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A table of contents for *The Churchman* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_churchman_os.php

ART. IV.—THE HISTORY OF OUR PRAYER-BOOK AS BEARING ON PRESENT CONTROVERSIES.

PART IV.

MY readers will probably judge that sufficient evidence has been adduced against the arguments of those who imagine that a doctrinal innovation has been introduced into our Liturgy by the change of expression in the Black Rubric. But there is somewhat more which ought to be added. Indeed, the absurdity of supposing that the change of expression is to be attributed to a change of doctrine was ably exposed by the Romanist, Abraham Woodhead, who wrote: "I say, if the words of the former rubric, *real and essential*, were by the late clergy changed into *corporal* on any such design, that so the real and essential Presence might be still by them maintained; then I ask here, How can the same reason be still retained in their opinions thus altered? For this reason [*that the same body cannot be at once in several places*] . . . combats as well a *real and essential* Presence, which they now would seem to allow, as a *corporal*, which they reject" ("Two Discourses," p. 19; London, 1687). And again: "In my apprehension, either these our English divines must affirm this proposition of *one body at the same time being in more places than one*, or some other equivalent to it, to be true; or else must cease to assert any *real, essential, or substantial* Presence of Christ's Body in the Eucharist, contradistinct to the sense of the Zuinglians" (*ibid.*, p. 20).

And the true state of the case was clearly set out in Dean Aldrich's "Reply": "He tells us in King Edward's book [the rubric] denied a *real and essential*, but now denies only a *corporal Presence*. To which I answer that King Edward's rubric by *real and essential* means (as the Papists then used to do) a *real and bodily* Presence, as is plain by the *Articles*¹ set forth about the same time" ("Reply to Two Discourses," p. 9; Oxford, 1687).

¹ It is worthy of special observation that the change of expression in the rubric was but a return to the original language of the Latin Article (28) of 1553 ["*carnis ejus et sanguinis Realem et Corporalem (ut loquuntur) præsentiam*"]. So that (as Dr. Blakeney observes, "On Common Prayer," 3rd edit., p. 434) "the revisers of 1661 in the word *corporal* selected the very term which was chosen by our Reformers to express their meaning in the article from which the declaration is taken." (See "Papers on the Doctrine of the English Church," p. 567.)

It should be noted also that the change of expression is but one among a great number of verbal alterations made in the rubric as adopted at the last review.

And, further, it will be well to read in connection the following among the reasons given for changes in the Preface of 1662: "for the more

Again he says: "It is . . . evident that when we say Christ is *present*, or *adorable*, in the *Sacrament*, we do not mean in the *elements*, but in the celebration. We affirm His natural Body to be locally in heaven and not here; and that we, who are here and not in heaven, ought to worship it as *locally present in heaven*, while we celebrate the Holy Sacrament upon earth" (*ibid.*, p. 17).

And again—vindicating a *real* as distinguished from a *corporal* presence—he says: "We take the Bishop's [Andrewes] words, *Præsentiam credimus; nec minus quam vos, veram*; and his meaning, that the spiritual Presence, which we hold, is as *real* as the *corporal* which the *Papists* hold: and I hope we need not stay to prove a thing so manifest, and so universally agreed upon, as that what is spiritual is as real as what is corporal" (*ibid.*, p. 25).

I will add yet one other extract, which is valuable as giving not only a commentary on the rubric, but also virtually a sufficient account of the change in its language: "I will tell him [Abraham Woodhead] that the King's [James I.], the Bishop's [Andrewes], and the Church's meaning is very plain, viz., that since Christ's natural Body is not to be adored but where it is corporally and locally present, and it is not so present in the Eucharist, that therefore in the Sacrament (*i.e.*, in the celebration) the worthy communicant, to whose soul that Body is really present, is to adore the person of Christ in heaven, where alone His Body is locally present. This I doubt the author very well knew, and saw that it was no way contrary to the declaration" ("Reply to Two Discourses," p. 34; Oxford, 1687).

I might further strengthen my position by appealing to the authority of Archbishop Wake, who, in replying to the same "Two Discourses," says: "It were an easy matter to show how constant our Church has been to the doctrine of the *true, real, spiritual Presence*, which it still asserts, and which it derived from its first Reformers" ("Discourse of the Holy Eucharist," p. 71; London, 1687). He declares "that the alterations which have been made in our rubric were not upon the account of our divines changing their opinions, as is vainly and falsely suggested" (*ibid.*, p. 72). He says: "Because the chiefest mystery he thinks lies in this, that whereas in King Edward's days the rubric called it an *essential Presence*, which we have now turned into *corporeal*. I must confess that I will not undertake to say what the occasion of it was. If they thought this latter manner more free from giving offence than

proper expression of some words or phrases of ancient usage in terms more suitable to the language of the present times."

the other would have been, I think they did well to prefer it"¹ (*ibid.*, p. 76).

I might add the testimony of Archbishop Tenison, who tells us that the rejected expression "real and essential" was "subject to misconstruction" ("On Idolatry," p. 181; London, 1678). He adds, "Real it is, if it be present in its real effects, and they are the essence of it so far as a Communicant doth receive it." He also declares that "this Rubric doth in effect charge the Church of Rome with gross idolatry" (p. 180; see also p. 185).

Here we may very well leave the subject of the Black Rubric. But what about other alterations?

It is not intended at all to represent the changes of 1662 as being all and altogether in one direction.² Who is there now

¹ It should be well observed that L'Estrange, writing before the review, calls the rubric in its old form "this excellent rubric, anciently called 'a protestation touching the gesture of kneeling'" ("Alliance of Divine Offices," p. 329, edit. Oxford); and that Bishop White Kennet (in his "Register and Chronicle," p. 585; London, 1728), enumerating "the concessions and alterations," mentions the insertion of the rubric as a concession to the Presbyterians, but takes no notice whatever of any change in the rubric. His words are: "IX. They [the Presbyterian divines] desired that a rubric in the Common Prayer-Book in 5 and 6 Edward VI. for the vindicating of our Church in the matter of kneeling at the Sacrament, without adoration, etc., might be restored, and it was so."

So also Collier, in his "Ecclesiastical History," takes no account at all of any change, but says: "To satisfy these scruples, the Church thought fit to condescend so far as to restore the rubric of King Edward's reign above mentioned" (vol. v., p. 436).

The same may be said of Durel in his "Vindiciæ Eccl. Anglicanæ." And Neal speaks of the rubric as it was in the book of Edward (which he regards as "expunged" in Elizabeth's reign) as declaring that no adoration was intended to any *corporal* Presence ("History of Puritans," vol. i., p. 97. See also vol. iii., p. 96, London, 1837).

[With this compare the language of Knox, "Such as in that action adore any *corporal* or *real* presence of Christ's ~~natural~~ *body*, which is not there, but in heaven" (Lorimer's "John Knox," p. 159).]

Baxter, also speaking of the Conformists, tells us: "As for the ceremonies, they say that kneeling is freed from all suspicion of idolatry by the annexing of the rubric of our King Edward VI.'s Common Prayer-Book, which, though the Convocation refused, yet the Parliament annexed; and they are the imposers, and it is their sense that we must stand to. And as it is lawful to kneel in accepting a sealed pardon from the King by his messenger, so is it in accepting a sealed pardon from God with the investiture of our privileges" ("Reliquiæ Baxterianæ," p. 390).

That Baxter's *history* appears to be mistaken does not invalidate his testimony to the fact that no doctrinal change appears to have been seen or suspected in the appended rubric.

² Witness the change in the preface to the ordinal, and see Cardwell's "Conferences," p. 388. But though some of these, such as the substitution of "church" for "congregation" (which, however, was but following the use of Baxter's own book), and the specific mention

who is not thankful for the addition made to the prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church?¹

But it was at no request of the Presbyterian divines that

of "bishops, priests, and deacons," may have tended to produce irritation in the excited state of some minds, yet it will be found, I believe, that the general feeling of discontent on the part of the Presbyterian party was much rather (as in the case of the Hampton Court Conference) because of disappointment at the insufficiency of the concessions to meet their expectations (which had been unduly raised) than because of any trifling (however from a Churchman's point of view desirable) changes in an opposite direction.

The Presbyterians at the Savoy had desired that the word "minister" should be substituted for "priest." And it must doubtless have been distasteful to them to find "priest" substituted for "minister" in the rubric before the absolution. But it should be observed that the reply of the Episcopal Commissioners does not claim for the word "priest" any sacrificial character, but simply points out the need of some such word to distinguish the orders of the ministry, and to preclude the "deacon" from functions which do not belong to the diaconate. They allege that it is "unreasonable that the word *minister* should only be used in the Liturgy, since some parts might be performed by a deacon, others by none under the order of a priest—viz., absolution and consecration. It was fit, therefore, that some such word as 'priest' should be used for these offices, and not 'minister,' which signified at large everyone that ministered in that holy office, of whatsoever order he might be."

Mr. Perry has observed that the word *priest* is still retained in the rubrics "before prayers which it has never been doubted that a deacon may use" ("History of Church of England," vol. ii., p. 345). It may be added that in Durel's "Latin Prayer-Book" "presbyter" occurs one hundred and sixty times, "sacerdos" never (see Marshall's "Latin Prayer-Book of Charles II.," p. 47). This translation was made in conformity with the Act of Uniformity. And though no claim can be made for it as either faultless, or properly authorized, it was regarded by Bishop Barlow as an *interpretation* of the English Liturgy, and the fact that it was submitted to Sancroft (than whom very few could be better judges of the intention of the revisers) must be allowed to give it a high interpretative value on such a point. It should, however, be noted that Duport's Greek version (dedicated to Archbishop Sheldon), published in 1665, does not thus shun the use of *ιερεὺς*. It follows very much the Greek version of Petley (1638), which was dedicated to Archbishop Laud.

As for the change in the rubric before the confession, limiting the rehearsal to "one of the ministers," which before had been allowed to one of the communicants, it was only conceding what the Presbyterians had asked in these words, "We desire it may be made by the minister only" (Cardwell, p. 319).

On the other hand, the introduction of the word "offertory" ("Then shall the priest return to the Lord's Table and begin the offertory"—see Scudamore's "Notitia Euch.," p. 342, 2nd edit.), and perhaps also of the term "oblations" (on which see Harrison on Rubrics, pp. 353-357; Scudamore, "Notitia," p. 409; Robertson on Liturgy, pp. 185-189; and Marshall's "Latin Prayer-Book of Charles II.," pp. 61-80), in view of this complaint "touching innovation" (1641)—"By

¹ See Note 1, p. 77.

the words were 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."

Possibly some of the Puritans might have objected to it. Possibly even some of the revisers in King Edward's reign might have judged it to be running somewhat counter to their

introducing an offertory before the Communion, distinct from the giving of alms to the poor" (see Cardwell's "Conferences," p. 273), and of the exception of the Presbyterians at the Savoy: "Collection for the poor may be better made at or a little before the departing of the communicants" (*ibid.*, p. 319)—can hardly have been otherwise than distasteful to the prejudices of the Puritans. In Baxter's Liturgy there appears no direction for any collection or offering of any alms or oblations. And in the "Directory" the only notice on the subject is the following admonition at the close of the service: "The collection for the poor is so to be ordered that no part of the public worship be thereby hindered." It is curious to observe that these Puritan objections are as the echo of an ancient liturgical authority—"De collectis vero in usum pauperum, auctor est expositor Ord. R. eas opportuno tempore non inter officium Missarum fieri debere" (Cassander, "Liturgica," cap. xxvii., Op., p. 62, Paris, 1616; see also p. 61). Canon Dixon regards the prayer as now confused "by the offertory, which belonged to the Ordinary, being introduced among the oblations" ("History of Church of England," vol. iii., p. 30). But it should be observed that the Mozarabic rubric after the oblation of the Host and Chalice is this: "Let the priest turn to the people, and let them make their offering, if willing, and let the choir sing the 'Sacrificium'" (*i.e.*, the anthem answering to the offertory). See Simmons' "Lay Folks' Mass-Book," p. 231; see also the "Missa Gothica" of Archbishop Lorenzana, p. 100, Angelopoli, 1770; Neale's "Essays on Liturgiology," p. 148; and Warren's "Celtic Ritual," p. 130. Indeed, the offering of charitable gifts together with the bread and wine was doubtless a very ancient custom, out of which may probably have arisen the curious practice of the Greeks. (See Goar "Euchologium," p. 101; Venice, 1730.) In the Armenian service, however, there appears now to be no offering of any oblations, except of the elements to be consecrated. Mr. Hammond has noted that in the Ambrosian use the first and second oblations are united ("Liturgies," p. xxxii). And it will be seen that in the Ethiopic Liturgy the first oblation, including alms, is followed immediately by the second (*ibid.*, pp. 241, 244). Moreover, in the Gallican Office it appears that during the singing of the offertory antiphon "oblatio fit munerum," and then, according to Mabillon, "Tunc fiebat oblatio panis et vini ad Sacrificium" (*ibid.*, p. 315).

¹ As to the position of this prayer, though it differs from that in the Roman and Eastern Liturgies (which also herein differ from one another), it is the same as that in the Gallican and Mozarabic Liturgies, and probably as that in the ancient British Church (see S.P.C.K. "Commentary," p. 103; and Burbidge "Liturgies and Offices," p. 221). It is worthy of being noted that "the most ancient liturgies have the greatest variety in the order of parts" (Canon Dixon, "History of Church of England," vol. iii., p. 405; see Freeman's "Principles of Divine Service," vol. ii., part ii., pp. 400, 432; and Hammond's "Liturgies," Introduction, p. xxxvii).

extreme principle of caution.¹ But what is there in this commemoration of the departed that can give reasonable offence to any? "Some such prayer," it has been well said, "is contained in every ancient Liturgy, the present form being accurately worded so as to avoid giving any countenance to the mediæval doctrine that the faithful departed are in any place of penal or purgatorial fire or unrest" (Warren, in S.P.C.K. "Commentary." See also Burbidge, "Liturgies and Offices," pp. 221-223, and Bishop of St. Andrews on Cheyne's "Appeal," pp. 26, 27, Edinburgh, 1858).

Other similar changes, not without their importance, and not without their value, might doubtless be enumerated.

That certain changes and additions were admitted tending to increase reverence and deeper solemnity in the celebration of those holy mysteries—this is that in which (I trust) all may well agree to rejoice together.

But it is unquestionable that in the final revision Laudian influences were kept in check. It was doubtless not without cause that the Parliament appeared to be somewhat suspicious of certain tendencies among the clergy (see "Documents relating to Act of Uniformity," London, 1862; "Proceedings in Parliament," pp. 426, 427), but it is certain that those tendencies, so far as they may have aimed at any conspicuous or important results, did not prevail (see Cardwell's "Conferences," pp. 378, 389-392). And I believe that the general result of the revision is not unfairly expressed (though perhaps the picture may be taken from a somewhat one-sided point of view) in Bishop White Kennet's "Register and Chronicle" as follows:

"Though this debate at the Savoy was ended without any great satisfaction to either party, yet both parties knew the desires and understood the abilities of the other much better

¹ For in this matter they had rejected the recommendation of Bucer, who, after arguing strongly against prayer for the dead as it stood in this place in Edward's first book, had desired that in its place should be substituted some such addition as that which was made in 1662. See his "Censura" in "Scripta Anglicana," p. 468: "His itaque de causis optarim ego commendationem defunctorum et precem pro æterna eorum pace, prætermitti: et in locum hujus commendationis et precatonis preci præcedenti, quâ oratur concedi nobis exempla Divorum eorumque in fide constantiam, atque præceptorum Dei observantiam sequi, ista subjici, Quomodo unâ cum his, et omnibus qui ad te nos hinc in fide nominis tui præcesserunt, possimus in adventu filii tui gloriose prodire ad resurrectionem vitæ," etc.

Bishop Wren, after noting the omission, and the reason for it—"that the vulgar might not think they did either pray to the dead or for the dead"—added, "Thanks be to God! there can be no pretence at all now why it should not be restored" (Jacobson's "Fragmentary Illustrations," p. 77). See Palmer's "Origines Lit.," vol. ii., pp. 94-97.

than before it; and the late distressed clergy, that were now restored to their former rights and power, were so charitable as at their next meeting of Convocation to contrive to give the dissenting party satisfaction by alteration, explanation, and addition to some part, both of the *Rubric* and *Common Prayer*, as also by adding some new necessary collects, with a particular collect of thanksgiving" (pp. 632, 633; see also Walton, "Life of Sanderson," in Sanderson's "Sermons," p. 42, edit. 1686).

It would obviously be out of place here to enter upon anything like a critical examination of the many minor alterations.¹ If very much has been made of them in recent years,

¹ Passing over the long list of more minute changes (as they seem to me) in the Communion Service, which Mr. Walton has with great care and diligence collected in p. 67 of his "Rubrical Determination," which indicate the carefulness of the revision and its concern for reverence in the administration, but which can hardly by any be supposed to have any considerable doctrinal import, I will set down here the list of changes which he gives in p. 22 as "undoubtedly derived, through the Scotch Liturgy, from Bishop Andrewes' Notes."

- (1) "The priest to recite the Commandments, *turning to the people.*
- (2) "The people to *stand* during the Gospel, and to be *still standing* at the Creed.
- (3) "The *deacons* to *receive* (not 'gather' as in the previous rubric) the alms.
- (4) "The alms to be brought to the priest, and by him to be humbly presented and placed upon the holy table.
- (5) "The solemn oblation of the elements (brought 'from a by-standing table.'—Andrewes).
- (6) "After the Confession, inserting the word 'absolution' in the following rubric . . . '*pronounce this Absolution.*'
- (7) "Insertion of the term 'prayer of consecration.'
- (8) "Revival of the ancient Catholic names 'paten' and 'chalice.'
- (9) "The priest while consecrating to break the bread, and take the chalice into his hand, '*Ejus ductu et exemplo Qui hic presidet.*'
- (10) "After consecration, 'Amen' to be said."

Upon comparison of these with Bishop Andrewes' Notes, it is to be observed (a) that what may fairly be called the high ceremonialism recommended in those Notes is not to be found in the revised Liturgy; (b) that the "Amen" (No. 10) is, according to Andrewes, to be said by the communicant after the first half of the form of administration of the cup, not "after consecration."

Bishop Wren would have the communicant say "Amen" at the end of the words of delivery. He says: "The Church of Rome, to gain some colour to their fancy of transubstantiation, next after the words, 'The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ,' put in *Amen* there. Now, though we approve not of that, yet there is no reason why it should be quite omitted" (Jacobson, "Fragmentary Illustrations," p. 82).

(c) That the change from "said" to "sung or said" before the Nicene Creed—so also in Preface (to which importance has been attached as making provision for choral celebrations; see Walton, "Rubrical Determination," p. 67)—is in distinct contravention of Bishop Andrewes' note in p. 152: "In sacra synaxi nihil canitur, quod alias fieri

it is very much more than was made of them at the time, and very much more, as I am persuaded, than will endure the flame of the critical furnace.

solet ; sed omnia graviter et severe peraguntur cum affectu potius quam modulatione."

(d) That the revision has disregarded Andrewes' note concerning the Gospel : " In the reading the holy Gospel, and never else, is adoration made at the Name of Jesus " (p. 152), which is hardly to be reconciled with Canon XVIII. (except as that canon was interpreted by prevalent custom).

(e) That whereas in Andrewes' Notes, " These [the wafer, bread, and wine] the Bishop offers in the name of the whole congregation," and again, " Then he offers into the basin for himself, and after him the whole congregation " (p. 153), the revision designedly refused the word *offer*, doubtless lest the expression (however innocent and right in itself) might give needless offence to some.

(f) That whereas in Andrewes' note the offering is made " upon the altar " (p. 153), the revision nowhere restores the word " altar," which had been rejected in the revision of 1552.

Further, it should be observed, as regards No. 5, that what is called " the solemn oblation of the elements," is just what is directed in the Liturgy of Baxter : " Here let the bread be brought to the minister, and received by him, and set upon the table " (Hall's " Reliquiæ Lit.," vol. iv., p. 68) ; whereas the revisers, following otherwise the form of the Scottish Liturgy of 1637, omit the words " offer up." The omission was a distinct rejection, for the words " offer up " were in the rubric as proposed in Sancroft's book (see Cardwell's " Conferences," p. 382). It must, therefore, have been with design, and with design which gives to the change just a contrary tendency to that which Mr. Walton would give it. Note also that in Baxter's Liturgy " the brethren " expunged a few lines " where the word *offering* was used " (see " Reliquiæ Baxterianæ," p. 334 ; see also Harrison on Rubrics, p. 353.) Note also that there is no verbal oblation of the elements (when placed) in the Liturgy of the Apostolical Constitutions ; nor was there originally in the Roman Liturgy (see Scudamore's " Notitia Euch.," pp. 416, 417, 2nd edit.). Yet in mediæval missals the " solemn sacrifice " is the oblation of the bread and wine. And a special solemnity was associated with this rite until an increasing prominence, doctrinal and ceremonial, was given to the subsequent blessing and consecration of the gifts (see Simmons' " Lay Folks' Mass-Book," pp. 231, 234, 238, 268).

According to Bishop Wren's suggestion, the bread and wine were not to be " upon the Lord's board " till just before the prayer of humble access (see Jacobson's " Fragmentary Illustrations," p. 80).

And, as regards No. 9, the rubric does but direct to be done what the Presbyterian divines had desired at the Savoy. Among these " exceptions " we find the following : " We conceive that the manner of the consecrating of the elements is not here explicit and distinct enough, and the minister's breaking of the bread is not so much as mentioned."

So also it may be observed (though scarcely worth notice), as regards No. 7, that the Presbyterian divines had named that prayer " the prayer at the consecration " (Cardwell, p. 321).

As regards No. 4, it may perhaps be worth noting that the exception given in by the Presbyterians to the former rubric—" Then shall the churchwardens, or some other by them appointed, gather the devotion of the people "—" collection for the poor may be better made at or a little before the departing of the communicants"—would seem to be recom-

It has, indeed, been urged by some that, trifling as they may seem, these minute changes were as little seeds,¹ which were sown as in secret silence *then*, that in after generations *we* might gather in the ripe and goodly fruit of a sacrificial *sacerdotium* and something like a restored missal-service.

But I find no evidence of the revisers themselves having had any thought at all of regarding themselves as sowers of such prolific seeds. Indeed, it seems acknowledged that this sowing was generally unobserved² in their day. And very sure I am that they would never have put their hand to any such seed-sowing if they had had any idea of these seeds ripening into a harvest of what is now too often regarded as "Catholic doctrine."

mending an entire abolition of the offertory ; whereas Bucer has highly commended it ("Scripta Anglicana," p. 463), and Bullinger had described the ancient custom : "Stabant diaconi oblata a populo accipientes, quæ presbyter demum offerebat Domino, cum precatione et gratiarum actione super oblatis rebus habita, quæ accepta esse cupiebat per Dominum Jesum" ("De Origine Erroris," cap. vii., p. 213 ; Tiguri, 1539). See Harrison on Rubrics, pp. 340-347 ; Le Brun, "Explicatio Lit.," tom. i., pp. 137-141 ; Cardwell's "Conferences," p. 273 ; also Scudamore's "Notitia Euch.," pp. 343-353, 2nd edit.

I can hardly suppose that the reader will think any observations needful on the other particulars.

¹ Mr. Alexander Knox says : "What, then, can we suppose, but that those changes were meant by Providence to subserve ulterior movements ; to lie dormant, as it were, until nearer 'the time of the end,' when it might suit the order of Providence that what was before deposited as seed, should grow up into a rich and luxuriant harvest" ("Remains," vol. i., p. 60, 2nd edit.) Mr. Walton, who quotes these words, regards them as "prophetic words," "written in 1816" ("Rubrical Determination," p. 26, new edit.).

A little before Knox had said : "The revisers seized the opportunity (contrary to what the public was reckoning upon) to make our formularies not more Puritanic, but more Catholic. They effected this, without doubt, *stealthily*, and, to appearance, by the minutest alteration ; but to compare the Communion Service as it now stands, especially its rubrics, with the form in which we find it previously to that transaction, will be to discover that, *without any change of features which could cause alarm*, a new spirit was then breathed into our Communion Service" (pp. 59, 60). But these words are not quoted by Mr. Walton.

If I understand Mr. Knox aright (from whom I grieve to differ), he appears to attribute to the revisers a *deep and dark design*, which I should be sorry to think they were capable of, and which, I feel sure, was far from their intentions.

² Thus Mr. Alexander Knox writes : "Who can doubt of this transaction being, in all its bearings, providential ? And yet it was clearly insufficient to produce any extended or striking effect. It has actually *escaped general observation*. Wheatley on the Liturgy notices the changes ; but, though himself a High Churchman, overlooks their import. Nichols, if I remember right, scarcely adverts to the fact ; and Shepherd, who meant to take pains, seems not to have known anything of the matter" ("Remains," vol. i., p. 60).

Mr. Knox might have added the names of others who failed to see the import of these little changes.

Without committing ourselves to the assertion that nothing might have been done better, or that nothing¹ more might have been attempted in the way of conciliation—nothing more to manifest a loving desire to cross the bridge of separation and to embrace offended and offending brethren in the unity of the spirit and the bond of peace—we may still look on our Service for the administration of the Holy Communion, and thank God for the last review, both for what it did do and for what it did not do.

The impress and character of "Reformed" Theology is still to be seen stamped on our Liturgy as sharp and clear as when it came from the "Reformed" mint in 1552. It may be regarded as something very remarkable, if not very wonderful, that, coming out of a fire heated with a strong anti-Puritan flame,² its doctrinal markings have been so little touched, and injured not at all.³ Not a mark nor a scratch is on it from

¹ Archbishop Tenison says: "If they had foreseen what is since come to pass, I charitably believe they would not have done all they did, and just so much, and no more." ("Compl. History," p. 252; see Neal's "History of Puritans," vol. iii., p. 97).

² Not that the clergy as a whole had much sympathy with Laudian views. Neal himself says: "The country clergy were of a quite different spirit: they were determined Protestants and true Churchmen, but more disposed to a coalition with Protestant Dissenters than with Papists" ("History of Puritans," vol. iii., p. 130; London, 1837).

The London clergy, it appears, had even elected Baxter and Calamy as their proctors in convocation (see Blakeney on "Common Prayer," p. 135, 3rd edit.).

The anti-Puritan feeling was manifested chiefly in the House of Commons. Clarendon says of the Bill: "Every man, according to his passion, thought of adding somewhat to it that might make it more grievous to somebody whom he did not love." The Lords had pleaded the King's declaration in favour of *tender consciences*. The Commons replied "that his Majesty could not understand the *misleaders* of the people, but only the *mised*." (See Lister's "Life of Clarendon," vol. ii., pp. 185, 186).

³ Dean Luckock brings "a long and heavy bill of indictment against the second revisionists [*i.e.*, those who were responsible for Edward VI.'s second book] for departure from Catholic doctrine" ("Studies," p. 106). He even goes so far as to say: "It seems difficult to acquit them of hypocrisy or infatuation" (p. 108). But he regards their designs as "so far hopelessly baffled, that at the final revision the Church was able solemnly to declare that the true Eucharistic doctrine had remained essentially unchanged from the first revision to the last" (p. 109). He appeals to the language of the Preface of 1662: "We find, that in the reigns of several princes of blessed memory since the Reformation, the Church, upon just and weighty considerations her thereunto moving, hath yielded to make such alterations in some particulars, as in their respective times were thought convenient; yet so, as that the main body and essentials of it, as well in the chiefest materials as in the frame and order thereof, have still continued the same unto this day, and do yet stand firm and unshaken." He considers it "impossible to exaggerate the weight of this declaration" (p. 110).

Lutheranizing or Romanizing influence. Not a trace is to be found on it of the erroneous sacrificial doctrine of which it was

But obviously the argument from these words may lead to two very different conclusions, according to the sense we attribute to "the main body and essentials" of the Liturgy.

Are we to suppose that these terms must mean that doctrine of the Presence and the Sacrifice which "mistakers" may have read into the first book? And are we to conclude that the revisers meant us to understand that these same doctrines are now to be read into the second book, which so carefully excluded them? If so, why did the revision of 1662 decline to undo "the departure from Catholic doctrine" which was due to the "hypocrisy or infatuation" of our Reformers? And why did they in the Preface express such approval of the book "as it stood before established by law"?

But let "the main body and essentials" be understood as pointing, among other things, to "that which," in the language of Hooker ("Ecc. Pol.," V., chap. lxvii., § 12), "alone is material" (in the doctrine of the Eucharist), and all is easy, intelligible and consistent. Then we see and recognise the unchanged character of our "Reformed" Prayer-Book, and acknowledge that its essentials "have still continued the same unto this day, and do yet stand firm and unshaken"; whereas, on Dean Luckock's hypothesis, much Catholic truth had been shaken, and quite shaken out, and the revisers of 1662 (not restoring the liberty of reserving the Blessed Sacrament) have left parish priests (in cases of wide-spread sickness) with no alternative but to "transgress the existing law, or leave men to die without the food of eternal life" (p. 88). They have also, in Dean Luckock's view, "left a most lamentable blot on the book" (p. 89), in discountenancing prayers for the dead; and further, in not ordering the Holy Eucharist at burials, have "left a void in our Prayer-Book for which nothing but its full restoration can ever supply adequate consolation" (pp. 90, 91); and in continuing the displacement of the prayer of oblation, they have sanctioned "a direct breach of Catholic usage" (p. 102).

If I mistake not, the words on which Dean Luckock relies will be found to signify, in their natural and obvious interpretation, that the revisers did not change, and had no thought or desire of changing, the doctrinal character of our distinctly "Reformed" Prayer-Book—regarding the doctrine of the book as it was before their revision (*i.e.*, in the main the book which, in Dean Luckock's view, manifests a "departure from Catholic doctrine") as retaining "the main body and essentials" of the Liturgy yet "standing firm and unshaken."

Indeed, the *ipsissima verba* which form the basis of Dean Luckock's argument will be found in the language of Gauden, then Bishop Elect of Exeter, who, writing in 1661, thus expressed himself: "My judgment is that the Liturgy of the Church of England, as to the *main and essentials* of it, in doctrine, devotion, consecration and celebration, for matter, order and method, may in no case be maimed, rudely changed, or oddly deformed" ("Considerations Touching the Liturgy," p. 23; London, 1661). And this he wrote in the persuasion that the Liturgy would preserve in England "the reformed part of religion," be a "most impregnable bulwark against . . . Romish superstitions," and "for ever keep out the Mass" (*ibid.*, p. 12).

And it may be worth noting that as regards the "displacement" of the "prayer of oblation," neither did Bishop Sanderson, who penned the Preface in draft, nor did Bishop Wren, at whose house the Episcopal Committee met, seem to have had any desire to correct what, in

so carefully divested in King Edward's reign.¹ It is, as the Act of Uniformity declares, the Book of Elizabeth (which was the Second Book of Edward) with certain additions and alterations, many of which (even some of those now regarded as "Catholic" changes) were made at the instance of the Presbyterian Divines, and all of which were desirable or unobjectionable from the point of view of the Churchmanship of the Reformed Church of England.

I will only add that if any one of my readers has cherished the idea of a deep recondit "Catholic" sense underlying the numerous minor changes effected at the last review, he has but to read with careful attention what is said in the Preface (the work of Bishop Sanderson²), which is itself an integral part of the Prayer-Book³ to see that such a notion is utterly repugnant to the declared design of the revisers⁴ themselves, and to the professed assurance of the very Prayer-Book itself.

Dean Luckcock's view, is such "a direct breach of Catholic usage." (See Jacobson's "Fragmentary Illustrations," pp. 27, 28, 83).

And we know that the Bishops at Ely House declined to sanction such a change.

Where, then, is the evidence that the last review effected any such important change in the doctrine of our Liturgy?

Lord Selborne says, "The tabular list or conspectus, prefixed to the 'Convocation Book,' and bound up in it when sent to the House of Lords, shows all the alterations and additions, then thought material, which had been made by Convocation at the time when it was drawn up: and it would require a theological microscope of high magnifying power to find in these (of which some were afterwards withdrawn) any substantial change of the doctrinal balance of the former Liturgy" ("Notes on Liturgical History," pp. 48, 49).

Such a statement from such an authority carries a weight which cannot easily be set on one side.

It is surely impossible to believe that, by "the main body and essentials" of the Liturgy, the Preface means us to understand those very doctrines which were with scrupulous care eliminated at the Reformation, and have never been restored.

¹ The change in the second exhortation from "in remembrance of His death" to "in remembrance of the sacrifice of His death" (see Walton's "Rubrical Determination," p. 67), should rather, as I think, tell *against* than *for* any such doctrine. (See "Eucharistic Presence," pp. 493, 531, and Scudamore's "Notitia Euch.," pp. 473, 474, 2nd edit.).

² Dr. White Kennet tells us: "It may be noted that, for the satisfying all the dissenting brethren and others, the Convocation's reasons for the alterations and additions to the Liturgy were by them desired to be drawn up by Dr. Sanderson, which being done by him and approved by them, was appointed to be printed before the Liturgy, and may be now known by this title, 'The Preface,' and begins thus: 'It hath been the wisdom of the Church,'" etc. ("Register and Chronicle," p. 633).

³ "Mistakers" may also be recommended to read the Act of Uniformity for further evidence of the character and purpose of the Revision.

⁴ In the list of "Alterations" appended to the copy of the book of 1636, which was prepared by the revisers for the copyist, there are specified ten changes in "Communion," none of which can fairly be regarded as inno-

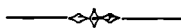
The revision has done its work, and in the main we may surely say the substance of our Communion Book is unaltered.

Still we look in vain for the restoration of such expressions as before 1552 looked most like a corporal Presence. Still we look in vain for any Invocation of the Holy Spirit on the Elements,¹ Still we look in vain to find in the Consecration Prayer any asking for any such inherent change in God's creatures as the objective theory² requires. Still we look in vain for any such sacrificial language as the maintainers of that theory desire. Still we look in vain for any such adoration as we are told the "real objective Presence" demands.

Some concluding observations must be reserved for another month.

N. DIMOCK.

(To be continued.)



ART. V.—THE RELIGION OF THE OXFORD UNDERGRADUATE.

IN a recent number of the *Nineteenth Century* Mr. A. C. Deane has brought forward a somewhat violent indictment against Oxford and Cambridge Undergraduates on the score of their religious opinions. A criticism of this description assails a very large body of men; and it is natural to suppose that many 'Varsity men of a former generation, and parents who intend to send their sons to Oxford, may receive something akin to a mental shock when they find a writer, who claims to be thoroughly conversant with the question before him, maintaining, in the most sweeping way, that the average undergraduate is an agnostic. "With sorrow and reluctance it must be confessed," says Mr. Deane, "that the majority of Oxford and Cambridge undergraduates are without, or, at least, profess to be without, any religious beliefs at all. It is sad, it is deplorable, but it is true." I have no wish to enter the lists with a rhetorical sermon on Mr. Deane's lines, nor to complicate matters by introducing any consideration as to the

variations in doctrine. At the foot of the entire list we find the words, "These are all the material alterations. The rest are only verbal, or the changing of some rubrics for the better performing of the service, or the new moulding of some of the Collects."

¹ See "Eucharistic Presence," pp. 559-561, 553.

² It is significant that no room was found in the Consecration prayer for even the very modest addition (suggestive or admitting of a *μνημόσυνον* sense) which appears in the MSS. proposals of Bishop Wren (see Jacobson's "Fragmentary Illustrations," p. 81).