no effect, but the intrinsic virtue of the sacrament itself still remains the same".<sup>4</sup> Farel and Beza, and the Scots and Belgic Confessions are called upon to support this claim. Nevin uses the language which was common to the old Reformers and the puritans, but shows how words like "seal" and "exhibit" are used in quite different ways.<sup>5</sup>

Nevin's insight into the ambiguous usage of these words, together with his firm grasp of both the older Reformed tradition of theology and the views of the modern puritans, make his role in the church life of the mid-nineteenth century of considerable significance. The incisiveness of mind which he brings to bear upon the sacramental theology of the times reveals the nature of the divisions in eucharistic thought in American theology. However, his penetrating assessment of the true state of affairs concerning the sacramental thought of the American churches was pertinent to the Scottish Church's understanding of the Supper.

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1. ibid., p. 106.
  2. ibid., p. 107.
  3. ibid., p. 108.
  4. ibid., p. 109.
  5. idem.

Many of his strictures about American infidelity to the Reformed position were highly relevant to the churchmanship which obtained in the Scotland of the 1840s; and the attitude of John Dick, so roundly criticized by Nevin, was no isolated case attributable only to the churches of the Secession.

The Mystical Presence set out Nevin's understanding of the orthodox Reformed doctrine of the Eucharist, particularly according to Calvin. In expounding such beliefs, however, Nevin's detailed discussion, supported by a profound knowledge of Calvin's position on the Lord's Supper, inevitably brought down upon him the opposition of those whose scholarship was superficial and second-hand. It also brought about the much more substantial opposition of Charles Hodge. In the light of history and in view of his clear and convincing treatment of the issues, Nevin undoubtedly took the honours in the debate. At the time, however, his was something of a pyrrhic victory. Whereas Hodge was an international figure of established reputation who was held in high esteem in certain Free Church circles and with Professor T.J. Jackson of the Church of Scotland, Nevin was relatively little-known in mid-century Scotland. Moreover, the Free Church British and Foreign Evangelical Review, while deigning to take note of Nevin's work, effectively pronounced it damned by association with Wilberforce's eucharistic teaching which received short shrift in the same issue.

Nevertheless, Hodge's credentials as the exponent of classical Westminster orthodoxy were not attuned to the spirit of the age. It is true that he continued to be known and read in Scotland and America; but with the wane of federalism, the influence of Romanticism and the growing interest in the history and place of liturgy in the Church, Nevin's scholarship commended itself increasingly within Scotland, particularly to that group of ministers whose focus and churchmanship was to be found in the personage of G.W. Sprott and in the creation of new rallying-points embodied in the Church Service Society and the later Scottish Church Society.

## CHAPTER NINE

EUCCHARISTIC PRAISE: PSALMODY TO HYMNODY

The praise of the Church, at its best, has always served as a vehicle for the expression of Christian devotion and as a means of instructing the people of God in the Church's faith. Where words of spiritual insight have been wedded to musical settings of lasting quality the hymn has often brought a new dimension to the worship of the Church. Even the most scholarly of divines, accustomed to a milieu of proposition and argument, have acknowledged this reality and have found it to be true in their own experience. Thus Philip Schaff, church historian and theologian par excellence, bore witness to this in his contribution to Julian's Dictionary of Hymnology on "German Hymnology".<sup>1</sup> Moreover, on a more personal level, the thinker and apologist was not above reciting Newman's "Lead, kindly Light" as an aid to daily reflection.<sup>2</sup> Later, in a similar vein, J.G. Lockhart related the attachment felt by Archbishop Cosmo Gordon Lang to the hymn of Johannes Scheffler, "O Love, who formedst me to wear/ The image of Thy Godhead here",<sup>3</sup> an attachment which led him to emulate Schaff in the practice of frequent recitation.<sup>4</sup>

If it is true that the Church's praise provides a source of inspiration and devotional sustenance in both public and private worship, it is also true that a popular understanding of doctrine was imparted to the individual believer through familiarity with the Church's psalmody. The traditional Scottish preoccupation with the majesty of God and the glory of Creation is as much a legacy of the place of the Psalter within the life of the Church of

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1. J. Julian, A Dictionary of Hymnology, 1892; revised edition, 1907.
  2. D.S. Schaff, Life of Philip Schaff, pp. 481-482.
  3. Revised Church Hymnary, No. 496.
  4. J.G. Lockhart, Cosmo Gordon Lang, London, 1949. pp. 85, 175-176, 189 and 444.



Scotland as a direct result of the theology of John Calvin or the Westminster Confession of Faith. It was not, of course, until relatively late in the nineteenth century that hymnody found a firm place in the worship of the Church of Scotland. Yet even when the Church's praise consisted solely of metrical psalms, the character of the Communion was undoubtedly shaped by congregational allegiance to a number of psalms which had, through frequent usage, established strong emotional associations with the Lord's Supper. Of these, the best known in relatively modern times has been the 24th psalm, "Ye gates, lift up your heads on high". Yet even before its exclusive identification with the tune "St. George's, Edinburgh" in 1820, it was generally accepted in Scotland as one of the "Communion psalms".

The comparatively late publication of The Scottish Hymnal in 1870 did not mean that hitherto members of the Church of Scotland had no access to the hymnody of the wider Church. Certainly, hymns were not sung in public worship within the Kirk, but hymns as devotional aids in private prayer and reflection were well enough known. Moreover, the wealth of nineteenth century hymnody in England could not leave Scottish church life unaffected, even before 1870. This was particularly the case when the popularity of a hymn did not necessarily depend upon the denominational background of its author. In effect, the great hymn writers of the nineteenth century, whatever their tradition, endowed the whole body of Christians with their verses. Thus, Isaac Watt's hymns were not sung only by Congregationalists, nor were the hymns of John Henry Newman regarded as the sole possession of Anglicans and Roman Catholics. Horton Davies, in this connection, has described the mid-nineteenth century as "a period of denominational 'lend-lease' in hymnody".<sup>1</sup> and it is inconceivable that Scots were unaware of the best items from the repertoire even if they confined their singing in church on Sundays to metrical psalms and paraphrases.

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1. Horton Davies, Worship and Theology in England From Newman to Martineau, 1850-1900, London, 1962, p. 86.

There were also in circulation devotional manuals and manuals for the "cure of souls". In the latter category, an outstanding example was William Walsham How's Pastor in Parochia<sup>1</sup> which included a limited number of hymns for devotional purposes before and after the Eucharist. While Walsham How compiled his manual with Anglican clergy in mind, his work would not be unknown to ministers and some lay-people north of the Border. Those with Scottish antecedents who made use of Pastor in Parochia would find in the section on Holy Communion not only prayers and readings but also, to their surprise, Horatius Bonar's eucharistic hymn, "Here, O my Lord, I see Thee face to face". With the eventual publication of The Scottish Hymnal, hymns of the Lord's Supper became as important an element in the shaping of the popular mind in relation to the Sacrament as the treatise of any theologian. The study of the Lord's Supper in nineteenth century Scotland would therefore be incomplete without a survey of the role of eucharistic praise and an evaluation of its influence upon eucharistic thought and practice.

One of the most important contributions of the Reformation lay in the virtual rediscovery of the Book of Psalms and in the involvement of the people in singing the psalms in metre in their own tongue. G.W. Sprott has indicated the surprising extent to which the people shared in worship in the century following the establishment of the new order;<sup>2</sup> and it is clear that the Apostles' Creed ("The Belief"), the ancient Canticles, the Gloria, the Doxology and the Lord's Prayer were all easily accessible to congregations, and wholeheartedly used by them, as worship was offered up in the parish kirks of Scotland.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, the most important element in congregational worship was that afforded by the

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1. W. Walsham How, Pastor in Parochia, London, n.d.

2. Sprott, (editor), The Book of Common Order (Knox's Liturgy), pp. 32-35.

3. Sprott, Worship and Offices, pp. 23-52. Also P. Hatelty Waddell, An Old Kirk Chronicle, Edinburgh and London, 1893, pp. 40-43.

Psalter. As English puritans grew in influence, other liturgical and hymnological usages virtually died out through neglect, while the Psalter alone lay at the disposal of the people.

From 1560, the pattern of Scottish psalmody emerged from three distinct sources: the French Psalter of 1541-1562, the Anglo-Genevan Psalter of 1561, and the English Psalter of 1562. The Scottish Commissioners at the Westminster Assembly, however, agreed in principle to adopt the Puritan version of Francis Rous, compiled and revised between 1641 and 1646. Having satisfied the puritan party at the Westminster Assembly, the Scots proceeded so to alter the book that it bore little resemblance to the earlier creation of Rous. This amended version of the psalms served Scotland, with occasional revision, as The Scottish Psalter down to modern times. When, therefore, congregations sang their praises at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper the songs of praise were from The Scottish Psalter of 1650.

Certain psalms became associated with the Sacrament. As late as the beginning of this century, for instance, James Cooper comments that "We have all along used in the Eucharistic Service such Psalms as the 26th, the 43rd, the 116th and the 118th". He makes the further observation that the last four verses of the 118th psalm constituted the traditional "gathering psalm" on Communion Sunday.<sup>1</sup> Corroboration of the fact that certain selected psalms assumed a specific role and significance at the time of Sacrament comes also from Matthew Leishman of Govan who, writing of a celebration of Communion in 1831, confirms that psalms only were sung (with one exception referred to below), and that the service concluded with the singing of the 103rd psalm, "O thou my soul, bless God the Lord".<sup>2</sup> The strong association between the Sacrament and certain traditional

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1. H.J. Wotherspoon, James Cooper; a Memoir, London 1926, p. 294.

2. J.F. Leishman, Matthew Leishman of Govan, p. 85.

praise is borne out also by the historical testimony of G.W. Sprott, particularly with reference to the 103rd psalm.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, John Logan's 1821 order provided further evidence of adherence to the 103rd psalm (although he has it sung in parts between each "Table" rather than at the end of the service).<sup>2</sup> Although his choice does not strictly coincide with that of Cooper he makes use of the 24th and 23rd psalms (the former after "the fencing"). His opening and closing praise consists of the 65th psalm, "Praise waits for thee in Sion, Lord", and the 121st, "I to the hills will lift mine eyes".

The position of the 24th psalm, "Ye gates, lift up your heads on high", as the "Communion psalm" was consolidated after Andrew Thomson's rendering of it to the tune "St. George's, Edinburgh", in conjunction with his precentor, Robert Archibald Smith. With Smith, Thomson had published in 1820 Sacred Harmony, Part I for the use of St. George's Church, Edinburgh, and together they issued a similar additional volume in 1825. From this collaboration came both "Invocation", set to the 43rd psalm, and "St. George's, Edinburgh", tunes which gave extraordinary prominence to the 43rd psalm as opening praise at Communion and to the 24th psalm as a majestic act of praise at "The Great Entrance", the procession during which the elements of bread and wine were borne into the church, after the "liturgy of the Word". Such, indeed, was the popularity of Thomson's setting of "Ye gates" that in some sections of the Church it rapidly usurped the place of the 35th paraphrase, the one exception to the universal use of psalmody at Communion, noted above.

The introduction of Scripture paraphrases into the repertoire of the Church's praise took place for a variety of reasons which require only the briefest amplification here. There was no real objection to paraphrases being

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1. Sprott (editor), The Book of Common Order, p. 126.

2. Logan, Sermons, pp. 177-185.

used other than that provided by the suspicion of novelty. Yet the charge of novelty could not reasonably be made since there had been widespread use of the ancient Canticles (themselves good examples of Scripture paraphrases) for almost a century after the Reformation.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, Calvin had included in the Genevan Psalter paraphrases of the Ten Commandments and the Nunc Dimittis;<sup>2</sup> and while The Scottish Psalter of 1650 contained no Canticles, Zachary Boyd was charged with the task, in the event unfulfilled, of revising those which had previously been in use.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, while metrical psalms came to be regarded as the birthright of every Scot, even the most ardent devotee of the Psalter could not deny that there were many infelicitous renderings in words and music which led to doubts about the adequacy of the Psalter as the sole medium of the Church's praise. Moreover, the Relief Church had, in 1794, issued a hymnbook of its own, the first Church in Scotland to take this step. In the eyes of some within the Establishment the Relief connection represented wayward dissent and unstable liberalism, but the example of a new book of hymns was not lost on those within the Kirk who were dissatisfied with the standard of the Church's praise, and looked forward to the day when the Psalter might be supplemented by a wider range of sacred song. When, of course, the Church did apply itself to the matter of widening its praise to include paraphrases, it was fortuitous that there were men of the poetic and spiritual calibre of John Morison, Thomas Blacklock, William Cameron and, to a lesser extent, John Logan. All these factors contrived to bring about the appearance, in 1781, of Translations and Paraphrases, in Verse, of Several Passages of Sacred Scripture. In spite of considerable hostility and suspicion in the initial years of its

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1. Spratt, Worship and Offices, pp. 32-33.

2. Millar Patrick, The Story of the Church's Song, Edinburgh, 1927, p. 114.

3. Spratt, op. cit., p. 33.

publication, the new book reached a relatively high standard in this particular genre. Thus, of the original forty-five, although many are dated and unsingable today, thirteen found a place in the 1927 Revised Church Hymnary, while twenty-two appeared in the 1973 Church Hymnary, Third Edition.<sup>1</sup>

Their importance in relation to eucharistic praise consists in the quite practical use which has been made of the 35th and 38th paraphrases in Scottish Communion services, the former usually at "the Great Entrance", the latter (a version of the Nunc Dimittis) at the close of the worship and usually as a recessional hymn sung while the unconsumed elements are borne from the church. The 35th paraphrase is based upon the record of the Institution in St. Matthew 26: 26-28, and came from the pen of Dr. John Morison of Canisbay. J.F. Leishman interestingly attributes Morison's inspiration to an early Latin hymn, De Coena Domini, which was translated by Andreas Ellinger, a Polish physician, in 1564.<sup>2</sup>

The traditional association of the 35th paraphrase (and the 24th psalm) with "the Great Entrance" raised the question of the origin of that rite, so closely identified with Scottish eucharistic worship. Although these two singings have a close connection with the bringing in of the elements, and Andrew Thomson composed his famous tune to the 24th psalm for this specific purpose,<sup>3</sup> the custom extends back to a time well before either Thomson or John Morison. It is clear that Leishman of Govan was describing in 1831 a long-standing tradition;<sup>4</sup> and G.B. Burnet concludes that the solemn bringing in of the bread and wine in procession had its origin not long after the Reformation when the sequence

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1. Scripture paraphrases were usually bound with the Psalter and often, too, bound in that form with the R.C.H. There were sixty-seven paraphrases, and the selected thirteen appeared in both R.C.H. and Paraphrases.

2. Leishman, op. cit., p. 87.

3. Burnet, op. cit., p. 293.

4. Leishman, op. cit., pp. 85-88.

of sermon, "fencing", psalm and procession was well established.<sup>1</sup> Commentators are fond of regarding "the Great Entrance" as being derived from a similar rite in the Eastern Orthodox tradition. Andrew Wallace Williamson, for instance, writing as late as 1901, draws the accustomed analogy and, interestingly, while noting that the usual accompaniment to "the Great Entrance" is the 35th paraphrase, draws attention to the fact that the 24th psalm was used at this point in the Armenian Liturgy.<sup>2</sup> William McMillan uncovers the fact that in 1580 deacons were appointed by name to bring the elements from the vestry to the Holy Table.<sup>3</sup> As to the origin of the practice, he acquiesces in the view that it may have been transmitted to Scotland from the Greek Church by way of the Celtic Church which, in some of its practices, was reputed to have had affinity with the Greeks.<sup>4</sup> He can find no scriptural warrant for the custom, but points to Justin Martyr's description of an early Eucharist at Rome where "Bread and a cup of wine mixed with water are brought to the President".<sup>5</sup> Much of the discussion about the origin of the rite, however, as both Burnet and McMillan concede, is largely speculation. Attempts to invest "the Great Entrance" with symbolic meaning are also speculative and probably quite misguided. There is no evidence, for example, that the bringing in of the elements represented at any time in the Church's history the triumphal entry of Christ into the Holy City, appealing though this may be from the liturgical and catechetical point of view. McMillan is probably nearest to the truth when he suggests that "the Great Entrance" was an extension of the offertory procession which had its roots in antiquity in the practice of the Latin Church and, according to St. Augustine, was

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1. Burnet, op. cit., p. 102.

2. A. Wallace Williamson, Ideals of Ministry, Edinburgh and London, 1901, p. 162.

3. William McMillan, The Worship of the Scottish Reformed Church, 1550-1638, Edinburgh, 1931, p. 216.

4. idem.

5. ibid., p. 217.

accompanied by singing.<sup>1</sup>

The sacramental significance of the paraphrases may seem slight, restricted to the association of the 35th and 38th paraphrases with specific parts of the eucharistic service. Certainly each was limited in its scope, the former being part (as we have seen) of the procession of the elements, the latter having to do with the ending of the service. Without them, however, there would have been a considerable impoverishment of the celebration of the Supper. By the singing of the 35th paraphrase, a greater prominence and solemnity was undoubtedly imparted to the procession, and at the same time an important connection was made between the bread and the crucified body of Christ, and the wine and the blood shed upon the Cross. Similarly, the paraphrase of the Song of Simeon sustained the profound spirituality of the Sacrament by ending the service with a note of joy, held in conjunction with the idea of "trysting" with the incarnate Son, Jesus, at the Holy Table:

"Mine eyes have thy salvation seen,  
And gladness fills my heart".

However, the paraphrases as a whole had a wider relevance to the Communion in that they made the introduction of hymns into the praise of the Church a goal which could henceforth be actively and optimistically pursued. Obviously, the preparation of a new hymn-book would also mean the insertion in that book of a collection of eucharistic hymns. Further hymns related to the life of Christ would inevitably quicken the tempo of the observance of the Christian year and would, as a corollary, provide a much-needed choice of sacramental hymns related to the great festivals. Without the widening of the Church's praise through the compilation of the paraphrases such developments would have been a forlorn hope for those within the Kirk who advocated the enrichment of the Church's hymnody.

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1. ibid., pp. 217-218.



As it was, the development of hymnody within the Church proved to be almost at a standstill for some decades, even with the introduction of paraphrases. Millar Patrick has traced the sluggish steps taken from 1807 onwards to enlarge the collection of Scripture paraphrases. His research revealed that a General Assembly committee under the convenership of the Rev. Dr. George Husband Baird, minister of St. Giles and Principal of the University of Edinburgh, produced five reports in twenty years but failed to fulfil their remit. In 1827 a new committee, again under Dr. Baird's convenership, was constituted. They fared no better, however, in spite of ambitious approaches to Sir Walter Scott, William Wordsworth, Robert Southey, Thomas Campbell and others, asking for translations or paraphrases from Scripture.<sup>1</sup> It was not sufficiently grasped by the committee that songs of praise on the same level as the existing Psalter required not merely poetic ability but a great depth of spiritual insight. George Croly, the Irish hymn-writer, author of "Spirit of God, descend upon my heart", offered to the committee a collection of his hymns, as opposed to paraphrases. However the committee did not feel that it could alter its remit sufficiently to accept his offer.<sup>2</sup> Charles McCombie, a young and discerning committee member, advocated that some twenty-five of Bishop Heber's hymns, including the Communion hymn "Bread of the world", should be taken over and included in a more varied collection. Again, though, the committee demurred. As Patrick comments, "They set themselves to compile a collection of sacred poetry, when what was needed was a book of Christian hymns for the people to sing in their worship".<sup>3</sup> Consequently, it was not until 1852 that a proper assessment of the Church's needs was made and a new committee appointed to prepare "an authorised collection of sacred hymns".

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1. Millar Patrick, "Scottish Paraphrases: A Forgotten Episode", Church Service Society Annual, No.13, 1942-1943, pp. 1-2.

2. ibid., p. 4.

3. ibid., p. 5.

G.W. Sprott, in his historic and magisterial Introduction to Euchologion, indicated the Church of Scotland's indebtedness to the Catholic Apostolic Church in matters of worship. This indebtedness extends also to the Church's praise. The Liturgy of the Catholic Apostolic Church was published in 1842 and, as Sprott pointed out, was known far beyond Irvingite circles. Edward Irving had, of course, himself been nurtured and ordained within the Church of Scotland, and the Church which he founded eventually had members like John Macleod of Govan who retained their membership and sphere of ministry within the Kirk. It is certain, therefore, that when Hymns for the Use of the Churches<sup>1</sup> was published by the Catholic Apostolic Church in 1864 and later bound in with the Liturgy, it would be known to a small but influential circle within the Church of Scotland.

Several features of Hymns for the Use of the Churches made it specially significant, particularly from the standpoint of the cognoscenti within the Kirk. Firstly, it was so planned that Part I of the book was devoted to an extensive section on "Hymns for Holy Communion". In all, there were forty-five eucharistic hymns - by far the largest compilation of its kind at that time. Many of these were translations from ancient sources. Thus, the work of Edward Caswall (1814-1878) is to be found in the Ambrosian "Guests at the banquet of the Lamb", and Aquinas's "Jesus! Shepherd of the sheep" along with John Mason Neale's rendering of the Aquinian "Thee we adore, O hidden Saviour, Thee" and, from the Greek Αὔτη ἡ κλητή, "Come let us taste the Vine's new fruit".<sup>2</sup> However, more contemporary hymnody was represented by John Morison's 35th paraphrase, Joseph Conder's "Bread of Heaven! on thee we feed", and Philip Doddridge's "My God, and is Thy table spread?"<sup>3</sup> The collection drew widely from a number of sources and from

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1. Hymns for the Use of the Churches, London, 1864.

2. Nos. 12, 44, 33 and 28 respectively.

3. Nos. 10, 32, and 37 respectively.

authors of different denominations. In this respect it set a pattern for the main Scottish hymnbooks which were to follow it.

Hymns for the Use of the Churches also provided a rich and sizeable selection of hymns which could be used in a eucharistic context at the various seasons of the Church's year. "Approach, all ye faithful" is to be found in this category, included with a view to use at a Christmas Communion.<sup>1</sup> In the same way, "Sing, my tongue, the Saviour's glory" is chosen with the Thursday before Easter in mind,<sup>2</sup> while Bishop Cosin's rendering of St. Gregory's "Come, Holy Chost, Creator, come"<sup>3</sup> is for use at a Pentecost celebration of the Sacrament.

By far the greater number of eucharistic hymns comes from the prolific and, generally, gifted pen of E.W. Eddis (1825-1905). Edward Eddis, a minister of the Catholic Apostolic Church, compiled Hymns for the Use of the Churches and was himself responsible for two translations and nineteen original hymns in the first edition of 1864. To the second edition he contributed forty hymns of which nineteen were eucharistic in theme out of a total of forty-five hymns in the second edition relating to the Holy Communion. His contribution was notable not only because of the extent of his work but also its quality. The most famous of his eucharistic hymns, "Thou standest at the Altar",<sup>4</sup> has held its place in Scottish hymnody since The Scottish Hymnal of 1884 and is in no way inferior to the others whose intrinsic merit secured them a place in the Hymnal and the three editions of The Church Hymnary: Heber's "Bread of the world", Montgomery's "According to thy gracious word", Baker's "I am not worthy, Holy Lord", and Bonar's "Here, O my Lord, I see thee face to face". It would also appear

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1. No. 3.

2. No. 9.

3. No. 16.

4. No. 38.

that Eddis gained inclusion in The Scottish Hymnal without having the advantage of a prior place in Hymns Ancient and Modern, but came directly from his Catholic Apostolic origins.

Eddis expressed in religious verse sentiments which were deeply held by the Scoto-Catholics William Milligan, John Macleod and H.J. Wotherspoon. Chief among these was the doctrine of the high priestly role of Christ, the risen and ascended Lord of the Church. The opening verse, therefore, takes its theme and inspiration from what Christ continually does at the eternal and heavenly altar, rather than what the minister does at the Table of the Lord:

"Thou standest at the Altar,  
Thou offerest every prayer;  
In faith's unclouded vision,  
We see Thee ever there".<sup>1</sup>

What we do in the Eucharist derives its meaning, its worth and its efficacy from the eternal heavenly intercession of Christ to the Father:

"Out of Thy hand the incense  
Ascends before the throne,  
Where Thou art interceding,  
Lord Jesu, for Thine own".

It is, perhaps, this Christocentric emphasis which has commended Eddis's hymns to the Kirk from 1884 to 1973 and beyond. The Catholic understanding of the heavenly altar, which it enshrines, is made acceptable by sheer simplicity of expression, faithfulness to Scripture in St. John and Hebrews, and the clear affirmation (with Christ in mind),

"Thou only art the Victim,  
Thou only art the Priest".

In the final verse, there is a powerful blending of both Evangelical and Catholic sentiments which give the hymn a broader appeal than might appear possible:

"We come, O only Saviour,  
On Thee, the Lamb, we feed;  
Thy flesh is Bread from heaven,  
Thy Blood is drink indeed".

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1. Hymns for the Use of the Churches, No. 38.

Of Eddis's other hymns for the Eucharist, most are characterized by an appeal to imagery which would evoke a ready response in those brought up on the typology of the Catholic Apostolic tradition, especially as it was applied to worship. Thus, drawing upon the Song of Songs in the Old Testament he writes lines of considerable beauty, only blunted in their impact by the relative obscurity of the verses on which they are based, and thereby precluding popular appreciation outside his own Church:

"Jesu! Thy hidden Presence  
The veil of flesh hath stirred;  
And through the golden lattice  
Thy Bride Thy voice hath heard".<sup>1</sup>

This propensity for using out-of-the-way biblical imagery is often unhelpful, as in the lines, "And Thou art like a jasper,/And like a sardine stone".<sup>2</sup> Indeed, much of the imagery about light from the Apocalypse serves only to obscure the meaning of verses which are otherwise well-constructed, as this fragment suggests: "And soon, with sevenfold light divine,/Thy golden lamps on earth shall shine".<sup>3</sup>

Nevertheless, many of Eddis's hymns reveal an extraordinary grasp of Scripture and doctrine, and are at their best when relating some aspect of the Christian Year to the nature of the Eucharist. This hymn for Easter conveys something of his capacity for grandeur of thought and language:

"In Thee, our glorified, exalted Head,  
Our flesh is buried and our sins are dead:  
In Thee we rise to seek the things above;  
And who shall part us from Thy wondrous love?

Thou givest us Thy Flesh, the Bread Divine;  
We drink Thy blood, the cup of heavenly Wine:  
Thou livest in us, God of God, and we,  
Thy ransomed members, live and joy in Thee".<sup>4</sup>

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1. ibid., No. 2 (see the allusion to Song of Songs in Songs 2:9).

2. ibid., No. 45.

3. ibid., No. 1.

4. ibid., No. 13.

In the work of Eddis there is a constant reference to the insight of the Fathers of the Church that Christ assumed our manhood that we might share in His Divinity. This is finely set out in the first verse of the eucharistic hymn which he wrote for the Feast of the Circumcision:

"O merciful Redeemer, Thou hast worn  
Our mortal flesh: our death was laid on Thee;  
And thou our weakness and our chains hath borne  
To set the captives free".<sup>1</sup>

There is, here, a measure of affinity with Scheffler's hymn, "O love, who formedst me to wear/The image of Thy Godhead here".<sup>2</sup> Both hymns express a profound belief in the identification of Christ with us in all His Humanity, so that He might bring us to our proper destiny as the sons of God, made in His image and reflecting His Divinity. The Communion hymn which Eddis wrote for Ascensiontide has an aspect of the same thought:

"Jesu, our Prince and Saviour,  
Thy feet alone have trod,  
Through suffering, death, and glory,  
The path from dust to God".<sup>3</sup>

His hymns show that in this life it is the Eucharist which enables us to share a foretaste of heavenly glory with the risen Christ, through the operation of the Spirit. Thus, the eucharistic hymn for the Feast of the Presentation in the Temple affirms this belief within the context of the Communion:

"Lord, by Thy life within us,  
Transform us day by day,  
That we may tread with boldness  
The new and living way".<sup>4</sup>

The "life within us" is not only Christ's grace and influence for good; it is, as the next verse clearly indicates, the reception of Christ in His real presence, whose flesh is

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1. ibid., No. 5.

2. Hymns A. & M., No. 192; Revised Church Hymnary, No. 496.

3. Hymns for the Use of the Churches, No. 15.

4. ibid., No. 7.

"bread from heaven" and whose blood is "heavenly wine". Such concentration upon the consecrated elements as vehicles which transport the soul to the heavenly realm in the presence of God is one of the salient features of Eddis's eucharistic hymnody. Thus, repeatedly, in a number of hymns the elements become "bread Divine",<sup>1</sup> "the cup of heavenly Wine",<sup>2</sup> "immortal Wine",<sup>3</sup> "living Wine",<sup>4</sup> and "mystic Food of life eternal".<sup>5</sup>

This belief in the capacity of the Holy Communion, through Word and Spirit, to endow the communicant with life-giving food - indeed with Christ's Body and Blood - was an aspect of sacramental thought shared by members of the Scoto-Catholic party within the Church of Scotland and expressed in similar language in The Scottish Mission Hymnbook of 1912 to which attention will be drawn in a later section of this chapter.

Millar Patrick has indicated how slowly progress was made in the development of the Church's praise during the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup> The emphasis upon the revision and extension of Scripture paraphrases, and the protracted and unfruitful efforts made to commission the writing of new paraphrases caused the Church's attention to be deflected from the main issue: the provision of a new hymnbook for use in the Church of Scotland. The committee which was set up in 1857 to pursue the matter did, in fact, present to the General Assembly of 1870 a new collection of hymns which received the Assembly's sanction.<sup>7</sup> A

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1. ibid., Nos. 1, 13, 15 and 19.

2. ibid., No. 13.

3. ibid., No. 15.

4. ibid., No. 19.

5. ibid., No. 18.

6. Millar Patrick, The Story of the Church's Song, Edinburgh, 1927, pp. 111-118, 168.

7. The Scottish Hymnal (Appendix Incorporated) With Tunes for Use in Churches, London, 1885.

Children's Hymnal was produced in 1874, and ten years later the material was incorporated into the definitive 1885 edition of The Scottish Hymnal which was bound in one volume with the metrical psalms and paraphrases.

From the point of view of eucharistic praise it is significant that the Canticles (referred to in The Scottish Hymnal as "Ancient Prose Hymns") were included as part of the main selection of hymns for congregational praise, rather than as an appendix. The Canticles chosen are the Benedictus, the Magnificat, the Nunc Dimittis, the Gloria in Excelsis and the Te Deum Laudamus. In this way they were restored to their rightful place, hitherto denied them because of puritan and Brownist influence upon the worship of the Church of Scotland.

Just as the Hymnal restored the Church's links with the past so, by its selection of Communion hymns, did it emphasize what today would be called its "ecumenism". Strangely, in an age when the Lord's Supper was more likely to draw attention to the divisions between the denominations, eucharistic hymns were increasingly regarded as a common heritage, and sung with appreciation by church members for whom words and music mattered more than church history. Consequently, W.W. Tulloch, the son of Principal John Tulloch of St. Andrews, can write enthusiastically in Life and Work of the hymns of Bishop Heber in The Scottish Hymnal, while A.K.H. Boyd, in the same journal, can complain bitterly about the elimination of parts of John Mason Neale's rendering of the ancient hymn, "Art thou weary, art thou languid?"<sup>1</sup> Of the authors of Communion hymns in the 1885 edition, Anglican, Catholic Apostolic, Moravian and English Free Churchmen all have their allotted place. The test applied was not denominational affiliation but popular

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1. W.W. Tulloch, "Notes on the Scottish Hymnal", April, 1887, p. 62, and A.K.H. Boyd, "A Regrettable Omission in a Favourite Hymn", May, 1887, pp. 74-75.



acceptance of their hymns as part of the corpus of the Church's praise, with subsequent inclusion in The Church Hymnary of 1898 as further evidence of that acceptance.

In all, ten Communion hymns were included in The Scottish Hymnal. The quality and lasting popularity of these hymns is shown by the fact that of the original ten selected only two, Conder's "Bread of heaven! On Thee I feed"<sup>1</sup> and Henry Baker's "God of God, and Light of Light",<sup>2</sup> failed to gain inclusion in The Church Hymnary, 1898, and its successors of the same lineage.

Remaining eucharistic hymns from The Scottish Hymnal have stood the test of time and have reflected the essential elements of the Communion in their language, usually because of their simplicity and adherence to the main scriptural eucharistic themes. Thus, Henry Baker's "I am not worthy, Holy Lord",<sup>3</sup> takes as its inspiration the incident from the Gospel concerning Jesus's healing of the centurion's servant:

"I am not worthy, Holy Lord,  
That Thou shouldst come to me;  
Speak but the word; one gracious word  
Can set the sinner free".<sup>4</sup>

No doubt it was partly from susceptibility to the criticism of "human hymns" which caused the adoption of the scriptural text as a brief preface and authority for every hymn in The Scottish Hymnal. In keeping with this practice, Baker's hymn takes as its textual authority, "The centurion answered and said, Lord, I am not worthy that Thou shouldest come under my roof: but speak the word only, and my servant shall be healed".<sup>5</sup> There can be no dispute concerning the suitability of the text in this case, although the choice of

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1. The Scottish Hymnal, No. 324.

2. ibid., No. 327.

3. ibid., No. 317.

4. Matthew 8: 5-13.

5. Matthew 8: 8.

text seems to be somewhat arbitrary in several of the non-sacramental hymns. "I am not worthy, Holy Lord" is numbered with several hymns for First Communion and, strictly, falls outside the section on the Lord's Supper. However, familiarity and use over the years ensured its inclusion with the other eucharistic hymns in later books.

The Communion hymns which were chosen for inclusion in The Scottish Hymnal covered a wide theological spectrum, in keeping with the diversity of theological opinion within the Established Church. The predominant sacramental theme was still the death of Christ, as is evident from such hymns as James Montgomery's "According to Thy gracious word", which has found acceptance in the hymnbooks of the Church of Scotland since its initial selection in 1885. The original title of the hymn, "This do in remembrance of me St. Luke: 22:19" was conferred on it by the Moravian, Montgomery, when it was first published in his Christian Psalmist in 1825.<sup>1</sup> The language is full of the imagery of Christ's death: "Body broken", "testamental cup", "Gethsemane", "Calvary", "Lamb of God, my Sacrifice"; and the final verse makes skilful and imaginative use of the motif of the penitent thief, hanging suppliantly beside the crucified Jesus:

"When Thou shalt in Thy kingdom come,  
Good Lord, remember me".<sup>2</sup>

The death of Christ as represented by the Hymnal's eucharistic compositions is not to be understood merely as a moral example of self-sacrifice on the part of Jesus. It has, on the contrary, a certain dynamic quality. Thus, the penitent thief can look to Christ's death as the means of realizing his petition; and in Henry Baker's hymn, His death is regarded as the price paid for the costly release of the life that is imprisoned by its own selfishness:

"Thee, who didst give Thy Flesh and Blood  
My ransom-price to pay".<sup>3</sup>

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1. John Barkley (editor) Handbook to the Church Hymnary, Third Edition, London, 1979, p. 195.
  2. Scottish Hymnal, No. 318.
  3. ibid., No. 317.

A further interpretation of the death of Christ is also evident in the employment of the theme of the Old Testament Passover. Just as the people of God under the old dispensation were brought to safety and set upon the road to the land of Promise, so Christ's death effects a similar delivery for the people of God under the new dispensation:

"Paschal Lamb, whose sprinkled blood  
Saves the Israel of God:  
Hear us, Holy Jesus".<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, the death of Christ is an event which, in power and efficacy, is able to deal not only with the sin of the individual, but with the sin of the world:

"By the death, that could alone  
For the whole world's sin atone:  
Save us, Holy Jesus".<sup>2</sup>

Closely related to the death of Christ motif and its treatment in the eucharistic hymns of The Scottish Hymnal is the interpretation of both anamnesis and eschatology. Within the Church of Scotland before 1885 no fully developed doctrine of anamnesis had evolved. "Remembrance" in relation to the Lord's Supper had merely conveyed the rather narrow meaning of mental recollection, as indeed the Anglo-Saxon usage suggests in its superficial and easily exhausted meaning. The word was used frequently in the nineteenth century in such works of catechizing as William Hamilton's The Young Communicant's Remembrancer,<sup>3</sup> but there was little, if any, sense of making real and actual in the present an event which had its roots in the past, so as to impart a quality of timelessness to the event itself. However, the eucharistic hymns were drawn from traditions outside the Church of Scotland, with the possible exception of Bonar's "Here, O my Lord, I see Thee face to face", whose author had at least begun his ministry within the Establishment before "going out" at the Disruption. George Rawson's

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1. ibid., No. 327, Part I, verse 6.

2. ibid., No. 327, Part II, verse 10.

3. William Hamilton, The Young Communicant's Remembrancer, Glasgow, 1822.

"By Christ redeemed, in Christ restored" had sufficient standing within the Church of Scotland to find a place first in The Scottish Hymnal and thereafter in The Church Hymnary of 1898 and The Revised Church Hymnary of 1927. The first verse particularly, has something of the note of anamnesis in the idea of setting forth the death of Christ as a memorial until the Day of His Coming:

"By Christ redeemed, in Christ restored,  
We keep the memory adored  
And show the death of our dear Lord,  
Until He come".<sup>1</sup>

James Montgomery, although using the word "remember" as a refrain-like last line in each verse does not convey the true sense of anamnesis. In his hymn, "According to Thy gracious word",<sup>2</sup> his use of "remember" would appear to involve reflection in the sense of the turning back of the mind as an exercise of piety at the Lord's Supper:

"This will I do, my dying Lord  
I will remember Thee".<sup>3</sup>

However, it might be agreed, reasonably enough, that the scriptural text which prefaced the hymn, "This do in remembrance of Me",<sup>4</sup> suffers from the same limitations imposed upon it by the lack of subtlety of the English language. It might therefore be more judicious to conclude that the content of the work "remember" altered as the nineteenth century progressed and the liturgical and theological place of anamnesis came to the fore in Scotland, particularly under the influence of the Scoto-Catholic group in the latter part of the century.

Edward Bickersteth's hymn, "Till He come", provided the bridge between anamnesis and eschatology. For Bickersteth, the Eucharist is an interim ordinance whose provisional character is governed by the certainty of Christ's second

1. ibid., No. 321.

2. ibid., No. 318.

3. ibid., No. 318, verse 1.

4. St. Luke 22: 19.

Advent. In the meantime, he affirms that this ordinance is a means whereby Christians have communion with their Lord and those of the family of God whom they have known and loved. This is a reality which will only be superseded at His Coming:

"See, the feast of love is spread!  
 Drink the wine, and break the bread:  
 Sweet memorials, - till the Lord  
 Calls us round His heavenly board;  
 Some from earth, from glory some,  
 Severed only till He come".<sup>1</sup>

When as here, emphasis is placed upon the anamnesis and eschatology the remembrance (or "Sweet memorials") cannot readily become a pietistic excursion into the past because of the immediacy of Christ who is alive and who will come again, according to the testimony of Gospel, Creeds and Confessions. This same eschatological stress in Montgomery's hymn compensates to some extent for the backward-look of the remembrance of which he writes. Most notably does this emerge in the final verse in which the penitent thief commits himself to the Lord who will come into His kingdom:

"And when these failing lips grow dumb  
 And mind and memory flee,  
 When Thou shalt in Thy kingdom come,  
 Good Lord, remember me".<sup>2</sup>

Another aspect of the eschatological theme is that which is depicted in the final verse of Horatius Bonar's "Here, O my Lord". In this the eschatological figure is not so much related to the Christ who will come as to the Christ whose victory is assured and whose earthly Sacrament is a type of the heavenly Banquet which continues eternally in the presence of the Father, and at which Christ is Host, Priest, and Offering, celebrating His continual Eucharist and interceding for His own through the power of the Spirit. Essentially, then, the heavenly Eucharist is an expression of the love which abides and is perpetuated within the relationships of the Holy Trinity. It is at this point that the events of

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1. The Scottish Hymnal, No. 326.

2. ibid., No. 318, verse 6.

the Upper Room, our own eucharistic celebrations here on earth, and the eternal heavenly Banquet meet in a contemporaneous and mystical unity which has, perhaps, been expressed more vividly by hymn-writers than by formal theologians. If Bonar magnificently articulates the perpetual celebration in the heavenly places -

"Feast after feast thus comes and passes by,  
 Yet, passing, points to the glad feast above,  
 Giving sweet foretaste of the festal joy,  
 The Lamb's great bridal feast of bliss and love" <sup>1</sup>

- Eddis it is who reflects so effectively the related imagery of the heavenly priesthood of the ascended Lord, enunciated first in the eternal language of St. John's Gospel and the Epistle to the Hebrews.<sup>2</sup> The picture of Christ, the high priest, at the heavenly altar as at our earthly altars, giving life and meaning to all worship, widens in Eddis's words to give a glimpse of the throne of God:

"Where Thou art interceding,  
 Lord Jesus, for Thine own".<sup>3</sup>

This understanding of the Sacrament, related so intimately to the ascension and heavenly priesthood of Christ, was to be developed fully by William Milligan in his book of that title published in 1892,<sup>4</sup> seven years after the appearance of The Scottish Hymnal. While new to the theologians of the Church of Scotland, Milligan's ideas had for long been accepted as orthodox eucharistic teaching within the Church of England, and particularly amongst high-churchmen like R.C. Moberly (1815-1903) whose later work, Ministerial Priesthood<sup>5</sup> drew on Anglican teaching on the priesthood of Christ and was not uninfluenced by Milligan's own contribution. The Catholic Apostolic position, so finely represented by Edward Eddis, shared broadly the same

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1. ibid., No. 320, verse 5.

2. St. John 17; Hebrews 4:14-5:10; 6:20-10:25.

3. The Scottish Hymnal, No. 322, verse 2.

4. William Milligan, The Ascension and Heavenly Priesthood of Our Lord, 1892.

5. R.C. Moberly, Ministerial Priesthood, London, 1897.

approach as that of Moberly and Milligan. Sir Henry Baker's hymn, "God of God and Light of Light",<sup>1</sup> took up the same theme in The Scottish Hymnal and gave reinforcement to that aspect of the Eucharist expressed by Eddis, in which ascension, heavenly intercessor and Eucharist are all regarded as related facets of the continuing work of Christ. This is clearly a different emphasis from the traditional position of the Church of Scotland which interpreted the Supper almost exclusively in terms of the death of Christ.

To contemplate Christ's death inevitably involves a judgement about the complicity of sinful human beings in bringing about the crucifixion. In The Scottish Hymnal there is a consequent connection in eucharistic hymns between sin and the Sacrament, inasmuch as considerable stress is laid upon the penitence of the communicant as he approaches the Holy Table. Sir Henry Baker's "I am not worthy, Holy Lord" gives an expression to such an admission of unworthiness. The communicant's soul is seen to be an alien and inhospitable place to receive Christ the Guest; it is unprepared and ill-furnished to meet Him; and the shabbiness and unwelcoming aspect which it presents serves only to throw into relief the grace of the Saviour in even contemplating to enter. Against the background of centuries of exhortation to cultivate worthiness in approaching the sacramental Table, Baker's hymn would strike a sympathetic chord in the minds of most Scottish churchmen. It is true that by 1885 the awful admonitions made at "the fencing" were couched in gentler language; but the ideal of the worthy communicant was still regarded as the norm and objective for those who took in their hands the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper. Particularly because Baker's hymn was to be sung by first communicants (in the intention of The Scottish Hymnal), the imagery of the second verse about "making me whole" would represent the necessary cleansing from sin and its effects which alone would allow an acceptable

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1. The Scottish Hymnal, No. 327.

approach to the Table.

"I am not worthy; cold and bare  
The lodging of my soul;  
How canst Thou deign to enter there?  
Lord, speak, and make me whole".<sup>1</sup>

There is nothing maudlin or sentimental in this, and the penitential note is struck with an economy of language and directness which has commended the hymn to the Church of Scotland for the last hundred years.

Horatius Bonar does not dwell on the unworthiness of the communicant and yet he contrived successfully to establish a direct connection between the reception of the elements and freedom from the burden of sin and guilt which is every Christian's experience through forgiveness. The Supper, then, becomes a pledge of forgiveness to the penitent and contrite:

"Here would I feed upon the bread of God,  
Here drink with Thee the royal wine of heaven;  
Here would I lay aside each earthly load,  
Here taste afresh the calm of sin forgiven".<sup>2</sup>

This sense of contrition is heightened in the writing of Bishop Heber who refers to "the heart by sorrow broken" and "the tears by sinners shed".<sup>3</sup> However, the strength of his hymn is that this contrition is far outweighed by the mercy and grace of God who mediated His forgiveness to us through the Sacrament, and refers us back to Calvary where our sins are nailed to the Cross with Christ in His death.

It is to be expected from such a book as The Scottish Hymnal that it would reflect rather than resolve the Church's differing sacramental emphases. This, indeed, proved to be the case. The years immediately before and after its date of publication were years of quickening and transition in the life of the Church of Scotland. The long-standing

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1. ibid., No. 317.

2. ibid., No. 320, verse 2.

3. ibid., No. 323, "Bread of the world, in mercy broken", verse 2.



bitterness engendered by the Disruption showed signs of abating, while the most obsessive preoccupation in Scotland with ecclesiastical politics masquerading as theology seemed close to exhaustion. The Church of Scotland was regaining a fresh confidence in her position and had, through the labours primarily of Dr. James Robertson, endowed many new parishes to meet the exigencies of the later decades of the century. Robertson had died in 1860, but the Church continued to look to its responsibilities as the Established Church of the land. Moreover, the pages of Life and Work and the Home and Foreign Mission Record reveal vigorous prosecution of the Church's work abroad. Furthermore, the debate between religion and science was well under way by 1885 - less advanced in Scotland than in England, but regarded by such leaders of contemporary religious thought as Principal Tulloch as requiring a new and fresh interpretation of the old faith to combat the sceptical rationalism of the times.

Within the Church, the thoroughgoing scepticism of Strauss and Renan would not be answered by a theology which had its roots in the politico-religious squabbles of the seventeenth century. Although lip-service was in some quarters still paid to the terminology of covenant theology, federalism as a system was slackening its grip upon Scotland. In consequence, The Scottish Hymnal embraced a number of approaches to the Sacrament which would not be found side by side within any one party or section within the Church of Scotland but which co-existed well enough as a collection of eucharistic hymns at the disposal of the whole Church. It will be clear from the tenor of Eddis's writing, for instance, that his "I am not worthy, Holy Lord" would have an appeal to Scoto-Catholics; that the references to "pledges" and "tokens" in the hymns of Doddridge and Montgomery might evince a sympathetic response from those who still relied upon the residual terminology of federalism to describe their understanding of the Supper; and that the

hymns which dwelt upon the theme of Christ's death would allow every party within the Church to feel identified with the 1885 selection of Communion praise, which to some extent encouraged liberty of interpretation within the scope of the hymnody provided.

## CHAPTER TEN

THE COMMUNION HYMN AND THE CHURCH'S BELIEF

The Scottish Hymnal of 1885 served the Church of Scotland well during the decade following its publication. However, several factors, including those referred to above, were to ensure that the life of this collection would be relatively short-lived. The book itself had been in preparation over a long period. Its publication had begun, in instalments, from 1870 only to reach its completion fifteen years later. Therefore, it was inevitable that in some respects it could not but be dated by the time of its appearance. Little account could be taken of the rapid changes in church and society which the latter decades of the century had witnessed. Moreover, the other presbyterian churches in Scotland were to feel the deficiencies of their hymns with even greater force as the century drew to its end. The United Presbyterian Church had possessed a hymnbook since 1851,<sup>1</sup> and the Free Church had followed with its own compilation in 1882.<sup>2</sup> Thus, both bodies had sufficient time by the last decade of the century to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of their respective books in the light of changing circumstances. In view of improved relationships between the Established Church and the two dissenting bodies, moreover, it was increasingly likely that any future plans for hymnody revision in Scotland would be conducted in a spirit of co-operation. This proved to be the case, and The Church Hymnary, 1898, was "Authorized for Use in Public Worship by The Church of Scotland, The Free Church of Scotland, The United Presbyterian Church, [and] The Presbyterian Church in Ireland".<sup>3</sup>

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1. Hymn Book of the United Presbyterian Church, Glasgow, 1851.
  2. The Free Church Hymn Book. Published by authority of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland. 1882.
  3. The Church Hymnary. Edinburgh, Glasgow, Belfast, London and New York. 1898. The authorization quoted above is printed on the title page.

The eucharistic hymns of The Church Hymnary are fourteen in number, with six others "Suggested for sacramental use" at the end of the section and an additional sixteen from the section "Hymns on the Death of our Lord" also suggested as being suitable for Communion use. The total complement of eucharistic hymns thus runs to some thirty-six items, a number far in excess of that provided by any previous Scottish hymnal. At first glance, therefore, the emphasis upon the Lord's Supper in The Church Hymnary would appear to be unprecedented in both variety and scope of praise. The reality of the matter is, however, somewhat different.

In examining the additional suggestions for sacramental use the more conservative views of United Presbyterian and Free Churchmen became apparent. It is, for example, highly unlikely that a solely Church of Scotland successor to The Scottish Hymnal would have countenanced any such wholesale recommendation by which all the hymns of Christ's death were deemed to be suitable for singing at Holy Communion. Some, indeed, might have a specific application to the events of Holy Week or to Passion Sunday; but there is an almost total absence in them of any reference to the Lord's Supper and the actions of the Upper Room. Furthermore, E.W. Eddis's "Thou standest at the altar"<sup>1</sup> is removed from its usual place in The Scottish Hymnal as one of the items of praise included in the section on "The Lord's Supper", and can only find room as an additional suggestion. The virtual relegation of Eddis's hymn suggests that the priestly imagery of his writing did not commend itself to members of the editorial committee who had Free Church and United Presbyterian backgrounds. That John Macleod of Govan, with his Catholic Apostolic allegiance, should die in the same year which saw the publication of The Church Hymnary can only be a coincidence. However, it is not likely that either of the above developments would have taken place in a

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1. ibid., No. 96.

revised Established Church book which need not weigh up the matter of concessions to the weaker brethren of other denominations.

Of the hymns which are located in the main section on "The Lord's Supper" several are worthy successors from The Scottish Hymnal and the hymnaries of both Free and United Presbyterian churches. The Scottish paraphrase, "'Twas on that night, when doom'd to know"<sup>1</sup> is in this category together with Doddridge's "My God, and is Thy table spread?",<sup>2</sup> Montgomery's "According to Thy gracious word"<sup>3</sup> and Bonar's "Here, O my Lord, I see Thee face to face".<sup>4</sup> Those hymns which gained places in The Scottish Hymnal by way of the Anglican Hymns Ancient and Modern continue to be favourably regarded. Thus, Baker's "I am not worthy, Holy Lord"<sup>5</sup> is included, as in Heber's "Bread of the world"<sup>6</sup> and Bickersteth's "'Till He come!"<sup>7</sup> Other familiar selections are R.H. Baynes's "Jesus, to Thy table led"<sup>8</sup> and George Rawson's "By Christ redeemed, in Christ restored",<sup>9</sup> both from English Nonconformist sources.

Five of the fourteen hymns for the Lord's Supper in The Church Hymnary are new to any Scottish collection of eucharistic hymns. "Sweet feast of love Divine" is by Sir Edward Denny of Tralee (1796-1889), who included it in his Hymns and Poems of 1839.<sup>10</sup> Denny, with other Kerry gentry of the time, joined the Plymouth Brethren. Perhaps under the influence of the Brethren and their thought there is emphasis upon the "grace that makes us

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1. ibid., No. 407.

6. ibid., No. 414.

2. ibid., No. 408.

7. ibid., No. 419.

3. ibid., No. 410.

8. ibid., No. 412.

4. ibid., No. 415.

9. ibid., No. 417.

5. ibid., No. 411.

10. ibid., No. 418.

free",<sup>1</sup> but there appears to be an unresolved tension in the hymn between the image of feeding upon bread and wine in all its "sweetness",<sup>2</sup> and the regarding of such feeding as being memorialist in nature. Certainly, Denny makes use of the terms "symbol" and "pledge" in such a way as to imply that his true convictions are of the evangelical Protestant variety, however fulsome his language as applied to the elements.<sup>3</sup> In a similar genre is Horatius Bonar's "For the bread and for the wine", which also appears only in The Church Hymnary.<sup>4</sup> Bonar, too, employs the expressions "pledge", "seal" and "sign" as if to make clear his suspicion of any view of the Sacrament which lays undue stress upon the elements:

"Only bread and only wine,  
 Yet to faith the seal and sign  
 Of the heavenly and Divine!  
 We give Thee thanks, O Lord".<sup>5</sup>

It would be wrong to conclude that The Church Hymnary of 1898 failed to take account of the traditional Catholic element in the Church's sacramental praise. The inclusion of John Mason Neale's Latin translation, "Come, take by faith the body of your Lord" is sufficient evidence that the editorial committee of the Hymnary was sensitive to the need to strike a balance in such matters. Indeed, the third and fourth verses might well have come from the Catholic Apostolic Edward Eddis, such is the imagery which they employ.<sup>6</sup> Comparison of the Catholic Apostolic Hymns and Neale's translation in The Church Hymnary does show that an amended version of Neale's hymn is included in the Catholic Apostolic book as "Draw nigh, and take the Body of the

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1. ibid., No. 418, verse 1.

2. ibid., No. 418, verse 3.

3. ibid., No. 418, verse 4.

4. ibid., No. 420.

5. ibid., No. 420, verse 3.

6. ibid., No. 409.

Lord".<sup>1</sup> A similar strain is to be found in Philip Schaff's translation from the Latin, "O bread of Life, from heaven" which takes up the ancient idea of the viaticum:

"O Bread of Life, from heaven  
To pilgrim saints now given".<sup>2</sup>

The hymn is essentially a dwelling upon the idea of being nourished by Christ through the sacramental elements of bread and wine, until we come to see and know Him in the heavenly places. Schaff's grasp of the Catholic understanding of Christianity was profound, and although he achieved public acclaim through his The Principle of Protestantism, his teaching role with J.W. Nevin within the American German Reformed Church at Mercersburg showed him to be as indebted to the Fathers of the Church as to the Reformers. Henry W. Baker's "God of God, and Light of Light" reinforced the Catholic emphasis in The Church Hymnary.<sup>3</sup> Derived from a fuller litany, "God the Father, God the Son", which had earlier been included in Hymns Ancient and Modern, Baker's substantial litany form was taken up later and used extensively,

although it did not endure sufficiently to become a feature of later editions of The Church Hymnary. The imagery of the Epistle to the Hebrews is employed, with further echoes of the Catholic Apostolic Church:

"Priest and Victim, whom of old  
Type and prophecy foretold,  
Here us, Holy Jesus.

King of Salem, Priest Divine,  
Bringing forth Thy bread and wine,  
Here us, Holy Jesus".<sup>4</sup>

There is, then, in The Church Hymnary of 1898 an obvious and deliberate attempt to hold together all shades of opinion about the Lord's Supper in the presbyterian churches which co-operated in the compilation of the book. This attempt to

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1. Hymns for the Use of the Churches, No. 29.

2. The Church Hymnary, No. 416.

3. ibid., No. 413.

4. ibid., No. 413, verses 3 and 4.

be all-embracing existed also in The Scottish Hymnal, but less noticeably in that only one denomination (and some might cavil at the use of that word!), the Established Church of Scotland, was involved. This ecumenical dimension, initiated with The Church Hymnary, 1898, became a factor of increasing importance in the two subsequent editions of the Hymnary. However, that dimension was less self-conscious in 1927 and 1973. The 1898 book reflected the determination of the presbyterian churches in Scotland to demonstrate the ecumenical spirit in the undertaking of a practical course of action, of equal benefit to all the churches. The sphere of such common activity was, it is true, relatively domestic and subject to the limitations of an uneasy truce; but later joint work on hymnody brought an infusion of Christianity from many different cultures and traditions, so that the compilers were delivered from the relatively confining set of circumstances which confronted, and hindered, the three main presbyterian bodies in Scotland.

Before embarking upon a study of the development of these issues in The Revised Church Hymnary and, briefly, in The Church Hymnary, Third Edition, there yet remains one denominational hymnbook which stands aside from the theological and hymnological accommodations of The Church Hymnary of 1898. This book, The Scottish Mission Hymnbook, 1912, saw in such ecumenical missionary work a threat to the truth of the Catholic faith and represents a considerable effort on the part of the Scoto-Catholics within the Church of Scotland to preserve "the faith once delivered to the saints".

The publication of The Scottish Mission Hymnbook<sup>1</sup> "by Authority of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland", proved to be an event of much wider significance for the Church than the title might suggest. The Preface advanced the view that a survey of mission preaching, parish missions and existing mission hymnbooks indicated that the needs of the Church's praise within the context of home mission work

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1. The Scottish Mission Hymnbook, London, 1912.



was not adequately met. Critical reference is also made to unnamed collections of hymns which, while conceded to be both popular and widely distributed, were "almost entirely of one type.....not native to our country.....and too markedly divergent from the class of hymn sung in our churches".<sup>1</sup> The appeal of Moody and Sankey is thus regarded with some disfavour, primarily because of the barrier which such a tradition of hymnody erected between mission services on the one hand and the regular services of the Church on the other. Indeed, the assessment of The Scottish Mission Hymnbook is that those who become attached to such hymns "lose their natural affection for the Church's praise" and often fail to progress from participation in a mission to the desired full membership of the parish church. Theologically, also, hymns of the Moody and Sankey type are found wanting because many are "exclusively of the subjective class and are occupied with self and the experience of self", in such a way as to reduce the emphasis upon the themes of divine love and grace and the glory of God which stand to the fore in any collection of objective hymns.<sup>2</sup>

It is clear then, that dissatisfaction with the individualism and limited theology of much home mission work provided a strong motive for the compilation of The Scottish Mission Hymnbook. Obviously, the evangelistic approach required a personal appeal to the potential convert; but it was firmly held that such an appeal should be made from within the Church, and that the Church herself should be the ground and agent of all missionary activity. Such a view was reflected in the writings of James Cooper whose convictions regarding the mission work of the Church of Scotland were exactly replicated within the small but articulate Scotch-Catholic group. Cooper himself was greatly concerned about the spread of the Gospel, and his parochial work involved

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1. ibid., Preface, v.

2. idem.

him in strenuous efforts to draw men and women into the life of the Church. When, in April 1888, he abolished "fast days" in East St. Nicholas, Aberdeen, he expressed misgivings on the grounds that, at their best, they had allowed the Church to use the Communion Seasons as virtual mission weeks. He regarded the abolition of such customs as being too easy, especially where no substitute was provided. He took the view that where the obsolescent in church life was abolished and no efforts were made to fill the void, "such abolitions, inevitable or not, are steps in dilapidation".<sup>1</sup>

His continual watchword was "evangelistic work on Catholic lines",<sup>2</sup> involving not only the traditional appeals of such outreach to heart and conscience, but also a sustained and determined effort to teach the fundamental truths of the Christian faith. The same approach is set out in the papers of H.J. Wotherspoon and J. Cromarty Smith at the first Conference of the Scottish Church Society, held in Glasgow between 25th and 29th November, 1893. Entitled "Evangelistic Work and its Proper Basis",<sup>3</sup> it was thought sufficiently important to discuss alongside topics such as the devotional life, the place of Holy Communion in the Church and the observation of the main features of the Christian Year. The priority given to mission work within the Society also answered critics who charged its members with being tarred with the brush of Romanism. "Evangelistic work" had an urgent and contemporary ring about it, and displayed a concern for the Gospel which could only be applauded. But, as Cromarty Smith declared in uncompromising fashion, "the Church alone can do evangelistic work, for she alone possesses the power of conveying from Christ to His people those means by which the spiritual life can be nourished".<sup>4</sup>

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1. H.J. Wotherspoon, James Cooper; A Memoir, p. 152.

2. ibid., p. 177.

3. Scottish Church Society Conferences, First Series, Edinburgh, 1894, pp. 179-194.

4. ibid., p. 190.

Thus, The Scottish Mission Hymnbook sought to deal with the urgent task of evangelism in the parishes of Scotland by retaining a proper regard for the Church, the sacraments, the observance of the Christian Year and all the great doctrines of "the faith once delivered to the saints", rather than simply a continual reiteration of the doctrine of the Cross which was the almost exclusive theme treated by the evangelists who operated outside the Church of Scotland. This was in keeping with the conviction of Cooper, that there was often in Scotland a traditional connection between the celebration of the Communion, its Season, and evangelism to the people of God within the parish. The Mission Hymnbook contained a far richer variety and greater number of Communion hymns than The Scottish Hymnal and the editions of The Church Hymnary, whether 1898, 1927 or 1973.

Under Section V of The Scottish Mission Hymnbook, "Hymns for Special Occasions", there is a sub-section entitled "Of Thanksgiving after a Mission, and for the Holy Communion".<sup>1</sup> Only four eucharistic hymns are included under this heading, as Nos. 167, 168, 169 and 170. The first of these, "Come Holy Ghost! our souls inspire", is a translation from the Latin by Bishop Cosin which previously appeared in the 1885 Scottish Hymnal and the 1898 Church Hymnary. The second is of considerable interest in that it had appeared in The Monthly Packet in 1873 but was not selected for use in the two previous Scottish hymnbooks. William Bright's "And now, O Father, mindful of the love" drew inspiration from the Unde et memores of the Mass and was a finely conceived exposition of eucharistic doctrine, with particular reference to the anamnesis. William Bright (1814-1901) was a Canon of Christ Church, Oxford and, from 1868, Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford. Moreover, he had a brief connection with Scottish church life by his appointment as theological tutor at Trinity College,

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1. The Scottish Mission Hymnbook, pp. 186-191.

Glenalmond, in 1848.<sup>1</sup> The first verse of his hymn gives an indication of the manner in which Bright had the capacity to interpret sacramental theology, exercise economy of language, and harness a poetic imagination to the best possible effect:

"And now, O Father, mindful of the love  
 That bought us, once for all, on Calvary's Tree,  
 And having with us Him that pleads above,  
 We here present, we here spread forth to Thee  
 That only offering perfect in Thine eyes,  
 The one, true, pure, immortal sacrifice".<sup>2</sup>

Unde et memores gave fine expression to a Catholic understanding of the Eucharist which the Scoto-Catholics shared in large degree with the Tractarians. The teaching which Bright enunciated with such admirable simplicity touched upon the great themes prized by John Macleod, James Cooper and the Wotherspoons: anamnesis, the heavenly intercession of Christ, offering, and the "pleading" of Christ's once-for-all sacrifice upon the Cross. The second verse put this latter insight marvellously into words in a way that few would have been able to do:

"Look, Father, look on His anointed face,  
 And only look on us as found in Him;  
 Look not on our misusings of Thy grace,  
 Our prayer so languid, and our faith so dim:  
 For lo! between our sins and their reward  
 We set the passion of Thy Son our Lord".

It was most probably through the influence of The Scottish Mission Hymnbook that Unde et memores came to be included in The Revised Church Hymnary of 1927. Its place has never been in doubt as one of the finest eucharistic hymns ever written and its subsequent inclusion (or retention) in The Church Hymnary, Third Edition, came as a matter of course.

The third of the four hymns in the specifically eucharistic section of the Hymnbook was Woodford's rendering from the Latin of Thomas Aquinas's "Thee we adore, O hidden Saviour Thee". This particular version was written for

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1. Handbook to the Church Hymnary, Third Edition, p. 234.

2. The Scottish Mission Hymnbook, No. 168.

Woodford's own Hymns arranged for the Sundays and Holy Days of the Church of England, 1855, and consequently found a place in Hymns Ancient and Modern, 1861.<sup>1</sup> Like Bright's Unde et memores, "Thee we adore" gained its foothold in the Scottish hymnals by its initial inclusion in The Mission Hymnbook. However, an earlier selection for Hymns for the Use of the Churches (the Catholic Apostolic book) perhaps also helped to keep it before those responsible for the two later editions of The Church Hymnary. At any rate, its use in all of these books of 1861, 1864, and 1912 ensured that it would be brought into the mainstream of the Church of Scotland's praise, partly because of the improved ecumenical atmosphere and the greater acceptance of the Catholic sacramental stance throughout the early decades of the twentieth century.

The final hymn in the eucharistic section bears out the view that The Scottish Mission Hymnbook had largely been the fruit of the labours of the Scoto-Catholics within the Kirk. Arthur Wellesley Wotherspoon (1853-1936) was an active member of the Scottish Church Society, as his brother Henry Johnstone Wotherspoon had been. They were seen to be an uncompromising pair in matters relating to the Catholic faith, and Arthur did not quite possess the measure of courtesy and charity which his brother displayed. Augustus Muir, in his John White, has a number of references to the doughty, unyielding and often exasperating way in which Arthur Wotherspoon defended Catholic orthodoxy in the negotiations which led up to the Union of the Churches in 1929.<sup>2</sup> Arthur Wotherspoon was a sub-editor of The Scottish Mission Hymnbook and the contributor of three hymns and two tunes. This "keen man" - as John White regarded him, for all his stubbornness<sup>3</sup> - had a wide-ranging concern for many aspects

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1. Handbook to The Church Hymnary, Third Edition, p. 195.

2. Augustus Muir, John White, pp. 141, 158, 160 and 191.

3. ibid., p. 162.

of church teaching, but he felt most deeply about the Eucharist. Not surprisingly, therefore, his is one of the eucharistic hymns to appear in The Scottish Mission Hymnbook. The first verse of his hymn has an affinity with Bright's Unde et memores in its stress both upon anamnesis and "pleading Christ":

"O Christ, who sinless art alone,  
Our frailty and our sin who knowest,  
We stand in Thee before the throne  
And plead the death Thou shewest".<sup>1</sup>

The second verse confirms the churchmanship which underlines The Mission Hymnbook, with Catholic imagery of "Christ, our sacrifice and Priest", who intercedes for those who call upon him. Although concerned with mission work at home, therefore, Wotherspoon and the book of praise which he edits show no tendency towards theological "reductionism". It is the full Gospel, the Catholic and Evangelical faith, which is to be conveyed and nothing less than that.

Four specifically eucharistic hymns may hardly justify the assertion that The Mission Hymnbook furnished the Church of Scotland with a greater number of Communion hymns than ever before. However, the assertion stands, for other parts of the book contained sacramental hymns which could be used at particular times and seasons, or at particular occasions. Thus, it is possible to discover in The Scottish Mission Hymnbook what are, in reality, additional eucharistic hymns, some of which are composed by other members of the Scoto-Catholic group. John Macleod of Govan died in 1898, but has two of his hymns included, both with obvious eucharistic overtones. "In love, from love, Thou camest forth, O Lord" is rather vaguely and inappropriately placed in the section entitled "General Hymns" in spite of its clearly sacramental content, the eucharistic scriptural motto above the hymn ("The Bread of God is He which cometh down from Heaven"), and its much later but quite definite inclusion in

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1. The Scottish Mission Hymnbook, No. 170.

The Church Hymnary, Third Edition, as a Communion Hymn.<sup>1</sup>

In keeping with the doctrinal approach of the Scottish Church Society the whole of the Lord's life is regarded as part of the offering which He makes. The Cross, therefore, does not dominate:

"In love, from love, Thou camest forth, O LORD,  
Sent from the FATHER, His incarnate WORD...."

The final, eighth verse takes up this incarnational theme with the words:

"Jesus, Immanuel, evermore adored,  
At Thy great Name we bow, we own Thee LORD...."

Echoes of Bright's hymn occur at several points, notably in the closing words of the fourth verse:

"Still showing forth before our FATHER'S eyes  
The one, pure, perfect, Filial sacrifice".<sup>2</sup>

Of the Communion he writes that it is "the feast of grace"<sup>3</sup> in which "these hallowed gifts of bread and wine" are used to build up the life of the Church.<sup>4</sup> This latter emphasis is little found in other sacramental hymns of the time and is an important development in eucharistic thought, perhaps guided by John Macleod's own personal involvement in the Catholic Apostolic Church. Thus, the Lord is called upon to "Feed Thy one Body with the Life divine"<sup>5</sup> - an expression not far removed from the language of Edward Eddis. In speaking of the elements, Macleod eschews every means of understanding the Body and Blood of Christ symbolically. The prayer of the communicant is quite unambiguous in this respect:

"O perfect brother, and true Son of God,  
Impart to us Thy Body and Thy Blood,  
That through communion of one mind, one heart,  
We may advance to see Thee as Thou art".

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1. ibid., No. 317; also The Church Hymnary, Third Edition, No. 582.

2. The Scottish Mission Hymnbook, No. 317, verse 4,

3. ibid., No. 317, verse 5.

4. ibid., No. 317, verse 6.

5. ibid., No. 317, verse 6.

6. ibid., No. 317, verse 7.

John Macleod's other eucharistic hymn has fewer overt references to the Sacrament, but still is redolent with overtones of the Communion. "'Lift up your hearts': I hear the summons pealing"<sup>1</sup> first appeared in The Hymnal Appendix which he edited for the use of his congregation at Duns in 1874. It is located in The Scottish Mission Hymnbook under the section entitled "Hymns for Men's Services" and did not reappear in any Scottish hymnary until its inclusion in The Church Hymnary, Third Edition of 1973. It is not formally recognized in either book as a eucharistic hymn, but the language, based upon the Sursum corda, is clearly eucharistic in intention, with the related theme of Christ the heavenly intercessor:

"'Lift up your hearts': I hear the summons pealing  
 Forth from the golden altar where He stands -  
 Our great High Priest, the FATHER'S love revealing,  
 In priestly act, with pleading outspread hands".<sup>2</sup>

None of the eucharistic hymns of the Catholic Apostolic Church has a direct reference to "the golden altar", but the phrase from the Apocalypse 8:3 is mentioned on numerous occasions in J.B. Cardale's Readings Upon the Liturgy<sup>3</sup> and this typically Irvingite usage is changed in the 1973 Church Hymnary to the slightly less demanding "heavenly altar", thus making appreciation of the hymn less dependent upon a knowledge of The Book of the Revelation.<sup>4</sup>

Further evidence of the influence of the Scoto-Catholics in the compilation of The Scottish Mission Hymnbook is to be seen in the inclusion of the additional eucharistic hymn "The Body and the Blood: of Jesus Christ our Lord",<sup>5</sup> translated from The Book of Deer by James Cooper and published by him in Reliques of Ancient Scottish Devotion<sup>6</sup> in the

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1. ibid., No. 209.

2. idem.

3. [J.B. Cardale], Readings upon the Liturgy, vol. 1, passim.

4. The Church Hymnary, Third Edition, No. 307.

5. The Scottish Mission Hymnbook, No. 140.

6. James Cooper, Reliques of Ancient Scottish Devotion, The Iona Books, Edinburgh, 1913, pp. 21-23. See also Wotherspoon, James Cooper, p. 271.



year after the appearance of the Mission Hymnbook. In the notes which serve as a preface to his Reliques, Cooper, following Warren's Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church,<sup>1</sup> takes the view that the service for the Communion of the Sick (from which the hymn comes) may belong to the ninth century.<sup>2</sup> Professor Cooper did more than simply locate and extract the hymn. In its original form in The Book of Deer, where it is described as a Communion anthem and psalm, it is strongly medieval in tone and not in a form which could readily be sung within the Church of Scotland, as this first part shows:

"Refreshed with the Body and Blood of CHRIST,  
We give thanks unto Thee, O LORD, at all times,  
Alleluia, Alleluia.

Who satisfieth the longing soul: and filleth  
the hungry soul with goodness (Ps. 107:9).  
Alleluia, Alleluia.

And let them sacrifice the sacrifices of thanks-  
giving: and declare His works with rejoicing  
(Ps. 107:22)  
Alleluia, Alleluia.

The rendering of James Cooper shows considerable poetic skill and represents far more than a literal translation. The hymn is curiously placed in the Mission Hymnbook as an additional eucharistic hymn under the section entitled "Hymns for the Later Days of a Mission", no doubt with the intention of having available at that time a simple and intense Communion hymn to support the missionaries in their work, as they received the Sacrament before embark-  
in upon their final endeavours.

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1. F.E. Warren, The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church  
Oxford, 1881.

2. Cooper, Reliques, p. 12.

"The Body and the Blood: of JESUS CHRIST, our Lord,  
Eternal health to us: for our true life afford.

Fed with that sacred Flesh: cheered with that  
precious Blood,  
With hearts refreshed and strong: we render thanks  
to GOD.

Who fills the empty soul: and from His throne above  
To hungry souls on earth: sends down His feast of  
love.

The Alleluia glad: the sacrifice of praise,  
To Him who saves mankind: let all the nations raise.

To Him yield righteousness: the sacrifice divine;  
In Him put thou thy trust: and not in strength of  
thine".

Cooper's translation from The Book of Deer provides an interesting eucharistic hymn in which there is a clear progression from the act of receiving the elements, leading on to the refreshment and nourishment given thereby and the contemplation upon the grace of God who "fills the empty soul". There is also an appropriate act of praise, following upon the reception of God's gifts, and a final consecration of the life of righteousness which is the fitting response of the communicant in offering not only the praise of his lips, but the work of his hands. In spite of the simplicity and comprehensiveness of James Cooper's translation, however, "The Body and the Blood" failed to excite the Scottish religious imagination and remained in the relative obscurity of The Scottish Mission Hymnbook.

A further eight hymns with a measure of eucharistic content can be located in the Mission Hymnbook. One or two have oblique references to the Sacrament, as in the case of the composition by William Bullock and Henry Baker:

"We love Thine altar, Lord:  
O what on earth so dear?  
For there, in faith adored,  
We find Thy presence near".<sup>1</sup>

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1. The Scottish Mission Hymnbook, No. 205, verse 4.

The intention of the hymn, however, was not specifically eucharistic. It was associated with the Church of Ireland rite for the institution of a new incumbent who was traditionally taken from font to altar to pulpit to underline his particular obligations regarding the functions associated with these. Its original purpose was for the induction of an incumbent at an outpost on the coast of Newfoundland, where William Bullock was Dean. Baker later took the hymn and made it wider in its application after some editing. The original verse about the pulpit was unusable:

"We love Thy pulpit, Lord,  
From which the verse of man,  
Soothest the anxious heart,  
As only preaching can".<sup>1</sup>

Baker's revised version of the hymn was included in Hymns Ancient and Modern, 1861. After its appearance in The Scottish Mission Hymnbook (without the pulpit verse) it continued to find acceptance in each successive edition of The Church Hymnary, but without the two sacramental verses relating to the font and the altar.<sup>2</sup>

Hymns Ancient and Modern provided a ready-made vehicle for several hymns of a eucharistic nature which had not enjoyed wide currency in the Scotland of the early twentieth century. Although not strictly a sacramental hymn, Charles Wesley's "O Thou, before the world began" makes considerable use of the Catholic theme of Christ the heavenly intercessor, so prized by members of the Scottish Church Society:

"One everlasting Priest art Thou,  
Pleading Thy death for sinners now".<sup>3</sup>

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1. This verse and its background came to me from Dr. Gavin White of the University of Glasgow. Dr. White is himself a Canadian. See also The Book of Common Praise, Being the Hymn Book of the Church of England in Canada. Annotated Edition, the Notes written and compiled by James Edmund Jones, Toronto, London and New York, 1909, p. 628.
  2. Church Hymnary, No. 373; R.C.H., No. 236; C.H.3., No. 15.
  3. The Scottish Mission Hymnbook, No. 148, verse 1.

In spite of the large number of sacramental hymns written by Charles Wesley they only came into use in the Church of Scotland relatively slowly. However, they tended to reinforce the approach of William Bright and others like him, because of their emphasis upon the continuing role of Christ:

"Thy offering still continues new  
Before the righteous Father's view".<sup>1</sup>

Wesley's hymn does not, it is true, make use of overtly eucharistic imagery and was probably intended as an evangelical affirmation of the death of Christ and its relationship to the believer. Nevertheless, such was Wesley's breadth of understanding of Christ's offering that it was inevitably expressed in ideas of sacrifice and priesthood which could hardly be separated from the Catholic understanding of the Eucharist. Similarly, W.D. Maclagan (1826-1910), latterly Archbishop of York, wrote "O Body broken for my sake" which found a place in the Mission Hymnbook, commending itself to men like the Wotherspoons because of its stress upon the ascension and priesthood of Christ. It is to be found in the section "Hymns for Special Occasions: for Meetings of Missioners and Workers", but the language is strongly eucharistic:

"He gives Thee bread of heaven to eat,  
His flesh and blood in mystery".<sup>2</sup>

Only Part I appears in Hymns Ancient and Modern, but it is clearly regarded there as a Communion hymn, and there is no reason to interpret Part II as non-eucharistic, whatever the title of the section to which it is allocated in The Scottish Mission Hymnbook. There is little doubt that its inclusion was meant to add to the variety of praise which might be used at special Communion services in the course of a mission. Indeed, use of such lines in the content of a non-sacramental service would appear incongruous:

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1. ibid., No. 148, verse 2.

2. ibid., No. 163, Part I, verse 3.

"O sacred Food, O cleansing Stream,  
 Fill all my soul with love divine:  
 O Thou who didst my life redeem,  
 Dwell in my heart and make it Thine".<sup>1</sup>

The Scottish Mission Hymnbook also makes use of a certain amount of material translated from Latin sources. Attention has been drawn to James Cooper's hymn, but there is also the more widely used "At the Lamb's high feast we sing", translated by Robert Campbell and given place in both Hymns Ancient and Modern,<sup>2</sup> 1861, and the Catholic Apostolic Hymns,<sup>3</sup> 1864. Again, there can be no doubt that this ancient Latin hymn was meant for eucharistic celebration. Certainly, it is numbered in the Catholic Apostolic book as a hymn for use at Holy Communion and its references to "Sacred blood for wine" and "body for the feast" hardly merit any other use. In the Mission Hymnbook as in Hymns Ancient and Modern, Campbell's rendering sets it within the hymns for Easter, but clearly with a view to Communion use.<sup>4</sup>

"Jesus, Word of God incarnate", attributed to Adam of St. Victor, is similarly placed under the heading "Natural and Sacred Seasons", but could easily be used on a sacramental celebration of Maunday Thursday with lines which have a decidedly eucharistic connotation:

"Feed us with Thy body broken -  
 Broken in death's agony".<sup>5</sup>

John Mason Neale's translation of Aquinas's "In birth our brother Christ became", presumably because of the theme of the identification of Christ with us in our earthly lot, takes its place with "Hymns for Special Occasions: For Men's Services".<sup>6</sup> Clearly, the compilers of The Scottish Mission Hymnbook envisaged frequent celebrations of Holy

1. ibid., No. 163, Part II, verse 5.

2. Hymns Ancient and Modern, No. 127.

3. Hymns for the Use of the Churches, No. 14. Ambrosian 4th or 5th C., tr. 1850.

4. The Scottish Mission Hymnbook, No. 297.

5. ibid., No. 292.

6. ibid., No. 198.

Communion in the work of the Church amongst men, for once again the eucharistic theme is given prominence in such lines as "At board Himself as food He gives".

However, the most daring inclusion is perhaps the "Litany of the Eucharist", "God the Father, God the Word", one of a number of litanies embracing, with the Lord's Supper, such themes as the Last Things, the Passion, the Holy Ghost and Penitence.<sup>2</sup> The "Litany of the Eucharist" is dated as 1867, its source being anonymous, but those "of the Passion" and "of Penitence" were composed by R.F. Littledale and have, therefore, a decidedly Tractarian background.<sup>3</sup> The adoption of the form of the Litany was not usual in the traditional praise of the Church of Scotland. However, the concerns of the Scoto-Catholic group are reflected in the promotion of its use in The Scottish Mission Hymnbook. One dominant motive for providing litanies was the importance which the Wotherspoons, James Cooper and others attributed to sacred seasons in the life of the Church. Thus, the celebration of the Sacrament could be linked with the "Litany of the Eucharist" just as the "Litany of the Passion" might be used in Holy Week, and the "Litany of the Last Things" could profitably be associated with the season of Advent. Yet another consideration is given prominence in the Preface to the Mission Hymnbook, namely, that while a Mission may be evangelistic, extending into the life of the parish, it may also be congregational, "its aim being the quickening of devotion, the increase of spiritual life".<sup>4</sup> The book attempts, therefore, to provide devotional material which might be used for prayer and reflection, and it is significant

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1. ibid., No. 198, verse 1.

2. ibid., No. 335. The others are Nos. 333, 334, 336 and 338 respectively.

3. R.F. Littledale (1833-1890) was a liturgical writer, Anglo-Catholic apologist, and co-editor of the first edition of The Priest's Prayer Book, 1864.

4. The Scottish Mission Hymnbook, Preface vi.

that the litanies are located in the Section VIII, "General Hymns, including Hymns Primarily for Devotional Reading".

The "Litany of the Eucharist", while meeting a devotional need in certain circumstances and providing material for the communicant's private preparation, is too obviously transplanted from an Anglo-Catholic source to take its place easily in a book of hymns for use in the Church of Scotland. This, perhaps, was the impossible task which faced the energetic compilers of The Scottish Mission Hymnbook. Such items as the litanies were approved of in their eyes by being Catholic in ethos, as opposed to the impoverished and distorted theology of the American mission hymns of the day. The aims of the compilers were laudable and theologically apposite, but lacking the simplicity and popularity of the praise which they were trying to supplant.

"Shewbread in God's Holy Place,  
Fount of all redeeming grace"

smacked too much of the precious to win the popular imagination, for all its use of apt scriptural imagery from the Pentateuch and the Apocalypse.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, The Scottish Mission Hymnbook must in one sense be regarded as a noble undertaking which failed to excite the loyalty of the whole Church of Scotland. Talk of Union with the Free Church (the United Free Church since 1900) was in the air although still far off in the tally of years. The strength of the Scoto-Catholic group may well have been at its peak in 1912, but even then its front was not sufficiently broad to capture the mind of the Church; and once the momentum for Union grew, the Catholic stance of the Scottish Church Society and its supporters, though respected, was not to be allowed to prevent agreement on what were regarded as commonly-held essentials of church, ministry and sacraments. The Revised Church Hymnary was published two years before the Union of the Churches

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1. ibid., No. 335, verse 4.

in 1929, and while the selection of eucharistic praise was a blend of praise from the traditions which would make up the united Church of Scotland, much of the uncompromisingly Catholic material of the 1912 book fell by the wayside.

There were, of course, certain positive gains from the publication of The Scottish Mission Hymnbook which it would be wrong to underestimate. A few hymns of very high quality were brought to the notice of the Church of Scotland through their inclusion in the Mission Hymnbook. The hymns of William Bright afford a good example of this process. His Unde et memores went on, from initial recognition in the 1912 book, to appear in The Revised Church Hymnary and eventually in the most recent edition of 1973. The other positive aspect of The Scottish Mission Hymnbook arose from the fact that fourteen eucharistic hymns were placed at the disposal of a Church which, forty-two years previously,<sup>1</sup> had sung only psalms and paraphrases at the Communion. Moreover, the Mission Hymnbook, while wholly ecumenical in its use of eucharistic hymns, did not fail to provide a vehicle for the compositions of Scottish churchmen of the calibre of John Macleod, Arthur Wotherspoon and James Cooper. No hymnbook in the story of the hymnody of the Kirk has ever produced so many writers of eucharistic praise from within the ranks of the Established Church. Subsequently, of course, the Scoto-Catholics had to yield ground inasmuch as The Revised Church Hymnary did not adopt many of their selections for Communion use. However, their achievement was remarkable and provided evidence that the Church of Scotland had a breadth and Catholicity which long-standing puritan influence had failed to eradicate.

Hymnological developments within the twentieth century Church of Scotland lie outside the confines of this present work. Nevertheless, some reference to both The Revised

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1. Going back to 1870 as the date of publication of The Scottish Hymnal, without the substantial Appendix and Children's Hymnal.



Church Hymnary and the much more recent Church Hymnary, Third Edition might be made primarily in order to trace the course of some of the eucharistic hymns which found favour with earlier books. It is also of some interest to determine the ethos of the twentieth century and to discern its effect upon the praise of the Church in an ecumenical age. This final section, therefore, should be seen as an epilogue to the review of the development of eucharistic hymnody within the Church of Scotland.

The Revised Church Hymnary<sup>1</sup> was published only two years before the historic union of the churches whereby the United Free Church of Scotland and the Church of Scotland came together to form "The Church of Scotland". This union brought back into the Church a number of elements which had for long been absent from it. The United Free Church was itself the fruit of the Union with the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church in 1900; and the United Presbyterian Church embodied the various Seceding and Relief traditions which had left the Auld Kirk long before the Disruption. Thus, the eucharistic hymnody of the re-united Church of Scotland was anticipated by The Revised Church Hymnary. As with The Church Hymnary twenty-nine years earlier, so it was with its lineal descendant, for the Communion hymns of the presbyterian churches of necessity reflect the varying strands which would inexorably make up the inheritance of the new Church of Scotland in 1929. Indeed, The Revised Church Hymnary was compiled and edited to meet the needs of a wider presbyterian worshipping public than any previous hymnbook, for its authorization extended beyond the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church to the presbyterian churches in Ireland, England, Wales, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. Its most distinctive note, then, was to be its extraordinary comprehensiveness, and the fact that it was not superseded for

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1. The Church Hymnary, Revised Edition, Oxford University Press, 1927.

some forty-five years was an indication of its success and popularity amongst the churches for which it was compiled.

Inevitably, the section on Communion hymns altered from that of the first edition in 1898. Omissions are most noticeable. Thus, the five "new" hymns which gained places in the 1898 book, fail to win inclusion in the revised edition. Baker's litany form, moreover, despite its considerable representation in The Scottish Mission Hymnbook, does not commend itself and falls as an isolated hymnological phenomenon. The Latin translations, too, lacked the necessary popular usage to ensure them a place. Those of Neale fell by the wayside perhaps because of a somewhat laboured stress upon typology, and those of Schaff because of an over-intense concentration upon the elements. Yet the more Protestant compositions of Bonar ("For the bread and for the wine") and Denny ("Sweet feast of love Divine") share the same fate, leading to the conclusion that the editorial committee did not simply reject or accept on the basis of partiality towards either of the two main wings of the Church.

What does emerge clearly from The Revised Church Hymnary is the fact that, with only two exceptions, all the fourteen hymns for Communion use had been tried and tested either in The Scottish Hymnal, The Church Hymnary, or The Scottish Mission Hymnbook; and several of the hymns had also been included in the hymnbooks of the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church. Consequently, the well-known lines recur, as do the names of famous authors: Morison and his paraphrase, Doddridge, Montgomery, Baynes, Baker, Heber, Bickersteth, Rawson and Bonar. In addition, William Bright's Unde et memores, introduced to the Church of Scotland through the Mission Hymnbook and passed over by The Church Hymnary, is rediscovered by way of the revised edition.<sup>1</sup> In like manner, Thomas Aquinas's "Thee we adore"

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1. ibid., No. 320.

is revived after initial use in The Scottish Hymnal of 1885 and subsequent inclusion in The Scottish Mission Hymnbook.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, Eddis's "Thou standest at the altar", accepted by previous books but given only the status of an additional eucharistic hymn, is reinstated in the main section of Communion hymns in The Revised Church Hymnary.<sup>2</sup> Nor are the two "first-time inclusions" deserving of the epithet "new". "Author of life divine"<sup>3</sup> was one of Charles Wesley's great eucharistic hymns and part of the enormous repertoire of Wesley's work in The Methodist Hymnbook. "Deck thyself, my soul, with gladness" was one of a number of hymns of German origin brought before the English-speaking churches through the work of the translator, Catherine Winkworth. Its inclusion brought about one of the great contributions to sacramental praise of The Revised Church Hymnary.<sup>4</sup>

The Revised Church Hymnary, like its predecessor, has a list of praise which might be suitable at the celebration of Holy Communion. Some of the items - "Alleluia! sing to Jesus", "Jesus, Thou joy of loving hearts" and "The King of Love my Shepherd is" - were previously put forward as additional suggestions in The Church Hymnary. They are similar in number, but significantly, "Hymns of Consecration and Discipleship" appears as a heading while "Hymns on the Death of Our Lord" is omitted.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, the editorial committee of the 1927 book had lost much of the cautious desire to maintain a balance which appeared to colour the attitudes of their 1898 predecessors. The ecumenical consciousness they experienced was wider than the presbyterian traditions to which they belonged, and their work was motivated by a desire to reflect the best of eucharistic hymnody which the whole Church had to offer.

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1. ibid., No. 319.

2. ibid., No. 315.

3. ibid., No. 316.

4. ibid., No. 324.

5. ibid., No. 396.

It was this consciousness of the Church of Scotland's place within the World Church which was carried forward to, and even heightened in, The Church Hymnary, Third Edition.<sup>1</sup> There is no doubt about the Catholicity of the position which it adopts. The Nicene Creed, the Sanctus, the Benedictus qui venit, and the Agnus Dei all have a place, with appropriate musical settings.<sup>2</sup> All the traditional eucharistic hymns from earlier Scottish books - those of Bonar, Heber, Eddis, Montgomery, Bright, and Wesley - have their place.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, with the medieval hymns of Aquinas are the ancient hymns and prayers of the early centuries of the Church from the Didache ("Father, we thank Thee who hast planted"), the Liturgy of Malabar ("Strengthen for service, Lord, the hands"), and the Liturgy of St. James ("Let all mortal flesh keep silence"). The near-contemporary hymns of the Scoto-Catholics John Macleod of Govan and Arthur Wotherspoon of Oatlands are once more given the place of esteem which they enjoyed in The Scottish Mission Hymnbook, and a number of contemporary hymns, mainly from Anglican, Roman Catholic and Free Church sources, are selected for inclusion. The metrical psalms, now engrossed in the Hymnary instead of being located in The Scottish Psalter, are well represented through the traditional Communion psalms, the 24th, th 26th, and the 116th, and other psalms with close sacramental associations such as the 103rd are included in other sections of the book. A similar place is afforded to the paraphrases, although the traditional 38th (the Nunc Dimittis) is located as the last item of praise in the eucharistic section.

The Church Hymnary, Third Edition, in providing twenty-six hymns for Communion, together with numerous other settings, has emphasized the place of Holy Communion in the

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1. The Church Hymnary, Third Edition, Oxford University Press, 1973.

2. ibid., Nos. 558-563.

3. For eucharistic hymns, see ibid., Nos. 564-590.

Church of Scotland as no previous book has done, with the possible exception of The Scottish Mission Hymnbook.

Furthermore, it revealed the Church of Scotland's place as part of the Holy Catholic Church without turning its back upon the usages which are distinctively Scottish. The eucharistic hymns and psalms of the Third Edition thus represent the gathering together of many different strands in the development of the Sacrament, in a skilful and convincing way.

## CHAPTER ELEVEN

PROFESSOR WILLIAM MILLIGAN AND THE ASSERTION OF  
CATHOLIC PRINCIPLES

Students of the Established Church who returned from their sojourn at a German university were confronted with a Church which was in the throes of change. The years from about 1860 were remarkable for the acceleration of the changing patterns in thought and worship which were readily discernible to any observer of the religious scene. Thus, Malcolm Campbell Taylor, the first of a continuous line of Scottish theological students who went to Tübingen, matriculated in 1855,<sup>1</sup> two years before Robert Lee's controversial book of prayers was published. Taylor had only been two years in his first charge of Greyfriars, Dumfries, when Lee stirred up further controversy in 1864 with the publication of The Reform of the Church of Scotland.<sup>2</sup> Even on the relatively narrow front of church worship these were boisterous years for divinity students who were trying to work out their own convictions about the direction the Church of their fathers should be taking.

However, worship was not the only aspect of church life to feel the winds of change. Men like Norman Macleod challenged with impunity the accepted mores of the time, and while they felt the full force of conservative pressure being directed against them they nevertheless succeeded in altering the ethos of the Church in respect of such issues as the Sabbath question, missionary endeavour abroad, and the attitudes of the Church to creeds and confessions. The air which the Church breathed became less musty and oppressive and a certain liberating influence emanated from men of the stature of Macleod and John Tulloch.

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1. See Verzeichnis der Beamten, Lehrer und Studiernden der königlich württembergischen Universität Tübingen, p. 10, No. 126.
  2. Robert Lee, The Reform of the Church of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1864.

Yet they were not simply dynamic individualists who desired to throw over the traces of rigid orthodoxy, and succeeded by dint of their own personal gifts. Their roots were deeply embedded in the traditions of the Church of Scotland and they had an instinctive appreciation of its background and character. In this fact lay the secret of much of their success. If the ecclesiastical origins of the Macleods of Morven could not still the qualms of the uneasy conservative in the cut and thrust of debate, then who in the Church could pass muster? And if the early poverty and hard work of the scholarly Tulloch, the "lad o' pairts" from Tibbermuir, did not single him out as a man of the people, who else was likely to have the common touch? Their unimpeachable, if different, backgrounds in the Church gave them the self-confidence necessary to maintain their views in the face of prolonged and vociferous opposition. Intellectual power was only part of the equipment they possessed. They displayed an unselfconscious catholicity which manifested itself in their impatience with parochialism. Their concerns were wide-ranging, and they enjoyed the best of relationships with Christians of other denominations furth of Scotland.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, they quite openly acknowledged their indebtedness to the spiritual heritage and theological atmosphere of other parts of Christendom. In all this, there was no betrayal of the Scottish Church (as some thought), but an enrichment of it. The friend and confidant of Frederick Denison Maurice, to whom Maurice dedicated his The Ten Commandments, was also the author of Cracks about the Kirk for Kintra Folk.<sup>2</sup>

A new breadth and tolerance consequently emerged within the Church of Scotland. Theologically, some of the groundwork had been laid down by Thomas Erskine and John McLeod Campbell; ecclesiastically, some of the bitterness

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1. See William Knight, Some Nineteenth Century Scotsmen, Edinburgh, 1908, p. 126; also D. Macleod, Memoir of Norman Macleod, vol. 2, p. 127.

2. A pamphlet published by Norman Macleod in 1843.

generated by the Disruption had, by the 1860s, begun to subside; and liturgically, resistance to new forms of worship was beginning to weaken and there was evident dissatisfaction with the status quo. Norman Macleod, in addressing the 1869 General Assembly, made it clear that he believed that "well-ordered and becoming services" should be drawn up for Baptism and the Lord's Supper.<sup>1</sup> A.K.H. Boyd reviewed, approvingly, changes in worship which had taken place during the latter part of the nineteenth century;<sup>2</sup> and James Cooper, looking back, saw Baird's Eutaxia as being one of the stimuli which led to new and more creative thought about worship amongst ministers of the Church of Scotland.<sup>3</sup> Evangelically, too, some of the numbness and loss of confidence of post-Disruption years was easing, and a marked impatience with the Church's customary laissez-faire attitude was increasingly felt. The way lay open for fresh developments and expression was given to these in both worship and theology.

A major sign of the revival of worship was to be seen in the founding of the Church Service Society in 1865. Much has been written about the aims and objects of the Society and its subsequent place in the Church, and a full survey of its work is not relevant here. It is important to note, however, that the Church Service Society was an expression of the quest for catholicity, though from a standpoint which was dominantly liturgical rather than theological or ecclesiological (without underestimating the intellectual powers of either G.W. Sprott or Thomas Leishman). It was through the aegis of the Society that men of differing backgrounds came together to promote their desire not merely for order in worship, but for order based on principles. Here, liturgy and theology inevitably merged; and here, also, the initial

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1. Norman Macleod, The Concluding Address to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, May, 1869, London, n.d., pp. 10-11.

2. A.K.H. Boyd, Occasional and Memorial Days, London, 1895, pp. 279-293.

3. James Cooper, The Revival of Church Principles in the Church of Scotland, Oxford, n.d., p. 15.



emphasis upon the enunciation of principles laid down in the Reformed standards widened to take cognizance of principles which found theological acceptance amongst members of the Society. Hence, Archdeacon Philip Freeman's Principles of Divine Service, 1857, was known and favourably regarded. Euchologion of 1867 gave precedence to the eucharistic form and order of worship, with the incorporation of such ancient liturgical formulae as the Sursum corda, the Sanctus, the Agnus Dei and the Sancta sanctis, all visibly expressing the continuity of the Church's worship and the oneness of the universal Christian fellowship. Thus, Euchologion exemplified, to a considerable extent, the process of the recovery of Catholic principles in pointing to continuity and unity as desirable, even necessary, features of the Church's life. By 1870 the Church had absorbed the initial shock at the work of the Church Service Society. In that year, Dr. George Ritchie, speaking of the reform of worship, said that while the increasing refinement and culture of the time led some to turn to outward forms in a thoughtless and unspiritual way, it led others "to seek humbly and reverently to give power and beauty to the worship of the sanctuary". This development he interpreted to be "not the rising of the floods which are to lay waste, but the troubling of the waters which are to refresh and heal".<sup>1</sup> In the same year, Robert Wallace, successively minister of Greyfriars, Edinburgh, editor of "The Scotsman" newspaper, and member of parliament, delivered himself of the shrewd judgement that the reaction against Dr. Lee's reforms, although angry and violent, led to many of Lee's concerns being implemented in the life of the Church, paradoxical though this may have appeared.<sup>2</sup> It is doubtful if the leading Broad churchmen - if one may use that term in the context of Scottish ecclesiastical affairs - were enthusiasts for the new forms of worship which emerged.

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1. George Ritchie, Address Delivered at the Close of the General Assembly, 30th. May, 1870, pp.7-8.

2. Robert Wallace, "Church Tendencies in Scotland" in Alexander Grant, Recess Studies, p. 195.

Norman Macleod supported the idea of a set liturgy, but not so fixed that free prayer was stifled.<sup>1</sup> John Tulloch had a preference for the use of collections of prayers from the old liturgies, at the minister's discretion.<sup>2</sup> He was not, however, a devotee of "excessive reliance" upon the psalms nor of adherence to liturgical material in the old Reformed liturgies. Nevertheless, Tulloch wrote of Lee that he "could cleverly expose that traditional nonsense which had so often passed in Scotland for sacred dogma",<sup>3</sup> and it is certain that he would defend the right of the liturgical reformers to make innovations on the grounds that the worship of the Church had, in some practical aspects, been "traditional nonsense". However, like James Robertson of a previous generation, he had "no belief in the power of ritual to perpetuate a church".<sup>4</sup> Indeed, Tulloch's biographer describes his view as being based not upon any profound interest in liturgical matters but upon his concern for freedom in the Church. This, then, was the motive which lay behind his support for those who were accused of being innovators.<sup>5</sup>

The weight of evidence would bear out this assessment of John Tulloch's attitude towards changes in worship. Yet it does not reveal the whole picture, for both Tulloch and Macleod had thought more critically about the worship of the Established Church than most, and a number of Tulloch's sermons show a distinctive awareness of the Church's liturgical deficiencies.<sup>6</sup> They were both wary, however, of simplistic solutions to the problems which faced the Church, in worship as in much else. It was this reluctance to regard the innovations as a cure-all which led them to look upon the move towards greater liturgical worship with caution.

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1. Macleod, Concluding Address to the General Assembly, p. 10.

2. In a letter from Tulloch to R.H. Story. See M. Oliphant, A Memoir of the Life of John Tulloch, p. 229.

3. John Tulloch, "Progress of Religious Thought in Scotland", The Contemporary Review, vol. XXIX, March, 1877, p. 536.

4. A.H. Charteris, The Life of the Rev. James Robertson, p. 354.

5. Oliphant, op. cit., p. 230.

6. For example, John Tulloch, "Christian Worship" in Some Facts of Religion and Life, Edinburgh, 1877.

It is at this point that the significance of Professor William Milligan emerges. He neither represented the "Broad Church" position of Macleod and Tulloch, nor was he strictly a liturgical scholar in the mould of Sprott and Leishman. It is true that he belonged to the Church Service Society and that Sprott, indeed, dedicated his Worship and Offices to Milligan of whom he said in the inscription, "in a time of unbelief, schism, and confusion [he] has witnessed for catholic truth, unity and worship.....". The importance of his contribution to the Church, however, lies in his establishing a theological groundwork upon which others could erect the proper liturgical structures. In this respect, Milligan brought a considerable weight of scholarship to support the ideals of what became known as the "Scoto-Catholic movement".

Its manifestations were seen primarily in ecclesiology, the doctrine of the ministry and sacramental thought; but its roots were to be found in Milligan's two main works on the resurrection<sup>1</sup> and the ascension.<sup>2</sup> It might be said that with these two books came the death-knell of federal theology, for they largely ignored the old categories of thought and drew boldly on the scholarship of both England and Germany while yet contributing fresh and original insights to the theme of each book. He was able to write with a relative freedom from restraint in an age which was typified by the break-up of the old order. Tulloch's use of the word "catholic" may not have had the doctrinal overtones which it would have imparted to Milligan; nonetheless, his sensitivity regarding the change of atmosphere is interesting in that it notes the manner in which such a change took place in the years up to 1878. Thus, he refers to "a more catholic spirit" which has become evident in the last generation and which is itself the key to better understanding, ecumenical relationships and the growth of

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1. William Milligan, The Resurrection of Our Lord, London, 1881.

2. William Milligan, The Ascension and Heavenly Priesthood of Our Lord, The Baird Lecture, 1891, London, 1892.

openness to fresh insights, in worship as in other spheres.<sup>1</sup> Dean Perry judges that it is not possible to say how far the Oxford movement influenced Robert Lee in his "campaign for liturgical worship", and while comparing Milligan's work through the Scottish Church Society with the method of the Oxford movement he is again reluctant to gauge the scope of its influence.<sup>2</sup> However, there are certain indications as to the manner in which Tractarianism may have impinged upon the experience of Milligan. In 1870, he was appointed to be a member of the committee engaged in the revision of the Authorised Version of the Scriptures, and that year he took part in a joint celebration of Holy Communion in the Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey. In this connection he was a frequent guest of the Dean of Westminster, A.P. Stanley, a Broad churchman who tried to argue the case for both Tractarians and liberals having a rightful place within the Church of England. He made many other distinguished Anglican friends as a result of his work on the committee, including Dr. Ellicot, Bishop of Gloucester and, later, of Bristol; Dr. Lightfoot, Bishop of Durham; Dr. Westcott, also Bishop of Durham; and Drs. Hort and Moulton of Cambridge.<sup>3</sup>

J.F. Leishman has a description of Milligan's place in that circle of the elite and its influence upon him. He tells of how the contact with members of the Bible Revision Committee weaned him away from an earlier Broad Church position. Initially, he appeared to members of the committee as a country squire or laird rather than a distinguished Scottish divine; but once discussion had begun upon some difficult point of scholarship Milligan's great academic ability proved to be in no doubt.<sup>4</sup>

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1. John Tulloch, Position and Prospects of the Church of Scotland. An Address delivered at the Close of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, June 3rd, 1878, Edinburgh, 1878, p. 10.

2. W. Perry, The Oxford Movement in Scotland, Cambridge, 1933, pp. 120-123.

3. A.M. Milligan, In Memoriam William Milligan, D.D., Aberdeen, 1893, p. 37.

4. J.F. Leishman, Linton Leaves, p. 141.

However, English scholarship through the fellow-members of the Bible Revision Committee was not the only academic and theological influence upon him, furth of Scotland. There was also the contribution towards the formation of his thought from the theology and theologians of Germany. A curious similarity emerges in the life of the Tractarian, Edward Pusey. In 1825, Pusey had been a student at both Göttingen<sup>1</sup> and Berlin. A year or two later he returned to Germany, on this occasion to Halle, where he came under the influence of the German Evangelical revival, as embodied in Tholuck.<sup>2</sup> Milligan, too, travelled to Halle in 1845 with his brother Peter, and studied for a year while Tholuck was still a professor at the university.<sup>3</sup> Tholuck's pietism "found room for biblical criticism",<sup>4</sup> and must have proved to be of great value and significance to the young Milligan, whose interest in all things German continued throughout his life and led him to undertake further brief visits in 1860 and 1865.<sup>5</sup> Something of Tholuck's warmth of pietism is to be seen, allied to the more linguistic and semantic skills of biblical criticism, in both Milligan's major works. The parallel between the Anglo-Catholic, Pusey, and the Scoto-Catholic, Milligan, sitting with profit under a leading Germany Evangelical, is revealing. Pusey's friendship with Tholuck lasted for many years, although he did not fully share his theological position. Milligan at that time had not properly formulated his own position. Nevertheless, the extraordinary magnetism of Tholuck's personality, together with his evangelical message, must have introduced him to a more congenial and exciting form of Christianity than that to which he was accustomed as a boy in the Scotland of the early 1830s. A.L. Drummond claimed

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1. Pusey appears with the matriculation number 32005 in Götze von Selle, Die Matrikel der Georg-August Universität zu Göttingen, 1734-1837, Hildesheim and Leipzig, 1937, p. 102.
  2. Alf Härdelin, The Tractarian Understanding of the Eucharist, p. 33; see also H.P. Liddon's Life of Pusey, vol. 1, chs. 4, 5 and 8 for Pusey's German relations.
  3. A.M. Milligan, op. cit., p. 12
  4. A.L. Drummond, German Protestantism, p. 128.
  5. A.M. Milligan, op. cit., pp. 16-17.

that Tholuck "made Evangelical religion a living power in his native land" and that as a result of his efforts "hundreds of ministers all over Germany owed their very soul" to him. <sup>1</sup>

There is, however, one qualifying factor which must be taken into account in likening Milligan to Pusey, sitting at the feet of Tholuck in Halle. The year which Milligan set aside for study in Halle was much reduced because he was given leave of absence on health grounds. It is therefore difficult to attribute to Tholuck the same degree of influence over Milligan which he undoubtedly had exercised over Pusey in the mid-1820s. It is still true, however, that Milligan's thought was not simply an evolution of the current themes in Scottish theology. He addressed himself in a thoroughly original way to both the Resurrection and the Ascension of Christ and, through these studies, to the formulation of eucharistic teaching which could not be regarded as a predictable development of the Scottish sacramental thought of his time. Thus, some place must be given to the warmth of Tholuck's evangelicalism, the Catholic principles of Tractarianism and the role of biblical criticism, all of which set Milligan's feet in a larger room and freed him from the much overworked categories of sacramental thought of former years. It is to an examination of William Milligan's theological position and its relation to Holy Communion that we now turn our attention.

Earlier chapters on frequency of Communion and the theological understanding of the Lord's Supper have shown how great an emphasis was placed upon the death of Christ. It is the greatest single theme in the sacramental thought of the nineteenth century. Interpretation of Christ's death differed, as we have seen from previous surveys of the literature of the Supper. His death was seen as a powerful moral agent in the lives of men; an example which is brought before our eyes to enable us to be as unselfish

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1. A.L. Drummond, op. cit., pp. 127-128.

as He was. It was also seen as the means of creating a covenant between God and the believer, stressing the moral reformation which the Lord's Supper should produce in the lives of those who were bound in covenant to Christ in this way.

William Milligan takes up the death of Christ and examines the theme from various angles. It becomes clear that his understanding of "remembrance" is somewhat different from that held by earlier Scottish theologians. Speaking of the continual offering up of Himself which Christ makes in heaven, he maintains that Christ's presentation of Himself in heaven is not merely a remembrance of His death only, but a continuous remembrance. Therefore, if Christ's death is seen in terms of the offering of His blood, such an offering cannot be understood in earthly terms as an event which took place in time but which had no future significance.<sup>1</sup> He goes on to show that the death of Christ cannot stand alone, and it is obvious that a mental recollection of the fact of our salvation has little place in Milligan's understanding of the Eucharist. He is more specific about the Holy Communion and the place which the death of Christ occupies in it in another part of the same work in which he regards the Eucharist as being not primarily a remembrance of death. He certainly concedes that death is fundamental to the Sacrament but that it is, as he asserts, "surmounted", so as to conclude that the essence of the Eucharist is, in fact, life. "It is the nourishment, the feast, of life".<sup>2</sup>

Milligan also examines the nature of Christ's offering of Himself in His earthly life. At this juncture it is sufficient to regard this insofar as it affects his understanding of the death of our Lord. He makes it clear that a confusion has often arisen by confounding Christ's offering

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1. William Milligan, Resurrection, p. 285.

2. ibid., p. 288.

with His death,<sup>1</sup> and, by frequent reference to the Old Testament, he concludes that death is not the essence of sacrifice. Sacrifice, therefore, has to do with the preservation of life in such a way that a new relationship with God is achieved by which the life of man becomes "a living sacrifice". From this it follows that life rather than death must be understood as being the primary effect of sacrifice. Although the witnessing of a sacrificial act may lead one to believe that the shedding of blood is at the heart of the act, it would be true to regard this shedding as speaking of life rather than death, for the more profound truth mediated by an act of sacrifice through the shedding of blood is that life is being offered up rather than a death effected.<sup>2</sup>

The significance of the blood of Christ and His atonement and its relation to His death is further examined by Milligan by an analysis of the New Testament references to "the blood of Christ". These references are often understood to be synonymous with "death", a deduction which is to Milligan, quite unwarranted. Having pointed to the relevant passages, he concludes that it is wrong to make a simple equation between "blood" (meaning the blood of sacrifice) and "death". Christian thought had been so dominated by the Cross and the theory of the atonement as to compel us to interpret the sacrifice of Christ as "nothing more than the penalty of violated law", in that Christ suffered death as our Substitute, taking upon Himself the penalty of our transgressions. That view, prevalent though it might be amongst Christian people does not, according to Milligan, represent the true understanding of Christ's sacrifice.<sup>3</sup> In order to highlight the inadequacy of this interpretation, he turns next to an examination of the Jewish law. Accordingly, he points to the fact that the death of a sacrificial animal made clear in a dramatic way that the transgressions

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1. William Milligan, Ascension, p. 117.

2. ibid., p. 119.

3. ibid., pp. 129-130.



of the worshipper made him worthy of death, and that the animal's death was in his stead; nonetheless, the essential point was that "its life had been set before God as a representation of his life". Atonement, however, depended upon something more. The blood of sacrifice was brought into the most intimate contact with those things which represented the presence of God. Thus, the priest smeared it either upon the horns of the altar or upon the mercy-seat. Thereby atonement became a reality. But - and this was the nub of Milligan's argument - atonement was realized not in the death of the animal but in the use or application of the blood of its sacrifice. The most profound understanding of this series of acts led to the inescapable conclusion, in Milligan's view, that "the blood was the life". This, he firmly believed, was true also of the blood that was shed. This blood, which represented life, was a means of bringing the believer into fellowship with God, who was Himself the source of life and the giver of life.

In this closely argued commentary upon the ritual law of the Old Testament Milligan sees "the shadowing forth of the fundamental ideas of the Gospel".<sup>1</sup> Having thus corrected the misapprehensions associated with blood and sacrifice, Milligan goes on to apply what he believes to be the correct relationship of "blood" to the "death of Christ". He does this by stating the premise that "the blood always includes the thought of the life preserved and active beyond death". To apply this to the Gospel means, therefore, that "the blood of Christ is the life of Christ". He explains this further by interpreting Christ's death on Calvary as being more significant and profound than would be indicated in the expression "to give one's life". His argument thus hinges upon the nature and understanding of Christ's life. In a difficult but crucial passage he refers to Christ's life as "what He gave to God as life, although it was a life which, then and there, as demanded by eternal considerations connected with the relations between God and man, passed through death".<sup>2</sup>

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1. ibid., pp. 131-132.

2. ibid., pp. 132-133.

These passages amply illustrate the way in which William Milligan regarded the death of Christ as being inseparable from His risen life. As he considers the death of Christ from the different aspects of remembrance, shedding of blood, and atonement, he identifies the characteristic note of each as the making available of the life of Christ to the believer. Although, in most instances, he is not writing specifically about the Holy Communion, but about the work of Christ in His earthly life, the relevance of his conclusions to the eucharistic sphere is not hard to see. The dominant feature of Christ's death, so typical of the traditional Scottish view of the Supper, is given an interpretation whereby it is God in Christ who makes Himself over to the communicant in the celebration of the Lord's Supper. The emphasis, then, had shifted from the human to the divine initiative. It is no longer the communicant who must remember the death of Christ which took place in the past; but rather it is God's power which makes the glorified life of our Lord a contemporaneous reality within the Church, the Body of Christ, to which the communicant belongs with all Christian people.

So often in the sacramental writings of the nineteenth century one is given the impression that with the accomplishment of Christ's death and resurrection, His task is complete and no other role remains for Him within the mystery of the Godhead, save that of passively receiving the acclamation of the hosts of heaven. Milligan refutes this view and places great importance upon the high priestly role of Christ both on earth and in heaven. He states that this priesthood "began upon the cross, and the cross was the beginning of His glory".<sup>1</sup> Having drawn attention to the classical tripartite division of Christ's role as prophet, priest and king, he lays great emphasis upon that of priest. He gives priority to this office of Christ, above the other two, because he believed that it is by virtue of His priestly function that Christians are enabled to draw near to God and thus fulfil the purpose of the divine plan for their lives. This takes

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1. ibid., p. 81.

precedence over everything else, and although the prophetic and kingly offices of Christ are of great importance, Milligan regards them as being "but the further issues of what He accomplishes as Priest".<sup>1</sup> At this point, as if to counter-balance prevailing earth-bound notions of the work of Christ, he goes on to point to the heavenly nature of priesthood of our Lord. He readily concedes the wide scope and involvement of Christ in the earthly affairs of men, but he does not agree that these things constitute "the most essential characteristic of His work". Indeed, he avers that "His real work is heavenly". Its beginnings lie in heaven rather than upon earth; the plan for mankind is evolved in heaven; and the outworkings of that plan have a heavenly goal. Again, Jesus's own identification with us in our humanity, while real and authentic, does not mean that His existence is all of this world. His coming, in Milligan's view, is "chiefly as the embodiment of a higher sphere", in such a way as to make us "citizens of a heavenly City of which He is at once the Foundation and the Light". Thus, our Lord's origin and mission are truly of heaven. This mission He advances on earth by the complete identification of His life with the human predicament and is carried out "that He may change earth into the heaven of which He is Himself the only full and adequate expression".<sup>2</sup>

In his insistence that the essence of Christ's priesthood is heavenly, Milligan gives fresh content to the function of our Lord as the heavenly intercessor. There are references to Christ's role as intercessor in some of the older sacramental manuals, usually with supporting proof-texts from the high-priestly prayer in the Gospel according to St. John. However, no one in the preceding two hundred years had laid more stress than Milligan on the heavenly priesthood and intercessory role of Christ. He maintains that, rightly understood, the intercessory ministry of Christ is perpetual,

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1. ibid., p. 63.

2. ibid., p. 102.

and goes far beyond prayer in its scope. This work of intercession which is carried out by Christ the High Priest is directed at keeping in being the relationship which He has re-established between sinful man and the holy God. By His incarnation from Bethlehem to Calvary he set out to restore the broken covenant between God and man; and having restored it, brought man, through the new Israel of His disciples and Church, to a true and intimate union with the Father. That could never be the end of the matter, however, for human weakness and proneness to temptation would always render that union vulnerable, whatever the cost which had been paid in bringing it about. Therefore, the way to ensure that man should continue to enjoy union with God was that Christ should keep in Himself all for whom he died. His work of intercession is, therefore, essentially a work of maintaining His people "in such a unity of love to the Father that the Father will love them as His own sons, will need no one to remind Him that they are so, and will directly pour out upon them as very members of the Body of the Eternal Son, every blessing first poured out upon the Head".<sup>1</sup>

Thus, prayer is in a sense the least of Christ's work as intercessor. Milligan traces the meaning of the word for "intercession" in the New Testament and concludes that far from meaning simply "to pray" it means "to deal or transact with one person in reference to another", either making a statement "concerning" him upon certain proceedings which ought to follow, or asking something "for" him or "against" him. He certainly concedes that prayer is part of the meaning of intercession. However, if we limit it to prayer, we lose the sense of intercession embracing the idea of Christ "taking His own into the Father's presence", so that they may enjoy the fullness of the Father's love as the Son Himself does.<sup>2</sup>

Once again, it is not difficult to apply Milligan's understanding of the divine intercessor, offering Himself and

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1. ibid., p. 158.

2. ibid., p. 152.

all His people before the throne of God, to the celebration of Holy Communion. Thus, the Eucharist was a celebration carried out in the presence of the Lord, yet not a passive Lord who looked on, but the Lord who gathered the people's offering up in His own, and united it with His ministry of intercession in heaven. By means of such interpretation, the Holy Communion, for Scoto-Catholics like Milligan, became vibrant with meaning in a new way; "new", that is, to Scottish church life in the nineteenth century, but old insofar as it inherited some of the rediscovered concepts of Catholic Christendom.

No examination of Milligan's work, however, would be complete without an assessment of his use of "offering" and of the meaning which he attached to it. The point of entry into his thought about "offering" is the relationship which he outlined between "offering" and the heavenly intercession of Christ. In his discussion of this relationship he draws freely on the analogy of temple worship and the role of the high-priest within this dispensation. In this respect, it would appear that Milligan was influenced by Archdeacon Freeman's Principles of Divine Service which followed a similar pattern, used similar terminology and sought to interpret some of the incidents in the life of our Lord in terms of the significance of some of the central ritual acts of the temple.<sup>1</sup>

Consequently, just as the high-priest exercised more than an intercessory function, so Christ's function as great high-priest is more than intercessory. Milligan argues forcibly that, important though intercession is in the life of Christ, it is nevertheless dependent upon the whole concept of offering. To clarify this, he examines the role of the Jewish high-priest in relation to the offering he makes as he

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1. See Philip Freeman, Principles, pp. 163-203. Milligan quotes from Freeman regarding the Eucharist. "That sacred rite, therefore, in which all this was most clearly represented.....came....to be regarded as her [the Church's] 'great, distinctive, and supreme act of service'". See Milligan, Ascension, p. 310.

enters the Tabernacle in the wilderness. His function relates not only to intercession, but to the offering of gifts and sacrifices which are the basis of intercession, or in which intercession is involved. He then draws a parallel with Christ, "the High-priest of the Christian dispensation", who had entered into the heavenly Tabernacle. His intercession is not simply based upon a gift or sacrifice from the past. He, too, presents an offering which forms the basis of His intercession and in which intercession is involved. Milligan, therefore, concludes from this that "the idea of offering cannot be separated from the action of our Lord after His Ascension" any more than the offering of the Jewish high-priest could be separated from his ministrations in the sanctuary. His was not simply a role based upon the recollection or the merit of some past event; he had quite specific practical tasks laid upon him, as in sprinkling the blood of sacrifice upon the mercy-seat and before the veil; and through these acts he completed the reconciliation of Israel to God. This, Milligan insists, was a part of the offering itself and not merely "something done after the offering was ended". In the same way, then, our Lord's offering continues to His ascended life in the heavenly sanctuary, and must be seen as the fulfilment of the type depicted in the Jewish high-priest who continued his work of offering after he had gone within the veil. Indeed, the whole idea of offering is fulfilled in the ascended Christ.<sup>1</sup>

The same theme is developed in other passages in Milligan's writing, of which the following is a typical example, underlining the points which have already been made but also bringing out the contemporaneity of Christ's high-priestly offering. He shows that he is aware of the potential conflict which exists between stressing the high-priestly and continuing role of the ascended Christ and the

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1. ibid., pp. 122-123.

traditional adherence to the once-for-all aspect of the work of Christ upon the Cross. However, Milligan resolves this tension by advancing the view that "what He had done must penetrate what He always does". Consequently, he sees the idea of offering as the very foundation of intercession and not something subsidiary to it; but intercession is always "pervaded by the conception and spirit" of offering. He is thus brought, by his argument, to the point where he regards offering and intercession as implying one another, and where the one shades into the other in certain circumstances they may even be regarded as being interchangeable. Milligan then applies this to Christ in such a way as to assert that as Christ, the high-priest, is "heavenly", so His work must partake of the heavenly dimension. Thus, His work of offering is inescapably "heavenly" and therefore also eternal.<sup>1</sup>

This contemporaneous aspect of the offering of Christ is of real significance in any evaluation of sacramental thought in nineteenth century Scotland, for it can be said that it is only with Milligan that the immediacy of the Holy Communion is conveyed to us with any degree of potency. More than previous Scottish writers in the century, Milligan holds that Christ works in and through the Sacrament itself. Without in any sense diminishing the "once-for-allness" of Calvary, Milligan delineates the Sacrament as being grace-bearing and for Christian nurture, and through which the glorification and intercession of Christ continue in such a way as to gather up all His people into Himself. Such a Sacrament involves the offering of life and has all the power of a present offering.

This sacramental offering-up of Christ's life in the heavenly sanctuary does not in any way weaken or call in question the efficacy of the offering made upon the Cross. But the offering made nineteen hundred years ago has, Milligan claims, a power and capacity to be presented as an

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1. ibid., pp. 126-127.

eternal reality before the Father. To illustrate his belief, he points to the understanding the devout believer has in the Mass, whereby Christ is thought of as being upon the altar as victim and sacrifice, now. One is not committed to an acceptance of the doctrine of the Mass to hold that Christ's sacrifice has a continual and contemporary dimension which imparts to the event of Calvary a special, timeless and eternal quality: "as an offering continually presented to the Father, it has a present sacrificial efficacy as powerful always as it was at the first". Thus, "the present becomes as the past in vividness" and "we are ourselves on Calvary". Consequently, he holds that our position, though different in time and circumstance, is little different from those who stood at the foot of the Cross on the day of Christ's death. While, of course, the Christian story is based firmly upon what happened to Jesus in the events of Gospel history, by the power of the Spirit these past events have the capacity to be a present reality for us; and Christ's offering, with the faith, hope and love which it inspires in the believer, also become present experiences and realities.<sup>1</sup>

The Christology of William Milligan provides us with the key to an understanding of his ecclesiology. It is an ecclesiology which he seeks to present in the most forceful way in both his main published works. Neither the priesthood of Christ nor the offering of Christ can be looked at in isolation, apart from the life of the Church. As the priesthood of our Lord is central in His life, so the Church must reflect this by expressing it in a cogent way in her own life. Similarly, just as Christ's offering of Himself is an integral part of His earthly and heavenly life, so, again, the Church must seek to express His offering in terms of her own life.

The Pauline refrain, *ἐν Χριστῷ*, echoes and re-echoes through the pages of Milligan's writing, and it becomes

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1. ibid., pp. 142-143.



increasingly obvious that the life of the Church on earth is a matter of continual and mystical participation in the heavenly life of Christ. This emerges clearly at several points when he is attempting to evaluate the Roman and Protestant extremes in interpreting the Holy Communion. He strongly asserts that both extremes are wrong, but regards the Protestant attitude as having even less of a foundation than Romanism. However, even this latter view is based upon an error, namely "that the exalted Lord is now presenting Himself to God in His death instead of in His life won through death". Thus, the work of Christ, the glorified and exalted high-priest in the heavenly sanctuary, becomes, according to Milligan, "A perpetuated crucifixion". Through such an understanding of the life of the ascended Christ the Church has little, if any, access to the heavenly life of the glorified Redeemer, without whose life she is unable to exist according to the divine plan for her. Milligan's own view, he believes, represents a middle way. He cannot accept that the sacrifice of Christ presented in heaven is a continuation or extension of the sacrifice which was presented upon the Cross; nor is he able to accept the "heavenly sacrifice" as a simple commemoration of the sacrifice of Christ at Calvary. He advances as the authentic interpretation of Christ's sacrifice that the heavenly act of the ascended and glorified high-priest brings to completion the one sacrifice of Christ which has as its two constituent elements what He wrought for us on Calvary and what He continues to effect on our behalf in His work in the heavenly places. Thus understood, Milligan concludes, the imitation of the heavenly worship does not lead to the Mass, but to "the thought of the Eucharist as a service in which the redeemed, and already at least in principle triumphant, Church presents herself to the Father in her new and higher life, and in which she is nourished by the gracious provision made for her in that festival".<sup>1</sup>

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1. Milligan, Resurrection, pp. 287-288.

This emphasis on the Church's life being continuously caught up by Christ in His own offering up of Himself is linked closely to the idea of the risen life of Christ being present in the contemporary world to those who believe in Him. Moreover, as a means of grace, the Holy Communion is the vehicle par excellence of the risen Christ offering up His people, the Church, with Him in His ascension. William Milligan sets forth as the true interpretation of the offering made in the Eucharist that it is an offering of life rather than of death. In unfolding this view he draws attention to the fact that the Eucharist is an oblation "in which the offerer, offering himself, lives, having accepted death as the penalty of sin in Him who died upon the Cross; but having now through death entered in to life, the life of Him who died once, and dieth no more". In the intimacy of this union and oblation it is important to remember that Christ's offering of Himself to the Father on behalf of His people is eternal in nature. Thus, Christ's people, His body, the Church, must offer themselves in the knowledge that they are caught up in Christ's own offering which is never lacking in adequacy or power to meet their deepest needs. His people become one with Him, their offering of themselves becoming united with His offering of Himself, this union being made a reality through the symbols of the Eucharist. Milligan here extends his argument to reveal a firm grasp of anamnesis: Christ's people "do not simply remember what Jesus did on earth", but much more, "they bring to their remembrance as a present fact what He is doing in heaven". Consequently, when Christ's people participate in the Eucharist they commemorate and have communion with the Lord, who, in turn, feeds and nourishes them at the sacramental table. The "remembrance" which is theirs is not a remembrance of Christ as He was but of Christ as He is; or, as Milligan himself puts it, "they transact here below what He is transacting in the heavenly Sanctuary.....they offer themselves in Him who is now and for ever an offering to the Father".<sup>1</sup>

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1. Milligan, Ascension, pp. 265-266.

That the sacrifice of our Lord speaks of "life" rather than "death" is a fundamental tenet of Milligan's approach to the work of Christ. But this "life through sacrificial death" is not simply a benefit accruing to the individual devout Christian; instead, the whole Church becomes rooted in the continuous expression of Christ's life and work, through His personal oblation of Himself and through His role as intercessor for all mankind. This is not an activity of our Lord which only affects the Church after His resurrection. It is, on the contrary, something that involved, and is done for, the Church even in His earthly ministry, with all its moments of apparent solitariness and forgiveness. Milligan, therefore, apparently regards it as essential that Christ's offering of Himself is seen as the offering of His earthly life, extending to and beyond the Cross to the perfection of that offering in heaven. It is all of life, and it is all one offering or oblation in which we, in the Church, are made one with Him. Thus, our whole present experience of life depends upon our oneness in Him, as do our dying, rising, and sharing of glory. "We are in Him from the beginning to the end of our spiritual experience".<sup>1</sup> In his work, therefore, William Milligan draws together all the great things which add a new dimension to the Holy Communion - resurrection, ascension, offering, heavenly intercession - and he relates them to the life of the Church. Asserting that the Head cannot be separated from the members, Milligan affirms that if the idea of priesthood was fulfilled in Christ it cannot but be fulfilled in the Church also. This follows inexorably from the fact that "the Church does not simply live by Christ: she lives in Him, and He lives in her".<sup>2</sup>

It is at this point that we see the ecclesiology of Milligan reflecting the influence of the Romantic movement, which, in theology, gave a new dignity to the Church by

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1. ibid., pp. 144-145.

2. ibid., p. 243.

stressing the unity of spirit and matter and by rediscovering the Incarnation, in such a way that what had seemed to be a purely human institution in Rationalist times assumed a new mystery and authority, and was recognized as the chosen vessel of the presence of God Himself through her historic ordinances and sacraments. This view is strongly posited in the work of Johann Adam Möhler, of whose writings Milligan was aware. It is also instructive to trace the similarities between the Tractarian, Pusey, and Milligan, the Scoto-Catholic, in their writings concerning the "incarnational principle". Pusey believed profoundly that the Communion was not simply the ascent of the believing heart to Christ, but that in it Christ came down to impart Himself to His faithful people. Indeed, he held that the elements of bread and wine are emblems of Christ's humiliation, or "forms of earth" which speak to us of the true condescension and abasement of the Son of God. The "form of earth" constituted by His earthly body was broken for us, just as His body and blood in the sacramental bread and wine tell of His brokenness and humility. Thus, we do not find Him, sacramentally, in the lifting up of our hearts and minds to heaven, but in our identification of ourselves with Him in His utter humility.<sup>1</sup> The same principle is enunciated by Milligan in another passage which is not far from Pusey's own sentiments. Milligan draws attention to the fact that God gave us bodies as well as souls, and that the visible aspect may as fittingly be an intimation of God's communication with us as the invisible. Indeed, he goes further in saying that this principle has been "for ever consecrated by the Incarnation" which was, in the divine plan, regarded as necessary and essential for the work of redemption.<sup>2</sup>

The "incarnational principle" has had a very considerable bearing on almost every aspect of the Church's life and activity. This was most clearly seen in the prime function of the Church, namely, in her continual offering of worship.

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1. Milligan, Resurrection, makes reference to Möhler at several points, e.g., p. 287.

2. Milligan, Ascension, p. 234.

and in her ministration of the sacraments. Through the work of Milligan the Church of Scotland gradually came to revise her estimate of the central ordinances, and to see them from a differing vantage point. The days of formless services of public worship were on the wane by the 1890s. Moreover, the Church Service Society and the Scottish Church Society (to which we shall refer below in greater detail) had helped the whole Church to arrive at a rationale of worship by means of reawakening interest in the historical, liturgical and theological background of the most central act of worship, the Lord's Supper. Thus, the Church was by now receptive to the insight of Milligan and his fellow Scoto-Catholics that one did not begin with worship and arrive eventually at God, but rather that one began with God and orientated worship around His divine love shown forth in the life, death, resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ. By this token, the Church's worship and sacraments could no longer be seen as the concern and creation of humanity but must now be recognised to be a reflection of the divine activity of God Himself, as He is supremely known in Jesus Christ. It was with this in mind that Milligan made the observation that the Church, truly understood, is not a Body which begins its existence upon earth and reaches up to heaven. Rather, its life begins in heaven, with the consequent expression of the eternal in the midst of time so that the world may be brought to trust in God and order its way of life in accordance with His will. For Milligan, too, there is a necessary connection between the invisible Christ and the visible Church which is so constituted as to be His Representative committed to carry out His work in the affairs of men.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, in Milligan's estimate of the matter the Church's unique role is that of the vessel or agent of the divine presence. The frequently-stressed human aspect of the Church's life is subordinated to reveal clearly and unambiguously her divine origins. That the Church is made up of fallible, sinful people is not in dispute. With the writings,

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1. ibid., p. 229.

of Milligan, however, the supernatural calling of the Church is affirmed with greater vigour than it had been for many years, perhaps since the Reformation itself. Milligan posited a sacramental understanding of the Church's life which laid renewed emphasis upon its raison d'etre, divine worship. As the Church's existence must be seen to reflect the earthly and heavenly life of Christ her Lord, so also must the worship of the Church be seen to be a similar reflection. Milligan makes an important distinction, in this connection, between the prevailing popularly-held view of worship as being God's gift to bring us nearer to Him, and the more profound and (especially in St. John's Gospel) scriptural understanding of worship as that which "flows from communion with the Father through the Son as an already existing reality". Emerging, as it does, from that communion between Father and Son, true worship leads those who participate in it to a place and part in that divine fellowship. It is especially when Christian worship is understood in this way that the Holy Communion has a central place in the life of the Church. The Supper is "the central act of worship" because, Milligan believes, the true sacrificial nature of the Christian life shines through most clearly in the celebration of the Sacrament; for in that ordinance the believer's life and the sacrificial life of the glorified Lord are brought into conjunction with one another. More than in any other ordinance are the blessings of the glorified Christ applied to the Church. Milligan takes this theme further by emphasizing that, in His ascension and heavenly priesthood, the Lord offers Himself up in total obedience to the Father ("surrenders" is Milligan's word), and that those who are united with Him by virtue of the Divine-human nature are guided by His influence upon their lives to make a similar free surrender of themselves. Because of this, Milligan is constrained to apply Archdeacon Freeman's descriptive phrase regarding the Holy Communion, that it is the Church's "great, distinctive, and supreme act of service".<sup>1</sup> This epithet is fitting, according to Milligan, not just because

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1. ibid., p. 310. A quotation from Freeman, Principles, i, p. 165.

of the close connection between the Supper and the death of Christ, and certainly not on account of any ill-conceived ex opere operato view of grace, but because the Table was "more than any other spot, the meeting place of heaven and earth, where the King met His guests in closer than common fellowship and with richer than common blessing".<sup>1</sup>

Reverting again to the place of the Supper as the chief ordinance of worship within the Church, he indicates that it has traditionally been the key to help us to understand how the Church has approached her worship as a whole, including "the tone and spirit of her Common Prayer". Thus, the other offices and ordinances of the Church have appeared to echo the Eucharist and "to be but a cementing of the eucharistically applied union between the glorified Lord and the members of His Body".<sup>2</sup>

This analysis of the thought of William Milligan indicates clearly the extent to which the sacrament of the Holy Communion acts as a channel through which the continuous high-priestly ministry of the risen and ascended Christ is applied to men in and by the Church. It is not a focal-point of even the highest human aspirations so much as the earthly means of actualizing the divine life, characterized in heaven by Jesus's relations with His Father. This is the norm and the inspiration, and, indeed, the reason for the continuance of the Church.

The intimacy of this relationship between the Church and Christ is described and developed in a way that was undoubtedly new for the Scottish Church of the nineteenth century, for it implied a concept of the holiness of the Church which was unfamiliar in the Kirk, even if rooted in the tradition of Catholic Christendom. The Church's prime duty, as Milligan realized it, was to represent in the most faithful way possible the life of her Lord. What has almost become a cliché in twentieth century theological thought, namely

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1. idem.

2. ibid., pp. 309, 311.

that the Church exists to serve the world, is brushed impatiently aside as a half-truth. She may well exist for the world, but she has the high duty of

"building up, purifying, and adorning her own inner life that, in herself and by what she is, she may worthily represent that Redeemer who, in the divine perfection of His divine and human natures, is ever before God, with His people in Him".<sup>1</sup>

It is this basic premise which is the pillar of Milligan's understanding of Christian worship. Above all else, "the glorified Lord is to be manifested in the worship of His people".<sup>2</sup> The glory of God must therefore be the first concern of the worshipping community. Worship is designed for this "rather than to procure benefits for the worshippers".<sup>3</sup>

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1. ibid., p. 285. See also pp. 279-285.

2. ibid., p. 294.

3. ibid., p. 299.



## CHAPTER TWELVE

THE EUCHARISTIC TEACHING OF THE SCOTO-CATHOLICS

The theological contribution of Dr. William Milligan was substantial and profound enough to provide a solid foundation of Catholic principles upon which later generations within the Church of Scotland might build. His two greatest works spanned a period of eleven years and, with his many articles in learned journals, opened the way for sustained theological enquiry in a field in which, by Scottish standards, the terrain was relatively unfamiliar. Moreover, in a Church which was faced with the urgent and practical need for liturgical reform, it was inevitable that those responsible for new orders of worship should be so affected by the emphases in Milligan's theology as radically to alter the lines of development of worship - and especially eucharistic worship - in Scotland.

In seeking to evaluate the work of the main figures in this liturgical and doctrinal renaissance, however, it is not possible to isolate Professor Milligan from his friends and colleagues in the Catholic revival. It is unlikely that Milligan, as a lone figure, would have left behind an enduring pastoral and liturgical legacy within the Church of Scotland. He himself was too much of a scholar, too little of an apologist and publicist, and too little involved in the daily life of a parish to make much impact upon the Church as a whole. It is true that as Moderator of the General Assembly in 1882, and as professor of biblical criticism at Aberdeen from 1860, he occupied what might at first appear to be a position of considerable influence. Yet his thought still required to be assimilated and interpreted, a task which demanded men of ability and insight, who were themselves suitably placed to propagate Milligan's ideas at all levels of the Church's life.

Three particular individuals possessed such qualifications and stand out, in retrospect, not only for their notable ministries and their own personal qualities, but also because between them they carry us from the 1870s to the year 1930 and thereby endow the whole Catholic enterprise of these years with a measure of continuity. During that time they secured for themselves and the views they held a highly respected position within the Church of Scotland. They are John Macleod (1840-1898), James Cooper (1846-1922), and Henry Johnstone Wotherspoon (1850-1930).

Macleod and Wotherspoon were parish ministers all their days, the former in a Govan which was industrialized and densely populated, the latter amongst the colliers of Burnbank, near Hamilton, before latterly being called to Edinburgh. They were therefore both intimately acquainted with church life in the most difficult and challenging circumstances. Moreover, both had experience of parish life in the most diverse settings and they were in many respects two of the ablest parish ministers in Scotland. Macleod's settlement in Govan came by way of a brief first ministry at Newton-on-Ayr from 1861-1862 followed by a much longer rural ministry at Duns from 1862-1875. After a devoted ministry of fourteen years at Burnbank, from 1880-1894, Wotherspoon received a call to St. Oswald's, Edinburgh, where he remained until his retiral in 1923. James Cooper was also a parish minister from 1873 until his appointment to the chair of ecclesiastical history at Glasgow in 1898, a position which he held until the year of his death. St. Stephen's, Broughty Ferry, and the East Church of St. Nicholas, Aberdeen, were as middle-class as Govan and Burnbank were artisan; but with congregations which were several degrees more articulate than those of his two colleagues, Cooper's task proved to be far from easy; and in spite of his cautious and reasoned approach to innovation he had on more than one occasion to justify his actions to the Presbytery.

Notwithstanding the difficulties raised by suspicion and prejudice, however, each had ample opportunity to interpret the insights which Milligan had developed in his two

main works. Theirs it was also to develop those ideas in the practical context of parish life and experience, in instructing catechumens, in ordering worship, in teaching about the sacraments, and in preaching Sunday by Sunday. In being founder members of the Scottish Church Society, from 1892, the scope of this distinguished triumvirate widened and opportunities to commend the cause they held dear multiplied. As they sought to promote Catholic ideals within their parishes, they were at the same time compelled repeatedly to examine the theological presuppositions of their claims. Thus, a steady stream of pamphlets, tracts, papers and reports issued from their pens. Before long, because of the inevitable controversy which their principles evoked, together with their own concern for reform within the Church, they became immersed not only in parish life, in scholarly pursuits, and in advancing the aims of the Scottish Church Society, but also in the work of the various courts of the Church, up to and including the General Assembly. Before undertaking a closer scrutiny of their theological positions, however, an attempt should be made to define more closely the role of Professor Milligan and to relate Macleod, Cooper and Wotherspoon to him.

Few would dispute that Professor Milligan was a key figure in the revival of Catholic principles in the latter years of the nineteenth century. Indeed, it would be true to say that academically and theologically he had no rival. Yet, in giving him his rightful place, it is easy to exaggerate his role by making it appear as though Catholic principles in Scotland virtually erupted with the publication of his major works. The truth, of course, is that such principles were established by a process akin to evolution rather than eruption. Indications of this are to be seen, for example, in G.W. Sprott's important Introduction to Euchologion in which he set out the various steps which led to a liturgical revival in Scotland. It will be recalled from previous references that, in Sprott's judgement, such a revival began with the Irvingites and Dr. John Cumming's 1840 edition of Knox's Liturgy. Thus, some form of liturgical movement,

based on rudimentary Catholic principles, had been taking shape before Milligan entered upon the main work of his life. This is borne out by the substantial number of significant figures to whom Spratt alludes in his references to the mid-century period. Moreover, Wotherspoon sheds further light on this "evolutionary theory" by regarding the Disruption of 1843 as being, in one respect, the assertion of a "high" conception of the Church. Those who were left in the Establishment largely weakened the advocacy of this "high" view; but congregations had in many instances been brought up with the old-style high-churchmanship of men like Leishman of Govan, Lockhart of Inchinnan and John Wylie of Carluke. Wotherspoon points also to James Cooper's own parish minister, Dr. Wylie, to Dr. Trail, his professor at Aberdeen, and to others of the same mind in the north-east, particularly Principal Campbell, Hutchison of Banchory and Bisset of Bourtree. Their high-churchism was natural and unself-conscious, with little taste for polemic and controversy. But even in times when federalism held sway there were enough of them to represent a more relaxed Catholic view of things, which they themselves believed to be the proper and inalienable ethos of the Church of Scotland. Later G.W. Spratt and Thomas Leishman had to fight for their advocacy of the truth as they understood it: the old, unconscious "high" views were of the past, but of a living past.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Spratt himself corroborates Wotherspoon's appreciation of the situation by including as one of the landmarks of the nineteenth century liturgical renaissance Dr. Bisset's moderatorial address of 1862, in which he not only approved of many of the innovations in worship, but also suggested that many more should be introduced.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, when the General Assembly set up a committee under Spratt's convenership to examine the "Proper Conduct of Public Worship and Sacraments", it became clear from the committee's first

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1. H.J. Wotherspoon, James Cooper; a Memoir, pp. 114-115.

2. Euchologion, eighth edition, 1905, Introduction, xiii.

report of 1891 that the practical influence of Euchologion had been very considerable. The committee drew up questionnaires on different aspects of worship in the Church. Replies came from 832 ministers, "many of whom have taken great care to answer clearly and fully". When the question concerning Holy Communion, "What is your order of service?", was put, one hundred and forty three replied simply, "Euchologion", or, "much as in Euchologion". This can be very favourably compared with one minister who admitted to using the St. Giles' prayer-book, another who followed the Directory, another who adhered to the order in Logan's Sermons, and yet another - surprisingly, the only one - who used the order of Dr. Robert Lee's prayer-book.<sup>1</sup> The report indicates, also, that there were two or three whose order was "a close approximation of that of the primitive liturgies". Thus, Euchologion served to articulate the churchmanship of men like Bisset, Trail, Wylie, and the others to whom Wotherspoon refers. From its publication in 1867 its influence was cumulative. Indeed, it had a certain authoritative note about it since the General Assembly adopted the order from Euchologion for its celebration of Holy Communion from 1890 until 1923.

The formulation of Catholic principles of order within the Church of Scotland did not, therefore, originate with Dr. William Milligan, but he was himself responsible for an important development by publicly opening up many of the issues which numerous ministers had pondered over in private. His theology was complementary to the liturgical position adopted by Euchologion, and strengthened immeasurably the hand of those who sought to disseminate Catholic teaching on the Communion within the Kirk.

The revival of Catholic principles may have been led on the academic plane by Milligan, but the extension of these views throughout the Church's life, amongst congregations

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1. Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland for the Year 1891, Edinburgh, 1891, p. 803.

and kirk sessions, divinity students and ministers, must be attributed in large measure to James Cooper. He always possessed an intensely pastoral view of his ministry, whether as the incumbent in a parish or as a university teacher. His range of interests, moreover, was immense, his concern for the history of the Church leading him to have a more than passing acquaintance with a variety of subjects on the fringe of purely historical study. Cooper was a man of considerable culture and personal charm. This rendered his churchmanship more palatable to the interested layman, and he was often invited to speak to groups of elders and office-bearers. In this respect, he made a more popular impact upon the Church than Milligan, and he gathered around himself men of similar pastoral temperament who shared his Catholic ideals of the Church, its ministry and sacraments.

Born in Elgin in 1846, Cooper became a student in what his biographer calls "the difficult sixties",<sup>1</sup> in which changing patterns of thought were beginning to emerge within the Church. Undoubtedly, a good deal of theological confusion reigned at this time. The challenges to orthodoxy which this period produced have already been noted, as have the comments of John Tulloch who, perhaps of all Scottish theologians of the time, was most at home in this age of transition. With this as a background to his studies in arts and theology, Cooper fell under the influence of Dr. Milligan and became his "revering disciple".<sup>2</sup> Wotherspoon makes the point, however, that this relationship gradually matured until it was mutually enriching to both parties.<sup>3</sup>

The now familiar pattern which contributed so much to the shaping of thought and culture in the nineteenth century took shape in the life of James Cooper: the tutorial appointment; the "Grand Tour"; study at Heidelberg; the spell of Tractarianism; and the fascination exercised over him by the novels of Sir Walter Scott and other Romantic

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1. Wotherspoon, op. cit., p. 53.

2. ibid., pp. 53, 56, 60 and 63.

3. ibid., p. 58.

literature.<sup>1</sup> It is little wonder, then, that the history of the Church's thought and traditions became his all-consuming passion. Yet his faith was personal and truly evangelical rather than a mere expression of religious antiquarianism.

It would be an omission to discuss James Cooper's theological and liturgical stance without reference to George Washington Spratt. Spratt provided Cooper with a considerable amount of his liturgical knowledge, and opened up another facet of the Catholic approach which was less doctrinal than that of Milligan. Cooper proved to be an apt pupil and was able to assimilate the scholarship of both men. As a pupil of Milligan who stressed the incarnational view of the Church, and as a confidant of Spratt who emphasized the need for liturgical research, Cooper predictably displayed a single-minded preoccupation with the sacraments. Much of his writing on Holy Communion is brief and sermonic in origin, often being addressed to a particular congregation on a special occasion such as the presentation of a gift or a festival of the Christian calendar.<sup>2</sup> In this setting, therefore, his writing is economical and concise, and also relatively simple by comparison with the more academic approach of his friend and mentor, William Milligan, whose words were directed at a theologically literate elite. Cooper's teaching is consequently more didactic, and is closely related to the life of the parish church.

It is with good reason that John Macleod's name is inseparable from that of Govan Old Parish Church. Govan was already noted for a line of distinguished ministers, including Matthew Leishman who, as we have seen, stood for the older, less self-conscious Catholic tradition within the Church. John Macleod succeeded Leishman in 1875 and stayed

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1. ibid., pp. 69-70, 74-75, 94, 113 and 115.

2. See, e.g., The Christian's Love for the House of God, Edinburgh, 1904; The Glories of the Sanctuary, Glasgow 1907; and Easter Communions, Aberdeen, 1889.

at Govan until his premature death twenty-three years later. The main lines of his ministry began to show themselves at Duns, his second charge in Berwickshire, but it was in Govan that his confidence, decisiveness and ability reached their peak.

Unlike James Cooper, John Macleod never moved into the sphere of university teaching, and yet he had an able and scholarly mind, in some ways more concentrated and profound than Cooper's. Both Cooper and Milligan surpassed him in the number of their publications, but what he did write was of considerable lasting value. Perhaps of first importance was The Gospel of the Holy Communion,<sup>1</sup> a volume based on a course of ten sermons on the Eucharist which he preached during the year 1888-1889. Of similar interest is his original and closely argued paper, "The Celebration of Holy Communion and the Daily Service" which was delivered at the first Scottish Church Society Conference in 1893.<sup>2</sup> This was the dominant theme of his whole ministry, and it proved to be the underlying motive for many of the practical steps which he took in the course of his ministry at Govan, of which but one instance was the increase in the frequency of celebration.

The measure in which he saw the Holy Communion as being central to the life of the Church is revealed not only in his writings and in his parochial work but also, one suspects, in his becoming a member of the Catholic Apostolic Church. For a man of Macleod's stature it was inconceivable that this step was taken simply because of the natural attraction which symbol and liturgy had for him. The Eucharist was central not only in his thought, but also in the teaching of the Catholic Apostolic Church. Moreover, in a curious way, it embodied the teaching of the classical Reformed Confessions

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1. John Macleod, The Gospel in the Institution of the Lord's Supper, Privately Printed, 1907. Reprinted for The Scottish Church Society, 1927.
  2. Scottish Church Society Conferences, (First Series), Edinburgh, 1894.



more faithfully in some respects than some of the contemporary practices and attitudes of the Church of Scotland. In Macleod's mind there must also have been the thought of re-establishing historical continuity with Edward Irving who had been so harshly treated by the Kirk but whose sacramental teaching was undoubtedly more faithful to Calvin than was the position taken by advocates of the federal theology and their spiritual descendants. This must inevitably be conjecture in the absence of written supportive evidence, but it is not without some basis of credibility, even probability, in view of the pre-eminent role which the Holy Communion held in Dr. John Macleod's understanding of the Christian Gospel.

The fact of the matter was that the origin of John Macleod's association with the Catholic Apostolic Church can be traced to his ministry at Duns. There he befriended Sheriff Dickson of the county of Roxburgh and the daughters of Lord Lowe, all of whom were Irvingites and who contributed towards his decision.<sup>1</sup> This was the one course which led to a disagreement with his friend and neighbour, Thomas Leishman.<sup>2</sup> Neither did the matter end there, for his decision to align himself with the Catholic Apostolic Church, while remaining within the Church of Scotland, also led to repercussions while he was minister of Govan. There in 1885, he was called upon to face charges made by certain of his parishioners that his attachment to the Catholic Apostolic Church was inconsistent with his loyalty to the Church of Scotland. The charges were dismissed by the Presbytery of Glasgow in the same year.<sup>3</sup> It is true that some, like Leishman, continued to doubt the wisdom of John Macleod's course of action. Yet it is in some measure explicable when related to the immense strength which Macleod drew from the Eucharist.

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1. J.F. Leishman, Linton Leaves, pp. 164.165.

2. ibid., p. 165.

3. General Assembly Papers, 1885, "Govan Case", pp. 29-40, National Register of Archives (Scotland), CH1/2/305 and CH1/1/128. See also Roger S. Kirkpatrick, The Ministry of Dr. John Macleod in the Parish of Govan, Edinburgh and London, 1915, p. 39.

Andrew Wallace Williamson, minister of St. Giles', knew both Macleod and Cooper well. His reactions to the two men help us to take a wider view with regard to Macleod's associations with the Catholic Apostolic Church. "The medievalism of his [Wallace Williamson's] friend Dr. Cooper amused him in an amiable way", wrote Lord Sands, setting Cooper along with Sprott and Leishman in a different category of high-churchmanship from that of Milligan and John Macleod.<sup>1</sup> The divergence between them was one of "accentuation and ideas of proportion", according to the judgement of the same writer.<sup>2</sup> Macleod was never guilty of straining at a gnat only to swallow a camel. There was consistent stress on the doctrinal foundations of the Church in all his thinking, a stress which would forbid him from involvement with the Irvingites out of any but the most weighty considerations.

The biographer of Wallace Williamson sketches for us also the kind of authority and influence which John Macleod could exercise over the lives of his fellow-ministers. Andrew Wallace Williamson was neither impressionable nor superficial in his judgements, but was in his own day, with good reason, one of Scotland's leading churchmen. Honours and distinctions readily came his way: minister of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, one year after his ordination; subsequently minister of St. Giles'; D.D. of St. Andrews; Dean of the Thistle and Chapel Royal; the youngest moderator of the General Assembly, at fifty-six, since John Tulloch. It was, however, from John Macleod that Andrew Wallace Williamson adopted his pattern of worship,<sup>3</sup> and it was from that source also that Wallace Williamson's understanding of the Holy Communion was derived.<sup>4</sup> Such, indeed, was Macleod's influence upon the minister of St. Cuthbert's (as he then was) that when he was asked to succeed Macleod at Govan it was

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1. The Hon. Lord Sands, Life of Andrew Wallace Williamson K.C.V.O., D.D., Edinburgh and London, 1929, p. 152.

2. idem.

3. ibid., p. 116.

4. ibid., pp. 143-150.

only after the most careful consideration that he declined, although greatly tempted by the prospect of continuing in the footsteps of one so high in his esteem.<sup>1</sup>

If this was the impact of the minister of Govan upon a man of his calibre, it is not difficult to imagine the extent of his influence over his assistants, his neighbours in the ministry, members of the Scottish Church Society, and fellow-presbyters in the courts of the Church. Moreover, he had within the Scottish Church Society a somewhat unique position as the chief of its founder members who commanded the respect of all who knew him within that Society. "Its constitution bears the impress of his mind", writes R.S. Kirkpatrick, "and the signature of his phraseology in every article".<sup>2</sup> A position of similar authority might well be assigned to William Milligan, and what might appear to be a rather arbitrary categorizing by Lord Sands is nevertheless a discerning assessment of the temper of churchmanship within the Society.<sup>3</sup> Inclined to be in the mould of Milligan rather than Cooper, respected throughout the Church almost to the point of being regarded with awe, John Macleod was a figure of solitary grandeur whose development could not be attributed to any one man or group. Leishman ungrudgingly attributes to him the place of honour in the Society, not as a figurehead - although he was "the Mercurius of the Society" with the presence and appearance of "a sea-king" or "a Scandinavian chieftain" - but as the practical driving force of the movement who was largely responsible for framing the constitution.<sup>4</sup>

With great single-mindedness he pursued the ideals of the Society throughout his ministry in Govan, not least in respect of the Catholic understanding of the Holy Communion. In the twenty-three years of his labours in that parish he

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1. ibid., p. 131-132.

2. Kirkpatrick, op. cit., p. 184.

3. Sands, op. cit., p. 152.

4. Leishman, op. cit., pp. 142-143.

achieved much that was an object-lesson to those who came after, building as he did upon the old-fashioned but indigenous high-churchmanship of Matthew Leishman in such a way as to make the Eucharist the corner-stone of his ministry, and the complement to the teaching, preaching and daily offering of worship which took place within that historic parish. Here, most probably, lies part of the reason for Dr. Wallace Williamson's declination of approaches made to him by the people of Govan after the death of their minister: "...much of Dr. John's work is complete, and could hardly fall away".<sup>1</sup> The establishment of these sacramental principles in the parish of Govan and beyond bears closer examination as do his theological writings on the Supper.

In setting Dr. Wotherspoon alongside such figures as Professor Cooper and Dr. John Macleod, he is in no way overshadowed by them. On the contrary, when, in future years, sufficient time has elapsed for an objective assessment to be made, it may be that H.J. Wotherspoon's contribution to sacramental thought will be judged to be of greater weight than that of either of his friends. His importance rests upon two considerations.

First, as a representative of the Scoto-Catholic movement within the Church of Scotland he, more than the others, was able to act as a bridge between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The World War of 1914-1918 radically altered the ecclesiastical scene in such a way as to accelerate the erosion of much of the Church's authority over the ordinary worshipper. The role of the kirk session as an agent of rebuke and censure had well-nigh fallen into desuetude by the turn of the century. The Great War slackened the vestiges of church discipline which remained even further. Thus, there was an interruption of the sacramental season and a questioning of the need for the admixture of Law and Gospel which had traditionally constituted the Scottish sacramental celebration, particularly

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1. Sands, op. cit., p. 133.

in the face of the carnage, injury and mourning which the War brought in its train.

Furthermore, in a setting such as this, the old familiar names proved to be reminders of a past which was redolent of another era. John Macleod had died prematurely in 1898, and was by this time an inspiring memory. James Cooper was ailing by 1919, a shadow of his former self, and Dr. Spratt had died in 1909. In these circumstances it was natural that Dr. Wotherspoon should assume the mantle of leadership within the Scottish Church Society. Moreover, unlike his friend, James Cooper, his powers seemed to increase rather than diminish in the post-War years. His long life and his continued intellectual vigour thus provided a continuity with those who strove before and after 1900 to interpret Catholic principles to the Church of Scotland.

The second consideration which sets Wotherspoon on the same level as James Cooper and John Macleod is that which is based on his ability as a theologian. Religious Values in the Sacraments<sup>1</sup> was his major theological work. Its publication in 1928, only two years before his death, was an intimation that there was no slackening of his zeal or clouding of his vision. This book proved beyond doubt that Wotherspoon's scholarship was of the highest order. It showed, too, that he understood the nature of the sacraments as few men in Scotland have done. There has been a paucity of literature on the Holy Communion issuing from Scotland in the present century. Having taken due note of the work of Donald M. Baillie and of the slighter volume of Oswald Milligan, there is little reason to hesitate in giving the place of highest honour to Wotherspoon.<sup>2</sup>

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1. H.J. Wotherspoon, Religious Values in the Sacraments, Edinburgh, 1928.

2. D.M. Baillie, The Theology of the Sacraments and Other Papers, London, 1957; and the volume, based upon The Warrack Lectures of 1940 and appearing at the same time as The Book of Common Order: Oswald B. Milligan, The Ministry of Worship, London, 1941.

It was also true to say of Wotherspoon that, on the evidence before us, his knowledge of liturgy was more developed than that of either Cooper or Macleod. The most interesting piece of liturgical scholarship during the last decade of the nineteenth century came from the erudite pen of Dr. Wotherspoon.<sup>1</sup> The Divine Service was compiled by him when he was at Burnbank, and we are told that "many of his brethren adopted this book as their guide in Celebration".<sup>2</sup> In this respect it must obviously have come to rival Euchologion.

H.J. Wotherspoon was born in 1850. After a distinguished career in arts and divinity in the University of St. Andrews, he served as a tutor in France. The next four years were spent as assistant to the Very Rev. Paton Gloag of Galashiels, at the end of which time he was inducted to the predominantly mining village of Burnbank in Lanarkshire. In this he shared with John Macleod the challenge of ministering in a largely working-class community and, like Macleod, found himself immersed in the demands of a busy parish. Throughout his life, Wotherspoon was convinced of the orthodoxy of the position which he adopted, and from these principles he never deviated. His great erudition, which enabled him to state his case in scholarly and convincing fashion, did not however, render him immune from controversy. At such times he could be a very doughty opponent. Yet he was never devoid of the grace of charity and won respect for his position from those who could never countenance his tenets of belief. In later years, John White of the Barony found the Scoto-Catholic group unyielding and unwilling to compromise over articles of the Catholic faith. Their inflexible position often irked him when he had laboured long and hard to accommodate extremes

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1. H.J. Wotherspoon, The Divine Service: A Eucharistic Office according to the Forms of the Primitive Church, London, 1893.

2. H.J. Wotherspoon, What Happened at Pentecost? Edinburgh, 1937, Introduction, xii.

of both Auld Kirk and Free Church in the quest for union. However, although often in opposition to White the Wotherspoons remained on friendly terms with him.<sup>1</sup>

The major part of his ministry was spent in St. Oswald's parish, Edinburgh. From there he produced his more mature theological writing, and with such a foothold in the capital city of Scotland he was able to wield a greater influence over his ministerial colleagues than he would have done if he had remained in the relative obscurity of Burnbank. In large measure, many of the developments and tendencies in eucharistic theology which had begun some years earlier found their fulfilment and fruition in the later work of H.J. Wotherspoon.

An attempt has been made in the foregoing pages to indicate the relative importance of the theology of William Milligan in providing a balanced understanding of late nineteenth century thinking about the Holy Communion, and to interpret his theology as a thoroughgoing development of ideas and principles accepted in previous generations by the older high-churchmen, but articulated by Milligan with a new cogency and formulated in a more comprehensive way than ever before. James Cooper, John Macleod and H.J. Wotherspoon clearly stand forth as representative of the dominant shades of opinion within the newer, more developed, self-conscious high-church views of the 1890s. They were not the only figures of ability and note in the Scoto-Catholic group, but they were the most skilled apologists and publicists for the Catholic objectives of the Scottish Church Society. While not themselves lacking intellectual ability, it is such a role which distinguished them from Milligan, scholar qua scholar. It is logical at this point to proceed to an examination in some detail of the central features of their eucharistic theology which is inseparable from the teaching of the Society. This is best done by a study of their writings on the Holy Communion, presented in a topical or thematic way.

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1. Augustus Muir, John White, p. 162.

The centrality of the Eucharist is perhaps the most obvious and yet at the same time the most fundamental claim which emerges from their writings on the Communion. It is "the central rite of Christianity"<sup>1</sup> which the Church of Scotland has grossly neglected. John Macleod pointed to the fact that "the spiritual instinct of the Church" had for fifteen hundred years given the most central role to the Supper, and that in obeying the promptings of this instinct she had not been wrong. Thus, for fifteen hundred years it never occurred to the Christian Church to do other than celebrate the Lord's Supper in the Lord's House on the Lord's Day.<sup>2</sup> The Scoto-Catholics saw that attending to this glaring neglect in the life of the Reformed Church was the most pressing need in all reforms of the Church's worship - indeed in the whole of the Church's life - and they endeavoured to remedy this defect. This passion for the restoration of the sacraments to their proper place was reflected in the constitution of the Scottish Church Society which pledged it not only to promote "the assertion of the efficacy of the Sacrament", but also to aim at "the restoration of the Church, and to the spiritual life of the baptised".<sup>3</sup>

The strenuous efforts which Cooper, Macleod and Wotherspoon made to educate their people in the necessity and centrality of the sacramental life derived not from a shallow and misplaced ritualism but from the deep conviction that the Sacrament of Holy Communion conveyed the fullness of the Gospel and the grace of God to those who received the holy gifts by faith with thanksgiving.<sup>4</sup> "The Gospel in the Holy Communion" was, therefore, the most natural title for the

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1. James Cooper, Easter Communion, p. 6.

2. John Macleod, "The Celebration of Holy Communion", S.C.S. Conferences (First Series), pp. 121-122.

3. Constitution of the Scottish Church Society, IV.4 and IV.6.

4. Regarding "the grace of God" in the Sacrament, their practical and devotional approach to the Eucharist was probably more Catholic than their explicit theological position.



posthumous volume of John Macleod's sermons on the Lord's Supper.<sup>1</sup> The celebration of the Sacrament led men to Christ and to His Gospel, as Robert Bruce of Kinnaird had explained some two and a half centuries previously. The Scoto-Catholics saw, also, that the scope of the Eucharist was such as to embrace the whole work of our redemption in Christ. They believed, too, that in order to appreciate the full import of the Eucharist one had to understand it in a wider context than was usual in Scotland where the death and passion of our Lord virtually excluded all other considerations. They understood the Holy Communion, therefore, as gathering up within itself Christ's incarnation, passion, resurrection, ascension and parousia.

As Professor Cooper and his colleagues sought to restore the Holy Communion to its proper place as being, in Wotherspoon's language, "the highest act of worship and the chiefest means of grace",<sup>2</sup> the inescapable question of the frequency of celebration arose. The argument was simple enough. If the Lord's Supper was peripheral and quite subsidiary to the preaching of the Word, then occasional celebrations once or twice a year were sufficient. If, on the other hand, the place of the Lord's Supper was as important as the preaching of the Word; and if, in its own way, it also mediated the presence of Christ Himself to the communicant - and this was their contention - then dare Christians continue to neglect this ordinance as they had done in the past? It is to the attitude of the Scoto-Catholics towards frequency of the Holy Communion that we now turn.

Just as the rise of high-churchmanship in the last quarter of the nineteenth century did not come about as a de novo development, so the attitude taken by members of the

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1. The title-page, as distinct from the cover, reads "The Gospel in the Institution of the Lord's Supper".
  2. H.J. Wotherspoon, Kyrie Eleison, Edinburgh, 1899, p. 53.

Scottish Church Society to frequency of celebration was in keeping with an honourable and ancient tradition within the Church, which had enlisted the support of numerous men of ability and which, indeed, had even enjoyed the support of the courts of the Church.<sup>1</sup> Some slight headway had been made over the centuries, but it consisted mainly of an increase of one or, at most, two Communion a year. In Govan, Matthew Leishman's conception of the Holy Communion was based on high doctrine but he was inevitably a man of his own time with regard to his insistence upon the maintenance of fast days, which he believed to be a helpful concomitant to the celebration of the Supper. In practice, therefore, his high doctrine of the Holy Communion tended to be rendered "high-and-dry" by reason of his reluctance to yield to pressures for the abolition of fast days. There was an insoluble tension within this situation which John Macleod clearly saw. It was not possible to be a fervent supporter of the fast day and the Communion "season" without, in the end, adopting the practical course of infrequent celebration; for the "season", with its days of preparation and thanksgiving, humiliation and fasting, were productive of the "occasion". Moreover, in such a situation, it was not economically possible to increase the frequency of celebration while continuing to observe all the ancillary days which made up the "season". Neither was it possible to hold a doctrine of the Holy Communion based on Reformed and Catholic principles without reaching the logical conclusion that frequency of celebration was assumed by the interpretation placed upon the Sacrament. In this respect, Matthew Leishman was in something of a cleft stick. In effect, he compromised by not carrying his doctrine the whole way. This was, of course, understandable at a time when the weight of tradition fell on the side of the preservation of fast days and, by practical implication, the infrequent celebration of the Holy Communion.

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1. In addition to earlier material in Chapter Two, see the Reports by G.W. Sprott and his committee on the Proper Conduct of Public Worship, 1891-1895, in Reports of the Schemes of the Church of Scotland, for the relevant years.

In the controversy which surrounded the debate on frequency of celebration John Macleod took a leading and constructive part. The word "constructive" might at first seem strange in the light of the fact that he was partly responsible for demolishing the arguments in favour of fast days in a reasoned, cogently-argued report on that subject to the Presbytery of Glasgow in 1884.<sup>1</sup> However, it was only by clearing the ground in this way that preparations could be made for a sustained pressure upon the whole Church to adopt a policy of more frequent celebration.

Matthew Leishman's wedding of high doctrine to the traditional concept of the "season" led to a veritable stalemate with regard to the frequency of Communion. John Macleod, however, took up the challenge with such vigour that by the end of his first year at Govan the half-yearly Communion has given way to four celebrations annually. This, in turn, was increased to six times a year in 1879, with a further increase which established monthly Communion in 1880. Even this, however, represented only the regular framework of sacramental worship in Govan, for he went on to add other Communion by adopting the great festivals of the Christian year as days on which the Eucharist might fittingly be celebrated. Ironically, too, even the old Spring and Autumn Communion were grist to his mill, for in retaining them he was further able to increase the number of Communion until a very substantial total was attained in the course of a year.<sup>2</sup>

James Cooper and H.J. Wotherspoon were only slightly less successful than John Macleod in the number of celebrations which they were able to introduce, if one takes their ministries at East St. Nicholas, Aberdeen, and St. Oswald's, Edinburgh, as representing the peak of their achievement.

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1. John Macleod, Report of Fast Days, 1884; see also Kirkpatrick, op. cit., p.

2. Kirkpatrick, ibid., pp. 31-32.

This practical striving for greater frequency indicated the extent to which the three colleagues were firmly united in a common ideal. James Cooper aptly summed up their mind on the matter in drawing attention to the fact that in the early Church Sunday had often been called the Day of Bread, Dies Panis, because of the weekly reception of the Sacrament. The same thought is deduced from the reference in the Book of the Acts of the Apostles<sup>1</sup> to Sunday as being the day of the breaking of bread. The association of the Lord's Day with the Lord's Supper is, he believed, essential to the life of the Church in Scotland: "we shall never have a truly Christian Sunday till we get back that weekly Eucharist".<sup>2</sup> They never wavered from having that weekly celebration as their objective. Furthermore, this was to be thought of as being the norm rather than the acme of perfection, the beginning rather than the end. "I am, of course, aware", said John Macleod, "that we are justified in pleading for even more than a weekly celebration".<sup>3</sup>

Except in the case of a very few parishes, however, the aim was not realised. The anticipated improvement in frequency of celebration after the decline in the fast days did not take place. With their expectations lying unfulfilled, the Scoto-Catholics might understandably have modified their aims and thereby have gained some acceptance in the Church at large. But this they could not, and would not, do for the frequency of celebration was in the last analysis not bound to practical or circumstantial considerations but to the particular theology of the sacraments which they held. We now attempt to delineate the main features of this theology.

The study of the Eucharist - what we might call the science of liturgy - has its specialized terminology like any

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1. Acts 20:7.

2. James Cooper, The Lord's Day: Its Divine Sanction; and how to Sanctify it, Aberdeen, 1898, pp. 3-4.

3. Scottish Church Society Conferences, (First Series), p. 113.

other historical or theological discipline which is subject to investigation. Often, however, a word or phrase which might convey its meaning in convenient "shorthand" form to one person or to one branch of the Church is understood in a quite different way by another. The history of liturgy is in some measure the record of the debate which has centred upon such phrases as the "real presence", the "eucharistic sacrifice" and, particularly in Scotland, the nature of "covenant" and its application to the Reformed understanding of the Communion. This latter idea of covenant has been the ground of considerable confusion brought about by increasingly vague and erroneous interpretations of the word.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, the apparently neutral technical words of theology have on many occasions become the rallying-cries of opposing factions within the Church.

This semantic problem is clearly seen in the use of the words "memorial" and "remembrance" in the celebration of the Holy Communion. These words were, of course, used by our Lord and are recorded for us in the Greek of the New Testament where they are rendered by the word anamnesis (ἀνάμνησις).<sup>2</sup> It is at this point that the difficulty begins to reveal itself. The usual English rendering of anamnesis as "remembrance" or "memorial" has enfeebled the word and has been responsible for what have loosely been referred to as "memorialist" or "Zwinglian" views of the Lord's Supper.<sup>3</sup> In effect, this inadequate rendering has created such a dichotomy that the word has come to represent two distinct attitudes to the Sacrament within the Church.

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1. See J.B. Torrance, "Covenant or Contract", Scottish Journal of Theology, vol. 23, No. 1, February, 1970.
  2. Of the Gospel narratives, Lk. 22:19 has closest affinity to I Cor. 11:24. The Hebrew equivalent appears in Ex. 12:14 and Deut. 16:3.
  3. "Memorialist" does not precisely describe Zwingli's views. See G.W. Bromiley, Zwingli and Bullinger, Selected Translations with Introductions and Notes [Library of Christian Classics 24], London, 1953, pp. 39, 179.

In broad terms, the interpretation of the English word "remembrance" might be described as popular and un-technical, failing to take account of any but the most obvious and superficial meaning of the word. This is the prevailing note in much of the literature concerning the Lord's Supper in the eighteenth century and in part of the nineteenth, and it was assuredly indicative of the mental attitude of the communicant during that lengthy period. Set in this particular context the word implies the recollection of some past event in such a way that the one who recalls it is involved in nothing other than the mental activity of remembering. Apart from that mental recollection nothing happens in any objective sense. This was not, of course, a position which was adopted and defended by scholars. It was representative of the mood or atmosphere in which preachers and congregations approached the Lord's Supper.

With the rise of liturgical scholarship in Scotland, however, a more precise study of the eucharistic words of our Lord took place so that "memorial" and "remembrance" came to be understood in a more specialized, dynamic sense than before. This was partly the result of linguistic study and also the cross-fertilization of theological and liturgical insights which at first made an impact in Scotland from Tractarianism and latterly, in Cooper, Macleod and Wotherspoon, became rooted in the native soil of the Scottish Church. Against this scholarly background anamnesis assumed a more active sense than had been the case with the more popular understanding of sacramental remembrance. Now, its interpretation developed in the direction of "making real or actual that which is the object of the anamnesis". The difference between the vague, indefinite use of "remembrance" and the more theologically significant use of anamnesis was obvious. Modern scholarship has largely supported the understanding in the latter sense, and

Max Thurian<sup>1</sup> and others have pointed to the use of anamnesis in the Septuagint, especially in connection with the pass-over, and have compared it with the semantic background to the Hebrew equivalent, זָכָר. This examination has indicated that for the Jew, far more than a mere mental remembrance was involved when he celebrated the passover. "This day is to be a day of remembrance for you"<sup>2</sup> implied, on this reasoning, far more than mental activity.

James Cooper instinctively veered away from the popular understanding of "memorial" and adopted the view of the anamnesis which, even in his day, was beginning to have the more specialized meaning through the researches of liturgical scholars. He did this, however, without appearing to appreciate the issues which were involved, for he writes, "We have entertained Judaic views, in like manner, of the Lord's Supper - treating it as if it were scarcely more than a Jewish passover, an occasional remembrance of a past deliverance.....".<sup>3</sup> It is perhaps understandable that Cooper, who admitted freely to being something of an amateur in his chosen field of ecclesiastical history,<sup>4</sup> should be found wanting in his understanding of the Old Testament roots of "remembrance" in relation to the passover. Again, in a Scotland where liturgical studies had been late in the field of theological scholarship, it is unlikely that an apparent subtlety of this kind would exercise any but the most advanced scholars, whose bent lay in the direction of liturgy.

H.J. Wotherspoon was, in fact, one such scholar. He showed that the various nuances of the word and the

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1. More recent works of importance to contribute to this discussion are G. Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy, London, 1945; G.H.C. Macgregor, Eucharistic Origins, Glasgow, 1928; J. Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, London, 1955 (English translation of first German edition of 1935); M. Thurian, The Eucharistic Memorial, Parts 1 and 2, London, 1960-1961 (English translation); and J.J. von Allmen, The Lord's Supper, London, 1965, (English translation).

2. Exodus 12:14.

3. James Cooper, The Lord's Day, 1898, p. 13.

4. Wotherspoon, Life of Cooper, p. 189.

theological background to the concept had not escaped his notice. He was, therefore, able not only to adopt the dynamic use of the word from a theological point of view, but to support his position from his knowledge of the semantic and linguistic sources. Thus, he makes his initial observation about the inadequate rendering of anamnesis, in Greek, into "remembrance", in English, and goes on to claim for it a more specific and technical meaning. This he illustrates from Hebrews 10:3 in which reference is made to the Jewish sacrifices at the annual Atonement and, particularly, to the use of the phrase in that connection, "there is an anamnesis of sins every year". That phrase, Wotherspoon posits, can only mean "there is a bringing again of sins before God for His mercy and pardon". He finds a similar intention in the use of the word in the Greek of the Septuagint in relation to Numbers 10:10 and Leviticus 24:7, the former recording the trumpet-blasts which were made over the burnt-offerings and peace-offering, the latter concerning the frankincense which was put upon the shewbread which lay in the Holiest of all before Jehovah. In both of these uses the principle meaning is not "remembering" but "reminding" - the reminding not of the worshipper but, as Wotherspoon puts it, "what witnesses to the eyes of God" in the sense of Numbers 10:9, "ye shall be remembered before the Lord your God".<sup>1</sup>

A further indication of the extent to which the question of the anamnesis exercised the mind of the Scoto-Catholics is evident in the fact that Arthur Wotherspoon, the brother of Henry, wrote a pamphlet which has as its secondary title, "on the Eucharistic Anamnesis".<sup>2</sup> Rightly, then, they judged it to be one of the fundamental issues at stake in attempting to formulate a coherent doctrine of the Eucharist, for on the interpretation of anamnesis depended not only the degree to

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1. Wotherspoon, Religious Values, pp. 231-232.

2. A.W. Wotherspoon, The Cup of Life: on the Eucharistic Anamnesis and Reception under Two Kinds, Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society, 1895.



which one accepted that Christ was really present in the Sacrament, but also the element of mystery and eternal truth associated with the Sacrament itself. It is at this point that the interpretation of anamnesis is seen to raise the basic question of whether the Holy Communion is solely founded upon a re-enactment of the words and gestures connected with the historical event known as the Lord's Supper in the Upper Room; or whether it is in some sense an eternal act, having its roots in the historical, but transcending in its efficacy all temporal and spatial limitations.<sup>1</sup> Thus, is it the Last Supper or the Lord's Supper which dominates our thinking about the Eucharist?

The barest understanding of the Supper within the Christian Church has been that in which the actions and words of the Upper Room have been observed, and the bread broken and the cup shared so that the communicants might have fellowship with each other, and thereby be nourished in dwelling mentally upon the things of God. In such a Sacrament the emphasis would be upon the historical event which took place in the Upper Room. Consequently, the role of Jesus would be interpreted in the light of what He had said, what He had done, and what He had been within that setting, but all regarded as the ingredients of past history.

Professor T.F. Torrance has shown that the Reformers reacted against the timeless mythos (as he calls it) which the Roman Mass had become, by restoring the historical and biblical elements of the Supper to their rightful place.<sup>2</sup> However, they avoided committing themselves to a view of the Supper in terms which were totally related to the past, by keeping the historical event closely connected to the person of the risen, ascended and living Lord. Inescapably the redemptive and continuing work of Christ coloured their theology of the Sacrament. Thus, all the mighty acts of God in

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1. See J.J. von Allmen, The Lord's Supper, pp. 85, 90 and 112-113.

2. T.F. Torrance, "Towards a Doctrine of the Lord's Supper", Conflict and Agreement in the Church, vol. 2, London, 1960, pp. 136-139.

Jesus Christ, both those accomplished and those to come (incarnation, passion, crucifixion, resurrection, ascension and parousia) help us to see the Eucharist not just as something which our Lord did, in the past, but also as something which He is doing now. It is, then, intimately related to who He is, rather than who He was.<sup>1</sup>

It was this teaching which fell into obscurity through the rise of the federal theology and the distorted biblicism of the puritan influence in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; and it was in reaction against the aftermath of these movements, and as an assertion of the continuous work of Christ in the Eucharist, that Macleod, Cooper and Wotherspoon mounted an attack against the prevailing view in the Church in which "remembrance" was understood in a passive and superficial way, so that the eternal role of Christ had been obscured. It is with this in mind that Wotherspoon describes the sacrificial element in the Eucharist as a setting forth of the merit of His sacrificial life on earth. Thus, He appears in the presence of God as the One who was once crucified and is now risen and ascended and in this appearance before the Father His death and His whole life on earth are presented and offered. In Wotherspoon's exposition, what is set forth is a memorial and a witness, but not a memory. He therefore sees it as a "memorial of Him as He is and a union with Him as He acts". From our earthly vantage point and understood by us in terms of human life and experience, the reality of the Sacrament involves us standing before God and presenting to Him the offering of our worship; but the essence of that worship is not what we do or say but what Christ's death has done. This, then, in the Eucharist is what we set forth before God, so that we might be accepted by Him because of its grace and merit and so that it might be the very substance of our plea for the mercy of that same God. All this is presented and set

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1. ibid., pp. 171-172, 185-186, 199.

forth, and we make the offering of ourselves to the Father in union with the self-offering of Christ.<sup>1</sup>

In a similar way, John Macleod believed that the Eucharist confronted the communicant with the living, contemporary Christ. For him, the anamnesis was clearly seen to be a vital part of his understanding of the real presence. Consequently, he teaches that the commemoration of Christ in the Eucharist is not limited to His death and passion but extends to cover Himself, life and death, past and present: "Of Himself in what He is as well as in what He was, in what He does as truly as in what He did". In the sacramental celebration, then, the Holy Spirit seeks to draw the Church into the very mind of Christ, the mind of the Christ not only of nineteen centuries ago but of the Christ whose ministry is carried out and prevails on our behalf now.<sup>2</sup>

Such an interpretation of the anamnesis involving a belief in an active, "real objective presence of Christ",<sup>3</sup> tended to move the emphasis away from the Holy Communion as a representation of the events of the Last Supper in the Upper Room. The stress of anamnesis necessarily brought the aspect of the Eucharist as an eternal mystery into the forefront of John Macleod's teaching, and he, perhaps more than any other Scoto-Catholic, understood the real presence as being intimately related to the elements of bread and wine, going beyond the receptionism or virtualism which was associated with the authentic position of Calvin. Neither Cooper, Macleod nor Wotherspoon ever defined the nature of the real presence in any precise way,<sup>4</sup> and, in this respect, they shared the initial approach of the Tractarians who, in

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1. Wotherspoon, Religious Values, pp. 243-244.

2. John Macleod, "Celebration of Holy Communion", S.C.S. Conferences (First Series), p. 125.

3. A useful phrase of R.I. Wilberforce, The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, London, 1885, passim.

4. There are, however, similarities to Catholic Apostolic teaching. See [J.B. Cardale] Readings Upon the Liturgy, vol. 1, pp. 162-170.

their reluctance to formulate the mystery of Christ's presence in rigid terms, sought to outline their own teaching by first making clear what they did not mean when they spoke of the eucharistic presence.<sup>1</sup> Where Newman was forced by controversy to become more specific than he wished, the Scoto-Catholics did not experience the same harassment and were consequently able to affirm strenuously the reality of Christ's presence without entering into closely-argued theological and philosophical proofs or descriptions of that presence. Thus, there was always a considerable element of ambiguity regarding their precise attitude towards the real presence and the nature of the consecrated gifts of bread and wine. Nevertheless, it is likely that Wotherspoon echoed the position of the others when, in discussing the nature of Christ's presence and offering he writes: "We cannot in this think truly unless we think mystically, for here we are among things spiritual, mystical, and eternal".<sup>2</sup>

Wotherspoon, more than his two colleagues, developed this mystical aspect of the Holy Communion and outlined the theological boundaries of his position. In an examination of the nature of sacrifice in the Eucharist, for example, he shows considerable perception in holding the Last Supper and the Lord's Supper in tension. He finds acceptable that analogy concerning the Sacrament which affirms that we are doing on earth what Christ is doing in heaven. Nevertheless, he insists that the celebration of the Sacrament is a symbolical representation before God of the eternal, "ever-active" side of Christ's Sacrifice, rather than the repetition or continuation of the temporal act upon Calvary.<sup>3</sup> This determined effort in the writings of the Scoto-Catholics to balance the traditional Scottish emphasis upon the events of the Upper Room with the eternal act has its origins in their

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1. See Alf Härdelin, Tractarian Understanding of the Eucharist, pp. 148-168.

2. Wotherspoon, Religious Values, p. 242.

3. ibid., pp. 247-248.

discovery of the meaning of the anamnesis, but it is also closely related to the reassertion of the events of Easter Day within the eucharistic context. Their sermons and addresses on the Lord's Day and its appropriate observance, Easter Day and the appropriateness of a eucharistic celebration of that festival, bear witness to the fact that in the theological climate of the nineteenth century in Scotland they believed that the relationship between the Eucharist and the resurrection was one which had to be deliberately and persistently argued. To stand with the disciples in the Upper Room did indeed set the Lord's Supper within the framework of history; but it failed to do justice to the fact of the resurrection, which at the time of the Supper lay ahead of the disciples. For us, however, who look back, the institution must necessarily take account of the whole life of our Lord, including the resurrection and ascension, which latter festival (as Milligan recalled) speaks of a glorified Lord who has finished the course, but whose active role and ministry still continue as heavenly intercessor.

Thus, the Lord's Supper cannot be adequately understood as being synonymous with the Last Supper, for, whereas the latter is of time, the former is of time and eternity simultaneously. In this connection, John Macleod of Govan made a unique contribution to sacramental theology by stressing that the authority for the celebration of the Holy Communion lay not only with our Lord's words in the Upper Room at the Last Supper, but also in the direct revelation made to Paul the apostle. In the light of this revelation, Macleod saw the ascension and the role of the ascended Christ as being of special significance. In this sense, the Eucharist cannot simply be seen as an ordinance founded upon the "dying command" of Christ, but as an institution based upon the risen and living Jesus. This is the Jesus who, through the Sacrament, takes us into unity with Himself so that we may join with Him in offering "one Glorious worship before the Father"; and so that in and through His Body, the Church, "the revelation of the Glory

of the Father" is shown forth in the Church and in the world.<sup>1</sup>

In his other work on the Holy Communion,<sup>2</sup> John Macleod points to the distinction between the revelation of the institution of the Eucharist made to St. Paul by our Lord, and the manner in which the first apostles received the command to "do this". The revelation to St. Paul "connects us not only with the memory of the night in which He was betrayed, but also with the Throne on which He sits, with the Altar before which He stands". Thus, the sacramental institution, through St. Paul, is one which comes specifically from the risen and ascended Christ.<sup>3</sup> Nor did St. Paul see Christ at the time of the revelation to him of that institution, for they regarded Him in the Upper Room with the shadow of His Cross and Passion across Him as He commanded them to do as He was doing with bread and wine. On the contrary, St. Paul saw Christ in His glory, as the eternal "I AM".<sup>4</sup> Thus John Macleod lays equal stress upon the fact that our Lord's offering of Himself (and thereby the continuation of His work) does not lie completed upon the Cross, in the tomb, or even in the resurrection; it is, rather, in His ascended state, fulfilling His role as high-priest, that He continues to intercede for all mankind. Herein we have a detailed elaboration of the teaching of William Milligan.

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1. John Macleod, "Celebration of Holy Communion", S.C.S. Conferences (First Series), pp. 123-124.
  2. The Gospel in the Institution of the Lord's Supper.
  3. Macleod, The Gospel in the Institution, p. 4.
  4. ibid., p. 6.

## CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE LATER NINETEENTH CENTURY AND MODERN DEVELOPMENTS

It is clear from the foregoing chapters that the nineteenth century, so clearly the cradle of change in Church and State, was also a time of very significant development in the theology and practice of the Holy Communion within the Church of Scotland. It is not possible to argue for an idealised position in which an overlay of Calvin's doctrine affected sacramental thinking in such a way as to constitute an "old Scottish tradition" which was still intact and unassailable some two and a half centuries after the Reformation. Calvin's categories of thought, together with the language which he used to describe the working of the grace of God in the Lord's Supper, were still in evidence at the beginning of the century. Nonetheless, the continuous thread of sacramental teaching was by this time represented by the theology of federalism rather than by the undiluted teaching of the Reformers. Indeed, the federal hold had by the 1800s become so complete that by this stage in its development it was the vehicle of a type of unconscious Pelagianism which would have been anathema to Calvin.

As the nineteenth century wore on, however, and especially by the post-Disruption years, signs of dissatisfaction were clearly discernible within the Church of Scotland. These, too, set up markers whereby the course of development in sacramental matters could be delineated. Sprott of North Berwick sketched his definitive plan of how the liturgical winds of change had gathered strength, from Carstairs, Liston and Brunton through the Duke of Argyll's Presbytery Examined to the Mercersburg Liturgy. Lee and the founders of the Church Service Society carried along the pace of liturgical change with greater briskness and with more authority as their historical researches gave them a firmer base from which to initiate improvement, innovation and, in some matters, recovery. Knox and Calvin came into their own again under Cumming, Cunningham and Laidlaw and

were used to establish a neo-orthodoxy of the Reformed fathers, which inevitably helped to undermine the remaining vestiges of federalism. Furthermore, the growth of the great industrial towns of Scotland made it essential that the arid doctrines of federalism should be exchanged for a Gospel more in keeping with the missionary needs of the day and consonant with the grace and love of God. This void was filled more than adequately by the influential works of McLeod Campbell of Row and Erskine of Linlathen, and the ethos of the Sacrament could not but be altered to take account of their insights, particularly when the eirenic and scholarly Milligan should follow their writings with his own, and act as the spearhead of the Scoto-Catholic party whose sustained weight gave a more profound substance to the liturgical work of the Church Service Society, and led to the forming of the Scottish Church Society.

There were also, as we have seen above in some detail, developments in eucharistic thought which had their origins in external factors. The Romantic movement was the chief of these. Its extraordinary influence was borne out by the manner in which Sir Walter Scott's novels gripped the popular imagination. Scott himself was greatly indebted to Goethe, and the enormous upsurge of Scottish interest in German language and literature was partially the result of the medieval theme of Götz von Berlichingen appealing to the spirit of the times and being taken up by Scott in much of his own writing.<sup>1</sup> Romanticism affected almost every aspect of European cultural and intellectual life, with Germany feeling its influence early and most deeply. Since it was to the universities of Germany that the divinity students of Scottish presbyterianism turned their attention from about 1830, they could not avoid breathing the air of Romanticism. Hence, "Deutsche Poesie" had its place at Tübingen along with "Sakramentslehre". The atmosphere of Romanticism

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1. Paul Girardin, Robert Pearse Gillies and the Propagation of German Literature, pp. 1, 13.



would be imbibed by Scots in Germany even as it expressed itself in religious life: David Aitken's diary suggests as much.<sup>1</sup> Professor Beck's conservatism, unappreciated by Tulloch, also threw open windows on a theological world which was rather different from that of a Scottish Church emerging first from the trammels of federalism and thereafter from the residual bitterness of the Disruption. In this respect, his lectures were of more value than Tulloch would have us believe, and in their devotionalism represented a strand of Romantic theology as, to a greater degree, the writings of Nevin and Schaff had done at Mercersburg a few years earlier.

While there is little evidence that the lectures of J.T. Beck caused Scottish students to reflect his attitudes in their own eucharistic thought and practice in the parishes of the land, it cannot be denied that the German experience meant that they encountered a new type of religious life from which federalism was absent and the ecumenical dimension present. Certainly the "hull and commonplace theologues" of whom Tulloch had spoken dismissively when he surveyed the Scottish faculties of divinity were less frequently to be found in the universities of Germany if the later reminiscences and evaluations of Scottish students are an accurate and honest guide.

The review of the theological literature of the first half of the nineteenth century brings into sharp focus the conflicting attitudes which existed towards another important sacramental theme of the time, the issue of the frequency of Communion. It is clear that the practical matter of infrequency of celebration was directly related to the inadequacy of the Church's understanding of the Lord's Supper. The concentration upon the death of Christ undoubtedly removed from the popular mind the idea of a

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1. "Germany in 1826: Extracts from a Diary of the late Rev. David Aitken, Minister of the Parish of Minto from 1827-1864", The Scottish Review, vol. 24, 1894, pp. 106-125.

living Lord who nourished the soul of the faithful at each sacramental Table. The emphasis was rather upon the dying Lord on Calvary's Cross who evoked, by dint of reverent contemplation, a sense of wonder and repentance in communicants who took the emblems of His death in their hands at each Communion season. Those who opposed the prevailing practice appealed to the wider consensus of the universal Church and set out well-argued and convincing cases for reverting to the practice of the early Church; but even their appeals through the Courts of the Church were heard to no avail. The infrequency of Communion was too deeply engrained in the life of the Church to be overturned by appeals to tradition, especially when the Lord's Supper played a limited role in the experience of the communicant, whose faith could be enriched well enough by other scriptural and homiletical means more easily available to him. Thus, to win the argument intellectually was not to be sufficient in a Church where the place and value of the Eucharist had effectively been relegated to a sphere of lesser importance.

That the matter was raised at all by responsible advocates of greater frequency was nonetheless important, since the question about frequency did serve to raise the deeper question about the very nature of the Lord's Supper. The advocates of frequency had also to state more clearly the intrinsic qualities of the Sacrament which made it food for the hungry man and medicine for the sick man, in Calvin's memorable assessment.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, later advocacy of the frequency of celebration became less concerned about mere doubling or quadrupling of the occasions of celebration and more preoccupied with the theological basis for the Supper. Certainly, this was part of the motive in bringing Knox's Book of Common Order before a wider public in a new edition, and much of the eucharistic writing of

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1. John Calvin, Institutes, Book 4, Chapter XVII, 42, pp. 1419-1420; 46, p. 1424.

John Macleod of Govan was carried out with the deliberate purpose of re-educating as to the nature of the Lord's Supper, which re-education would naturally lead people on to a desire for more frequent access to the Sacrament. Macleod's own espousal of the Catholic Apostolic Church was an indication that the Church of Scotland provided only the meagrest sacramental fare, and that men of his caste of mind were forced to look elsewhere, albeit unusual and perhaps also impermissible in the strict sense. The Duke of Argyll had made the point in 1848 that the attitude of the Church of Scotland was compelling many to look to the Episcopal Church for more dignified worship and greater opportunity to receive the Sacrament; and later, Stevenson of St. George's, Edinburgh, increased the frequency of celebration at St. George's because of the need to stanch the drift to the Episcopal Church in central Edinburgh. Therefore, the issue of frequency raised wider questions and necessitated the Church of Scotland examining her current practices in sacramental matters.

As attention was increasingly centred upon the nature of the Holy Communion, and as other influences were brought to bear upon the theology and practice of the Sacrament, so yet another development took place, especially in the latter half of the nineteenth century. In general terms, the development had to do with the fact that Christ now became central to the Communion. In particular terms, it meant that a more careful examination of Christ's words at the observance took place. "This is my body, broken for you", "This is my blood, shed for you" were no longer explained as being symbolic expressions, but were seen to be at the very heart of the meaning of the Eucharist. Thus, the presence of Christ in the Sacrament became more real and more significant as a factor in understanding and evaluating the Lord's Supper within the sphere of the Church, its worship and its means of grace.

The increased importance of the invocation of the Spirit, so notably present in the Liturgy of both the Catholic Apostolic Church and of the American German Reformed Church, was one significant step in the emphasizing of the words of the Observance. To ask for the blessing of the elements "that they may be unto us the Communion of the Body of Christ and the Communion of the Blood of Christ" (after the rite of the Book of Common Order, 1940) is to use very realistic language which is not easily explained away. This was the intention of Macleod, Milligan and Wotherspoon whose concern was to bring the Eucharist into the centre of the Church's life, and to draw attention to Christ and His presence as being at the very heart of every celebration. The change of emphasis is clearly portrayed, from a different vantage point, by the contemporary Dominican theologian, Edward Schillebeeckx, who makes the distinction in the Sacrament between a gift which reminds us of Christ and the gift that is Christ Himself. Much of the interpretation of the words of the Observance before the rise of the Scoto-Catholic party had to do with the bread and wine as gifts which reminded the communicant of Christ; whereas the later view, having more in common with the teaching of the Reformers, was that Christ Himself was the gift.

This development has continued into the twentieth century. Although what happens in the Lord's Supper has been described by Calvin in the Institutes (insofar as such mysteries are open to description), there has been a growing reluctance to resort to verbal formulae concerning the manner in which Christ's presence becomes a reality to the communicant. Many have felt that the simple acceptance in faith of the words of the Observance, in common with the realism of the early Church, is sufficient when one is confronted with that which "eye hath not seen nor ear heard".

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1. Edward Schillebeeckx, The Eucharist, London, 1968, p. 139.

Another aspect of the understanding of the Eucharist comes to light at this juncture when the consequence of Scoto-Catholic attitudes to the Sacrament are being examined. At one and the same time they held firmly to the oneness of the Church on earth and in heaven, and their acceptance of Christ's words at the Observance was in no sense regarded as merely symbolic. From within this position, Milligan made clear his belief in the continuing ministry of Christ, the heavenly intercessor, whose contemporary task becomes an extension of His earthly ministry. This concept of the whole Church as the communion of all saints with Christ the intercessor at the heart of its life suggests two further insights which emerge powerfully from the first Communion order in the 1940 Book of Common Order (and, indeed, from both editions of Prayers for Divine Service): firstly, that the Church's life is a never-ending offering of praise and service which is not dependent upon the local church and its success or failure, its throng of worshippers or its lack of them; and secondly, that the Church as the Body of Christ is to be understood with more confidence and hope since its nature and characteristics are shaped by the life and power of Christ Himself. Therefore, when the Pauline expression, "Ye are the body of Christ", is juxtaposed with the word of the Observance, "This is my Body", the fellowship of Christian people we call the Church and the fellowship with Christ in the Eucharist have a direct and important bearing upon one another. Thus, the Church is seen to be nourished and given a clear understanding of its nature and purpose through its dependence upon Christ who is the Word made Flesh and to whom the Word testifies as the crucified, risen and ascended Son of God. The more obvious, if rather superficial, application of this to the life of the Church of Scotland is to recognize in the means of distribution of the elements a ready symbol of the Church's corporate existence, delivering communicants from an undue individualism. However, it is in the more mystical sense of the Church of God in heaven and on earth that the relationship between the Body of Christ as

the Church and the Body of Christ in the Sacrament is most fittingly applied. The people of God come to know the costly nature of discipleship through the Body of Christ, broken in the bread of the Sacrament, and on the Cross of Calvary, to give us of His life that we might be "a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people".<sup>1</sup>

There remains one other phenomenon of the twentieth century which relates both to the sacramental view of the Church outlined above and to the tendency of this age, also referred to above, to eschew attempts to describe the manner in which Christ comes to us in the Sacrament. The phenomenon itself consists of the Lord's Supper being understood as a fellowship meal, in which the communicants are bound to one another in the spirit of Christ's love, and go out into the world renewed and strengthened to deal with the economic inequality, social injustice, racial prejudice and constant threat of war which are the persistent reminders of mankind's failures in the twentieth century. This view of the Eucharist frequently takes up the connection between Christ's Body broken for us and the Body of the Church which requires to be broken and suffering on behalf of the world and its need. The application of the Sacrament in this case is avowedly political; the needs of the world are seen as secular, material needs (more food for the hungry, less expenditure on armaments, a more equitable distribution of the world's wealth) rather than spiritual; and a theology of the Cross is evolved which sees Christ's death as being "for the life of the world" in a similar sense. This attitude often stands in danger of confusing the Agape with the Lord's Supper, so exaggerated is the emphasis upon the aspect of fellowship. That aspect does, of course, exist to a considerable degree within the New Testament and in the Church's traditional understanding of the Sacrament down through the

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1. I Peter 2:9a.

centuries. Just as the Gospel itself is about loving God and loving one's neighbour as oneself, so the Lord's Supper reflects the Gospel in the reality of communion with God and communion also with those who sit at Table with us. Fellowship, however, is only one aspect of the Sacrament, however important it may be. It has to be seen in relationship to the Sacrament as a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; a commemoration of Christ's life and death, resurrection and ascension; an offering up of our whole life to God through Jesus Christ; an eschatological banquet; and one of the means whereby "Christ became human that we might become divine". Thus, the idea of the Eucharist as a fellowship meal simpliciter is a confusion of Agape and Eucharist, and the divorce of the proper and legitimate experience of sacramental fellowship from the many other elements of sacramental significance with which it must necessarily be held in tension to provide a proper perspective.

There is one further example of the development of eucharistic doctrine which merits consideration. Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century there was a gradual but inexorable tendency for more Catholic interpretations of the Sacrament to gain weight and influence within the Church of Scotland. This might well be attributed to the growing eclecticism of sacramental theology during that period. That eclecticism is to be seen in the influence of such non-indigenous phenomena as the Catholic Apostolic Liturgy, the German Lehrjahr, and the Mercersburg movement. There were also the English interpretations of the Eucharist which acted in an indirect way upon the Church of Scotland and which can be traced in such things as James Cooper's awareness of Alexander Jolly and Milligan's working knowledge of Freeman's Principles.

As the century wore on, moreover, openness to ecumenical insights increased. Tübingen's joint Catholic-Protestant faculty of theology must have come as a revelation to many Scottish students, who must also have

come to learn something of the Roman Catholic apologist and ecumenist Johann Adam Möhler. An ecumenical spirit from quite a different source is to be traced from the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in 1857. William Arnot, whose roots lay not in the Auld Kirk but in the Secession tradition, records in his Autobiography that the Berlin meeting had elevated his conception of the Germans who were "abler thinkers than we".<sup>1</sup> Yet the sense of the greatness of the Church, even on such an avowedly Protestant occasion, was the enduring message for many participants from Scotland. However, it was not until the emergence of the Scoto-Catholics that any significant dialogue took place with members of the Anglican Communion. Ignorance of, and indifference to, the Church of Scotland was the usual reaction of even prominent and able Anglicans like H.P. Liddon.<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding, the scholarship of William Milligan succeeded in widening the range of ecumenical encounter, particularly through his valuable work on the Revised Version of the Scriptures. But it was Cooper who travelled far and wide to address groups of English clergy. This deliberate engagement with the Church of England was not, as is often supposed, the result of a secret desire to embrace all things Anglican. It came about because of the confidence of Cooper and his friends in the historical role of the Church of Scotland as the Catholic Church in the land, and they welcomed the opportunity to present their point of view to all who would listen. This they did with conviction and learning, often dealing weighty blows at both Romans and Anglicans alike in the cause of the Scottish Church's true position, as they understood it. Nevertheless, in all their attempts to inform Anglicans about the true nature and origin of the Church of Scotland they had a genuine affection and respect for what they regarded as their sister Church, which was also Established and with which they had much in common.

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1. William Arnot, Autobiography, 1876, p. 337.

2. J.O. Johnston, Life and Letters of Henry Parry Liddon, London, 1904, p. 15.



The ecumenical dimension has, of course, been a factor which has exercised growing influence upon various aspects of eucharistic thought in the Church of Scotland of the twentieth century. It is, for instance, worthy of note that the number of publications on the Holy Communion in the Church of Scotland, written from a "denominational" standpoint, has been relatively few from the turn of the century. This has been offset, however, by the increasingly regular appearance of jointly-produced ecumenical documents which seek to present to the churches for consideration "agreed statements" on the nature of the Lord's Supper as a mark of the Church, together with other fundamentals of belief. Such ecumenically-orientated documents have brought into the forefront of the churches' thinking issues which would not always be given consideration within individual denominations. In practice, as far as the Church of Scotland is concerned, such documents have served to reinforce the views of the Scoto-Catholic in relation to the Eucharist. At the same time, the incorporation of Catholic views of the Sacrament in the eucharistic orders of 1940, 1929, 1923, 1905 (Spratt's important annotated edition of Euchologion) and 1893 (Wotherspoon's influential The Divine Service) has not brought about universal acceptance of such ideas within the Church. Indeed, it might fairly be said that depth of understanding of "the Catholic faith", as Cooper would have described it, and adherence to it, are less pronounced now than at the turn of the century. The Union of the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church in 1929 would appear to have had the effect of diluting the views which Macleod, Milligan and the Wotherspoons propagated so effectively, whatever positive features it brought about in Scottish church life.

It should also be said that in one area of national life, in the wider context of the United Kingdom, it is no longer possible to refer to religious life as being synonymous with Christian faith. In this respect, the nineteenth century raised problems of a different magnitude from

those of the late twentieth century. While Scotland has been less affected by the immigration of peoples with non-Christian backgrounds, it is nevertheless true that the whole country, north and south of the Border, has had to grapple with the problems of reconciling Christian culture to what is in effect a "pluralistic society". In such an environment, writing and speaking about the Eucharist have inevitably been coloured by the more urgent desire for Christian unity, with the Eucharist as a manifestation of such unity, in the face of non-Christian religions, humanism and secular atheism. Thus, in all major Christian traditions including the contemporary Church of Scotland, there has been a greater and more urgent desire to discover Christian unity at a deeper sacramental level, and in this respect the Lord's Supper has been a crucial area of debate and discussion wherever serious proposals for the union of churches have been put forward.

Arising from this quest for Christian unity, with its more sharply focussed attention upon the Lord's Supper, has been the desire to arrive at a common mind about the elements which are essential to any celebration of a eucharistic service. "What men believe and how they understand is bound up with what they do and how they do it".<sup>1</sup> As this exercise in definition has been carried out, there has also been a growing sense of the corporateness of the heritage of historical and liturgical elements within the Communion. They are not new to the Scottish tradition, and the awareness that they were the common heritage of Christendom led the Scoto-Catholics to make use of them in eucharistic services without the feeling that what they were doing was alien or contrived. Today, the Ter sanctus,

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1. Neville Clark and Ronald C.D. Jasper (editors), Initiation and Eucharist, (The Joint Liturgical Group), London, 1972, p. 21. The essay, "The Structure of the Eucharist", is a perfect example of this enterprise at work.

the Benedictus qui venit, the Sancta sanctis and the Agnus Dei are firmly rooted in the liturgical development of the Church of Scotland, and are seen to be prayers and responses which unite that Church with other traditions of the Church Militant here on earth, and make her one with the Church Triumphant in the heavenly places.

APPENDIX:

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO SCOTTISH STUDENTS  
OF THEOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TÜBINGEN

**BEST COPY**

**AVAILABLE**

Variable print quality

Gloucester College  
Feb<sup>y</sup>. 4. 1841

I certify that it appears from the books of the late Dr. Macgill, that Mr. Thomas M. Linn was enrolled a Student of Divinity in Sep<sup>r</sup>. 1837-38, 1838-39, & 1839-40; that he gave regular attendance during these three Sep<sup>r</sup>s; that he delivered, a Family, Lecture, & Exercises; & that his conduct was suited to his views & character as a Student of Divinity.

I also certify that the above, <sup>mentioned</sup> Mr. Thomas M. Linn, was enrolled a Student of Divinity in Sep<sup>r</sup>. 1840-41; that he delivered seven Exercises & Additions; an Hebrew Exercise; & a Popular Sermon; & that the propriety & correctness of his conduct entitled him to the same testimony from me which was borne to him by my predecessors.

Alex<sup>r</sup> Hill N. Y. P.

Dr. McLune  
Stranraer  
22. 6. 1844

Stranraer 10 June 1844

Gentlemen

I studied during nine years at the University of Glasgow marks of esteem I took the Degrees of Bachelor of Arts, Master of Arts and Doctor of Medicine. During University I also completed a course of Divinity and was duly admitted Licentiate of Theology. I was chosen a Member of the British Association for the advancement of Science and other learned societies also regularly ordained in the Scotch Church. Of all which together with the esteem in which as a Preacher I can give the most satisfactory evidence. Now as your University is pre-eminently as the cradle of Biblical Criticism which has ever been my darling study I wish to forwarding proof of what I have stated along with the usual fees I could get from you the Degree of Theologiae Doctor, without personal attendance. Please have the goodness to the fees for Philos. Dr. and those for Juris utriusque Doctor. Being but an indifferent scholar I have been obliged to write in English. By having the goodness to write to me as soon as possible you would very much oblige me. I have the honor to be, Gentlemen, Your obedient  
Humble Servant

Thomas M. Lunc

Please address

The Rev. Dr. Thomas M. Lunc  
Stranraer  
Scotland.

The learned the Rector and Professors  
of the University of  
Tubingen

I was duly honoured with your communication of the 23<sup>rd</sup> and feel thankful for the quick answer returned to my letter by the Reverend the Theological Faculty of the University of Tübingen.

As soon then as the University of Glasgow commences its session I shall procure authenticated documents relative to the period of my study there and the Academical Honours which I obtained:— and along with them I shall forward the most satisfactory evidence of every thing in my letter. I shall also present the University with a short History of my life written in an essay on a subject of Divinity composed by myself in Latin and printed under my name. In regard to this last, however, namely, the Essay on a Theological subject in Latin, I hope the University will accept of a very short one as the expense of printing any thing in the ancient languages is so very great in this country that if it extended beyond a few pages it would be almost as much as the fee for the Diploma. I can, however, if requested send several sermons in English, some printed and some in manuscript which will show some manner as a writer, and I hope besides by abundant Testimonials of the first Character men of eminence here, to satisfy your University of my abilities both as a general scholar and Theologian.

As the Degree of Philosophia Doctor too is not conferred by British Universities if it could also be taken at the same time on forwarding such evidence as I mentioned in my last letter I should send over the requisite fee for it also along with the documents mentioned to. Please have the goodness to communicate my wish to the Philosophical Faculty of the University. By being so kind as to send me an answer to this letter as soon as possible you will very much oblige me.

The Rev. Dr. Schmid  
Dean of the Theological Faculty  
of the University of Tübingen,  
Wurtemberg,  
Germany.

I have the honour to be

Reverend and Learned Sir,

Your obedient, humble Servant

Thomas M. Cuneo.



Strasbourg 9 August 1844.

Reverend & Learned Sir

I feel grateful for the quick answer returned to my letter of the 8<sup>th</sup> of July.

I merely desired that the printed Treatise in Latin should be short on account of the expense attending printing, not from any wish thereby to prevent your University from forming a correct judgment of my attainments; for as I have obtained all my former Degrees by the most searching examination I shall value your Degree more highly by your requiring such evidence as may thoroughly satisfy you that I am worthy of it. I hesitate not therefore to comply with your request, though it will be expensive; and as soon as my other duties afford me sufficient leisure I shall compose and print under my name a Latin Treatise on a theological subject of the required length.

I shall endeavour to make it as respectable as I can, but as the expense of printing will be between 100 and 120 guilders of your money, you would do me a great kindness, if you would allow me to furnish your Faculty with a copy of the Treatise as well written as I can, in order that you may judge whether it is sufficient evidence of my abilities before I print it, as were it rejected after printing the price of that would be lost. I can write it so that it can be read almost as easily as if it were printed - and then if it were approved of I could get it printed immediately and send it over as soon as possible.

This Treatise then, whether you insist that it should be printed before you see it, or whether you be kind enough to look over it at first, carefully written out, that it may be afterwards printed if approved of, I shall transmit with the other documents promised; - but as the discourses I alluded to were mentioned principally as capable of showing my style, and manner of treating a theological subject I shall not transmit them unless required to do so in order to afford additional evidence of my qualifications.

I shall be glad to furnish you with any evidence in my power that whatever I send in my name is my own. - The Treatise will contain the same proofs of authorship that any other printed work can do - it will be printed in a public office under my name; and any other evidence you may demand will be most cheerfully given.

If I should think of becoming a candidate for the Degree of Ph.D. also I shall submit to the conditions required by the Philosophical Faculty at the same time.

I am sorry that my last letter was attended with expense as I was careful to provide

to its destination by way of France.

I have the honor to be,

Rev. and Learned Sir,

Your obedient, humble Servant

The Rev. Dr. Schmid } Thomas M. Lane

Dean of the Theological Faculty,

University of Tübingen.

}  
I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. and to thank you for the information it contains. I am glad to hear that you are well and hope that you will continue to be so for many years to come. I am, Sir, very respectfully,  
Your obedient, humble servant,  
Thomas M. Lane

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. and to thank you for the information it contains. I am glad to hear that you are well and hope that you will continue to be so for many years to come. I am, Sir, very respectfully,  
Your obedient, humble servant,  
Thomas M. Lane

Stranrair 18 December, 1844.

Reverend and Learned Sir,

I was duly honoured with your last, and feel thankful for the kindness of the Theological Faculty in receiving my essay at first in manuscript. I regret that ill health, and duties of various kinds have prevented me, as yet, from finishing it; but as soon as I have the pleasure of hearing from you as to your Faculty's being satisfied with the enclosed testimonials I shall be ready to transmit it for your examination. I beg then, in the meantime, to send you certificates from the Very Reverend Dr. Macfarlan, Principal of the College of Glasgow, the Reverend Dr. Hill, Professor of Theology in the same University, and likewise an Extract-Minute of my Licence, an attestation of my Ordination, and certificates from some of the most eminent Divines of my acquaintance. I could have procured many more of these last, but I hope what I have sent will suffice. I shall transmit my Member's-ticket of the British Association with the Theological Essay. I hope the enclosed certificates will be carefully preserved and returned with my Diploma should I be successful, or without it if otherwise.

I hope you will do me the kindness to inquire whether the Philosophical Faculty, if I should become a candidate for the Philosophical Doctorate also, would be as kind as the Theological have been in receiving the Latin composition first in manuscript, and what extent they would require. Hoping to hear from you at your earliest convenience, I have the honor to be,

Reverend and Learned Sir,

Your most obedient,

Humble Servant,

Thomas M<sup>r</sup>. Lums.

The Rev. Dr. Schmid,  
Dean of the Theological Faculty  
of the University of  
Tübingen.

Philosoph. Steuere.

Gavin Carlyle von Edinburgh. Schottland

Deutsche Poese bei Kischer.

1. Nebelungen Lied bei —

Tubingen 6<sup>te</sup> December 1852

Naleolu C. Taylor, aus Bowmore, Selkirk, Vefottland  
fürst, des Minster Journals 1855/6. folgende Vorlesungen

Lehrleitung in der Alten Testaments, (J. Ogilvie,

Christliche Glaubenslehren (J. Lusk.)

Lehrleitung in der Griechischen Grammatik (J. A. Halliday.)

Taylor.

Quod.

Præfatus

Malcolm Taylor, aus Bowmore, Islay  
in Schottland, welcher am 1. April 1856  
am 1. Januar 1855/56 die royal Hoche  
auf der Universität studiert, ist  
wird sein Lehramt befristet, seine  
plebsche in die Gesetzgebung  
massen.

Belington am 21. Oct. 1856.

L

Præfatus

Sevenson.

(unp.)

Prof. Dr.  
D. S.

John James Sevenson Esq.  
Cincinnati, Ohio  
Faculty of the University of  
Cincinnati  
Cincinnati, Ohio  
Ohio - betrifft, sowie  
auch die Fakultät  
Kolumbus, Ohio, 20. Aug. 1856.

Ergebenst  
D. S.

Sevenson

Herbstsemester 1856

Deutsche Literaturgeschichte - Professor  
Dr. von Keller.

Leitung der Übungen der Zeichnungswissenschaft  
Dr. Leibnitz.

Herrn J. J. J. J.



Stud. Theol. James E. Gillespie  
aus Cummerbees in Schottland,  
wohnhafte bei Frau Dr. Stendel  
in der Burgstай, f. hort in  
Wintersemester 1862/63.

folgende Vorlesungen:

1. Erklärung des Jesaja bei  
Prof. Dr. Ohler.
2. Erklärung des Briefs Petri bei  
Prof. Dr. Beck.
3. Homiletik und Katechetik  
bei Prof. Dr. von Palmer.

Übergeben am 28. November 1862.

Der Untergezeichnete wohnt bei Schneider Meyer  
in der Neckargasse und besucht im  
Sommer-Semester

1. Erklärung der messianischen Weissagungen  
bei Prof. Dr. Oehler
2. Pastoral-theologische Erklärung des apokal.  
Geschichtes bei Prof. Dr. Beck
3. Erklärung des Briefes an Timotheus bei demselben
4. Erklärung des Briefes an die Hebräer  
bei Prof. Dr. Oehler
- Christliche Glaubenslehre bei Prof. Dr. Beck

William Stevenson

Übungen des 20<sup>ten</sup> Mai 1873

Im Laufe dies Semesters hört Med. Stud. Alex.  
Roberts die folgenden Vorlesungen  
den Prophet Isaia ausgelegt von Herrn Prof.  
Cohler  
die Timotheus Briefe ausgelegt von Herrn  
Prof. Beck -

Lüdingen Dec. 1860 Alex. Roberts

Theodore Marshall aus Schottland hört im Sommer  
Halbjahre 1864 folgende Vorlesungen

Christliche Ethik von Dr. Beck

William Boyd, aus Schottland, hielt in Sommerhalbjahre 1864  
folgende Vorlesungen:

Chemische Ethik:

Professor Dr. Beck

Professor Dr. Beck

Vorlesung über Bräutchen an die Spieler:  
Anleitung in die praktische Pharmazie:

Professor Dr. Beck

Professor Dr. Allen

Chemische Synthese:

Dr. Heyd

Hygiene:

Gelesen im Saale  
den 7. Mai 1864.

Herr Land. Just. Henry Robson aus Oshington, Department, erhebt bei  
Vätern aus Oshington, fort in Dominion Taxation 1864 folgende  
Werbungen

(Freiwillige Hilfe (freiwillig))  
bei Prof. D. Lott.

Arbeits (freiwillig)  
bei Prof. D. Maier.

Konzeptions (Konzeptions) (freiwillig)  
bei Prof. D. Pappier.

Ich unterzeichnete weisliche im Sommersemester  
1840 folgende Vorlesungen zu hören:

bei Herrn Dr. von Beck. Apocalypse  
und Sacramentslehre

" " Dr. Oehler. Jesaias.

" Rep. Laing. Matthäus.

Tübingen den 29 April

Joseph Robinson

Stud. Theol.

Ich unterzeichnete wünsche im Sommersemester 1870  
folgende Vorträge zu hören: -

bei Herrn	D. Van Beek	Apokalypse und Parabeln
„	D. Oehler	Isaias
„	Ref. Lang	Matthias

München den 29 April

John T. Craig  
Stud. Theol.



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Verzeichnis der Beamten, Lehrer und Studierenden der  
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