

EXPOSITION

'We are thus taught by the Saviour, and also by the Apostle Paul, that this bread and this wine, which is placed upon the altar, are placed for a figure or memorial of the Lord's Death, so that it may recall to present memory that which was done in the past, and that we may be reminded of His Passion; by it also are we made partakers of the Divine gift by which we are freed from death. Knowing that when we shall come to the vision of Christ we shall no more have need of such outward means, by which we may be reminded of that which divine goodness endured for us. For beholding Him face to face we shall not be influenced by the outward admonition of temporal things, but by the contemplation of the thing itself (*ipsius veritatis*) we shall perceive in what way we ought to give thanks to the Author of our salvation.'—*The Book of Bertram*, Monk of Corbie, A.D. 840, on The Body and Blood of the Lord (*De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*), c. 100, translated by Archdeacon Taylor.

He who would know the principle upon which the Communion Office of the Church of England was built up by Cranmer can see it 'writ large' in this extract from the work whose reproduction at the period of the Reformation led Ridley, and through him Cranmer, back to Scriptural truth.

Title.

1549. The Supper of the Lord, and the Holy Communion, commonly called The Mass.

1552. The Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion.

Commonly called **The Mass**: cf. 'Commonly called the Creed of St. Athanasius,' 'Those five commonly called Sacraments' (Art. XXV), 'the Sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said,' etc. (Art. XXI). The adverb 'commonly' stamps the usage as popular but inaccurate and undesirable; cf. 'The Presentation of Christ in the Temple, commonly called The Purification of Saint Mary the Virgin,' a new title given in 1662 to justify the special observance of the Day, consonant with the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel.

The name 'Mass' is generally derived from the words of dismissal: *Ite, missa est*.* It had been retained in the 'Order of Communion' of 1548, and 'time of High Mass' is found in the Royal Preface to the Homilies in 1547 and 1548, but it was changed to 'the Celebration of the Holy Communion' in the 1549 Edn. It appears only here in the 1549 B.C.P., and was finally discarded in 1552.

Bishop Tonstal at the great Parliamentary Debate on the Lord's Supper in December, 1548, began the disputation by objecting to the abandonment of the term 'Mass,' see Tomlinson's Tract, containing a verbatim reprint, *Tracts on Ritual*, vol. ii.

The **Lord's Supper** is a name derived from 1 Cor. xi. 20. The title prevailed in very early days, e.g., Hippolytus, 220; Dionysius the Great, 254; cf. Scudamore, *Not. Euch.*, p. 5.† Though a very common name in the Middle Ages (Frere, *l. c.*), its manifest incongruity with the practice of non-communicating presence at a sacrifice, and that early in the day, had practically abolished its use in the West.‡ "I chanced in our communication to name the Lord's Supper. 'Tush,' saith the bishop, 'What do ye call the Lord's Supper? What new term is that?'" (*Latimer's Sermons*, p. 121, P.S.). Following a Jesuit of the close of the fifteenth century, Roman divines and others now try to dissociate the term as used by St. Paul from the Holy Communion; but no answer is or can be given to the fact that St. Paul goes on immediately to describe the Holy Communion, and has not a word to say about the Agapè: this latter may certainly have accompanied the Holy Communion at Corinth—probably did do so—but it is not the matter concerning which St. Paul writes. Nor is it easy to see on what ground any feast save the Holy Communion could be called 'the Lord's Supper.'

Holy Communion is taken from 1 Cor. x. 16, 17, which teaches the common partaking of Christ, and therefore fellowship with one another. This is the distinctive Reformation title, bringing out, by its implication of fellow-partaking, the contrast between the original rite, now restored, and the Mass-Sacrifice.

Other names have been and are in use; 'Breaking of bread' Acts ii. 42; xx. 7; 'Eucharist,' an early and appropriate title, though not Scriptural. It is a strange irony that this title should

* I.e.: 'Go, the (congregation) is dismissed.' Others suppose that *missa* is a late corruption of *missio*, 'dismissal.'

† Frere says (*New History of the B.C.P.*, Edn. 1910, p. 438, ft. nt.) that 'it does not appear that 1 Cor. xi. 20 was interpreted absolutely of the Eucharist before the end of the fourth century.' This seems to be wrong.

‡ In Hermann's *Deliberatio* (1535) the name was restored; see Dowden, *Further Studies*, p. 56.

have become chiefly, though not exclusively, the property of those whose tendency is to subordinate the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving to the idea of a sin-offering. The words of 1 Cor. xiv. 16:—'Else when thou shalt bless with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy 'giving of thanks,' seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest?—have been cited as Scriptural authority for applying the name 'Eucharist' to the Holy Communion.* But there is not one word to indicate that St. Paul refers here to Holy Communion; the two preceding verses refer to prayer and praise, this to blessing and thanksgiving, the latter as general as the former in application; and the whole chapter deals with mysterious utterances, which, far from being necessary parts of worship, were ordered to be controlled as liable to disturb public worship. The nemesis of this kind of exegesis, which attempts to attach a later technical meaning to a word originally as general as our 'thanksgiving,' is its being carried to such an extremity as the limitation of the word in 1 Tim. ii. 1:—'I exhort, therefore, that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and Eucharists, be made for all men.' At the original institution our Lord 'said grace' over the bread and wine, εὐλογήσας, Matt. xxvi. 26; Mark xiv. 22; cf. 1 Cor. x. 16; εὐχαριστήσας, Matt. xxvi. 27; Mark xiv. 23; Luke xxii. 19; 1 Cor. xi. 24; this use of the word, apart from the indiscriminate use of two Greek words, is decisive against its technical association with the whole rite. The early transition from the general meaning of thanksgiving to the special application of the word to the Holy Communion may be seen in the Didachè, § 9; Ignat. *ad Smyrn.*, 7, 8. Justin's *Apology* (i. 67), however, conclusively proves that the word was not thus restricted generally in 140.

Sacrament is not, strictly speaking, a name of Holy Communion, though often used as such. It meant in classical Latin (1) the sum of money deposited by the parties to a suit, called 'a sacred thing,' either because a pledge against perjury and injustice, or because deposited in a temple, and to be used, if forfeited, for sacred things: (2) the suit itself: (3) the military recruit's preliminary pledge: (4) the military oath generally. In post-Augustan Latin it had already become common for any solemn oath or obligation, in which sense it is used in Pliny's famous letter to Trajan, containing the Bithynian Christians' description of their public worship:

* Palmer, *Orig. Lit.*, vol. ii. pp. 114 ff: Frere, p. 30, ft. nt. (2), p. 432, ft. nt. (1), 'probably not in the technical sense,' and p. 435, without any such qualification. This curious inconsistency of the latter writer is itself sufficient answer.

'They asserted that this was the sum-total of their fault or error, that they were wont, on a fixed day, to assemble before daylight, and sing (*dicere*) a hymn in turn to Christ as God; and to bind themselves by an oath (*sacramento*), not to a crime of any sort, but not to commit thefts or adulteries, not to deny their faith, not to repudiate a trust: these things completed, it was their custom to disperse, and to reassemble to take food, in common, however, and innocently: and even that they had abandoned since my edict forbidding clubs by your mandate.'

Here the word has obviously its ordinary meaning of a sacred pledge.* Another meaning was conferred upon the word in ecclesiastical Latin, some idea of which may be gained by its use in the Vulgate to translate the Greek μυστήριον, 'secret,' (not 'an intellectual puzzle,' as the modern use of the word 'mystery' suggests); cf. Tobit, xii. 7, 'it is good to keep a king's secret (LXX μυστήριον, Vulg. *sacramentum*), but to reveal clearly the works of God': Eph. v. 32, of the symbolic meaning of marriage: 1 Tim. iii. 16, 'great is the mystery of godliness (Vulg. *sacramentum pietatis*), God was manifest in the flesh,' etc.: Rev. i. 20: 'the mystery of the seven stars.'† From such passages as this last it is easy to see how the modern idea of 'transcending intelligence' attached to the word 'mystery,' a fruitful cause of mischief in interpreting Patristic references to Holy Communion, as well as Holy Scripture. However, it is quite another error which has accompanied the use of the word 'Sacrament,' due to its ambiguity. Anciently used, like its

* Bishop Beveridge's suggestion, that the word is here used of the Holy Communion, though 'the following words seem to show that the Eucharistic Service was in the evening' (Robertson, *History*, i. 18, Note a), might pass unnoticed were it not that Harold Browne (Art. XXV) claims that 'it is generally supposed that its *application* in this passage was to the Supper of the Lord,' and refers to Waterland's *Eucharist* c. i. Frere (Procter and Frere, 432, n. 1) makes the same claim, saying 'the word was probably misunderstood by Pliny, and may have been technically employed. It is probable enough that he [Pliny] used the very word which he had heard from them [the Bithynian Christians], and that they used it in the Christian and technical sense, howsoever Pliny may have understood it.' Pliny's conjectural use of the actual word used by the Christians, and his conjectural misunderstanding, and consequent conjectural mistranslation of their word—for presumably the Bithynians did not use Latin terms in A.D. 112—constitute slender support for a claim styled 'probable.' It is more truly probable that the desire to find earlier evidence of the separation of the Holy Communion from the Evening Agapè, and another reason for it than that expressly contained in the letter itself, viz., Trajan's mandate against clubs, is responsible for the perpetuation of this suggestion. It is unfortunate that Harold Browne's quotation stops short of the reference to the re-assembling for food. Robertson (*l. c.*) supposes that the baptismal vow may probably be intended; Tertullian (*Apol.* 2) gives it no *sacramental* signification of any kind.

† *Mysterium* is also sometimes employed in the Vulgate; cf. Eph. vi. 19; 'mystery of the Gospel,' *mysterium evangelii*.

Greek theological equivalent, for anything connected with revelation (e.g. Cyprian's reference to many sacraments in the Lord's Prayer), it very gradually acquired a technical meaning in Augustine's time: *signa, cum ad res divinas pertinent, sacramenta appellantur*, Ep. 138. He applies the word to O.T. symbols, e.g., manna, as well as to Baptism and Holy Communion, but regards these two as the N.T. sacraments, *De doctrina Christiana*, iii. 9: cf. *Epistle* 54, where, however, is added *et si quid aliud in Scripturis Canonicis commendatur*: 'and anything else, if any, which is commended in the Canonical Scriptures.' Lombard fixed upon the symbolical number seven, in the twelfth century; the Reformers returned from this arbitrary use of the word to the more reasonable one suggested by Augustine, limiting it more definitely, however, to the two rites instituted by Christ. A further ambiguity, productive of many misconceptions, is the double use of the word, both to signify the rite as a whole, including the outward visible sign and the inward invisible grace, and also for the former alone. Sometimes even the outward visible sign is not wholly included in the word, the consecrated bread and wine, to the exclusion of the distribution and partaking thereof, being called 'the Sacrament.' Many a reference to the whole rite, in the Fathers, in the Reformers' writings, and in B.C.P., is reasonable and intelligible as applied to the Sacrament as a whole, which would be unjustifiable if used of the outward alone. It is interesting to note that in the expression 'pledges of his love,' there is a return to the classical meaning of the word 'Sacrament,' a pledge given by God to us, however, not by us to Him.*

I. ANTE-COMMUNION.

Rubric giving notice of intention to communicate, 1549.

1549. Overnight, or else in the morning afore the beginning of Matins, or immediately after.

* Other expressions, as 'offering' (*προσφορά*), 'sacrifice' (*θυσία*), are given as early names of the rite in Frere (*l. c.*); but, if accurately, their technical meaning is abandoned for a spiritual one. For example the passage cited but not quoted by him for the use of 'Sacrifice,' and 'Commemoration, Memorial,' Justin, *Dial.* 117, is: 'Now that prayers and giving of thanks, when offered by worthy men, are the only perfect and well-pleasing sacrifices to God, I also admit. For such alone Christians have undertaken to do, and in the remembrance made by their food, both solid and liquid, in which the suffering of the Son of God which he endured is brought to remembrance.' The passage cited in support of 'Oblation' (*προσφορά*, a word frequent in the N.T. for a sacrificial offering, but never used of Holy Communion) is Clem., *Ep. Cor.*, 40, where, far from being a 'name' for Holy Communion, the word is not used in the singular at all; and the whole passage refers expressly to *Jewish sacrifices*, 'high-priest,' 'Levites,' and 'Jerusalem' being named to define the reference.

1552. 'Matins' altered to 'Morning Prayer.'

1662. At least sometime the day before.

This alteration was a concession to the request of the Presbyterians at the Savoy Conference.

Rubric warning notorious evil-livers, 1549; unimportant verbal changes 1552 and 1662.

Rubric warning those at variance, 1549; order to report to Ordinary added 1662.

The Ordinary is the judge authorized to take cognisance of causes, i.e. in this case the Bishop of the Diocese, from whom appeal lies to the Archbishop, and from him to the King in Council. Seeing that Canon Law is abrogated by desuetude, and that this form of exercising 'the Canon' has certainly not been used for some time, the Ordinary cannot fulfil this rubric. The abandonment of attempts to enforce uniformity has made it unlikely that an open or notorious evil-liver would come to the Lord's Table, though it is to be feared that those at variance may do so, in spite of warnings. A recent attempt to interpret 'evil-liver' in a sense not recognized by Statute Law, and to refuse the bread and wine to one who had married his deceased wife's sister, was condemned on appeal to Law by the rejected communicant.

Rubric defining place of Table and position of Priest, 1552.

1549. A rubric stood here, regulating the vesture of the officiant, and of his assistants, if any (see p. 79), concluding, 'Then shall the Clerks sing in English for the Office, or Introit * (as they call it), a Psalm appointed for that day. The Priest standing humbly afore the midst of the Altar, shall say the Lord's Prayer, with this Collect.'

1552. The Table, having at the Communion-time a fair white linen cloth upon it, shall stand in the body of the Church, or in the Chancel, where Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer be appointed to be said. And the Priest standing at the North side of the Table, shall say the Lord's Prayer with this Collect following.

S.L. The Holy Table having at the Communion-time a Carpet, and a fair white linen cloth upon it, with other decent furniture, meet for the high mysteries there to be celebrated, shall stand at the uppermost part of the Chancel

* The 'Introit as they call it' was a reminiscence of the mediæval 'approach to the Altar,' and was removed in 1552. It has been of late re-introduced under cover of the growth of the use of hymns.

or Church, where the Presbyter standing at the North side or end thereof, etc.

1662. As in 1552, with 'the people kneeling' added.

(1) The Meaning of 'Table.'

In 1549 the word 'table' was introduced three times, 'God's Board' twice, 'altar' being also retained. But though the word was retained, the altars themselves began to disappear as early as February of that same year, and an Order in Council, dated November 23, 1550, bade every bishop 'pluck down the altars,' and prescribed a 'table' instead, stating that 'the form of a table shall more move the simple from the superstitious opinions of the popish Mass, unto the right use of the Lord's Supper. For the use of an altar is to make sacrifice upon it; the use of a table is for men to eat upon.' Accordingly, in 1552, the word 'altar' disappeared from the B.C.P., and was not restored at the revision of 1662, though the abortive Canon of 1640, attempting to enforce the altar-wise position of the Table, claimed a legitimate use of the word as applied to the Lord's Table: 'We declare that this situation of the Holy Table doth not imply that it is, or ought to be esteemed a true and proper Altar, whereon Christ is again really sacrificed, but it is and may be called an Altar by us, in that sense in which the Primitive Church called it an Altar, and no other.' The word has persisted in popular language, especially in regard to the Marriage Service, where a sense of humour might have killed the inaccuracy; and the occasional Coronation Offices, which cannot be taken to govern the doctrine and usage of the Church of England, have been used for an introduction of the word. The word is unscriptural, unhistorical, and misleading:—

(a) In the O.T. the prescribed altars were two, the brazen altar of sacrifice, and the golden altar of incense. Earth and unhewn stone were the only materials permitted, though the casings were directed to be of brass and gold for the two altars of the Tabernacle. To carve the stone was to pollute the altar, and to add steps was an insult to God (Exod. xx. 24–26). An altar may be sometimes called a table, cf. Ezek. xli. 22, and Mal. i. 7; but a table cannot conversely be called an altar.

In the N.T. the altar of sacrifice finds its typical significance fulfilled in the Cross, the golden altar has its counterpart in the Presence of God where our High-Priest ever liveth to make intercession for us. The two altars are both mentioned in Revelation, where they are in heaven, save indeed that the measured temple, altar, and them that worship therein (xi. 1), are once figuratively applied to the Church Militant. In all

the word is used twenty-three times, and always of the two O.T. altars, save once of Abraham's altar, and once of the Cross perhaps. This last reference, Heb. xiii. 10, 'we have an altar,' may very well refer to the Israelitish Altar of Sacrifice, for the 'we,' which is unemphatic, would mean Israelites in a letter written by a Jew to Jews. If the 'we' means 'we Christians,' even so the writer does not say that we have 'altars' in our churches, much less that the Table of the Lord is an altar. As a matter of fact the typical altar was *outside* the building, symbolizing by its position that not until sacrifice had been offered could any one venture to enter the Tabernacle or Temple. In one place (1 Cor. x. 18–21), St. Paul uses the word 'altar' of the Jewish sacrifices, in connexion with the Lord's Supper, and carefully avoids using the word of the Christian rite, substituting for it the word 'table.'

(b) In the primitive church Ignatius and Polycarp use the word fancifully enough (see p. 224), but most early writers avoided the dangerous word, Minucius Felix stating roundly that Christians have no altars. So late as Ambrose, the figurative use of the word is clear: 'our altar is not visible but invisible' (*Ep. ad Heb.* viii). It was not until the eleventh century that the wooden tables were replaced in England by stone altars, though the growth of the idea of a sacrifice for sin in the Lord's Supper had long tended to make the table an altar. The brief account of the Reformers' action already given demonstrates the importance which they attached to the avoidance of both the word and the thing.

(c) The re-introduction of the word is to be deprecated as inevitably leading to unscriptural ideas of the Holy Communion, with which, indeed, the word is associated by the majority of those who use it with any meaning at all. The highest Court of Appeal stated in 1857 that 'the Reformers considered the Holy Communion not as a Sacrifice but as a feast to be celebrated at the Lord's Table,' and declared stone structures to be illegal.

The use of the singular, 'the Table' in B.C.P. sufficiently shows that side-tables, 'Credence-Tables,' were not contemplated by the compilers or revisers, but the use of such was not condemned when the case was brought into court. The meaning of the term 'credence' is not known, but the tables are used for the elements before they are placed on the Lord's Table. Such side-tables seem to have been unknown before the seventeenth century (see Micklethwaite, *Ornaments of the Rubric*, p. 40.

(2) Place of Table.

1549. No order was made, the Altar-wise position being

retained (though some altars disappeared that same year), and the Communicants being gathered in the 'Quire,' from which non-communicants were excluded.

1552. The Table was to be placed in the Nave or the Chancel, for the convenience of worshippers, that the Priest's words might be audible and his actions visible.

1559. Elizabeth's injunction ordered the Table to be placed 'where the Altar stood,' except at Communion, when it was to be 'so placed in good sort within the Chancel, as whereby the minister may be more conveniently heard . . . and the communicants also more conveniently, and in more number communicate'; the Table was afterwards 'to be placed where it stood before.'

An old synopsis of 'Varieties in the service,' of 1565, describes the absence of a uniform placing of the Table in those days:—

'The Table standeth in the body of the Church in some places, in others it standeth in the Chancel. In some places the Table standeth Altarlike distant from the wall a yard, in some other in the midst of the chancel north and south.'

1566. The Advertisements in one place specified 'the East wall over the said Table,' but did not deal directly with these varieties.

1640. A Canon, framed to enforce the altar-like position, spoke of it as adopted 'in most Cathedrals, and some Parochial Churches,' and as not being any longer under 'just suspicion of Popish superstition or innovation.' It also ordered the railing in of the Table, to prevent the irreverent way in which it had been misused, namely for hats, and even as a seat.

1662. Attempts to enforce this Canon on the lines of the Scottish B.C.P. of 1637 were frustrated, the liberty of the 1552 Rubric being still retained.

Within a short time from the Restoration the moving of the Table for the Communion seems to have died away; the custom of erecting pews in Churches had already made the placing of the Table in the body of the Church difficult, if not impossible, while the almost invariable addition of rails made any moving of the Table a practice scarcely to be carried out with the quiet reverence desirable at the Lord's Supper. The absence of screens, too, made moving unnecessary.*

* For very full details, with illustrations, see Tomlinson, *Tracts on Ritual*, Nos. 88, 164, 180 and 203, from which the above notes have been freely borrowed

(3) Position of Priest.

1549. Standing humbly afore the midst of the Altar.

1552. Standing at the North side of the Table.

S.L. Standing at the North side or end thereof.

1662. Standing at the North side of the Table; and (in the Rubric before the Consecration) 'when the Priest, standing before the Table, hath so ordered the Bread and Wine, that he may with the more readiness and decency break the Bread before the people, and take the Cup into his hands,' etc.

The position 'afore the midst of the Altar' represented the mediæval position of a sacrificing priest; in earlier days the officiant had often stood behind the Table, facing the people. Before 1552, the Eastward Position (as it is called) had been very generally abandoned, and the North side position was apparently chosen to obtain uniformity wherever the Table stood, against the East Wall or in the body of the Church. Of course it had no meaning in itself, save as a visible protest against the Mass position, which commenced at the South and ended 'afore the midst of the Altar.'

The 1552 ordinance was unchanged in 1662, the new rubric before Consecration providing for such cases as that of Bishop Wren, who defended himself from the accusation of having once adopted the sacrificer's position by alleging that his littleness of stature made it impossible for him readily and decently to reach the bread and wine from the North side.

In spite of the plain facts of history, and the obvious concurrence with these facts of the 'North side or end' of S.L., efforts to recover the sacrificial position of the Priest at Holy Communion were crowned with considerable success in 1890, when the then Archbishop of Canterbury decided that the Eastward Position is legal, so that the 'afore the midst' of 1549, and the 'North side' of 1552, are to be considered synonymous. Yet the highest Court of Appeal had stated in the Purchas Judgment: 'North side means that side which looks towards the north'; and, in the Ridsdale Judgment: 'It is the duty of the minister to stand at the side of the Table which, supposing the church to be built in the ordinary westward position, would be next the north, whether the side be a longer or shorter side of the table . . . it is accurate, both in scientific and in ordinary language, to say that a quadrilateral table has four sides.'

The history of the theory which seems to have determined the Lambeth Judgment of 1890 is important as showing that that theory is novel.

- (a) The North side is the North-West Corner; suggested in a journal called *The Ecclesiastic*.
- (b) The whole front is divided into five sections, viz. N. and S. Corners, the Midst, and, between the Corners and the Midst, the N. and S. sides; theory of F. G. Lee, *Directorium Anglicanum*, 1865.
- (c) The front is divided into three sections, North side Middle, and South side; theory of Blunt and Freeman.
- (d) The front is divided into two sides, North and South, by an imaginary line; theory of Littledale.
- (e) There is now no 'North side,' the rubric only referring to the Table as placed East and West in the Body of the Church, so that, being oblong, its North side was identical with its front when placed Altar-wise. This is the theory of Walton and Scudamore, who, so early as 1866, pointed out the absurdity of their predecessors' attempts to reconcile the Eastward Position with the words 'North side.'

Is their own any better?

- (i) It assumes a distinction between 'side' and 'end' which was unknown to Laud and Wren when the S. L. was drawn up, in 1637, with the words 'side or end.'
- (ii) It assumes that all Tables were oblong, which they certainly were not.
- (iii) It assumes that when moved from the East End to the Chancel or body of the Church, the Tables were always placed East and West, of which assumption there is no proof.
- (iv) It assumes either that all Tables were always moved for the Communion in 1662—an obvious contradiction of facts—or that the rubrical direction for the priest was of only partial application, viz., to those in Churches where the Tables were so moved—an assumption of which there is no evidence.*

In conclusion, it should be noted that the Eastward Position should be avoided on the following grounds:—

(1) Now, as at the Reformation, its significance is the sacrificial idea conveyed thereby.

* For the whole subject, including full historical investigation of the Lambeth Judgment, see Tomlinson, *Tracts on Ritual*, l. c., also 195, and *Lambeth Judgment Examined*, in vol. ii.

(2) The Lambeth Judgment itself recognizes the necessity of the manual acts being visible, a practical impossibility with the Eastward Position.

(3) The posture is inconsistent with the whole genius of the B.C.P. which sets the ministry forth as ministering to a congregation, not as acting for them in any sacerdotal capacity.

Lord's Prayer, 1549; printed here 1662, cf. S.L.; Sar. Miss. in Priest's Preparation.

The omission of any direction to the people to join in the Lord's Prayer is probably the reason for the prevalence of the custom of the Priest's saying it alone, though it may also be that its having formed part of the private preparation of the Priest in the Missal aided the practice. Whatever the cause, the custom is inconsistent with the 1662 Rubric before the Lord's Prayer in Morning Prayer directing the people to repeat it with the Priest, 'both here, and wheresoever else it is used in Divine Service.' Some have imagined that 'Divine Service' applies only to Morning and Evening Prayer, with, perhaps, the Litany; but this theory will not hold with the use of the phrase in two 1662 Rubrics in the Communion Service, that for giving notices, and that directing the disposal of the collection. Others (e.g. Blunt) suggest that the wording of the Morning Prayer Rubric (Cosin's) was an oversight, which is hardly serious. Strictly the Lord's Prayer should be repeated by the people, and the 'Amen' is so printed that unless they do so, they take no audible part in the Prayer.*

Collect for Purity, 1549; Sar. Miss. in Priest's Preparation; Leofric; Alcuin.

The Latin has been partly improved by the English Translation, but partly impaired: *Deus, cui omne cor patet, et omnis voluntas loquitur et quem nullum latet secretum; purifica per infusionem Sancti Spiritus cogitationes cordis nostri; ut te perfecte diligere et digne laudare mereamur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.*

Literally translated: 'God, to whom every heart is open and every wish speaks, and from whom no secret lies hid; purify by the impouring of the Holy Spirit the thoughts of our heart; that we may deserve† to perfectly love and worthily praise thee. Through Christ our Lord, Amen.' 'All desires known' is a

* See Dowden, *Further Studies*, pp. 82–88.

† The verb *mereor* had become very general in its significance, often meaning little more than 'obtain.' But its very frequent use in Latin Collects is at least ambiguous, especially when the tendency of human nature to substitute merit for grace is taken into consideration.

somewhat poor equivalent for the original, lit. 'to whom every wish speaks'; on the other hand, the idea of 'merit,' in the word *mereamur*, is gladly missed.*

Rubric concerning the Commandments, 1552; enlarged 1662.

1552. Then shall the Priest rehearse distinctly all the X. Commandments, and the people kneeling shall, after every Commandment, ask God's mercy for their transgressions of the same, after this sort.

1662. Then shall the Priest, turning to the people, rehearse distinctly all the TEN COMMANDMENTS; and the people, still kneeling, shall, after every Commandment, ask God mercy for their transgression thereof for the time past, and grace to keep the same for the time to come, as followeth.

The addition, 'turning to the people', was a partial concession to the Puritans' demand at the Savoy Conference.

In 1549 Auricular Confession † was still recognized (though not enforced) with its examination of the sinner. In 1552 for this method of examination, liable to so many and grievous corruptions, was substituted the reading of the Decalogue, with a special petition after the reading of each Commandment. Palmer finds some precedent for both the reading and the petition in the custom of reading the last Six Commandments in Lent, with a prayer at the close: 'Pity me, O Lord, since I am weak, heal me, O Lord.' But the petition is obviously formed by adding to the familiar words of the Lesser Litany, used in the Communion Office here in 1549, a special request for power to keep each Commandment. Cranmer had many precedents for this departure. The Frankfort *Church Order* of 1530 introduced the Decalogue just before the Exhortation warning against unworthy reception; the *Christly Order* for Bremen (1534) directed an exposition of the Ten Commandments after the Sermon in the Mass; Bugenhagen's *Church Order* for Pomerania (1535) prescribed them to be sung as an alternative use in the Mass; the Norheim *Church Order* (1539) contained the Decalogue; the *Order* for Calenberg and Göttingen introduced it just before Confession in the Mass. Moreover Luther's metrical version (1524), each verse being followed by 'Lord have mercy,' was translated into English by Coverdale, with the response. These possible sources render it quite needless to trace Cranmer's work to Pullain's service for refugees at Glastonbury (with Frere and Daniel), in which the Decalogue was sung

* For the variation of the Service here in 1549, which more nearly followed the order in Sar. Miss., see analysis, p. 282.

† See p. 321.

at Morning Prayer, in two separated parts, especially as this service only appeared in 1551, barely, if at all, in time to suggest anything to the Revisers of the 1552 B.C.P. The prayer in Pullain's Service: 'deign to write (thy law) in our hearts by thy Spirit': is similar to the response to the tenth Commandment, and may possibly have suggested it, but so scriptural a figure need not be traced to anything but knowledge of the Bible.*

The present Scottish B.C.P. allows the use of the Lord's summary of the Commandments (Matt. xxii. 37-39), with a petition similar to that after the tenth; the American B.C.P. gives a similar relaxation when the Commandments have been read in full once in a day. The Non-Jurors' B.C.P. of 1718 was the first to substitute this summary.

S.L. (1637) added after 'transgression': 'either according to the letter, or to the mystical importance of the said Commandment,' a valuable distinction taught by the Sermon on the Mount, but capable of clearer expression. It did not make any reference to 'the time to come,' cf. 1552 B.C.P., possibly because that is plainly included in the petitions themselves. Frere states that the word 'mystical' has special reference to the Fourth Commandment, a statement which agrees with the authoritative desecration of the Lord's Day at that period; but 'mystical' is rather too euphemistic a description of the Laudian practice.

Commandments, 1552.

The version of the Great Bible was not changed for A.V. in 1662, as in most other cases; the same version is used in the Catechism, where, however in 1549, the Commandments were abbreviated.

Rubric concerning Collects for the King, 1549.

1549. Then shall follow the Collect of the day, with one of these two Collects following, for the King.

1552 added:—the Priest standing up, and saying: Let us Pray.

1662. Then shall follow one of these two Collects for the King, the Priest standing as before, and saying: Let us pray.

The mention of the Collect for the Day first, in 1549 and 1552, is a reminiscence of the Missal, where 'memorials,' i.e. various Collects, were read after the Collect for the Day, and before the Epistle. The Rubric regulating the use of the six collects at the end of the Communion Office was altered in 1552 to permit of their being used not only when there was no Com-

* See Dowden, *Further Studies*, pp. 167 ff.

munion, as in 1549, but also at the Communion, and other Services. It has been suggested that the intention was that they should be used here (Palmer), but without any evidence in support of a theory which conflicts with the next Rubric: 'immediately after the Collect the Priest shall read the Epistle.'

Collects for the King, 1549.

1662. 'Church' for 'congregation' in the first Collect.

St. Paul's injunction (1 Tim. ii. 1, 2) to remember Kings and all that are in authority first in our prayers, was very literally carried out in the Middle Ages, Kings sometimes bargaining for Masses to be said in return for benefits.* The changes in regard to the authority exercised by Kings seem to call for some recognition in B.C.P., which still retains the language suitable to the times of Absolute Monarchy. However, these Collects are more free from such unsuitable phrases than some others, though the second is markedly preferable to the first, as not pronouncing the King to be God's chosen servant (which reads queerly of a Charles II or James II), and as praying more definitely for grace for the King to fulfil his high office, instead of, as in the former of the two, for grace for his subjects to obey him. Yet the turbulence of 1548, under a boy-king, may well have made the latter a more pressing need than the former. As Bishop Dowden points out, the successive changes in political life call for suitable petitions, and rebuke that strange spirit of worship of the antique which opposes such improvements on the ground that the present forms are old.

Rubric concerning Collect, Epistle and Gospel, 1549; altered 1552 and 1662.

1549. The Collects ended, the Priest, or he that is appointed, shall read the Epistle in a place assigned for the purpose, saying The Epistle of Saint Paul written in the — chapter of — to the —. The Minister then shall read the Epistle. Immediately after the Epistle ended, the Priest, or one appointed to read the Gospel, shall say, The holy Gospel written in the — chapter of —. The Clerks and people shall answer, *Glory be to Thee, O Lord.* The Priest or Deacon then shall read the Gospel. After the Gospel ended, the Priest shall begin.

1552. Immediately after the Collects, the Priest shall read the Epistle beginning thus: The Epistle written in the — chapter of —. And the Epistle ended, he shall say the Gospel beginning thus: The Gospel written in

* See Dowden, *Workmanship of the Prayer Book*, 2nd Edn., p. xxii.

the — chapter of —. And the Epistle and Gospel being ended, shall be said the Creed.

S.L. Immediately after the Collects, the Presbyter shall read the Epistle, saying thus: The Epistle written in the — Chapter of — at the — verse. And when he hath done, he shall say: Here endeth the Epistle. And the Epistle ended, the Gospel shall be read, the Presbyter saying: The holy Gospel is written in the — Chapter of — at the — Verse. And then the people all standing up shall say: *Glory be to thee, O Lord.* At the end of the Gospel, the Presbyter shall say: So endeth the holy Gospel. And the people shall answer: *Thanks be to thee, O Lord.* And the Epistle and Gospel being ended, shall be said or sung this Creed, all still reverently standing up.

1662. Then shall be said the Collect of the Day. And immediately after the Collect the Priest shall read the Epistle, saying, The Epistle [or, The portion of Scripture appointed for the Epistle] is written in the — chapter of — beginning at the — verse. And the Epistle ended, he shall say, Here endeth the Epistle. Then shall he read the Gospel (the people all standing up) saying, The holy Gospel is written in the — chapter of — beginning at the — verse. And the Gospel ended, shall be sung or said the Creed following, the people still standing, as before.

With the excision, in 1549 (note the words: 'immediately after the Epistle ended'), of much ceremonial in introducing the Gospel, there also took place the custom of naming the places from which the Epistle and Gospel are taken. After the division of the Bible into verses, which first appeared in the Genevan Version (1557–60), the exact verse was also announced, both in S. L. and in 1662. According to Frere (*Sarum Customs*) the practice of making some such announcement, of course in Latin, obtained in the Middle Ages. The German Church Orders, e.g. Brunswick, 1528, prescribed this practice; cf. also Brandenburg-Nuremberg Order, 1533.

In the Missal, the Epistles taken from most of St. Paul's writings commenced with the word *Fratres*; from his Pastoral Epistles with *Charissime*; from the other Epistles with *Charissimi*. The Gospel began with *in illo tempore*, as also did 'Epistles' taken from the Acts and historical books of the O.T.; selections from the Prophets had *Haec dicit Dominus* prefixed.

The direction to the people to say: 'Glory be to thee, O Lord': after the announcement of the Gospel, was omitted in 1552, and not re-inserted in 1662, though the S.L. had

restored it, and added: 'Thanks be to thee, O God': after the reading. Either the 1549 or the S.L. practice is very general now, but neither has sanction in B.C.P.

In 1662 the incongruity of saying: 'The Epistle written in the—Chapter' of a book which is not an Epistle was removed.*

Incense. In 1549 the words 'immediately after the Epistle ended,' prefacing the announcement of the Gospel, marked an important divergence from Sar. Miss., which introduced the Gospel with elaborate ceremonial, including profuse employment of incense. In view of the re-introduction of the use of Incense, the following conclusive proofs of its unscriptural, unprimitive and unreformed nature are valuable.

(a) In the O.T. incense was used under stringent regulations as to material, method, and place, Aaron's sons suffering death for disregard of those laws. The offering of incense was confined to the priesthood, the type of Christ's priesthood, and took place out of sight of the worshippers.

In the N.T. Zacharias was offering incense in his turn as priest, when the birth of John was foretold to him. There is no other mention of incense in the N.T. except in Revelation, where it is always used of a heavenly ritual. In regard to the words of Mal. i. 11, 'in every place incense shall be offered unto my name' (A.V.), it is to be borne in mind that the words 'shall be' are not in the original, and that R.V. substitutes 'is,' which makes a literal interpretation impossible. The N.T. writers know nothing of any literal fulfilment of this passage. Indeed, the ingredients of the incense so carefully prescribed in the Pentateuch are no longer known, their place being taken by a mixture of spices, pitch, and burnt sugar, in the Church of Rome.

(b) The early church knew nothing of incense as an accessory to public worship. Its use is disclaimed by all who mention it from Justin Martyr to St. Augustine. Scudamore holds its ritual use to have commenced somewhere in the sixth century, or possibly in the fifth. The meaning of it was plainly prayer in Holy Scripture; its early use in churches seems to have been quite different, namely, as a fumigatory, under the impression

* The arrangement of the Gospels on Palm Sunday and Good Friday, so as to follow the Second Lessons at Morning Prayer on those days, indicates the intention that Holy Communion should follow Morning Prayer. The B.C.P. lays no stress upon the hour of Holy Communion, which, as in the early Church, must be dictated by convenience (see p. 218 and p. 225) God's own example in subordinating times and seasons to weightier matters in regard to the Passover, should here be the communicant's guide; the ministerial obligation is to provide for the spiritual needs of all believers.

prevailing to a very late date, that to disguise the odour of anything unhealthy was to cure it. This notion lingers in the Roman explanation of the use: 'that all spirits of diseases, and all spirits of infirmity, and the ensnaring emissaries of the enemy smelling its odour may flee away' (*Pontif. Rom.* Part II). It is now variously interpreted as symbolical of zeal, virtue, and prayer.

(c) Nothing was more strongly repudiated at the Reformation than the use of incense, which, even before the Reformation, was far from general. Grindal ordered the destruction of censers as 'relics and monuments of superstition and idolatry'; the Homily *On Peril of Idolatry* is very strong: 'Let us honour . . . none but Him, not in lighting of candles, burning of incense, etc., for all these be abominations before God.' The Ecclesiastical Courts, as well as the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, have pronounced the ritual use of Incense in the Church of England to be illegal.

Lights. Edward VI's Injunction of 1547, ordering 'no offering or setting of lights or candles, tapers or images of wax to be set afore any image or picture, but only two lights upon the high altar, before the sacrament,' has become famous as the historical ground for the re-introduction of lights at Holy Communion. Edward's order was only a repetition of that of Henry VIII, in 1541, and at the date of the re-enactment, July 31, 1547, no change of doctrine had been attempted. With the enactment of the 1549 B.C.P. these Injunctions were ordered to be no longer read, Ridley and Hooper expressly forbidding the lights to be placed upon the Lord's Table. Queen Elizabeth, apparently for state purposes, had two candles burning before a crucifix in her own chapel, but the crucifix was broken and the candles were no longer lighted when they had served their turn in mystifying the foreign ambassadors. Moreover, they were not lights before the Sacrament. Bishops Grindal and Horn, in 1567, stated that 'the Church of England has entirely given up the use of a foreign tongue, breathings, exorcisms, oil, spittle, clay, lighted tapers, and other things of that kind which by prescription of the laws are never to be restored.'

The general history of the use of lights in Christian service may be summarized as follows:—

(a) In the N.T. lights are once mentioned, when they were used to give light (Acts xx. 7, 8). It could never occur to a Christian Jew to attempt to copy the seven-branched candlestick (lampstand) of the Temple, the Light of which was fulfilled in the Person of Christ, the Light of the World, the oil supplied in the gift of the Holy Spirit, and the sevenfold candlestick

itself in the various light-bearing branches of the one Church (Rev. i.).

(b) Tertullian (192), Lactantius (303), and others derided the heathen custom of using lights in the daytime; and Jerome only furnished a half-hearted defence of the practice, adopted by *some* in his day, of lighting tapers by day in honour of martyrs, crediting them with 'a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge.' Such careless toleration of customs admittedly heathen in origin has been a fruitful cause of doctrinal perversion in every age of the Church's history. Jerome also reports that at the reading of the Gospel lights were lit at noon in the East to signify the light-giving of the Word. This practice spread to Spain by the seventh century, the lights, after use, being set at first on the floor, later upon the Altar. This seems to have been the origin of altar-lights as distinct from the two lights before the Sacrament.

(c) In 787, the second Council of Nicæa decreed that incense and lights might be offered to images of Christ and the Saints, to the Cross, to the Book of the Gospel, etc., defending themselves on the perilous ground that 'the honour which is paid to the image passes on to that which the image represents.'

(d) By 1215, when at the Fourth Lateran Council Pope Innocent III decreed the doctrine of Transubstantiation, the 'Host' had become the chief representation of Christ. Accordingly, then, for the first time, the two lights were ordered to be set burning upon the altar. Cardinal Langton, in 1222, promulgated the order in England, directing that 'two candles, or at least one together with the lamp' (i.e. the lamp before the reserved host), should be burning at Mass, and that the laity must kneel to the Body of the Lord as to their 'Creator and Redeemer.'

The two lights on the Lord's Table are therefore historically inseparable from the mediæval doctrines which were repudiated at the Reformation.

Creed, 1549, Sar. Miss.

Before the Reformation the laity, who did not know the Nicene Creed, were bidden to say the Apostles' Creed to themselves, while the priests recited the Nicene.

Since Hort's *Dissertation*, in 1876, it has been generally admitted that this Creed, commonly called the Nicene Creed, or more fully Niceno-Constantinopolitan, from the theory that the additions therein to the Nicene Creed of 325 were made at the Council of Constantinople in 381, appears in Epiphanius about seven years before that Council. Epiphanius came from the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and the Catechetical Lectures of

Cyril of Jerusalem contain material which, put together, composes the Creed practically as it is now known. The Acts of the Council of Constantinople are not extant, but, from the Creed being called *Constantinopolitanum*, it is conjectured that it was there propounded by Cyril and received as orthodox. In 451, the Council of Chalcedon recited it as the Creed of the 150 Fathers at Constantinople.*

The qualitative difference between the Nicene and Apostles' Creeds is that the latter is the development of a formula for baptism, the former is a document primarily drawn up, at Nicæa, as a test of episcopal orthodoxy, and provided with an Anathema, the first to appear in the history of the Church. But the form of both Creeds is identical, emphasizing in turn the three Persons of the Trinity.

Strangely enough, the use of this (or any) Creed at Holy Communion originated in the protest of the Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch, Peter the Fuller (476-488), against the Chalcedonian definition of the faith. The custom spread rapidly in the East, and by 600 it was adopted in Spain, by 800 in Gaul. It was in Spain, at the Council of Toledo, 589, that the famous clause 'and the Son' was first added to 'proceedeth from the Father,' a clause which still divides the Eastern and Western Churches.† Only in 1014, under Pope Benedict VIII, was the Creed introduced into the Roman use.

A literal translation of the Greek Creed is appended, the portions not in the original Nicene Creed, of 325, being bracketed:—

¹ We believe in one God Father Almighty,
Maker of heaven and earth,
of all things both visible and invisible:
And in one Lord Jesus Christ,
the Son of God the only-begotten,

* See Turner, *History and Use of Creeds*, etc., pp. 41 ff.

† The Westerns were certainly in the wrong in making the unauthorized addition, as the Pope very plainly showed by refusing, in 809, to sanction the Gallic form with the added words. He had two silver shields made and inscribed with the original Greek and the Latin Version, excluding that addition. Not till 1064 did the final rupture between the Eastern and Western Churches take place, and then through resentment against papal aggrandizement rather than from any doctrinal differences. As regards the clause in dispute, in the words of Holy Scripture only 'Procession from the Father' is mentioned (John xv. 26), the Lord referring to Himself in the same verse as 'sending' the Holy Spirit, Who, however, is called the Spirit of Christ Jesus elsewhere in N.T. Doubtless a fear of derogating from the perfect equality of the Son with the Father dictated the desire to add 'and the Son': but taking into account the Son's own words, and our profound ignorance of what heavenly reality 'proceeding from' connotes, the addition may be regretted on every ground.

(Who was ² begotten of ³ the Father before all the ages),
⁴ Light ⁵ out of Light,
⁶ Very God out of Very God,
 Begotten not made,
 Of one substance with the Father,
 Through ⁷ Whom all things were made;
 Who for us men and for our Salvation came down out of heaven
 And was made flesh (of the Holy Spirit and Mary the Virgin)
 And was made man,
 (And was crucified on our behalf under Pontius Pilate) and suffered
 and was buried,
 And rose up on the third day according to the Scriptures,
 And went up into heaven,
 (And is sitting on the right hand of the Father.)
 And is to come again with glory to judge living and dead,
⁸ (Of Whose kingdom there shall be no end :)
 And in the Holy Spirit (the Lord the ⁹ Life-maker,
 (Who proceedeth from the Father,¹⁰)
 (Who with Father and Son is together worshipped and together
 glorified,)
 (Who spake through the prophets ;)
¹¹ In one ¹² holy Catholic and Apostolic Church :)
 (We acknowledge one baptism unto the remission of sins :)
 (We look for uprising of dead,)
 (And life of the coming age.) Amen.

- ¹ The Greek is plural throughout, the Latin singular.
² The Latin has *natum*, 'born'; the English here follows the Greek.
³ 'His' in the English Version is not an improvement.
⁴ 'God of God' is a later addition to the original Creed; it is sufficiently expressed in the next clause but one.
⁵ 'Out of,' Greek *ék*, Latin *de*, is given instead of the ambiguous 'of' of the English Version. A comma at 'God,' 'Light,' 'Very God,' would remove the ambiguity:—'God, of God; Light, of Light,' etc.
⁶ 'Very,' i.e. genuine.
⁷ 'Whom,' i.e. the Son.
⁸ This Clause was omitted in 1549; Dowden sees here, and in Note 2, proof that Cranmer used more than the Latin form, see *Workmanship*, pp. 104–108.
⁹ 'The Lord and Giver of Life' is ambiguous in an English Version; the omission of 'and' as in the original, and a comma at 'Lord' would be an improvement: 'the Lord, the Giver of life.'
¹⁰ Here came the Spanish addition: 'and the Son.'
¹¹ The omission of 'in' before 'Church' in the English Version is due directly to Cranmer, indirectly to the authority of Augustine, who laid it down that 'to believe in' is only properly applicable to the three Persons of the Holy Trinity. Cranmer's own translation of the Apostles' Creed, of 1538 or 1542, has: 'I believe in the Holy Ghost; And that there is an holy Catholic Church.'
¹² 'Holy' is omitted in the English Version, according to the critical opinions of the Reformation period. Later investigation has shown that 'holy' was in the original.

Rubric respecting Notices, 1552; enlarged and placed before Sermon, 1662.
 1552. After such Sermon, Homily, or Exhortation, the Curate

shall declare unto the people whether there be any holy days or fasting days the week following: (the remainder of the Rubric deals with the Offertory, which immediately followed the Notices in 1552).

1662. Then the Curate shall declare unto the people what Holy-days, or Fasting days, are in the week following to be observed. And then also (if occasion be) shall notice be given of the Communion; the banns of Matrimony published, and Briefs, Citations and Excommunications read. And nothing shall be proclaimed or published in the Church, during the time of Divine Service, but by the Minister: nor by him any thing, but what is prescribed in the Rules of this Book, or enjoined by the King, or by the Ordinary of the place.

Though the Rubric demands notice of communion to be given *before* the Sermon, the Exhortation to be used in giving such notice is printed *after* the Prayer for the Church Militant.

The order to publish banns of Matrimony in this place does not appear in modern books, being revoked by the Act 4 George IV, c. 76, specifying the time as immediately after the Second Lesson, at which place an earlier Act, 26 George II, c. 33, had already ordered their publication at Evening Prayer, when there was no Morning Service. This point, otherwise of no importance whatever, has been raised frequently since a custom has arisen of relegating Morning Prayer to such insignificance that practically banns cannot be 'published,' though they may be 'read,' in that Service, there being no 'public' to hear them.*

Briefs are letters authorizing the collection of money; Citations are summons to appear before any authority; Excommunications are public expulsions from the Church, or suspensions from its privileges.

In regard to the final sentence, defining Notices, a wise latitude of interpretation is allowed, in accordance with the wide development of modern Church life; yet it may fairly be questioned whether the multiplication of such announcements does not defeat the object by exceeding the number which the worshippers can remember. Abuse of the latitude allowed, by announcements being made little in accord with Church work, deserves no defence.

Rubric prescribing Sermon or Homily, 1549; altered 1552 and 1662.

* Frere, ignoring the second Act altogether, maintains that the 1662 position is the only 'proper place' for the publication of Banns (p. 479).

1549. After the Creed ended, shall follow the Sermon or Homily, or some portion of one of the Homilies, as they shall be hereafter divided : (the remainder of the Rubric deals with the First Exhortation).

1552. After the Creed, if there be no Sermon, shall follow one of the Homilies already set forth, or hereafter to be set forth by common Authority.

1662. Then (i.e. after the Notices) shall follow the Sermon, or one of the Homilies already set forth, or hereafter to be set forth, by Authority.

Next to the use of the English language in Divine Service, the enforcement of preaching was the greatest practical—as distinct from doctrinal—mark of the Reformation. Sermons had been preached before, but they had no place in the Missal, the drama of the Mass being sufficient preaching from the point of view of the Roman Church.

Unfortunately, the number of clergy capable of preaching was ludicrously small, and Homilies were published to remedy the lack due to their ignorance and inexperience of public proclamation of the Gospel. The first book, the only one referred to in the 1549 Rubric, consisted of 12 sermons, by various hands, partly, but probably not wholly, compiled in 1543, their publication being delayed, by the reaction of the last years of Henry VIII, until 1547, at which date some seem to have been written. The notice forecasting further similar sermons has been dealt with above (p. 275). The Second Book, with 21 Homilies, the titles of which are enumerated in Article XXXV (see p. 569), was published in 1563, with the exception of the last, on Rebellion, which was incorporated in the Second Book in 1571.

The Authority of the Homilies is described in Art. XXXV : they 'contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times.' Their chief, or only, use of late has been to illustrate the Reformers' doctrine, an use expressly authorized in the case of the Homily of Justification, the third of the first Book, in Art. XI.*

The promise to subdivide the Homilies, in 1549, was fulfilled, in Grafton's edition, 1549; in 1552 no provision for reading portions was made. The retention of the phrase, sug-

* Some interesting and important changes have taken place in the Homilies, of which a good account is given in Tomlinson's *Prayer Book, Articles, and Homilies*, cc. ix., x. The alteration of 'High Mass' to 'the Holy Communion' in the 1549 Preface to the first book, is instructive, as are also Queen Elizabeth's alterations made in the teeth of Convocation, whereon arguments have been founded by that school of thought to whom lay efforts to expound doctrine are peculiarly abhorrent.

gesting the possible publication of more Homilies, has borne no fruit.

With the revival of preaching, the provision for the Sermon in B.C.P., viz. only in the Communion Service, (save for such special services as Matrimony), had long been insufficient, when the Act of Uniformity Amendment Act, of 1872, permitted sermons to be preached after any authorized Service, or without any service at all if preceded by a Collect or the Bidding Prayer, with or without the Lord's Prayer. The 'Bidding Prayer' is, according to Frere, p. 255, connected with an authorized pre-Reformation custom of interpolating in the Mass a form of vernacular prayer called the Bidding of the Bedes, a recital of the subjects of prayer. Under Henry VIII and Edward VI amended forms were issued, also under Elizabeth, when praise, instead of prayer, for the dead was inculcated. The form now in use at the Universities, Inns of Court, etc., is practically that of the Canons of 1604, and is generally employed before sermons when there is no other form of Service. The custom of prefacing the sermon with a prayer is derived from this source, even extempore prayer being in some sort countenanced by the variability of the Bidding Prayer. There is no warrant beyond that of undisturbed custom for prefacing the sermon with the Invocation : 'In the Name of the Father,' etc. : or for closing with the familiar ascription, the formality of which not infrequently grates upon the spiritual sensibilities of both preacher and congregation.

The direction to the Sponsors, in the Baptismal Office, to 'call upon them (the children) to hear Sermons,' coupled with the fact that there is no other provision for a Sermon save in this place, has been claimed as sanction or even direction for 'Children's Eucharists,' on the ground that the presence of children is commanded at this point in the Service, and that there is no direction at any place to withdraw. This contention ignores the fact that when the direction in the Baptismal Office was inserted, there was also a clause in the Exhortation to the Negligent, strongly condemning non-communicating attendance, and demanding the withdrawal of those who did not intend to communicate. The absence of any express Rubric directing the withdrawal of non-communicants, both before and after the 1662 revision, is atoned for by the exclusive references to communicants in the Rubric preceding the Third Exhortation, added in 1662, when the clause in the Exhortation to the Negligent was omitted as unnecessary, no non-communicants remaining. The real reason for Children's Eucharists, as for all other non-communicating attendance, is that benefits are supposed to accrue from

participation in a sacrifice, at which Christ is present in, with, or under, the bread and wine. Neither the dogmas, nor the practices founded on them, are supported by the B.C.P.

Rubric regarding the Offertory Sentences, 1549; altered 1552. made separate Rubric 1662.

1549. Then shall follow for the Offertory one or more of these Sentences of holy scripture, to be sung while the people do offer; or else one of them to be said by the minister, immediately afore the offering.

1552. (Part of Notices Rubric) . . . and earnestly exhort them to remember the poor, saying one or more of these sentences following, as he thinketh most convenient by his discretion.

1662. Then shall the Priest return to the Lord's Table, and begin the Offertory, saying one or more . . . etc., as in 1552.

The prominent place given to a collection of money for the poor in the service for the Holy Communion was a novelty in England in 1549. In the mediæval Church 'oblations' indeed were often made at Mass by pious persons to the Priest, and on 'offering days' (generally four times a year) the Mass-penny had to be paid, but that the ordinary rule should be that a collection for the poor was to form the normal order on every Sunday and holy day was quite a new thing. It had, however, been adopted some years earlier in Germany, as we see from many of the German Church Orders.*

From these words will be seen the great difference between the word *Offertorium*, as used in the Missal, and 'Offertory,' as used in the B.C.P. The latter word was dropped in 1552, but restored in 1662, when it could no longer be confounded with the offering of the bread and wine.† The elements, in B.C.P., are not 'offered,' but 'set' (1549) or 'placed' (1662) on the Table (see p. 313). The omission, in 1662, of the words 'earnestly exhort them to remember the poor' was partly, at least, suggested by the objection of the Puritans to the fact that four of the sentences refer to offerings to the ministry and not to the poor.

Offertory Sentences, 1549.

There has been no change here since 1549, even the version

* Dowden, *Further Studies*, p. 175.

† The refusal to recognize this distinction is common in a certain class of B.C.P. Manuals, and invalidates all their tables of comparison of the Mass and English Service Books. For example, Frere, p. 469, uses the one word to describe the Offertory of the Sarum Use, and those of 1549 and 1552, in which latter the very word is wanting.

of the Great Bible being retained. The Puritans at the Savoy Conference objected to them, on the grounds that two were apocryphal, and (as already noted) that four were calculated to excite generosity rather to the ministry than to the poor. They also desired the offertory to be wholly removed to the close, or near the close, of the service. However, they remain untouched, constituting a clear testimony to the greatness of the change of the Offertory from the days when, instead of incitements to charitable self-denial, was sung (in Latin): 'To thee, O Lord, have I lifted up my soul, my God, in thee do I trust, let me not be put to shame,' etc. In no case is the return to primitive precedents more marked.

In S.L. considerable changes were made, five new sentences being introduced, having no direct bearing upon charitable gifts, one of them expressly dealing with sacrificial oblations; these had to be taken from O.T. There were several omissions, and one addition from N.T.

Rubric regarding the Collection of the Offerings, 1549; altered 1552 and 1662.

1549. Where there be Clerks, they shall sing one or many of the sentences above written, according to the length and shortness of the time that the people be offering.

In the meantime, while the Clerks do sing the Offertory, so many as are disposed shall offer to the poor men's box every one according to his ability and charitable mind. And at the offering days appointed, every man and woman shall pay to the Curate the due and accustomed offerings.

In another Rubric at the end of the 1549 Office will be found: 'the Parishioners of every Parish shall offer every Sunday, at the time of the Offertory, the just value and price of the holy loaf (with all such money and other things as were wont to be offered with the same), to the use of their Pastors and Curates.'

1552. Then shall the Churchwardens, or some other by them appointed, gather the devotion of the people, and put the same into the poor men's box: and upon the offering days appointed, etc. . . . after which done, the Priest shall say, (Let us pray for the whole estate of Christ's Church Militant here in Earth).

S.L. While the Presbyter distinctly pronounceth some or all of these sentences for the offertory, the Deacon or (if no such be present) one of the Churchwardens shall receive the devotions of the people there present in a bason provided for that purpose. And when all have

offered, he shall reverently bring the said bason with the oblations therein, and deliver it to the Presbyter, who shall humbly present it before the Lord, and set it upon the holy Table.

1662. Whilst these sentences are in reading, the Deacons, Churchwardens, or other fit person appointed for that purpose, shall receive the Alms for the poor, and other devotions of the people, in a decent basin, to be provided by the Parish for that purpose; and reverently bring it to the Priest, who shall humbly present and place it upon the holy Table.

The following changes are noteworthy:—

1549. Alms are put into the poor men's box; dues, including the 'price of the holy loaf' are paid to the Curate.

1552. Alms ('devotion') are collected and put into the poor men's box; dues ('price of the holy loaf' omitted) are paid to the Curate.

S.L. 'Devotions' (also called 'oblations') are collected in a provided 'bason,' humbly presented 'before the Lord,' and 'set' upon the holy Table.

1662. Alms for the poor, and other devotions, are collected in a provided 'basin,' humbly presented, and placed upon the holy Table.

The omission, in 1662, of the payment of 'dues' at this place was urged by Cosin. The distinction between offerings for the Poor and offerings for the maintenance of the Ministry, though rightly enough made, especially after the Puritans had pointed out the recognition of both in the Offertory Sentences, was not one which demanded separate treatment in their reception; as the 1662 Rubric puts it, all are 'devotions' and as such, offerings to God. For the bearing of these alterations upon the word 'oblations' in the Prayer for the Church Militant, see notes *ad loc.* below.

Rubric ordering the placing of the bread and wine, 1662 (1549); no directions 1552.

1549. Then so many as shall be partakers of the holy Communion, shall tarry still in the quire, or in some convenient place nigh the quire, the men on the one side and the women on the other side. All other (that mind not to receive the said holy Communion) shall depart out of the quire, except the Ministers and Clerks. Then shall the Minister take so much Bread and Wine as shall suffice for the persons appointed to receive the holy Communion, laying the bread upon the corporas, or else in the paten,

or in some other comely thing, prepared for that purpose; And putting the wine into the Chalice, or else in some fair or convenient cup, prepared for that use, (if the Chalice will not serve) putting thereto a little pure and clean water: And setting both the bread and wine upon the Altar: Then the Priest shall say.

1552. No regulations.

S.L. And the Presbyter shall then offer up and place the bread and wine prepared for the Sacrament upon the Lord's Table, that it may be ready for that service. And then he shall say.

1662. And when there is a Communion, the Priest shall then place upon the Table so much Bread and Wine, as he shall think sufficient. After which done, the Priest shall say.

In the new Rubric of 1662 the following omissions are important:—

(a) The mixture of water with the wine.

In the Lambeth Judgment permission is given to use wine mixed with water, but not to mix them during the Service. So early as 1523 Luther had shown the inaccuracy of associating the 'mixed chalice' with the unmixed water and blood which flowed from Christ's side, and the German Orders contained no directions for mixing wine and water. Andrewes held it 'a matter not worth the standing on'; the Roman Church regards it as merely an ecclesiastical ordinance, neither essential nor divinely ordered.

(b) The words 'offer up and' before 'place.'

These words were definitely before the Revisers, both in S.L., and in the *Durham Book*, and were refused admission. However primitive it may be, the idea of offering the elements to God is not scriptural, and the use of a sacrificial term, besides the peril which experience both before and since 1662 has been shown to lurk therein, is far from reasonable in the case of bread and wine, all of which the 'offerers' will consume themselves, and where, therefore, neither death of a victim nor participation by God suggests 'sacrifice.' Our Lord thanked God for the loaf and the cup, and His example can be followed without using any such terms.

The 1549 direction for placing the people is dropped, another being added in 1662 before the Third Exhortation (see p. 323). The practice of dividing the sexes was not again ordered, being curiously subversive of the scriptural principle that 'in Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female.'

Prayer for Church Militant, 1552 (1549); last sentence added 1662.

The 1549 B.C.P., following more closely the arrangement of Sar. Miss., made the Prayer for the Church part of the Consecration Prayer (see Analysis, p. 283). In 1552 the long Prayer of 1549 was broken up, and the first part of it placed here, before the departure of the non-communicants.* The chief changes in the wording are:—

1549. Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church.

1552, } 'Militant here in earth': added.
1662. }

1549. To receive these our prayers.

1552. To accept our alms and to receive, etc.

1662. To accept our alms and oblations and to receive, etc.

1549. 'And especially we commend unto thy merciful goodness this congregation, which is here assembled in thy name, to celebrate the commemoration of the most glorious death of thy Son: And here we do give unto thee most high praise, and hearty thanks, for the wonderful grace and virtue, declared in all thy saints, from the beginning of the world: And chiefly in the glorious and most blessed virgin Mary, Mother of thy Son Jesu Christ our Lord and God, and in the holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs, whose examples (O Lord) and stedfastness in thy faith, and keeping thy holy commandments, grant us to follow. We commend unto thy mercy (O Lord) all other thy servants, which are departed hence from us, with the sign of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace: Grant unto them, we beseech thee, thy mercy and everlasting peace, and that at the day of the general resurrection, we and all they which be of the mystical body of thy Son, may altogether be set on his right hand,' etc. (as at close of last Burial Collect).

1552. All the foregoing omitted.

S.L. 'And we commend especially unto thy merciful goodness, the congregation which is here assembled in thy name to celebrate the commemoration of the most precious death and sacrifice of thy Son and our Saviour Jesus

* The 1549 Prayer, called the Canon in the Communion of the Sick, consisted of:—

(1) The Prayer for the Church, corresponding to the present Prayer for the Church Militant, placed immediately after the Offertory in 1552.

(2) The Prayer of Consecration, immediately preceding reception in 1552.

(3) The Prayer of Oblation, transferred, with the omission of reference to Oblation, to immediately after the Lord's Prayer in 1552, and made an alternative Prayer of Thanksgiving. The Lord's Prayer followed in 1549; in 1552 it was placed before the Thanksgiving, immediately after reception.

Christ. And we most humbly . . . adversity (as in 1552). And we also bless thy holy name for all those thy servants, who having finished their course in faith, do now rest from their labours. And we yield unto thee most high praise, and hearty thanks for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in all thy saints, who have been the choice vessels of thy grace, and the lights of the world in their several generations; most humbly beseeching thee, that we may have grace to follow the example of their stedfastness in thy faith, and obedience to thy holy commandments, that at the day of the general resurrection, we, and all they which are of the mystical body of thy Son, may be set on his right hand,' etc., as in 1549.

1662. Foregoing omitted, and praise in place of prayer, for the faithful departed, added: 'And we also bless thy holy Name for all thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fear: beseeching thee to give us grace so to follow their good examples, that with them we may be partakers of thy heavenly kingdom.'

In Sar. Miss. the prayer for the dead was separated from the prayers for Church, Pope, Bishop, King, and the living, by the Consecrating and Offering of the elements. Where not entirely original, the B.C.P. Prayer owes more to Hermann than to Sar. Miss. (Dowden, *Workmanship*, p. 28).

The above alterations speak for themselves, but two of the additions of 1662 demand special notice, viz., 'oblations,' and the commemoration of the faithful departed.

(1) Oblations.

The attempt to find in this word a re-introduction of the early but not scriptural practice of 'offering' the bread and wine to God, has received recent treatment at the hands of the late Bishop Dowden, from whose exhaustive examination of the subject (in *Further Studies in the Prayer Book*, pp. 176 ff.) the following decisive points are extracted—

(a) The word is to be used whether there is a Communion or not; this conclusively proves it did not mean the elements exclusively.

(b) There were those who desired to make an 'oblation' of the elements, and Cosin's suggestion for the rubric before this Prayer contained the words 'offer up and place,' as in S.L.; the words 'offer up and' were designedly rejected.

(c) The collection is to be 'reverently' brought to the Priest, and he is to 'humbly present and place' it; the bread and wine he is simply to 'place' upon the Table.

(d) In S.L. 'the said bason with the oblations therein' is the collection, 'oblations' being used as a more general term to describe money which, by a later rubric in S.L., was to be given half to the poor or for Church furniture, half to the Minister for his library.

(e) 'Oblations' meant money in the middle ages; * cases occurred where the priests refused to administer the 'host' till they were paid their 'oblation' by the communicant.

(f) Hooker, V. lxxiv. 4: 'Nothing therefore is more proper than to give the name of oblations to such payments [to the clergy] in token that we offer unto Him whatsoever His Ministers receive.'

(g) Edward's Injunctions of 1547 order 'a strong chest with a hole' for the parishioners' 'oblation and alms.'

(h) The omission of the mention of payment of dues in 1662 was made up for by mentioning not only 'alms' but also 'other devotions.' The 'other devotions' of the rubric are the 'oblations' of the prayer. Hence also the omission of the direction: 'and earnestly exhort them to remember the poor,' etc. Notice also the omission of 'given unto the poor' in the indented Rubric of 1662.

(i) The first mention of oblations coincided with the first mention of a ceremonial presentation of the collection.

(j) A special service of 1635, which does speak of offering the bread and wine, expressly uses the word 'oblations' of the money received at the reading of such sentences as are not chosen for alms. Bishop Andrewes had two basins, one for alms and another for offerings.

(k) Wren, one of the Revisers, used the words 'oblation' and 'prophora' of the collection.

(l) Cosin in 1668 twice used the actual phrase 'alms and oblations' of money; so Sancroft, 1686.

The source of the mistake in regard to the word is a popular writing of Bishop Patrick, so early as 1667, in which, in defiance of the above-given facts, he states that the oblations 'can signify nothing else' but the elements, 'an illustration' (says Dowden) 'of the caution with which even almost contemporary glosses are to be viewed.' The Non-jurors readily adopted the mistake, and Wheatley assisted in making it wide-spread. It still lives on as part of the attempt to read into the B.C.P. the very things carefully excluded at the various revisions: 'The interpretation of the additional word is somewhat doubtful, but it seems legitimate to refer it either to the elements, just set upon the altar, or else from a more strictly antiquarian

point of view, to the dues and offerings paid by the people to the clergy' (Frere, p. 482). This is characterized by Dowden as 'rather a lame conclusion.'

(2) Commemoration of the faithful departed.

In spite of Bucer's desire to retain some such remembrance, the Revisers of 1552 thought it safer to exclude anything which might be perverted into prayer for the dead. The danger in 1662 was not so pressing, and it was thought fit to add a carefully-worded clause to this Prayer. The 1549 B.C.P. retained both the distinction between 'Saints' and 'all other thy servants, which are departed hence from us, with the sign of faith'—a distinction which, if it existed in any sense, no human power could apply to individual cases;—and also the self-contradictory prayer for 'peace' for those who 'now do rest in peace,' a stultification which must accompany any attempt to make a definite, i.e. a real prayer, for those of whom it has been revealed that they are 'with Christ, which is far better.'

S.L. restored the distinction between 'saints' and other servants of God, but avoided the other pit-fall, only praying that we may so follow the stedfastness of the 'saints' that 'we and all they which are of the mystical body of thy Son, may be set on his right hand,' etc. This prayer is susceptible of a quite reasonable interpretation, but taking the words literally, it is a prayer for the dead, that they may be set on Christ's right hand.

In 1662 great care was taken to eradicate every possible mistake:—

(1) The prayer for peace was not restored.

(2) No distinction was made between 'saints' and the other faithful dead.

(3) Instead of 'we and they,' 'we with them' was made the subject of the sentence, just as in the 1552 revision of the 1549 Burial Service.*

(4) The Title 'Church Militant here in earth' was retained, after deliberation, effectually condemning attempts to find prayer for the faithful departed here, though such are still made.† The only scriptural prayer we can offer affecting the condition of the faithful dead is 'Thy Kingdom come,' and

* It is ominous that the Revision Committee of Canterbury Convocation Lower House has proposed altering the Burial Prayer by using 'and' instead of 'with.'

† Cf. Frere, p. 482: 'the thanksgiving and prayer for the faithful departed was added at this time (1661).'

that prayer must not be supposed to imply that their present condition is not one of happiness (Rev. vi. 10, 11).

Indented Rubric, 1552; enlarged 1662.

1552. If there be no alms given unto the poor, then shall the words of accepting our alms be left out unsaid.

1662. If there be no alms or oblations, then shall the words (of accepting our alms and oblations) be left out unsaid.

The meaning of 'oblations' has been given above (p. 315). The wording of the Rubric is obscure; the use of 'or' suggests that the whole phrase 'alms and oblations' is to be used, whether the collection be exclusively for the poor or for any other object. It will be noted how absolutely this wording conflicts with any idea of making the bread and wine an oblation.

Rubric ordering Announcement of Holy Communion, 1548 (1549); 1662.

An announcement is implied (though no directions are given) twice in the 1549 B.C.P.: once in the Exhortation to the negligent, adapted for ordinary announcement in 1662; and once in one of the concluding Rubrics, where arrangements for the provision of bread and wine are made according to houses, 'the which may be the better done, for that they know before when their course cometh, and may therefore dispose themselves to the worthy receiving of the Sacrament.' In 1552 there were no similar implicit regulations.

In the Order of Communion, 1548, a Rubric ordered announcement on 'the next Sunday or holy day, or at the least, one day before,' with the Exhortation ('or such like'), which was restored to the purpose of making announcement in 1662, but prescribed for 'negligent' in 1549. This Rubric is rarely obeyed now, though there is a custom in some churches of using the first sentence in announcing Holy Communion.

First Exhortation, 1548; enlarged for the negligent 1549; 'sometime said also,' 1552; adapted for announcing, and clause added from Exhortation to Communicants, 1662 (see pp. 270, 1).

1548 } 'On — next, I intend . . .'
1549 }

1552. This opening sentence wanting.

1662. Opening sentence restored, but shortened.

1548. 'Doth vouchsafe, in a Sacrament and Mystery, to give us his said body and blood spiritually: to feed and drink upon.

TABLE OF CHANGES OF ARRANGEMENT OF EXHORTATIONS.

1548	1549	1552	1662
1. <i>To give notice</i> place in Service not specified.	1. <i>To negligent</i> after Sermon.	2. <i>To negligent</i> after Prayer for Church Militant (B) included.	1. <i>To give notice</i> after Sermon (A) inserted.
		1. 'Sometime also at discretion.'	2. <i>To negligent</i> after Sermon (B) omitted.
3. <i>To communicants</i> after Priest's reception (A) at end.	3. <i>To communicants</i> at celebration (A) inserted.	3. <i>To communicants</i> at celebration (A) inserted.	3. <i>To communicants</i> at celebration (A) transferred to 1.
4. <i>Invitation</i> after 3.	4. <i>Invitation</i> after consecration.	4. <i>Invitation</i> after 3.	4. <i>Invitation</i> after 3.

(A)=paragraph 'Therefore if any of you be a blasphemer . . . body and soul.'

(B)=paragraph condemning non-communicating attendance. The Exhortations are all printed after Prayer for Church Militant in 1662, as in 1552, but the 1st and 2nd are ordered to be used after Sermon.

1549. 'Doth vouchsafe, in a Sacrament and Mystery, to give us his said body and blood to feed upon spiritually.'

1552. 'Hath given . . . to be our spiritual food and sustenance, as it is declared unto us, as well by God's Word, as by the holy sacraments of his blessed body and blood.'

1662. 'Hath given . . . to be our spiritual food and sustenance in that holy sacrament.'

1548. 'And if any man have done wrong,' etc.; this sentence wanting.

1549. 'For neither the absolution of the priest can any thing avail them, nor the receiving,' etc.

1552. 'For otherwise the receiving,' etc.

1662. 'For otherwise the receiving,' etc. (The next sentence of 1662 is taken from Exhortation to Communicants of 1548, 1549 and 1552.)

1548. } 'discreet and learned priest, taught in the law of God,
1549. } and confess and open his sin and grief *secretly*, that of us
(as of the Ministers of God and of the Church) he may
receive comfort and absolution . . .'

1552. 'discreet and learned Minister of God's word, and open
his grief . . . that by the ministry of God's word he may receive
comfort and the benefit of absolution . . .'

1662. As in 1552, with 'holy' before 'word,' 'comfort'
omitted.

In 1549 a concluding sentence tolerated 'auricular and
secret confession'; this toleration was omitted in 1552,
and not restored in S.L. or in 1662.

ANALYSIS.

- I. The meaning of the Sacrament :—
 1. Remembrance of the death of Christ.
 2. Thanksgiving for :
 - (1) The death of Christ.
 - (2) Sustenance in the Sacrament.
- II. Precaution against unworthy reception :—'Which being
so divine.'
Consideration of the dignity of the rite.
- III. Ways and means of preparation :—
 1. Self-examination by the Commandments.
 2. Confession of sins to God.
 3. Determination to amend.
 4. Restitution to the wronged.
 5. Forgiveness of offenders.
- IV. Warning against unworthy reception :—'Therefore if any.'
- V. Provision for extraordinary cases of disturbed consciences :
—'And because it is requisite.'
 1. Opening of grief to a minister of God's Word.
 2. Absolution and spiritual advice by ministry of the
Word.

Judas. The Reformers have followed St. Luke in giving
Judas a place not only in the last Passover, but in the Lord's
Supper itself. St. Matthew and St. Mark do not suggest Judas'
presence, but their narrative does not absolutely exclude it.
Edersheim (*Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*), with many
other commentators, believes Judas to have departed before the
institution; Godet (*Commentary on St. Luke's Gospel*) represents
another school of interpretation taking the opposite view. Tradi-
tion, as embodied in Leonardo da Vinci's picture, and in the
superstition in regard to sitting 13 at table, is inconclusive,
since all are agreed that Judas was present at part of the meal.

Open his grief. This direction has been made the ground
of a re-introduction of that 'auricular and secret' confession
which forms part of the Roman Sacrament of Penance, and was
still tolerated in 1549, but rejected in 1552.

The New Testament only attaches efficacy to confession of
sins before men in the case of sickness, James v. 14-16. There
Christians are bidden to confess sins* to other Christians, in
order that they may pray for the sinner's health. The ministry
is not empowered to receive such confessions, and that though
the 'elders' are mentioned (14) as those authorized to pray
over the sick man and anoint him. Such confession, therefore,
is not to a priest, not to obtain absolution, not to comprise an
exhaustive enumeration of sins, and not to be generally practised;
it was, moreover, voluntary, and not necessarily private.

Public voluntary confession was common in the early Church,
but not as a necessary part of confession to God, much less as
a substitute for it. Chrysostom deprecates confession to man :
'I entreat and beseech you to confess continually to God. For
I do not bring thee unto the theatre of thy fellow-servants, nor
do I compel thee to uncover thy sins to men.' † So Augustine :
'To what purpose do I confess my sins to men, as if they them-
selves could heal my distresses?—to a set of men inquisitive in
inquiring into the lives of others, but indolent in amending their
own. And how shall they, who know nothing of my heart but
by my confession, know whether I say true or not?' ‡

The following are the steps by which voluntary public con-
fession became compulsory secret confession to a priest :—

1. By 400 it had become the rule that those guilty of notorious
sins should confess publicly before admission to the Lord's Supper.

2. Between 440 and 461 Leo I. wrote to the Bishops of Campania
directing such confessions to be made to the priest instead of
before the congregation. This became universal by 600, fostered
by the growing belief that the priest was the representative,
not of the scandalized congregation, but of the injured God, and
therefore empowered to bestow absolution.

3. In 763 this kind of confession of greater offences was made
compulsory.

4. In 1215 the Lateran Council ordered private confession of
all sins to a priest at least once a year.

* A.V. 'faults,' but ἀμαρτίας, sins, is a better reading than παραπτώματα
fallings away.

† *De Incarnatione Dei*: Hom. v. 57.

‡ *Confessions*: x. 3. Yet Vernon Staley, *Catholic Religion*, p. 214,
cites Augustine as saying that sins are forgiven by baptism, prayer, and
penance.

5. In the sixteenth century the Council of Trent, Canon 6, anathematized those who denied the divine institution of sacramental confession, or its necessity for salvation, although Bellarmine, Maldonatus, and other Roman authorities declare that it was unknown to the early Church.*

The Reformers tried, in 1549, to retain the practice of secret confession as a voluntary aid to distressed sinners, but abandoned it altogether in 1552. The evils inseparable from the practice, acknowledged in Papal Bulls and Roman writers generally, are summed up in the words of Archbishop Magee: 'I denounce the system as an outrage on decency and common sense, as well as on God's Word. . . . I maintain that taking God's place without God's attributes, it is impossible, however prudent the priest may be, to avoid instilling vice by the Confessional.' † The revision of 1552 safeguarded the permission to receive any confession by the following provisions:—

1. It is only to be received in special cases of spiritual distress. This provision is carefully made both here and in the Visitation of the Sick.

2. It is to be entirely voluntary.

3. It is not ordered to be secret, the word 'secretly' was expunged in 1552.

4. It is not to be an exhaustive enumeration of sins, but the opening of grief.

5. It is to be made, not to a priest, but to a minister, whose qualifications are knowledge of God's Word, and discretion.

6. The relief, both of absolution and spiritual counsel, is to be found in God's Word and not in any ministerial function save the unfolding of the Word. No form of absolution is provided in this place, and that in the Office for the Visitation of the Sick is only to be used at the request of the sick man (since 1662: see p. 454). ‡

Rubric providing for the Negligent, 1549; placed before Second Exhortation 1552.

1549. First Exhortation, 'or like words,' to be used for the negligent.

* Vernon Staley, *Catholic Religion*, p. 214, says that the Sacrament of Penance was instituted by Christ, relying upon the commission given by Christ in John xx. 23. That the authority then given to remit and retain sins was not given to the ministry as such, but to the witnessing Church as a whole, and that it was not associated with any secret confession, is sufficient reply.

† *Auricular Confession in the Church of England*, quoted from *Anti-Ritualism*, p. 25.

‡ For 'Confession' see p. 95.

1552. 'at certain times,' Second to be used.

1662. Second to be used 'instead of the former,' when negligence seen.

Second Exhortation, 1552; one clause omitted 1662.

This Exhortation is possibly due to Bucer.

The two alterations in 1662 were:—

- (1) 1552. 'In the remembrance of his death.'
1662. 'In remembrance of the Sacrifice of his death.'
- S.L. 'In the remembrance of his death and sacrifice.'
- (2) The long clause condemning 'gazers and lookers on' was omitted in 1662, because, as Wren records, the custom of non-communicating attendance was quite unknown. It were to be wished that the Revisers had retained a sentence so valuable to check a possible recurrence of the evil.

ANALYSIS.

- I. Invitation in God's Name.
- II. Examination of Refusals:—'Ye know how grievous.'
 1. Heedlessness.
 2. Business.
 3. Personal unfitness.
- III. Scriptural condemnation of all excuses:—'They that refused.'
- IV. Official exhortation of the
 1. Minister, ready to do his part.
 2. Ambassador, inviting in Christ's name.
- V. Explanation of the rite and its implications:—'And as the Son of God.'
 1. The remembrance of the sacrifice of Christ.
 2. Neglect of such remembrance an injury * to
 - (1) God.
 - (2) Oneself.
 - (3) Brethren.
- VI. Remedy of neglect:—
 1. Thoughtful consideration by the negligent.
 2. Instant prayer by the minister.

II. COMMUNION.

Rubric directing that communicants be conveniently placed, 1662, (1549).

* The word 'injury' here, used in reference to God, retains something of the meaning of the Latin word, *injuria*, 'insult.'

1549. The 'quire' was prescribed as the place for the communicants, the sexes being separated, as in some of the German Orders.

1552. The moving of the Table rendered explicit directions unnecessary, but the words of the Fourth Exhortation 'draw near' ('with faith' was added in 1662) were often interpreted literally by the communicants, a custom which still lingers in some churches.

1662. The latter custom was regulated by the direction to conveniently place the Communicants, the duty of the Churchwardens.

Third Exhortation, 1548; * placed here 1549; clause transferred to First Exhortation 1662. (See p. 271.)

Important differences:—

1548. Because we make no difference of the Lord's body.

1549. Not considering the Lord's body.

1548. 'Judge therefore,' as in 1662, with clause 'If any man here' at the close.

1549. Before 'Judge therefore,' the clause at end of 1548 inserted.

1552. As in 1549.

1662. The clause transferred to First Exhortation.

1549. He hath left in those (there, 1548) holy Mysteries, as a pledge of his love, and a continual remembrance of the same, his own blessed body, and precious (om. 1548) blood, for us to feed upon spiritually to our endless comfort and consolation.

1552. He hath instituted and ordained holy mysteries, as
1662. pledges of his love, and for a continual remembrance of his death, to our great and endless comfort.

ANALYSIS.

I. The necessity of examination for worthy participation:—

1. Great benefit.

2. Great danger.

* In 1548, the Order of Communion followed the Priest's Communion: it consisted of the Third and Fourth Exhortations, the Confession, Absolution, Comfortable Words, Prayer of Humble Access, Administration and Blessing.

In 1549, being no longer used with the Latin Mass, it was incorporated into the English Communion Service, the First Exhortation following the Sermon and preceding the Offertory, the remainder, except the Blessing, following the Consecration, and the Blessing concluding the Service.

In 1552, it was rearranged as in 1662 B.C.P., save for variations in regard to use of the Third Exhortation, for which see special Table on p. 319.

II. The conditions of worthy participation:—'Judge therefore yourselves.'

1. Repentance.

2. Faith.

3. Amendment.

4. Loye.

5. Thankful remembrance of Christ's death shown in:—

a. Submission.

b. Service.

'We eat and drink our own damnation.' This passage occurs in the same words in the 1548 *Order of Communion*, taken from 1 Cor. xi. 29, where A.V. uses also the word 'damnation,' R.V. 'judgment.' The later association of the word 'damnation' with final punishment has lent the word a severity which St. Paul did not intend, and which has accordingly acted as a deterrent in the case of many who would otherwise communicate. The American B.C.P. has cut the Gordian Knot by omitting the whole sentence containing the word: the Irish B.C.P., more wisely, has altered the word to 'judgment' (as the R.V. has done), and omitted the remainder of the sentence associating disease and death with God's wrath upon unworthy communicants. St. Paul definitely attributes sickness and death amongst the Corinthians to this cause (v. 30), so that the association is thoroughly scriptural. The sin of the Corinthians was that of selfish disregard of one another in the common meal, which proved their disregard of the solemnity attaching to the Sacrament of Unity. To partake of the sacred symbols of Christ's Body and Blood in such a spirit, was to display a carelessness amounting to contempt, in regard to the Body and Blood of Christ, given and shed for their redemption. Moreover, they failed to discern the 'Body,' the oneness of believers in Christ. St. Paul warned them (v. 31) that if they did not 'discern' themselves, they would be judged of God, the play upon the two Greek words, *diakrino* and *krino*, being impossible to reproduce in English. The substitution of 'judgment' for 'damnation,' without any other alteration or omission, would sufficiently meet any difficulty. It may be that now as of old God does visit those who belittle His Sacrament of Redemption with temporal afflictions.

Rubric preceding the Invitation, 1549 (1548); placed here 1552.

1549. Here the Priest shall turn him toward those that come to the holy Communion, and shall say.

1552. Then shall the Priest say to them that come to receive the holy Communion.

The Eastward Position was abandoned in 1552, so that the direction to 'turn' became unnecessary.

The 'Here' of 1549 was at the close of the long prayer including Consecration; the 'Then' of 1552 was at the close of the Third Exhortation, as in 1662.

In 1548 a Rubric here bade the Priest pause to see if any would withdraw in response to the Exhortation to self-examination.

Fourth Exhortation (Invitation), 1548 ; placed here 1552.

Two alterations were made in 1662 : 'Draw near with faith' for 'Draw near,' which had been literally interpreted by many ; and the omission of the words 'before this congregation here gathered together in his holy name,' after 'make your humble confession to Almighty God.' In 1548 and 1549, 'and to his holy Church' was read for 'before this congregation.' This latter change is easily understood, but the omission in 1662 is not so clear. Frere (p. 485) attributes it to the fact that non-communicants were now absent, but the remainder might be more accurately called a 'congregation gathered in God's Name' than the mixed congregation.*

Rubric regulating the Confession, 1548.

1548, 1549, 1552. 'Either by one of them, or else by one of the Ministers, or by the Priest himself.'

S.L. 'by the Presbyter himself, or the Deacon.'

1662. 'by one of the Ministers.'

This alteration was a concession to the Presbyterian request at the Savoy Conference.

Confession, 1548 ; Herm. Con.

This Prayer has no counterpart in Sar. Miss., with which indeed it was ordered to be used in 1548. The single phrase 'thought, word, and deed,' occurs in the Mutual Confession of the Priest and his assistants early in the Mass Service, in which the Confession was to 'God, blessed Mary, all the saints and you,' and the prayer was not directly addressed to God, but to

* Frere, l. c., states that 'the rubrics which precede and follow still contemplate the presence of others not communicating,' because both rubrics mention those 'that come to receive the holy Communion.' If this precarious reasoning be adopted, the further conclusion is emphatically to be drawn, viz., that the others present have no part or lot in the matter. But the Rubric before the Absolution simply says 'the people,' so also in the Administration and Lord's Prayer Rubrics, while the 'Humble Access' Rubric repeats the phrase used here. No distinctive stress, therefore, must be laid upon that phrase.

'holy Mary, all the Saints and you, to pray for me.' The whole prayer has many correspondences with the form in Herm. Con., in which much of this part of the 1548 Order is to be found.

Rubric regarding the Absolution, 1548 ; called 'Absolution' 1662.

'Or the Bishop (being present)' added 1552.

Absolution, 1548 ; altered 1549 ; (Sar. Miss.)

1548. 'Our blessed Lord, who hath left power to his Church to absolve penitent sinners from their sins, and to restore to the grace of the heavenly Father such as truly believe in Christ . . .'

1549. As in 1662.

The latter part of this Absolution is derived from the Absolution of the Priest by the Ministers in Sar. Miss. : *Misereatur vestri omnipotens Deus, et dimittat vobis omnia peccata vestra ; liberet vos ab omni malo, conservet et confirmet in bono, et ad vitam perducat æternam* : literally, 'Almighty God have mercy upon you, and put away from you all your sins : free you from all evil, keep and strengthen (you) in good, and lead you unto life eternal.'

In Herm. Con. the Absolution is declaratory, not, as here, precatory ; the Reformers omitted all reference to the power to absolve, which is retained in Herm. Con.

Comfortable Words, 1548.

In Herm. Con. five such passages, including the four of B.C.P. save the first, Matt. xi. 28, which is found 'in the preliminary discourse on the Lord's supper in Hermann's work,' with John iii. 35, Acts x. 43, were placed between the Confession and Absolution, one of them only to be read, with the preface, 'Hear the Gospel.' This position was valuable as leading the penitent to expect absolution ; the B.C.P. position confirms faith by justifying the precatory absolution just offered. The German Editions of Herm. Con., slightly earlier than the Latin, had : 'Hear the Gospel-comfort,' obviously the source of the phrase 'Comfortable words.'

The 1548 version of the passages has been slightly altered :—
1662. 'Are' for 'be heavy laden' : 'will' for 'shall refresh' : 'everlasting life' for 'life everlasting.'

1548. 'Worthy . . . to be embraced and received' ; 'embraced and' omitted 1549.

1548. 'He it is that obtained grace for our sins,' altered to 'and he is the propitiation for our sins' in 1549.

S.L. adopted the A.V. The Revisers retained the independent translation of 1548.

Lift up your hearts, etc., 1549; placed here 1552.

In 1549 these words immediately followed the Offertory, and began with 'The Lord be with you,' 'And with thy Spirit,' as in Sar. Miss. where the priest is bidden to lift up his hands in saying:

Sursum corda = hearts upwards:

Habemus ad Dominum = we hold them (up) to the Lord.

Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro = let us give thanks to our Lord God.

Dignum et justum est = it is worthy and right.

This part of the Service is probably the oldest invariable portion of the Office, Cyprian in the third century quoting the first versicle and response. It will be noted that the second, 'Let us give thanks,' indicates the true Eucharistic purpose of the rite, and is, like other portions preserved in the Missal, contradictory of later sacrificial ideas.

Rubric directing turning to the Lord's Table, 1662.

This addition of 1662 is partly consonant with the Bishops' reply to the Puritans' desire, expressed at the Savoy Conference of 1661, that the Minister should turn to the people all the time: 'Not so; when he speaks to them it is convenient that he turn to them: when he speaks for them to God, it is fit that they should all turn another way, as the ancient church ever did.*' The Revisers, however, did not bid the Priest turn right around, but 'to the Lord's Table.'

It is very meet, right, etc., 1549; placed here 1552; Sar. Miss.

In the original Latin: *Vere dignum et justum est, æquum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine Sancte, Pater Omnipotens, Æterne Deus*: 'It is truly worthy and right, fair and wholesome, that we should always and everywhere give thanks to thee, Holy Lord, Almighty Father, Eternal God.'

Indented Rubric, 1662.

Prior to 1662 the purpose of this Rubric was achieved by repeating, before the Trinity Preface, 'It is very meet, right, etc., with the omission of the words 'holy Father.'

Rubric respecting Proper Prefaces, 1549.

The ten surviving Proper Prefaces of Sar. Miss. were reduced to five in 1549, and those only to be used on the actual days. In 1552 the extension was made to eight days for the first three, and to seven days for the Whit-Sunday Preface.

The *Saxon Order*, largely the work of Justus Jonas, Cranmer's intimate friend, reduced the Prefaces to six, in 1539. The sixth,

that for the Epiphany, contained nothing doctrinal in its Sar. Miss. form to offend: *Quia cum Unigenitus tuus in substantia nostræ carnis apparuit, in novam nos immortalitatis suæ lucem reparavit*: 'Because when thy Only-begotten appeared in substance of our flesh, he restored us to the new light of his own immortality.' Perhaps the vagueness of it, coupled with anxiety to simplify the service, caused the omission of any Epiphany Preface.

Ter Sanctus, 1559; printed in full 1662.

In 1549 and 1552 the words 'Therefore with Angels,' etc., were in the Rubric. For notes see below, p. 331.

Proper Prefaces, 1549:—

(1) Christmas, 1549.

In Sar. Miss.: *Quia per incarnati Verbi mysterium novæ mentis nostræ oculis lux tuæ claritatis infulsit: ut dum visibiliter Deum cognoscimus, per hunc in invisibilem amorem rapiamur*: 'Because by the mystery of the incarnate word the new light of thy brightness has shone in upon the eyes of our mind: so that while we know God visibly, by Him we are carried away to a love of things invisible.'

It is not surprising that the Reformers abandoned this very misty composition, for something emphasizing the redeeming work entered upon at the Incarnation.

1662. 'As at this time' for 'as this day,' in deference to the request of the Puritans at the Savoy Conference.

(2) Easter, 1549; Sac. Greg., Sar. Miss.

In Sar. Miss.: *Et te quidem omni tempore, sed in hac potissimum die gloriosius prædicare, cum pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus. Ipse enim vere est agnus, qui abstulit peccata mundi: qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit, et vitam resurgendo reparavit*: 'And to extol thee indeed at all times, but more exultantly on this day especially, when Christ our Passover was sacrificed. For he is truly the Lamb, who took away the sins of the world: who by dying destroyed our death, and by rising again restored life.'

The Reformers were justified in dealing very freely with this original, suggesting, as it does, that Christ was crucified on Easter Day.

(3) Ascension, 1549; Sac. Greg., Sar. Miss.

In Sar. Miss.: *Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Qui post resurrectionem suam omnibus discipulis suis manifestus apparuit, et ipsis cernentibus est elevatus in cælum, ut nos*

* Frere, p. 178.

divinitatis suæ tribueret esse participes : 'Through Christ our Lord. Who after his Resurrection manifestly appeared to all his disciples, and, with them discerning, was raised up into heaven, that he might grant us to be partakers in his divinity.'

1552. 'Apostles' for 'disciples,' more accurately.

The Reformers exchanged the vagueness of the closing clause of the original for the concrete Scriptural promise.

(4) **Whit-Sunday, 1549.**

In Sar. Miss. : *Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Qui ascendens super omnes cælos sedensque ad dexteram tuam, promissum Spiritum Sanctum hodierna die in filios adoptionis effudit. Quapropter profusus gaudiis totus in orbem terrarum mundus exultat. Sed et supernæ virtutes atque angelicæ potestates hymnum gloriæ tuæ concinnunt, sine fine dicentes* : 'Through Christ our Lord. Who ascending above all heavens, and sitting at thy right hand, poured out the promised Holy Spirit on this day upon the sons of adoption. Wherefore with abundance of joy all mankind throughout the world exults. Yea, even the heavenly virtues and angelic powers join in the hymn of thy glory, saying without cessation.' Here, as elsewhere, the Reformers supplied the facts of divine revelation instead of the fancies of human imagination.

(5) **Trinity, 1549** ; shortened from Sac. Gel., Sac. Greg., Sar. Miss.

In Sar. Miss. : *Qui cum unigenito Filio tuo, et Spiritu Sancto, unus es Deus, unus es Dominus, non in unius singularitate personæ, sed in unius trinitate substantiæ. Quod enim de tua gloria revelante te credimus, hoc de Filio tuo, hoc de Spiritu Sancto, sine differentia discretionis sentimus. Ut in confessione veræ sempiternæque deitatis, et in personis proprietas, et in essentia unitas, et in majestate adoretur æqualitas* : 'Who with thy only-begotten Son, and the Holy Spirit, art one God, art one Lord, not in the singularness of one person, but in the threefoldness of one substance. For what we believe of thy glory through thy revelation, this we hold concerning thy Son, this concerning the Holy Spirit, without the difference of distinction. So that in the confession of the true and eternal Godhead, both peculiarity in the persons, and unity in essence, also equality in majesty, are adored.'

Those who use the B.C.P. in worship will be grateful for the wise freedom with which the Reformers have used this com-

plex credal statement of Sar. Miss. ; indeed, they might have departed from it altogether to advantage, and followed the other Prefaces by giving some indication of what the import of the Revelation of the Blessed Trinity is to man. The American Prayer Book gives an alternative : For the precious death and merits of Thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord and for the sending to us the Holy Ghost the Comforter ; who are one with Thee in Thy Eternal Godhead.

In 1549, instead of closing with 'Therefore,' etc., this Preface closed with 'whom the Angels,' etc., the first words of the Latin exceptional ending : 'Whom the angels and archangels praise, the Cherubim also and Seraphim, who do not cease with one voice to cry, saying.' This was altered in 1552.

Ter Sanctus, 1549 ; altered 1552 ; Sac. Greg., Sar. Miss.

This hymn is called *Ter Sanctus* or *Trisagion* from its use of the threefold address to God, 'Holy, Holy, Holy,' found in Isa. vi. 3, Rev. iv. 8.

1549. Hosannah in the highest, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Glory to thee, O Lord, in the highest.

1552. Glory be to thee, O Lord, most high.

The omission of the 'Hosannah . . . Blessed is he that cometh' was due to the more than possible mistaking the words as a reference to the effect of the forthcoming Consecration.

The Sar. Miss. version was (translated) : 'And therefore with Angels and Archangels with Thrones and Dominations, and with all the soldiery of the heavenly army we sing the hymn of thy glory, endlessly saying Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of hosts (Sabaoth). The heavens and the earth are full of thy glory : Hosanna in the highest. Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord : Hosanna in the highest.'

There has never been any rubrical direction as to whether all or part of this should be joined in by the congregation, since 1549, when the Rubric followed : 'This the clerks shall also sing' : and a mark before 'Holy, Holy, Holy,' indicated that as the part to be sung. In 1552 the words 'shall follow,' without the 1549 direction, did not clearly direct saying or singing, but the alternative was expressly given in 1662, by the use of the words 'sung or said.'

At this point, in 1549, followed the long Prayer roughly corresponding to the Canon of the Mass in Sar. Miss. ; see Analysis, p. 284.

Rubric preceding Prayer of Humble Access, 1548. (See p. 271.)

1549. 'Turning him to God's board,' added before 'kneel down.'

1552. Kneeling down at God's board.

1662. Kneeling down at the Lord's Table.

Prayer of Humble Access, 1548; placed here 1552.

In 1549 this Prayer followed Consecration: since 1552 it has preceded it. The change of position is significant, being designed to answer one of Gardiner's 'mis-takings,' and pointedly forbidding the application of any phrase in it to the consecrated elements. The most equivocal words, 'in these holy mysteries', were also removed, as follows:—

1548 and 1549. . . . and to drink his blood, in these holy Mysteries, that we may continually dwell in him, and he in us, that our sinful bodies . . . blood.

1552 and 1662. . . . and to drink his blood, that our sinful bodies . . . blood, and that we may evermore dwell in him, and he in us. For the force of the idiom: 'so to eat . . . that,' see Introduction, p. 272.*

The doctrinal importance of the omission of 'in these holy Mysteries' needs no comment; the re-arrangement of the clauses, and their connexion by the conjunction 'and,' not only make them run more smoothly, but avoid the suggestion that union with Christ is in order to cleanse, when in truth the cleansing is with a view to union.†

The idea of the body being cleansed by the body of Christ, and the soul by His blood, is even more definite in the 1548 words of administration: 'The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body unto everlasting life': 'The blood . . . preserve thy soul,' etc. In 1549 these words were altered, 'body and soul' being united in the words of administration both of bread and wine, as now. The Prayer, however, remained unaltered in 1549, and in 1552 and 1662, too, this idea was left unchanged. There seems to be no exact parallel, but the mention of the soul and body in connexion with the body of Christ, the soul alone with the blood, occurs in a Missal of Subiaco, 1075, and in an old missal found near Rheims; ‡ the York and Mozarabic Missals have these words for the Priest when communicating: 'May the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ keep my body and soul unto life eternal, Amen': while a prayer in the Hereford and Westminster Missals refers to the flesh cleansing, the blood washing, from which may come the verbs 'cleansed' and 'washed' in the Prayer. The famous gloss upon Gelasius' condemnation of communion in one kind is quoted by Becon,

* This idiom is explained and illustrated in Dowden's *Further Studies*, pp. 339–343, as well as in Dimock, quoted in Introduction.

† See Dowden, *Further Studies*, p. 335.

‡ See Dowden, *ibid.* pp. 319 ff.

Cranmer's Chaplain: 'The sacrament is not superfluously received under both kinds. For the kind of bread is referred unto the flesh, and the kind of wine unto the soul.' Becon also quotes the Pseudo-Ambrose and Aquinas to the same effect. Anselm expressly taught the idea, going on to warn against the thought that the whole Christ is not received under either kind, being reputed the first to enunciate clearly the dogma of concomitance, though the *name* was given by Aquinas: 'in either kind the whole Christ is taken.' It is possible that the words in the Prayer were written by Cranmer to accompany and to justify the restoration of the cup to the laity. However, it would seem from the Act of Parliament of 1547 and the Royal Proclamation affixed to the Order of Communion of 1548, ordering administration in both kinds 'except necessity otherwise require it,' that the dogma of concomitance was hardly yet abandoned. Indeed, the fluid state of Cranmer's doctrine of the Lord's Supper in 1547 is a well-known bar to basing definite conclusions upon his words at that period.

The Puritans contended, not unreasonably, that these words seem to attach greater efficacy to the blood than to the body of Christ, and asked for a readjustment of the words. In view of the alteration in the words of Administration in 1549, a similar alteration might have been made in 1662 if the spirit on both sides had been a less contentious one. The Bishops' reply that the words of the Lord associated forgiveness of sins with the blood-shedding and not with the body, was an evasion; if strict regard for the Lord's words counted for so much, they should at least have omitted any reference to our sinful bodies being cleansed by His *body*. The separation of the efficacy of the body and of the blood is meaningless.

Rubric providing for arranging the Bread and the Wine, 1662.

1552. Then the Priest standing up, shall say as followeth: S.L. Then the Presbyter standing up, shall say the Prayer of consecration, as followeth, but then during the time of consecration, he shall stand at such a part of the holy Table, where he may with the more ease and decency use both his hands.

1662. When the Priest, standing before the Table, hath so ordered the Bread and Wine, that he may with the more readiness and decency break the Bread before the people, and take the Cup with his hands; he shall say the Prayer of Consecration, as followeth:

The Puritans, in 1661, asked that the directions accompanying the 'Prayer at the Consecration' might be more explicit. The

indented rubrics were restored to meet their demands, and the above Rubric was added.

Comparison with S.L., which prescribes the special position of the Presbyter *during the time of consecration*, demonstrates that the 1662 Rubric was carefully worded to proscribe that position except for the few moments required for arranging the bread and wine. The words 'standing before the Table' are within the clause 'when the Priest hath so ordered,' and grammar forbids any interpretation of them as relating to the position in which consecration should be performed. Yet, without any explanation, it is stated: 'The insertion of the Rubric authorized the Eastward position at consecration.*'

The important words 'before the people' constitute a *reductio ad absurdum* of the theory that the Rubric commands Eastward Position at this point; and, in fact, this undisputed direction is infringed continually by the adoption of the Eastward Position. The Cope, commanded to be worn at Holy Communion in Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches, is only a somewhat more complete obscuration than the surplice, of everything that is done by the hands of the celebrant who ministers with his back to the people.

It is not without bearing upon this matter that in 1549, at the close of the Prayer of Consecration, is a Rubric saying: 'These words before rehearsed are to be said, turning still to the Altar, without any elevation, or shewing the Sacrament to the people.' If the Revisers meant more than they said in commanding the position before the Table for ordering the Bread and Wine, here was a clear precedent for their saying it; if they meant less than they said in prescribing the manual acts being done 'before the people,' again there was precedent for saying it clearly.

It is to be remembered that S.L. reverted to the 1549 arrangement to a large extent, which the Revisers in 1662, with S.L. before them, refused to do.

After 'Holy, Holy, Holy,' in S.L. came:

Prayer of Consecration, wording assimilated to 1549.

Memorial, or Prayer of Oblation, as in 1549.

Lord's Prayer.

Prayer of Humble Access.

Administration.

Prayer of Consecration, 1552; (1549).

The prayer falls into three parts:—

* Frere, p. 491, quoting Talbot, *Ritual*, p. 132. For the Eastward Position generally, see p. 295. The MS. annexed to the Act of Uniformity has a semicolon, not a comma, after 'hands.'

- (1) A *declaration* of the true relation of the Sacrament to the Sacrifice ('Almighty God,' etc.).
- (2) A *petition* that partakers of the elements may be partakers of Christ ('Hear us,' etc.).
- (3) A *recital* of the scriptural account of the original institution ('Who, in the same night,' etc.).

(1) DECLARATION.

The first part of the prayer was composed in 1549, and strikingly exhibits the mind of the Reformers, with its reference to the one oblation, once offered upon the Cross: its multiplication of definite terms:—'full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction': and its explanation of the ordinance as 'a perpetual memory of that his precious death.' However, the 'mis-takers' laid hold of the ambiguities retained, rather than of the clear teaching provided, and in 1552 the second part of the prayer was carefully re-written, while in this part the word 'continue' was substituted for 'celebrate,' and 'of himself' added after 'oblation.' In Sar. Miss. there is nothing corresponding, the words in the parallel position being: 'This oblation therefore of our service, as also of thy whole household, we beseech Thee favourably to accept,' etc., preceded by the direction: 'Here let the priest gaze upon the host with great reverence, saying.'

(2) PETITION.

Sar. Miss. Here again let him gaze upon the host saying: 'which **oblation** do thou, God Almighty, we beseech thee, deem worthy to make in all things bless + ed, ap + proved rati + fied, reasonable, acceptable, that for us it may be made the Bo + dy and Bl + ood of thy most beloved Son our Lord Jesus Christ.

1549. Hear us (O merciful Father) we beseech thee; and with thy holy Spirit and word vouchsafe to bl + ess and sanc + tify these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ. Who, etc.

S.L. As in 1549.

1552. } Hear us, O merciful Father, we (most humbly, 1662)
1662. } beseech thee, and grant that we, receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood: Who, etc.

With thy holy Spirit and word. The invocation of the Holy

Spirit, not in Sar. Miss., and omitted from B.C.P. in 1552, is a special feature of the Eastern liturgies, where doubtless it was found by Cranmer, though a similar prayer, without mention of the Holy Spirit, in a German Book of 1543, largely by Osiander, the uncle of Cranmer's wife, suggests the possibility of that source (cf. Dowden, *Further Studies*, etc., 66 ff.). This invocation, 'epiklesis,' is extant in the *Apostolical Constitutions*, compiled by the Pseudo-Ignatius (c. 350 ?), and containing the so-called 'Clementine Liturgy,' where the Holy Spirit is invoked upon 'this sacrifice (*ἑσῆς*), the witness (*μάρτυρα*) of the suffering of our Lord Jesus, that He may display this bread as the body of Thy Christ' (*ἀποφῆγη τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου*), etc. The use of the verb 'display' here is not obviously consistent with an entirely spiritual presentation. The Liturgy of Palestine, 348 (?), has *ποιήσῃ*, 'make,' not 'display.' The excision of a reference which is in any case unscriptural, and in application to the bread and wine misleading, is cause for congratulation.* The addition of 'and word' to 'holy Spirit' reminds us of the liturgical MS. recently discovered at Mount Athos, purporting to be by Serapion, of the fourth century, where the 'Holy Word' is invoked. S.L. restored this invocation, in the words of 1549. The American B.C.P. has the same invocation, but prays, not 'that they may be unto us' but 'that we, receiving them,' etc., as in 1552. The Scottish B.C.P. has 'that they may become.'

That we . . . may be partakers; 'that they may be unto us,' 1549; that it (the oblation) may be made unto us,' Sar. Miss. Cranmer explains the 1549 change thus: 'we do not pray absolutely that the bread and wine may be made the body and blood of Christ, but that unto us in that holy mystery they may be so; that is to say, that we may so worthily receive the same, that we may be partakers of Christ's body and blood, and that therewith in spirit and in truth we may be spiritually nourished' (*On the Lord's Supper*, p. 79, P.S. Edn.). However, the sweeping change of 1552 removed all ambiguity. The 1549 change excluded transubstantiation; the 1552 change closed the door to Lutheranism.† The turn of the words by which the worshipper is prayed for instead of a request being made for a blessing upon the bread and wine (which could only have a figurative meaning) is quite in accordance with Holy Scripture (see Introduction, p. 213). The interchangeable use of 'bless' (*εὐλογεῖν*, speak well of) and 'thank' (*εὐχαριστεῖν*)

* For the history, see Dimock, *Eucharistic Presence*, pp. 559-561.

† See Dimock, *History of the B.C.P.*, *passim*.

in the several accounts of the institution, makes it unreasonable to attribute the blessing to the elements. We thank God for the cup, in Matthew and Mark; we cannot give another object to the 'bless,' used in connexion with the 'bread' in those two Gospels, especially as in Luke, and in 1 Cor. xi., the word 'thank' is used instead of 'bless,' in connexion with the bread. The use of the word 'bless' with an inanimate object can only be supported by two passages (in the accounts of the Institution there is no object after 'bless' though A.V. has supplied 'it') :—1 Cor. x. 16, where 'the cup which we bless' is equally grammatically rendered 'the cup as to which we bless (God),' and Mark viii. 7, of the seven loaves, where the same grammatical rendering can be applied (if indeed it be necessary, for the readings vary). This transference of thought from the inanimate elements to the relation of God to the recipient, symbolized by them, is the English Reformation in brief.*

(3) RECITAL.

The third part, the consecration proper,† is a recital of the Gospel record of the institution, with certain actions;—an old, but by no means invariable, practice. The famous words of Gregory the Great, that the Lord's Prayer only was the original method of consecrating, will readily occur to the mind. For the manual acts, see below. The differences in this portion of the Prayer will be seen from the following :—

Sar. Miss.: 'Who on the day before He suffered, took bread into his holy and venerable hands, and with eyes raised to heaven (Here let him—the priest—raise his eyes) to Thee God, His Father Almighty, (Here let him bend himself, and afterwards rise a little saying :) paying thanks to Thee, He bles+sed, broke, (Here let him touch the host, saying :) and gave to his disciples, saying, Take and eat of this, all: for this is my body. (And those words must be put forth in one breath and one utterance, with no pause interposed. After these words let the priest bend himself towards the host, and afterwards raise it on his forehead, that it may be seen by the people; and let him reverently replace it before the cup making with it the sign of the cross. And then let him uncover the chalice . . . saying :) In like manner, after supper,

* For modern evasions of the force of the changes of 1552, carefully retained in 1662, see Introduction, p. 279.

† Even in 1548 this part is alone commanded to be used in the consecration of more wine.

taking also this noble cup into his holy and venerable hands, also to Thee (Here let him bow, saying :) giving thanks, He bles + sed, and gave to his disciples, saying : Take and drink of it, all : (Here let the priest elevate the cup a little, thus saying :) For this is the cup of my blood, of the new and eternal testament, the mystery of faith, which for you and for many shall be shed for the remission of sins : (Here let him elevate the cup up to the breast, even over the head, saying :) As often as you shall do these things, you shall do them in remembrance of me.* (The host having been then offered as 'a holy sacrifice, an immaculate victim,' this prayer followed : Command these things to be carried by the hands of thy holy Angel to thy altar on high, in sight of thy Divine Majesty.)

1549. Who, in the same night that he was betrayed : took bread, and when he had blessed, and given thanks : he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying : Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you : do this in remembrance of me : Likewise after supper he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying : drink ye all of this, for this is my blood of the new Testament, which is shed for you and for many, for remission of sins : do this, as oft as you shall drink it, in remembrance of me.†

1552. But one alteration was made, the omission of 'blessed

* It is noteworthy that the Missal interprets the Lord's words 'do and not 'sacrifice,' 'remembrance' and not 'memorial.'

† The B.C.P. account is a perfect blend of the Scriptural accounts:—

Who in the (same) night . . . brake it	1 Corinthians.
Gave . . . disciples	Matthew.
Saying	Luke.
Take, eat,	Matthew.
This is my body	All.
which is for you	Luke, 1 Cor.
given	Luke.
Do this, etc.	Luke, 1 Cor.
Likewise after Supper	Luke, 1 Cor.
took	Matt., Mark.
Cup	All.
And when . . . to them	Mark.
Saying	Luke, 1 Cor.
Drink ye all	Matthew.
For this . . . covenant	Matt., Mark.
New	Luke, 1 Cor.
Shed for you	Luke.
for many	Matt., Mark.
for remission of sins	Matthew.
Do this, etc.	1 Corinthians.

and,' a patent recognition of the scriptural identity of the words 'bless' and 'thank.' The unauthorized additions to the Gospel which disfigured Sar. Miss. were excised in 1549.

The 'Amen' was added in 1662 ; there was none here in 1549, 1552, or S.L.*

Indented Rubrics, 1662, (1549).

In Sar. Miss. the great multiplicity of directions included none corresponding to those in B.C.P. A triple fracture later in the Service might indeed be reminiscent of the original institution, but it did not mean a breaking for distribution. One of the fragments was used for the 'commixture,' made by dropping one part into the wine, a mediæval feature wholly discarded in 1549.

1549. There were but two : Here the Priest must take the bread (shall take the cup) into his hands.

1552'. There were no directions † ; the Puritans complained in 1661 that the matter was not explicit enough, and that the minister's breaking of the bread was not so much as mentioned.'

S.L. Added to the 1549 directions the order to lay the hand on the cup, (not on the bread).

1662. Five directions were given :—

Here to take the Paten,
 Here to break the bread,
 Here to lay his hand upon all the bread,
 Here to take the Cup,
 Here to lay his hand upon every vessel, etc.

The history of the 'Manual Acts' shows their non-essential nature, but the clearness of the directions since 1662 is matter for congratulation, and cause of gratitude to the Revisers, who were not so deaf to Puritan suggestions as were the Bishops at the Conference of 1661. Moreover, the restoration of the direction to break the bread, at this the proper place, was a distinct return to scriptural accuracy in administration, especially as those for whose reception it is broken immediately partake.

* Frere writes, p. 492, 'At this point the prayer comes to an abrupt end,' thus deploring the absence of any oblation of the consecrated elements. But it is at any rate just as abrupt, or not abrupt, as the original institution, which interposed nothing between these words and communion.

† They were 'designedly' omitted, the 'manual acts' being used by some as a method of reintroducing elevation, etc. See Bp. Middleton's Visitation Articles.

Rubric prescribing the order of Reception, 1549, (1548); altered 1552 and 1662.

1548. The Priest [who had already communicated some time before, in accordance with the Latin Office] shall deliver the Communion, first to the Ministers, if any be there present, that they may be ready to help the Priest, and after to the other.

1549. Then shall the Priest first receive the Communion in both kinds himself, and next deliver it to other Ministers, if any be there present (that they may be ready to help the chief Minister) and after to the people.

1552. Then shall the Minister . . . (that they may help the chief Minister) and after to the people in their hands kneeling.

1662. Then shall the Minister . . . himself, and then proceed to deliver the same to the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons in like manner, (if any be present) and after that to the people, also in order, into their hands, all meekly kneeling.

(1) To the Clergy First.

The reason for administering to the Clergy first, though not expressed in 1662, is obvious enough. The recent practice of having clergy present who do not communicate, whether they have already communicated at some earlier service or not, is not countenanced by the Rubric. The 'drink ye all' is so explicit, and the meaning of communion, 'fellow-partaking,' is so clear, that this practice can only be described as a maiming of the Lord's institution. The unfortunate idea of some necessity of fasting for the reception of the elements, apart from any custom of preparation of soul for the whole solemn rite, is responsible for this transgression of Holy Scripture and the B.C.P.

(2) Into their hands.

The 1552 order to deliver the elements into the hands of the communicants superseded the direction of 1549 contained in the last Rubric at the end of the Communion Office: 'And although it be read in ancient writers, that the people many years past received at the priest's hands the Sacrament of the body of Christ in their own hands, and no commandment of Christ to the contrary; Yet forasmuch as they many times conveyed the same secretly away, kept it with them, and diversely abused it to superstition and wickedness; lest any such thing hereafter should be attempted, and that an uniformity might be used throughout the whole Realm, it is thought

convenient the people commonly receive the Sacrament of Christ's body in their mouths, at the Priest's hand.'

The danger of a superstitious regard for the bread, if that mode of administration were preserved, soon outweighed the dangers mentioned in 1549, and the simpler custom, admittedly scriptural, was adopted in 1552; the only alteration in 1662 being from 'in' to the more precise 'into' (their hands). S.L. contained no direction at all, an omission to which the Puritans took grave exception, as indicating a retrogression to the 1549 rule.*

The mention of the plural, 'hands,' has led to a curious error, now enshrined in a quite frequent custom, namely the use of both hands for receiving. Obviously, 'their hands' in 1552 means no more than 'their mouths' in 1549, when it is hardly pretended that the plural applies to the individual. This custom is not infrequently backed by the direction of Cyril of Jerusalem: 'When you draw near do not come with your palms wide open or your fingers apart; but making your left hand a throne for the right, as about to receive a King, and making your palm hollow, receive the Body of Christ.' The remainder of Cyril's directions are not quoted, ordering the eyes to be touched with the body, and, with the moisture of the wine from the lips, not only the eyes but 'the rest of the organs of sense.'

Careless reasoning has led to another mistake. The use of the word 'hands' to take the place of 'mouths' plainly does not distinguish the palm from the fingers, which are quite as much part of the hand as anything below the wrist. Dowden † quotes Gibbon's story concerning a 'very holy lady,' Sylvia (c. 392) who rebuked a deacon for indulging in the luxury of washing, boasting that, though in her sixtieth year, none of her limbs had touched water save the tips of her fingers, and that for the sake of communion. This story, if true, gives an early authority for the fingers, however that authority may be viewed in regard to the luxury of washing! The use of the palm or the fingers is quite a matter of convenience; the palm is perhaps easier for the Minister, the finger and thumb easier and more reverent for the recipient to carry the bread to his mouth.

(3) Kneeling.

This was introduced in 1552, with the 'Black Rubric' to guard against the superstitious idea of a Real Presence to be

* Scudamore, *Not. Euch.*, attributes the change from 'mouths' to 'hands' to 1662, an unusual inaccuracy.

† *Further Studies*, p. 232.

adored. The 'Black Rubric,' which was not strictly part of the B.C.P., had disappeared since 1559. It was restored in 1662 in deference to Puritan objections to kneeling, and made part of the B.C.P.

Rubric regarding the administration of the bread, 1548; altered 1552 and 1662.

1548. And when he doth deliver (delivereth, 1549) the sacrament of the body of Christ, he shall say to every one these words following.

1552. And when he delivereth the bread, he shall say.

1662. And when he delivereth the bread to any one, he shall say.

The misuse of the word 'sacrament' by its application to the elements was remedied here in 1552. The absence of the words 'to every one' in 1552, restored in 1662 ('to any one'), did not imply any change from the custom of saying the words to each recipient; the Puritans, in 1661, desired that the requirement to distribute the elements and to address the words to each communicant might be done away. Their quite correct plea that this change would be scriptural was of no avail, the Bishops replying that 'it is the propriety of Sacraments to make particular oblation to each believer,' a slur upon the 'propriety' of our Lord's institution, which betrays the unconciliatory temper of the Savoy Conference. However, Convocation was no more compliant on this point, but expressly ordered individual administration, thereby laying a burden upon the Church which has sanction neither in Holy Scripture nor in common sense.

Recent proposals to relieve the Church in a matter involving no doctrinal question, and, indeed, to sanction a breach of the strict letter of the law which is very common, have tended to accentuate rather than remove the evil. The Lower House of Canterbury Convocation has suggested the saying of the *second* part of the words of administration, commencing: 'Take and eat this': 'Drink this': once, with the repetition of the *first* part to each communicant. If any such compromise were at all wise, it might be thought that the latter part, with its plain direction nearly in our Lord's words, is more worthy of repetition; unfortunately, a section of the Church has suppressed that part altogether in administration, and the relief is rather calculated to suit their doctrinal irregularities than to meet the practical needs of the Church generally.

Words of Administration of the bread, 1559; first part 1548, 1549; second 1552. (See p. 272.)

1548. The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body unto everlasting life.

1549. The body . . . preserve thy body and soul . . .

1552. Take, and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, feed on him in thine heart by faith with thanksgiving.

1559. The words of 1549 and 1552 joined by 'and.'

S.L. The words of 1549, with 'Amen.'

1662. The words of 1559, with the 'and' omitted, but another added before 'feed on him.'

In Sar. Miss., as in other mediæval Missals, there were no words of administration; but the Sarum and York Manuals for administering the bread to the sick had (in Latin): 'The Body of the Lord Jesus Christ keep thy body and thy soul unto everlasting life. Amen.' This was doubtless the basis of the B.C.P. words of administration, qualified by the addition of the important words 'which was given (shed) for thee,' which make it impossible reasonably to interpret the words 'Body' and 'Blood' of the elements. This addition was drawn from German sources, Hermann's *Bedencken*, and Nuremberg *Order*.* The combination of the words of 1549 and 1552 was one of the three specified alterations, 'and none other or otherwise,' of 1559.†

For the 1549 alteration: 'body and soul' for 'body': see above on the Prayer of Humble Access, p. 332.

The value of the 1662 retention of the 1552 words, in spite of their omission in S.L., is abundantly shown by such misunderstandings as the following: 'If then the bread is not the Blessed Body . . . I am guilty of a falsehood every time I use those words, and knowingly deceive the hearts of the Faithful by declaring It to be what It is not.'‡ With such possible 'mis-taking,' it is clear that the Reformers of 1552 were justified in abandoning the ancient form, though capable, as it certainly is, of a most scriptural interpretation, and safeguarded by the words 'which was given,' etc.

Rubric regarding the administration of the wine, 1548; altered 1552 and 1662. (See p. 271.)

1548. And the Priest delivering the Sacrament of the blood, and giving every one to drink once and no more, shall say.

1549. 'Minister' for 'Priest.'

1552. And the Minister that delivereth the cup, shall say.

* See Dowden, *Further Studies*, pp. 234-237.

† The other two related to the Lessons and the Litany.

‡ Husband, quoted from Dimock, *Eucharistic Presence*, p. 434.

1662. And the Minister that delivereth the cup to any one shall say.

The practice of withholding the cup from the laity, 'Communion in one kind,' was abolished in the *Order of Communion*, 1548, and forbidden in Art. XXX. It took its rise from the twofold source of fear lest the transmuted elements should suffer from lack of care, and the reasoning that both kinds were unnecessary seeing that 'whole Christ,' His 'Body, Soul, and Divinity,' were inseparably in either kind. It might rather be concluded from our Lord's institution of both kinds that the doctrine is erroneous. This doctrine is called the Doctrine of Concomitance, and originated in the Middle Ages. The withholding of the cup not only began the protests which culminated in the Reformation; it also formed the actual cause of the Taborite rebellion in the Empire, which was successful against all the forces of Pope and Emperor for many years. The Council of Constance, 1415, at which it was hoped that the cup would be restored to the laity, decreed precisely the reverse; and the Council of Trent included amongst its many anathemas one against those who objected to communion in one kind.

The defence of the practice is as follows:—

i. The Lord's words in John vi. 51, 53, where what is elsewhere attributed to eating His flesh and drinking His blood, is spoken of eating 'bread' alone. But if the Lord had meant that communion in one kind would suffice, He would not have instituted communion in both kinds. Moreover, the argument proves too much, for it declares that the wine is as unnecessary for the celebrating priest as for the communicant. The true interpretation of these passages is discovered by recognizing that the word 'bread' is equivalent to both 'flesh and blood,' the former being a figurative presentation of the latter.

ii. St. Paul's words in 1 Cor. xi. 27: 'Eat this bread or drink the cup unworthily . . . guilty of the body and blood. . . .' This reading of the true text, it is urged, affirms grammatically that guilt in regard to either kind is guilt in regard to both.

But, apart from the fact that St Paul here unmistakably affirms reception in both kinds, it is obvious that unworthiness in the reception of either kind involves unworthiness in regard to receiving both. It is impossible to discriminate between the kinds in regard to worthiness, and to use the word 'or' of body and blood would have introduced an absurdity. If it were possible to deduce any such sufficiency of either kind alone from this passage, it would justify the withholding of the bread as much as of the cup.

iii. The practice of the Early Church is adduced as supporting the doctrine. The confutation is easy:—

(a) The Lord distributed in both kinds to all, and they were not celebrating priests on that occasion: 'Drink ye of it, all,' 'and they all drank of it.'

(b) The Early Church did not withhold the cup from any one save in illness, and then, if the present practice in the East is any guide, the bread was soaked in the wine, so that there was no real withholding of either kind. Illness would usually render the swallowing of bread the more difficult process.

(c) So late as the Council of Clermont, 1095, and the letter of Paschal II, 1118, communicating in both kinds is enforced, Paschal excluding only infants and the infirm 'who cannot swallow bread.' Of earlier Popes, Leo styled the abstinence from the cup a Manichæan heresy, and Gelasius ordered those who did not receive the cup to be kept away altogether, on the ground that division of the ordinance involved great sacrilege.

iv. Refuge is often taken in the right of the Church to decide its own customs.

But the respective spheres of custom and obedience to divine commands are not difficult to decide; cf. Cyprian, *Ep.* lxxiv.: 'Custom without truth is only antiquity of error': Augustine, *Contra Donat.* vi. 71: 'When the truth is made plain custom must give way to truth.'

Words of administration of the wine, 1559; first part 1548, 1549; second 1552.

1548. The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy soul to everlasting life.

1549. As in 1548, save 'body and soul unto' for 'soul to.'

1552. Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.

1559. As in 1549 and 1552, joined by 'and.'

1662. As in 1549 and 1552, 'and' of 1559 omitted.

In 1548, 1549, a Rubric followed directing a Deacon or other Priest, if present, to follow with the Chalice, 'as the Priest ministereth the bread (1549, Sacrament of the body) for more expedition.' This was omitted in 1552, but the reference to assistance in the earlier Rubric concerning administration to the Ministers first, made this rubric superfluous. The omission of such reference in the 1662 Rubric is remarkable; the custom is, at any rate, for a Deacon to assist with the cup only.

Rubric directing consecration of more bread or wine, 1548;

wanting in 1549, 1552; altered and placed here 1662.

In 1548, the last Rubric, after the Blessing was: 'Note, that

if it doth so chance, that the wine hallowed and consecrated doth not suffice or be enough for them that do take the Communion, the Priest, after the first Cup or Chalice be emptied, may go again to the altar, and reverently, and devoutly, prepare, and consecrate another, and so the third or more, likewise beginning at these words, *Simili modo postquam cœnatum est, and ending at these words, qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum,* and without any elevation or lifting up.'

The last few words of this Rubric were incorporated into the Rubric following, and regulating, the Prayer of Consecration in 1549, but the remainder had no counterpart in 1549 or 1552, though the need of such a regulation is proved by the prosecution of a clergyman in 1574 for administering unconsecrated bread and wine when more were needed. This prosecution was successful, and it is therefore presumed that a repetition of some part of the service was generally understood to be requisite. In 1548 it was evidently thought that there should be no difficulty in estimating the amount of bread required.

In S.L. a closing Rubric directed the Presbyter to recite the whole of the words of institution, whether for more bread or more wine. The Revisers of 1662 took their own more reasonable line, directing only the appropriate part of the words to be used for either.

The Rubric is important as denoting what constituted in the Reformers' opinion the actual consecration, namely the recital of the words of institution, so early as 1548. Even in S.L., which restored the invocation of 1549, it was not regarded as of sufficient importance to be repeated. According to Scudamore, in the period immediately before the withdrawal of the cup from the laity, contact with consecrated wine was deemed sufficient to consecrate any added to it—an opinion not held by the Reformers.

Rubric directing to cover with a fair linen cloth, 1662.

No directions for dealing with any surplus had been given in 1548, 1549, or 1552; the simple and reverent regulation here provided is in every way satisfactory.

AGNUS DEI.

In 1549 a Rubric after administration ordered:—

In the Communion time the Clerks shall sing,

O Lamb of God, etc. : have mercy upon us.

O Lamb of God, etc. : grant us thy peace.

This was excluded in 1552, and not restored in S.L. or 1662. In spite of the absence of address to the consecrated elements, so marked in Sar. Miss., it was rightly felt that the words were

capable of misrepresentation and misuse. Such misuse accompanying the unauthorized re-introduction of the practice of singing *Agnus Dei* at this point, makes the decision of the Lambeth Judgment to permit this use surprising:—

(1) In the Roman Use *Agnus Dei* at this point is recognized as a prayer to the Son of God, 'under the forms of bread and wine.'

(2) Becon, Cranmer's Chaplain, commenting on the practice, calls its users 'abominable idolaters,' and the practice 'intolerable blasphemy.'

(3) Ridley, in May 1550, when the hymn was authorized to be sung *during the Communion*, forbade, in his Visitation Articles, 'counterfeiting the Popish Mass in saying the *Agnus* before the Communion.'

(4) Modern Roman critics characterize the omission in 1552 as significant: 'this omission of the *Agnus* cannot be considered accidental . . . the scruples felt at the strained interpretation put by Gardiner on the 'Prayer of Humble Access' as opening the door for adoration, would have a greater effect in determining the Revisers to this change.'*

(5) The attempt made to treat the restoration of the practice as not significant does violence to the fact that its use is desired as significant.

(6) The argument that the omission in 1552 was simply due to its transference to the *Gloria in Excelsis*, where in 1552 it was repeated three times, as against twice in 1549, is discounted by Frere (p. 496) who points out that some MS. settings of the 1549 B.C.P. have the triple repetition.

(7) In 1662 the proposal to reinstate the use was formally considered, and rejected; Saneroft records the rejection.

(8) The suggestion that Baxter's formula: 'The body of Christ which was broken for us, and offered once for all,' affords any parallel to 'Who takest—art taking—away the sins of the world,' illustrates the untenableness of the whole position.

(9) The use of the *Gloria in Excelsis* in 1552 in the Post-Communion, after that the elements have been consumed, is too significant to be overlooked. Cosin's words show the eagerness of the 'High Churchman' of that time to avoid the danger disregarded by the Lambeth Judgment: 'If he be careful as he ought to be, to consecrate no more than will suffice to be distributed to the communicants, none will remain.' The care of S.L. to avoid any surplus is expressed in a Rubric, urging error

* Gasquet, *Ed. VI and the First Prayer Book*, p. 294; quoted from Tomlinson, *Lambeth Judgment Examined*, p. 70, which see for full treatment of the subject.

on the other side, which could be remedied by further consecration, rather than to have any left over.

III. POST-COMMUNION.*

Rubric respecting the saying of the Lord's Prayer, 1552.

'The people repeating after him every petition : '—These words call attention to the mediæval practice of the Priest's saying all alone down to 'But deliver us from evil.' In 1549, when the Lord's Prayer still remained part of the long prayer before Administration, this mediæval custom was retained here; indeed, it endured in other Offices, the Litany, Matrimony, Visitation of the Sick, Burial of the Dead, Churching of Women, and Communion, until 1662.

The words 'after him,' contrasted with the 'with him' of the Morning Prayer General Rubric, have been sometimes thought to require a literal repetition of each clause by the people after the minister here. But the 'with him' is certainly used to put an end to the Minister's saying the prayer alone, not to the mode of their saying it together; and Cosin, who was responsible for this general Rubric, uses 'with him' and 'after him' interchangeably.† After all, the supposed distinction would be thoroughly pointless.

In 1549, the Post-Communion, which immediately followed reception, consisted of a sentence of Holy Scripture, sung by 'the Clerks,' 'every day one,' out of a selection of twenty-two, nearly all from the Gospels, and inciting to obedience, assurance, and love. The Post-Communion in Sar. Miss. was a variable Collect, quite different, therefore, from that of 1549. The re-arrangement of the Service in 1552 provided an admirable close to the Office, rendering the 1549 provision unnecessary.

Lord's Prayer, 1549 (Sar. Miss.); placed here 1552; printed 1662.

The addition of the Doxology here is in keeping with the generally received theory that it is used when praise and thanksgiving are markedly associated with the use of the Lord's Prayer; but the Doxology is not used after Baptism.

Printed books vary the punctuation curiously in one petition, some putting the comma after 'Thy will be done,' others after 'in earth.' If Keeling is accurate, the second is the correct method in B.C.P., though there is something to be said for a punctuation which brings this clause into line with the preceding

* This name was applied in 1549 to the Sentences, one of which was sung after Communion.

† See Dowden, *Further Studies*, pp. 88 ff.

ones, and treats 'in earth as it is in heaven' as a 'modifying' clause, and not part of the petition proper.

First Alternative Thanksgiving, 1552, (1549).

This Prayer formed part of the Canon in 1549, and opened with a sentence stating that 'we . . . do celebrate and make here . . . the memorial,' the word 'oblation' being carefully avoided, as applicable only to the 'one oblation once offered.' In 1552 this whole sentence was omitted, the remainder of the Prayer being made the first alternative Thanksgiving. S.L. restored the 1549 wording and position, calling the Prayer in a Rubric 'this memorial or prayer of oblation,' but the example was not followed in 1662.

1549. Wherefore, O Lord and heavenly father, according to the Institution of thy dearly beloved Son, our Saviour Jesu Christ, we thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before thy divine Majesty, with these thy holy gifts, **the memorial which thy Son hath willed us to make**: having in remembrance his blessed passion, mighty resurrection, and glorious ascension; rendering unto thee most hearty thanks, for the innumerable benefits, procured unto us by the same; entirely desiring thy fatherly goodness, mercifully to accept **this our Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving** most humbly beseeching thee . . . that whosoever shall be partakers of this holy Communion, **may worthily receive the most precious body and blood of thy Son Jesus Christ**; and be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction, and **made one body with thy Son Jesu Christ**, that he may dwell in them, and they in him. And although we be unworthy . . . and service, and command these our prayers and supplication, by the Ministry of thy holy Angels, **to be brought up into thy holy Tabernacle**, before the sight of thy divine majesty; not weighing our merits, etc.

The striking omissions of 1552 combine with the significant change of position to display what Frere terms 'the revolutionary revision' of that date:—

(1) **Memorial** may be a harmless word, signifying merely 'remembrance,' but coupled with 'make here before thy divine Majesty,' i.e. apart from the whole rite, including partaking, it is needlessly ambiguous.

(2) **This our sacrifice** (see Introduction, p. 272) on the lips of the Priest turned towards the Altar, immediately after consecration, might be, and was, misinterpreted. The same words after reception, when there ought to be nothing remaining, according to Cosin, cannot refer to the elements. To call this

now a 'Prayer of Oblation' * is not 'mis-taking' but 'mis-representing,' and casts a sinister light upon the proposal of the Revision Committee of Canterbury Lower House of Convocation to permit the use of both Prayers. The absurdity of attributing any 'Prayer of Oblation' to the Revisers of 1552 is shown by the fact that they excised the sentence of 1549 suggesting 'Oblation,' transferred the prayer from before to after administration, and made it an alternative to the old prayer of Thanksgiving. It is scarcely conceivable that a doctrinal detail of such importance should be taught by a prayer whose use was left to the discretion of the individual minister. In 1662 the disastrous precedent of S.L. in reproducing the 1549 Prayer, in the 1549 position, was happily rejected. The whole sentence suggesting Oblation has been excised.

(3) **May worthily receive the most precious body and blood of thy Son Jesus Christ.** The omission of these words is doubly important in view of the retention of the words: 'So to eat the flesh,' etc.: in the Prayer of Humble Access. In the latter, the words are those of John vi. 53, etc., where no reference is made to the Holy Communion, † which was not instituted till a year later; the ambiguous word 'receive,' in the former, is happily gone. Moreover, those who have found it possible to discover the teaching of an unworthy reception of Christ in the latter phrase (see Introduction, p. 271) would more reasonably claim support of their fancy in 'worthily receive the most precious body,' certainly capable of implying (what it was equally certainly not meant to imply) the possibility of the wicked receiving the Lord's Body and Blood.

(4) **Made one body with thy Son Jesu Christ** is another passage which is well omitted. The whole Sacrament is a symbol of oneness with Christ, because the common-partaking figures that Mystical Body, of which He is the Head, as excellently expressed in the alternative Prayer. The use of these words, before reception, is capable of suggesting a mere physical identification of Christ's Body with the bodies of the recipients of the consecrated elements, as alien to Holy Scripture as it is devoid of any value.

(5) **Prayers . . . to be brought into God's holy Tabernacle;** this petition was scriptural (Rev. viii. 3, 4), and constituted a clear condemnation of the petition in Sar. Miss. that *the elements* should be taken to heaven, etc. Nevertheless, not only in 1552 and 1662, but even in S.L., where the rest of the prayer of

1549 was restored, this petition was omitted as perilous in this connexion.

These changes were made in spite of the fact that the safeguarding words: 'by the merits and death . . . and through faith in his blood': would seem to preserve the other expressions from any reasonable misuse. However, when even Cosin could interpret: 'we and all thy whole Church': as including and sanctioning prayer for the dead, it is plain that no expression is safe from the imputation of a meaning foreign to the mind of those who uttered it.

It is to be noted that 'faith in his blood,' though in accordance with A.V. in Rom. iii. 25, and a possible interpretation of the Greek original, is not the probably correct idea; Propitiation, (1) through faith, (2) by his blood, (R.V., which puts 'through faith in his blood' in the margin), is more consonant with the scriptural use of the word 'faith.'

The present Prayer combines the two kinds of spiritual sacrifice open to the Church of the Redeemed: 'Praise and Thanksgiving,' Heb. xiii. 15, 1 Pet. ii. 5, 9; 'Ourselves,' * Rom. xii. 1; the latter includes the other two senses in which Holy Scripture connects sacrifice with the Christian life: generous self-denial, Heb. xiii. 16, and publishing the Gospel, Rom. xv. 16. Such sacrifices are not specially connected with the Lord's Supper, save that in that reminder of the Lord's finished work of redemption, the redeemed will renew their recognition of His claims upon them.

In 1549 the Prayer was preceded by a Rubric: 'These words before rehearsed (the consecration) are to be said, turning still to the Altar, without any elevation, or showing the Sacrament to the people.' This regulation had been anticipated in the *Order of Communion*, where the rules for consecrating additional wine directed it to be done 'without any elevation or lifting up,' and that although the rest of the Mass Service, including the original consecration, was unaltered. S.L. did not restore this Rubric, the practice having entirely disappeared from the Reformed Churches for more than a century. Art. XXVIII expressly condemns it as unscriptural.

The first historical note upon the custom is contained in some Constitutions issued by Odo, Bishop of Paris, 1197, ordering the presbyter not to elevate the Host until the words 'This is My Body' had been spoken. The practice is therefore plainly due to the dogma of Transubstantiation, then coming into vogue.

* See Frere, pp 492, 496.

† See Westcott, *Commentary*, in loc.

* For parallels to offering of 'ourselves' in Hermann, see Dowden, *Further Studies*, p. 238 ff.

Another Bishop of Paris, in 1228, ordered a bell to be rung at the elevation. With the rejection by the Church of England of any idea of an Objective Presence, as it is sometimes called, the custom of elevating the consecrated elements came to an end.

Second Alternative Thanksgiving, 1549; altered 1552.

This, the only Prayer in 1549, has no parallel in Sar. Miss., where the Priest alone offers a thanksgiving, after reception: 'I pay thanks to thee, Holy Lord, Almighty Father, Eternal God, who hast refreshed (*refecisti*) me with the most sacred Body and Blood of thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ: and I pray, that this sacrament of our salvation, which I, an unworthy sinner, have taken, may not come to me to judgment nor to condemnation according to my deserts, but for the advancement (*profectum*) of body and soul unto life eternal.'

The alterations in 1552 are again significant:—

1549. Hast vouchsafed to feed us in these holy Mysteries, with the spiritual food, etc.

1552. Dost vouchsafe to feed us, which have duly received these holy mysteries, etc.

1549. And hast assured us (duly receiving the same) of thy favour, etc.

1552. And dost assure us thereby of thy favour, etc.

In the double alteration of 'hast' to 'dost,' as well as the change from 'in these holy Mysteries' to 'which have duly received,' etc., and from 'duly receiving the same' to 'thereby,' the determination to dissociate the 'feeding upon spiritual food' from the mere reception of the symbols, even 'duly,' is most marked. The physical feeding only symbolizes a feeding which is the continual reward of faith, and carries an 'assuring' which is likewise the perpetual possession of the faithful.

In 1662, 'thy mystical body,' inappropriate in a prayer addressed to the Father, was altered to 'the mystical body of thy Son.' The definition of that 'mystical body' as 'the blessed company of all faithful people' dates from 1549, and is notably in contrast with later exclusiveness. The most reasonable meaning of 'the body' in 1 Cor. xi. 29 (R.V. 'if he discern not the body') is not that body of Christ symbolized by the Bread, but the 'mystical body' of the faithful; for in v. 27, where dishonour to the symbolized body is intended, there the blood is mentioned too, while here only the body is named. Moreover, in the preceding chapter, x. 16, 17, emphasis is laid upon the breaking and distributing, as symbolizing the oneness of the mystical body, upon which stress was laid by the Early Church (see Introduction, p. 217). The Corinthians'

offence was a double one; they were 'guilty of the body and blood of the Lord,' by partaking of the symbols in a wrong spirit, and of offending against His mystical body, by the form that wrong spirit took with them, namely, making distinctions between the members of that body.

Gloria in Excelsis, 1549; placed here with one sentence repeated 1552; Sar. Miss.

This hymn is amongst the very earliest liturgical relics outside the Bible.* It is to be found in *Codex Alexandrinus*, the great Bible MS. of the British Museum, known to Bible-students as 'A.' It is there placed at the end of the Psalter, a position which bears witness to the early regard paid to it, for that MS. is certainly little later than 400 A.D., and possibly earlier. First used as a Morning Hymn, as it still is in the region of its origin, the East, it became incorporated into the Mass in the West, but long after its first introduction into Western services. In 1552 it was moved from the beginning of the Communion Office to the end; in 1549 it stood where it had been in Sar. Miss. Of this change, Dowden says † 'it seems to me that there is a peculiar fitness in its bringing to a close the great Christian Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. Even the supplications for mercy, which are so marked a feature of the latter part of this great hymn, are not unsuited to the devout heart which is conscious of the unworthiness of the miserable imperfections of its best devotions.' This sufficiently accounts for and justifies the change.

It is, perhaps, a matter for regret that no simple musical setting of this hymn has been composed, at the same time worthy of the hymn and not needing a choir to render it, so that the rubrical permission to sing the hymn might be taken advantage of without the accessories of 'Choral Communion.'

The changes in the translation are verbal, and unimportant save in two cases:—

(1) 'In earth peace, good will towards men,' for 'in earth peace to men of good will' (*hominibus bonæ voluntatis*), in accordance with the critical Greek text of Luke ii. 14, at the time. In R.V., as a result of increased critical apparatus, 'peace among men in whom he is well pleased,' has been adopted, the older translation being relegated to the margin, as the reading of 'many ancient authorities.' Several Greek Service Books have the A.V. and B.C.P. form, which depends upon the omission

* For a somewhat varied form of the hymn in the *Apostolical Constitution* see Burbidge, *Liturgies and Offices of the Church*, pp. 36, 37.

† *Workmanship*, pp. 77, 78.

of a single letter. In either case the meaning is the same, for it is not men of good will towards one another, but men who enjoy God's good will, or good pleasure, who are the promised recipients of peace.

(2) In 1552, 'Thou that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us,' was added between the two appeals,* an addition attributed by Scudamore, but not with conclusive proof, to a reminiscence of the similar threefold appeal in *Agnus Dei*. It may be added that 'God on high,' A.V. 'God in the highest,' is the Great Bible rendering in Luke ii. 14, which explains its adoption in 1549.

Rubric regarding the method of dismissal, 1548.

1549. Then (shall 1548) the Priest, turning him to the people, shall let them (the people 1548) depart with this blessing.

1552. Then the Priest, or the Bishop, if he be present, shall, etc. The omission of 'turning him to the people,' marks the abandonment of the Eastward Position ever since 1552.

In Sar. Miss., the only words to be said facing the people were 'Go, you are dismissed' (*Ite, missa est*); any words of blessing were to be said facing the altar.

Blessing, 1549, (1548).

1548. The peace of God . . . and in his Son Jesus Christ our Lord. To the which the people shall answer, Amen.

1549. The peace of God . . . and of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord: And the blessing . . . **alway**. Then the people shall answer, Amen.

1552. As in 1549, but **always**, and 'Amen' printed immediately after the blessing, in the same type, as if to be said by the Minister only.

1662. As in 1552, but 'Amen' printed in Italics, to be said by the people.

The 1548 portion is from Phil. iv. 7; the 1549 addition is stated to have been the usual episcopal Benediction in the Mass.†

In 1549 two Rubrics followed, one ordering the Priest to 'say,' when no Clerks were present to 'sing'; the other permitting the omission of Gloria, Creed, Homily and long Exhortation, on week-days and in private houses.

APPENDIX.

Rubric concerning the use of Collects when no Communion, 1549; enlarged 1552, altered 1662.

* See above, p. 346.

† Frere, notes at foot of p. 497.

1549. Collects to be said after the Offertory, when there is no Communion, every such day one.

1552. Permission added to use them after the Collects of Morning or Evening Prayer, Communion or Litany, at the Minister's discretion.

1662. As in 1552, save for the addition 'or more': 'Every such day one or more.'

The name 'Table Prayers' was given to this Ante-Communion Service; they were customary in the German Orders, which prescribed, not a chasuble, but a cope, as in 1549.*

Collects, 1549; two for Rain and Fair Weather placed elsewhere, 1552.

(1) Assist us mercifully, etc., Sac. Gel., Sar. Miss.

A beautiful adaptation of the Sarum Collect in the Mass for those going on a journey: lit., 'Assist, O Lord, our prayers and dispose the way of thy servants in the prosperity of thy salvation: that amongst all the vicissitudes of this way and life (*vivā et vitā*) they may always be protected by thy help.' The translators could not preserve the alliteration of *vivā et vitā*, but restored it in 'changes and chances.'

(2) O Almighty Lord, etc., Sac. Greg., Sar. Brev.

This prayer was used after Prime, not in public service. The translation gets rid of some doctrinal error, as will be seen from this literal rendering of the original: 'Deign, we beseech thee, O Lord God, to direct and sanctify and rule our hearts and bodies in thy law, and in the works of thy commandments; that here and for ever by thy help we may deserve to be healthy and saved (*sani et salvi*), etc.'

(3) Grant, we beseech thee, etc., 1549.

As would be presumed from the subject-matter, the request for fruitful results upon hearing the word, this Collect was a composition of 1549.

(4) Prevent us, O Lord, etc., Sac. Greg.

The original contains a thought which it were to be wished had been more plainly preserved in the translation: 'We beseech thee O Lord to prevent [help] our actions by favouring them [lit. breathing upon them, i.e. providing a 'fair wind,' *aspirando*], and to follow them up by assisting: that all our working may always both begin from thee, and, being begun through thee, may be completed.'

(5) Almighty God, the fountain, etc., 1549.

(6) Almighty God, which hast promised, etc., 1549.

These two Collects are particularly suitable to supplement the necessary imperfection of the best human prayers.

* See Dowden, *Further Studies*, pp. 244, 247.

Rubric concerning Sundays, etc., when no Communion, 1552; (1549).

1549. The Ante-Communion, 'until after the Offertory,'* with one or two of the above Collects and the Blessing, was to be said 'at the Altar' on Wednesdays and Fridays after the Litany, and on other occasions when there were 'none disposed to communicate.'†
1552. The Ante-Communion, 'until the end of the Homily,' concluding with the Prayer for the Church Militant, and one or more of the Collects, to be said upon the holy-days (if there be no Communion).
1662. As in 1552, save that the Homily is omitted, and the Blessing expressly enjoined as in 1549.

Rubric prescribing a convenient number, 1662; some, 1549; good number, 1552.

1549. Likewise in Chapels annexed, and all other places, there shall be no celebration of the Lord's Supper, except there be some to communicate with the Priest.
1552. And there shall be no celebration . . . except there be a good number . . . the Priest, according to his discretion.
1662. As in 1552, except 'convenient' for 'good,' (S.L. 'sufficient').

The words 'some,' 'good number,' 'convenient number' (i.e. suitable to Christ's Institution of Communion, not to the convenience of anybody), all teach the eagerness, at every stage of the history of B.C.P., to get rid of the solitary 'sacrifice' of the Mass, and to set in its place the scriptural fellowship of believers.

Rubric fixing the minimum, 3 out of 20, 1552; (1549).

1549. No rubric stating numbers, but the third Rubric from the end of the Office ran: Also, that the receiving of the Sacrament of the blessed body and blood of Christ may be most agreeable to the institution thereof, and to the usage of the primitive Church; In all Cathedral and Collegiate Churches there shall always some Communicate with the Priest that Ministereth. And that the same may be also observed every where abroad in the country . . . (regulations following, regarding houses providing bread and wine in turn in each parish) . . . and by this

* It is instructive that in 1549 'the Offertory' did not include the bread and wine, being used when there was no Communion.

† The same Rubric prescribed 'Alb or Surplice, with a cope' for this service, see p. 79.

means the Minister, having always some to communicate with him, may accordingly solemnize so high and holy mysteries with all the suffrages and due order appointed for the same. And the Priest on the weekday shall forbear to celebrate the Communion, except he have some that will communicate with him.

1552. And if there be not above twenty persons in the Parish, of discretion to receive the Communion; yet there shall be no Communion, except four, or three at the least, communicate with the Priest.

By this Rubric, which was left unaltered in 1662, it will be seen that three is an extreme *minimum* not counting the officiant, and that its application is only to the least populous parishes; in the larger parishes of to-day, to celebrate with four, or three, communicants is virtually to strain this regulation.

The words 'of discretion to receive' explain and are explained by the words in the Preface to Confirmation, 'years of discretion.'

Rubric ordering clergy to communicate weekly in Cathedrals, etc., 1552.

In 1662, 'Colleges' was added to 'Cathedral and Collegiate Churches,' and 'Priest' was used, instead of 'Minister,' to describe the officiant. In all these directions, urging frequent communion, it is noteworthy that 'daily celebration' is never mentioned. The weakness of the position of those who strive to find some excuse for that unscriptural and unprimitive practice, is well shown by their appeal to the regulation prefixed to the Table of Proper Lessons, prescribing the use of the Collect, Epistle and Gospel 'all the week after,' where it is not otherwise ordered; it would be strange indeed, if 'all the week' were an abrogation of the express refusal to permit celebrations without a 'convenient number,' and if it could not mean quite as well 'whenever necessary' as 'once a day,' the latter meaning being not the one taught by contemporary use, but by recent efforts to reinstate 'daily sacrifice with intention.'

Rubric prescribing the use of purest wheat bread, 1552; (1549).

1549. For avoiding of all matters and occasion of dissension, it is meet that the bread prepared for the Communion be made through all this realm after one sort and fashion; that is to say, unleavened and round, as it was afore, but without all manner of print, and something more larger and thicker than it was, so that it may be aptly

divided in divers pieces, and every one shall be divided in two pieces at least, or more, by the discretion of the Minister, and so distributed. And men must not think less to be received in part, than in the whole, but in each of them the whole body of our Saviour Jesu Christ.

1552. And to take away the superstition which any person hath, or might have, in the bread and wine, it shall suffice that the bread be such as is usual to be eaten at the table with other meats, but the best and purest wheat bread that conveniently may be gotten.

S.L. And to take away . . . Bread and Wine, (though it be lawful to have wafer bread) it shall suffice that the Bread be such as is usual: yet the best . . .

1662. And to take away all occasion of dissension and superstition . . . (as in 1552, but 'at the table with other meats' omitted).

The hope of the Revisers, that 'all occasion of dissension' might be taken away, was fulfilled for nearly two centuries, after which the 'wafer' was reintroduced. The history of the 'Wafer' may be summarized thus:—

i. At the original Institution an unleavened loaf, or cake, was used, and broken into several portions.

ii. The bread at the ordinary Communion, save when Jewish Christians were debarred from the use of leavened bread, was taken from the ordinary food brought for the Agapè.

iii. The growth of the idea that the bread must be identified with the Body of Christ made the thought of crumbs through breaking intolerable, and small pieces, made of flour and water only, took the place of the loaf in the West about 1000 A.D. The Eastern Church still uses leavened bread.

iv. At the Reformation, in 1549, unleavened bread was still ordered, to avoid 'dissension,' round in shape, but made larger and thicker than the Roman Wafer, so that the symbolic breaking and distribution of the loaf might be to some extent restored; all printing the bread was strictly forbidden. For those who were accustomed to the entire wafer to themselves, comfort was provided by the assurance that they were not to think that less was received 'in part, than in the whole, but in each of them the whole body of our Saviour Jesu Christ.'

v. In 1552, 'superstition' was feared rather than 'dissension,' and the 1549 directions were entirely omitted, including the clause seeming to teach that the whole body of Christ resides in a fragment of the broken bread. Ordinary bread, but 'the best and purest wheat bread' obtainable, should 'suffice.' The use of the word 'suffice,' on which much stress has since

been laid, is obviously used here to denote a direction, not to allow an alternative to the wafer, which certainly would not 'take away the superstition which any person hath, or might have.' The phrase 'it shall suffice' well calls attention to the comparative unimportance of the material of the bread, provided only it be consistent with the carrying out of the Lord's command to break and distribute it. If, as is claimed, this Rubric is only a toleration of the use of ordinary bread instead of the wafer, why does it not say so? 'What is substantially different will not "suffice"' (Privy Council Judgment, *Ridsdale v. Clifton*, 1877).

vi. An Injunction of Queen Elizabeth, in 1559, directed the 'sacramental bread' to be 'made and formed plain, without any figure thereupon, and of the same fineness and fashion round' as the old wafer, but 'somewhat bigger in compass and thickness.' The Privy Council held that this Injunction could not have over-ridden the Rubric of 1552, then again made legal; but some dissension arose over the matter, and practice was very varied.

vii. In S.L. 1637, 'Wafer bread' was expressly stated to be legal, but the 1552 regulation as to bread was laid down, putting 'wheat bread,' 'such as is usual,' in the foremost place, 'wafer bread' in a secondary position, though the old words 'it shall suffice' introduced the sentence recommending the former.

viii. In 1662, not only 'superstition' but also 'dissension' (as in 1549) was provided against, and the S.L. words asserting the legality of wafer bread were not adopted,* the 1552 rubric being retained. 'Best and purest wheat bread,' 'such as is usual to be eaten' is not 'a composition of flour and water rolled very thin and unleavened'; nor does the latter 'take away all occasion of dissension and superstition'; it cannot be said of it, therefore, that 'it will suffice.' The Rubric demanding provision of the bread by the Curate and the Churchwardens 'seems to contemplate ordinary bread as the only material to be used, and the 20th Canon is still more precise in the same direction.'† From the passing of that Canon, in 1603-4, the episcopal Visitation Articles required 'fine white bread,' and the same requirement was made after the revision of 1662.

* Cosin proposed to add after 'gotten': 'though Wafer-bread pure, and without any figure set upon it, shall not be forbidden, especially in such Churches where it hath been accustomed. The Wine also shall be of the best and purest that may be had' (*Works*, v. 518). Convocation rejected this proposal to re-introduce wafer-bread.

† *Ridsdale Judgment*, 1877.

The use of the wafer, therefore, is not scriptural, not primitive, not legal, and, though otherwise a matter of indifference, substitutes for the Lord's teaching of the oneness of believers in Him, the associations of a physical reception of His Body and Blood.

Rubric directing the disposal of the bread and wine remaining, 1662; (1552).

1552. And if any of the bread or wine remain, the Curate shall have it to his own use.

1662. And if any . . . remain unconsecrated, etc.; but if any remain of that which was consecrated, it shall not be carried out of the Church, but the Priest and such other of the Communicants as he shall then call unto him, shall, immediately after the Blessing, reverently eat and drink the same.

S.L. Generally as in 1662, with requirement added that the Officiating Presbyter shall take care to 'consecrate with the least,' repeating the words of consecration 'if there be want.'

The absence of any distinction between consecrated and unconsecrated surplus bread and wine in 1552 is sufficiently explained by these words of Cosin*: 'Yet if for lack of care they consecrate more than they distribute, why may not the Curates have it to their own use . . . for though the bread and wine remain, yet the consecration, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, do not remain longer than the holy action itself remains for which the bread and wine were hallowed; and which being ended, return to their former use again?' Cosin elsewhere says: 'We also deny the elements still retain the nature of sacraments when not used according to Divine institution, that is, given by Christ's ministers, and received by His people, so that Christ in the consecrated bread ought not, cannot be kept and preserved to be carried about, because He is present only to the Communicants.' †

The feeling that such minute quantities as would remain after administration deserve reverent treatment, and could be of no use to the Curate, is a natural one, and Cosin himself, who justified the giving up even of the consecrated relics to the Curate, yet urged that 'the priest may be enjoined to consider the number of them which are to receive the sacrament, and to consecrate the bread and wine in such near proportion as shall

* *Works*, v. 43; taken from Tomlinson, *Tracts on Ritual*, cxii.; which see for full treatment of the question of Reservation and B.C.P.

† *History of Transubstantiation*, p. 61.

be sufficient for them: but if any of the consecrated elements be left, that he and some others with him shall decently eat and drink them in the Church before all the people depart from it.* This course was adopted in 1662, much as in S.L., save that in the latter the order was given to take care that none was left over. Also in 1662 was added the Rubric ordering the reverent covering of any surplus with a fair linen cloth.

The bearing of these regulations upon the now vexed question of Reservation would seem to be obvious, but it is said freely that 'the rubric was not intended to touch upon the question of the Reservation of the Sacrament for the Communion of the Sick.' † This sentence is cleverly worded: perhaps the Rubric was not 'intended to touch upon' Reservation. But it was most certainly so framed as to render any reservation, for any purpose, a flagrant breach of its directions. It was issued, moreover, in full consciousness that the 1549 B.C.P. had ordered Reservation of consecrated bread and wine for the Sick, in its 'Communion of the Sick,' 'if the same day there be a celebration of the holy Communion in the Church,' and that this direction had been expunged in 1552, and not restored. 'It is forbidden by our Church, as you may see by the rubric at the end of the Communion Service, beginning: "and if any of the bread and wine remain unconsecrated"—so expressly forbidden that no evasion is possible.' ‡

The direction to 'reverently eat and drink the same' is accompanied by the order to call certain of the communicants to join in this task, a regulation not always observed, nor always easy to observe.

It is more important to note that the command to let none remain over is in keeping with the scriptural order concerning the Passover, and carries out the same idea, namely, that all the sacred food should be consumed by all who take part therein, the family alone having any right to that food, and that food having meaning only for the family.

The statement that this Rubric 'authorizes the ablutions by which this consumption is reverently and adequately carried out,' § not only contradicts the fact that the elaborate requirements of the Sar. Miss. were ignored from the first by the Reformers, but also the fact that even the Lambeth Judgment forbade the drinking of the ablutions during divine service. The suggestion that after the Blessing, when the Rubric orders

* *Works*, v. 431.

† Frere, p. 502.

‡ Bishop Durnford, in 1878. For 'Reservation' see *Communion of the Sick*, p. 459.

§ Frere, p. 502.

the consumption of what remains, is not part of the service, and therefore ablutions of the Cup, Paten, and Priest's fingers may then be drunk, is not worthy of argument. It is plainly reasonable that those who believe that the Body, Soul, and Divinity of the Lord Jesus are in any way in, under, or with, the minutest particle of either bread or wine, should be scrupulously careful to rinse the vessels, and drink the rinsings; but the Church of England has rejected that doctrine, and with it such necessary accompaniments.

Rubric directing the provision of the bread and wine, 1549; altered 1552 and 1662.

1549. A rubric demanded the special contribution at the Offertory, with other offerings, of money to pay for the 'holy loaf.' Another rubric made regulations for 'Chapels annexed,' bidding the people either pay the expense or else resort to their parish Church for Holy Communion. A third Rubric directed that in every parish 'abroad in the country,' one house 'by course' should 'offer for the charges of the Communion.'

1552. The bread and wine for the Communion shall be provided by the Curate and the Churchwardens, at the charges of the Parish; and the Parish shall be discharged of such sums of money, or other duties, which hitherto they have paid for the same, by order of their houses every Sunday.

1662. The last clause of 1552 omitted, (as in S.L.).

Rubric ordering a minimum attendance of three times a year, 1552; (1549).

1549. 'To communicate once in the year at the least' is ordered in the last Rubric but one, amongst general commands to be present at divine service, to pay their duties, to receive and take all other Sacraments and rites in this book appointed, on pain of excommunication, or other punishment inflicted by the Ecclesiastical judge.

1552. And note, that every Parishioner shall communicate at the least three times in the Year; of which Easter to be one; and shall also receive the Sacraments, and other rites, according to the order in this book appointed.

1662. Omitted 'and shall also receive . . . book appointed,' the rest being only trivially altered.

The omission in 1662 of the word 'Sacraments,' i.e. more than one besides Holy Communion, is an important testimony to the exclusive use of that word in the Church of England for

Baptism and the Lord's Supper, according to the teaching of the Catechism and Articles.

The question as to how often the believer should communicate is plainly to be distinguished from that of frequency of celebrations, as the latter must provide not for the one communicant, but for the varying needs of many. If the Passover could be repeated, under Hezekiah, care should be taken in a populous parish at any rate, to provide for the very varied circumstances of the population. Nothing can be more deplorable than the regulation of the hours and days of administration by a human rule, such as fasting, so as virtually to excommunicate a section of the Church of Christ. On the other hand, with the frequency of opportunity, it should be clearly taught that not little sections of the local body of Christians, but the whole body, so far as is practicable, should communicate together, if the Lord's ordinance is to be followed.

The absence of any regulation by the Lord and His Apostles as to the frequency which the individual should observe constitutes a liberty in the matter which forbids any more definite regulation than that of this Rubric. In 1549 the Roman obligatory rule of once a year was followed, which sufficed for a system in which Communion had sunk to a very secondary place; and sacrifice for sins had taken its place. In 1552 the *minimum* was increased from once to three times a year, but as a *minimum*, while clergy attached to Cathedral bodies were bidden to communicate once a week as a rule. Once a week is suggested by the Apostolic record, for the whole church, but no evidence is extant to show that any obligation was enforced upon the individual communicant. The separation of Holy Communion from the Agapè, however effected, must have done much to alter any habit of regular weekly attendance, as is suggested by the practice of reserving for the absent.

Advocates of daily administration are forced to rely upon a comment of Cyprian, c. 250, upon the Lord's Prayer, in which he identifies 'daily bread' with the Eucharist: 'This Bread we pray that it be given us day by day, lest we who are in Christ and who daily receive the Eucharist for food of salvation, should . . . be separated from the body of Christ.' It is by no means certain that Cyprian is not using the word 'Eucharist' in as vague and figurative a way as that in which he uses the phrase 'daily bread.' This is corroborated by Augustine, who, a century and a half later, commenting on the same passage,* and interpreting 'daily bread' of 'spiritual

* In *Sermone Domini in Monte*, ii. 7: Frere cites Cyprian, but does not refer to Augustine.

bread,' sets aside the idea of sacramental bread, saying: 'they who are very numerous in the Eastern parts, do not agitate the question concerning the sacrament of the Lord's body, nor do they communicate daily in the Lord's Supper, although this has been called daily bread. . . . For we cannot now say "Give us this day," what we have now received; or can any one compel us to celebrate that sacrament at the close of the day?' But, even if Cyprian be taken literally, the feebleness of its justification sufficiently condemns the practice, especially as Cyprian was the first and only ante-Nicene Father of repute to promulgate sacrificial notions of the Holy Communion, with the Bishop as a High-Priest, and the presbyters as his attendant Levites!*

The rule of three times a year is prescribed, according to Frere, in Canon 18 of the Council of Agde (506), Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, being specified—a regulation incorporated afterwards into the *Decretum*. He does not state whether this was a *minimum*, and Bede in 734 condemned the practice of being content with that standard. The Reformers were guided by no such regulation, but steered between the two dangers of sanctioning neglect on the one hand, and of restricting Christian liberty on the other. Such wise precaution should still be followed, encouraging frequent remembrance of the Lord's Death in His own appointed way, and warning against degrading the remembrance to a magical rite, by which it ceases to be a means of grace.

The specification of Easter-Day as one of the three obligatory days scarcely needs explanation, for the preaching of 'Jesus and the Resurrection' stamps that day as the Christian Anniversary. Indeed, that day's importance has sanctioned the observance of the First Day of the Week, 'the Lord's Day,' instead of the seventh.

Rubric regarding Easter Dues, 1552; (1549).

1549. 'To pay their duties' is one of the regulations of the last Rubric but one, Easter not being specified, either for communicating or for paying 'duties.'

1552. } And yearly at Easter every Parishioner shall reckon
1662. } with his ('the' in 1662) Parson, Vicar, or Curate;
or his or their deputy, or deputies, and pay to them or him all ecclesiastical duties, accustomedly due, then and at that time to be paid.

* See Gwatkin, *Early Church History*, II. p. 278. In a footnote are the words: 'Cyprian would have been as shocked as any Quaker at the idea of turning a presbyter into a priest.'

'Parson' is a corruption of *Persona*, the leading personage of the Parish. It is thus a wide term, as indeed is 'Curate,' which includes any one having a 'cure' of souls. The three terms more strictly apply to Rectors, Vicars, and Perpetual Curates; the first being those in possession of the rectorial title; the second those who act under, or instead of, some person or persons holding the rectory, but not discharging the ministerial functions; the last strictly covering all others in charge of ecclesiastical districts, now generally called 'Vicars' by title.

Lapse of time has both abolished many 'duties' and also rendered it difficult to trace what they may have included. The modern methods of business in regard to 'tithes' have also tended to make this Rubric meaningless in all parishes, but the custom of voluntary Easter Offerings, growing more and more widespread, is an indirect perpetuation of the regulation.

Rubric regulating the disposal of the offerings, 1662.

In 1549 and 1552 the offerings were placed in the 'poor men's box,' and no provision was made for other gifts save their direct payment to the clergy, though this last kind of gift was certainly contemplated by those who chose the Offertory Sentences.

In S.L. a rubric immediately following the Blessing prescribed the division of 'that which was offered,' in the presence of the Presbyter and the Churchwardens; 'one half shall be to the use of the Presbyter to provide him books of holy divinity'; the other half was to be devoted to 'some pious or charitable use, for the decent furnishing' of the Church, or the poor, at the discretion of the Presbyter and Churchwardens.

The Revisers borrowed the adjectives 'pious and charitable,' but left the whole of the offerings to be disposed of by the 'Minister and Churchwardens,' with the 'Ordinary' as a court of appeal in case of difference.

'Black Rubric,' 1552; omitted 1559; restored with verbal alterations, 1662. (See p. 473.)

The Black Rubric was not strictly part of the B.C.P. in 1552, and therefore did not come under the Law of 1559 restoring that book.

1552. Although no order can be so perfectly devised, but may be of some, either for their ignorance and infirmity, or else of malice and obstinacy, misconstrued, depraved, and interpreted in a wrong part; And yet because brotherly charity willeth, that so much as conveniently may be, offences should be taken away; therefore we willing to do the same, Whereas it is ordained. . . .

1662. Whereas it is ordained. . . . (The references to misunder-

standing, expressed in the same words, are made further on in 1662.)

1552. Ordained in the book of common prayer, in the Administration. . . .

1662. Ordained in this office for the Administration. . . .

The change of wording here illustrates the fact that the original was not part of the B.C.P. in 1552, but became part of the Communion Office in 1662.

1552. Any real and essential presence there being of Christ's natural flesh and blood.

1662. Any Corporal Presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood.

This alteration has been already considered in the Introduction, pp. 273 ff.

1552. Against the truth of Christ's true natural body. . . .

1662. Against the truth of Christ's Natural Body. . . .

The omission of the word 'true' is an emendation; the word 'true' is redundant, and can only weaken the force of the teaching that Christ's Natural Body, in any sense of the words, is in heaven and not here.

ANALYSIS.

1. Purpose of the order to kneel :—

- i. To signify humble gratitude.
- ii. To avoid profanation and disorder.

2. Sources of possible misconstruction :—

- i. Ignorance and weakness.
- ii. Malice and obstinacy.

3. Declaration against Adoration :—

- i. Not intended by this regulation.
- ii. Not right in itself;—whether paid to—
 - (a) The Sacramental bread and wine.
 - (b) Any Corporal Presence of Christ's Natural Flesh and Blood.

4. Ground of the Declaration :—

- i. The bread and wine remain unchanged, so that to worship them is idolatry.
- ii. The Natural body and blood of Christ are in Heaven, and not here, so that to worship a fancied Corporal Presence is to deny the truth of Christ's humanity.

Adoration.

This whole declaration, by its definition of the purpose of kneeling, as well as by its doctrinal condemnation of adoration, might seem to suffice to put an end to 'Adoration' in the Church

of England. The substitution, in 1662, of 'corporal' for 'real and essential,' means no more than the recognition of a change of meaning in the words 'real,' 'essential.' Bishop Jewel could write 'real or corporal' a hundred years earlier, the terms being synonymous. The alteration avoided seeming to deny any Presence of Christ, as taught in Holy Scripture, viz. through the Holy Spirit, and as Head of His mystical Body, the Church. In the modern meaning of 'real and essential' such a Presence deserves the use of such terms; the word 'corporal' excludes any 'bodily' Presence, not only in the Holy Communion, but everywhere and always.

However, the Presence of 'whole Christ, Body, Soul, and Divinity,' 'in, under or with, the elements,' is still taught, and with it the duty of adoring that Presence. To avoid the condemnation in this Rubric of any localizing of the Presence, various expedients have been used :—

i. It is said to be not local, but supra-local, which, if possessing any meaning at all, does not excuse the direction of adoration to the localized elements.

ii. It is said to be not a Presence by location, but by 'extension,' which also fails to get rid of the fact that adoration is directed to the elements which have 'location.'

iii. It is said that 'real and essential' are not 'corporal,' which is untrue if the Presence be that of the *Body* of Christ, whether the Body 'given for us,' or the unscriptural 'Body, Soul, and Divinity' of the theory in question.

iv. It is said that the Presence is 'Spiritual,' meaning thereby, not the Spiritual Presence which all believe, but the Presence of a 'Spiritual Body.*' Such an evasion—for it is nothing more—ignores the fact that a Spiritual Body is still a Body.

Adoration can be justified only by the localized Presence of the Lord's Person, and that so inseparably united to the elements that there is no possibility of idolatry through adoring the elements alone. Transubstantiation indeed claims that the elements themselves are changed into the Body, Soul, and Divinity of Christ. Those who recognize that Transubstantiation is untenable within the Church of England, claim nevertheless that there is such a union of Christ with the consecrated elements as to justify and compel adoration :—

'The Eucharist is frequently called "The Extension of the Incarnation"; and the expression is significant and appropriate, not simply because the Eucharist is the means of extending the benefits of the Incarnation to all time, but because there is in both cases a real union between the earthly and the heavenly :

* See p. 275.

in the Incarnation between the Eternal Word and man's nature, in the Eucharist between the Person of Christ and the elements of bread and wine : so that it may be said without a metaphor, that there is a renewal or continuation of the Incarnation. What was done in the Incarnation is renewed in the Sacrament ; not in the same manner, but in a certain resemblance and proportion. . . . In order to this union of the flesh of Christ with ours, He first Incarnates Himself in the hands of the priest ; that is, at the moment of Consecration, Christ unites Himself, Body, Soul, and Divinity, in an ineffable manner, with the elements of bread and wine. . . . As the Divine and Human Nature in the Incarnate are called, and are, one Christ ; so in the Eucharist the heavenly and the earthly substances, remaining each in its own nature, when united by Consecration are called, and are the Body of Christ.*

Apart from the demerits of a theory which can only be sustained in the Church of England by doing violence to her formularies, it is reasonable to ask what is gained by this theory ? What spiritual gain attaches to it ? Is it the communication of the benefits of Christ's sacrificial death to the soul ? But that needs no such theory. Is it a Presence of Christ to worship ? Yet surely that is the privilege of every believer, independently of any such localized Presence, painfully suggestive of possible degradation. Is it the continual evidence of a miracle to strengthen faith ? But there is no evidence of any miracle ; instead of helping faith, it makes demands upon it which to many are impossible of fulfilment. The true miracle, capable like the New Testament miracles of evidential testing, is the power of the blessing attaching to faithful obedience to Christ's command. If gain and loss are any criterion of the truth or falsehood of a dogma, this dogma stands hopelessly condemned.

The weakness of the argument from the Incarnation is felt by the author above quoted : ' a certain resemblance and proportion,' ' in an ineffable manner,' are phrases betraying a sense of weakness not to be satisfied by the brave words ' it may be said without a metaphor.' On an examination that weakness is everywhere apparent :—

i. The Incarnation was the union of the Nature (if the word may be used of God) of God with the nature of man made in His own image, after His likeness ; in the supposed extension of the Incarnation, the Nature of God is united with the nature of a vegetable product.

ii. In the Incarnation the union was with a view to the exalta-

tion of humanity : there is no idea of exalting the nature of bread and wine in the supposed ' extension.'

iii. That union was once for all, and for ever, this union is repeated daily a thousand times, to cease with the consumption of the bread and wine.

iv. The Incarnation was effected by the descent of the Son of Man from Heaven ; this Presence of the very Divine Person and Human Body of Christ leaves Christ at the Right Hand of God the Father.

v. Finally, the Lord did not say that the bread and wine which He gave to His disciples were His Body, Soul, and Divinity, but His Body given in death, and His Blood shed in death, i.e. that Body and Blood separated from the Soul and Divinity in death, and therefore not the objects of worship, even if they could be reproduced upon an Altar.

The Lutheran doctrine, Consubstantiation, is a compromise, as its name would suggest. Transubstantiation is denied, but a corporal presence of Christ's Body and Blood is asserted, ' in, under, and with the bread and wine.' This presence is so objectively real, that the wicked are able to receive the actual Body and Blood of Christ. Our Article XXIX was directed rather against Lutheranism than Romanism, though it necessarily conflicts with both. Lutheranism safeguards itself against the logical consequences of its doctrine, by the precaution that the Body and Blood are not present by any priestly act of consecration, but only by and at the faithful reception of the bread and wine. There is, therefore, in Lutheranism no Mass Sacrifice, no Oblation, no Reservation, no Eucharistic Adoration. The Council of Trent, at its thirteenth session, passed a Canon expressly condemning the doctrine that Christ's Body is only present in the use of the sacramental bread, and not present before or after such use (*extra usum*).

With many shades of opinion on the subject of the Lord's Supper, there is one broad line of demarcation which divides them into two irreconcilable classes. On one side must be placed all theories which assume any change in the elements of bread and wine, on the other all opinions which recognize that the bread and wine remain still in their very natural substances, and that the Body given for us and the shed Blood are no longer separated in death, but raised from the dead and ' in heaven and not here.' This latter alone is consistent with Holy Scripture, the belief of the primitive Church, and the tenets of the Reformed Faith ; the former can only be held in spite of such testimony, and must ever carry with it the dead weight of the multitudinous superstitions with which it has obscured the Gospel.

* Pusey, *Tracts for the Day*, pp. 232, 233.