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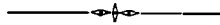
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controversial discussion on the points at issue between the two Churches, are ready to explain away distinctive Anglican doctrines, to represent Anglicanism and Popery as essentially identical by putting a non-natural interpretation on statements of Anglican doctrines which conflict with Papal dogmas, and recognising as Catholic truths tenets which the Reformation set aside as Papal errors.

What can we expect to secure from an enterprise undertaken in the spirit of the *Revue Anglo-Romaine*? On the one side, it may encourage the vain and foolish hopes entertained in ultramontane circles in France and Italy that England is about to surrender to Rome; on the other, its effects on individual minds may be even more deleterious. What these are, we will state in the words of the Bishop of Edinburgh :

The attempts made from time to time to show that the distinctive dogmatic formulæ of the English Church can be so construed as not to be incompatible with Roman doctrine have been, from the standpoint of the historical student, wholly worthless and ineffective for their main purpose. But such attempts have, I fear, for some tended to break down the temper of mind that seeks to weigh evidence in a just balance. This statement or that is viewed with the question in the heart—not, "What does it really mean?" but "How may it be construed so as not to contradict something else?" And hence history in all the breadth of its teaching is abandoned, and history is appealed to only when some point is discovered which seems to make for the side of the inquirer. This process, it seems to me, has had a demoralizing effect upon some minds. . . . The faculties that God has given men for the accurate and careful pursuit of truth become debauched, and by-and-by, *to be quite straight* with regard to truth seems to be no longer possible. And the saddest aspect of it all is that the field of honest inquiry, of truth-loving and truth-seeking, is as much a part of the region of *morals* as the regulation and control of men's bodily passions and appetites. As the greatest ethical teacher of the English Church has long ago instructed us, for some men it is in *that* region their chief probation lies. It is a solemn thought for every one of us. God's righteous judgment will look to the honesty, diligence, and scrupulous care of our intellectual inquiries no less than to the region of external conduct.—*Synodical Address*, 1895.

F. MEYRICK.



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

PART III.

ONE important question remains to be considered: "In what relation does the second book of Edward stand to subsequent Prayer-Books of the English Church?"

For our present purpose it will suffice to accept and endorse the dictum of Bishop Stubbs: "The great historic importance

of the third Prayer-Book—that is, the one introduced by the Act of Uniformity of Queen Elizabeth, which to almost all intents and purposes is that which we now use—is that it was a distinct enunciation that the tide of innovation should proceed no further. The changes introduced into it from the second Prayer-Book are very few; but, few as they are, they indicate a return to, rather than a further departure from, the first Prayer-Book¹ (“Charge” of June, 1890; see *Guardian* of September 3, 1890).

“The Preface,” indeed, inserted at the last review, speaks of the “present” book and the “former” book. And the Act of Uniformity, which establishes our present book, calls it “the appended book.” The Act of Elizabeth authorized no new book at all but Edward’s second book, with certain alterations specified in the Act itself.

The changes, however, made in the book of Elizabeth at the last review (unless for the purposes specified in the Preface) are very few indeed; and it is scarcely too much to say that their doctrinal significance is inappreciable,² except so far as they may be interpreted to be another and a further intimation that the stream of innovation was to be checked.

Alterations, indeed, of some importance were proposed in the Order of the Administration of the Lord’s Supper, which—perhaps from an overscrupulous dread of concessions to anything like a tendency towards Laudian theology—were deliberately disallowed.³

¹ To prevent misunderstanding, it may be well to state that, in making this quotation, I am not intending to claim the Bishop’s support for all that is advanced in this article.

² Moreover, the changes (such as they are) are by no means all in one direction (see “Papers on Eucharistic Presence,” No. vii., pp. 467, 557-559). Cosin’s influence seems to have been controlled by others, and some of the changes, generally supposed to be of a retrogressive character, were really made at the suggestion of the Puritans (see Canon Robertson’s “How shall we Conform?” p. 26, and Blakeney on “Common Prayer,” pp. 153-156).

Lord Selborne says: “The influence which Cosin personally exercised over the work of revision cannot be measured (as Mr. Parker seems, in part at least, to measure it) by the number of the changes entered in his ‘book’ [which was, in fact, the original record of the preparation made by the Bishops; see p. 44] which were ultimately adopted. Very many of these changes (whatever may have been their origin) were verbal and trivial. Many others of greater importance were (in one stage or other of the work of Convocation) rejected; and of these, some of the most considerable may be inferred, from their agreement with passages in Cosin’s ‘Particulars’ or ‘Notes,’ to have been suggested by him” (“Notes on Liturgical Hist.,” p. 48). Contemporary writers do not include Cosin’s name among those to whom they ascribe the prevailing influence (*Ibid.*).

See “Eucharistic Presence,” pp. 555-557.

³ See editor’s Preface to vol. v. of Cosin’s Works, A.C.L., p. xxii., and note in same vol., p. 518; also Bulley’s “Variations,” pp. 142, 190, 191,

Our Communion Service is still the Communion Service of Queen Elizabeth's book.¹ And the authorized book of Queen Elizabeth's reign was professedly the second book of Edward,² with just so much change as indicated a desire to raise a breakwater against the danger of any further rising of the restless tide of disturbing innovation—a tide which was already being encouraged by the ill-informed enthusiasm and mis-directed zeal of some dissatisfied and turbulent spirits. There was need for this, as the noble treatise of Richard Hooker and the sad history of subsequent troubles too plainly and sadly testify. But the Communion Service as we have it now is substantially what it was as it came from the hands of our Reformers in 1552.

Changing winds and currents of opinion may doubtless have made a slight veering in her swing, but the doctrinal anchorage of the Church of England has not been shifted. Let us thank God that the Prayer-Book of Queen Elizabeth's reign (*i.e.*, the second Prayer-Book of Edward VI.) is our Prayer-Book still, and is a standing witness before the world that the Church of England is "Reformed" still.

200; also Cardwell's "Conferences," chap. viii.; Preface to Nicholls's "Common Prayer," p. x.; Burnet's "History of his own Time," pp. 124-125, edit. Bohn; Blakeney's "Common Prayer," pp. 143-145; and "Papers on the Eucharistic Presence," No. vii., pp. 556-557.

¹ The Act of Uniformity of 1662 speaks of the book which it authorizes not as a book then made, but as the book of Elizabeth, with certain "additions and alterations."

² On the change in the words of administration, see "Papers on the Eucharistic Presence," No. vii., p. 492, *sqq.*

One important change in the book recommended by Geste (and, as generally believed—though on evidence somewhat slender and mainly conjectural—by a committee of divines) was in an opposite direction. That book left it indifferent to receive the Holy Communion kneeling or standing. In Geste's letter to Cecil the preference is given to standing. To have added the Black Rubric, therefore, would have been altogether out of place. (See Dugdale's "Life of Geste," pp. 39, 40, 149; Collier's "Eccl. Hist.," vol. vi., p. 249; Cardwell's "Conferences," pp. 21, 22, 54; Strype's "Annals," vol. i., chap. iv., p. 83; "Papers on the Eucharistic Presence," p. 466.)

It is much to be regretted that Professor Kurtz, in his valuable and learned "Church History," should have fallen into such a strange mistake as to say that the revision in Queen Elizabeth's reign "practically reproduced the earlier, less perfect of the Prayer-Books of Edward VI." (§ 139, 6, vol. ii., p. 316). Almost equally surprising is his representation of "the Reformation under Elizabeth" as having a "Lutheranizing doctrinal standpoint, and Catholicizing forms of constitution and worship" (p. 374). Not only did Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity establish substantially Edward's second book, but it made "void all laws, statutes, and ordinances whereby any other service had been established" (1 Eliz., chap. ii., § 27), and enacted (§ 4) that "if any parson . . . use any other rite, ceremony" . . . than that set forth in the Prayer-Book, he shall be punished.

It seems needful to insist on these facts at the present time, because, while the "Reformed" character of our earlier Prayer-Book is being more commonly allowed, there seems a strong disposition in certain quarters to assume that quite another character was given to our Liturgy by the last review.

This disposition may be said to be reflected in the following notice, which appeared in the *Guardian* of May 23, 1888 :

"From what has been said, it will have been seen that we should not have thought Dr. Dalton's 'Life of A Lasco' worth reviewing, if it had not been for the opportunity afforded us of correcting an erroneous view common amongst English Churchmen that the English Reformers had more affinity with Luther than Calvin. The author is right, on his own principles, in connecting the English Church rather with the Reformed than the Lutheran communion.¹ We need not fear to proclaim what facts

¹ If evidence of this should be desired, it will be found abundantly in two articles in the *Church Quarterly Review*, October, 1892, and October, 1893.

And if any of our readers should wish to see additional evidence in support of the view maintained in our former articles with respect to the relation of the second book of Edward VI. to the first, he may be referred to Mr. Tomlinson's "Great Parliamentary Debate" (Shaw and Co., London. Price 6d. See especially pp. 19-22), which is a very valuable and important publication, demanding the attention of all who desire to form a true estimate of the earlier history of our Prayer-Book. It makes it quite clear that in 1548 Cranmer and Ridley had already adopted and avowed the doctrinal views which were distinctly impressed on the Book of 1552.

As to the Prayer-Book of Queen Elizabeth, it seems difficult to believe that any can seriously suppose that its doctrine differed materially from that of Edward's second book. Yet we find an able writer in the *Church Quarterly Review* of April, 1896 (p. 36), speaking of it thus: "This rite did not ignore the Real Presence, as did that which it superseded. But the sequence of parts, and the language of 1552, both of which had been adopted to shut out the sacrificial ideas for which Gardiner found support in the Mass of 1549, remained unchanged. This might be serious were it not that the English Church . . . repudiates the interpretation of her formularies by any but herself, or except in reference, not to the opinions of the Reformers, but to the ancient and Catholic standards of belief." We are constrained to ask (1) Wherein did the Liturgy of Elizabeth differ from that of 1552 in respect of the Real Presence (perhaps the omission of the added Black Rubric is referred to, about which see below)? and (2) How could the English Church in her Eucharistic service more clearly manifest her own interpretation both of her own formularies, and of "the ancient and Catholic standards of belief," than by retaining what she had adopted for the purpose of shutting out the sacrificial ideas which "mistakers" had read into the office of 1549?

That there was influential preference manifested for Edward's *first* book (which is the natural, if not necessary, inference from the letter of Geste to Cecil. See especially Dugdale's "Life of Geste," pp. 143, 146, 147) only makes the return to the *second* book more significant.

It is evident that, in spite of temporary pressure, the second book was restored in deliberate preference to the first book. And the Act of Uniformity (which in the House of Lords only passed by a majority of three) may be commended to the study of those who would make much

of history have established undeniably, since the Caroline divines who remodelled the Prayer-Book at the Restoration were neither Lutherans, Zwinglians, nor Calvinists."

We may thankfully recognise such a truthful and candid acknowledgment of that which the facts of history have made plain concerning the Reformation of the English Church.

And all that is here stated may be very freely conceded. But, then, it must also be conceded that the facts of history have not less clearly established the fact that the Prayer-Book of 1662 (as regards its Eucharistic teaching) had no new doctrinal character impressed upon it.

Those who regard the doctrinal teaching of our present book as so far removed from that of Elizabeth's book can only make good their position by showing clearly two things: (1) *first*, that the doctrinal views of the principal revisers were in accordance with what is now spoken of as the "Catholic" doctrine of the Eucharist, and (2) *secondly*, that they were successful in introducing into the book the changes which they desired as expressive of their views.¹

But it may be confidently affirmed (1) that what may be called the innovating party, in their desire to introduce somewhat observable changes, were defeated in their attempts all along the line, and (2) that these innovators themselves, in

of the Liturgical changes which were introduced. It ought to be observed (though it appears to have escaped notice) that the Act, specifying the alterations made, makes no mention of the Black Rubric or its omission. So that, if the Rubric had been strictly a part of the Prayer-Book as established by law in King Edward's reign (which constitutionally it was not), it would have been strictly a part of the Prayer-Book as established by law in Queen Elizabeth's reign. The law which made the changes made no change whatever in this. So that, *on this supposition*, Bishop Hall was not so far wrong in judging that the rubric had been "upon negligence omitted in the impression" (see "Documents relating to Act of Uniformity," p. 317; London, 1862).

¹ It seems surprising that so much should be made of changes "contemplated and definitely proposed" (Walton's "Rubrical Determination," p. 25; see also pp. 35, 36; edit. 2), but *never made*, as evidence of the "Catholic" character of the Revised Prayer-Book.

From a common-sense point of view it would surely seem that whatever amount of evidence is adduced to show that any attempt was made and pressed to alter in any measure the doctrine of the Prayer-Book *without success*, is just so much evidence that the revision not only did not receive the new doctrinal impress desired, but also did deliberately decline to accept it.

When we read the note in Sancroft's handwriting, "My Lords the Bishops at Ely House ordered all in the old method," we surely have before us evidence of an effort checkmated. The proposal to return in some important particulars (which might well have been allowed but for the danger of opening a door for possible doctrinal misconception) to the form of Edward's first book was not only not allowed; it was disallowed.

their desire for what they regarded as liturgical improvements, had no thought or desire to make room for the introduction of Lutheran or Romish doctrine, either as regards the Presence or the Sacrifice.¹

¹ No one, I am persuaded, would have more decidedly repudiated the notion of a Presence of Christ in or under the forms of the elements, to be adored by the faithful, and offered to God the Father, than Cosin himself. I give a few extracts in evidence: (1) "Negamus sacramentum, extra usum a Deo institutum, rationem habere sacramenti, in quo Christus reservari aut circumgestari debeat, aut possit, quum communicantibus tantum adsit" ("Hist. Trans.," cap. iv., § v.; in Works, A.C.L., vol. iv., p. 49). (2) "Cum poculum nonnisi sacramentali metonymia possit esse illud testamentum, planum fit, nec panem aliter esse posse Corpus Christi" (*ibid.*, cap. v., § v., p. 58). (3) "Aliis vero, tam non recipientibus quam non credentibus, licet Antitypon sit, tamen illis nequam est nec fit Corpus Christi. Nemo enim absque fide Christum manducat" (*ibid.*, cap. v., § xv., p. 66). (4) "Because the body and blood is neither sensibly present (nor *otherwise* AT ALL PRESENT, but only to those who are duly prepared to receive them, and in the very act of receiving them and the consecrated elements together, to which they are sacramentally united), the adoration is then and there given to Christ Himself; *neither is nor ought to be directed to any external sensible object*, such as are the *blessed elements*" (in Nichols's "Additional Notes on Communion Service," p. 49). (5) Of *elevation* Bishop Cosin says: "Which rite neither we, nor any of the Reformed or Protestant Churches, observe, but (*in regard of the PERIL of IDOLATRY*) have wholly omitted it" (*ibid.*, p. 47). (6) "Our kneeling," he says, "is ordained *only* to testify and express the inward reverence and devotion of our souls toward our blessed Saviour" (*ibid.*, p. 49). See also "Real Presence of Laudian Theology," pp. 46, 47, 58).

For evidence of Cosin's views of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, see "Missarum Sacrificia," pp. 162-166.

Other language of Cosin which may be thought to have a different sound can be matched from the writings of Calvin and Turretin. See "Real Presence of the Laudian Theology," pp. 47, 58, 59. See also p. 52. As to the earlier series of notes which has been attributed to Cosin, see "Missarum Sacrificia," p. 3.

And even Thorndike (notwithstanding his "particular notion in this matter;" see Wake in Gibson's "Preservative," vol. x., p. 75, edit. 1848) would have entirely rejected the notion of any "real and essential" Presence of Christ's Body and Blood to be adored in the elements.

Witness the following: "Though the Sacrament of the Eucharist may be the occasion to determine the circumstance of the worshipping of Christ, yet is it itself no way capable of any worship that may be counted religious, because religion enjoineth it. Cardinal Bellarmine . . . would have it said, that the sign is worshipped materially, but the body and blood of Christ formally, in the Eucharist; which are terms that signify nothing. . . . Therefore the sign in the Eucharist seems only to determine why that worship, which is always everywhere due, is here now tendered" (vol. iv., part 2, p. 757, A.C.L.).

"If in the proper dimensions thereof [*i.e.*, of Christ's body] He 'parted from' His disciples, and 'went,' was 'carried,' or lifted and 'taken up into heaven'; . . . if 'the heavens must receive Him till' that time; . . . if to that purpose He 'leave the world' . . . 'no more' to be 'in' it . . . so that we shall have Him no more with us, . . . it behoveth us to

Indeed, the history of the revision is (in part) the history of a remarkable failure of well-meant endeavours (endeavours with which many "Reformed" Churchmen might well have sympathized), yet a failure for which we may now be devoutly thankful.

In saying this, I am not forgetting that the verbal changes in the Black Rubric have recently had given them an amazing importance as indicating something like a complete doctrinal revolution. But the claim for such significance may be taken, I think, as an example of the feebleness of the position which has to be maintained by those who regard the last review as restoring a "Catholic" character to our previously "Reformed" Liturgy.

The insertion of the Black Rubric at all may fairly be set down among the evidences that the *animus* of the Episcopal Commissioners, as displayed in the Savoy Conference, was not the *animus* which governed the subsequent revision.¹ The

understand how we are informed, that the promise of His body and blood IN THE EUCHARIST imports an EXCEPTION to so many declarations, before we believe it. Indeed, there is no place of God's right hand, by sitting down at which we may say that our Lord's body becomes confined to the said place; but seeing the flesh of Christ is taken up into heaven to sit down at God's right hand (though by His sitting down at God's right hand we understand the man Christ to be put into the exercise of that Divine power and command which His Mediator's office requires), yet His body we must understand to be confined to that place, where the majesty of God appears to those that attend upon His throne. Neither shall the appearing of Christ to St. Paul (Acts xxiii. 11) be any exception to this appointment. He that would insist, indeed, that the body of Christ stood over Paul in the castle where then he lodged, must say that it left heaven for that purpose" (vol. iv., part 1, pp. 47, 48).

Of Gunning, indeed, it is said by Neal that "being very fond of the Popish rituals and ceremonies, he was very much set upon reconciling the Church of England to Rome" ("Hist. of Puritans," vol. iii., p. 92). But this saying must be qualified by the account of Burnet: "He was much set on the reconciling us with Popery in some points." He was suspected of an inclination to go over to them. "But," says Burnet, "he was far from it; and was a very honest, sincere man, but of no sound judgment" ("Own Time," p. 124; London, 1857). Canon Luckcock claims for him that "his views on ecclesiastical questions were thoroughly catholic" ("Studies," p. 168). And perhaps of no divine of his day could the claim be more safely made. Yet, on the subject of the Eucharistic Presence, few "Catholics" now, I presume, would think of subscribing to his views as represented by Burnet. See below, p. 533.

¹ The insertion is attributed by Bishop Burnet to the influence of Gauden, who (by the testimony of Baxter, "Reliquiæ Baxterianæ," p. 363, London, 1696) was the "most constant helper" to the Presbyterian divines (Neal confirms this testimony, "Hist. of Puritans," vol. iii., p. 92). Burnet says in a MS. vol. of his "Own Time" (Harleian MSS., 6584)—"There were some small Alterations made in y^e Book of Common Prayer (together with some additions), the most important was y^t concerning y^e kneeling in y^e sacrament, w^{ch} had been putt in y^e Second Book of Comon Prayer set out by Edward y^e 6th, but was left out by

somewhat unyielding temper shown in the Conference was certainly overruled in the revision by wiser counsels.¹ The utterance of the Bishops (*i.e.*, of the majority of the leading Episcopal Commissioners at the Savoy) may be taken, I

Queen Elizabeth, and was now by Bishop Gawden's means put in at ye end of ye office of ye Communion. Sheldon opposed it, but Gawden was seconded by Southampton and Morley. The Duke complained of this much to me, as a puritannical thing, and spake severely of Gawden, as a popular man, for his procuring it to be added (tho' I have been told yt it was used in King James's time)" (quoted from Perry's "Declaration on Kneeling," p. 302. See also pp. 71, 72).

But it is urged that the change made in the rubric was due to D.P.G., supposed to be Doctor Peter Gunning, who is said to have held that "there was a *Cylinder* of a *Vacuum* made between the elements and Christ's body in heaven" (*ibid.*, p. 71). But, if this were so, will anyone believe that what Burnet calls "such a solemn piece of folly as this," which, he says, "can hardly be read without indignation," moved the revising authorities in making or allowing the change? If we must believe that Gunning held such an incredible notion, and if even we were to grant that he was, in consequence of this notion, moved to propose the alteration of language in the rubric, are we therefore to believe that the revisers, in acceding to the proposal and accepting the change, were making themselves accessories to the propagation of such an absurdity? And could such a notion have been regarded, even by Gunning himself, as a "real and essential Presence"? We are not concerned with the follies of an eccentric individual, but with the principles which governed the revision.

¹ Mr. Parker has shown, as the result of a careful investigation, that "the discussions at the Savoy Conference had practically very little influence upon the corrections made during the revision of the Prayer-Book, either by the committee or by Convocation" ("Introduction to the Revisions," p. ccvii.).

It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that the exceptions of the Presbyterians were out of view or utterly disregarded by the revisers. The committee of eight Bishops which met at Ely House each evening, with something like plenipotentiary powers (see Lord Selborne's "Notes," p. 46), included five who had been Savoy Commissioners. (I think Lord Selborne is mistaken in including Wren among the Savoy Commissioners.)

Lord Selborne maintains that "Cosin's Book" (representing the mind not of Cosin only, but of others, his fellow-labourers in the work) was made up, and assumed the character which alone gives it importance, during the interval between the close of the Savoy Conference and the meeting of Convocation on the 21st day of November ("Liturgy of English Church," p. 43). But this need not hinder our believing that many entries may have been previously made (see Parker's "Letter to Lord Selborne," p. 110).

We are assured by Lord Clarendon ("Life," vol. ii., p. 118) that "the Bishops had spent the vacation in making such alterations in the Book of Common Prayer as they thought would make it more grateful to the dissenting brethren" (see Lord Selborne's "Notes," p. 43).

Bishop White Kennett, in his enumeration of "the concessions and alterations that were now made for reforming the Book of Common Prayer," specifies twenty particulars, all of which he regards as due to objections or proposals of the Presbyterian divines (see "Register," pp. 585, 586; London, 1728). Then he adds a paragraph mentioning other

believe, as the voice of the extremest reactionary influence of the day.¹

The Puritans desired the restoration of the Rubric "for the vindicating of our Church in the matter of kneeling at the Sacrament" (Cardwell's "Conferences," p. 322).

The Bishops were indisposed to make the concession. Their answer was: "This rubric is not in the Liturgy of Queen Elizabeth, nor confirmed by law; nor is there any great need of restoring it, the world being now in more danger of profanation than of idolatry" (Cardwell, p. 354).

But did the Bishops, representing the strongest opposition to the Puritans, object at all to the *doctrine* of the Black Rubric? Had they any fault to find with its teaching as it stood unaltered, and as quoted in its entirety by the Presbyterian opponents?

Let the following words, which form the conclusion of their

amendments, in the margin of which he writes: "Many other Alterations and Corrections made in the Liturgy, sufficient to have satisfied all reasonable men."

¹ Of some of these (especially of those most regular in attendance, and most prominent in the "disputation") Baxter (whose words seem to have been too often provoking) speaks strongly and somewhat bitterly. Sheldon (then Bishop of London), though silent when present (which was very seldom), and Morley ("and next Bishop Henchman") were supposed to be "the doers and disposers" of all matters. Morley was overbearing. Henchman, though speaking calmly, "as high in his principles and resolutions as any." Sanderson seldom spoke, "his aged peevishness not unknown." Sterne, "of a most sober, honest, mortified aspect," spake only a "weak, uncharitable word"; "so that I was never more deceived by a man's face." Cosin would have consented to "moderating concessions" of Gauden; but "the rest came in the end and brake them all." A few words were spoken by three Bishops who were "no Commissioners." The remainder of the Bishops appear to have been seldom or never present, and when present to have spoken little.

Of the coadjutor divines, Baxter makes mention of Earle, Heylyn, and Barwick as never present; of Hacket as saying "nothing to make us know anything of him"; of Sparrow as saying little, "but that little with a spirit enough for the imposing dividing cause"; of Pierson and Gunning as "doing all their work"; of Pierson [Pearson] as "the strength and honour of that cause which we doubted whether he heartily maintained," "being but once in any passion"; of Gunning as (with "passionate invectives") "so vehement for his high imposing principles, and so overzealous for Arminianism and Formality and Church Pomp, and so very eager and fervent in his discourse, that I conceive his Prejudice and Passion much perverted his judgment" ("*Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*," pp. 363, 364; London, 1696).

It has been asserted that changes, some trifling, some of the utmost importance, were made in the House of Lords (see Lord Selborne's "Notes," p. 62), but there are proofs complete to the contrary (*ibid.*, pp. 60, 61). And there is evidence that the book was sent by the King to the House of Lords in exactly the same state in which he had received it from Convocation (*ibid.*, p. 58).

answer, give evidence: "Besides, the sense of it is declared sufficiently in the 28th Article of the Church of England."¹

None, I would hope, will think of accusing the Bishops of such gross insincerity and prevarication as must be put down to their charge if we are to suppose that they were secretly in their hearts objecting to the doctrinal teaching of the rubric, while professing only that its teaching was superfluous, because its sense was sufficiently declared in one of our Articles.

And if the Bishops did not object to the doctrinal statement of the unrevised rubric, who did? None, we may be sure, among those to whom the revision owed its guidance.

But then, it will be asked, how are we to account for the change of the term "real and essential Presence" to "corporal Presence"? I answer—Merely by taking into account the fact that since the first insertion of the rubric a very observable and somewhat remarkable change (the result of continual controversial skirmishing) had come over, not the doctrine, but the use of language³ concerning the Eucharist in

¹ This statement clearly amounts to a declaration that in the view of the Bishops the adoration of "any real and essential Presence there being of Christ's natural flesh and blood" would be idolatry.

It also amounts to a declaration that in their view the 28th Article excludes "any real and essential Presence there being" as much as any "corporal Presence" of "Christ's natural flesh and blood."

It will therefore be seen that the importance of this statement (which seems to have been too commonly overlooked) can hardly be exaggerated. It was clearly understood by the "ministers" (as, indeed, it could not be otherwise understood) as a true witness to the Reformed doctrine of the Church of England. In their "Rejoinder" they do but "reply": "Can there be any hurt or danger in the people's being taught to understand the Church aught?" ("Documents relating to Act of Uniformity," p. 317; London, 1862).

² In the P.C. judgment in the Bennett case their lordships say: "It is at least probable that, as the declaration itself was introduced in order to conciliate scruples in one quarter, the alteration made in it was designed to remove objections entertained against it in another" (p. 296, edit. Stephens). I hope I may without presumption be allowed to ask, Is there any evidence at all of any objections from any quarter (except the Papists) to the *doctrine* of the rubric as it stood?

If it should be pleaded that the words of Woodhead (see below) imply an apprehension on his part that some of "our English divines" *did* assert a doctrine of some "real, essential, and substantial Presence there being," as distinct from a "corporal Presence," and that the rubric was changed by these divines with the view of sheltering such a notion (the absurdity of which design he himself exposes)—then the best answer to such a plea will be found in the replies of Aldridge and Wake, by both of whom such an apprehension is treated as altogether a misapprehension, and by Wake the idea is repudiated as "vainly and falsely suggested" (see below).

³ Thus Dean Aldrich says: "The Protestants in King Henry VIII.'s time that suffered upon the Six Articles denied the *real Presence* (i.e.,

the teaching of Reformed theologians, as well abroad as at home, and as well among Puritans as among Churchmen.

In the language commonly in use in King Edward's days "real and essential Presence" signified a mediæval doctrine rejected and repudiated by our Reformers. It was a term belonging to the later mediæval phraseology which was in common use among Romanists to express a Roman doctrine. As frequently used in days preceding the last review, the phrase "real Presence" was in constant use among the "Reformed" to signify that true doctrine which our Reformers and their successors had uniformly contended for.¹

In 1662, to condemn the phrase "real Presence" would have been to condemn not only such men as Hooker, and Bishop Andrewes, and Cosin, and Morton, and Jeremy Taylor, and Bishop Reynolds, but also many eminent Swiss divines abroad, as well as the divines of the Westminster Confession of Faith at home.²

the Popish sense of it), but meant the same thing with us, who think we may lawfully use that term" ("Reply to Two Discourses," p. 17; Oxford, 1687).

¹ I must be allowed to refer my readers to my "Papers on the Eucharistic Presence," pp. 578-586 (see also pp. 472, 473), for evidence of the following propositions:

(1) In the earlier period of the Reformed Church the phrase "real Presence" unexplained was usually rejected by our Reformers.

(2) When in the earlier period the phrase "real Presence" or "real essential Presence" was accepted, it was with explanation, in which explanation the "corporal" Presence was commonly distinctly excluded.

(3) When subsequent "Reforming" divines appropriated the phrase "real Presence," they did not appropriate the phrase "corporal Presence."

(4) The phrase "corporal Presence" was accepted by Lutherans as signifying the doctrine held in common by themselves and the Roman Church (see Goode, "On Eucharist," ii., p. 624).

(5) The distinction was clearly recognised (between "real Presence" accepted and "corporal Presence" rejected) by divines who were engaged in the last review, and by subsequent divines, whose doctrine knew no change from the doctrine of the Reformation (concerning Thorndike, see Aldridge's "Reply to Two Discourses," pp. 19, 61, and Wake's "Discourse of the Holy Eucharist," pp. 69, 70, 90; see also "Theology of Bishop Andrewes," pp. 10, 11, 14-17, and "Eucharistic Worship," pp. 39-43, and "Real Presence of the Laudian Theology," p. 55).

² Indeed, it may be said to have been the necessary result of their controversial position in view of the assaults of the Lutherans (as the true *status controversiæ* became cleared of surrounding mists), that the Reformed found themselves compelled to take within their line of defences the term "real Presence" (for how should they maintain a true fruition by the soul of that which they refused to say was really *in any sense* present to the soul? how should that be verily and indeed taken and received and eaten by faith, which is not really present to faith?), though, as occasion required, limiting its sense by the qualifying word

Was it not, then, a very natural and right and suitable thing to substitute for "real and essential" the word "corporal," seeing that when "Reformed" divines claimed and appropriated to their own doctrine the phrase "real Presence," they did not thus claim and appropriate the phrase "corporal Presence," which was thus left (rejected by the "Reformed" and accepted by the Lutherans) to express that Romish doctrine of a Presence *sub speciebus* which at an earlier period had been generally designated by the phrase "real Presence"?

Have we not here at least a reasonable and intelligible account of this change of expression?

And have we—let me be allowed to ask—a reasonable and intelligible account to give of the variation in language, if we suppose it to result from a determination to change the doctrine of the rubric?

I must venture to ask those who think so, just to read carefully through the whole rubric, with the special view of seeing how it will agree with such an hypothesis.¹

Does not the very structure of the rubric itself render a purpose of changing the *doctrinal statement* absolutely inconceivable?

Let it be carefully considered what such a change would amount to. It would be a designed rejection of the previous

"spiritual" (as opposed to "corporal"), that qualification being understood and explained as signifying that the Presence is (not, as Romanists would sometimes use it or allow it, a *Presence of a body after the manner of a spirit*, but) a Presence to our spirits only, a Presence to the heart which spiritually eats and drinks, a Presence only to the faith of the believer.

¹ See "Papers on Eucharistic Presence," pp. 469-475. The need of the distinction between the two possible senses of "real" (*i.e.*, "true" and "corporal") was clearly seen, and clearly expressed by Cranmer in his disputation at Oxford thus—"If ye understand by this word 'really,' 're ipsa,' *i.e.*, in very deed and effectually, so Christ by the grace and efficacy of His Passion is indeed and truly present to all His true and holy members. But if ye understand by this word 'really' 'corporaliter,' *i.e.*, 'corporally,' so that by the body of Christ is understood a natural body and organical, so the first proposition doth vary, not only from the usual speech and phrase of Scripture, but also is clear contrary to the holy Word of God and Christian profession" (Fox's "Acts and Mon.," vol. vi., p. 446).

And one of the charges under which he suffered was the denial, not of the *real*, but of the *corporal* Presence—"Christum in Eucharistia spiritualiter tantum et non corporaliter esse, sed in corpore in cælo tantum esse, et non alibi" (Strype's "Cranmer," vol. ii., p. 1075, Oxford edit.). See Goode's "Tract XC. Historically Refuted," pp. 75, 76. And note how this charge is exactly the charge of teaching the doctrine of the Black Rubric—the charge using the word "corporaliter" to express (it will hardly be questioned) what in the rubric was meant by "any *real and essential* presence."

statement, admitting its contradictory (see P.C. Judgment in Bennett case, p. 289, edit. Stephens).

But the contradictory of the previous statement would be that adoration may be done to a *real and essential* Presence there being of Christ's natural flesh and blood—the amended statement still declaring that no adoration ought to be done to any *corporal* Presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood.

The effect of the change of statement would obviously be to make a distinction between a real and essential Presence (not to the soul, but upon the table), and a corporal Presence there, allowing adoration to the one, and refusing it to the other.¹

But the whole argument of the rubric will be found to apply as much to the exclusion of adoration to the one as to the other. If the rubric allows adoration to a real and essential Presence in the elements, then the order of kneeling is certainly not well meant for a signification of our humble and grateful acknowledgment of the benefits of Christ given in the Lord's Supper to all worthy receivers; and further, not only is it foolish to argue from the statement of Christ's natural body and blood being in heaven, but it is actually untrue to declare that they are in heaven and *not here*. And then, further still, it cannot be maintained that it is against the truth of Christ's natural body to be at one time in more places than one.

On the hypothesis of the doctrinal statement being thus changed to admit of the teaching of the adorable Presence of Christ's Body really and essentially present after the manner of a spirit in the elements, it will be found that there is a cause for the statement appended to the statement, which alleged cause is not only inapplicable to the statement, but is actually destructive of it.²

But further: looking at the object of the rubric, it cannot be denied that, upon the supposition of such an intentional change of the doctrinal statement, the whole rubric would have been a miserable delusion, an attempt to put to rest men's suspicions by a declaration, which declaration in its changed form (with the change so understood), instead of removing suspicions, would not merely have aggravated them,

¹ See Bishop Trower's "Pastoral Letter," pp. 15, 30-39, London, 1858; and Goode, "On Eucharist," p. 625.

² Hence it must be evident that there is in the rubric itself sufficient confutation of the idea that it intends only to exclude what may be called the gross doctrine of the "Ego Berengarius" (in its natural sense), to which some Romish divines had given the name of "esse corporaliter," and which (speaking generally) had long ago been rejected by the Scholastic Theology (see Goode on Tract XC., pp. 111, 112, 113; and Bishop of St. Andrew's on "Cheyne's Appeal," pp. 28, 29; Edinburgh, 1858).

but have raised the fiercest opposition. Such an attempt at public deception is not only incredible, it would have been worthy of infamy.

N. DIMOCK.

(To be continued.)



ART. V.—THE ELOHISTIC AND JEHOVISTIC
HYPOTHESIS.

THERE is an ancient picture of the second General Council held at Constantinople in the year 381. It represents the Emperor Theodosius sitting on a throne, and the Bishops near him. Between the latter there is a vacant throne, upon which lies an open Bible, to intimate that the Bible is the supreme judge and authority in all matters of the Christian faith and life.

But in our days the critics sit in judgment upon the Word of God. The modern schoolmen, who reject the Church view and authority concerning the Scriptures as old-fashioned and traditional, yet adhere tenaciously to the traditional Rationalism of the last century. There is, therefore, at present a solemn call on all earnest Bible-loving people to be on their guard against the pernicious influences of Higher Criticism, which has wrought such havoc in the German Church. "It is time to work for the Lord, for they have made void Thy law" (Ps. cxix. 126).

Now, the root from which the whole work of the critics has grown to such stupendous dimensions, is the so-called Astrucian discovery in the year 1753 that the distinctive use of the two sacred names of God in the Pentateuch, viz., Elohim and Jehovah, indicates that the information is derived from at least two different documents, and that the whole work is of a composite character.

The assertion so confidently made that an Elohistic and Jehovistic writer can be clearly discerned in the Pentateuch has no basis in fact, and is purely imaginary. Consequently, it is no wonder that this discovery has never been made, either by the prophets, or by the compiler of the Old Testament, or by the Apostles and Church Fathers, or by the acute doctors and Rabbis of the Middle Ages, or by the learned reformers and theologians prior to the time of the critics. The solution to the apparent enigma of the use of the two names, either separately or in juxtaposition, must be sought in Scripture itself. I humbly offer this solution. Such use of the Divine names was to the sacred historian a *literary* and *theological necessity*, if he was not to be misunderstood, and if the Pentateuch were not to be a source of manifold