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BRYAN D. SPINKS

THE EUCHARISTIC LITURGY IN THE ENGLISH INDEPENDENT, OR
CONGREGATIONAL, TRADITION: A STUDY OF ITS CHANGING
STRUCTURE AND CONTENT 1550 - 1974

B.D. THESIS 1978

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Chapter 17 of this thesis is based upon part of an unpublished essay ' The Impact of the Liturgical Movement on Eucharistic Liturgy of the Congregational Church in England and Wales ', successfully presented for the degree of Master of Theology of the University of London, 1972.

The Appendix to Chapter 13 has been submitted to the Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society for publication.

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Bryan D. Spinks. The Eucharistic Liturgy in the English Independent, or Congregational, Tradition: A Study of its Changing Structure and Content 1550 - 1974.

B.D. Thesis 1978.

ABSTRACT

The Independent tradition emerged as a distinct movement in the 1640's, but its background must be sought in the Puritan and Separatist Movements of the previous century. During the history of this tradition the attitude towards liturgical forms has varied from total opposition to any form of set prayer to the advocacy of a directory form of worship. The Eucharistic liturgy in this tradition originates with the Puritan rites derived from Calvin and à Lasco, adaptations of the Book of Common Prayer, and the Separatist rites. Another source of inspiration seems to have been the liturgy of the Dutch Reformed Church.

In 1645 the Westminster Directory was a compromise between Independent and Presbyterian practices. After the Restoration the Independents rejected written forms, their Eucharistic rites being similar to that of the Directory, but shorn of the Presbyterian concessions. In the nineteenth century the changing status of dissenters contributed to a liturgical revival, and the Book of Common Prayer was adopted by some Congregational Churches. John Hunter's Devotional Services became particularly popular within the denomination, providing the first Congregational liturgy worthy of the name. Without much influence, but remarkable on account of its Catholic character was Dr. W. E. Orchard's Divine Service of 1919 and 1926.

The Congregational Union itself produced liturgies in 1920 and 1936, the latter being heavily influenced by Liberal Theology. Since 1948 a 'Genevan' or Neo-orthodox Movement, together with the influence of the Liturgical and Ecumenical Movements, has resulted in Eucharistic rites based upon liturgical history and theology.

The study of this wide variety of rites can benefit the Liturgical Movement and the denomination's own understanding of its Eucharistic liturgical tradition.

Preface

Frequently during the research for this work I have been greeted with the words 'but Congregationalists do not use a liturgy'. If by this statement it is meant that Congregationalists do not have a particular liturgical text which ministers and congregation are under obligation to use, then this is quite correct. However, if the statement is meant to imply that Congregational worship is purely spontaneous, changing from week to week, then this is quite erroneous. Most, if not all, of the so-called 'non-liturgical' Churches have a uniform and regular pattern for worship. Again, if the statement is meant to imply that Congregationalists never resort to written liturgical texts, then the more general researches of Professor Horton Davies, as well as the more specific study presented here, give the lie to this unfortunately still popular myth; Congregationalists have produced and used written liturgical texts.

The present study is concerned to trace the changing structure and content of the Eucharistic liturgy within the English Independent tradition. Any such study is undertaken with obvious limitations. A complete and comprehensive study would necessitate a consideration of every Congregational Church in England from its foundation to the present. Clearly such a study is quite impossible. What has been undertaken here is a study of the Eucharistic liturgy as far as it can be ascertained from the liturgical texts which the denomination has produced, supplemented by contemporary accounts. Of necessity it is selective, but probably no less

representative of the trends in the denomination than, for example, are assessments of Eucharistic liturgy of the pre-fifth century Church.

The method has been as follows. Part 1 of this work has outlined my understanding of 'Independent' and 'Congregational'; it considers in more general terms the changing attitudes of this tradition to liturgical forms, and considers briefly the Anglican Eucharistic liturgy, at times rejected by the Independent tradition, and in more recent years borrowed by ministers of the denomination.

In view of the difficulty of separating Congregationalists from other Puritans in the period prior to the 1640's, Part 2 has sought to deal with Eucharistic liturgy in the Puritan and Separatist movements which form the matrix from which seventeenth century Independency emerged.

Part 3 considers Independent or Congregational liturgy from the Westminster Directory up to the 1974/5 Eucharistic liturgy of the United Reformed Church.

The texts of printed liturgies and contemporary accounts have been used, giving something of their historical, theological and liturgical background. Use has been made of unpublished material, particularly in Part 3.

I must acknowledge my indebtedness to those who have previously considered some aspects of this study. Mention must be made of W. D. Maxwell, The Liturgical Portions of the Genevan Service Book, 1931, and

Horton Davies, The Worship of the English Puritans, 1948, and his more general treatment in the volumes of Worship and Theology in England. Dr. Stephen Mayor's The Lord's Supper in Early English Dissent, published in 1972, must also be mentioned, since the title seems to suggest that the first part of this present work is superfluous. In fact, Dr. Mayor is more concerned with the understanding of the Lord's Supper than with liturgy, and where in places he has considered liturgy, it has been necessary in this study to correct some of his statements.

I am greatly indebted to the following who have given me information, advice and encouragement in my researches: Dr. A. C. Honders and Professor Nijenhuis of Groningen University for their supervision of, and comments upon, the material dealing with à Lasco, Micron and the Dutch Reformed liturgy; Rev. M. Den Dulk, minister of Austin Friars, for his patient assistance; Mr. B. Honess, former librarian of the Congregational Memorial Hall Library; Rev. J. Phillips, Chairman and surviving member of the committee responsible for the 1936 A Manual for Ministers; Rev. J. M. Todd, who was responsible for the drafting of many of the more recent Congregational liturgies; Rev. Caryl Micklem, Rev. S. Gibbons, Dr. J. Gregory, Dr. G. Robinson, Rev. Wynford Evans; Mr. J. Martell; Bishop L. S. Hunter for the loan of the fifth edition of his father's Devotional Service; Mr. D. G. Lane for the kind use of his English translation of à Lasco's Forma ac ratio;

Mr. R. H. Bond, Assistant Archivist in the Essex Record Office; Rev. P. N. Williams; Dr. E. Routley, former Chairman of the United Reformed Church Committee for Worship and Doctrine; Dr. H. Boone Porter Jr.; the Clever Trust and the Brant Charitable Trust for grants towards this research work; the Rev. G. Lane for his patient reading and correction of the draft manuscript; Mrs. Sandra Ryder for assistance with typing some of the texts; the Very Revd. R. C. D. Jasper, who has supervised the work at its various stages, and whose criticisms and advice have been greatly appreciated. I would also like to express my thanks to Canon A. H. Couratin, who first taught me liturgy; and not least to my wife Kathleen, who not only suffered the research work, but also bravely typed the finished manuscript. The writer alone is responsible for errors.

ABBREVIATIONS

AC	Alcuin Club
<u>BQR</u>	<u>British Quarterly Review</u>
<u>CHST</u>	<u>Congregational Historical Society Transactions</u>
<u>CQ</u>	<u>Congregational Quarterly</u>
<u>CQR</u>	<u>Church Quarterly Review</u>
<u>CYB</u>	<u>Congregational Year Book</u>
<u>DNB</u>	<u>Dictionary of National Biography</u>
ET	English Translation
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society
<u>JEH</u>	<u>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</u>
<u>JTS</u>	<u>Journal of Theological Studies</u>
LACT	Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology
<u>LR</u>	<u>Liturgical Review</u>
<u>MAL</u>	<u>C. O. Buchanan, Modern Anglican Liturgies 1958 - 1968, Oxford, 1968.</u>
n.d.	no date of publication
n.p.	no place of publication
N.S.	New Series
<u>PR</u>	<u>A Parte of a Register, Middleburg 1593</u>
<u>SL</u>	<u>Studia Liturgica</u>
<u>SPR</u>	<u>A Seconde Parte of a Register. MS.</u>

Underlining in quotations represents italics in the original text.

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

- Chapter 1 The Independent, or Congregational,
 tradition.
- Chapter 2 The Independent tradition and
 Liturgical Forms.
- Chapter 3 The Rejected Eucharistic Liturgy:
 The Derivation of the Communion
 Service of the Book of Common Prayer,
 1559 and 1662.

CHAPTER I

THE INDEPENDENT, OR CONGREGATIONAL, TRADITION

- X The Supreme Judge by which all controversies of Religion are to be determined, and all Decrees of Councils, Opinions of ancient Writers, Doctrines of men and private Spirits, are to be examined, and in whose Sentence we are to rest, can be no other, but the holy Scripture delivered by the Spirit; into which Scripture so delivered, our Faith is finally Resolved.

Savoy Declaration of Faith, 1658, Chapter I.

- IV To each of these Churches thus gathered, according unto his minde declared in his Word, he hath given all that Power and Authority, which is any way needfull for their carrying on that Order in Worship and Discipline, which he hath instituted for them to observe with Commands and Rules, for the due and right exerting and executing of that Power.

Savoy Declaration of the Institution of Churches, and the Order Appointed in them by Jesus Christ, 1658.

As sons of Geneva, Congregationalists hold the catholic, apostolic and evangelical faith of Christendom. Their differentia must be sought in ecclesiology therefore, not in theology.

J. S. Whale, "The Views of the Congregational Church", in The Ministry and the Sacraments, ed. R. Dunkerley, London, 1937, p. 211.

THE INDEPENDENT, OR CONGREGATIONAL, TRADITION

While it is generally agreed among historians that the English Independent or Congregational tradition did not emerge as a distinct ecclesiastical movement until the tumultuous years of the 1640's,¹ it has long been a matter of controversy as to the movement's precise origin. Dr. F. J. Powicke, for example, following seventeenth century opponents of the Independents, traced their origin to the writings of Robert Browne in the 1580's.² Champlin Burrage, while allowing that Browne may have been a forerunner of Congregationalism, argued that it first clearly emerges with the congregation of Henry Jacob in 1605.³ According to Dr. Albert Peel, it is the congregation of Richard Fitz in 1567 which must be regarded as the first Congregational Church.⁴ A rather different view was put forward by Ernest Troeltsch; he believed that its origin was to be found in republican and enthusiastic anabaptist ideas of the exiles who returned from Holland and America in the 1640's to join Cromwell's army.⁵ According to

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1. G. F. Nuttall, Visible Saints, Oxford, 1957; G. Yule, The Independents in the English Civil War, Cambridge, 1958; R. Tudur Jones, Congregationalism in England 1662 - 1962, London, 1962.
 2. F. J. Powicke, Robert Browne Pioneer of Modern Congregationalism, London, 1910; T. Goodwin et al, An Apologeticall Narration, 1643, p. 24.
 3. C. Burrage, The Early English Dissenters, 2 Vols, Cambridge, 1912.
 4. A. Peel, The First Congregational Churches, Cambridge, 1920.
 5. E. Troeltsch, Protestantisches Christentum und Kirche in der Neuzeit Die Kultur der Gegenwart, 1: IV, 1, 2. Halfte, 1922, p. 590.

Christopher Hill and Edmund Dell, the movement was the result of a class struggle, where the poor classes and the poor parts of the country, the northern and the western regions, were royalists fighting for the old feudal order, and the aspiring bourgeoisie and the industrial classes were fighting for parliament and for greater economic and religious freedom.⁶ On the other hand, the study of the authors of the Apologeticall Narration by Berndt Gustafsson has suggested that the influence of the English Church in Holland, the ideas of the Dutch Remonstrants, and the views of Jacob Acontius are important sources for understanding the rise of Independency.⁷ In the view of R. P. Stearns, it originated with the English and Scottish congregations in Holland during the early seventeenth century.⁸

It is doubtful whether the emergence of the Independent tradition can be narrowly defined in terms of a specific date, a congregation, or a collection of writings; nor can the Independents be located in one particular social class or geographical place. The Independents of the 1640's were a diverse group of men and women. As Dr. G. F. Nuttall has pointed out, among their ministers, some were learned Fellows of colleges at

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6. C. Hill and E. Dell, The Good old Cause: the English Revolution of 1640 - 60: its causes, course and consequence, Oxford, 1950.
 7. B. Gustafsson, The Five Dissenting Brethren, Lund, 1955.
 8. R. P. Stearns, Congregationalism in the Dutch Netherlands, Chicago, 1940.

Oxford and Cambridge, while others were men of very little learning; many had been in exile in the Netherlands and New England; many others had not. Some Independent Churches took their place as constituent parts of the Cromwellian establishment; others were loosely related to it; still others existed in separation.⁹ Men such as John Bunyan and Vavasor Powell were at the same time Independents and Baptists.

One of the leading Independents of the seventeenth century, Thomas Goodwin, implied that a rather wider background is to be sought for their origins; in a speech made when presenting Richard Cromwell with a copy of the Savoy Declaration of Faith and Order (14th October, 1658), Goodwin explained:

We (desired) in the first place to clear ourselves of that scandal, which not onely some persons at home, but of forein parts, have affixed upon us, viz. That Independentism (as they call it) is the sink of all Heresies and Schisms. We have therefore declared what hath been our oonstant Faith and Order, to be published to the World. And to shew our harmony with the most Orthodox at home and abroad, we have expressed our assent to that Confession of Faith which is the latest and best; the sum of the Confession of all Reformed Churches, to which also the Churches of Scotland and New England have given their assent; namely, the Articles of Religion approved and passed by both Houses of Parliament after advice had with the Assembly of Divines, to which Confession for the substance of it, we have unanimously and through the Grace of Christ, without the least contradiction, assented and agreed.

We have also with the same unanimity declared in matter of Order (that is, in Church-constitution and Government) and have

9. G. F. Nuttall, op. cit., p.8. See also the discussion in G. Yule, op. cit.

set forth the main of our Principles and Practice; in which what we differ from our Brethren, will appear. We have also laid some foundations of Agreement with them, which we have from our hearts desired and endeavoured. 10

Goodwin asserted that in matters of faith, the Independents were at one with 'all Reformed Churches', that is, those Churches which followed the traditions of Calvin and Beza of Geneva, and to a lesser extent, Zwingli and Bullinger of Zurich; where they differed from their Reformed brethren was in matters of Church constitution and government.

Another clue to the wider background of the origin of the Independents was given by five 'Dissenting Brethren' in the Apologeticall Narration, 1643:

And wee did then (i.e. in Holland), and doe here publicquely professe, we beleeeve the truth to lye and consist in a middle way betwixt that which is falsely charged on us, Brownisme; and that which is the contention of these times, the authoritative Presbyteriall Government in all the subordinations and proceedings of it. 11

Goodwin's appeal to the Reformed tradition, and the 'Dissenting Brethren's' advocacy of a 'middle way' between Presbyterianism and Brownism, point to a wider background of the sixteenth century Puritan and Separatist movements.

Since the name 'Puritan' first emerged in Elizabethan England, there has been no agreement about who were the Puritans or what Puritanism was. The name

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10. Quoted in A. G. Matthews, The Savoy Declaration of Faith and Order, London, 1959, pp. 12 - 13.
11. Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, William Bridge, Jeremiah Burroughes and Sidrach Simpson, An Apologeticall Narration, London, 1643, p. 24; called 'Dissenting Brethren' on account of their dissent from the proposed Presbyterian form of church government.

originated as a term of abuse in the religious propaganda of the period; and from the beginning it was applied to all sorts of people for all sorts of reasons.¹² Indeed, it was often deliberately exploited to create confusion.¹³

The terms 'pure', 'purify' and 'purity' were in common use among the German and Swiss reformers - Philip Melanchthon, Martin Bucer, Peter Martyr, Henry Bullinger and John Calvin, and many others. This notion of 'pure' refuted the charge that the reformers were innovators; instead it was their aim to cleanse the Church and restore it to its pristine state, and for their authority to do this the reformers appealed to Scripture. However, as to the extent of the purification demanded by Scripture, the reformers were sharply divided. Luther, while appealing to the Word of God, was of the opinion that such things of human invention such as ceremonial, unless actually forbidden by Scripture, were optional and left to individual choice. On the other hand, the Swiss school, represented by Calvin, with its emphasis on the depravity and helplessness of man, would only accept what the Bible specifically warranted. Such things as vestments, the sign of the cross in Baptism, and the oil in Confirmation, would be erased from a truly reformed church. This difference of opinion on the extent of Scriptural authority was the cause of controversy over vestments during the German Interim (1547 - 55).¹⁴

12. L. J. Trinterud, Elizabethan Puritanism, New York, 1971, p.3.

13. C. Hill, Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England, Panther edition, London, 1969, p. 18.

14. L. J. Trinterud, op. cit., pp. 5 ff.

In England the word 'Puritan' came to be applied to those who followed the Swiss school of thought, represented by Donne's 'Crantz', who

..... loves her onely, who at Geneva is call'd
Religion, plaine, simple, sullen, yong,
Contemptuous, yet unhansome; As among
Lecherous humors, there is one that judges
No wenches wholsome, but coarse country drudges. 15

The Puritan believed that the sole authority and criterion for the Church was the literal text of the Bible:

..... the Word is a rule of faith, a canon to direct our lives. The Word is the judge of controversies, the rock of infallibility. That only is to be received for truth which agrees with Scripture, as the transcript with the original. All maxims in divinity are to be brought to the touchstone of Scripture, as all measures are brought to the standard. 16

It has been pointed out, however, that Calvin had believed that the conjunction of Word and Spirit made the Scriptures normative through the way in which they created and nourished faith; for many Puritans the efficacy of Scripture rested upon the identification of the text and the Spirit, through a conception of the Bible as verbally inspired and inerrant. In this conception, the English Puritan went beyond Calvin.¹⁷

Since the Elizabethan Church retained unscriptural names and offices such as 'Archbishop', 'Priest', 'Canon', 'Dean', unscriptural institutions such as the ecclesiastical courts, and unscriptural ceremonies such as the sign of the cross, the Puritan believed that the

15. John Donne, 'Satyre on Religion'.

16. Thomas Watson, A Body of Divinity, (1692), Banner of Truth Trust edition, London, 1970, p. 30.

17. Peter Toon, Hyper-Calvinism, London, 1967, p. 16.

English Reformation remained incomplete. Furthermore, these reformers became alarmed at the Erastian nature of the English Church; the Queen's refusal to initiate further reform seemed to imply that the Royal Supremacy had more authority than Scripture. It was the aim of the Puritans to reform the English Church in accordance with the Word of God.

In his analysis of Elizabethan Puritan writings, Trinterud discerned three types of Puritanism: The Original, Anti-vestment Party; The Passive-Resistance Party; and The Presbyterian Party.¹⁸ But since the boundaries between these parties are very faint, it is difficult to draw such sharp distinctions. It would probably be more accurate to suggest that the more the logical conclusions of obedience to Scripture were pressed, the more the Puritans found in the Established Church with which to be dissatisfied. The original dispute, imported from the Continent, was over vestments; the argument was later extended to ministry and worship. The ultimate extension of the Puritan protest was Separatism.

In the Edwardian Church the various continental schools of thought were well represented, though no one school ever dominated. The Swiss Puritan element asserted itself in 1550 when John Hooper, a pupil of the Zurich reformer, Henry Bullinger, was made Bishop of Gloucester. Hooper, 'an opponent of Lutherans and

18. Trinterud, op. cit.

Bucerians, but a constant defender and promoter of the true faith',¹⁹ objected to the traditional vestments of his office, and the taking of oaths, citing Scripture to justify his complaint. This 'independent' protest was renewed under Elizabeth by the Marian exiles returning from the Continent. After Edward's death, his sister Mary had restored the Roman Catholic faith to England, and many protestants had fled abroad. While in exile they had followed the custom of the more advanced continental Reformed Churches of the minister wearing a gown for worship rather than the surplice. Also, the size of their numbers, and the fact that they were exiles, had meant that church government had been centered upon the congregation itself. On their return after the accession of Elizabeth, they found that the Edwardian Church had been restored, with certain additions, and 'frozen' by law. Vestments were retained, and so also was Episcopal church government, the latter being significantly different from the continental Reformed church government. Puritans such as Bishop Miles Coverdale, Thomas Sampson, Thomas Lever and William Whittingham, in defiance of the Queen, continued their continental practices in England, appealing to Scripture for the lawfulness of their actions. As Peter Toon says:

The origin of Elizabethan Puritanism is thus to be sought in the critical attitude of convinced Protestants to the Settlement of

19. Original Letters relative to the English Reformation, Parker Society, 2 vols., London, 1846 - 47; Vol. 2 p. 662. John Burcher to Henry Bullinger, April 20th, 1550.

Religion. For their biblically-enlightened consciences the essential rock of offence was the large measure of continuity with the Roman Catholic past which persisted in the ministry and government of the Church as well as in its liturgy and church furnishings. Abroad they had seen the Reformed Churches of the Rhineland and Switzerland. They had become Bible Christians - that is they interpreted the Bible in the way that men like Calvin, Beza and Bullinger did. 20

Already by 1566 a number of clergymen had been suspended for 'nonconformity' in matters of vesture.

By the 1570's a more radical Puritanism began to emerge. Its leaders included Thomas Cartwright, William Fulke, John Field and Thomas Wilcox. They demanded far-reaching structural changes in the Church, in its administration and finances, and in the relation between Church and State, as well as in doctrine and liturgy. They had their eyes on the organisation of the Reformed Churches - the Calvinistic Huguenots and protestants of the Palatinate and the Netherlands, as well as Scotland, and hoped to effect a similar reform in England through Parliament and by theological argument. It was their belief that in the New Testament there was one ideal Church delineated which not only could be reconstructed in its essentials, but must as part of their generation's obedience to God, be reconstructed in Elizabethan England. In practice this meant replacing the Episcopal system of church government with that of a Presbyterian, or Classis, system. Thus, for example, William Fulke (1538 - 1589), the Puritan Master of Pembroke Hall and Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University,

20. P. Toon, Puritans and Calvinism, Swengel, Pennsylvania, 1973, p. 12.

wrote:

The church of God is the house of God, and therefore ought to be directed in all things according to the order prescribed by the Householder himself; which order is not to be learned elsewhere but in his holy word. 21

Fulke argued for a church government of Doctors, Elders or Presbyters, and Deacons, with a Synod or General Council.²²

Some Puritan ministers organised themselves independently of the establishment, forming a Presbyterian Classis system and holding 'Propheysings' - a semi-public discussion of biblical passages, a practice originating in Zurich. They also held their own ordinations before sending ordinands to the bishops.²³ They hoped that since the Queen and bishops would not reform the Church, they could effect their own reform from the grass roots.

This demand for reformation was strongly put by Thomas Cartwright in his lectures on the Acts of the Apostles, at Cambridge University. On account of his views, Cartwright was forced to leave Cambridge, but a pamphleteer warfare followed, in which the Admonitions to Parliament and the Martin Marprelate Tracts represented the bitterness and frustration of the Puritan parties.

21. W. Fulke, A Brief and Plain Declaration Concerning the Desires of All Those Faithful Ministers that Have and do Seek for the Discipline and Reformation of the Church of England, (1584) in Trinterud, op. cit. pp. 239 - 301; p. 243.

22. ibid.

23. P. Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, London 1967, for a detailed discussion.

However, it was the intention of the Puritans to effect a national reform of the Church, and to remain within it as the leaven in the lump. But in Cartwright's lectures the basis for Separatism was clearly to be seen; if the Church of England refused to conform its ministry to that laid down in the New Testament, could it in fact be regarded as a Church at all?

Although various sectarian congregations existed prior to Elizabeth's reign,²⁴ B. R. White has recently argued that the origin of Separatism can be traced to Foxe's Acts and Monuments, recording the nonconformity and independency of protestant groups in Mary's reign.²⁵ Since the Elizabethan Church retained so many traditional elements of the Roman Catholic Church, the Separatists argued that, like Rome, the Church of England was no true Church at all. It was the duty of the faithful, therefore, in obedience to the Word of God, to separate from the false Church. While it was their general intention to restore the apostolic pattern of church life as they believed it to be recorded in the New Testament, their most urgent desire was to restore the practice of discipline.²⁶ Yet if the idea might be found in Foxe's work, the same conclusions could also be drawn from Cartwright's lectures.

An early example of Separation may be seen in the

24. C. Burrage, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 69 ff.

25. B. R. White, The English Separatist Tradition from the Marian Martyrs to the Pilgrim Fathers, Oxford, 1971.

26. *ibid.*, p. 32.

Plumber's Hall congregation in the city of London, discovered by the authorities in 1567. Their case was:

..... there was a congregation of us in this city in Queen Mary's days; and a congregation at Geneva, which used a book and order of preaching, ministering of the sacraments and discipline, most agreeable to the word of God; which book is allowed by that godly and well learned man, Master Calvin, and the preachers there; which book and order we now hold. And if you can reprove this book, or anything we hold, by the word of God, we will yield to you, and do open penance at Paul's cross; if not we will stand to it by the grace of God. 27

This congregation was puritan and yet quite independent of the Church of England. Some of its members seceded to form a separate congregation under Richard Fitz. Their desire was to have:

the Glorious worde and Evangell preached, not in bondage and subiectiō, but freely, and purelye. Secondly to have the Sacraments mynistred purely, onely and all together accordinge to the institution and good worde of the Lorde Iesus, without any tradiciō or invention of man. And laste of all to have, not the fylthye Cannon lawe, but dissipylyne onelye, and all together agreeable to the same heavenlye and allmighty worde of oure good Lorde, Iesus Chryste. 28

However, whereas the Puritans strove for a Reformed National Church, the Separatists sought to establish local churches that were independent of the State, restricted to the godly in membership and autonomous in polity. They rejected the idea of a regional Church, Episcopal or Presbyterian: a Church was a gathered community of believers who covenanted together. From their members they elected the offices of Pastor (bishop),

27. The Remains of Edmund Grindal, Parker Society, London, 1843, pp. 203 - 4.

28. in C. Burrage, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 13.

teachers, elders and deacons. Each congregation of believers was a complete manifestation of the catholic Church, and though fellowship with other congregations was important, each congregation was autonomous. This doctrine, similar to that which was to become the hallmark of the Independents, and the point which separated them from their Reformed brethren, is usually associated with the names of Robert Browne, and Henry Barrow, John Greenwood and John Penry.

When Robert Browne graduated from Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1572 (after the date of Cartwright's lectures), he was a Puritan and associated himself with a distinguished Puritan theologian, Richard Greenham.²⁹ But by 1580 he had become convinced of Separatist principles. After refusing a bishop's licence to preach, he left Cambridge to join Robert Harrison at Norwich, where they formed a Separatist Church. Later they removed to Middleburg in the Netherlands. In A Treatise of Reformation without tarying for anie (1582), Browne argued that believers must take the initiative and leave the false Church of England, and set up true Churches, as a means of provoking the State to reform the Church.³⁰ In his works, Browne made three points:³¹

1. Only in the covenanted community does Christ really rule, by Spirit and Word.
2. Discerning Christ's will is the priviledge of all members of the congregation.

29. C. Burrage, The True Story of Robert Browne, Oxford 1906, p.3.

30. text in, ed. A. Peel and L. H. Carlson, The Writings of Robert Harrison and Robert Browne, London, 1953, pp. 151 - 170.

31. B. R. White, op. cit., p. 62

3. The responsibility for guiding the people is shared by the more gifted and mature members.

The Congregational church polity was stated by Browne in A Booke which Sheweth (1582). A Church is a single congregation which is under the immediate leadership of Christ and by his direct guidance is able in general to regulate its own affairs, though in important matters it may consult the opinion of other congregations. In each congregation the wisest and most able are chosen by the people to be elders, and the elders of a particular congregation act in conjunction to form the Eldership. The people choose the other officers as well as the elders, but the elders ordain the Pastor. The whole Church is ultimately responsible for discipline.³²

The Separatist, Henry Barrow, though disassociating himself from Browne, had similar principles. He attacked

1. The fals maner of worshipping the true God.
Esaias 66:17; Deuteronomy 17:1.
2. The profane and ungodlie people receved into and retayned in the bozom and bodie of ther churches. Esaias 65:11, 12.
3. The false and antichristian ministrie imposed upone ther churches.
Numbers 16:21, 35.
4. The false and antichristian government wherwith ther churches ar ruled. 33

According to Barrow, a true Church was

a companie and fellowship of faithful and holie people gathered (together) in the name of Christ Jesus, their only king, priest, and prophet,

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32. text in Peel and Carlson, op. cit., pp. 222 - 395; summary in Burrage, The Early English Dissenters, vol. 1., p. 103.
 33. Four Causes of Separation, 1587. in, ed. L. H. Carlson, The Writings of Henry Barrow 1587 - 1590, London, 1962, p. 54.

worshipping him aright, being peaceable and quietlie governed by his officers and lawes, keeping the unitie of faith in the bonde of peace and love unfained. 34

For their attack on the Queen's supremacy in the Church, Barrow and his colleagues, Greenwood and Penry were executed for sedition. Their congregation was taken over by Francis Johnson, a Puritan minister converted by Barrow's writings.

Both Puritanism and Separatism were seedbeds for Independency. But another source were those whom Champlin Burrage called Independent Puritans, such as Henry Jacob, William Bradshaw and the leader of those who were later to become the Pilgrim Fathers, John Robinson.³⁵ These Puritans, while organising themselves in covenanting communities similar to the Separatists, still recognised the Established Church as a true Church, and wished to remain in communion with it.

A precedent for such Churches was the existence of the 'Stranger Churches' of London. In 1550 a congregation under the reformer John à Lasco had been given permission to organise itself independently of the English Church. In the Royal Charter of 1550 which established à Lasco's Church, the Superintendent and Ministers were granted the right 'to practise, enjoy, use and exercise their own rites and ceremonies and their own peculiar ecclesiastical discipline, notwithstanding that they do not conform with the rites and ceremonies in our

34. A True Description out of the Worde of God, of the Visible Church, 1589, in L. H. Carlson, op. cit. p. 214
 35. C. Burrage, op. cit., Vol. 1. p. 281 ff.

Kingdom'.³⁶ A Lasco prepared his own order of Service and Discipline. Another similar congregation was to be found in Edward's reign at Glastonbury under Valerand Poullain. In Elizabeth's reign both the Dutch and French Churches were permitted to worship freely according to their own customs; indeed, the Dutch Church in London was rumoured to be a hot-bed for Puritanism.

The Plumbers Hall congregation of 1567 seem to have considered themselves in the same category as these 'Stranger Churches'. So did that of Henry Jacob; in A Third Humble Supplication, addressed to James I in 1605, corrected by Jacob, the plea was made that they might

Assemble together somewhere publikly to the Service & Worship of God, to vse & enioye peaceably among our selves alone the wholl exercyse of Gods worship and of Church Government viz. by a Pastor Elder, & Deacons in our severall Assemblie(s) without any tradicion of men whatsoever, according only to the specification of God's written word and no otherwise, which hitherto as yet in this our present State we could never enjoye.

..... And shall also afterwards keepe brotherly communion with the rest of our English Churches as they are now established, according as the French and Dutch Churches do; 37

In this category we may also place John Cotton, minister at Boston, Lincolnshire, who in 1633 emigrated to New England. Cotton had become convinced that the visible Church consisted in 'visible Saints'; that its

36. The Charter is given in, J. Lindeboom, Austin Friars. History of the Dutch Reformed Church in London 1550 - 1950, The Hague, 1950.

37. C. Burrage, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 286.

form was 'a mutuall Covenant, whether an explicite or implicite Profession of Faith, and subjection to the Gospel of Christ in the society of the Church, or Presbytery thereof'; and that the 'power of the keyes' belonged to each visible congregation. Cotton insisted that the Congregational Churches of New England were not Separatist Churches; they had indeed separated, but from the world, not the Church of England.³⁸ On the eve of his departure for New England, Cotton had converted Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye and John Davenport to his views, and through reading his work Of the Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven, 1644, John Owen came to accept 'the Congregational way'. Cotton claimed to have learned his views from three Puritans, Robert Parker, Paul Baynes and Dr. William Ames.³⁹

By means of the magistrates and the ecclesiastical courts, the Monarchy and bishops attempted to stamp out the more extreme Puritan and Separatist disobedience. In April 1593, the Act to retain the Queen's subjects had been passed, making nonconformity punishable by exile. During the 1630's many Puritans were forced to flee from the attacks of Archbishop Laud and Bishop Wren. Many fled to Holland, on account of the tolerance shown to religious exiles by the Dutch States General. The English Merchant Adventurers in Holland had from time to time enjoyed the ministry of the Puritan Thomas Cartwright,

38. The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared, 1648.
Cited in C. Burrage, op. cit., Vol. I. pp. 361 - 362.

39. *ibid.*

the Separatist Robert Browne, and the Independent Puritan, Henry Jacob. Francis Johnson and the Barrowist congregation went to Middleburg, and then to Amsterdam; John Robinson's congregation settled in Leiden.

The relations between the English Separatist Churches and the Dutch Reformed Church seem to have been strained, though many of the discontented and disheartened Separatists were later absorbed into the English Reformed churches. These latter seem to have been English congregations organised into covenanting communities, but as Independent Puritan Churches, on good terms with the Dutch Reformed Church and being closely associated with it, yet still retaining communion with the Church of England. It is thus that we find the scholar, Dr. Ames, and Henry Jacob at Leiden; John Paget at Amsterdam; Hugh Peters at Rotterdam; and the five 'Dissenting Brethren' - Philip Nye, Thomas Goodwin, William Bridge, Jeremiah Burroughes and Sidrach Simpson - were connected with a gathered Church at Arnhem, which was in association with the English Reformed Church at Rotterdam.⁴⁰

The calling of the Long Parliament in 1640 and the surprising events which led to the outbreak of civil war in 1642 resulted in the return of many of the exiled Puritans to take part in the struggle against prelacy, and they were given the opportunity of reorganising the Church of England as a truly Reformed Church. The Independents, small in number, co-operated of necessity with the more numerous Presbyterians, for both wished

40. B. Gustafsson, op. cit., pp. 19 - 28; G. F. Nuttall, op. cit., p. 11.

to be rid of prelatical government. In matters of faith they were at one with the Presbyterians, and they took part in the compilation of the 'High Calvinist' Westminster Confession. Where the Independents parted company with the Presbyterians was on matters of church constitution, and this was the subject of the 'Dissenting Brethren's' Apologeticall Narration of 1643; the Independents did not want the autonomy of the local congregation subjected to synods.

During the rise to power of the Cromwellian army, the Independents gained considerable influence, and held high positions in the army, government, Church and the universities. When the House of Commons came to debate the Westminster Confession - which included the Presbyterian system of church government - a majority of hard-line Presbyterians had already been excluded; a growing majority of remaining Members of Parliament seemed to favour some form of limited toleration for those with orthodox doctrinal views but who had dissenting views on church polity. Parliament therefore accepted most of the confession, but refused to approve Chapter XXX 'Of Church Censures', Chapter XXXI 'Of Synods and Councils' and paragraph four of Chapter XX 'Of Christian Liberty'. The revised confession was printed as Articles of Christian Religion approved and passed by both Houses of Parliament.⁴¹

41. P. Toon, Puritans and Calvinism, pp. 52 - 61; p. 59.

Because of Independent opposition, it proved impossible to implement a strong Presbyterian church government, and this meant that each minister in his parish was virtually a law unto himself. Some ministers did organise themselves into voluntary Presbyterian church government, and Hexter has shown that some Independents co-operated in this.⁴² But there was no central authority, and many sects of an unorthodox nature came into being - Quakers, Fifth Monarchy men, Muggletonians and Ranters among them. The Presbyterians blamed the Independents for these sects, and it was this charge that the Savoy Declaration of Faith and Order sought to rebuff.

The Congregationalists who met at the Savoy in 1658 based their Declaration on the Articles of Christian Religion; the changes they made have been summarized by Peter Toon.⁴³ First they omitted the following sections:

1. Sections v and vi of Chap. VII 'Of God's Covenant with Man'.
2. Sections vi and vii of Chap. XXII 'Of lawful Oaths and Vows'.
3. Sections iii and iv of Chap. XXV 'Of the Church'.
4. Sections iii of Chap. XXVI 'Of the Communion of Saints'.

Secondly, one completely new chapter and section were added:

1. Chap. XX 'Of the Gospel, and of the Extent of the Grace thereof'.
2. Section v of Chap. XXVI 'Of the Church'.

42. J. H. Hexter, 'The Problem of the Presbyterian Independents' in, Reappraisals in History, London, 1961.

43. P. Toon, op. cit., p. 78.

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Thirdly, they made significant changes in the wording of the following chapters:

1. Chapter XV 'Of repentance unto life and salvation'.
2. Chapter XVIII 'Of the Assurance of Grace and Salvation'.
3. Chapter XXIV 'Of the Civil Magistrate'.
4. Chapter XXVI 'Of the Church'.

Finally, there are minor verbal changes in most chapters. Though some doctrinal shift was involved in the changes made, they did not significantly alter the 'High Calvinism' of the Westminster Confession.⁴⁴ In the Declaration of Faith, the Independents insisted upon the Scriptures as the sole source of authority in the Church:

IV. The authority of the holy Scripture, for which it ought to be believed and obeyed, dependeth not upon the Testimony of any man or Church; but wholly upon God (who is Truth it self) the Author thereof: and therefore it is to be received, because it is the Word of God.

X. The Supreme Judge by which all controversies of Religion are to be determined, can be no other, but the holy Scripture delivered by the Spirit; into which Scripture so delivered, our Faith is finally Resolved. 45

With the Declaration of Faith, was a Declaration of Order which set out the Congregational polity: the Head of the Church is Jesus Christ; He calls those who are given to him to walk together in particular societies, and to them gives all power and authority; this gathered Church consists of officers, called for that purpose, chosen by the Church - Pastors, Teachers, Elders and Deacons; the essence of this call consists in the election by the Church, together with the officer's acceptance of it, and separation by fasting and prayer. Discipline remains with the Church; occasional synods and councils might be

44. For a discussion of the differences, see Toon, *ibid.*, pp. 77 - 84.

45. The Savoy Declaration of Faith and Order, Chapter I.

called in difficulties over doctrine or administration, but these have no greater authority than the gathered Church.⁴⁶ It has been aptly called 'Decentralised Calvinism'.⁴⁷

Although, therefore, it is not possible to give a precise account of the origin of the Independent tradition, it is possible to locate its wider background:

(1) In matters of faith, the Independents were Reformed Churchmen of the Puritan tradition, as is witnessed by their use of the 'High Calvinist' Westminster Confession. Their theological origin is the Puritan movement. Hugh Peters, one of Cromwell's chaplains, and who was considered too dangerous to be pardoned after the Restoration, bequeathed to his daughter A Dying Father's Last Legacy to an Only Child, (1660), in which he advised her to gather 'a little English Library' of Puritan authors - John Dod, Richard Sibbes, John Preston, William Gouge, Thomas Hooker, Thomas Goodwin and Richard Baxter among them.⁴⁸ These men included conformist and nonconformist Puritans, some Independent and some Presbyterian in conviction.

(2) In matters of ecclesiology, the Independent position was similar to that of the Separatists, and it was this factor which marked them out from other Puritans. However, as Peter Toon has pointed out, few of the leading Congregationalists of the 1650's wanted to trace their ancestry to the Separatists; they preferred to look to the influence of such men as John Cotton, Hugh Peters,

46. *ibid*, Matthews pp. 121 - 127.

47. G. Yule, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

48. Quoted in G. S. Wakefield, Puritan Devotion. Its Place in the Development of Christian Piety, London, 1957, p.3.

William Bridge, Jeremiah Burroughs, Thomas Goodwin, Sidrach Simpson and Philip Nye.⁴⁹

After the Restoration in 1660, and the Great Ejectment of 1662, the Independents and the Presbyterians, together with Baptists, shared the same lot, becoming Protestant Dissenters and harassed by harsh laws. Since it proved impossible in such circumstances to set up a Presbyterian church government, there was in fact little to distinguish Independents and Presbyterians; the main difference was that whereas the Presbyterian minister was ordained and placed over a congregation by other ministers, the Independent was ordained by the congregation. But this difference tended to disappear, Presbyterian Churches having Independent ministers and vice versa.

Aware that they shared the same faith, and that their differences and divisions were a poor testimony to their nonconformist position, attempts were made to bring the two bodies together, first by efforts on the part of Richard Baxter and John Owen, and later, more successfully, in the joint establishment of the Merchant's Lecture at Pinner's-Hall, founded in 1672, the establishment of the 'Common Fund' 1690, and a theological rapprochement, the 'Heads of Agreement' resulting in the 'Happy Union' of 1691. But this unity was short lived; there were in fact serious theological differences growing between the two parties.

49. P. Toon, op. cit., p. 72.

The influence of Arminianism, Federal Theology and Amyraldism produced a moderate Calvinism, and in turn led to the Antinomianism and Neonomianism debates; Presbyterians such as Daniel Williams, as representatives of moderate Calvinism, found themselves in dispute with 'High Calvinists' such as Richard Davis of Rothwell, Isaac Chauncy and Thomas Cole, on issues such as the Law of God, the Satisfaction of Christ's Death, and Justification. Many moderate Calvinists among the Presbyterians also became influenced by Socinian and Arian ideas, and drifted into Unitarianism. On the other hand, as a reaction to moderate Calvinism, some Independents adopted what has been called 'Hyper-Calvinism'.⁵⁰ The two denominations tended to drift apart. On the whole, among Independents in the eighteenth century, those ministers who had been trained at an English Academy or a Scottish University, such as Isaac Watts and Philip Doddridge, were moderate Calvinists, while those self-taught theologians such as Joseph Hussey and Lewis Wayman tended to be 'Hyper-Calvinists'.⁵¹

Although these theological controversies ruled out union between the two denominations, the Independents realised the need for close co-operation amongst themselves in their opposition to the Established Church. In 1695, the Independents withdrew from the 'Common Fund' and

50. For the use of this term, and a discussion on the complicated labyrinth of theological debate, see P. Toon, Hyper-Calvinism.

51. ibid., p. 147 - 148.

established their own 'Congregational Fund'. The London Board of Congregational Ministers was formed in 1727, 'to take cognisance of everything affecting the interests of that Denomination, and of religion in general', and three years later the 'Monthly Exercises of Congregational Ministers and Churches in the Metropolis' was started; in the eighteenth century various County Associations were also formed.⁵² In 1831 many of the Independent Churches covenanted together to form the Congregational Union of England and Wales.

During the eighteenth century the ranks of the Independents were swelled by the Calvinist Methodists of George Whitefield and the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion; these new congregations, which 'subsided into Independent Churches',⁵³ were the product of the Methodist Evangelical Revival, and their Calvinism was far less rigid. It is of little surprise, therefore, that the Declaration of Faith of the Congregational Union of 1833 was rather different in its theological stance from that of the Savoy Declaration; that of 1833 has been described as 'diluted Calvinism'.⁵⁴

Towards the end of the nineteenth century the denomination's Calvinism was further weakened by the impact of Biblical Higher Criticism; as a direct result of this, many Congregationalists in the early decades of

52. A. Peel, These Hundred Years. A History of the Congregational Union of England and Wales 1831 - 1931. London, 1931, p. 6.

53. Walter Wilson, cited by Peel, op. cit., p. 22.

54. *ibid.*, p. 75.

the present century became leading exponents of Liberal Theology or Modernism.⁵⁵ However, since the 1940's, the denomination has been influenced by the Neo-orthodox movement, or 'Barthianism', which has led both to an emphasis on orthodox belief, and a re-emphasis of the Reformed origins of the denomination. It is this re-emphasis which underlies the new Declaration of Faith issued in 1967,⁵⁶ and also the reconstitution of the Congregational Union in 1966 to become the Congregational Church in England and Wales; as John Huxtable has said, by 1966 'Union' no longer adequately described them:

Their awareness of mutual interdependence was so clear that they recognized in it sufficient similarities to the life of a local church to call it by the same name; and since in a local church all the members covenant with one another in the fellowship of the Church, the churches formed themselves into a Church by covenanting together. 57

In the use of the Westminster Confession in the Savoy Declaration, the seventeenth century Independents affirmed that in matters of faith they were in agreement with their Presbyterian brethren, though subsequently union proved to be impossible. However, since 1933 Congregationalists had worked very closely with the Presbyterian Church of England (being the remnants of seventeenth century Presbyterian congregations who did not

55. W. B. Glover, Evangelical Nonconformists and Higher Criticism in the Nineteenth Century, London, 1954; J. W. Grant, Free Churchmanship in England 1870 - 1940, London n.d.

56. Text in Christian Confidence. Theological Collections 14. S.P.C.K., London, 1970.

57. J. Huxtable, 'God's Sovereignty over the Church' in *ibid.*, pp. 121 - 139, p. 134.

become Unitarian, together with congregations of Scottish families which settled in England), in the hope that union might eventually be possible. By 1972 both Churches felt that union was possible, and by an Act of Parliament taking effect on the 5th October, 1972, the United Reformed Church came into being, comprised of a union between the Presbyterian Church of England, and most of the Covenanted Churches of the Congregational Church in England and Wales. Some congregations of Congregationalists felt that they could not surrender their principles of church polity to the new Church, and have continued as Independent Churches in the Congregational Federation. However, since the large majority of Congregational Churches have entered the United Reformed Church, this Church has a legitimate claim to be the successor of the Congregational men of the 1658 Savoy conference.

CHAPTER 2

THE INDEPENDENT TRADITION AND LITURGICAL FORMS.

For who knoweth the right use of public prayer but they that are taught by the Word of God? Let us therefore establish public preaching, and public prayers will follow of necessity.

William Fulke, A Brief and Plaine Declaration, 1584.
ed. L. J. Trinterud, Elizabethan Puritanism, New York, 1971, p. 269.

Is this old rotten leitourgis their new songs they sing unto the Lord with and for his graces? May such old written rotten stuffe be called praier, the odours of the saintes, burnt with that heavenly fire of the altar, the lively graces of the spirit, etc.?

Henry Barrow, Brief discoverie of the False Church, 1590.
The Writings of Henry Barrow 1587 - 1590, ed.
Leland H. Carlson, London, 1962, pp. 365 - 366.

If a man declines to use a liturgy and you crop his ears and slit his nose to encourage him, human nature is so constituted that he is apt to grow more obstinate, and to conceive a quite unreasonable prejudice against the book.

John Watson, The Cure of Soules, New York, 1896, p. 254.

THE INDEPENDENT TRADITION AND LITURGICAL FORMS

The attitude of the Independent tradition towards liturgical forms has been a changing one, and it may be considered as falling broadly into three main periods.

I. 1548 - 1660

The Book of Common Prayer

Although during the 1530's various unofficial liturgical reforms of a protestant nature had appeared in several English Primers,¹ the official reformation of English public worship was almost entirely the work of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer. As early as 1538 Cranmer had been working on a revision of the Latin Breviary,² and in 1544 his English Litany virtually replaced all those of the Latin Processional. In 1548 he prepared an English communion devotion entitled The Order of the Communion, which provided for communion in two kinds, and was to be inserted into the Mass. There is also some evidence which suggests that Cranmer had also been working on the reform of the Baptismal and Marriage liturgies.³ Much of this earlier work was incorporated into the 1549 Book of Common Prayer, which, together with the Ordinal of 1550, replaced all previous liturgical forms in use in the English Church. These official reforms of the liturgy were in turn replaced by a second Book of Common Prayer in 1552.

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1. C. C. Butterworth, The English Primers (1529 - 1545), Philadelphia, 1963.
 2. ed. J. W. Legg, Cranmer's Liturgical Projects, HBS, London, 1915.
 3. C. J. Cuming, A History of Anglican Liturgy, London, 1969, p. 68.

Cranmer, as indeed all other reformers, had inherited the forms of the Western liturgical tradition. These forms were collected into various books, the main ones being the Missal, the Breviary, the Manual, and the Processional.⁴ Although these liturgical forms were fairly uniform across Western Europe, there were a great variety of local variations. The 1549 Act of Uniformity described the situation in England and Wales as consisting of 'divers forms of common prayer, commonly called the service of the Church; that is to say, the Use of Sarum, of York, of Bangor, and of Lincoln'.⁵ Yet these differences were minimal: occasionally in the wording of a prayer or the choice of psalm or antiphon, and, more noticeably, in the ceremonial which accompanied the liturgical forms. But overall, the Western tradition was one of 'liturgical variety in detail, within the framework of a unity of rite';⁶ according to Dr. F. E. Brightman, that framework may be defined as a 'broad Gregorian basis';⁷ that is, the liturgical forms attributed to St. Gregory, revised by Alcuin for Charles the Great, and which generally prevailed in the West. These liturgical forms provided the basis for Cranmer's revision.

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4. For details, C. Wordsworth and H. Littlehales, The Old Service-Books of the English Church, London, 1904.
 5. Text in H. Gee and W. J. Hardy, Documents illustrative of English Church History, 1896, pp. 358 - 366.
 6. T. M. Parker, 'The Problem of Uniformity, 1559 - 1604', in M. Ramsey et al, The English Prayer Book 1549 - 1662, AC, London, 1966, p. 33.
 7. F. E. Brightman, The English Rite, 2 Vols., London, 1915, Vol. 1, p. xiii.

However, by the 1540's he was also in a position to consider the Latin rites in the light of reforms made on the Continent. His planned Breviary drew upon the reformed Breviary of the Catholic Cardinal Quignon; in 1532 he had attended Lutheran services at Nuremburg, and had married the niece of the Lutheran reformer, Osiander; his Litany drew on Luther's Litany. It is also known that in the 1548 The Order of the Communion, Cranmer drew upon Hermann's Lutheran order for Cologne. In addition, Cranmer seems to have been aware of the Greek Liturgy of John Chrysostem which he used in his Litany, and possibly he may have known a manuscript copy of the Liturgy of St. James.⁸

However, in his programme of liturgical reform, Cranmer, backed by the Royal Supremacy, seems to have had a definite policy. The Greek liturgies may have been interesting, but they, no more than the work of any one continental reformer, were to provide the foundation of his liturgical work. Instead, Cranmer simply retained the basic framework of the Latin services, translating them into the vernacular, and transposing catholic phraseology into a protestant key. The reform was to be gradual over a period of time, and not a drastic once-and-for-all reform. Furthermore, the new reforms would not be optional; they would replace all previous liturgical books. At the same time there were to be no private or independent reforms.

8. Miscel. graec. 134, Bodleian Library, Oxford. Apparently belonging to Henry VIII. F. E. Brightman, Liturgies Eastern and Western, Vol. 1. Eastern Liturgies, Oxford, 1896, p. li.

This policy of moderation and uniformity was set out succinctly in the Royal Proclamation of the 1548

The Order of the Communion. The King's subjects were requested to receive the ordinance with such obedience and conformity

that we may be encouraged from time to tyme, further to travell for the reformation & setting furthe of suche godly orders, as maye bee moste to godes glory, the edifying of our subiectes, and for thadvancemente, of true religion. Whiche thing, wee (by the healpe of God) mooste earnestly entend to bring to effecte: Willyng all our loving subiectes in the meane tyme, to stave and quiet them sealfes with this oure direction, as men content to folowe auctoritie (according to the bounden duty of subiectes, & not enterprisynge to ronne afore, and so by their rashenes, become the greatest hynderers of suche thynges, as they more arrogantly then godly, wolde seme (by their awne private auctoritie) moste hotly to set forwarde. Wee woulde not have oure subiectes so much to mislike oure Judgement, so much to mistruste our zeale, as though we eyther coulde not discerne what were to be done, or woulde not do all thinges in due tyme. 9

The emphasis here is on obedience to the Royal Supremacy, with a promise of further official reforms 'in due tyme'.

This policy was continued with the 1549 Book of Common Prayer, and the accompanying Act of Uniformity. The latter explained that a committee had been appointed consisting of 'the archbishop of Canterbury and certain of the most learned and discret bishops, and other learned men of this realm to consider and ponder the premises' of 'a uniform, quiet, and godly order'. The

9. text in, ed. H. A. Wilson, The Order of the Communion, 1548, HBS, London, 1908.

Committee's terms of reference were to 'draw and make one convenient and meet order, rite, and fashion of common and open prayer and administration of the sacraments having as well eye and respect to the most sincere and pure Christian religion taught by the Scripture, as to the usage in the primitive Church'. In practice this meant a moderate reform of the old services. Certain ceremonies and practices were abolished; certain doctrines were removed or made less explicit; but the traditional vestments were retained, the use of candles, the sign of the cross and chrism. These were enforced by law.

The new book was greeted with mixed feelings. On the question of the real presence in the Eucharist, the conservative Bishop Gardiner could urge that it was well expressed, and in his judgment, 'not distant from the catholic faith'.¹⁰ But other conservatives were not convinced; Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, took no steps to introduce it into his diocese, and a rising in the West Country demanded the restoration of the old services. On the other hand, the Zurich-trained Hooper could write to Bullinger, 'I am so much offended with that book that if it be not corrected, I neither can nor will communicate with the church in the administration of the supper'.¹¹ Hooper wished for a more radically reformed rite. But uniformity was insisted upon; Bonner was ordered to introduce the book into his diocese, and did so reluctantly; the West Country rebels were dealt

10. T. Cranmer, On the Lord's Supper, Parker Society, London, 1844, p. 92.

11. Original Letters, Vol. 1, p. 79. March 27th, 1550.

with as rebels; and Hooper, when refusing to wear the prescribed episcopal vesture, was imprisoned until he agreed to conform. Clearly there was no room for private opinion or diversity of usage.

The 1549 book was short lived; as it was coming off the Grafton Press, the Strasburg reformer, Martin Bucer, wrote:

We hear that some concessions have been made both to a respect of antiquity, and to the infirmity of the present age; such, for instance, as the vestments commonly used in the sacrament of the eucharist, and the use of candles:..... They affirm that there is no superstition in these things, and that they are only to be retained for a time, lest the people, not having yet learned Christ, should be deterred by too extensive innovations from embracing his religion, and that rather they may be won over. 12

'For a time' was in fact to be less than three years. In 1552 a new book was issued, which, with a new Act of Uniformity, replaced that of 1549. Once again in the new book conformity was stressed; the 1549 book was abolished because of 'divers doubts' arising from the 'curiosity of the minister and mistakers'.¹³ The new book 'explained and made fully perfect' the former book; this in fact meant that the new book was more protestant in character than that of 1549; the Eucharistic vestments were abolished, candles and crosses were to be removed, and chrism disappeared; various changes in the

12. *ibid*, Vol. 2, pp. 535 - 6. April 26th, 1549.

13. Act of Uniformity 1552. Text, Gee and Hardy, *op. cit.*, pp. 369 - 372.

wording of the services and their structure gave the book a more protestant ethos. However, the derivation from the Latin rites was still clearly discernible, and the retention of the surplice, the use of the cross in Baptism, and the use of versicles, responses and canticles gave the book a rather different ethos as compared with the radical rites of Geneva and Zurich.

Whether or not Cranmer and his fellow English reformers had in mind further changes is not known. Edward VI died, Mary succeeded to the throne, and the Roman Catholic faith and the old Latin services were restored. But among the English exiles at Frankfurt there was a rumour that although

Cranmer, Bishop of Canterbury, had drawn up a Book of Prayer a hundred times more perfect than this that we now have, the same could not take place; for that he was matched with such a wicked clergy and convocation. 14

If there was any truth in this rumour, 'a hundred times more perfect' would suggest a book of a more radical protestant character than that of 1552.

With the succession of Elizabeth in 1558 the English protestants returned from exile, bringing with them their first hand experience of the Reformed Churches of the Continent, and many expected an immediate return to a programme of protestant reform. But although the Roman Catholic faith and the Latin services were abrogated, Elizabeth certainly did not embark on a programme of reform of the Genevan or Zurich type. The 1552

14. ed. E. Arber, A Brief Discourse of the Troubles at Frankfurt, 1554 - 1558 A.D., London, 1908, p. 75.

Book of Common Prayer was re-enacted, with three minor but significant changes: the petition against the Pope was removed from the Litany; the 'Black rubric' explaining kneeling for communion was removed; and the 1549 words of administration of communion were added to those of 1552. Elizabeth also included an Ornaments rubric, which, if carried into effect, would have retained all liturgical vesture in use in 1549. This 'freezing' of the 1552 Book of Common Prayer, together with what some considered to be 'catholic concessions', clearly did not please the more radical reformers; for them the process of reformation was far from complete: in the words of the eighteenth century Congregational historian, Daniel Neal:

With good King Edward died all further advances of the reformation; for the alterations that were made afterwards by Queen Elizabeth hardly came up to his standard. 15

As with previous books of common prayer, that of 1559 was enforced by an Act of Uniformity:

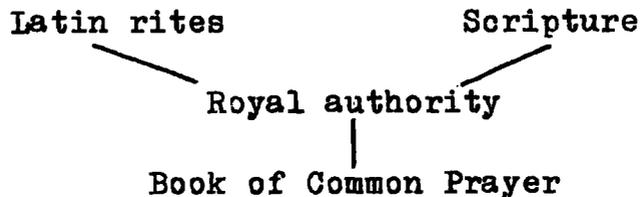
And that if any manner of parson, vicar, or other whatsoever minister, that ought or should sing or say common prayer mentioned in the said book, or minister the sacraments, from and after the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next coming, refuse to use the said common prayers, or to minister the sacraments in such cathedral or parish church, or other places as he should use to minister the same, in such order and form as they be mentioned and set forth in the said book, or shall, wilfully or obstinately standing in the same, use any other rite, ceremony, order, form, or manner of celebrating of the Lord's Supper, openly or privily, or Matins, Evensong, administration of the sacraments, or other open prayers, than is mentioned and

15. D. Neal, A History of the Puritans, 4 vols., 1732 - 38, Vol. 1, p. 75.

set forth in the said book shall lose and forfeit to the queen's highness, her heirs and successors, for his first offence, the profit of all his spiritual benefices or promotions coming or arising in the whole year next after his conviction; and also that the person so convicted shall for the same offence suffer imprisonment by the space of six months, without bail or mainprize. 16

Puritans and Liturgical Criteria

It is against the background of the formation of the English Liturgy that the Puritan liturgical protest must be seen; this protest was concerned with the criteria for liturgical revision. The Prayer Books had been compiled using the old Latin rites as a basis, and these had been made scriptural as far as the Royal authority deemed it expedient. It may be expressed thus:



Since such things as vestments and the cross in Baptism were retained - for they were not actually forbidden by Scripture - the English reformation resembled a Lutheran approach to the authority of Scripture rather than a Calvinist approach. This approach was unacceptable to the Puritans, who looked to Geneva for their inspiration. In liturgical matters, as in all others, the Puritan's sole authority and criterion was the written word of God. William Bradshawe, giving a summary of Puritan beliefs, affirmed:

16. Text, Gee and Hardy, op. cit., pp. 458 - 467.

IMPRIMIS, They should and maintain that the word of God contained in the writings of the Prophets and Apostles, is of absolute perfection, given by Christ the head of the Church, to be unto the same, the sole Canon and rule of all matters of Religion, and the worship and service of God whatsoever. And that whatsoever done in the same service and worship cannot be justified by the said word, is unlawfull. 17

Bradshawe, writing in 1605, simply restated that principle found in Field and Wilcox's An Admonition to Parliament, 1572; they had demanded of Church and liturgy alike that:

nothing be don in this or any other thing, but that which you have the expresse warrant of Gods worde for. 18

In the same manner the great seventeenth century Puritan theologian, Thomas Watson, wrote:

Divine worship must be such as God himself has appointed, else it is offering strange fire. Lev. x 1. The Lord would have Moses make the tabernacle, 'according to the pattern in the mount'. Exod xxv 40. He must not leave out anything in the pattern, nor add to it. If God was so exact and curious about the place of worship, how exact will he be about the matter of his worship! Surely here everything must be according to the pattern prescribed in his word. 19

Professor Horton Davies, in his study of the worship of the English Puritans,²⁰ has demonstrated that this attitude derives ultimately from two doctrines of Calvinism; the utter depravity of man, and the all-sufficiency of Scripture for salvation. The result was

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17. W. Bradshawe, English Puritanism. Containing the main opinions of the rigidist sort of those that are called Puritans in the realme of England, London, 1605.
18. An Admonition to Parliament, 1572, in Ed. W. H. Frere and C. E. Douglas, Puritan Manifestoes, London, 1907, p.15
19. Thomas Watson, A Body of Divinity, p. 8.
20. Horton Davies, The Worship of the English Puritans, Oxford, 1948, pp. 13 - 24; 49.

that the Puritans viewed the literal text of the Bible as a sufficient source for all matters liturgical, and diligently searched it to substantiate their belief.

Professor Davies continues:

The Scriptural citations warranting their main thesis are derived from both Testaments. Thus II Peter i 19 - 21 and II Timothy iii 15 - 17 urge the perfection of the Scriptures; while Matthew xv 9, 13, and Rev. xxii 19 are taken to forbid any man-made additions to the worship of God. Even more relevant and stronger proof-texts are found in the Old Testament. Exodus xx 4 - 6 (the Second Commandment), Joshua i 7, Deut. iv 2, xii 32, and Proverbs xxx 6 assert that God will not tolerate any additions to his worship since he is a 'jealous God'. 21

The Puritan approach to liturgical matters may be illustrated from William Fulke's A Brief and Plaine Declaration.²² Fulke viewed worship as something inseparable from the Church and its ministry, both of which were dependent upon the Word of God. Worship in terms of Public prayer was dealt with as belonging to the office of the Pastor. Thus the Pastor was to teach and exhort - 2 Tim. 3: 16 - 4: 2; it was also his duty to make prayer, as in Acts 16:16. The congregation may join in the singing of psalms - I Cor. 14: 15, 26, 'for this custom hath continued in the Church from the beginning, that the congregation have praised God with psalms singing altogether'. But it belonged essentially to the office of Pastor to make prayer, and 'the rest to pray with him in silence and to answer "Amen" ' - I Cor. 4: 16. According

21. *ibid.*, p. 50.

22. *in*, ed. Trinterud, *op. cit.*

to Fulke, the second duty of the Pastor in worship was 'the right administration of the Sacraments of God' - Matthew 28: 19, Luke 22: 19:

it is the duty of every pastor to administer the sacraments of Christ, so this office appertaineth to none but to those which are ministers of the word. 23

However, such things as Confirmation and Churching of women, provided for in the Book of Common Prayer, were 'mere devices of men and ought to have no place in the Church of Christ'.

According to the Puritan, the basis for liturgical composition was quite straight forward:

Scripture
↓
Liturgy

It was the monarch's duty to obey Scripture, and the resulting liturgy would bear little resemblance to the old Latin rites. Since the Book of Common Prayer had been compiled using other criteria, the Puritan believed it to be merely the remains of Roman Catholicism, containing many unscriptural elements. For example, there was no scriptural authority for such things as the ring in marriage, the sign of the cross in Baptism, or the wearing of any type of vestment.²⁴ Furthermore, it was too close in ethos to the Latin rites; according to Field and Wilcox, it was

23. Fulke, op. cit., in Trinterud, op. cit., p. 266.

24. An Abridgment of that Booke which the Ministers of Lincoln Diocess delivered to his Maiestie upon the first of December last, 1605; The Millenary Petition, 1603, in E. Cardwell, A History of Conferences and other Proceedings, Oxford, 1841; SPR, 38, 57, 59, 72, 77, 78, 165.

an unperfected booke, culled & picked out of that popishe dunghil, the Masse booke full of all abominations. For some, & many of the contents therein, be suche as are againste the woord of God, and by his grace shall be proved unto you. 25

Popish remains included reading of services instead of preaching, observance of saints' days, kneeling at communion rather than sitting, the word 'priest', private Baptism, questions to infants, god-parents' promises, the Gospel canticles, antiphonal singing of the psalms and the use of organs. Underlying these criticisms was the question of liturgical criteria: God's Word, or the monarch's wishes:

We must be in daunger of a premunire if we folowe not the lawes of the land, though they be againste the Scriptures, and in daunger of a twelve monthes imprisonment, if we speake against the booke of common prayer, though it be againste the word of God. 26

Whereas once nothing but the Word of God had been taught, now there were

Princes pleasures, mennes devices, popish ceremonies, and Antichristian rites in publique pulpits defended. 27

The Puritan endeavoured that Christ 'might rule and raygne in his church by the scepter of his worde onely'.²⁸

The Puritans attempted to correct the defects of the Book of Common Prayer in two ways; either by private emendation of the Prayer Book, which Strype called 'mangling the English book',²⁹ or by the adoption and

25. An Admonition, Frere & Douglas, op. cit., p. 21;

Cf. SPR, 50, 'patched out of the Popes Portusses'.

26. T. Cartwright, Second Admonition, Frere and Douglas, op. cit., pp. 93 - 4.

27. An Admonition, *ibid*, p. 12.

28. *ibid.*, p. 9.

29. J. Strype, Life of Parker, 3 Vols., 1821, vol. 2, p. 65.

promotion of a Reformed liturgy of a Calvinist type.

(a) Mangling the English Book

The precise forms of this liturgical anarchy are now lost to us; bearing in mind the many objections to the Book of Common Prayer we can for the most part only conjecture what some of these emendations may have been. Some information can, however, be collated from the charges brought against Puritans in the ecclesiastical courts. For example, in January 1584/5 Eusebius Paget, a particularly troublesome Puritan minister, admitted to the Court of High Commission that although he had sworn to use the enacted book, he had omitted certain parts:

I have very willingly and with all humble obedience in the administration of the sacraments and other open prayers in the said parish use(d) rites, ceremonies and orders set forth in the said book, although I have not used all rites, ceremonies and orders as is (there) mentioned. 30

Paget pointed out that he had used no other order, but had left out certain parts:

1. Partly for that to my knowledge, there is not in the said church the said book.
2. Partly for that I am given to understand that you before whom I stand, and mine Ordinary, and the most part of the BBs and ministers do use greater liberty in omitting and altering the said rites, ceremonies and orders.
3. And especially for that I am not fully resolved in conscience that I may use divers of them.
4. And for that when I took charge of that church, I was promised by mine Ordinary that I should not be urged to such ceremonies, which I am informed he might do by the law. 31.

30. SPR, 176. ed. Trinterud, op. cit., pp. 380 - 383;
p. 380.

31. ibid.

Here Paget appealed to the fact that many of the bishops had Puritan sympathies regarding the Book of Common Prayer.

Another minister who was suspended, one John Elliston, admitted that he had omitted the Epistle and Gospel 'upon the Saboth dayes' in the Ante-communion, and had refused communicants because they would not submit to being examined beforehand.³² It was reputed that Richard Bowler, Rector of Leverington in the Isle of Ely, 'addeth and diminisheth at his pleasure' in the use of the book.³³ Many prosecutions of Puritan clergy were for such offences as omitting the sign of the cross in Baptism and the refusal to use a surplice.³⁴

Besides these ad hoc Puritan alterations to rubrics and the omission of some texts, we must also consider a series of printed books, appearing from 1578 onwards, bound with the Genevan Bible, but differing in some details from the enacted Book of Common Prayer.

The precise nature and implications of these editions of the Prayer Book are by no means agreed upon by scholars. Proctor and Frere, in their A New History of the Book of Common Prayer, attributed these emasculated books to the Puritans;³⁵ Mr. J. F. Gerrard pointed out signs of hasty printing, and suggested that the variations in the text may be ascribed to the printers' vagaries.³⁶ And Dr. Collinson, noting the moderation of

32. SPR, 177.

33. Cited in, P. Collinson, *op. cit.*, p. 365.

34. Ronald Marchant, The Puritans and the Church Courts in the Diocese of York 1560 - 1642, London, 1960. *passim*.

35. F. Proctor and W. H. Frere, A New History of the Book of Common Prayer, London, 1901, p. 133 - 135.

36. J. F. Gerrard, Notable Editions of the Prayer Book, Wigan, 1949, pp. 13 - 15.

the alterations and the nature of the services which were omitted, described them as 'successors to the mid-Tudor "primers", intended for domestic rather than congregational use'.³⁷

However, Mr. A. E. Peaston has argued strongly that these books are Puritan abridgements, representing a subtle attempt to alter the Book of Common Prayer by minor changes which might go undetected.³⁸ First, Peaston notes that the rubrics and services omitted were all ones to which the Puritans objected. Secondly, he points out that the books were bound with the Genevan Bible, being mainly the work of William Whittingham, a Marian exile, husband of Calvin's sister, and ordained at Geneva. The Calvinist nature of the Genevan Bible was evident from its marginal notes, where episcopal hierarchy was condemned, and the equality of ministers was taught. Archbishop Parker refused to allow this version to be printed in England, and the bishops published their own version in 1568, the 'Bishop's Bible'. This latter was often bound with the 1559 Book of Common Prayer. However, Archbishop Grindal, noted for his Puritan sympathies, allowed the Genevan version to be printed cum privilegio by Christopher Barker. Later there appeared these adaptations of the Prayer Book; being bound with the Genevan Bible, it is logical to presume that both were for Puritan use.³⁹

37. P. Collinson, *op. cit.*, p. 365.

38. A. E. Peaston, The Prayer Book Tradition in the Free Churches, London, 1964, pp. 16 - 32..

39. For the various editions, see *ibid.*, pp. 33 - 34.

Peaston's argument is supported by the evidence of Eusebius Paget; Paget pointed out that the Prayer Book in his Church, though printed 'with privilege', was not the one authorised in 1559. He had not refused to use the enacted book; no one had offered it to him. It would appear that his book was one of the Puritan adaptations, and Paget could correctly claim that he had not deliberately omitted certain ceremonies or services, because they were not in his book to be omitted.⁴⁰

Ad hoc emendations to the Prayer Book, and printed adaptations, both had a precedent in The Liturgy of Compromise. This was the work of the Marian exiles at Frankfurt, who quickly set to work to bring the 1552 Book of Common Prayer into harmony with the Continental Reformed rites.⁴¹

(b) The Use of Reformed Rites

As well as 'mangling the English Book', Strype informs us that some Puritans used a different liturgy in their meetings:

And at these meetings, rejecting wholly the Book of Common Prayer, they used a Book of Prayers framed at Geneva for the congregation of English exiles lately sojourning there. Which book had been overseen and allowed by Calvin, and the rest of his Divines there, and indeed was for the most part taken out of the Genevan form. 42

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40. The production of Prayer Books with slight alterations or omissions, in the hope that the various modifications would gradually establish themselves, has a modern parallel in Anglo-Catholic editions of the Prayer Book, where parts of the Roman Rite have been interpolated.
41. H. J. Wotherspoon and G. W. Sprott, The Liturgy of Compromise used in the English Congregation at Frankfort, Edinburgh, 1905.
42. J. Strype, Life of Grindal, Oxford, 1821, p. 169. Cf. 1572 Bill 'Concerning Rites and Ceremonies', p. 149, in H. C. Porter, Puritanism in Tudor England, London, 1970, pp. 148 - 150.

The book in question was the Genevan Service Book, 1556, compiled for use of a group of Marian exiles at Geneva. Its adoption by the Church of Scotland as the Book of Common Order in 1562 and 1564, and the not too infrequent exchange of clergy between Scotland and England, meant that despite the 1559 Act of Uniformity, this liturgy was far from forgotten. As early as 1567, it was in use by the Plumber's Hall congregation, and that which met in Goldsmith's House in 1568.⁴³ In 1582 Cartwright was proposing to obtain Parliament's approval for a Prayer Book after the Genevan type, and in 1584 Dr. Peter Turner, a London physician and the son of the Puritan naturalist, William Turner, attempted to present to Parliament a Bill to allow the use of an edition of the Genevan Service Book.⁴⁴ Again, in 1587, Peter Wentworth, Member of Parliament for Northampton, and Anthony Cope, Member of Parliament for Banbury, attempted to present a liturgy of the Genevan type.⁴⁵ Both these attempts were quashed by the intervention of the Queen. These two liturgies, both entitled A Booke of The Forme of Common Prayers, administration of the Sacraments: &c. agreeable to Gods Worde, and the use of the reformed churches, are both known after their respective printers, the Waldegrave Book, 1584 and the Middleburg Book, 1586, by Richard Schilders of Middleburg, Zeeland. In 1583

43. A. Peel, The First Congregational Churches, p. 11.

44. H. Davies, *op. cit.*, pp. 33 - 34, 123; Collinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 273 - 288.

45. Collinson, *ibid.*, pp. 303 - 316.

Stephen Beamund, Rector of Easthorpe, was brought before the Assizes because he had neither worn the surplice, nor used the Prayer Book, but 'had seditiously celebrated there other services'.⁴⁶ This may well have been the Genevan Service Book.

As well as the Genevan form, some Puritans had attempted in 1572 to authorise the liturgies of the French and Dutch 'Stranger Churches' for use in the Church of England.⁴⁷ Several of the Puritan clergy who ministered in Holland also adopted the Dutch Liturgy.⁴⁸

The Separatists and Liturgy

The Puritans wanted a scriptural, Reformed liturgy; they objected to the Book of Common Prayer as enacted by Law, because it was too closely based upon the Roman rites, and because it was subject to the monarch's wishes. Their objections were against a particular imposed liturgy, and not against a liturgy as such. So, for example, William Perkins defended the use of liturgical forms by appealing to the use of psalms in Scripture, and also by explaining that not everyone had the gift for extemporary prayer:

It is alledged, that set formes of prayer doe limit and bind the holy Ghost.

Ans. If we had a perfect measure of grace, it were somewhat, but the graces of God are weake and small in us. This is no binding of the Holy Ghost, but a helping of the Spirit, which is weake in us, by a crutch to leane upon: therefore a man may with good conscience, upon defect of memorie and utterance, &c. use a set forme of prayer.

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46. F. G. Emmison, Elizabethan Life: Morals and the Church Courts, Chelmsford (Essex County Council), 1973, p. 196.
47. Text in, ed. H. C. Porter, op. cit.
48. Add. MSS 6394 (Boswell Papers) British Museum, fol. 168, ed. C. Burrage, The Early English Dissenters, Vol. 1, p. 298.
49. William Perkins, 'Cases of Conscience', Book 2, in Works, 3 Vols., London, 1628 - 31, Vol. 2, p. 67.

The fact that Perkins felt it necessary to defend the use of liturgical forms indicates that in some quarters it was being questioned; some Puritans felt that prayer was a gift given to the minister, and that he should not be tied to a set form of prayer, enacted by Law. Field and Wilcox had appealed to the usage of the apostolic Church:

Then ministers were not tyed to any forme of prayers invented by man, but as the spirit moved them, so they powred forth hartie supplications to the Lorde. Now they are bound of necessitie to a prescript order of service, and booke of common prayer in which a great number of things contrary to Gods word are contained, 50

The belief that prayer was a gift of the Spirit, and that set forms quenched the Spirit, was one of the hall-marks of the Separatists. The Separatists such as Robert Browne and Henry Barrow may legitimately be regarded as the extreme left wing of English Puritanism. Although they attacked the Puritans for remaining within the Established Church, their views represented Puritan ideals taken to their logical conclusion. Scripture did not enjoin the use of the cross in Baptism; but neither did Scripture enjoin the use of a liturgy; for the Separatists, set forms of prayer had no scriptural authority.

The Separatist concept of worship was closely connected with their ecclesiology. The true Church was founded upon the Word of God, and established by him, and filled with his Spirit. Where a Church was ordered according to

God's Word, there true liturgy could be found. According to John Greenwood:

The worde leitourgia signifieth publicum munus, ergon laon, the worck of, or for the people: that is the very execution of the ministeriall actions in the church, according to the worde of all the officers therof, that is the practise of those ministeriall duties prescribed by Christ, we may every where reade. Nowe, to make other leiturgia, is to lay an other foundation, and to make an other gospell, not that ther is an other gospell, but that ther are some willing to pervert the gospell of Christ. 51

Liturgy in the narrower sense of prayer was the gift of the Spirit; Greenwood cited John 4: 23 - 24, 'God is Spirit and must be worshipped in Spirit and truth'.⁵²

It was a sin to attempt to quench this gift by the use of set forms of prayer; true prayer must be of faith and knowledge, uttered with the heart, and lively voice to God.⁵³ Galatians 4:6 and Romans 8:26 were favourite proof texts.⁵⁴ In the apostolic Church, so Henry Barrow claimed,

They alwaies used spiritual praiers according to their present wantes and occasions, and so taught all churches to pray, alwaies, with all maner of praiere and supplication in the spirit, and therby to make knowen their wantes, and to shew their requestes in al thinges unto God their heavenly Father. 55

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51. John Greenwood, An Answer to George Gifford's Pretended Defence, in, ed. Leland H. Carlson, The Writings of John Greenwood 1587 - 1590, London, 1962, pp. 73 - 74.
52. Carlson *ibid*, Reasons against Read Prayers, pp. 14 - 15.
53. *ibid*.
54. *ibid*. Cf. A Few observations of Mr. Gifford's Last Cavills about stinted read prayers and devised Leitourgies, in, ed. Carlson, The Writings of John Greenwood and Henry Barrow 1591 - 1593, London, 1970, p. 42 ff.
55. A Brief Discoverie of the False Church (1590), in, ed. Carlson, The Writings of Henry Barrow 1587 - 1590, p. 366.

If prayer was essentially the gift of the Spirit, then written or 'stinted' prayers represented a blasphemous attack on the Spirit; those who use written prayers

..... take the office of the Holie Ghost awaie, quench the spirit of the ministrie, and of the whole church, stop and keepe out the graces of God, thrust their owne idle devises upon the whole church, yea, upon God himselfe, whether he wil or no. 56

This also applied to the Lord's Prayer; the Separatists believed that it provided the perfect pattern for prayer, but was not itself intended to be recited. Greenwood argued that the Hebrew 'Coh' meant 'Thus', or, 'after this manner', and the Greek 'houtos' introducing the Lord's Prayer had exactly the same meaning.⁵⁷ He also appealed to Calvin's comment upon Matthew 6:9, 'It was not the intention of the Son of God, (as we have already said), to prescribe the words which we must use, so as not to leave us at liberty to depart from the form which he has dictated'.⁵⁸ According to Barrow, the Lord's Prayer

expresseth not our particular wantes, or estate of our heartes, neither do we understand those generall doctrines, by the bare saying or reading it over. This Scripture is not the grace of God's Spirit in us; it is not drawen out of the fountaine of our heartes. It is not our wordes to God, but his unto us, etc. It

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56. Barrow, A Plaine Refutation, The Writings of Henry Barrow 1590 - 1591, ed. Carlson, London, 1966, p. 100.
57. An Answer to George Gifford's Pretended Defence, op. cit., pp. 44 - 45.
58. A Few observations of Mr. Gifford's Last Cavills, op. cit., p. 50. *ibid.* p. 45.

edifieth not the whole congregation so that they may all mind one thing, or say Amen. Therefore, and for all these reasons, it ought not and cannot be used of any Christian, either publicly or privately, as their praier: 59

The Lord's Prayer was a perfect example because it was given by Jesus and was scriptural; but all other written prayer was the work of men, and as such was 'carnall worship, a wearysomnes unto him, and lothsome in his sight'.⁶⁰ It was from this theology that the Separatists were able to reject the Book of Common Prayer in toto; true liturgy belonged to the true Church; the Church of England was not a true Church, and therefore could not possess true liturgy. The Separatists believed that their judgement was further confirmed by the fact that the Book of Common Prayer was a set liturgy, and by its Roman character; Cranmer and his fellow English reformers may have wished for reformation, but they were ignorant on the meaning of liturgy:

Not withstanding, I saye this, their great sin of ignorance hath beene our great and deadlye plague, in that they translated out of the Latin portues of the pope in to Englishe, theyre deadlye collects and prayers, and soe made a booke of them. Not that they made the prayers and collects them selves, but antichrist, as I said, made them; and these good men their ignorance was suche, that they translated those his prayers and collects into Englishe, and mended here and there places which were to to vitious, and put in some of their owne words in the romes of that vile stufte: soe then you cannot well denye but these prayers were first coyned in

59. A Brief Discoverie of the False Church, op. cit., p. 372.

60. Greenwood, An Answer to George Gifford's Pretended Defence, op. cit., p. 36.

that Latin shopp of antichrist, and after were drawne out of the Latin shopp into Englishe by Cranmer, and patched up together by some of his owne coyning, and theirs with his; soe by this your common prayers are but patched prayers. 61

But these arguments applied equally to the Genevan rite; whereas for the Puritans the problem was one of which liturgy, for the Separatists it was one of written liturgy versus inspiration of the Spirit.

Independent Puritans

The position of many of those who Champlin Burrage termed 'Independent Puritans' seems to have been that of the Separatists, though with rather less vehement condemnation of the liturgies of other Churches.

Dr. William Ames wrote of 'Instituted Forms' of worship,

No worship of this kind is lawfull, unlesse it hath God for the Author, and ordainer of it. Deut. 4. 2. & 12. 32. Keep you all things which I shall command you, Ad not to the word which I command you, neither take from it, every thing which I command you observe to doe: ad not to it, nor take from it every thing which I command you observe to doe: ad not to it, nor take from. 1 Chron. 16. 13. Our Lord broke in upon us, because we did not seeke him aright. 62

Here Ames' statement suggests that some written forms might be lawful, since God might be the author. Elsewhere, however, he accepts the Separatist argument that the Lord's Prayer was 'an example or patterne, according

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61. Greenwood, Fragments of a Letter, in, The Writings of John Greenwood 1587 - 1590, pp. 4 - 5.
 62. W. Ames, 'Of Instituted Worship', in The Marrow of Sacred Divinity, London, 1642, p. 271.

to which we are to direct our Prayers'; to keep to the text would mean 'no proficiencie in the spirit and gift of praying'.⁶³ John Robinson also vigorously defended free prayer and praying 'in the Spirit':

The apostle Jude directeth us always to pray in the Holy Ghost, Jude xx: and Paul teacheth, that we cannot pray as we ought, but as the Sprit helpeth us, and begetteth in us sighs unutterable, Rom. viii. 26; by the work of which Spirit if our prayers be not conceived first in our hearts before they be brought forth in our lips, they are an unnatural, bastardly, and profane birth. 64

Therefore,

We cannot but mislike that custom in use, by which the pastor is wont to repeat and read out of a prayer-book certain forms, for his and the churches' prayers, 65

Robinson attacked the Book of Common Prayer, the papists' St. Peter's Liturgy, and that of St. James; he too maintained that the Lord's Prayer was but an example, and not a form of prayer to be imposed upon the Church.⁶⁶ Prayers could indeed be written down and read with profit, but in private meditation, not public worship.⁶⁷

The argument for free prayer was put forcefully by John Cotton, the leader of the New England Independents.

63. W. Ames, Conscience with the Power and Cases Thereof. Divided into 5 Books, London, 1643, Book 4. p. 41.
 64. J. Robinson, A Justification of Separation from the Church of England, 1610, in, ed. R. Ashton, The Works of John Robinson, 3 Vols, London, 1851, Vol. 2, p. 451.
 65. J. Robinson, 'Of Written Liturgies', in A Just and Necessary Apology, 1625, in Works, Vol 3., p. 19.
 66. ibid., p. 22.
 67. ibid., pp.26 - 27.

Like the Separatists and Robinson, Cotton insisted that prayer should be 'with the Spirit':

Now hee hath commanded us to pray in the spirit, Ep. 6:18, which implies not onely with such affections as his spirit kindleth and stirreth up, but also with such matter and words as his spirit helpeth us unto: For his spirit is said to helpe us what to pray, which else we should not know, Rom. 8:26. 68

According to Cotton,

From the patterne of all the Churches, both in the old and new Testament, God never gave leave to any ordinary Officers of his Church, neither did any of them take leave to impose any formes of Liturgie upon any Church. 69

Another point against the use of a set form

is taken from the meaning of the second Commandment, which wee conceive prohibiteth such prescript Liturgies. 70

Cotton maintained that it was unlawful to bring books other than the Bible into public worship and for the magistrate, or our ancestors, to prescribe a set form of prayer; also for prayers composed by others to be used as ordinary prayer, or for one Church to receive such set forms from another and use them as their own.⁷¹ However, he allowed that set forms were justifiable in some circumstances; a man might lawfully compile a book of prayers, and give holy directions and rules for prayer to another, and set down some forms of prayer as examples. He also conceded

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68. J. Cotton, A Modest and Cleare Answer to Mr. Balls Discourse of Set formes of Prayer, London, 1642, p. 14.
69. J. Cotton, The Way of the Churches of Christ in New-England, London, 1645, p. 70.
70. ibid., p. 71. Cf. Thomas Shephard, A Treatise of Liturgies, Power of the Keyes, And of matter of the Visible Church, London, 1653.
71. A Modest and Cleare Answer, pp. 4 - 5.

that a man might be affected with some petitions in a prayer devised by others and may insert them in his own prayer.⁷² Set forms were not therefore ruled out a priori.

John Cotton was held in high esteem by the 'Dissenting Brethren' of the Apologeticall Narration, and Cotton's admission that in some circumstances set forms may be legitimate may underlie the conciliatory tone of the Narration. The 'Dissenting Brethren' wished to repudiate the charge of Brownism, and to affirm their agreement with the Reformed Churches; they insisted therefore that

Our publique worship was made up of no other parts than the worship of all other reformed Churches doth consist of. 73

In the same work they asserted,

Againe, concerning the great ordinance of Publique Prayer and the Lyturgie of the Church, whereas there is this great controversie upon it about the lawfulness of set formes prescribed; we practiced (without condemning others) what all sides doe allow, and themselves doe practice also, that the publique Prayers in our Assemblies should be framed by the meditations and study of our own Ministers, out of their own gifts, (the fruits of Christ's Ascension) as well as their Sermons use to be. 74

Allowing for the conciliatory nature of this apology, there are four points made by these Independents: First, in agreement with the Separatists, they acknowledged that prayer was a gift given to the Minister; second, however, it would appear that these prayers were not

72. *ibid.*

73. T. Goodwin et al, An Apologeticall Narration, p. 8.

74. *ibid.*, p. 12.

spontaneous, for reference is made to 'meditations and study' - the prayers were prepared with care. Another point was that these Independents stressed that their worship consisted of the same 'parts' as other Reformed Churches, suggesting that they followed a liturgical framework or order of service. Lastly, although they themselves practised this freedom within a framework, they did not condemn what other Churches did; here they seemed to acknowledge that many Reformed Churches did in fact use a set liturgy, and they were not prepared to condemn their Reformed brethren on this issue.

Within the wider background of Independentism, there were, then, several views on liturgical forms; some wished for a revision of the Book of Common Prayer, some for the substitution of the Genevan or another Reformed rite, and some repudiated the use of set forms of prayer. The Independents of the Apologeticall Narration gave the impression that although they did not wish to use a set form of prayer, they carefully prepared their worship, and followed the general pattern of Reformed worship; they did not condemn those Reformed brethren who did use a set form.

Laudianism

At various times the Puritans attempted to effect changes in the English Liturgy, through Parliament, by tracts, and by appealing direct to King James at the Hampton Court conference. Despite their efforts, the 1559 Book of Common Prayer remained intact. But the Puritan wing of the Church of England and the Separatists were not alone in desiring change in the public worship

of the English Church; another group of divines, known - albeit inaccurately - as the 'Laudian' school, also wanted change, but of rather a different nature. Whereas the Puritans appealed to the Word of God alone, the Laudians appealed to the usage of the Church in the first four or five centuries, and to the use of the Greek Church.⁷⁵

At first their liturgical ideas found expression only in outward adorning and ceremonial; chapels and churches were furnished with sumptuousness, with the communion table covered with a rich 'carpet' or frontal, with two tapers, a silver bason, and a Bible and Prayer Book with fine bindings; the woodwork was richly carved; the minister often wore a cope as well as the detested surplice, and certain ceremonies were elaborated; for example, infants were not only signed with the cross in Baptism, but were then carried to the altar. These practices the Laudians sought to justify by appealing ~~either~~ to the early Church, the Prayer Book of 1549, or to the Elizabethan injunctions on ceremonial.

Little was done with regard to actual revision of the text of the Book of Common Prayer. The nearest approach to this was John Cosin's Collections of Private Devotions for the ladies of the Court, in which Matins and Evensong were supplemented with some material from the old Roman Catholic monastic offices (Breviary), and some prayers from the Prayer Book of 1549. This collection brought

75. So for example, Jeremy Taylor's A Collection of Offices, 1658?, drew upon material from the Greek Offices. See, G. W. O. Addleshaw, The High Church Tradition, 1941; G. J. Cuming, A History of Anglican Liturgy, 1969, pp. 140 - 146.

forth a bitter attack from the Puritan lawyer,
William Prynne.⁷⁶

Cosin's use of the 1549 Book of Common Prayer epitomises the liturgical aspirations of the Laudians; from a survey of the Classical liturgies and the Roman rite, they concluded that the 1549 book was closer to the usage of the early church than the subsequent enacted books.⁷⁷ They sought to rearrange the enacted Prayer Book to conform to that of 1549; thus with regard to the Eucharistic Prayer in the communion service, Cosin informs us that Bishop Overall used the 'Prayer of Oblation' immediately after the 'Prayer of Consecration', attempting to restore an anamnesis to the Prayer Book Eucharistic Prayer.⁷⁸

The liturgical ideas of the 'Laudians' came to little in England beyond ceremonial changes; but in Scotland they bore fruit in the ill fated liturgy of 1637. Wrongly described as 'Laud's Liturgy', it was the work of the Scottish bishops, John Maxwell and James Wedderburn.⁷⁹ The Church of Scotland used the Genevan liturgy - coveted by many English Puritans. Attempts to revise this liturgy had started in 1616, when it was proposed to combine elements from it and the

76. W. Prynne, A Briefe Survey and Censure of Mr. Cozens His Couzening Devotions, London, 1628.

77. In 1563 the Spanish Jesuit, Franciscus Turrianus, had published a text of Apostolic Constitutions; his belief that it was taken down by St. Clement and was the apostolic liturgy was accepted by many. F. C. Brightman, Liturgies Eastern and Western, p. xviii; for its influence on the Laudians, W. Jardine Grisbrooke, Anglican Liturgies of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, AC, London, 1958.

78. J. Cosin, Notes on the Book of Common Prayer, in Works, LACT, 5 Vols., Oxford 1843-55, Vol. 5.

79. G. Donaldson, The Making of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637, Edinburgh, 1954. W. Jardine Grisbrooke, op. cit.

Book of Common Prayer. However, the 1637 liturgy represented an attempt to bring the Book of Common Prayer into line with the 1549 book and the early liturgies. Certain concessions were made in the new book to Calvinist feeling; the word 'priest' was replaced by 'presbyter', and material from the Apocrypha such as the Benedicite was removed. But the emphasis on offertory, and the restoration of the 1549 sequence of consecration - oblation tended to give the book an even more catholic ethos than the 1559 Prayer Book. The book was rejected, and the events which followed led to the invasion of England, and Charles I's clash with his Parliament.

As a direct result of the 'Laudian' liturgical trends, a committee was especially appointed in 1641 to attempt to find a settlement of religious differences. Its proceedings listed innovations in doctrine and discipline, and put forward suggestions for possible reform. In the list of innovations two of the Laudian guide lines were singled out for condemnation:

By pretending for their innovations the Injunctions and Adverbalments of Queen Elizabeth, which are not in force but by way of commentary and imposition, and by putting to the Liturgy printed secundio tertio Edwardi Sexti, which the Parliament hath reformed and laid aside. 80

It was the policy of Archbishop Laud to preserve the unity of the Church of England by strict uniformity and by rigid enforcement of the law. He attacked slackness and

80. W. A. Shaw, A History of the English Church During the Civil Wars and under the Commonwealth 1640 - 1660, 2 Vols., London, 1900. Vol. 2, Appendix 1, pp. 289-290.

disorder of every kind, ranging from cock-fighting in Churches and churchyards to Puritan disregard of rubrics in divine service. To enforce uniformity and obedience, he made wide use of the Court of High Commission, and it was here that the Puritan pamphleteers such as Prynne, Burton and Bastwick were tried for writing scurrilous attacks upon the bishops and were sentenced to have their ears cut off. The uniformity of the Prayer Book became in the Puritan mind inseparable from the ecclesiastical policy of Archbishop Laud. Both were candidates for abolition.

The Westminster Directory and A Supply of Prayer for Ships

In the events which led up to the Civil War, the Prayer Book and Laudianism came to be identified with the King, and the Puritan party with Parliament. It is not surprising, therefore, that Parliament abolished the episcopal Church of England, replacing it with a Presbyterian - Independent system, controlled through Parliament and the Westminster Assembly of Divines. The Book of Common Prayer, the Puritan shibboleth, was abolished by an Ordinance of Parliament, and its place was taken by A Directory for the Public Worship of God (Westminster Directory), in April 1645.⁸¹ This latter, as its title suggested, was merely a collection of rubrics with 'the general heads, the sense and scope of the prayers' for the guidance of the minister. It provided services

81. ed. C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait, Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum 1642 - 1660, 3 Vols., London, 1911, Vol. 1, pp. 755 - 757.

for Sunday Morning, the Lord's Supper, Baptism, Marriage, and prayers for special occasions. The Preface explained:

..... long and sad Experience hath made manifest, That the Leiturgie used in the Church of England, (notwithstanding all the pains and Religious intentions of the Compilers of it) hath proved an offence, not only to many of the Godly at home; but also to the Reformed Churches abroad. For, not to speak of urging the Reading of all the Prayers, which very greatly increased the burden of it; the many unprofitable and burdensome Ceremonies, contained in it, have occasioned much mischief, as well by disquieting the Consciences of many godly Ministers and people who could not yeeld unto them, as by depriving them of the Ordinances of God, which they might not enjoy without conforming or Subscribing to those Ceremonies. 82

Because the Prayer Book had caused trouble, because it had hindered preaching, because it was close to the Roman rite, and since it had encouraged laziness, the Assembly 'resolved to lay aside the former Leiturgie' and replace it with the Directory which had been set forth 'according to the Rules of Christian Prudence, agreeable to the generall Rules of the Word of God'.

This joint Presbyterian - Independent liturgy reflected very much the conciliatory tone of the Apologeticall Narration. It provided a basic framework for worship; it suggested themes for prayer, based on prayers in the Genevan rite; those who wished to use the latter would have no difficulty in inserting its prayers into the Directory framework. Since themes were suggested, the prayers could be prepared beforehand; alternatively, the minister could pray extempore. The Directory avoided

82. Text in Bard Thompson, Liturgies of the Western Church, New York, 1962.

the imposition of set forms, yet provided a framework following the Genevan rite, and allowed freedom of the Spirit. Although the Independents were in a minority, they had succeeded in preserving their position outlined in the Apologeticall Narration.

The Directory was for public worship. However, we have already noted that according to Cotton, set forms of prayer were admissible in some circumstances. Those at sea were a justifiable exception, and hence A Supply of Prayer for Ships, in which some of the Directory forms were presented as set prayers.⁸³

The Directory and A Supply, regarded by their compilers as in agreement with the Word of God, remained in force until 1660.

83. Bryan D. Spinks, 'The Supply of Prayer for Ships: A Forgotten Puritan Liturgy', in, The Journal, United Reformed Church History Society, Vol. 1. No. 5. May 1975, pp. 139 - 148.

II. 1660 - 1800The Savoy Conference

Oliver Cromwell died on September 3rd, 1658, and with his death the Commonwealth and Protectorate quickly dissolved. The first step taken by his successor, his son Richard, was to recall Parliament. However, friction with the army resulted in the latter taking control, and under the guidance of General Monk, the survivors of the Long Parliament (the moderate Presbyterians excluded by Cromwell) were reinstated, and the way was made clear for a new Parliament and the restoration of the monarchy.

It was a moderate Puritan Parliament which invited Charles to return, and concessions in their favour were expected. By the Declaration of Breda, 4/14 April, 1660, Charles promised 'a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matter of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the Kingdom'.⁸⁴ The King appointed several Puritans as Royal Chaplains, and asked the Puritan ministers to set down in writing their proposals for a compromise agreement. In the Address and Proposals of the Ministers they affirmed that they accepted 'the lawfullness of a liturgy, or form of publick worship' on the condition that it was 'agreeable to the word of God'; but it ought not 'to be dissonant from the liturgies of other reformed churches; nor too rigorously

84. Gee and Hardy, op. cit., pp. 585 - 588, p. 587.

imposed'.⁸⁵ The Puritans proposed that some godly and moderate divines of both persuasions should be appointed to compile a liturgy 'as much as may be in Scripture words' so as to 'revise and effectually reform the Prayer Book'.

Charles answered the Address in the Declaration to all his loving subjects of the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales, concerning ecclesiastical affairs.⁸⁶

The old diocesan episcopal system was to be restored, but an equal number of learned divines of both persuasions were to be appointed to revise the Book of Common Prayer and to supply alternative forms in scriptural phrase so that the minister might use one or the other at his discretion. In the interim, the King gave the Puritans leave to dispense with those parts of the Prayer Book to which they took exception. Meanwhile, Deans and Canons returned to their Cathedrals, and the ejected episcopal clergy were regaining their livings; with them came the Book of Common Prayer.

On the 25th March, 1661, in accordance with the Declaration, Charles issued his commission to twelve bishops and twelve Puritan divines, to meet at the Savoy Palace to advise upon and review the Book of Common Prayer comparing it with the ancient liturgies; among the episcopalians were Wren and Cosin, both of whom wished for a revised Prayer Book in accordance with that of 1549

85. E. Cardwell, A History of Conferences, pp. 277-286, p. 282.

86. *ibid.*, pp. 286 - 298.

and the Classical rites. The commission included two particular terms of reference:⁸⁷

(1) To consider the several directions, rules, and set forms of prayer, and things contained in the Prayer Book, and to advise upon and consult about them, and about the objections and exceptions raised against them.

(2) If occasion be, to make such reasonable alterations, corrections, and amendments in the Book, as the commission shall agree to be necessary and expedient for satisfying tender consciences and restoring religious peace, 'but avoiding, as much as may be, all unnecessary alterations of the forms and Liturgy wherewith the people are already acquainted, and have so long received in the Church of England'.

It is noticeable that the terms of the commission differ from those of the Declaration. Under the influence of Richard Baxter, the Puritan Divines interpreted the commission in terms of the Declaration and provided a blueprint for a revised Book of Common Prayer, and alternative forms in scriptural phrase. The episcopalians did the exact opposite and interpreted the Declaration in terms of the more restricted commission; it was to avoid unnecessary alterations of the liturgy that the bishops announced that they found no fault with it, and demanded that the Puritans set down in writing their objections and the additional forms which they desired.

87. E. C. Ratcliff, 'The Savoy Conference' in, ed. G. F. Nuttall and O. Chadwick, From Uniformity to Unity, London, 1962, p. 116.

The Puritans were hesitant, for they would have preferred discussion, but Baxter persuaded them to comply with the bishops, 'a serious tactical error on the part of the Puritans who were thus induced to submit a mass of objections, in which the essential ones became lost, thereby creating the impression that they quibbled at nearly everything in the Prayer Book'.⁸⁸ The Puritan divines drew up the Exceptions, and the task of alternative forms was allotted to Richard Baxter.

The outcome was perhaps inevitable; the bishops rejected most of the Exceptions, making concessions only on seventeen points, none being of any importance; Baxter's liturgy, Genevan in flavour, was too distant from the ethos of the Book of Common Prayer to be accepted. The 1662 Book of Common Prayer represented a minor revision of that of 1559, and, like the latter, it was accompanied by an Act of Uniformity. On some Sunday before the Feast of St. Bartholomew - 24th August, 1662 - every minister was required openly, publicly and solemnly to declare before his congregation his approbation of the Book of Common Prayer in a prescribed formula, beginning with the words,

I AB, do here declare my unfeigned assent
and consent to all and everything contained
and prescribed in and by the book entitled,
The Book of Common Prayer 89

Anyone who refused to do this automatically lost his place in the Church. But this was not all, as Tudur Jones explains:

88. Bard Thompson, Liturgies of the Western Church, p. 377.
89. Gee and Hardy, op. cit., pp. 600 - 619.

In addition, all ministers before St. Bartholomew's Day are to subscribe a declaration against levying war upon the King, at the same time intimating their intention to conform to the Prayer Book and abjuring the Solemn League and Covenant as an unlawful oath. All who declined to make the Declaration were automatically deprived. Lecturers were similarly brought within the Scope of the Act. They were also to declare formally their assent and consent to the thirty-nine Articles and to use the appropriate prayers before their sermons, at the same time declaring their conformity to the whole of the Prayer Book. Only on this understanding could a lecturer be licensed by a bishop. Schoolmasters, too, had to make the same declaration and receive a licence from the bishop to keep school, and stern penalties were annexed to these provisions to punish anyone who kept school without conforming to the demands of the Act. In these various ways, every ecclesiastical person, every teacher in college and university as well as every schoolmaster was brought within the net of uniformity. Not a corner was left in which a nonconformist could hide. 90

The Prayer Book was duly reinstated, and those who could not accept it were expelled; and with the Conventicle Acts, the Five Mile Act and the Test Act, life was made as difficult as possible for them. There was very little 'liberty to tender consciences'.

The Independents: Anti-liturgy

The Savoy Conference of 1661 was a matter entirely between moderate Presbyterian divines and episcopalians; the Independents who had gathered at the Savoy in 1658 had no part in it. With the death of Cromwell, political Independency came to a swift end; and Independent pastors and their congregations had no wish to take part in a Presbyterian or episcopal system of church government.

The Independents were ready for dissent, and probably 'Black Bartholomew' was no shock for them; they simply waited for the naively optimistic Presbyterians to join them in their nonconformity.

In a situation of persecution, sometimes with heavy fines and imprisonment,⁹¹ it is not difficult to understand why the Independents rejected one of the major causes of their harassment, namely, prescribed liturgy.

In the Savoy Declaration of Faith and Order, the Independents had endorsed the Puritan approach to worship:

But the acceptable way of worshipping the true God is instituted by himself, and so limited by his own revealed will, that he may not be worshipped according to the imaginations and devices of men, or the suggestions of Satan, under any visible representations, or any other way not prescribed in the holy Scripture. 92

Holy Scripture was the key to lawful liturgy, but negatively this implied the rejection of imposed set forms.

So Philip Nye argued:

All Methods and forms prescribed to be received as a matter of Piety, and for spiritual and speciall ends and advantages in the service of God, ought to have express direction and warrant out of the Word of God. 93

But set forms of worship are late intrusions:

But method, words, &c. imposed as a necessary Rite, and Order in the Service of God; this is not ancient, and he that was well skilled in antiquity will tell so. there was in Rites a liberty permitted, and no necessity imposed, necessity in Rites is jugum papale, never heard of in the Church till Antichrist began to usurp over the liberty of Christian men. 94

91. *ibid.*, p. 76f.

92. ed. Matthews, Chap. XXII, Of religious Worship, and the Sabbath-day.

93. P. Nye, Beames of Former Light, London, 1660, pp. 16-17.

94. *ibid.*, p. 46.

John Bunyan, echoing the Separatists, Robinson and Cotton, taught that true prayer must be sincere, sensible and by the Spirit, for 'There is no man nor church in the world that can come to God in prayer, but by the assistance of the Holy Spirit'.⁹⁵ Without the Spirit, though a thousand Common Prayer Books were used, there could be no true prayer to God.⁹⁶ According to the Welsh Independent, Vavasor Powell,

stinted Liturgies, or Common-Prayer-Books, are the Ordinances, Traditions, and Rudiments of men, (and not as the Doctrine and Baptism of John, from Heaven.) Therefore Liturgies, or Common-Prayer-Books are forbidden in the second Commandment, and in other Scriptures. 97

Against set forms Powell urged

1. The Scriptures themselves are a sufficient Directory and Rubrick to the Church of God, and to make the man of God perfect, 2 Tim. 3. 15. 16.
2. If it had been needful, then doubtless Moses who was faithful in his House as a Servant, or Christ who was more faithful as a Son, would have enjoined the same: but neither of them did so.
3. It is not necessary, because the Churches of God did thrive and grow best of all, when (as in the Primitive times) and where there was none.
4. Because the Ministers of Christ, and his Gospel, ought to be so gifted as not to need it, Rom. 12. 6,7,8. 1 Cor. 12. 6,7,8,9,10. Compared with 1 Corinth. 14. 13, 15, 25. James. 5. 14. 98

Powell insisted,

all Prayers are to be made in the Spirit, as well publick as private, Ephes 6. 18. Jude 19. 20. 99

95. John Bunyan, A Discourse Touching Prayer, 1662, in Prayer, ed. Banner of Truth Trust, 1965, p. 23.

96. ibid., p. 25.

97. Vavasor Powell, Common-Prayer-Book. No Divine Service, London, 2nd. e. 1661, p.1.

98. ibid., p.2.

99. ibid., p.4.

Nor was the origin of the Prayer Book forgotten:

..... whence the Lyturgie hath his rise
or Original, Namely, from the Masse-
booke; that whose Original and rise is
naught must be naught in it self: Can
there come clean water out of a corrupt
Fountain? 100

That which is word for word out of the
Popishe Mass-booke, is not to be offered
to God, as worship, but to be abolished
as an abomination to him. 101

The Independent argument was systematically and forcibly
set out by Dr. John Owen in his A Discourse Concerning
Liturgies and their Imposition, 1661. Owen began with
the Old Testament ordinances for worship; Scripture
frequently declares

That the rites and ordinances of the
worship in the Church (i.e. Jews)
observed, were from the original in their
nature carnal, and for the number many,
on both accounts burdensome and grievous
to the worshippers, 102

The teachers and rulers of Israel increased these insti-
tutions. Jesus attacked these human practices;

He freed them, by his teaching, from the
bondage of Pharisaical, arbitrary impositions,
delivering their consciences from
subjection to any thing in the worship of
God but his own immediate authority. 103

The obligations of the Mosaical institutions, so Owen
argued, were dissolved and taken away by Christ at his
death; from that day all his disciples were made free
from obligations in worship other than God's own insti-
tutions and commands. Many Jewish converts still adhered

100. Anon., The Common Prayer-Book Unmasked, 1660, p. 7.

101. ibid., p. 12.

102. J. Owen, A Discourse Concerning Liturgies and their
Imposition, 1661, Chap. 1, in, The Works of John Owen,
ed. W. H. Gould, Vol. 15, Banner of Truth Trust
edition, 1966, p. 3.

103. ibid., p. 4.

to the old institutions, 'Partly for want of clear light and understanding in the doctrine of the person and office of the Messiah; partly through the power of those unspeakable prejudices which influenced their minds..'.¹⁰⁴ The disciples and apostles also continued to observe these ceremonies, until the time of the destruction of the Temple, 'until the appointed season'.¹⁰⁵ Some attempted to force the Gentiles to observe these ceremonies, but Paul defended the Gentiles, and he taught the full implications of the Liberty of Christ; Christ had abolished these man-made ceremonies. However, in succeeding ages an ignorance of the righteousness of God had resulted in the re-introduction of ceremonies in worship.

Owen next turned to consider what rules Christ himself gave for matters of worship. For the preaching of the Word and the administration of the Sacraments, he has given special gifts to some Christians - grace and spiritual gifts from heaven.¹⁰⁶ Worship is spiritual. But did he give

allowance unto, the framing of a stinted form of prayers and praises, to be read and used by the administrators of his ordinances in their administration of them? 107

In Chapters 3 - 6 Owen considered this latter question. The Lord's Prayer, Owen conceded, was given to the apostles by Christ as a prayer. But it was given before the glorification of the Saviour, at a time when he was 'minister of the Circumcision'.¹⁰⁸ Since then, the

104. *ibid.*, p. 5.
 105. *ibid.*, p. 6.
 106. Chap. 2, *ibid.*, p. 11.
 107. *ibid.*, p. 12.
 108. Chap. 3., *ibid.*, p. 14.

Church had received the Spirit. Furthermore, the Lord gave the prayer for private devotion; this is quite distinct from men giving long written forms for public worship. According to Owen, the argument from the Lord's Prayer to imposed written Liturgy was an invalid one.

Owen then proceeded to examine the antiquity and authenticity of the classical liturgies. Several texts were known by this time. A Latin and Greek version of St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom was printed in Venice in 1528;¹⁰⁹ a Greek version of St. James was printed in 1560, and a Latin version in the Bibliotheca patrum in 1575.¹¹⁰ Three Anaphoras of the Ethiopic Rite were published in 1548,¹¹¹ and Apostolic Constitutions was well known.¹¹² Furthermore, Bibliotheca patrum also contained a version of St. Mark's Liturgy, and a Romanised Byzantine rite called the Liturgy of St. Peter.¹¹³

Owen's consideration of the first three centuries led him to conclude

It doth not, then, appear, for aught as I can yet discover, that there was any attempt to invent, frame, and compose any liturgies or prescribed forms of administering the ordinances of the gospel, exclusive to the discharge of that duty by virtue of spiritual gifts received from Jesus Christ, much less for an imposition of any such forms on the consciences and practice of all the ministers of the churches within the time mentioned. 114

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109. F. E. Brightman, Liturgies Eastern and Western, p. lxxxiii - lxxxvi.
 110. *ibid.*, p. xlviii.
 111. J. M. Harden, The Anaphoras of the Ethiopic Liturgy, London 1928, p. 13.
 112. See note 78, above.
 113. Brightman, Liturgies Eastern and Western, p. lxiii, xci.
 114. Owen, *op. cit.*, Chap. 5, *ibid.*, p. 21.

The Apostles did not compose liturgies; and

Justin Martyr was quoted with approval:

This was, it seems the liturgy of the church in the days of Justin Martyr; they called upon God with prayer and thanksgivings, according to the abilities they had received. 115

'Poureth out to his ability' (hose dunamis auto anapempei)

Owen took to mean that prescribed forms of worship were unknown to Justin.¹¹⁶ Owen was not impressed by the

selection of the Classical texts available in Bibliotheca patrum:

It is not worth our stay to consider what is pretended concerning the antiquities of liturgies, from some yet extant that bear the names of some of the apostles or evangelists. There is one that is called by the name of James, printed in Greek and Latin; another ascribed unto Peter, published by Lindanus; one also to Matthew, called the Ethiopic; another to Mark; which are in the Bible P.P. (Bibliotheca patrum) They must be strangers to the spirit, doctrine and writings of the apostles, who can impose such trash upon them as these liturgies are stuffed withal. 117

In particular Owen considered the Liturgy of St. James.

He readily acknowledged that 'some passages and expressions of it are used by Cyril of Jerusalem in his Mystagog V.¹¹⁸

115. *ibid.*, p. 23.

116. *ibid.*, p. 24.

117. *ibid.*, p. 20. Cf. H.D.M.A., A Sober and Temperate Discourse, Concerning the Interest of Words in Prayer, 1661, p. 10, where the author rejects the authenticity of these texts, appealing to 'Learned Mornay' - the French Protestant Phillipe De Mornay, whose De l'Institution usage, et doctrine du Saint Sacrament de l'Euchariste, en l'Eglise ancienne, was translated into English in 1600.

118. *ibid.*, p. 22. Mystogical Catechesis 5.

Like most modern scholars, Owen rejected the idea that the liturgy was composed by the apostle James; however, whereas most scholars accept that Cyril knew a rite similar to that of St. James, Owen argued in another vein; a liturgy such as St. James could not have existed in the time of Cyril, and the use of the words homocousios and theotokos proved it to be post-nicene. He concluded:

Yea, it is most probable, that whosoever was the composer of that forged liturgy, he took those passages out of those reputed writings of Cyril, which were known in the church long before the name of the other was heard of. 119

His final judgement on these texts was quite unequivocal:

We need not any longer stay to remove this rubbish out of our way. 120

In the West, explained Owen, the Roman rite came to prevail. At the Reformation when God's light again shone, reforms were made, and the Book of Common Prayer was made as an interim device.

However, having established that forms of written liturgy are late, Owen did not for this reason attack the Book of Common Prayer, nor on account of its Roman origin; rather, having established the liberty of Christ, he objected to the imposition of set forms, including penalties attached for non-use.¹²¹ In the remainder of his treatise, Owen was concerned to demonstrate that although someone may use a set liturgy if his conscience allows him, it is against the liberty and authority of

119. *ibid.*

120. *ibid.*, p. 20.

121. Chap. 7. *ibid.*, pp. 33 - 34.

Christ to impose set forms upon others; with an Act of Uniformity, the King and Parliament were placed above the authority of Christ.¹²² On the imposition of set forms he concluded:

- It hath no institution or appointment by Jesus Christ, it is wholly of men; there is nothing antecedent unto its imposition that should make it necessary to be imposed; a necessity of its observation is induced upon and by its imposition, which is directly destructive to our liberty in Jesus Christ. 123

Owen's Discourse reflected the moderate, reasonable tone of the Apologeticall Narration, defending freedom of the Spirit, but not specifically condemning others who differed from him. His prime objection was to the necessity of using a liturgy. However, with the penalties of the Act of Uniformity, together with other repressive Acts, it is hardly surprising that the Independents adopted a militant anti-liturgical attitude; others may in conscience use a liturgy, but they certainly would not; use of any set forms would have been a betrayal of those who had opted out, or had been turned out, of the Church of England. In the years immediately after Black Bartholomew, Independency and liturgy were incompatible concepts. The Post-Restoration Independents were not, therefore, like the later non-juring divines, fascinated by the Classical liturgies;¹²⁴ likewise, the abortive attempt at Comprehension by a revision of the Prayer Book in 1689, had no appeal to them;¹²⁵ nor did the many

122. Chap. 8, *ibid.*, p. 44.

123. Chap. 10, *ibid.*, p. 55.

124. W. Jardine Grisbrooke, *op. cit.*

125. T. J. Fawcett, The Liturgy of Comprehension, 1689, AC Southend-on-Sea, 1973.

Unitarian and Semi-Arian revisions of the Book of Common Prayer by Dissenters in the eighteenth century interest them.¹²⁶ It was with considerable naivety that the writer of the Preface to A New Form of Common Prayer, 1753, believed that a revision of the Prayer Book would bring back the Independents to the Church of England.¹²⁷

A Mellowing of Attitudes and the breaking down of the middle wall of Partition.

Independents such as Bunyan, Powell and Owen wrote under the threat of persecution and oppression, and refused categorically to countenance the use of set forms; one does not usually recommend or speak highly of the cause of one's harassment. But writing more than fifty years after the Ejectment, Independents such as Isaac Watts and Philip Doddridge could approach the subject with less bitterness. They had been born into dissent, and with the accession of the House of Hanover, enjoyed some limited relief from the Law.

In his A Guide to Prayer, 1716, Isaac Watts attempted to steer a middle course between what he regarded as two extremes; considering the neglect among Dissenters on the art of prayer, Watts stated:

I am persuaded that one reason of this neglect has been the angry zeal for parties among us, which has discouraged men of sober and moderate principles from attempting much on this subject, while the zealots have been betrayed into two extremes. Some contend

126. A. Elliott Peaston, The Prayer Book Reform Movement in the XVIII th. Century, Oxford, 1940.

127. Cited in, *ibid.*, p. 43.

earnestly for precomposed set forms of prayer, and will worship God no other way. These have little need of any other instructions but to be taught to read well, since the words, matter, and method of their prayers are already appointed. Other violent men, in extreme opposition to them, have indulged the irregular wanderings of thought and expression, lest by a confinement to rules they would seem to restrain the Spirit, and return to carnal ordinances. 128

Watts readily conceded that set forms were not unlawful:

I grant it lawful and convenient for weaker christians to use a form in prayer, rather than not perform that duty at all. Christ himself seems to have indulged it to his disciples in their infant state of christianity; Luke xi, 1, 2, &c. 129

Quoting 'a judicious author', Watts pointed out that some Christians are 'rude and ignorant', and cannot express themselves well in public prayer; others are bashful in leading public worship; others might suffer from 'some bodily distemper, or sudden distraction'; these are cases in which a set liturgy would be appropriate. Furthermore, Watts felt he needed no apology for composing prayers for the use of children.¹³⁰ However, he believed that set forms render our converse with God very imperfect; our circumstances change, and cannot be well provided for in any prescribed compositions.¹³¹ They do quench the Spirit.¹³²

But Watts was equally suspicious of spontaneous prayer as the only form of prayer:

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128. I. Watts, A Guide to Prayer, in The Works of the Rev. Isaac Watts, D.D. 7 Vols., Leeds, 1800, Vol. IV, p. 111.
 129. ibid., p. 128.
 130. Prayers Composed for the use and imitation of Children, in ibid., p. 300 ff.
 131. A Guide to Prayer, ibid., p. 130
 132. ibid., p. 190.

Another extreme to be avoided by all that would obtain the gift of prayer, is, a neglect of preparation for prayer, and an entire dependence on sudden motions and suggestions; as though we were to expect the perpetual impression of the Holy Spirit upon our minds, as the apostles and inspired saints: as though we had reason to hope for his continual impulses, both in the matter, and manner, and words of prayer, without any fore-thought, or care, or premeditation of our own. 133

Watts made a distinction between 'Conceived or free prayer' which is carefully thought out beforehand, and 'Extempore prayer' which is addressed to God without any reflection or thought beforehand. A Guide to Prayer was written to recommend the former of these; according to Watts,

My design in this treatise has been to write a prayer-book without forms. 134

The treatise provided a directory for public prayer - not in terms of rubrics and skeleton prayers as the 1645 Westminster Directory, but of the substance of public prayer - Invocation, Adoration, Confession, Petition, Pleading, Profession or Self-Dedication, Thanksgiving, Blessing and 'Amen', with examples. The key note was careful preparation.

A moderate approach is also found in Philip Doddridge. Doddridge accepted that the Lord's Prayer was a form of prayer suitable for Christians in every age, and to be recited as such. But,

133. *ibid.*, p. 131.
134. *ibid.*, p. cxi (Preface)

Nevertheless, there is no reason to believe, that Christ meant to enjoin it so absolutely upon all his disciples, that they should be obliged constantly to use this form, or even to dispose their prayers in this method; 135

However, it is not right to impose a particular form of prayers upon all ministers and congregations.¹³⁶ Nor was Doddridge impressed by the arguments from antiquity put forward by Bishop Bull:

That the antiquity of all these liturgies is very dubious; nay, several of them are most evidently spurious; and it is certain, if they were forged, many of them might come from the same hand. 137

But, set forms were not unlawful:

Nevertheless, as it may so happen, that some persons may be employed in the ministry, who may not have a talent and capacity for extemporary prayer, it is not at all improper that some forms should be provided for the use of such, if they chuse to have recourse to them. 138

The tolerant approach of Doddridge is also evidenced by the fact that when at Lady Huntingdon's Chapel at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, he himself used the Book of Common Prayer, and also occasionally assisted at the administration of the Eucharist celebrated according to the 1662 Prayer Book rite.¹³⁹

Watts and Doddridge were not perhaps typical of the majority of Independents who steadfastly maintained total opposition to any use of set forms of prayer. For example, Samuel Palmer, in The Nonconformist's Catechism, 1773, explained:

135. P. Doddridge, Lectures on Divinity, in The Works of the Rev. P. Doddridge D.D., 5 Vols., Leeds, 1804, Vol. 5, Lecture cxciv, p. 294.

136. *ibid.*, p. 296.

137. *ibid.*, pp. 296-7.

138. *ibid.*, p. 295.

139. The Life and Times of Selina Countess of Huntingdon, by a member of the Houses of Shirley and Hastings,

29. What are the leading objections made against Liturgies in general?
1. That the Scripture is silent with respect to the necessity or expediency of them, and we have no example whatever in the New Testament of Christians using a set form of prayer.
 2. It seems inconsistent with the work of the Holy Spirit that Christian ministers who are endowed by Him for the exercise of their work should be confined to an invariable form in their prayers. 140
32. How is it to be accounted for that there are so many exceptionable things in the (1662) Liturgy?

The plain reason is the greater part of it was taken from the old Popish Liturgy, from which the first Reformers prudently made as little variation as possible. But their successors, resting satisfied with what they had done, have made no material alteration since. 141

But during the eighteenth century this opposition was eroded by three distinct factors.

(1) Hymns

In 1707 Isaac Watts published his collection Hymns and Spiritual Songs; although he was by no means the first to compose and publish hymns, his work gave a great impetus to the growing practice of hymn singing.

Dr. Louis Benson writes:

The new hymn itself was partly an outspreading of the Metrical Psalm from its original basis of being a strict translation, to embrace a freer method of paraphrase, to include other parts of Scripture, to become an "imitation" or exposition of Scripture, and finally a hymn more or less suggested by Scripture. 142

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- 2 Vols. 1839, Vol. 1, pp. 153, 171.
140. S. Palmer, The Nonconformist's Catechism, 1773 in Sermons of the Great Ejection, Banner of Truth Trust, London, 1962, pp. 201 - 220, p. 209.
141. *ibid.*, p. 211.
142. L. F. Benson, The English Hymn, London, 1915, p. 45.

Of great significance is the fact that the hymn was, by its nature, a fixed liturgical form, which, however scriptural its content, was not itself Scripture.

Whereas vernacular hymn singing had been part of the Lutheran Reformation from the beginning, Calvin had limited praise to the psalms, using the metrical version begun by Clement Marot.¹⁴³ Calvin's practice had been adopted in England, where alongside the recitation of Coverdale's psalms was sung Sternhold and Hopkins metrical version. These had been included in the Genevan Form of Prayers, 1556, which provided for psalm singing, including Psalm 103 after the administration of the Lord's Supper. Metrical psalmody was accepted by the Puritans.

Amongst the Elizabethan Separatists, there was disagreement over the singing of metrical psalms; Browne was against them whereas Barrow allowed them; Francis Johnson introduced them into his congregation. Amongst Independent Puritans there does seem to have been some objection to the inaccuracies of the Sternhold and Hopkins version; Henry Ainsworth published The Booke of Psalms: Englished both in Prose and Meeter, which was later used by the New England Independents. John Cotton also explained that a new, more accurate English version had been prepared.¹⁴⁴ During the Westminster Assembly, Sternhold and Hopkins was replaced by Barton's version,

143. H. Davies, The Worship of the English Puritans, p. 162 ff.

144. J. Cotton, The Way of the Churches of Christ in New England, p. 45.

which was also recommended in the Westminster Directory; others preferred the version of Mr. Rouse; some, like Philip Nye,¹⁴⁵ objected to all metrical English psalmody. But the argument and disagreements was centred upon a correct translation of the psalms, and the lawful use of metrical versions; hymns did not enter into the debate.

Although some hymns had been included in the 1562 edition of Sternhold and Hopkins, it was not until the late seventeenth century that devotional poems became more common.¹⁴⁶ That the practice of hymn singing was introduced at an early date in some Independent Churches is evidenced by the book of hymns composed by Richard Davis of Rothwell, c. 1692. The 1748 edition of his collection included some hymns 'found in Mr. Brownings study, and used by him at the Lord's table'.¹⁴⁷ Browning was Davis's predecessor whose pastorate ended in 1685.

However, the title 'Father of the English Hymn' is usually accorded to Isaac Watts. His first volume of verse appeared in 1705, Horae Lyricae. It consisted of two parts, the first containing hymns, psalms, and religious songs, and the second Odes and Elegies to 'virtue, loyalty and friendship'.

His major work was the Hymns and Spiritual Songs of 1707. Believing that the psalms were not wholly adequate to express the circumstances of Christians, Watts's hymns were presented to fill the gap. The work was divided into three sections. In the first he had

145. R. Baillie, Letters and Journals, ed. D. Lang, 3 Vols., Edinburgh, 1841, Vol. 2, p. 121.

146. L. F. Benson, op. cit., p. 68 ff.

147. R. Davis, Hymns composed on Several Subjects And on Divers Occasions: In Five Parts with a Table to each Part. Corrected by John Gill, 1748.

Borrow'd the Sense, and much of the Form of the song from some particular portions of scripture, and have paraphras'd most of the Doxologies in the New Testament, 148

together with many parts of the Old Testament which had references to the time of the Messiah. The second part consisted of hymns 'whose form is of meer Human Composure'. The third part he had prepared

only for the celebration of the Lord's Supper, that, in Imitation of our blessed Saviour we might sing a Hymn after we have partaken of the Bread and Wine. Here you will find some phrases of Scripture, and some other compositions. 149

The hymns of Watts were highly successful, and led to a succession of 'Supplements' in the eighteenth century. But the claim of Catherine Herzel that 'before Watts, the English churches sang psalms. After Watts they sang hymns', is somewhat exaggerated.¹⁵⁰ Within his own denomination many Independents were so conservative that they continued to use only psalms.¹⁵¹

It is not our purpose to trace the growth of hymnody in the English Church nor in Independency; nevertheless, the development of hymns is significant. They represented a written form of worship, based on scriptural themes, but not themselves Scripture; as a written form, they were not extempore or free. If they could be used in worship, then logically there could be no objection to set forms of prayer.

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148. I. Watts, Hymns and Spiritual Songs, ed. Selma L. Bishop (Correlation of the editions 1701-1748), London, 1962, Preface, p. liv.
 149. *ibid.*, p. lv.
 150. C. Herzel, To Thee We Sing, Philadelphia, 1946, p. 142.
 151. Walter Wilson, The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches, London, 1810, Vol. 3, p. 527: 'The

(2) History

From its appearance in 1556 until the compilation and authorization of the Westminster Directory in 1645, the Genevan Service Book had from time to time been re-issued in various forms and editions. After the Ejectment it seems to have disappeared from use altogether.

In 1708 a new edition appeared, not as an alternative to the Book of Common Prayer, but as an interesting piece of antiquity. It was a reprint of The Service and Discipline of 1641 and 1643, and appeared in the second volume of The Phenix,¹⁵² together with The Troubles begun at Frankfurt. The Liturgy was described in the Preface as

A grave demure Piece, without either Responses, or Psalms, or Hymns, without Fringe or Philactery; but terribly fortify'd and pallisado'd with Texts of Scripture, which we suppose to be all right, and secundum Artem. 153

The Preface to The Phenix explained that the collection of tracts was for the intellectual reader, and its circulation was no doubt limited. It does signify that the Genevan liturgy was not entirely forgotten.

Of much greater significance however was the literary research of Dr. Daniel Neal which resulted in the publication of The History of the Puritans. Neal (1678 - 1743) had declined an Exhibition at St. John's College, Oxford, and had preferred to be educated for the dissenting

poetry of Watts was received but slowly into most of our congregations'.

152. The Phenix: or a Revival of Scarce and Valuable Pieces From the remotest Antiquity down to the present Times Being a Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Tracts, no where to be found but in the closets of the Curious. 2 Vols., London, 1707, 1708.
153. Phenix, Vol. 2, p. viii.

ministry.¹⁵⁴ He entered a training college presided over by the Rev. Thomas Rowe; later he studied for two years at Utrecht. In 1704 he had been appointed to act as assistant to Dr. John Singleton, pastor of an Independent congregation in Aldersgate Street, London, and he succeeded him as pastor in 1706.

The work on the history of the Puritans originated as a project of Dr. John Evans of writing a history of nonconformity from the Reformation down to 1640, Neal undertaking to continue the narrative to 1662. Evans had died in 1730, and Neal had had to write the earlier part also. Four volumes appeared between 1732 and 1738, and they were reprinted many times.

In Volume One, which appeared in 1732, an Appendix included Cartwright's Directory of Church Government, including his recommendations for an order of Morning Worship based on the Genevan liturgy. An Appendix in Volume Three, 1736, gave the Westminster Directory in its entirety.

Independents who were interested in their historical origin were thus also reminded of the liturgical tradition which was rightly theirs.

(3) Calvinist Methodists

The third factor which weakened the Independent rejection of all set forms of worship stems from the Methodist Revival, in particular the Calvinist Methodists led by George Whitefield and the Countess of Huntingdon.

154. DNB.

Although the Methodism of both John Wesley and George Whitefield was intended to be a movement within the Established Church, the Church of England itself, suspicious of their 'enthusiasm', and opposed to their open air itinerant preaching, forced Methodism on to the fringe of the Church and on to the edge of dissent. In such circumstances, the activity of the Methodists resulted in the formation of congregations or connexions, which although not separate from the Church of England, were only loosely attached to it. Whereas Wesley organised his connexions with great care, and exerted great influence over them, the Calvinist Methodists under Whitefield and the Countess of Huntingdon - and despite the authority of the latter - seemed unable to prevent their connexions from moving towards Independency.

The Countess of Huntingdon was adamant that her connexion, made up of her chaplains and private chapels, should remain Anglican and use the Book of Common Prayer. However, the refusal of Anglican bishops to ordain Methodist preachers meant that for the chapels and connexions to be supplied with preachers, lay preachers had to be utilised. Furthermore, many members of the connexions were from a dissenting background rather than the Church of England. While some lay preachers were content to wait in the hope that Whitefield might be raised to the episcopate,¹⁵⁵ others drifted from the

155. C. E. Watson, 'Whitefield and Congregationalism', in CHST 8 (1920 - 1923), pp. 171 - 180; 237 - 245.

connexion into Independency, sometimes taking their congregation with them.¹⁵⁶ Others, stimulated by the preaching of the Methodists simply formed an Independent Church.¹⁵⁷ According to C. E. Watson, out of the labours of Whitefield in the County of Gloucester, the following Congregational Churches directly sprang: Bristol and Kingswood Tabernacles, Rodborough Tabernacle and Dursley Tabernacle, and indirectly at a later day, Wotton-under-Edge Tabernacle, Nibley, Frampton-on-Severn, Stonehouse and Ruscombe.¹⁵⁸ A great many other Independent Churches originated with Whitefield and the Countess of Huntingdon.¹⁵⁹

It was the practice of Whitefield and a principle of the Countess of Huntingdon that the Prayer Book should be used.¹⁶⁰ However, for open air meetings, this was often not appropriate, and free prayer was used. Whitefield, writing in his Journal, stated:

I have no objection against, but highly approve of the excellent Liturgy of our Church, would ministers lend me their churches to use it in. If not, let them blame themselves, that I pray and preach in the fields. 161

The result was that many congregations and their ministers

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156. The Life and Times of Selina Countess of Huntingdon,
Vol. 2, p. 75.
157. ibid., Vol. 1, p. 270.
158. C. E. Watson, art. cit.
159. Tudur Jones, op. cit., pp. 148 ff.
160. It is recorded that two copies of the Book of Common Prayer were stolen from Spa Fields chapel on June the 20th, 1780. Edwin Welch, Two Calvinist Methodist Chapels 1743 - 1811, London Record Society, Leicester, 1975, p. 51.
161. George Whitefield's Journals, Banner of Truth Trust edition, London, 1960, p. 286.

were used to both free prayer and the Book of Common Prayer, and almost certainly the latter for the administration of the Eucharist. It is difficult to believe that many ministers did not continue to use the outline and even parts of the Book of Common Prayer after they had become Independent.

The same conclusion must be drawn from the influence of Lady Huntingdon's college at Trevecca, which trained ministers for the Church of England and dissenting Churches, and which at least in its early years, used the Book of Common Prayer.¹⁶²

At least one liturgy was printed by one such congregation which seemed to hover between the Church of England and Independency, that of Bethesda Chapel, Dublin, by Rev. Edward Smyth.¹⁶³

After 1781, in order to save Spa Fields Chapel, Lady Huntingdon's Connexion seceded from the Established Church. Her ministers were from then on ordained by the laying on of hands by Presbyters. In the Connexion the Book of Common Prayer continued to be used. After her death, some congregations abandoned it. The Churches of the Connexion continued to drift into Independency, some taking the 1662 Prayer Book with them. On account of Calvinist Methodism, the Book of Common Prayer became on a very limited scale, a liturgy of the Independents.

162. For example, John Clayton, minister of the King's Weigh House, London, was trained at Trevecca for a short time for the Anglican ministry.

163. Forms of Common Prayer for those who attend in Bethesda Chapel Dublin, 1786.

III. 1800 - 1975The Nineteenth Century Liturgical Revival

Writing with reference to the Free Churches, Professor Horton Davies has stated:

The radical revaluation of free prayers was to be the most marked feature of the worship of these Churches in nineteenth century England and this was to lead first to the supplementation of free prayers with read prayers, then to the provision of printed prayers in which both minister and people might join in various congregations, and, finally, at the end of this century and the beginning of the next, to the provision of formularies of prayer by the denominations themselves. 164

This statement by Professor Davies is certainly true of the nineteenth century Independents, or Congregationalists as they were more generally called by this time. In contrast to the previous one hundred and fifty years, the nineteenth century Congregationalists not only produced books, pamphlets and essays on the subject of liturgical worship, but even a number of printed liturgies appeared for use within the denomination.

Two important publications in the former of these categories were A New Directory, 1812, and Thomas Binney's edition of Charles Baird's Eutaxia under the title of A Chapter on Liturgies: Historical Sketches, 1856.

The first of these, addressed to 'Dissenting Ministers of all Denominations and to Tutors of Academies', was prompted by the improprieties and inconveniences of dissenting worship, and offered directions for improvements;

164. H. Davies, Worship and Theology in England 1850 - 1900, Princeton, 1962, p. 65.

its title, as the Preface acknowledged, had been suggested by the Westminster Directory, 'of which Mr. NEAL has given a copy in his History of the Puritans'.¹⁶⁵

The second work was more concerned with the liturgical history of the Calvinist tradition. Thomas Binney (1798 - 1874) was one of the most widely known ministers in Congregationalism in mid-century, and became minister of the King's Weigh House Chapel, Mayfair.¹⁶⁶ A great preacher and twice Chairman of the Congregational Union, he was also concerned with the state of dissenting worship. Baird's original American edition had been addressed to Presbyterians, but Binney addressed the work to his fellow Congregationalists.

Baird had pointed out that Calvin had used liturgical forms, had kept the festivals of Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension and Whitsunday, and had worked for frequent celebration of the communion. The book gave the texts of Calvin's liturgy and the Genevan Service Book, and had described those of the French and Dutch Reformed Churches, and that of the Palatinate. His conclusion was that

our Church possesses a devotional literature of her own, rich and copious. ¹⁶⁷

It was this work which Binney addressed to Congregationalists. In his Preface he wrote:

165. A New Directory for Nonconformist Churches, London, 1812, p. vii.

166. The obituary in the Spectator described him as 'the great Dissenting Bishop'; quoted in E. Paxton Hood, Thomas Binney: His Mind, Life and Opinions, 1874, p.296.

167. C. W. Baird, A Chapter on Liturgies: Historical Sketches, with an Introduction and Appendix by Thomas Binney, London, 1856, p. 251.

I can imagine there will be many who will learn from it with surprise the views entertained respecting the use of Liturgical forms by those of the Reformers where followers in this country have long repudiated everything of the sort. The sections on CALVIN and KNOX will to some be especially interesting; There are those who will be surprised to find that Calvin not only approved of forms of prayer, but that he lamented the lengths to which some had gone in rejecting altogether certain ecclesiastical rites and customs; 168

He also noted:

some of the English Puritans and Separatists used the prepared Continental forms in their secret meetings; and that latter Nonconformists had no objection to a Liturgy as such, but only wished some changes to be made in that which was in use, - that it should not be exclusively enforced, that there should be the means of giving variety to the services, and the opportunity afforded for free prayer. 169

The implications of this work formed the title of an Appendix by Binney, 'Are Dissenters to have a Liturgy?', a title which put very succinctly one of the questions with which many nineteenth century Congregationalists were concerned.

A Congregational Union Tract, Conduct of Public Worship, 1845, was quite adamant that liturgical services were pernicious;¹⁷⁰ J. S. Pearsall, Public Worship, 1867, argued against the introduction of liturgical forms;¹⁷¹ and even the eminent minister of Carr's Lane, Birmingham, R. W. Dale, while admitting that there was nothing inconsistent between Congregationalism and a liturgy, expressed the opinion that the use of the latter was out

168. *ibid.*, p. ix.

169. *ibid.*, pp. ix - x.

170. Conduct of Public Worship, Congregational Union Tract Series, No. XIV, 1845.

171. J. S. Pearsall, Public Worship, London, 1867, *passim*.

of harmony with the genius of the denomination.¹⁷²

Although this was probably the view of most nineteenth century Congregationalists, it was by no means the opinion of all. The Independent minister who answered J. S. Pearsall in a pamphlet entitled Public Prayer, 1869, declared openly that he was in favour of the use of a liturgy;¹⁷³ Newman Hall, in an Address to a Devotional Meeting of the Congregational Union had urged that the use of a liturgy by some ministers would not violate the unity of the denomination;¹⁷⁴ and it was a layman who, in an Address to the Union in 1873, suggested that it would be an inestimable benefit if the Union itself prepared forms of liturgical service for the denomination.¹⁷⁵ Liturgy had also been the subject of correspondence to The English Independent in 1867.¹⁷⁶

What was the reason for the sudden interest in the question of liturgy within Congregationalism?

The author of the pamphlet Public Prayer based part of his argument upon the history of liturgy, but the emphasis he placed upon it was not shared by other writers. The Classical liturgies had been considered with some sympathy by Dr. John Pye-Smith of Homerton College in The Comparative Advantages of Prescribed Forms and of Free Prayer in Public Worship, 1821, though nevertheless,

172. R. W. Dale, A Manual of Congregational Principles, London, 1884, p. 164.

173. Anon, Public Prayer by an Independent Minister, 1869, p. 4.

174. CYB, 1853, p. 58.

175. W. H. Willans, Esq., 'Attendance at Public Worship', CYB, 1874, p. 59.

176. The English Independent, 1867, pp. 215, 248, 277, 342 - 343, 406.

the superiority of free prayer had been asserted; and although Binney had presented Baird's collection of Reformed liturgies, the Classical texts published by J. M. Neale, so his Appendix asserted, showed that when liturgies were written down, 'they became more and more monstrous and unnatural'.¹⁷⁷ On the whole, there seems to have been little interest in liturgical history; it was hardly liturgical science which accounted for this renewed interest.

One possible influence may have been the renewed interest in liturgical forms in the Church of Scotland, which led to the formation of the Church Service Society in 1865, and the publication of the Euchologion in 1867; Congregational ministers were frequently trained at Scottish Universities.¹⁷⁸ But the influence of the Church Service Society was at that time limited even in Scotland, and it has yet to be demonstrated that it had any direct influence on English Congregationalists in the early and mid-nineteenth century.

From the literature itself the renewed interest in liturgy or public worship, seems to have stemmed as much from the change in status of Dissenters in the nineteenth century as from anything else. The nineteenth century saw a gradual change in the social status and classes of nonconformists.¹⁷⁹ As the Industrial Revolution proceeded, many Dissenters attained considerable wealth as manufacturers and business men, and the social level of the

177. Binney, op. cit., pp. 299 - 300.

178. H. Davies, op. cit.

179. Tudur Jones, op. cit.; p. 187 ff; F. R. Salter, Dissenters and Public Affairs in Mid-Victorian England, Dr. Williams's Trust, 1967.

dissenting community was correspondingly raised. The repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828, together with the Municipal Reform Act of 1835, had meant that ever increasing numbers of Dissenters took their place in Municipal life, and a number of influential Members of Parliament were Dissenters. In 1836 London University was founded, and this gave them the opportunity of a university education in England, and in 1854 and 1856, religious tests were abolished at Oxford for matriculation, and at both universities for graduation. Furthermore, the Religious Census of 1851 suggested that of those who had attended some form of religious worship on the Sunday of the Census, nearly one half had been Dissenters, and in some areas they were definitely in the majority.

It would seem that this change in status was as much the reason for the adoption of neo-Gothic architecture by nonconformists as the influence of the novels of Sir Walter Scott and the writings of John Ruskin. A new image was needed. The grave Puritan Meeting House hidden from view was no longer suitable for the new freedom and importance of Congregationalists; it gave way first to the Classical style, and then to a love of Gothic columns, arches, vaulted roofs and lofty spaces, called 'Congregational Churches'.¹⁸⁰ Ruskin had argued that the Gothic style was distinctly a Christian style; but it was also more church-like and less likely to repel sympathetic 'respectable' persons: so one writer in the Congregational Year Book could advise

180. R. Halley, Lancashire: Its Puritanism and Nonconformity, 2nd. Edition, London, 1872, p. 437.

When money is to be spent for the services of God, we are bound to use it with taste and judgment, so as to attract, rather than repel persons of intelligence and respectability. 181

Likewise Newman Hall could ask whether eccentricities of Congregational Churchmanship

whether in speech, social habits, or modes of worship, may not alienate from us persons of refined taste? 182

A similar concern seems to have been at the root of the renewed interest in worship. The authors of A New Directory expressed concern for the state of nonconformist worship:

It is well known that there are many respectable persons among them (members of the Church of England) who are partial to the Preaching of some dissenting ministers, and occasionally attend it, but are dissatisfied with their Prayers, ... 183

Some of the subject matter of nonconformist prayers was a cause for concern, and the manner was often 'highly indecent and presumptuous'.¹⁸⁴ In praying, some ministers, instead of asking for general blessings on all mankind, demanded that immediate communications should be made to the whole assembly;¹⁸⁵ often in the Intercessions the minister prayed for his own views on public affairs, 'thus seeming to dictate to the Almighty what course he shall pursue';¹⁸⁶ some ministers were apt to be too minute in particularising cases.¹⁸⁷ The authors were

181. 'Remarks on Ecclesiastical Architecture as applied to Nonconformist Chapels', in CYB, 1847, p. 162; Cf. H. Davies, *op.cit.*, p. 47ff.

182. Newman Hall, Address to the Congregational Union, in CYB, 1867, p. 71. Cf. David Thomas, A Biblical Liturgy, London, 1855, Prologue.

183. A New Directory, pp. 103 - 4.

184. *ibid.*, p. 36.

185. *ibid.*, p. 35.

186. *ibid.*, p. 36.

187. *ibid.*, p. 38.

generally concerned about the reaction of intelligent people to bad extemporary prayer.¹⁸⁸

Much of the liturgical literature betrays a concern to improve and make more acceptable Congregational worship: to render it fitting, devout, edifying; to make it attractive, fuller, richer, more impressive, deeper; to give it comeliness and decorum.¹⁸⁹ In this desire for respectable worship there was also something of the Romantic spirit; there was need for 'beauty' in worship, and higher aesthetic standards.¹⁹⁰

Many Congregational writers simply recommended various hints and 'tips' for improving worship without the idea of using a set liturgy. For example, the authors of

A New Directory:

The plan we recommend is simply this: To continue the use of EXTEMPORE PRAYER in a certain degree, and so far as all the valuable ends of it will be secured; but with it to make use of those FORMS of devotion with which we are amply supplied in the HOLY SCRIPTURES. 191

J. S. Pearsall laid down fourteen rules for the improvement of free prayer:

188. ibid., pp. 20 - 21.

189. Binney, A Chapter on Liturgies, p. xxiv; Conduct of Public Worship, p.1; J. S. Pearsall, Public Worship, p. 3; W. H. Willans, 'Attendance at Public Worship', p. 59; G. S. Barrett, 'Congregational Worship', CYB, 1897, p. 86; The Congregational Service Book. A Form of Public Worship designed for the use of the Independent and other Nonconformist Bodies in Great Britain, 1847, Preface; Cf. Dale, A Manual of Congregational Principles, p. 163.

190. Public Prayer, p. 9; G. W. Conder, Intelligent and True Worship: A Sermon Preached in the Congregational Church, Cheetham Hill, August 22nd, 1869 Preparatory to the Introduction of a Liturgical Service, Manchester, 1869, p. 13; J. G. Rogers, 'Liturgical Forms', CYB, 1871, p. 112; H. Allon, 'The Worship of the Church', in Ecclesia, 1870, p. 405 ff; E. G. Herbert, 'The Congregational Character', in Religious Republics, 1867, p. 106.

191. A New Directory, p. 13.

1. It should be addressed to God, not the Congregation.
2. It should be addressed to God as a living, personal being.
3. It must be definite in aim.
4. It must be logical.
5. It must be progressive (Rising heavenwards).
6. It must have severe simplicity.
7. It should be free from religious controversy.
8. It should avoid explanations and declarations.
9. It must be addressed to God as Father and King.
10. Might not Public Prayer contain allusions to passing events, and the incidents of daily life?
11. It must be free from all personalities.
12. It should be marked by brevity.
13. The minister should know when to finish.
14. It should be so constructed that all the people may easily follow and mentally respond. 192

However, other Congregationalists were prepared to offer a liturgy, even if only to supplement free prayer; A New Directory offered an outline for worship; The Congregational Service Book. A Form of Public Worship designed for the use of the Independent and other Non-conformist Bodies in Great Britain, 1847, which appears to be the first Independent liturgy printed for the denomination, offered a directory for worship, including psalms and canticles. This was also the purpose of A Biblical Liturgy, 1855, compiled by David Thomas of Stockwell and consisting of Scripture sentences as versicles and responses to be said by the minister and people, and which would lead into extemporary prayer.

Some Congregationalists were prepared to go even

further than this, and produced full liturgical texts for worship; for example, The Free Church Service Book, 1867, and A Form of Morning and Evening Service for the Use of Free Churches, Manchester, 1869. The remarkable feature of these liturgies is that they are almost entirely dependent upon the Book of Common Prayer; many of those forms 'culled and picked out of that popishe dung Hill, the masse book' were now reintroduced into Congregational Churches. It is certainly strange that although little interest was shown in the Classical texts, or the Calvinist tradition, the hated Book of Common Prayer should have been freely drawn upon.

We have already drawn attention to the use of the Prayer Book by the Countess of Huntingdon's connexion, and this may have had some influence on some Independents. Another possible reason for this strange phenomenon may have been the influence of some of the revisions of the Book of Common Prayer that had appeared in the nineteenth century, often from an Evangelical stance: A New Arrangement of the Liturgy or Book of Common Prayer, For the Use of Free Churches, Chapels, and Private Families, 1820; The Directory: A Form of Prayer According to the Doctrine of the Church of England, 1831; The Reformed Prayer Book, by Thomas Spencer, 1842.

A further reason has been suggested by Professor Horton Davies.¹⁹³ He observes that S. T. Coleridge and F. D. Maurice, both extremely influential thinkers, had argued very strongly in favour of the

193. H. Davies, op. cit., pp. 66, 68; Coleridge in Aids to Reflection, Maurice in Kingdom of Christ.

Book of Common Prayer as admirably expressing the doctrines of the Christian Religion. Davies suggests that some Congregationalists were influenced by the opinions of Coleridge and Maurice.

From what may be gleaned from the Congregationalists themselves, the reason would appear to be far more nebulous, deriving from a romantic conception about the antiquity and beauty of the English Liturgy. This can be illustrated from the remarks of Newman Hall (1816 - 1902), minister of the Surrey Chapel and later Westminster Bridge Chapel, an able politician, and Chairman of the Congregational Union in 1866.

In 1852, in an Address to a Devotional Meeting of the Union, Newman Hall had argued that even if some assemblies

were to feel an ancient liturgy, which had been the vehicle of the worship of Christians through many centuries, uttered in common, to be more helpful to their devotion than mentally following the extemporary petitions of an individual, 194

such action would not violate the unity of the denomination. When Chairman of the Union, Newman Hall again broached the subject of an 'ancient liturgy':

We may employ a liturgy, either our own, or (with slight yet significant amendment) the old and hallowed formularies which are rather the property of the nation than of any section in it; 195

In a subsequent Address to the Union, the identity of 'the old and hallowed formularies' was revealed:

194. CYB, 1853, p. 58.

195. CYB, 1867, p. 11.

As the Liturgical Service of the Church of England, is, on the whole, very Scriptural and beautiful, and as a large portion of our countrymen cling to it with all the tenacity of early and hallowed associations, might we not in some cases use our liberty by introducing at least some portions of it into our service? Would it be better to prepare a new Liturgy ourselves, or to adopt in whole or in part that grand old ritual, which is rather the inheritance of the universal Church than of any one section of it, and which many reverence as Englishmen rather than as Churchmen? 196

Newman Hall answered his own questions by the publication of the Free Church Service Book, 1867, which he used at Surrey Chapel. Freely drawing upon the Anglican liturgy, he explained the services in the Preface:

They have been compiled from the English Liturgy; which, in spite of defects common to all human productions, has no rival amongst uninspired formularies; and which, enriched by the contributions of distant ages, and identified with our history, language, and literature, is the common property of the Church Catholic, and especially of Englishmen as such, rather than the exclusive badge of any particular section of Christians. 197

Precisely the same sentiments were expressed by G. W. Conder, minister of Cheetham Hill, Manchester, with regard to A Form of Morning and Evening Service, for the Use of Free Churches:

We shall be using other words; words in great part the same as some millions of our fellow-christians all over the British Empire will be using at the same time with ourselves; words which belong to the history of the Church of Christ in our country not for three centuries only, but, some of them, for thirteen centuries,

196. *ibid.*, p. 77.

197. Free Church Service Book, 1867. Preface, p.1.

and have lived on as the language of that church in spite of all its corruptions and divisions; words which by common consent are very beautiful, whose ring of antiquity has a charm and a power like those old Bible words which we always choose as the vehicles of our deepest emotions of sorrow and of joy; 198

Newman Hall and Conder were certainly not alone; other Congregationalists, even if grudgingly, believed the Book of Common Prayer to be a beautiful liturgy, the common property of all Englishmen, and worthy of emulation.¹⁹⁹

R. W. Dale had occasion to refer caustically to 'those eccentric Dissenters - happily, not very numerous' - who go beyond the establishment in extravagant laudations of the liturgy.²⁰⁰ Sympathisers may have been more numerous than Dale was prepared to allow.

Whether by adapting the Anglican liturgy, or by simply giving hints and directions for orders of worship, the anti-liturgical trait of Bunyan, Nye or Powell, already mellowed by the eighteenth century, was now completely breached; Congregationalists were producing and using liturgical forms. Of course, it would be quite wrong to suggest that all Churches in the denomination suddenly adopted a liturgy; the number was small, yet significant.

198. G. W. Conder, Intelligent and True Worship, p.3.

199. A New Directory, pp. 48 -49, footnote; D. Thomas, A Biblical Liturgy, Prologue; Binney, A Chapter on Liturgies, Appendix, p. 322; H. Allon, 'The Worship of the Church', in Ecclesia, p. 445; Edward White, 'The Comprehensive Theory', in CYB, 1872, p. 34; James Matheson, Common Prayer Without Liturgical Forms (Address to the Nottinghamshire Association of Independent Ministers and Churches) Nottingham, 1873, p. 4; The English Independent, February 14th, 1867, p. 216.

200. R. W. Dale, 'A High-Church Scheme of Liturgical Revision', in The Congregationalist 6 (1877), pp. 46-56. p. 48.

The following list, which does not claim to be exhaustive, gives some indication of this liturgical revival.

- 1847 The Congregational Service Book. A Form of Public Worship designed for the use of the Independent and other Nonconformist Bodies in Great Britain.
- 1855
ff. A Biblical Liturgy, by David Thomas. Several editions.
- nd. A Biblical Service of Prayer for the House of the Lord.
- 1864 The Book of Common Prayer Adapted for the Use of the Congregational Church, Finchley Common.
- 1865 Prayers, Hymns and Anthems for the Sanctuary.
William Newton. (?)
- 1867 Free Church Service Book.
- 1867 The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, with other services prepared for use in the Evangelical Churches by ministers and members of the Established and Nonconformist Churches.
- 1869 A Form of Morning and Evening Service, for the Use of Free Churches.
- 1870 Forms submitted for the use of Nonconformist Churches.
- 1874 The Liturgy of the Church of England (Abridged).
David Thomas.
- 1879 Liturgies for Divine Worship
- 1880
ff. Devotional Services for Public Worship. John Hunter. Several editions.
- 1891 Manual of Congregational Worship. J. L. Pearse.
- 1895 Devotional Services for use in Mill Hill School Chapel.
- 1896 Intercessory Services for aid in Public Worship.
P. T. Forsyth.
- 1897 Let us Pray. ed. C. S. Horne and T. H. Darlow, 2nd edition.
- 1897 The Free Church Prayer Book. J. Mountain.

Twentieth Century Liturgical Activity

The Liturgical Revival of nineteenth century Congregationalism has continued into the twentieth century. Liturgical forms have continued to be issued by individuals, and even by the denomination itself, either for the use and guidance of the minister, or to encourage congregational participation. These liturgical forms have usually made plain in a Preface that they are not designed as a Book of Common Prayer, either in terms of making worship in the denomination uniform, or as a means of replacing free prayer; they are designed to supplement free prayer, and to allow the denomination to have the best of both worlds. C. H. Davis, in a slender directory of 1909 made the point:

Although we, as Nonconformists, claim freedom from stereotyped ceremonies in our worship, yet there are times when fixed forms are helpful to the minister and beneficial to the people; 201

W. E. Orchard, in the Preface to Divine Service, 1919, stressed the importance of spontaneity of the Spirit in worship, and he deliberately left space for free prayer within his orders of service.²⁰² But he also stressed the need to secure comprehension and order in worship, which liturgical forms supplied; they also allowed the congregation to take an active part in worship.²⁰³

In the Foreword to G. H. Russell's Intercession Services for Congregational Use in Public Worship, 1923,

201. C. H. Davis, Orders of Service for the Solemnization of Matrimony, The Baptism of Infants, The Burial of the Dead and The Ordinance of the Lord's Supper, Isle of Wight, 1909, p. 3.
202. W. E. Orchard, The Order of Divine Service, London, 1919, Preface, p. 4.
203. *ibid.*, pp. 5 - 7.

Dr. J. H. Jowett said of the services:

They certainly meet a very real need in the worship of the non-episcopal Churches. While they preserve the priceless ministry of free prayer, they yet provide highways of intercession on which a worshipping people can gather in deeper and more intimate fellowship. 204

And C. E. Watson, in his Rodborough Bede Book, 1943, explained:

Of certain disadvantages attendant upon the use of free prayer in public worship the Free Churches have, of late, become increasingly conscious, and their attitude towards things liturgic has consequently been modified. 205

This same apologia was found in the books issued by the Union itself. So for example, the 1920 Book of Congregational Worship, explained:

The desire for a Book of Services for public worship providing for the use of liturgy has found such wide and increasing expression, that the Council of the Congregational Union of England and Wales now issue this Book of Congregational Worship for optional use in the Churches. 206

But,

At the same time, in accordance with the inheritance and genius of the Free Churches, an essential place has been given to extemporary prayer in each Order of Worship. The fervour of personal appeal informed with the impulses of the hour and pleading the hour's needs is frequently charged with sympathetic force such as no printed forms can supply. 207

Likewise in a Foreward to the 1936 A Manual for Ministers, the Secretary of the Union, Dr. S. M. Berry, carefully stated:

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204. G. H. Russell, Intercession Services for Congregational Use in Public Worship, 1923, p. 5.
 205. C. E. Watson, The Rodborough Bede Book, Woodchester, 1930, p.
 206. Book of Congregational Worship, Edinburgh, 1920, p. 7.
 207. ibid.

The book is not designed to relieve ministers from the task of thinking out their own orders of service We should lose one of our distinctive qualities if our ministers used a service book like this slavishly. 208

What was being asserted was the freedom of Independency to use or not to use set forms of prayer.

Congregationalists and the 1927/28 Book of Common Prayer

Within a few years of the Great Ejectment, a number of Anglicans were already proposing a revision of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer which would enable some Dissenters to return to the Established Church; the proposals, known as The Liturgy of Comprehension, proved to be abortive.²⁰⁹ But although some Anglicans were describing the 1662 book as an 'incomparable liturgy', this did not imply that it was unalterable.²¹⁰ For a variety of motives, individuals throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had planned the book's revision. These revisions came to nothing within the Established Church itself, but some of the proposals were influential among Dissenters and the Non-jurors.²¹¹

However, during the nineteenth century, there was a growing agitation within the Church for Prayer Book reform.²¹² This agitation came mainly from three parties within the Church: the Broad churchmen who wanted doctrinal revision; the Anglo-catholic party which wanted

208. A Manual for Ministers, London, 1936, p. 9.

209. See T. J. Fawcett, op. cit.

210. J. W. Legg, English Church Life from the Restoration to the Tractarian Movement, London, 1914, p. 117.

211. A. Elliott Peaston, The Prayer Book Reform Movement in the XVIIIth Century; W. Jardine Grisbrooke, op.cit.

212. R. C. D. Jasper, Prayer Book Revision in England 1800 - 1900, London, 1954, passim; A. Elliott Peaston, The Prayer Book Revisions of the Victorian Evangelicals, Dublin, 1963.

enrichment in the direction of the Roman rite; and some conservative Evangelicals who wished for reforms which would make impossible any Anglo-catholic interpretation of the liturgy. The growing party strife led to the setting up of a Royal Commission in 1904; its Report of 1906 recommended that Letters of Business should be issued allowing the preparation of new rubrics, and some modification to the manner of conducting Divine Service. The discussions which followed, hindered by the Great War, resulted in the abortive books of 1927 and 1928. In each case, a new book was proposed, containing all the 1662 services, but allowing new alternative services, and therefore a slackening of the Act of Uniformity. Two controversial points were the new Canon in the alternative communion service, which was modelled on the West Syrian anaphoras and contained an epiklesis, and the provision for reservation of the sacrament. The proposed book was particularly opposed by Anglican Evangelicals who believed that reservation implied transubstantiation. The 1927 book was defeated in the House of Commons in December 1927, by 238 votes to 205. The book was revised and re-submitted in June 1928, where it was again defeated in the Commons by 266 votes to 220.²¹³

Nonconformist attitudes to the new revisions varied. Professor F. Carnegie Simpson, a Presbyterian, and Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council, expressed

213. G. J. Cuming, A History of Anglican Liturgy, pp. 213 - 244; J. D. Martell, 'The Prayer Book Controversy 1927 - 28', M.A. thesis, University of Durham, 1974 (unpublished).

the view that he found no objection to the contents of the book, but wanted firm guarantees that it would be faithfully observed, and that the bishops would be empowered to take action against clergy who observed rites other than those authorized by the new book.²¹⁴

On the other hand, at the Baptist Union Annual Assembly, a motion proposed by Dr. Rushbrooke against the proposed book was carried, and the Secretary of the Baptist Union, M. E. Aubrey, denounced the book as Romanism.²¹⁵

The attitude of Congregationalists was mixed, and in fact the denomination was placed in a dilemma. On the one hand they stood for the liberty of Churches to order their own ministry and worship without interference from the State or other Churches; were they therefore to comment on the proposed worship of another Church and compromise 'Independency'? On the other hand, they were a protestant denomination; were they to remain silent on a liturgy which many, including Anglican Evangelicals, saw as a concession to Anglo-catholics, and as a move towards a Roman Catholic position?

The Christian World newspaper, which often reflected and formed Congregational opinion, was in no doubt; an editorial comment of January 20th, 1927, explained:

As long as the Episcopal Church is a State establishment the Book of Common Prayer is an Act of Parliament - or at

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214. F. Carnegie Simpson, The Free Churches and the New Prayer Book, Being the Moderator's Opening Address to the Free Church Federal Council Meeting in London, September 19, 1927; The Christian World, September 22nd, 1927, p. 10.
215. The Christian World, April 28th, 1927, p. 8; September 22nd, 1927, p. 11.

least an appendix to an Act of Parliament - whose revision, or expansion by the inclusion of optional forms of service, is the concern of every citizen. 216

The writer's own concern was doctrinal:

The crucial point of the controversy is whether Parliament is to sanction the reservation of the sacramental wine and wafer, either for adoration or for administration to the sick. Embedded in that question lies the whole doctrine of Transubstantiation. 217

The Bishops are believed to favour the permissive use of the reservation of the sacramental elements for the sick, but if such a compromise became law it would enable the Anglo-catholics to claim that they have secured Parliamentary recognition of the doctrine of Transubstantiation. 218

In the following month the same paper pointed out:

Free Churchmen, however, have a dual interest in the Prayer Book: (1) an aesthetic appreciation of its matchless liturgies, as exquisitely representative as the 1611 Bible itself of the golden days of English religious prose; and (2) a concern, as citizens, lest the Church as by law established should, by interpolations into the Prayer Book, be permitted by Parliament to depart from the Protestant principles upon which it was settled in the reign of Henry VIII. 219

The problem was reservation:

To our mind "Reservation" in any form concedes the magical "transubstantiation" of the Communion bread and wine into the veritable flesh and blood of the body of Christ. 220

Yet The Christian World could not hide the irony of this opposition:

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216. The Christian World, January 20th, 1927, 'The Church Crisis', p. 8.
 217. *ibid.*
 218. *ibid.*
 219. The Christian World, February 10th, 1927, p.8, 'Permissive Variations'.
 220. *ibid.*; March 31st, 1927, p. 8 'The New Uniformity'; April 7th, 1927, p. 8 'The Prayer Book - What next?'

It is one of the curious phenomena of the last twenty years that while many Anglican Churchmen have shown themselves desirous to break from their statutory liturgy and introduce an element of free prayer into their services, there has been a simultaneous and growing tendency on the part of many Free Churchmen to introduce elements of liturgy into their services. 221

At the Spring Assembly of the Congregational Union, the Chairman, Mr. Meggitt, expressed his concern for the maintenance of a Protestant witness in England, a witness which was being threatened by the proposal to allow reservation; but like Carnegie Simpson, he felt that Congregationalists should not secure Parliament's rejection of the book, but should secure stronger discipline in the Church of England.²²²

Dr. Selbie, Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, explained the dilemma in which he found himself, in a speech to the Protestant Dissenting Deputies, a body formed with the purpose of disestablishing the Church of England. On the one hand Selbie respected the liberty of Churches, and he was on friendly terms with many members of the Established Church. On the other hand he was not altogether happy with the new book, particularly the change in the consecration prayer in the communion service which asked that the Spirit should be given not only to those who took part in communion, but also to the elements. Reservation was also a problem for him. The Deputies passed a resolution urging Parliament to postpone the Prayer Book Measure until suggested alterations

221. The Christian World, February 24th, 1927, p. 10

'Our Freedom'.

222. The Christian World, May 12th, 1927, p. 8.

to the Thirty-Nine Articles and a Bill giving power to the bishops to secure obedience to the law came before it for discussion.²²³

Not all Congregationalists felt that it was their duty to comment on the book; Mr. T. H. Heward, on behalf of Ashby-de-la-Zouch Congregational Church, wrote to The Christian World strongly condemning any interference in the affairs of another Church.²²⁴ Nor were all Congregationalists suspicious of the proposed liturgy; Principal Garvie of New College, London, wrote very sympathetically about it to Archbishop Davidson.²²⁵ Yet probably The Christian World spoke for many of the denomination when it received the news of the December defeat with profound relief rather than exultant triumph.²²⁶

The 1927 book was slightly revised, and in particular, the rules regarding reservation were clarified, and the revised book came before Parliament in June 1928. On this occasion, the Congregational Union had passed a resolution stating the denomination's position:

We, the members of the Council of the Congregational Union of England and Wales in meeting assembled, desire again to make clear our position with regard to the Revised Prayer Book.

We are Free Churchmen and believe that every Church ought to be at liberty under the guidance of the Spirit of God to order its own worship and formulate its own

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223. The Christian World, December 8th, 1927, p. 9.
 224. The Christian World, October 13th, 1927, p. 7.
 225. Davidson Papers, Box 12, Davidson to Garvie, December 5th, 1927. (Lambeth Palace Library). I owe this reference to Mr. J. D. Martell, thesis cited above, p. 164.
 226. The Christian World, December 22nd, 1927, p. 8, 'England Still Protestant'.

beliefs without any interference on the part of the State, and we believe that only by the attainment of such freedom will the difficulties of the Church of England ultimately be solved.

We are, however, confronted by the fact that the Church of England is an Established Church, and, therefore, in any alteration in her prayers and formularies all citizens are directly concerned and have a responsibility which they cannot evade.

The Church, as established, is a Protestant Reformed Church. As convinced and loyal Protestants, we view, therefore, with grave concern the proposed changes in the Communion Office and especially the permission given to the practice of Reservation, which seems to us to involve of necessity the Roman Catholic Conception of the Sacrament. We believe the House of Commons rightly interpreted the feelings of the great majority of the British people when it refused to sanction the book as revised in 1927. The changes since proposed by the Bishops do not in any adequate way meet the objections then raised. Reservation is still permitted and no powers of discipline have been asked for. Believing as we do that Reservation is itself a departure from the simplicity that is in Christ, and believing further that Reservation will inevitably lead to Adoration, we, the representatives of the Congregational Churches of England and Wales, protest against the adoption of a book which is a menace to the Protestantism of both Church and Realm. 227

When Dr. Selbie wrote to the Times, and addressed Free Church Members of Parliament in favour of the book, his departure from the 'party line' brought a swift rebuke from Drs. Jones and Berry - then on tour in America - in the form of a telegram, restating the policy of the Congregational Union.²²⁸ This little episode

227. Resolution on the Revised Prayer Book, 1928, in CYB, 1929, pp. 75 - 76.

228. The Christian World, June 14th, 1928, p. 1. The Times, June 9th, 1928, p. 10.

evoked a curt letter from the Reverend George Shillito of Oldham to The Christian World; the Union should be demanding disestablishment, not attacking the new Prayer Book. Furthermore, the telegram from Drs. Jones and Berry seemed to him to be rather 'papal' in its authoritarian attitude. Shillito pointed out that Drs. Norwood, Garvie and Horton, as well as other lesser known Congregationalists, were entirely out of sympathy with the official policy. As a final withering remark Shillito added:

In 1662 our fathers left the Church of England in search of independence; it begins to appear that in 1928 our people may have to return to the Church of England to recover a right to be independent. 229

The 'official' policy of the Congregational Union concurred with the objections of the Evangelical party within the Church of England, and without doubt the general suspicion with which the denomination regarded the proposed book added to the protestant prejudice which led to its rejection in the Commons. However, the whole débâcle revealed a certain inconsistency within the denomination's thinking. The Independent tradition stood for the liberty of individual Churches, but now actively interfered with the worship of another Church; while the denomination was freely using liturgical forms of great diversity, it was disallowing this freedom to the Established Church. Furthermore, the criticism of the proposed book was not on liturgical grounds at all, but doctrinal. The suspicion of the new Canon,²³⁰ and the objection to reservation implied criticism of most of

229. The Christian World, June 21st, 1928 p.7.

230. Carnegie Simpson expressed the view that the new

the liturgies of christendom, and a practice of the early Church. The great fear was that reservation implied transubstantiation and would lead to adoration, or 'benediction'. The great irony here was that although the denomination wanted to exclude such practices from the Established Church, its own church polity meant that no one could prevent a congregation within the denomination practising them. Dr. W. E. Orchard, at the King's Weigh House Chapel, was using a liturgy which was more Roman Catholic in tone than the 1927/8 book; he openly taught transubstantiation, reserved the sacrament, and had 'adoration' of the sacrament!²³¹

The Ecumenical and Liturgical Movements

The great fear of many Congregationalists over the 1927/8 Book of Common Prayer had little to do with the use or non-use of liturgical forms; as we have shown, the denomination itself was by this time using a variety of liturgical books in its worship. Fears about the proposed book were rooted in opposition to Anglo-catholicism, and in the great chasm which existed between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. But already the

Canon (1927) was 'in part more evangelical and is certainly less Roman, than the corresponding prayer in the old book', The Christian World, September 22nd, 1927, p. 10; however, Dr. Selbie was worried about the 'epiklesis', The Christian World, December 8th, 1927, p. 9; The Times, 9th June, 1928, p. 10; this seems to be the point at issue in the Congregational Union Resolution, 'grave concern the proposed changes in the Communion Office'. The 'epiklesis' was modelled upon the petition in the 1549/1637 books, and on the West Syrian usage. Nearly all the Classical Anaphoras contain an Epiklesis for the Spirit to come upon the elements. Implicit in the Congregational criticism was a naive criticism of most of the Classical anaphoras!

231. Much to the displeasure of at least one Chairman of

relationship between the divided Churches was changing. The Ecumenical Movement, sparked off by the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910, and leading to the founding of the World Council of Churches in 1948, was making Churches aware of the tragedy of christian divisions, and leading them to look sympathetically at other Churches, stressing the faith which was held in common. Included in this has been the sympathetic appreciation and understanding of the doctrine and worship of other Churches.

Another important parallel movement has been the Liturgical Movement. It has often been claimed that in strict terms this is a movement within the Roman Catholic Church which can be traced to the work of Dom Prosper Gueranger at the Abbey of Solesmes,²³² but it is now recognised by many that the movement must be seen in a wider context, and is one which has affected many Churches.²³³ The concern of the Liturgical Movement has been two-fold, theological and historical. It has been concerned to stress the importance of the Church as the mystical Body of Christ. The importance of Baptism has been emphasised, and the corporate worship of the Body. Word and Sacrament have been given equal emphasis, and the missionary dimension of worship has

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- the Union. The Christian World, May 12th, 1927, p. 9.
232. J. H. Srawley, The Liturgical Movement, London, 1954; L. Bouyer, Life and Liturgy, ET London, 1956. Priests of St. Severin and St. Joseph, What is the Liturgical Movement? London, 1964.
233. H. Davies, Worship and Theology in England 1900 - 1965, Princeton 1965, pp. 13 - 49; The Renewal of Worship, Essays by Members of the Joint Liturgical Group, ed. R. C. D. Jasper, London, 1965, esp. pp. 1 - 12. J. D. Benoit, Liturgical Renewal, London, 1958; H. Hageman, Pulpit and Table, London 1962.

also been given prominence. The historical aspect of the Movement has been the careful study of the early liturgical texts, not so as to arrive at some idealised form of service, but in order to understand the wide variety of early liturgies, and to enable Churches to see what parts of their own worship are essential, and what parts are peripheral. There has been a remarkable consensus among scholars on many aspects of forms of worship.

A sign of this more positive estimation of other Churches and of the concept of worship was the appearance of Christian Worship, 1936, in which a few other Free Churchmen joined a number of leading Congregationalist scholars in presenting a collection of essays on the subject of worship. As well as the philosophy of worship, the Old Testament and Jewish backgrounds, and the New Testament data, the collection contained a sympathetic appraisal of the early texts of Didache, Justin Martyr, Hippolytus Apostolic Tradition and Ambrose, and of the Roman Catholic Tridentine Mass and the Orthodox Liturgy. The essays also included a consideration of the liturgical work of some of the Reformers, pointing out particularly the Calvinist background of the Puritans and their Free Church successors. The constructive note which was to be found in almost all the essays was in marked contrast to the unliturgical suspicion surrounding the 1927/8 book. Christian Worship was a useful contribution to the Ecumenical and Liturgical Movements, and had considerable influence upon the thinking of the

denomination on the subject of worship.

This change of climate partly accounts for the character of A Book of Public Worship, 1948, by John Huxtable, John Marsh, Romily Micklem and James M. Todd. This compilation offered a great variety of services and prayers drawn from a wide range of traditions, taking due note of the early texts, and Calvinist and Puritan tradition. The authors were, however, careful to present the work as a directory and not as a Book of Common Prayer. The same was true of the companion volume, Prayers and Services for Christian Festivals, 1951, by James M. Todd, indicating how the liturgical calendar was being observed by the denomination. It was ironical that both books contained at least one Eucharistic Prayer, which like the controversial book of 1927/8, included an epiklesis for the Holy Spirit to sanctify the elements of bread and wine; the Classical epiklesis had been rehabilitated and rescued from exclusive association with the doctrine of transubstantiation.

The influence of these two books was such that in 1959 the Congregational Union issued for the denomination A Book of Services and Prayers, which followed very closely the ethos of those of 1948 and 1951. Two pages of acknowledgments indicate the 'catholic' nature of the compilation.

Congregationalists have taken an active part in the Faith and Order discussions of the World Council of Churches, and have contributed to the discussions on

worship and liturgy. The denomination was also represented on the Joint Liturgical Group, an English ecumenical liturgical group which first met in 1963, and which has produced essays (1965), a Calendar and Lectionary (1967), a Daily Office (1968), Services for Holy Week (1971) and a statement on the structure of Christian Initiation and the Eucharist (1972). The denomination itself formed a Liturgical Group in 1964, subsequently to become the Liturgical Committee, 1966 and the Worship Committee, 1967. The Committee produced a Eucharistic liturgy which was published in 1970.

Other individual Congregationalists have produced liturgical compilations in recent years, probably the best known being Contemporary Prayers for Public Worship, 1967, being the collective work of Anthony Coates, John Gregory, Caryl Micklem, William Sewell, David Stapleton, Roger Tomes and Brian Wren. Many congregations have also experimented with modern liturgical services. It can be said that in recent years, liturgical forms amongst Congregationalists are a commonplace phenomenon. Yet once more it should be stressed, this does not mean that the whole denomination has adopted liturgies. The books are directories.

The United Reformed Church

With the formation of the United Reformed Church in 1972, some members of the Congregational Church in England and Wales regarded the new Church as entailing the destruction of Independent church polity, and formed

the Congregational Federation. By 1974 the Federation had taken no steps to produce any new liturgical compilations.

The United Reformed Church, on the contrary, has produced some new liturgical forms, partly on account of a new Church needing new forms of worship to give it an identity and to express its unity, and partly because the Presbyterians had, for a number of years, been used to some liturgical forms of worship.²³⁴

The first full General Assembly of the United Reformed Church, in May 1973, resolved:

The General Assembly instructs the Doctrine and Worship Committee to prepare material for inclusion in a Service Book for use in the United Reformed Church and to consider the preparation of services for congregational use. 235

In 1974 a Eucharistic Liturgy was produced under the title of Book of Order for Worship, providing the minister with a suggested order of service. However, the words of the Assembly seemed to imply that more than a directory for the minister was needed; it seemed to want an order which the congregation would have in their hands.²³⁶ And this has been in part provided by New Church Praise, 1975. This was a hymn book supplement, which the congregation would use. At the back, the new

234. For the English Presbyterian liturgical tradition, see H. Davies, Worship and Theology in England 1850 - 1900, and Worship and Theology in England 1900 - 1965.

235. The United Reformed Church, General Assembly 1973, Reports to Assembly, p. 25.

236. J. M. Todd, "Tradition and Change: Worship in the United Reformed Church", in LR, 5 (1975), pp. 1 - 18, p. 7.

communion service was included. It could be argued that with New Church Praise, the early Puritan desire has been fulfilled: the people are provided with 'Common Prayer', allowing variations and extemporary prayer, and without an Act of Uniformity.

Summary

In summary, the three periods of changing attitude to liturgical forms in the Independent tradition may be described thus: The Puritan protest was against the ethos of the Book of Common Prayer, and its inflexibility maintained by the Act of Uniformity. The Puritans desired a reformed Book of Common Prayer, or the adoption of a Calvinist rite. The Separatists, believing that prayer was a gift of the Spirit, objected to any set forms of prayer at all. Many Independent Puritans adopted a middle position, not objecting to others using set forms, but themselves using extemporaneous prayer. The refusal of the Established Church to admit any relaxation of the Act of Uniformity, led the Puritans to adopt an anti-liturgical attitude.

With the 1662 Book of Common Prayer and the Act of Uniformity, together with the Ejectment and laws against Dissenters, the Independents were forced into the extreme position of condemning all liturgical forms, and certainly on principle, refused to use them themselves. However, by the end of the eighteenth century, this opposition was mellowing, and the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have seen the re-introduction of liturgical forms into the denomination.

It is the subject of our study to consider the structure and content of the Eucharistic liturgy within this changing attitude to liturgical forms within this tradition.

CHAPTER 3

THE REJECTED EUCHARISTIC LITURGY: THE DERIVATION OF THE COMMUNION SERVICE OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, 1559 AND 1662.

The whole forme of the church service is borrowed from the papistes, pieced and patched without reason or order of edification.

A. Gilby, A Viewe of Antichrist his lawes and ceremonies in our Church unreformed, c. 1570, in A Parte of a Register, 1593, p. 64.

THE REJECTED EUCHARISTIC LITURGY: THE DERIVATION OF THE
COMMUNION SERVICE OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, 1559 AND
1662

A consideration of the Eucharistic liturgy as it has developed within English Independency must take as its starting point the Eucharistic liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer; the Anglican communion rite has formed a backdrop - often a negative one, but at times a positive one - to Independent liturgical thought. It is necessary therefore to consider briefly the derivation and character of this communion rite.

The Eucharistic liturgy which was enforced by the Acts of Uniformity in 1559 and 1662 was little changed from that found in the Book of Common Prayer of 1552, being Archbishop Cranmer's latest reform of the medieval Latin Mass. In order to understand its structure, it will be useful to trace briefly its development from the Latin Mass itself.

The evidence for the early development of the Roman rite is fragmentary; the witness of Justin Martyr, c. 150 A.D., and the evidence of the Apostolic Tradition attributed to Hippolytus, c. 210 A.D., may be supplemented by the casual references to parallel rites from Cyprian and Ambrose.¹ As with other Classical rites,

1. Justin Martyr, Apology 65 and 67; Dialogue with Trypho, 41 and 70; The Apostolic Tradition, ed. G. Dix, London, 1937; Ambrose, De Sacramentis IV; Cyprian, Epistle 63. J. A. Jungmann, The Mass of the Roman Rite, 2 Vols., New York, 1951 - 55; see also other possible non-Roman fragments in ed. R. C. D. Jasper and G. J. Cuming, Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed, London, 1975, pp. 101 - 103.

it consisted of two parts, the missa catechumenorum, or Synaxis, consisting of Scripture readings, a homily and intercessions,² derived from the Synagogue liturgy, forming a Liturgy of the Word; and the missa fidelium, or Eucharist proper, concerned with the preparation, thanksgiving, and consuming of the elements of bread and wine, derived from the Lord's actions at the Last Supper. Like other rites, some parts became abbreviated, others became expanded.

Its use as a uniform rite in Western Europe seems to have begun in the eighth century when Charlemagne obtained a copy of the Roman sacramentary from Pope Hadrian. The sacramentary was incomplete, and it was the task of Alcuin of York to complete the rite with various pieces from the other Western rites, the Mozarabic and Gallican. His enlarged text eventually displaced older local uses, including that of Rome itself. It was this text, with minor regional differences, which became universal in the medieval West. In England the dominant version of this text was that of Sarum.

Underneath the Latin Mass there was still to be discerned the chief constituent parts of the Eucharist as described by Justin Martyr - Word and Sacrament. But, as Dr. G. J. Cuming has said, "the bare bones have been clothed with a good deal of flesh".³

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2. G. Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy, London, 1945, p. 36 ff.; W. Jardine Grisbrooke, 'Intercession at the Eucharist. 1. The Intercession at the Synaxis', in SL, 4 (1965) pp. 129 - 155. But for the view that the intercessions belong to the missa fidelium, see G. G. Willis, Essays in Early Roman Liturgy, AC, London, 1964, p. 3.
3. G. J. Cuming, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

The Liturgy of the Word was prefaced with preparatory prayers said in the sacristy, consisting of Veni Creator Spiritus, the Collect for Purity, Psalm 43, the Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria, and, during the Introit or Officium, the Confiteor and absolution. These preparatory prayers seem to have been Gallican in origin.

The Introit, originally a whole psalm, had been reduced to a verse. A ninefold Kyrie Eleison followed, being the remnant of a litany which had replaced the solemn prayers of intercession.⁴ The Gloria in excelsis, originally a hymn sung at Matins, and introduced into the Eucharist on festivals, now followed always except in Lent. Then came the collect(s) of the day, following the liturgical calendar.

The lections followed, reduced to an Epistle and Gospel, and separated by the Gradual chant and prayers. These were followed by the Nicene Creed, originally introduced in the West in Spain and France to counter heresy, and only coming into use in the Eucharist at Rome in 1014. A sermon could follow, but was rare; preaching was often without a liturgical setting.

The Eucharist proper began with the Offertory of bread and wine, accompanied by a chant, and the elements prepared with a series of collects, or offertory prayers, known as the 'Little Canon'. These prayers, mostly Gallican and Mozarabic in origin, anticipated the Eucharistic Prayer, Anaphora, or Canon.⁵ The Congregation

4. G. G. Willis, op. cit., p. 48.

5. *ibid.*, pp. 107 - 110.

was exhorted:

Orate, fratres et sores: ut meum ac
vestrum sacrificium acceptabile fiat
apud Deum patrum omnipotentem.

After the washing of the celebrant's hands (Lavabo) and the secret, or Oratio super Oblata, the celebrant started the Eucharistic Prayer with the Sursum corda, preface and, according to the season or day, a proper preface, leading into the Sanctus and Benedictus. The remainder of the Canon was printed in paragraphs, marked with initial letters, and divided by rubrics. The paragraphs Communicantes, Hanc igitur, Supplices te, Memento etiam and Nobis quoque had a conclusion Per (eundem) Christum Dominum nostrum, and to this was added Amen in every case except the last.⁶

Although the salutations, preface and Sanctus formed part of the Classical Anaphora, the medieval missal regarded them merely as a preliminary, and the Canon itself started with Te igitur. Te igitur made little sense, for there was nothing for the igitur to refer back to. Professor Ratcliff and Dr. Willis have suggested that this originally referred back to a thanksgiving through Christ.⁷ The Memento Domine and the Memento etiam were perhaps once recited by the deacon, and only in his absence by the celebrant, and thereby became part of the Canon.⁸ The Hanc igitur commended the offerers to God, and the Quam oblationem asked God to bless and accept

6. G. G. Willis, op. cit., p. 121 ff.

7. E. C. Ratcliff 'Christian Worship and Liturgy', in K. E. Kirk, The Study of Theology, London, 1939, p. 443; G. G. Willis, op. cit., p. 124.

8. E. C. Ratcliff, *ibid*, p. 441; G. G. Willis, op. cit., p. 38. But see, Ralph A. Keifer, 'The Unity of the Roman Canon: An Examination of its unique Structure' in SL, 11 (1976) pp. 39 - 58.

the oblation of bread and wine, that it might be the body and blood of Christ. This led into the Words of Institution, Qui pridie, much of which is derived from the Old Latin version of Matthew 26: 26-28,⁹ and the anamnesis, Unde et memores, offering the consecrated elements to God. The prayer Supra quae asked God to accept the new covenant as he did the offerings of Abel and Abraham under the old covenant, and the Supplices te asked that the oblation might be carried to the heavenly altar, and also for benefits for the communicants. These were followed by the remembrance of the departed, Memento etiam, and of the saints, Nobis quoque. Finally came the Doxology and Amen.

The prayers of the Canon were followed by the Lord's Prayer, the fraction with Agnus Dei and the Pax. Usually only the celebrant communicated. During the communion chant, the vessels were cleansed, the actions accompanied by collects. The rite concluded with the post-communion prayer, the dismissal and blessing, and the 'Last Gospel', John 1: 1 - 14.

Parts of the Latin Mass were of great antiquity, much of the Canon being quoted by St. Ambrose. According to Professor E. C. Ratcliff, the sacrificial language of the Canon goes back to the doctrine taught by Irenaeus.¹⁰ However, the medieval Church used the language of the

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9. E. C. Ratcliff, 'The Institution Narrative of the Roman Canon Missae; Its beginnings and early background', in Studia Patristica, II, pp. 64 - 82, Texte und Untersuchungen 64, Berlin, 1957.
10. E. C. Ratcliff, 'Christian Worship and Liturgy', p. 443.

Canon to teach the doctrines of Transubstantiation, and of the Sacrifice of the Mass for living and dead. Understandably, the Mass became the target of the Reformers' attacks. If it could be used to support Transubstantiation and a doctrine of Sacrifice for living and dead, it was a liturgical tradition which must be destroyed.

The first official change in the Latin Mass in England was in 1548 with The Order of Communion.¹¹ The Order was a communion devotion in English, designed to be inserted into the Latin Mass after the priest's communion, providing communion in two kinds for the laity. Prefaced by an exhortation giving notice of the communion and urging worthy reception, the Order consisted of an exhortation with warning against unworthy communion, an exhortation to confession, confession said by one of the congregation or by a minister, an absolution, comfortable words of Scripture, a prayer of approach, 'We do not presume' and formulae for administration:

The bodye of oure Lorde Jesus Christ,
which was geuen for the, preserve thy
body unto everlastyng life.

The blud of oure Lorde Jesus Christ,
which was shed for the, preserve thy soule
unto everlastyng life.

The Order also provided a blessing.

Parts of the confession and some of the Scripture sentences had been borrowed from the Lutheran Consultation of Archbishop Herman of Cologne, an English version of which had appeared in 1547.¹² The term 'spiritual'

11. Text, ed. H. A. Wilson.

12. Wilson, pp. 47 - 52.

eating and drinking, a key protestant term, appeared several times in the Order, and the protestant demand for communion in two kinds was conceded; but there was nothing in it which made it strongly protestant, and, even less, identifiable with a particular school of protestantism.

As a separate Order, the 1548 work was short lived. The accompanying Proclamation referred to 'further godly orders', and most of the material of the 1548 Order was incorporated into the communion service of the next 'godly order', the 1549 Book of Common Prayer.

The 1549 Eucharistic liturgy,¹³ entitled 'The Supper of the Lorde and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Masse', represented a conservative, though subtle, vernacular revision of the Latin Mass. The liturgical calendar was greatly pruned of ~~saint's~~ days, but the traditional Sunday sequence was maintained, and the Eucharist was to be celebrated every Sunday, and on week days. The structure of the Mass remained largely unchanged. It was still Word and Sacrament, with many of the traditional parts of the Mass. It was still celebrated with vestments and with some of the old ceremonial. But there had been some abbreviation, and some careful rephrasing of the old words.

All that remained of the preparation was the Lord's Prayer and the Collect for Purity, now said by the priest

13. Detailed analysis, F. E. Brightman, The English Rite, vol. 1, pp. xcvi - cxii.

at the altar. A full psalm was appointed for the Introit, followed by the Kyries and Gloria in excelsis in English. Collects for the King preceded the collects of the day. The Epistle and Gospel were retained, though the old Gradual chant was removed, possibly because in the Sarum rite, the Offertory of bread and wine began here. The Creed remained, and a sermon was to follow. The Liturgy of the Word ended with an exhortation to worthy communion.

The second part of the service, the Eucharist proper, began with the Offertory, but it was an offertory of alms, not of bread and wine; the bread and wine were merely prepared. The 'Little Canon' disappeared, being replaced by Scripture sentences relating to alms.

The Eucharistic Prayer commenced with the traditional Western salutations, preface, proper preface, Sanctus, and Benedictus. The remainder of the Canon had been rewritten in three sections. In the first, corresponding to the Te igitur, Memento Domine, Communicantes and Hanc igitur, the offering of 'these gifts', the bread and wine, and the prayer for the Pope and the King, were replaced by an offering of prayer for the Church and the world, and those in need. The second paragraph took the place of the Quam oblationem and Qui pridie. It emphasised the single and complete offering and sacrifice of Calvary, and spoke of the Eucharist as a memorial. It asked:

and with thy holy spirite and worde,
 vouchsafe to blesse and sanctifie these
 thy gyftes, and creatures of bread and
 wyne, that they mai be unto us the
 bodye and bloude of thy moste derely
 beloved sonne Jesus Christe.

The Words of Institution followed. The final paragraph, replacing the corresponding prayers of the Latin Canon, contained a petition to God for the benefits of communion, and the self-oblation of the communicants, their prayers and supplications. There was no offering of the consecrated elements. F. E. Brightman summarised the new Canon thus:

The Canon is an eloquent paraphrase and expansion of the Roman Canon (1) adjusting it clearly to the conception of the Eucharistic Sacrifice as threefold: viz (a) as a commemoration of our Lord's historical self-oblation in His Death upon the Cross; (b) as a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving for the benefits of redemption so secured; and (c) as the offering of the Church, of ourselves, our souls and bodies: concentrating all sacrificial language on these three moments. 14

Brightman could have added that it represented the replacing of any language supporting the medieval concept of Eucharistic sacrifice by a protestant conception of the Eucharist.

After the Canon came the Lord's Prayer, a communion sentence, the devotions from the 1548 Order with the Agnus Dei. The 1548 words of administration were used, though now each set of words was applied to both 'bodye and soule'. After a post-communion Scripture sentence the service concluded with a post-communion prayer and a blessing.

The rephrasing of the 1549 communion service could easily be mistaken for conservatism. Bishop Gardiner, appealing to the petition for the Spirit to bless and sanctify the elements, could pronounce it not distant from the catholic faith.¹⁵ Many clergy continued to

14. op. cit., Vol.1, p. cvi.

15. T. Cranmer, On the Lord's Supper, p. 92.

celebrate it as if it were merely the old Mass in English.¹⁶ The Strasbourg reformer, Martin Bucer, then Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, subjected the book to an analysis in his Censura, and listed several points in the communion service which needed further reform.¹⁷ On account of its conservative nature, and of the 'curiosity of ministers and mistakers', the book was replaced by another book in 1552.

It has been argued by Dr. C. W. Dugmore that although Cranmer was responsible for the book of 1549, that of 1552 must be attributed to the Anglo-Zurich party, led by Hooper; Cranmer, by that time having lost favour with Northumberland, was unable to prevent the new book replacing that of 1549.¹⁸ Certainly the 1552 book shows some influence of reformers of the more extreme wing, of Hooper and Knox, and of John à Lasco.¹⁹ However, E. C. Ratcliff²⁰ and A. H. Couratin²¹ have maintained that the 'godly orders' promised in the Royal Proclamation of the 1548 The Order of Communion imply a series of planned reforms, viz., 1549, 1552, and possibly the Prayer Book rumoured by the Frankfurt exiles. Couratin also noted that in his reply to Bishop Gardiner in 1550, Cranmer interpreted the text and rubric of the 1549 book

16. Original Letters, Vol. 1, p. 72, Hooper to Bullinger.

17. E. C. Whitaker, Martin Bucer and the Book of Common Prayer, ACG, Woking 1974, for text.

18. C. W. Dugmore, 'The First Ten Years 1549-59', in, M. Ramsey et al, The English Prayer Book 1549-1662.

19. ibid., G. J. Cuming, op. cit., p. 102; but Cf. Brightman, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. civi.

20. E. C. Ratcliff, 'The Liturgical Work of Archbishop Cranmer', in JEH, 7, (1956), pp. 189 - 203.

21. A. H. Couratin, 'The Holy Communion 1549' in CQR, 164 (1963), pp. 148 - 159; 'The Service of Holy Communion 1552 - 1662', in CQR, 163, (1962), pp. 431 - 442.

in accordance with the subsequent book of 1552, and once used language reminiscent of the second book; 'it is', he suggests, 'hard to resist the conclusion that the book of 1552 was already taking shape as early as 1550'.²²

Whatever the truth of the authorship question, it remains a fact that the protestant nature of the 1552 communion service was unmistakable. The service represented a drastic pruning and rearrangement of that of 1549. The rubrics were carefully framed to exclude the possibility of disguising the service as a Mass, and with the exception of the Gloria in excelsis, all singing disappeared from the service.²³

The service commenced with the Lord's Prayer and Collect for Purity, and these were followed by the Ten Commandments; the Introit psalm and Kyries were removed. The remainder of the Liturgy of the Word followed the 1549 sequence - collect for the King, of the day, the Epistle, Gospel, Creed and sermon, and Offertory sentences. These sentences were followed by a 'Prayer for the Church Militant', being the first part of the 1549 Canon, though with modifications taking account of Bucer's Censura. This was followed by a series of exhortations, leading to an exhortation to confession (Ye that do truly and earnestly), confession (Almighty God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ), absolution and comfortable words of Scripture, these being from the 1548 Order of Communion.

22. 'The Holy Communion 1549', p. 151.

23. Detailed analysis F. E. Brightman, op. cit., clxi - clxii.

At this point came the Sursum corda, preface and Sanctus, with the prayer 'We do not presume'. Then came a prayer containing the Words of Institution, with emphasis on the one oblation of Calvary. The 1549 petition for the blessing and sanctification of the gifts by the Spirit and word was replaced by

and grant that we, receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood.

Communion followed, the words of administration carefully excluding any notion that the bread and wine were connected with the body and blood of Christ:

Take and eat this, in remembraunce that Christ dyed for thee, and feede on him in thy hearte by faythe, with thankesgeuing.

Drinke this in remembraunce that Christ's bloude was shed for thee, and be thankfull.

After the Lord's Prayer came a thanksgiving, the Gloria in excelsis in a new position, and finally a blessing.

A rubric inserted at the last moment, the 'Black Rubric', explained that although communion was to be received kneeling, this was not to be taken as reverence for the bread and wine.

The 1552 communion service was carefully constructed so as to exclude any notion of the Sacrifice of the Mass, and any notion of presence in the elements. The precise identity of the eucharistic doctrine in the service is disputed. Y. Brilioth²⁴ and G. B. Timms²⁵ have

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24. Y. Brilioth, Eucharistic Faith and Practice Evangelical and Catholic, E. A. G. Hebert, London, 1930.
 25. G. B. Timms, 'Dixit Cranmer', in CQR 143 (1946/7), pp. 217 - 34; 144 (1947), pp. 33 - 51.

argued that Cranmer's own doctrine approximated to Calvinism; on the other hand, Dom Gregory Dix²⁶ and C. C. Richardson²⁷ have made out a plausible case that Cranmer was a Zwinglian, and that this is the doctrine enshrined in the 1552 service. C. W. Dugmore, while denying that it represents Cranmer's doctrine, in attributing it to the Anglo-Zurich party, implies that the doctrine enshrined in it is of the Zurich type.²⁸ According to the study by Peter Brooks, Cranmer's doctrine was of the Swiss type, but his ideas were not of one school to the exclusion of others.²⁹

It was the 1552 communion service which was re-enacted in 1559. But three significant alterations were made to the rite:³⁰ the old Eucharistic vestments and ornaments in use in the second year of Edward's reign (1548/9) were, in theory, re-introduced;³¹ the 1549 words of administration were combined with those of 1552, suggesting that the bread and wine did have some connection with the body and blood of Christ; and the 'Black Rubric' which had explained the practice of kneeling for reception was removed.

In 1604 James I issued a revised text of the Book of Common Prayer, but the communion service was unaltered.³²

26. G. Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy; 'Dixit Cranmer et non Timuit', in CQR 145 (1947/8), pp. 145-76; 146 (1948), pp. 44 - 60.

27. C. C. Richardson, Zwingli and Cranmer on the Eucharist, Illinois 1949.

28. C. W. Dugmore, op. cit.

29. P. N. Brooks, Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine of the Eucharist, London, 1964.

30. Brightman, op. cit., pp. clxix - clxx.

31. In practice only the surplice and cope were worn.

32. Brightman, op. cit., pp. clxxx - clxxxi.

Although Bishops Cosin and Wren had hoped that the communion service of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer would conform more to the pattern of that of 1549,³³ the final text which was enforced by the Act of Uniformity represented only a minor revision of that of 1559.³⁴ The collects, lections and proper prefaces were in some cases re-worded. The collect for the king now came before the collect of the day; the formulae for announcing the Epistle and Gospel were expanded; and in the 'Prayer for the Church Militant', the word 'oblations' was added to the offering of prayers and alms, and a thanksgiving for the example of the faithful departed was inserted; an Amen was also added after the recital of the Institution. Some of the rubrics were re-phrased, four of which were of some significance. After the Offertory sentences, a rubric ordered the placing of the bread and wine upon the table; the prayer containing the Words of Institution was now called the 'Prayer of Consecration'; rubrics ordering the fraction of the bread and the taking of the cup were added to the Institution Narrative; and a modified 'Black Rubric' was restored. A. H. Couratin rightly observed, 'the text remains virtually that of 1552'.³⁵ However, its pedigree was still clearly discernible; it had a great deal of its structure and contents in common with its parent, the Latin Mass.

33. G. J. Cuming, The Durham Book, Oxford, 1961

34. Brightman, op. cit., pp. ccxvii - ccxx.

35. A. H. Couratin, 'The Service of Holy Communion 1552 - 1662, p. 442.

PART TWO

EUCCHARISTIC LITURGIES IN THE ENGLISH INDEPENDENT TRADITION

PRIOR TO THE 1640'S

- Chapter 4. Early 'Independent' Eucharistic liturgies.
- Chapter 5. Puritanism and the Eucharistic liturgy in England: The sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.
- Chapter 6. The Eucharistic liturgy among the Separatists.
- Chapter 7. English Puritans in the Netherlands.

CHAPTER 4

EARLY 'INDEPENDENT' EUCHARISTIC LITURGIES

EARLY 'INDEPENDENT' EUCHARISTIC LITURGIES

The existence of 'Independents' of a liturgical nature was already hinted at in the Royal Proclamation which prefaced the 1548 The Order of the Communion; addressed to 'all and singular of our loving subjects', it announced the intention of introducing communion in two kinds,

least every man phantasying and devisyng
a sondry way by hym selfe in the use of
this moste blissed Sacrament of unitie,
there might thereby arise any unsemely and
ungodly diversitie: 1

Perhaps some ministers were already 'phantasying and devisyng' their own liturgical novelties, for the Proclamation was careful to warn against those who,

roune afore, and so by their rashenes,
become the greatest hynderers of suche
thynges, as they more arrogantly then
godly, wolde seme (by their awne private
authoritie) moste hotly to set forwarde. 2

Thus independency in terms of private authority was contrasted unfavourably with official liturgical revision. Nevertheless, a promise was given that true reformation would be brought to effect, in due time.

We know, however, that further advances were made without official authority; the Grey Friar's Chronicle records that at Easter 1548 St. Paul's cathedral and some London parishes used English forms of service, and at the obit of Henry VII at Westminster, Mass was said in English and the Canon missae was omitted.³

1. Text in ed. Wilson, op. cit.

2. *ibid.*

3. *ibid.*, p. xix; C. Wriothesley, A Chronicle of England, II, Camden Society, New Series 20, London, 1877, p. 2. According to Peter Le Huray, the Chapel Royal and some London Churches were experimenting with prototypes of the new English services. Music and the Reformation in England 1549 - 1660, London, 1967, pp.9-10

Reforms of a more radical nature may well have been encouraged by the arrival of continental divines such as Peter Martyr Vermigli, 1548, and Martin Bucer, 1549, and, complete with their own congregations and liturgies, Valerand Poullain and John à Lasco.

The growth of liturgical independency of a Puritan ethos is evidenced by four liturgies: William Huycke's translation of Calvin's liturgy in 1550, John Knox's liturgy for Berwick on Tweed, 1550, the Liturgy of Compromise, 1554, and the Genevan Service Book, 1556.

1. William Huycke's translation of Calvin's 'La Forme', 1550.

In 1550 there appeared a book of prayers entitled:

Geneva: The Forme of common praiers used in the churches of Geneva: The mynystracion of the sacramentes, of Baptisme and the Lordes supper: The vysitacion of the sycke: And the Catechisme of Geneva: made by master John Calvyne.

In the ende are certaine other Godly prayers privately to be used: translated out of frenche into Englyshe. By William Huycke.

It was printed in London by Edward Whitchurche, 'the VII daye of June 1550', and 'cum privilegio'. We are, then, dealing essentially with John Calvin's Genevan liturgy of 1542 and 1547.⁴

The question arises as to the purpose of the publication of this translation. Little is known of Huycke; an introduction to the reader by a certain Thomas Broke

4. Text in Corpus Reformatorum, Calvini opera VI; English translation in Bard Thompson, Liturgies of the Western Church.

explained:

There is also containd in thys boke, ye common prayers, used in the congregacion of Geneva, the maner of the mynystracion of the Sacramentes there, All these were by master Wylliam Huicke, a man of Godlye learninge, and right honest conversacion, translated out of frenche whyle he was at Geneva, where he heared, and sawe, the same putte in use.

Perhaps this was the same William Huyck who graduated at Oxford, B.A. 19th February, 1532/3 and M.A. 18th June, 1537.⁵ No indication was given by Broke as to the date or length of time that Huycke was in Geneva, and he may well have been in exile there in the reign of Henry VIII.

Much more, on the other hand, is known of the printer, Edward Whitchurche, and his connection with the book may well be significant. Whitchurche⁶ had well-known advanced protestant sympathies. In 1537 he had joined with Richard Grafton in arranging for the distribution of printed copies of the Bible in English; in 1543 he had been imprisoned for displays of protestant zeal; and later he was to be excepted from the pardon in the proclamation of 1554, and was to marry Cranmer's widow. From 1544 Whitchurche received jointly an exclusive patent for printing church service books, and later printed some editions of the enacted Book of Common Prayer. Thus, bearing the name of Whitchurche, Huycke's work might have commended itself to some as being an official translation having some degree of authority for use in England. If Huycke's work was merely to bring

5. Joseph Foster, Alumni oxonienses, 1500 - 1714, Oxford, 1891, Vol. 1, p. 780.

6. DNB.

Calvin's liturgy to the attention of English scholars, we should have expected a Latin edition, as in the case of the liturgies of Poullain and Lasco, and as in the case of the Latin editions of the 1548 The Order of the Communion and the 1549 Book of Common Prayer for continental scholars. The fact that this work was in English, and that the style of translation lent itself for public use, suggest that it was intended for a wider audience than scholars, and it may have been as an alternative, albeit an 'independent' one, to the enacted liturgy.

Calvin's Genevan liturgy of 1542 and 1547 was itself an abbreviated edition of his Strasbourg liturgy of 1540 and 1545.⁷ Several sources underlie the latter: (a) The ideal reformed Eucharistic liturgy was outlined by Calvin in his Institutes of the Christian Religion. The ceremonies of the Mass having been abandoned, the Evangelical Supper takes its place: (we have divided it into the constituent parts)

The commencement should be with public prayer;

next, a sermon should be delivered:

then the minister, having placed bread and wine on the table, should read the institution of the Supper.

He should next explain the promises which are therein given; and, at the same time, keep back from communion all those who are debarred by the prohibition of the Lord.

7. There is no extant copy of the 1540 edition. It is known by a reprint in 1542 by Pierre Brully. W. D. Maxwell, The Liturgical Portions of the Genevan Service Book, Edinburgh 1931, p. 21.

He should afterwards pray that the Lord, with the kindness with which he has bestowed this sacred food upon us, would also form and instruct us to receive it with faith and gratitude; and, as we are of ourselves unworthy, would make us worthy of the feast by his mercy.

Here, either a psalm should be sung, or something read, while the faithful, in order, communicate at the sacred feast, the minister breaking the bread, and giving it to the people.

The Supper being ended, an exhortation should be given to sincere faith, to charity, and lives becoming Christians.

Lastly, thanks should be offered, and the praises of God should be sung.

This being done, the Church should be dismissed in peace. 8

This outline occurs quite naturally in Calvin's systematic treatment of the Lord's Supper. It appeared in the first edition of the Institutes, 1536, and we may presume that it represents his own reflections on the nature of the Lord's Supper in the biblical accounts, together with his knowledge of Reformed worship, in particular that of the city of Basle where he had settled for a short time in 1535.⁹

As early as 1506 Basle had been provided with a vernacular preaching service by John Ulrich Surgant in his Manuale Curatorum. Surgant had compiled this service from the medieval vernacular service called 'pronus' or 'pronaus', being derived possibly from praeconium (public speaking), or from *Προναος* (nave). This vernacular service seems to have developed in the eighth

8. Institutes, 4.17.43.

9. For this period see, T. H. L. Parker, John Calvin: A Biography, London, 1975, p. 32 ff. Also at Basle were Capito, Sebastian Munster, Bullinger and Farel.

and ninth centuries, and came after the reading of the Gospel in the Mass.¹⁰ It usually included biddings, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, the Creed, Decalogue, a confession and absolution. Surgant used this as the basis for a separate preaching service before Mass, consisting of:

Announcement of Text.
 Lord's Prayer.
 Ave Maria.
 Sermon.
 Bidding Prayers concluding with remembrance
 of the departed.
 Lord's Prayer.
 Ave Maria.
 Apostles' Creed.
 Decalogue.
 General Confession.
 Absolution.
 Conclusion: 'Pray God for me as I will for
 you in the Office of the Holy Mass'. 11

Basle had been won for the Reformation by the efforts of Oecolampadius, and both he and his close friend Zwingli at Zurich, used a reformed version of Surgant's service as their main Sunday service in place of the Mass.

Oecolampadius was very close to Zwingli in his doctrine of the Eucharist, denying both the concept of sacrifice, and the presence of Christ in the eating and drinking at the Supper. The Supper they regarded as a visible exhortation to faith in the benefits of the Passion of Christ. The Eucharist was therefore primarily a declaration of faith and an exhortation to belief.

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10. V. Thalhofer, 'Vom Pronaus, speciell von den an die Pfarrpredigt sich anschliessenden Gebeten und Verkundigungen', in Theol. praktisch Quartalschrift 38 (1885), pp. 25 - 42; F. C. Brightman, The English Rite, vol. 2, pp. 1039 - 1043.
11. Text in, F. Schmidt-Clausing, Zwingli als Liturgiker, Gottingen, 1952, pp. 88 - 112.

Oecolampadius had prepared a Eucharistic liturgy for Basle as early as 1525, entitled Form und gstatl Wie das Herren Nachtmal, and consisting of the following:

Sermon.
 Admonition.
 Preparation of elements.
 Confession.
 Psalm 130: 1 - 8.
 Absolution.
 Isaiah 53: 1 - 7. Contemplation.
 Matthew 27 : 35 - 50.
 Exhortation.
 Lord's Prayer.
 Brief exhortation.
 Administration. 'The undoubted faith, which you have in the death of Christ, lead you into eternal life'.
 The faith, which you have in the spilt blood of Jesus Christ, lead you into eternal life'.
 Commendation to love, and peace. 12

(b) While making for Strasbourg in July 1536, Calvin passed through Geneva, and the reformer Guillaume Farel, now a minister there, pressed Calvin to abandon his academic career and to assist with the reformation of Geneva. In use was Farel's own liturgical compilation, La Manière et fasson, prepared for Neuchatel in 1533.

Farel had compiled this order after his own experience of the worship at Basle, and the preaching service followed the Pronaus-type service, with biddings, Lord's Prayer, reading and exposition, exhortation, Decalogue, Confession, Apostles' Creed, intercessions and dismissal in peace. The Eucharistic liturgy also has many points of contact with that of Oecolampadius:

Exhortation.
 Institution.
 Self-Examination.
 Excommunication.

Confession.
 Creed.
 Assurance of Pardon.
 Words of Institution.
 Exhortation to true communion.
 Communion.
 Post-communion Bidding Prayer.
 Peace and Blessing. 13

We may assume that this formed the basis of the Genevan services until Calvin's Genevan liturgy of 1542.

Commenting on Farel's rite, W. D. Maxwell said:

This was an utterly barren rite, a result of Zwinglian influence and the extreme views of Farel. It had no influence whatever upon any succeeding rite, except that Calvin borrowed from it considerably for his marriage service. 14

In fact, as we shall later see, Calvin used part of Farel's Eucharistic liturgy in his own Strasbourg rite, and his amended Genevan rite was influenced by the meagre provisions of Farel's liturgy.

(c) The major source of Calvin's Strasbourg liturgy was the Strasbourg German liturgy. Calvin himself explained:

Quant aux prières des dimanche, je prins la form de Strasbourg et en empruntay la plus grande partie. 15

The Strasbourg liturgy to which Calvin referred was Martin Bucer's Psalter mit aller Kirchenubing of 1539.¹⁶

Farel and Calvin had been expelled from Geneva in 1538, and Bucer invited Calvin to take charge of the French congregation at Strasbourg.¹⁷ The German magistrates had consented to allow the French congregation

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13. La Maniere et fasson, ed. J. G. Baum, Strasbourg, 1859; ET in Bard Thompson, op. cit., pp. 216 - 224.
 14. W. D. Maxwell, An Outline of Christian Worship, Oxford, 1936, p. 112, note I.
 15. Corpus Reformatorum, Calvini opera, IX, p. 894.
 16. ET in Bard Thompson, op. cit., pp. 167 - 179.
 17. T. H. L. Parker, op. cit., p. 62 ff.

to hold their own preaching services, but for the Eucharist they had had to join with the Germans. On Calvin's arrival permission was given for them to celebrate the Eucharist once a month, and for this purpose Calvin had drawn up a complete liturgy for all services, basing the Morning service and the Eucharist on the existing Strasbourg rite.

Bucer's Psalter mit aller Kirchenubing was the most recent of a whole series of editions of a reformed liturgy, extending over a period of fifteen years, and unlike those of Oecolampadius and Farel, deriving directly from the Roman Mass. Each successive revision had to a greater or lesser degree diverged from the parent rite in structure and content.

The first reforms of a liturgical nature in Strasbourg were those of Diobald Schwarz's vernacular mass, Die Teutsche Messe of February 1524. Four particular points of revision are worthy of notice.

(1) The long preparation which had come to preface the Mass before the Introit was replaced by a shorter Confiteor serving as a general confession of sin, and followed by an absolution into which Schwarz interpolated 1 Timothy 1: 15. The Breviarum Argentinense seems to have been the source of this Confiteor.¹⁸

(2) The Offertory exhortation, Orate Fratres, was rewritten to incorporate the self-oblation of Roman 12:1: 'Lieben bruder und Schwester, bitten Gott den Vatter durch unsern herren Jesum Christum, das er mache unsern

18. G. J. Van De Poll, Martin Bucer's Liturgical Ideas, Assen, 1954, p. 10.

Leib zu ein lebendigen, heiligen, wohlgefelligen Opfer,
das do ist der vernunftig Gottesdienst, der Gott gefelt.
Das bestehe uns allen, Amen.

(3) The invocation to the saints and the virgin Mary was omitted.

(4) The Canon missae was freely paraphrased, and prayer for the civil powers was introduced into it.

The structure of the Mass remained, as did most of the prayers themselves; but although the reforms were modest, Hastings Eells is correct when he says that 'liturgically speaking, Strasbourg had crossed the Rubicon'.¹⁹ In passing, it should be noted that in (1) and (2), Schwarz had paid particular attention to items which were late additions to the Western Eucharistic liturgy.

Schwarz's Reformed Mass was followed by four printed editions in the same year between Easter and September, and a fifth followed shortly after.²⁰ In these early editions features were already to be found which would become the hallmarks of Bucer's revisions: the Apostles' Creed might be substituted for the Nicene; the exhortation, Orate Fratres, increased in length; proper prefaces for the calendar were pruned; the Canon missae was further modified; and the Aaronic blessing was introduced.

After 1525 a whole series of revised liturgies began

19. Hastings Eells, Martin Bucer, New Haven, 1931, p. 43.

20. W. D. Maxwell, The Liturgical Portions of the Genevan Service Book, p. 26.

to appear in rapid succession, being the work of Bucer. Using the Teutsche Messe as a basis, each one of Bucer's revisions differed in some detail from its predecessor.²¹

In these revisions the liturgical calendar with the traditional Sunday sequence was gradually abandoned; the Lord's Day and festivals of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost alone remained, resulting in the disappearance of the seasonal propers. Furthermore, the Cathedral excepted, the Eucharist was celebrated only monthly. On three Sundays out of four, the Synaxis or Liturgy of the Word alone was celebrated; Word and Sacrament were separated.

When the revisions themselves are examined, various modifications are found to have taken place. The opening confession was lengthened, and alternatives were provided; the Introit was replaced by a metrical psalm, and the Kyrie eleison and Gloria in excelsis became optional and fell into disuse. The collect for the day was replaced by a prayer for illumination to hear God's Word; the Epistle disappeared, and the Gospel was read chapter by chapter. The sermon might be followed by an exhortation, and the Apostles' Creed could be replaced by a psalm or hymn.

In the Eucharist proper, we find that in the 1539 rite, the Canon missae had been completely metamorphosed. The traditional salutations had disappeared. Three alternative prayers were provided, all having a similar content - prayer for the civil authorities, for the

21. *ibid.*, pp. 27 - 32.

congregation, and, when applicable, for a true communion, concluding with the Lord's Prayer. The Words of Institution had been detached from the prayer and were read immediately before the administration, presumably as a warrant, though G. J. Van De Poll has suggested that it was in order to bring the words into closer association with the fraction and distribution.²² A psalm was sung during the administration, and was followed by one of three thanksgivings which replaced the old post-communion prayers.

At this point the question must be raised as to whether or not the Psalter mit aller Kirchenubing was influenced at all by the Pronaus. F. E. Brightman suggested that the substance of the Strasbourg Sunday Morning Service, and also that of Geneva, was merely a perpetuation of the Pronaus.²³ G. J. Van De Poll has implied that the Long Prayer was less a reform of the Canon missae than the substitution of the intercessions from Surgant's Manuale.²⁴ Against this must be set the textual evidence amassed by L. Büchsenschütz²⁵ and W. D. Maxwell²⁶ which demonstrates overwhelmingly that the liturgy of Strasbourg was derived directly from the Roman Mass.

However, it should be admitted that Brightman had compiled some interesting parallels. It may well be

22. G. J. Van De Poll, op. cit., p. 42.

23. Brightman, op. cit., p. 1039.

24. Van De Poll, op. Cit., p. 37.

25. L. Büchsenschütz, Histoire des Liturgies en Langue Allemande dans l'Eglise de Strasbourg au XVIe siècle, Cahors, 1900.

26. W. D. Maxwell, op. cit., p. 66 ff.

the case that the vernacular Pronaus, simply by being in the vernacular, commended itself to the reformers, and perhaps influenced Bucer in the manner in which he revised the Mass; possibly Bucer's Antecomunion is the Mass judged by and reformed from the standpoint of the acceptable features of the Pronaus.

THE DERIVATION OF BUCER'S PSALTER MIT ALLER KIRCHENUBING,

1539

<u>The Mass</u>	<u>Reforms, 1524-38</u>	<u>Bucer 1539</u>
Preparation:		
Psalm		
Our help is in the name of the Lord.	----->	Scripture sentences
Who made heaven and earth.	----->	Confession, choice of three.
Confiteor.	----->	Scripture sentences of Remission.
Absolution	----->	Absolution
Versicles and responses		
Introit	----->	Psalm or hymn
Kyries	----->	<u>Sometimes, Kyries,</u> and
Gloria	----->	Gloria
Salutation and collect	----->	Collect for illumination
Epistle		
Gradual	----->	Psalm
(Priest's Prayer)		
Gospel	----->	Gospel
(Sermon)	----->	Sermon, with communion exhor- tation
Creed (Nicene)	----->	Creed (Apostles) or psalm or hymn
Offertory	----->	Preparation of elements
Offertory Prayers		
Lavabo		
Pray brethren that my sacrifice and yours may be accepted by God the Almighty Father.		

The MassReforms, 1524-38Bucer 1539

Secret		
Sursum corda		
Preface		
Sanctus		
Benedictus		
Canon:		
Te igitur	----->	Long Prayer, choice of three
Memento, Domine	----->	Lord's Prayer
Communicantes	----->	
Hanc igitur	----->	(Communion exhortation if not already given)
Quam oblationem		
Qui pridie and Simili modo	----->	Words of institution
Unde et memores		
Supra quae		
Supplices		
Memento etiam		
Nobis quoque		
Lord's Prayer	----->	
Peace		
<u>Agnus Dei</u>		
(Priest's Prayers)		
Communion	----->	Communion
Post communion chant	----->	Hymn: Let God be Blessed, or Psalm
Post communion prayer	----->	Thanksgiving, choice of three
Dismissal	----->	Blessing
Blessing	----->	Dismissal
Last Gospel		

When there was no communion, after the Long Prayer Bucer's liturgy ended with a psalm, the blessing and dismissal.

With certain alterations, Calvin's Strasbourg liturgy was that of the Psalter mit aller Kirchenußing; entitled La Maniere de faire prieres, the most notable differences were that no alternative prayers were provided, and the Decalogue was sung after the absolution. This latter practice had been recommended by Bucer in Grund und Ursach, but although he had used the Decalogue as the basis of a confession, he himself never used it

in this form.²⁷ Possibly Calvin took up Bucer's suggestion, or it may have been suggested to him from Farel's rite.

In 1541 Calvin returned to Geneva. Farel's liturgy was probably still in use, and the Genevan magistrates were reluctant to make changes. The 1542 Genevan rite, entitled La Forme des Prieres, represents a modified version of his Strasbourg liturgy, taking into account the bleak rite of Farel. It was this liturgy which Huycke and Whitchurche presented to the English Churches.

At Strasbourg Calvin had celebrated the Eucharist once a month; thus on three Sundays out of four, the Liturgy of the Word was separated from the Eucharist. At Geneva, despite his protests,²⁸ the Eucharist was celebrated only quarterly. This division was further emphasised by the physical separation of the two services in the printed service books by the Baptismal rite.

The Forme of Common Prayers (Sunday Morning Service)

<u>Huycke (Geneva)</u>	<u>Calvin's Strasbourg Rite</u>
Scripture sentence: our ayde and Succour is in the name and power of God, which made bothe heaven and earth. So be it.	Scripture sentence (idem)
Bidding to confession. Confession	Bidding to confession Confession
	Scripture sentences of remission
	Absolution
	1st Table of Decalogue sung in metre
	Prayer for instruction in the law
Psalm in plainsong	2nd Table of Decalogue

27. Van De Poll, op. cit., p. 75.

28. Corpus Reformatorum. Calvini Opera, iv. 1051-1052.

Huycke (Geneva)

Prayer for illumination
 Lection
 Sermon
 Long Prayer, for civil powers, pastors and congregation, and for all people, and long paraphrase of Lord's Prayer. A Special paragraph to be added on communion Sundays.
 Open Confession of the Christian faith, (Apostles' Creed said by minister)
 Psalm
 Aaronic blessing

Calvin's Strasbourg Rite

Prayer for illumination
 Lection
 Sermon
 Long Prayer (idem, but no special communion paragraph)

 Apostles' Creed sung in metre,

 Psalm
 Aaronic blessing

In the Scripture sentence, or 'call to worship', and the bidding and confession, Huycke followed Calvin closely, though with the liberty of a translator. Calvin had followed Bucer, using the second alternative confession given in Psalter mit aller Kirchnubing; this appears to have been Bucer's own composition.²⁹

The Strasbourg service followed Bucer in having Scripture sentences of remission and an absolution, and then Calvin's own addition, the singing of the Decalogue. At Geneva he was unable to use an absolution,³⁰ and dropped the singing of the Decalogue. Since the liturgical calendar was abandoned, the old collect for the day disappeared, its place being taken by a prayer for illumination. This led up to the lection, and the sermon.

The Long Prayer which followed the sermon had been adapted from Bucer's third alternative 'Canon' of 1539.

29. Van De Poll, op. cit., p. 34.

30. Corpus Reformatorum, Calvini Opera, X, p. 213.

When the Eucharist was celebrated at Geneva, a special 'Eucharistic' section was added to the Long Prayer. In Calvin's Strasbourg Liturgy, this section had formed a separate prayer coming after the Creed and the preparation of the elements; at Geneva it ceased to be a separate 'Eucharistic' prayer.

The substance of this Eucharistic prayer has been recently analysed by Jean Cadier, who has stressed that throughout it is concerned to express the double grace of Justification and Sanctification, by participation in the whole Christ.³¹ Huycke's rendering of the prayer is as follows:

And accordyng as oure Lord Jesu thought it not sufficient only to offer up once his blessed body and bloud on the crosse to acquite us of all our sinnes: but doth vouchsafe also spirituallie, to deale and dystribute the selfe same unto us, for a sustenance to nouryshe us unto everlastyng lyfe: Even so maye it please thee to endue us with thy specyall grace, that with moste upryghte synglennesse of heart, and earnesteste ferventenesse of affeccyons, wee maye moste thankefullye receyue at hys hande so hygh a benefite, and so worthy, (that is to say) that we may with a constante and assured faythe, receave bothe hys bodye and bloude, yea, verelye CHRIST hymselfe wholye, even as he, beeynge both verye GOD and manne, is moste woorthelye named to bee the holye breade of heaven, to quicken and refreshe oure soules: to the ende that from hencefoorthe weemaye cease to lyve in our selves, and after the course or inclinacion of our owne most corrupt and defyled nature: and that wee may lyve in hym, whiles we have hym also lyving in us, to conducte and guyde us unto the holy, most blessed and everlastyng lyfe. Graunte us also that in receyving the same, we become in verye deede partakers of the newe and everlastyng testament (that is to say) of the covenannt of grace and mercy, being most certayn and assured, that thy good pleasure is to be oure everlastyng mercifull FATHER, whyles thou layest not to our charge oure manifolde offences,

31. Jean Cardier, 'La Priere Eucharistique De Calvin', in Eucharisties d'Orient et d'Occident, Lex Orandi 46, Paris 1970, pp. 171 - 180.

and providest for us, as for thy dearely beloved chyl dren and heyres, all thynges needefull as well for the body as for ye soule: so that we may without ceassing render laudes and thankes unto thee, evermore extollyng, and magnifyinge thy holye name both by worde and deede. And fynallye, geve us grace so to celebrate thys day the holy remembraūce of thy blessed and dearelye beloved sonne, yea in suche sorte to use and practyse oure selves therein, and so to shewe foorthe and declare the woorthy benefites of hys precious death: that we receiving thereby farther strengthe and more ample increase in faythe and all good thynges, mayewith the lustier courage, and the more confidence prayse the our FATHER, rejoysyng and glorifying onely in thy name.

Participation in the whole Christ, Cardier points out, leads to thanksgiving:

Par la participation à la personne du Christ et à l'alliance de grâce, nous sommes replacés par la Cene devant les merveilles de l'amour divin et conduits à la reconnaissance, à la louange, à l'action de grâces, à l'eucharistie au sens littéral du terme. 32

It is interesting to compare one particular petition with the Quam oblationem of the Canon missae.

Quam oblationem

Which oblation do thou,
O God, we beseech thee,
vouchsafe in all things to
make blessed, approved,
ratified, reasonable, and
acceptable: that unto us
it may be become the Body
and Blood of thy most dearly
beloved Son, our Lord Jesus
Christ.

Calvin

Even so may it please
thee .. that we may
with a constante and
assured faythe, receive
bothe hys bodye and
bloude, yea, verelye
CHRIST hymselfe
whole,

In Calvin's petition, as well as there being no concept of oblation regarding the elements, faith is made an explicit precondition for a true communion.

It was the practice at Geneva to follow the Long

Prayer with the Apostles' Creed, recited by the minister, leading into the Eucharistic liturgy proper. When there was no communion - on most Sundays in the year - the service concluded with a psalm and the Aaronic blessing.

The maner of celebrating the Supper of
the Lord.

Huycke: Geneva.	Calvin's Strasbourg rite.
(preparation of the bread and wine during the Creed)	(preparation of the bread and wine during the Creed)
Exhortation, with Words of Institution and excommunication.	Eucharistic Prayer. Lord's Prayer. Exhortation, with Words of Institution and excommunication.
Breaking of bread and delivery.	Breaking of bread and delivery.
Psalm or Scripture reading.	Words of administration. Psalm 138.
Thanksgiving (from The Forme).	Thanksgiving.
Aaronic blessing (from The Forme).	Nunc Dimittis. Aaronic blessing.

The Eucharist was to follow immediately after the sermon and Long Prayer, and in this respect Word and Sacrament were regarded as a unity; indeed, the Eucharistic liturgy required the rubrics and prayers of the Morning service to make any sense.

There was no rubric for the preparation of the bread and wine, but W. D. Maxwell observed that at Strasbourg the practice was to prepare them after the Creed, ~~and whereas~~ ^{prepared them during the Creed.} Calvin seems to have ~~followed the same practice.~~³³ The omission of any rubric may have been deliberate in order to eradicate any possible idea of offering of the elements; the preparation was purely utilitarian.

33. W. D. Maxwell, The Liturgical Portions, pp. 132 - 3.

In his Strasbourg rite, Calvin had commenced with a Eucharistic Prayer and the Lord's Prayer; in the Genevan rite, he began with an exhortation, starting with the Words of Institution from 1 Cor. 11 : 23 ff, the scriptural warrant for what was about to take place.

In the Classical Anaphoras, the Words of Institution formed part of the prayer, addressed to God. In the Oriental liturgies the narrative was considerably embellished in the interests of symmetry. As has been noted above, the narrative in the Canon missae was probably based upon the Old Latin version of Matthew 26 and 1 Cor. 11, though it too had been embellished.³⁴ However, as far as the reformers were concerned, since the narrative in the Mass did not accord with the Vulgate or Greek versions of Scripture, it was to be rejected and replaced with one of the accounts from the received texts.³⁵ Bucer moved the words from the Eucharistic Prayer and read them immediately before the communion; they were preceded by an extemporary exhortation if one had not been given earlier.

When Calvin's rite is compared with Bucer's rite, it appears at first sight that Calvin had taken over Bucer's arrangement, and had interpolated a lengthy exhortation with excommunication between the Institution and the communion.

<u>Bucer</u>	<u>Calvin Strasbourg</u>	<u>Calvin Geneva</u>
Long Prayer	Eucharistic Prayer	
Lord's Prayer	Lord's Prayer	
(short exhortation)	Institution with exhortation	Institution with exhortation
Institution		
Communion	Communion	Communion

34. See above, Chapter 3.

35. For example, Luther's criticism in 'The Abomination of the Secret Canon', 1525; B. D. Spinks, 'Luther

However, in Calvin's liturgy the Words of Institution are not separate from the exhortation, but form part of it. Our attention is turned, therefore, to the exhortation as a whole.

The exhortation has no textual parallel in the 1539 Psalter mit ^{aller} ~~all~~ Kirchenubing, and this led W. D. Maxwell to the conclusion that 'Calvin's is a product of his own pen'; 'Calvin (is) the ultimate source'.³⁶ His conclusion has been endorsed by G. J. Van De Poll³⁷ and Stephen Mayor.³⁸

It is true that already in the outline of the Lord's Supper given in the Institutes, Calvin had in mind an exhortation at this point, and furthermore, several parallels in language may be found in his treatment of the Supper in the Institutes.³⁹ However, although Calvin admitted that for his Sunday Morning service he had used a large part of the Strasbourg rite, the same dependence is not necessarily implied as regards the Eucharist. We have already observed that Calvin had experienced the Reformed worship of Basle, and had in all probability used Farel's La Maniere et fasson. It seems that Dr. Bard Thompson is alone in recognising that in his exhortation, Calvin has used Farel's 'Reformed Sursum corda', but even he has not recognised the full extent of the dependence.⁴⁰ A comparison of Farel's Supper rite

and the Canon of the Mass', in LR 3 (1973), pp. 34-46.

36. W. D. Maxwell, The Liturgical Portions, pp. 130-131.

37. G. J. Van De Poll, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

38. Stephen Mayor, The Lord's Supper in Early English Dissent, London, 1972, p. 7.

39. e.g. Institutes 4:17:42. 'Let us remember that this sacred feast is medicine to the sick, comfort to the sinner and bounty to the poor'.

40. Bard Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

with Calvin's exhortation reveals both a parallel of ideas and of language, though not in the same sequence.⁴¹

Calvin

Farel

1. Words of Institution.

Bucer's narrative had no introduction, and could be from the Gospels or 1 Cor. 11. Both Calvin and Farel exhort the congregation to hear the Words from 1 Cor. 11.

Escoutons comme Jesus Christ nous a institué sa sainte Cene, selon que sainte Paul le recite en l'unziesme chapitre de la premiere aux Corinthiens.

Escoutez comme nostre seigneur Jesuchrist a institue sa sainte cene en la premiere des Corinthiens, en l'unziesme chapitre.

2. Excommunication.

Parquoy, suyvant ceste reigle, au Nom et en l'auctorité de nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ: je excommunie tous idolatres, blasphemateurs, contempteurs de Dieu, heretiques et toutes gens qui font sectes à part pour rompre l'unité de l'Eglise, tous periures, tous ceux qui sont rebelles à peres et à meres, et à leurs superieurs, tous seditieux, mutins, bateurs, noiseux, adulteres, paillars, larrons, ravisseurs, avaricieulx, yvroignes, gourmans et tous ceulx qui meinent vie scandaleuse et dissolue: leur denonceant qu'ilz ayent à s'abstenir de ceste sainte Table de paour de polluer et contaminer les viandes sacrées, que nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ ne donne sinon à ses domestiques et fidelles.

Aultrement tous ceulx qui nont vraye foy, ne presument point de venir a la sainte table faisant semblant et faulusement tesmoingnans estre du corps de Jesuchrist, duquel ilz ne sont pas, comme tous idolatres, adorans et seruans aultre que le seul Dieu, tous parjureurs, gens oysifz qui ne seruent et ne proffitent a rien, combien quilz le puissent faire, tous ceulx qui sont desobeissans a pere et mere, et a ceulx que Dieu a constitue sur nous en bien, sans contrevenir au commandement de Dieu. Tous batteurs, noyseux qui injustement battent et frappent leur prochain et les ont en hayne. Tous paillardz, yuroignes, viuans dissoluement en boyre et menger. Tous larrons qui font tort et injure au prochain, tous faulx tesmoingz, et imposeurs

41. Texts: Corpus Reformatorum, Calvini Opera VI; La Maniere et fasson, ed. J. G. Baum, Strasbourg, 1859. The English, using the translations of Bard Thompson, op. cit., is given in an Appendix.

CalvinFarel

de crimes, et tous ceulx qui viuent meschamment et contre les saintz commandemens de Dieu, qui ne veulent suyure la sainte loy de Dieu et viure selon sa parolle, en suyant le saint evangile, comme vrayz enfans de Dieu ne presument point venir a ceste sainte table, en laquelle doibuent venir seulement ceulx qui sont veritablement du corps de Christ, vnis et enracinez en luy par vraye et vifue foy, laquelle soit ourante par charite.

3. Self-Examination.

Pourtant, selon l'exhortation de saint Paul, qu'un chascun esprouve et examine sa conscience, pour scavour s'il a vraye repentance de ses faultes, Sur tout, s'il a sa fiance en la mesericorde de Dieu, ...

Vng chascun regarde et esprouve soy mesmes, ... sil croyt parfaitement .. que Dieu nous est propice, et que son ire est appaisee par le benoist sauueur Jesus

4. Confession.

Et combien que nous sentions en nous beaucoup de fragilité et misere, comme de n'avoir point la Foy parfaicte: mais estre enclins à incredulité et defiance, comme de ne estre point entierement si adonnez à servir à Dieu, et d'un tel zeile que nous devrions, mais avoir à batailler journellement contre les consupiscences de nostre chair:

Mais pour tant que cependant que nous conuersons en ce monde, enuironnez de ce corps de mort et de peche, nous sommes tous poures pecheurs, et ne pouons dire que soyons sans peche,

5. 'Reformed Sursum Corda'.

Pour ce faire eslevons noz espritz et noz coeurs en hault, ou est Jesus Christ en

Pourtant leuez voz cueurs en hault, cherchans les choses celestielles, es

Calvin

la gloire de son Pere, et dont nous l'attendons en nostre redemption. Et ne nous amusons point a ces elemens terriens et corruptibles, que nous voyons à l'oeil, et touchons à la main pour le chercher là, comme s'il estoit encloz au pain ou au vin.

Farel

cieulx, ou Jesuchrist est assis en la dextre du pere, sans vous arrester aux choses visibles qui se corrompent par lusaige.

The section on excommunication seems to have been derived from Oecolampadius's rite for Basle.⁴²

The clear verbal parallels between Calvin and Farel in 1, 2 and 5, suggest that although this is no slavish copy, nevertheless Calvin was drawing directly upon his knowledge of Farel's Supper rite. As with Farel's rite, the exhortation was immediately followed by the administration. Against W. D. Maxwell, we may conclude that it was Farel, and not Calvin, who was the ultimate source of the exhortation.

Related to this is the question of the purpose and rationale of this exhortation, described by the Swedish scholar, Yngve Brilioth, as 'a controversial digression', and 'a liturgical monstrosity'.⁴³

The New Testament accounts of the Institution of the Eucharist are quite clear that before Jesus broke the bread and distributed it, and before he offered the wine to the disciples, he 'gave thanks'; he did not

42. Text in Bard Thompson, op. cit., p. 212.

43. Yngve Brilioth, ET. A. G. Hebert, Eucharistic Faith and Practice Evangelical and Catholic, London, 1930, p. 178.

read an exhortation. Why, then, should Calvin, whose authority was the Word of God, follow Farel in placing a long exhortation before the distribution? Prayer at this point was recommended in the outline given in the Institutes, but even in his Strasbourg rite, Calvin had the exhortation immediately before the administration; furthermore, the 'Eucharistic Prayer' is concerned for a true communion; it is hardly a 'Eucharistia'.⁴⁴

Calvin carefully observed that Jesus gave thanks at the Supper:

For at the commencement of the supper, I have no doubt, he prayed, as he was accustomed never to sit down at table without calling on God. 45

But the reformer does not appear to have been interested in the nature of Jewish blessings and thanksgivings; in fact, Calvin implied that the Passover prayers were quite irrelevant to the Christian Church:

I do not understand these words to mean that with the paschal supper was mixed this new and more excellent supper, but rather, that an end was then put to the former banquet. 46

According to Calvin, the thanksgiving at the Supper served a specific purpose:

The thanksgiving was a sort of preparation and transition to consider the mystery. Thus when the supper was ended, they tasted the sacred bread and wine; because Christ had previously aroused them from their indifference, that they might be all alive to so lofty a mystery. 47

44. See above, p.144. There is no textual authority for placing a 'Consecration Prayer' (Van De Poll, op. cit., p. 119.) or an 'Eucharistic Prayer' (Horton Davies, The Worship of the English Puritans, p. 264.) after the exhortation in the Genevan rite.
45. Commentary on a harmony of the Evangelists, ET W. Pringle, 3 Vols., Edinburgh, 1846, vol. 3, p. 203.
46. *ibid.*, on Matthew 26:26, pp. 203-4.
47. *ibid.*, p. 204.

Again, commenting upon 1 Cor. 11 : 24 :

This giving of thanks, however, has a reference to something higher, for Christ gives thanks to the Father for his mercy towards the human race, and the inestimable benefit of redemption; and he invites us, by his example, to raise up our minds as often as we approach the sacred table, to an acknowledgment of the boundless love of God towards us, and to have our minds kindled up to true gratitude. 48

In these two passages there is a strong hint that Calvin regarded the thanksgiving as being addressed, not to God, but to the disciples to draw their attention to 'so lofty a mystery'. It would appear to Calvin to have an exhortatory nature about it.

Calvin also interpreted the ancient 'sursum corda' as being exhortatory in nature; in his Short Treatise on the Holy Supper of our Lord and only Saviour Jesus Christ, 1541, he wrote:

Moreover, the practice always observed in the ancient Church was that, before celebrating the Supper, the people were solemnly exhorted: to lift their hearts on high, to show that we must not stop at the visible sign, to adore Jesus Christ rightly. 49

Likewise in the Institutes:

That the pious soul may duly apprehend Christ in the sacrament, it must rise to heaven. And for no other reason was it formerly the custom, previous to consecration, to call aloud upon the people to raise their hearts, sursum corda. 50

There is some evidence, therefore, for suggesting that Calvin regarded the 'thanksgiving' as a device for underlining the gravity of the sacrament, addressed to

48. Commentary on the Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians, ET J. Pringle, 2 vols., Edinburgh 1848, vol. 1, p. 374, on 1 Cor. 11 : 23ff.
49. ET in Calvin Theological Treatises, ed. J. K. S. Reid, Library of Christian Classics, Vol. 22, London, 1954, pp. 140 - 166, p. 159.
50. Institutes, 4.17.36.

the hearts and minds of the congregation. If it was exhortatory in nature, then it is the equivalent of an exhortation; Calvin's exhortation served precisely the same purpose as he believed Christ's thanksgiving had served - as a 'preparation and transition to consider the mystery'.

If this is a correct understanding of Calvin, then the exhortation makes some sense. First, the Words of Institution (the Pauline version, 'I received of the Lord', in which Calvin noted - no doubt with the Canon missae in mind - 'received' implied that the words had not been tampered with⁵¹), were read to impress the congregation with the gravity of the sacrament. Since they were the Word of God to men, they were not addressed in prayer to the Father; and to direct words of proclamation to the elements was, in Calvin's thinking, preaching to bread and wine. In several passages, Calvin makes it clear that the Words of Institution are addressed to men:

This error (that the intention of the priest is required for consecration) has originated from not observing that those promises by which consecration is effected are intended, not for the elements themselves, but for those who receive them. Christ does not address the bread and tell it to become his body, but bids his disciples eat, and promises them the communion of his body and blood. 52

We must hold that bread is not consecrated by whispering and breathing, but by the clear doctrine of faith. And certainly it is a piece of magic and sorcery, when the consecration is addressed to a dead element; for the bread is not made for itself but for us, a symbol of the body of Christ. In short,

51. Commentary on the Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians, Vol. 1, p. 373.

52. Institutes, 4.17.39. cf. 4.17.15.

consecration is nothing else than a solemn testimony, by which the Lord appoints to us for a spiritual use an earthly and corruptible sign. This cannot take place unless his command and promise are distinctly heard with the purpose of edifying the faithful. 53

The solemn excommunication was a necessary part of understanding the gravity of the sacrament, as was self-examination and confession.⁵⁴ Kilian McDonnell has admirably summarised Calvin's teaching on this point.

The sacrilege of the unworthy who approach the communion table is that they receive the sign of faith without faith, their unworthiness consisting essentially in the fact "that they do not believe that the body is their life". (Ins. 4.17.40). Because the unworthy man is a man without faith and without love he does not, cannot receive the body of Christ which is offered to him. Because the efficacy of the sacrament comes from the power of the Holy Spirit and because this power is manifested in the communicant through faith and love, which are works of the Holy Spirit, there cannot be any eating of the body on the part of the unworthy. Because the unworthy man is a man without faith and without love, he does not, cannot receive the body of Christ which is offered to him. What is objectively offered to him cannot be received, not because he lacks moral righteousness, but because he is devoid of an objective religious gift and disposition: faith and love, which are acts of the Holy Spirit. 55

The duty of a man to prove himself according to the norms of faith does not dispense him from proving himself in relation to a moral concern, in relation to moral striving.

Finally, the worshipper was exhorted to lift his mind to heaven to receive Christ spiritually, Calvin here using Farel's refurbishing of the sursum corda.

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53. Corpus Reformatorum, 45, p. 706, commenting on Matt. 26.26; Quoted by K. McDonnell, John Calvin, the Church, and the Eucharist, Princeton, 1967, p. 236.
54. Institutes, 4.17.40, 42.
55. K. McDonnell, op. cit., pp. 274 - 275.

This latter element was the complete opposite of the 'Epiklesis' of the Classical Anaphoras; whereas the 'Epiklesis' called down the Holy Spirit (or Logos) upon the bread and wine, here the worshipper was exhorted to rise to heaven where the heavenly Christ was seated.⁵⁶ It might be termed an 'anaklesis'.

If we have interpreted Calvin correctly on this point, then on his premises, this was not a digression, but an accurate apprehension of the purpose of Christ's thanksgiving. However, as well as being a rather artificial interpretation of 'thanksgiving', it also represented a complete turning inside out of the Classical Eucharistic Prayer.

The administration followed immediately after the exhortation, the minister being directed to break the bread and give the cup to the people. No words of administration were provided, though in his Strasbourg rite Calvin had the following:

Take, eat, the body of Jesus which has been delivered unto death for you.

This is the cup of the new testament in the blood of Jesus which has been shed for you.

Calvin did not accept Zwingli's interpretation of the Eucharistic presence. For him it was more than mere remembrance; through faith and the Holy Spirit the communicant received what Christ had promised to give, namely the substance of his body and blood.

During the communion some psalms were to be sung, or one of the ministers was to read an appropriate

56. Institutes, 4.17.18.

passage of Scripture. The service concluded with a thanksgiving, being the second of four found in Bucer's 1539 rite, and the Aaronic blessing, both these texts being contained in 'The Forme of Common Prayers'.

At the end of the service there was an apologia for the replacement of the mass by this rite.

Since Calvin's rite was derived mainly from Bucer, it was therefore a direct descendent from the Western rite. However, although of the same parentage, it differed considerably from the Eucharist of the Book of Common Prayer. There was no liturgical calendar, and therefore no variable collects and no selected Epistles and Gospels; gone also were the Kyries, Gloria in excelsis, Sursum corda, preface and Sanctus. Word and Sacrament were separated.

The usage of Strasbourg, with ideas from Oecolampadius and Farel, all refracted through the mind of John Calvin, now appeared alongside the official English revisions.

2. John Knox's Liturgy for Berwick on Tweed, 1550.

John Knox (c.1514-1572) is usually considered as the father of the Reformation in Scotland, and through the Book of Common Order, did much to shape the forms of Scottish worship. But as Peter Lorimer pointed out, 'It is not usually remembered that a large portion of the best and most energetic part of his life was spent in England, and among Englishmen out of England. for ten of the best years of his life and work he was chiefly in contact with English, not with Scottish, minds'.⁵⁷

After studying philosophy at Glasgow, and probably at St. Andrew's, Knox took Orders in the Church.⁵⁸ During the mid 1540's he was influenced by the preaching of Thomas Guillaume and George Wishart, and Wishart's martyrdom in 1546 seems to have been a turning point in his life. In 1547 he became preacher at St. Andrew's, and after the fall of the city to the besieging Catholic forces, was imprisoned as a slave on a French galley. Through the intercession of Edward VI, Knox was released in 1549, and was appointed chaplain to Edward, and it would seem that he was partly responsible for the 'Black Rubric' in the 1552 communion rite.

After the accession of Mary, Knox fled to Geneva. For a short time he was minister to the English exiles at Frankfurt, but after disputes over liturgy, he returned

57. P. Lorimer, John Knox and the Church of England, London, 1875, p. I.

58. The Works of John Knox, ed. D. Laing, 6 Vols., Edinburgh, 1864, (cited as Knox's Works) Vol. 1., Life; P. Lorimer, op. cit.

to Geneva where a group of English Calvinists followed him. His tract The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women, 1558, asserting that government by a woman is contrary to the law of nature and to Divine ordinance, offended Elizabeth I, and Knox was prevented from returning to the English Church; he thus returned to his native Scotland.

During his ministry at Berwick, he drew up a liturgy for use in that city.

Like his fellow reformers, Knox had little idea of the origin and development of the Eucharistic liturgy; it was the Mass which formed practically his whole liturgical knowledge. His views on the Mass are preserved in a statement given before Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall of Durham and the Council of the North in April 1550, entitled A Vindication of the Doctrine that the Sacrifice of the Mass is Idolatry.⁵⁹

Knox had learnt from Wishart that 'in the worship of God, and especially in the administration of the sacraments, the rule prescribed in Holy Scripture is to be observed without addition or diminution, and that the church has no right to devise religious ceremonies and impose significations upon them'.⁶⁰ As with the Calvinist school, Knox therefore made the Word of God alone the criterion for liturgy:

... all whilk is addit to the religioun
of God, without his awn express Word,
is Idolotrie. 61

59. Knox's Works, Vol. 3, pp. 33-70.

60. ibid., Vol. 1, p. 192.

61. ibid., Vol. 3, p. 42.

Thus,

All wirschipping, honoring, or service inventit by the braine of man in the religioun of God, without his own express commandment, is Idolotrie: The Masse is inventit be the braine of man, without any commandement of God: Thairfoir it is Idolatrie. 62

As with Calvin, Knox found particular significance in Paul's words in 1 Cor. 11: 23ff, 'I have received of the Lord..' :

Paule wryting of the Lordis Supper, sayith, Ego accepi a Domino quod et tradidi vobis, "I have ressavit and learnit of the Lord that whilk I have taught you." And consider yf one ceremony he addeth or permitteth to be usit other than Chryst did use him self; but commandeth thame to use with reverence the Lordis institution untill his returnyng to judgement. 63

Knox could not believe that the Mass was of any great antiquity in terms of the Apostles or the Apostolic Fathers:

It will not satisfie the hairtis of all godlie to say, St. James and St Petir celebrated the first Masse in Jerusalem or Antiochia But I sall prove that Pope Sixtus was the first that did institut the aulteris. Felix, the first of that name, did consecrat thame and the tempillis boith. Bonifacius commandit the aulteris to be coverit with cleane clothis. Gregorius Magnus commandit the candellis to be lychtit at the Evangile; and did institute certane clothis. Pontianus commandit confiteor to be said. ... 64

The reading of an Epistle and Gospel was merely a cloak for idolatry.⁶⁵ But it is the Canon missae which Knox found particularly offensive. To begin with, it is late in composition:

62. *ibid.*, p. 34.
 63. *ibid.*, p. 42.
 64. *ibid.*, p. 48.
 65. *ibid.*, p. 51.

Who is the author of the Canon, can
thai precislie tell? Be weill avysit
befoir ye answer, lest by neglecting
your self ye be proved lyaris.
Yf the Canon discendit frome the
Apostillis to the Popes, bold and
maleparte impietie it had bene to haif
addit any thing thairto; for a Canon
is a full and sufficient reule, whilk
in all partes and poyntis is perfyte.
But I will prove dyverse Popes to haif
addit thair portionis to this halie
Canon. 66

He attributed additions to Sergius, Leo, and two
Alexanders. For the saints mentioned in the Communicantes
and Nobis quoque, Knox applied the simple logic that
since many of the saints named in these prayers lived
after the time of the Apostles, they could hardly have
been used by the Apostles themselves.

For who useit to mak mentioun of a man
in his prayeris befoir he be borne? 67

Regarding the words of Institution, Knox denied that they
were 'words of consecration', because Christ never
called them by that name. But in any case, the words
in the Canon were not the words of Christ; ex hoc omnes
was said of the cup, but the Canon applies it to the
bread also, and of course, the laity are denied the cup;
and enim is an addition

Is not this thair awn inventioun, and
addit of thair awn braine? 68

The Canon had omitted the words 'given for you or
broken for you' -

Theis last wordis, whairin standis
our haill comfort. 69

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66. *ibid.*, p. 49.
67. *ibid.*, p. 49.
68. *ibid.*, p. 50.
69. *ibid.*, p. 51.

Knox, like all the reformers, also objected to the sacrificial language of the Canon, which even references to Melchizedek or Malachi could not justify.⁷⁰ Like Luther, Knox insisted that the Eucharist was a gift to men, not a sacrifice to God.⁷¹

From this summary, it is quite evident that Knox had little time for the Mass. He could hardly, then, have been particularly impressed with the Eucharistic liturgy in the 1549 Book of Common Prayer which he found in use in England. It may be this that accounts for the origin of his own 'independent' Eucharistic liturgy which he prepared for Berwick on Tweed in 1550, though Lorimer suggested that the border counties of England were exempted from the obligation of conformity.⁷² Whether Lorimer is correct or not, Knox's liturgy had no other authority than his own.

The text which we have is of a fragmentary nature, there being no rubrics to indicate at what point the administration came, or how. We do know that, contrary to the Prayer Book rite, it was administered sitting at the table.⁷³ The fragment gives the following order:⁷⁴

Sermons of the benefits of God, John 13 - 16.
 'In the name of the Father, and of the Son
 and of the Holy Ghost.'
 Prayer - praise for creation, and redemption;
 petition for faith and thanksgiving.
 1 Cor. 11: 20 - 31.

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70. *ibid.*, pp. 60 - 61.
 71. *ibid.*, p. 65. Cf. Bryan D. Spinks, 'Luther and the Canon of the Mass'.
 72. P. Lorimer, *op. cit.*, pp. 29, 160.
 73. *ibid.*, p. 31; Letter to the Congregation at Berwick, pp. 251 - 265.
 74. Lorimer, pp. 290 - 292.

(Declaration of the Apostle's mind upon
the same place)
Excommunication.
Confession.
Scriptural assurance of forgiveness.
Prayer for the Congregation.
A Prayer for the Queen's majesty.

The 'Prayer for the Queen's majesty' suggests that the copy which has come down to us dates from the reign of Mary, or possibly, Elizabeth.⁷⁵ Peter Lorimer suggested that Knox's A Summary according to the Holy Scriptures of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper may have been used for the 'Declaration of the Apostle's mind'.⁷⁶

This Order seems to have been entirely Knox's own work, for until this time, he had had little contact with continental Reformed worship. However, the sequence Institution - excommunication - confession is not too dissimilar from that of Calvin, Farel, and the rite of Basle.

75. *ibid.*, p. 292.

76. *ibid.*, p. 292.

3. The Liturgy of Compromise, 1555.

With the death of Edward VI, the plans of the English reformers came to an abrupt end; Edwardian legislation was repealed, and Queen Mary retraced the steps that led to Rome. The 1552 Book of Common Prayer was replaced by the old Latin service books; its Eucharistic liturgy was replaced by the Mass. However, the 1552 book did not entirely disappear. It remained in use in some churches in Scotland; and, as G. J. Cuming has said, 'on the continent its history was more eventful'.⁷⁷ Indeed, it was to the Continent that a group of English Calvinists fled:

and, in the year of our Lord 1554, and the 27th of June, came EDMUND SUTTON, WILLIAM WILLIAMS, WILLIAM WHITTINGHAM, and THOMAS WOOD, with their companies, to the City of Frankfort in Germany; 78

This company at Frankfurt had in its possession some copies of Huycke's work.⁷⁹ The ensuing liturgical struggle is recorded for us in A Brief Discours off the Troubles begonne at Frankford in Germany Anno Domini 1554. Traditionally attributed to William Whittingham,⁸⁰ A Brief Discourse represented the beginning of the conflict between those who remained content with the provisions of the Book of Common Prayer, and those who wished for further reform

77. G. J. Cuming, A History of Anglican Liturgy, p. 117.

78. A Brief Discours off the Troubles begonne at Frankford in Germany Anno Domini 1554, abowte the Booke off Common Prayer and Ceremonies, ed. E. Arber, 1908, p. 23. Cited as A Brief Discourse.

79. *ibid.*, p. 42.

80. For a discussion on authorship, see P. Collinson, 'The Authorship of A Brief Discours off the Troubles Begonne at Frankford', in JEH, 9 (1958), pp. 188-208.

along the lines of the Genevan liturgy.

Professor Edward Arber, who edited A Brief Discourse, stated that 'it records the very beginning of the Rift between the English Conformists and Nonconformists; or, to put it in other words, the Origin of English Puritanism'.⁸¹

Whittingham and his fellow exiles had come to Frankfurt-on-the-Main after hearing that the magistrates there had granted the use of their Church of the White Ladies to Valerand Poullain and his congregation of French exiles. Seeking a similar privilege, the English were granted the use of the French church on alternate days,

But it was with this commandment, That the English should not dissent from the Frenchmen in Doctrine and Ceremonies. 82

Having organised themselves into a church with officers, the exiles then faced the problem of what Order of Service they should use.

At length, the English Order (1552) was persued; and this, by common consent, was concluded:

That the answering aloud after the Minister should not be used: the Litany, Surplice, and many other things also omitted: for that, in those Reformed Churches, such things would seem more than strange. It was farther agreed upon, that the Minister, in place of the English Confession, should use another, both of more effect, and also framed according to the state and time. And the same ended; the people to sing a

81. op. cit., p. xii. For the view that A Brief Discourse is a projection back into the reign of Mary of the controversies of the late 1560's and 1570's, M. A. Simpson, John Knox and the Troubles Begun at Frankfurt, West Linton, Tweeddale, 1975.

82. ibid., p. 24.

Psalm in metre in a plain tune; as was, and is accustomed in the French, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, and Scottish, Churches. That done, the Minister to pray for the assistance of GOD's HOLY SPIRIT; and so to proceed to the Sermon.

After the Sermon, a General Prayer for all Estates, and for our country of England, was also devised: at the end of which Prayer, was joined the Lord's Prayer, and a rehearsal of the Articles of our Belief. Which ended, the people to sing another Psalm as afore. Then the Minister pronouncing his blessing, 'The peace of GOD,' etc., or some other of like effect; the people to depart.

And as touching the Ministration of the Sacraments; sundry things were also, by common consent, omitted, as superstitious and superfluous. 83

The significance of this order has been aptly put by W. D. Maxwell:

In structure and content this first order of service is distinctly Calvinistic, and while its connexion with the BCP is extremely slight what connexion there exists is with Ante-Communion and not with Matins. 84

It was in fact a similar type of order to Calvin's Form of Prayers.

After organising themselves, this Frankfurt congregation sent out a general letter to other English exiles, inviting them to come to Frankfurt, in the meantime appointing John Knox and Thomas Lever as ministers. Knox, having fled from England, was at this time in exile at Geneva, and Lever was at Zurich.

However, some of the exiles at Zurich and Strasbourg, on being invited to join the English Church at Frankfurt,

83. *ibid.*, pp. 24 - 25.

84. W. D. Maxwell, The Liturgical Portions of the Genevan Service Book, p. 4.

were prepared to come only if the 1552 Book of Common Prayer was used in full. Thus, from those at Zurich:

If, upon the receipt hereof, ye shall (without cloak or forged pretence; but only to seek CHRIST) advertise us, by your Letters, that our being there is so needful as ye have already signified, and that we may all together serve and praise GOD as freely and as uprightly (whereof private Letters received lately from Frankfort make us much to doubt) as the Order last taken in the Church of England permitteth and prescribeth - for we are fully determined to admit and use no other - 85

This in turn led to disputes among the Frankfurt congregation as to which order they would ultimately use.

At length, it was agreed that the Order of Geneva which then was already printed in English, and some copies there among them, should take place, as an Order most godly, and farthest off from superstition. 86

But Master KNOX, being spoken unto, as well to put that Order in practice as to minister the Communion, refused to do either the one or the other; Neither yet would he minister the Communion by the Book of England; for that there were things in it placed, as he said, 'only by warrant of Man's authority, and no ground in GOD's Word for the same; and had also a long time very superstitiously in the Mass been wickedly abused. 87

In fact, according to Knox, there were in the English book 'things superstitious, impure, unclean, and unperfect'.⁸⁸ Thus the disputation was prolonged.

Eventually it was decided that:

85. A Brief Discourse, p. 33.

86. ibid., p. 42.

87. ibid.

88. 'A Narrative of the Proceedings of the English Congregation at Frankfort in March, 1555' in Knox's Works, Vol. IV., p. 43.

Master KNOX, Master WHITTINGHAM, Master GILBY, Master FOX, and Master T. COLE, should draw forth some Order meet for their state and time.

Which thing was by them accomplished, and offered to the Congregation; being the same Order of Geneva, which is now in print.

This Order was very well liked by many; but such as were bent to the Book of England could not abide it.

In the end, another way was taken by the Congregation; which was that Master KNOX and Master WHITTINGHAM, Master PARRY and Master LEVER, should devise some Order, if it might be, to end all strife and contention. 89

Finally we are informed:

Whereupon, after some conference, an Order was agreed upon: some part taken forth of the English Book; and other things put to, as the state of that Church required. Yea, the holy Communion was, upon this happy agreement, also ministered. And this friendship continued till the 13th of March following. 90

It was this Order that the Scottish liturgiologist, G. W. Sprott, so fittingly named The Liturgy of Compromise.⁹¹ We are concerned here with the Eucharistic liturgy of this order.

From A Brief Discourse it is possible to glean some information as to the reasons for the rejection of the 1552 Book of Common Prayer. It has already been noted that Huycke's version of the Genevan order was in their possession, 'an Order most godly, and farthest off from

89. A Brief Discourse, p. 52.

90. ibid., p. 53.

91. Ed. H. J. Wotherspoon and G. W. Sprott, bound with the 1552 BCP, 1905. For the view that this liturgy really belongs to the late 1560's, Simpson op. cit., p.8.

superstition', and presumably they preferred this latter.⁹²

Although the 'Genevan' party at Frankfurt did not outrightly reject the Book of Common Prayer, nevertheless, they could not use it in full. To the English exiles at Zurich they explained:

As touching the effect of the Book, we desire the execution thereof as much as you, so far as GOD's Word doth commend it: but as for the unprofitable Ceremonies, as well by his consent as by ours, are not to be used. 93

They believed that but for King Edward's untimely death, further reforms would have been carried out:

And if GOD had not, in these wicked days, otherwise determined, they would hereafter have changed more: yea, and in our case, we doubt not but that they would have done the like. 94

From the Frankfurt exiles came the rumour of the existence of a third Prayer Book, 'a hundred times more perfect' than that of 1552.⁹⁵

The particular objections to the communion service of the Prayer Book were partly revealed in a summary, or plat, which the exiles sent to Calvin for his opinion:

Now the manner of the Supper is thus. The number of Three, at the least, is counted a fit number to communicate: and yet it is permitted, the pestilence or some other common sickness being among the people, the Minister alone may communicate with the sick man in his house.

92. A Brief Discourse, p. 42.

93. ibid., p. 37.

94. ibid.

95. ibid., p. 75.

First, therefore, the Minister must be prepared after this manner, in a white linen garment, as in saying the other Service he is appointed; and must stand at the North side of the Table.

Then it had the Lord's Prayer, after the custom. Then he reciteth the Collect; and after follow in order The Ten Commandments: but so notwithstanding that every one of the people may answer 'Lord, have mercy upon us; and incline our hearts to keep this law!'

After the rehearsal of the Commandments; the Collect of the Day, as it is called, and another for the King, are had. By and by the Epistle and Gospel followeth: to wit, such as the Calendar appointeth for that day.

And there in this place, there is a note, that every Holy Day hath his Collect, Epistle, and Gospel; which fill seventy-three great leaves of the Book, when the rest scarce fifty. For all Holy Days are now in like use, as were among the Papists; only very few excepted.

Then he goeth forth to the Creed; and after that, to the Sermon, if there be any.

Afterwards, the Parish Priest biddeth the Holy Days and Fasts on their Eves; if there be any that week. And here the Book warneth, That none defraud the Parish Priest of his due or right; specially on those Feast Days that are dedicated to offerings.

Then followeth, A Prayer for the state of the Church Militant; and that without a long heap and mixture of matters: until they come, after a certain Confession of Sins, to

'Lift up your hearts!'

The people answering, 'We give thanks to the Lord,

'Let us give thanks to our Lord GOD!'

The answer, 'It is very meet, right, and our bounded duty,' etc.: and so

the Preface, according to the Feast, is added.

Afterwards, he saith, 'Therefore with Angels and Archangels'; and so ended with Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord GOD'; till he come to, 'Hosanna in the highest!'

Now the Priest boweth his knee; acknowledging our unworthiness in the name of all that shall receive: and, setting out GOD's mercy, he beseecheth GOD that our body be made clean by his body, and that our souls may be washed through His blood.

And then he again standeth up, and taketh in hand afresh another Prayer appointed for this purpose; in which are contained the Words of the Institution.

All which being done, he first communicateth: then by and by, he saith to another kneeling, 'Take and eat this, in remembrance that CHRIST died for thee: and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving.'

Now, about the end, the Lord's Prayer is again used, the Minister saying it aloud, and all the people following.

To conclude. They have a giving of thanks in the end; with 'Glory to GOD in the highest!', as it was used among the Papists.

If it happen that there be no Sermon; only a few things are omitted: but all other things are done in order as aforesaid. 96

The summary betrays a dislike of collects, Epistles and Gospels, together with the liturgical calendar; the reference to the Gloria in excelsis 'as it was used among the Papists' suggests that any remnant of the Mass was suspect.

The Eucharist rite in the Liturgy of Compromise had the following order:

Collect for Purity.
 Ten Commandments.
 A Prayer for the time, and the whole State
 of Christ's Church.
 Nicene Creed.
 Exhortation 'We come together at this time
 dearly beloved'.
 (Sometimes the Exhortation 'Dearly beloved
 forasmuch as')
 Exhortation 'Dearly beloved in the Lord ye
 that mind'.
 Exhortation to Confession, 'Ye that do truly'.
 Confession 'Almighty God the Father of our
 Lord Jesus Christ'.
 Absolution 'Almighty God, our heavenly
 Father'.
 Comfortable Words.
 Communion Devotion 'We do not presume'
 (Humble Access).

The remainder of the order follows the 1552 order.

In this compromise rite, we find that the word 'priest' has been replaced by 'Minister', and everything having any connection with the liturgical calendar had been removed. The collect, Epistle and Gospel were replaced by 'A Prayer for the Time, and the whole state of Christ's Church'; and after the comfortable words, the Sursum corda, preface, proper preface and Sanctus disappeared, probably because of their connection with the liturgical calendar, but possibly simply because they were used in the Mass.⁹⁷ The Gloria in excelsis

97. A. E. Peaston, The Prayer Book Tradition in the Free Churches, 1964, p. 14, suggested that the placing of the 'Prayer of Humble Access' after the comfortable words anticipated their position in the Deposited Book of 1928. Pace Mr. Peaston, this seems to illustrate one of the dangers of comparative liturgy. On the one hand, in the Liturgy of Compromise, a Puritan work, the sequence was the result of the abolition of the Sursum corda - Sanctus. On the other hand, in the Deposited Book, the result of years of Tractarian demand for enrichment, the sequence was

seems to have been retained.

The alterations to the text of the 1552 rite were slight; nevertheless they represent an 'independent', Puritan adaptation of the Book of Common Prayer.

the result of a deliberate repositioning of the 'Prayer of Humble Access'. The resulting sequence, as Mr. Peaston observed, is the same; the motive for alteration was rather different! Any 'anticipation' of 1928 on the part of the authors of the Liturgy of Compromise was purely by accident.

4. The Genevan Service Book, 1556.

At one particular stage of the liturgical disputes among the English exiles at Frankfurt we learn that a decision was taken to the effect that:

Master KNOX, Master WHITTINGHAM,
Master GILBY, Master FOX and
Master T. COLE, should draw forth some
Order meet for their state and time.

Which thing was by them accomplished,
and offered to the Congregation; being
the same Order of Geneva, which is now
in print. 98

The liturgy here referred to, known as the 'Genevan Service Book',⁹⁹ was drawn up for the use of the congregation and to replace all previous orders, viz. 1552, the exiles own amended service, and Huycke's translation of Calvin. However, it was too far removed from the Prayer Book for some of the congregation, and therefore the Liturgy of Compromise came into being. With the arrival of Dr. Cox with a large number of pro-Prayer Book exiles, the Liturgy of Compromise was ousted by the 1552 rite, and Knox was expelled, taking refuge in Geneva. Some of the Calvinist exiles joined him in Geneva, and there founded an English Church with Knox as their minister, later succeeded by William Whittingham. For their worship, they revised the book referred to above; with a new preface it appeared in 1556 printed by John Crespin.

98. A Brief Discourse, p. 52.

99. The full title is: The Forme of Prayers and Ministrations of the Sacraments, &c., used in the English Congregation at Geneva, and approved by the famous and godly learned man, John Calvyn.

The book itself is often referred to as 'John Knox's Genevan Service Book'. However, it should be noted that Knox was only one of five compilers. Lorimer commented upon Knox's involvement:

In its published form it was substantially, probably all but verbally, the same (except the Preface) which had been prepared at Frankfurt; and in determining the substance and arrangement of that draft, it cannot be doubted that his influence was paramount, The style, however, we do not claim to be his; it is much smoother and fluenter than his English style ever became, and was, in all probability, from the accomplished pen of Whittingham, to whom the Preface is usually ascribed . 100

Lorimer's suggestion that Whittingham may have been responsible for the final text which appeared in 1556 is certainly feasible; Whittingham, later Dean of Durham, translated the New Testament into English at Geneva, and had prepared some psalms in metre. His literary skills may well have been brought to bear upon the 1556 Genevan Service Book.

The text of the Genevan Service Book has been edited by W. D. Maxwell, and it is this edition which we have used here.¹⁰¹

The Genevan Service Book, at least with regard to the Morning service and the Eucharistic rite, was basically that of Calvin, 'with certain rearrangements and additions peculiar to itself'.¹⁰² As in Calvin's

100. Lorimer, op. cit., p. 212.

101. W. D. Maxwell, The Liturgical Portions of the Genevan Service Book.

102. ibid., p. 51.

liturgy, the Sunday Morning service and the Eucharistic liturgy belonged together, but were separated physically in the liturgical book by the rite of Baptism, and by the fact that communion was celebrated only once a month - a more frequent celebration of the rite than Calvin was able to establish.

The Sunday Morning Service.

A Confession of our synnes, framed to our tyme,
out of the 9. chap. of Daniel.
or An other Confession, for all states and tymes.
Psalm.
Prayer for illumination.
(Lection and)
Sermon.
A Prayer for the whole estate of Christes
Churches.
Lord's Prayer.
Creed.
Psalm.
Aaronic Blessing and the Grace.

The structure of the Morning service is almost identical with Calvin's La Forme, and we know that the compilers had before them Huycke's translation of Calvin.

The first confession was an innovation; being based upon Daniel 9, it may possibly have originated in the first order of service drawn up by the exiles on their arrival at Frankfurt, which contained a confession 'in place of the English Confession both of more effect, and also framed according to the state and time'.¹⁰³ W. D. Maxwell drew attention to the fact that John à Lasco's Forma ac ratio, published at Frankfurt in 1555, although itself not containing such a confession,

103. A Brief Discourse, pp. 24 - 25.

does allude to a confession as in Daniel 9, and may have suggested the idea to the compilers.¹⁰⁴ The second confession was based on Huycke and Calvin, though the latter part was an independent addition by the compilers, serving the purpose of an absolution.¹⁰⁵

The 'Prayer for the whole estate of Christes Church' after the sermon was in place of Calvin's long Prayer. It was followed immediately by the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, and it too might have belonged to the original service compiled by the exiles:

After the Sermon, a General Prayer for all Estates, and for our country of England, was also devised: at the end of which Prayer was joined the Lord's Prayer, and a rehearsal of the Articles of our Belief. 106

Perhaps this was the same prayer of the Liturgy of Compromise which was entitled 'A Prayer for the time, and the whole state of Christ's Church'.

The overall nature of this service has been admirably described by Horton Davies:

This form of service is Calvinistic in three main characteristics. It is Biblical, didactic and congregational. Its Biblical basis is seen in the opening Confession of Sins, based largely on the 9th chapter of the Book of Daniel; in the use of metrical psalms; and in the preference for Biblical Blessings as compared with the Anglican Blessing ... It is didactic in that the climax of the service is approached by a prayer for Illumination, and reached in the reading and exposition

104. Maxwell, op. cit., p. 94.
 105. *ibid.*, pp. 95, 97.
 106. A Brief Discourse, p. 25.

of the Word of God; whilst the Apostles' Creed immediately precedes the closing acts of worship. Its congregational character is shown by the singing of two metrical psalms and by the particular intercessions for the members of the mystical Body of Christ in the Intercessory Prayer, as also in the personal and intimate petition with which this prayer opens. The clearest indication of Calvinism is, of course, the extreme statement of the doctrine of original sin so dominant in the Confession with which the service begins. 107

As in the case of the Morning service, the 1556 Eucharistic rite was closely modelled upon that of Calvin's Genevan rite; as with Calvin, it presupposed that the rite was to be added to the Morning service, not substituted for it. However, although Calvin's rite had suggested the structure and much of the content of this rite, there were distinct differences.

The Maner of the Lordes Supper.

(after the Creed and psalm).
 Institution Narrative.
 Exhortation with excommunication.
 Eucharistic Prayer.
 Fraction and delivery; reading of
 Scripture during delivery.
 Thanksgiving.
 Psalm 103 or a similar psalm.
 Blessing (from the Morning service).

To the Reader (note).

The Institution Narrative was now quite distinct from the exhortation, and as the note 'To the Reader' confirms, was read as a warrant for the rite. Its separation from the exhortation was made distinct by a rubric:

This done, the minister proceadith to
 the exhortation.

107. Horton Davies, The Worship of the English Puritans, p. 119.

The exhortation itself was taken in part from the third exhortation of the 1552 communion rite, and the remainder from Calvin. After the exhortation, a rubric directed the minister to come down from the pulpit, go to the table, and sitting at the table, take the bread and wine and give thanks; the communicants were also to sit at the table. Thus, the Institution Narrative was not read in association with the elements, and could not be regarded as a 'consecration'; it was addressed to the Church as the Divine command for the rite to take place. Knox's practice of sitting for communion introduced at Berwick was continued here.

There followed a Eucharistic Prayer, a feature which was an innovation to Calvin's rite. It would appear that the compilers, while recognising that an exhortation was desirable, felt that it could not be a substitute for a 'Eucharistia' to God before the delivery. In obedience to the scriptural accounts, the compilers restored the sequence of taking, thanksgiving, and delivery.

With the Eucharistic Prayers of the Classical rites in mind, W. D. Maxwell has drawn attention to the similar themes found in this prayer: adoration, thanksgiving for creation and redemption, commemoration of the incarnation, death, resurrection, and the Last Supper, with an ascription of praise; and the Roman Catholic liturgical scholar, Louis Bouyer, has also remarked that there 'seems to be a direct echo of those

of Christian antiquity' in this prayer.¹⁰⁸ Despite these observations, the likelihood of there being any conscious echo is highly remote.

The prayer does appear to have been the work of the compilers themselves, but W. D. Maxwell is incorrect in his assertion that it is not derived from any known source.¹⁰⁹ The first part of the Prayer was based upon the first prayer of Knox's Berwick liturgy:

Berwick

Omnypotent and everlasting God, whome all creatures do know and confesse thee to be Governor and Lorde, but we thy creatures, created to thyne own image and symilitude, ought at all tymes to feare, adore, love and prayse thye godlye Majestie - fyrst for owr creation, but principally for own redemption when we were dead and lost by sin.

1556

O Father of mercye and God of all consolation, seinge all creatures do confesse thee, as governor, and lorde, it becommeth us the workmanship of thyne own handes, at all tymes to reverence and magnifie thy godli maistie, first that thou haste created us to thyne own Image and similitude: but chieflye that thou haste delivered us from everlasting death and damnation into the which Satan drewe mankinde by the meane of synne:

After the Eucharistic Prayer, the minister was directed to break the bread and give it to the people who distributed it and the cup among themselves 'accordinge to our saviour Christes comandement'; this may refer to the use of scriptural words of delivery, for no words were provided.

108. W. D. Maxwell, op. cit., p. 134; Louis Bouyer, Eucharist. Theology and Spirituality of the Eucharistic Prayer, ET C. U. Quinn, Notre Dame Indiana, 1968, p. 422. When Stephen Mayor, The Lord's Supper in Early English Dissent, 1972, p. 9, asserts that there is an 'Epiklesis' in the prayer, he has misread both the text and Maxwell's comments.

109. W. D. Maxwell, op. cit., p. 134.

The thanksgiving which came after the communion was that of Calvin's rite, and the service concluded with a blessing as contained in the Morning service.

The note 'To the Reader' served as an apologia for the rite, possibly inspired by that in Calvin's liturgy. The reader is informed that in this liturgy the error of the papists is rejected, and a return to the primitive form of celebration has been made. The Institution Narrative is read, not to consecrate the elements, but as a warrant. It is a rite which is in accordance with the Word of God:

So that without his Woorde, and warrante,
there is nothyng in this holy action
attempted.

It would seem, however, that the rite was not inspired solely by the Word of God, but was greatly indebted to Calvin's La Forme, possibly the first liturgy compiled by the Frankfurt congregation, the 1552 Book of Common Prayer, and in at least one place, Knox's Berwick liturgy. The resulting order, in its structure and content, is without doubt, Genevan.

From the above consideration of these four Eucharistic Liturgies, we may make the following observations:

(1) These English Eucharistic liturgies, having only the authority of the translator (Huycke), author, (Knox), or compilers (Liturgy of Compromise and the Genevan Service Book) may rightly be described as 'independent' in the widest sense of the word. Insofar as they were the work of Calvinists appealing to the

'Word of God', then they belong to the Puritan, and Independent (in the stricter sense of the word) tradition. They may be divided into two types of liturgy: The Genevan (Huycke, Knox and the Genevan Service Book), and the Book of Common Prayer, suitably adapted, (Liturgy of Compromise).

(2) The authors or compilers of these liturgies believed that they were restoring the Eucharist to its apostolic and early Christian form, simply by their appeal to Scripture. Calvin could claim:

Ainsi donques tout l'ordre et la rayson
d'administrer la Cene nous est notoyre
par l'institution d'icelle, aussi avec
l'administration de L'eglise ancienne des
Apostres, des Martirs et des saintz Peres. 110

Similarly, the Genevan Service Book appealed to Christ's institution and St. Paul's rule. However, for the modern scholar, these claims have very little to support them. There is no evidence to suggest that the compilers were at all interested in any examination of liturgy which can remotely be described as historic or academic. Insofar as they made no attempt to reintroduce a meal into the Lord's Supper, their appeal to Scripture was selective. A study of these texts reveals the very opposite of the compilers' appeal to antiquity. Through Bucer, and the influence of Oecolampadius's and Farel's use of Pronaus, many elements of these rites represent merely a 'protestantisation' of medieval elements. Gregory Dix has commented upon Reformed rites:

110. Corpus Reformatorum, Calvini Opera VI, pp. 195-6.

Their compilers were far more concerned to follow what they regarded as 'scriptural warrant' than anything within the liturgical tradition against which they were in revolt. But the Reformers themselves thought largely in terms of the Western tradition within which they had been trained. In consequence their rites all reveal under technical analysis not 'primitive' characteristics at all, nor anything akin to the special Eastern tradition, but a marked dependence on the basic Western liturgical tradition at a particular stage late in its development. 111

So for example in Calvin via Bucer we see the development of the Confiteor and the use of exhortatory material developed from the Orate Fratres.

(3) These liturgies were already shorn of many of the traditional features of the Eucharistic liturgy, - Gloria in excelsis, salutations, Sanctus, Benedictus and Agnus Dei. With the rejection of the liturgical calendar there also disappeared collects, and selected Epistles and Gospels.

(4) With regard to Calvin's rite and the Genevan Service Book, these two liturgies were derived from the Mass; the Morning service was not from the Divine Office, but from the Synaxis. However, the Calvinist tradition failed to restore weekly communion to the Church. Whereas the Mass was celebrated frequently, but communion by the laity was infrequent, the Reformed liturgies simply accepted infrequent communion and accordingly had infrequent celebration of the Eucharist.

111. G. Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy, p. 10.

The result with regard to the liturgical texts was the separation of Word and Sacrament. They were indeed intended to be joined in one rite, but it would be a temptation to regard them as two quite separate services.

(5) The confession which rehearsed original sin, the fall, and redemption, and the exhortation before communion, emphasise the didactic element which was introduced into Reformed liturgy. As Stephen Mayor has observed, there is a total subordination of act to word - human word.

The protest against a degree of ceremonial which concealed rather than revealed the nature of the rite was no doubt justified, but in the Puritan versions of the Supper the acts which are an essential part of it disappear equally effectively behind a barrage of preaching and verbose praying. It is difficult not to feel that there was here a superstition of the voice. 112

What is more, this wordiness belonged to the minister; the congregation had little to say other than an occasional 'Amen'.

(6) Calvin's rite, Knox's Berwick liturgy and the Genevan Service Book represent Reformed liturgies of a quite different ethos from that of the Book of Common Prayer. Calvin may have derived his rite from the same source as Cranmer, but the results were quite different. This was the underlying grievance of the Puritan tradition. In the Liturgy of Compromise we see Cranmer brought nearer to Geneva.

APPENDIX

A Comparison between the Exhortation of Calvin and Farel; translation from Bard Thompson, Liturgies of the Western Church, pp. 205 - 207; 219 - 223.

CALVIN

Let us hear how Jesus Christ instituted His holy Supper for us, as St. Paul relates it in the eleventh chapter of First Corinthians:

Therefore, following that precept, in the name and by the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ, I excommunicate all idolaters blasphemers and despisers of God, all heretics and those who create private sects in order to break the unity of the Church, all perjurers, all who rebel against father or mother or superior, all who promote sedition or mutiny; brutal and disorderly persons, adulterers, lewd and lustful men, thieves, ravishers, greedy and grasping people, drunkards, gluttons, and all those who lead a scandalous and dissolute life. I warn them to abstain from this Holy Table, lest they defile and contaminate the holy food which our Lord Jesus Christ gives to none except they belong to His household of faith.

FAREL

Hear how our Lord Jesus Christ has instituted His Holy Supper, as it is written in I Corinthians, the eleventh chapter:

On the other hand, all those who do not have true faith must not presume at all to come to the Holy Table, pretending and falsely testifying to be members of the body of Jesus Christ to which they do not belong. Such are: all idolaters who worship and serve other than the one God; all perjurers; the slothful who serve no purpose and are of no account, though they could be; all who are disobedient to their father and mother and to those whom God has purposely appointed to rule over us without contravening His authority; all ruffians, quarrelsome persons who unjustly beat and smite their neighbours, whom they hate; all lechers; the intemperate who live dissolutely in their eating and drinking; all thieves who work damage and injury upon their neighbours; all false witnesses and perpetrators of crimes; and all those who live wickedly and contrary to the holy commandments of God, who do not intend to obey His holy law nor live according to His Word by following the holy Gospel, like true children of God. Let them not presume to approach

CALVINFAREL

Moreover, in accordance with the exhortation of St. Paul, let every man examine and prove his own conscience to see whether he truly repents of his faults Above all let him see whether he has his trust in the mercy of God...

And yet, we may be conscious of much frailty and misery in ourselves, such that we do not have perfect faith, but are inclined toward defiance and unbelief, or that we do not devote ourselves wholly to the service of God and with such zeal as we ought, but have to fight daily against the lusts of our flesh.

To do so, let us lift our spirits and hearts on high where Jesus Christ is in the glory of His Father, whence we expect Him at our redemption. Let us not be fascinated by these earthly and corruptible elements which we see with our eyes and touch with our hands, seeking Him as though He were enclosed in the bread or wine.

this Holy Table, to which only those are to come who really belong to the body of Christ, united and rooted in Him by true and living faith which works through love. (For it shall be to their judgment and condemnation if they come here; and they shall be rejected as traitors and the successors of Judas).

Let everyone take heed of himself and inquire whether he believes completely ... that God is gracious unto us, that his wrath is appeased by the blessed Saviour Jesus ...

Yet, while we abide in this world, surrounded by this body of death and sin, we are all poor sinners and cannot say that we are without sin.

Therefore, lift up your hearts on high, seeking the heavenly things in heaven, where Jesus Christ is seated at the right hand of the Father; and do not fix your eyes on the visible signs which are corrupted through usage.

CHAPTER 5

PURITANISM AND THE EUCHARISTIC LITURGY IN ENGLAND:
THE SIXTEENTH AND EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

We wilbe tried by the best reformed Churches.

The true report of our Examination, 1567
in A Parte of a Register, Middleburg, 1593, p. 35.

Puritanism and the Eucharistic Liturgy in England: The Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries.

In both its structure and content, the 1559 communion service of the Prayer Book, unaltered in 1604, was substantially that of 1552. The latter had sought to exclude any notion of the sacrifice of the Mass and of presence within the elements of bread and wine. Cranmer had regarded these two doctrines as being the roots of popery, which if removed, would effectively destroy it:

But what availeth it to take away beads, pardons, pilgrimages, and such other like popery, so long as two chief roots remain unpulled up? Whereof, so long as they remain, will spring again all former impediments of the Lord's harvest, and corruption of his flock. The rest is but branches and leaves, the cutting away whereof is but like topping and lopping of a tree, or cutting down of weeds, leaving the body standing and the roots in the ground; but the very body of the tree, or rather the roots of the weeds, is the popish doctrine of transubstantiation, of the real presence of Christ's flesh and blood in the sacrament of the altar (as they call it), and of the sacrifice and oblation of Christ made by the priest, for the salvation of the quick and the dead. 1

Part of the effective removal of these two doctrines had been the last minute inclusion of the 'Black' rubric concerning kneeling.

The Puritans, being firmly protestant, found no quarrel with these doctrinal changes in the Eucharistic liturgy.² However, the removal of the 'Black' rubric in

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1. T. Cranmer, On the Lord's Supper, p. 6.
 2. For a general survey of Puritan Eucharistic Theology, E. Brooks Holifield, The Covenant Sealed: The Development of Puritan Sacramental Theology in Old and New England, 1570 - 1720, New Haven and London, 1974.

1559 caused them some consternation. Query 61 of A Survey of the Booke of Common Prayer, 1606³ asked whether kneeling for communion was lawful according to the Word of God,

Seeing it is contrary to the example, not only of such reformed Churches, as condemne consubstantiation as well as Transubstantiation with whom there ought to be conformitie as well as amongst our selves, but also of Christ himselfe, and his Apostles who ministred and (of purpose) received sitting. 4

The author of Reasons against kneeling at the receipt of the Communion maintained that

Whatsoever is destitute either of commandement or example out of Gods word, is not to be done: The ground of this maior is the place of Deut. 12. ver. 32. Therefore whatsoever I commaund you, take heed you doe it: thou shalt put nothing thereto, nor take ought therefrom. And this place, Rom. 14. ver. 23. Whatsoever is not of faith, the selfe same is sinne: meaning by the terme faith, a certaine and an assured perswasion setled and builded upon Gods worde, which alone is the obiect and ground of conscience. 5

He continued:

But kneeling at the Communion is voide either of commandement or example out of the worde. 6

The writer appealed to Chrysostom, the Reformed Churches of France, Flanders, Hungary, Poland, Berne, Zurich, Savoy and Scotland, as well as to the authority of Bullinger and Beza to justify sitting for reception. Field and Wilcox had similarly complained:

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3. A Survey of the Booke of Common Prayer, By way of 197, queres grounded upon 58, places, London, 1606. Cited as A Survey.
 4. ibid., p. 73.
 5. in PR, pp. 410 - 411, p. 410.
 6. ibid.

In this booke we are enjoined to receave the Communion kneeling, which beside that it hath in it a shew of papisterie doth not so wel expresse the misterie of this holy Supper. 7

These two writers had argued that sitting was the correct posture for reception because it signified rest and the perfect work of redemption. On the other hand, the Lincoln ministers who petitioned James I appealed to Dionysius of Alexandria to justify standing for reception.⁸

However, had the 'Black' rubric been restored, it is doubtful whether the Puritans would have been satisfied; it is apparent that the criticism was not primarily concerned with whether or not kneeling implied transubstantiation, but rather with the question of whether or not it had scriptural authority. Whereas for Cranmer, it had been sufficient to remove two doctrines from the liturgy, for the Puritan every remaining item in the liturgy must have scriptural authority. The Puritan Vicar of Wandsworth, John Edwine, therefore maintained:

There are some thinges in the booke of common prayer that are against the worde of God, and therefore repugnant to the worde of God. 9

And similarly it was with the criterion of scriptural authority in mind that Anthony Gilby, once a Frankfurt exile, alleged that in the Book of Common Prayer the Holy Sacraments were 'mixed with mens traditions'.¹⁰

The judgment of the 1559 communion service by the

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7. An Admonition to the Parliament, 1572, ed. Frere and Douglas, op. cit., p. 24.
 8. An Abridgment of that Booke which the Ministers of Lincoln Diocess delivered to his Maiestie upon the first of December last, London, 1605, p. 60.
 9. The true report of a conference had betweene the B. of Wintchester and John Edwine, Vicare and Minister of Wandsworths in Surr. 30 Aprilis 1584, in SPR, (161).
 10. A. Gilbie, A Viewe of Antichrist his lawes and ceremonies in our Church unreformed, in PR, p. 62.

criterion of scriptural authority had two implications for the Puritans. First, the English liturgy should be compared with those of the Reformed Churches which ordered things according to the Word of God. Thus one Puritan author demanded:

Let the admystration of the sacraments, joyned with the preaching of the worde, be simplie and syncerelye admynistred, accordinge to the rule thereof, our Liturgye being examyned accordinge to that touchstone (i.e. Scripture) and the example of other apostolique and reformed Churches. 11

The Plumber's Hall congregation had declared:

We wilbe tried by the best reformed Churches. 12

and the 1587 Bill for the further reformation of the Church of England alleged,

Furthermore, the saied booke of Common praier and Ordination of ministers differeth from the simplicitie and sinceritie of Gods service and from the example of all reformed Churches, 13

The second implication was that as far as the Puritans were concerned, a Eucharistic liturgy which had been reformed according to the Word of God would have little in common with the Roman Catholic Mass. The Latin Mass had been abrogated by Law, but Catholic priests from the English Seminary at Rheims said Mass in secret for the Recusants; the Puritans also complained that in some parishes within the Church of England Mass was still said,¹⁴

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11. Notes of the Corruptions of these our bookes to which the mynisters are urged to subscribe, as not repugnant to the worde, SPR. (140).
 12. The true report of our Examination, 1567, in PR, p. 35.
 13. A Bill for the further reformation of the Church, offered with the booke in the Parliament. A. 1587. SPR, (231)
 14. A Comfortable epistle written by Mai. D. W. Doctor of Divinitie, 1570, PR, p. 9.

and in other places the 1559 communion service was disguised as a Mass.¹⁵

The Puritans certainly had no love of the content of the Mass. The Kyrie eleison was to be rejected because Gregory acknowledged that he had himself introduced it, six hundred years after Christ, and for clerks only, not the people.¹⁶ The Benedictus and Hosannah had been abused; there are in Scripture two comings of Christ, the Incarnation and the Second Coming; but in the Mass this anthem had been made to refer to a blasphemous third coming - transubstantiation.¹⁷ The Canon missae, since it supported the sacrifice of the Mass for the living and the dead, and transubstantiation, could not be considered as a Eucharistic Prayer. Comparing it with the prayer of Christ in John 17, William Fulke stated:

The Canon of the Masse, is too base to be matched with this divine praier of our Saviour Christ, which yet followed his Supper, and not went before it as the Popish Canon, beginneth before consecration. 18

Even the most scriptural parts of the Mass did not redeem it in the eyes of the Puritans; referring to the Sanctus, Thomas Cartwright pronounced:

These words in your Masse and other mash of yours is like a gold ring in a swines snout. And it is one of her harlots trickes to overlay her writhen and wrinckled face with the faire colours of goodlie words, if happily hee may snare some fooles that know not her filthines. 19

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15. A. Gilbie, op. cit., p. 62.
 16. William Fulke, The Text of the New Testament of Jesus Christ translated out of the vulgar Latine by the Papistes of the traiterous Seminarie at Rheims ... with a confutation, London, 1589, p. 297, commenting on 1 Cor. 14.
 17. *ibid.*, p. 42. commenting on Matthew 21:9.
 18. *ibid.*, p. 169.
 19. Thomas Cartwright, A Confutation of the Rheimists

A Reformed rite would be totally different from the Mass. Edward Dering, referring to 'the forme of prayer, which the papistes used', pointed out

at this day all reformed Churches in Fraunce, Polonia, Helvetia, Scotlande, and other places, have chaunged that forme of prayers. 20

But the pedigree of the 1559 communion service - as of many of the Prayer Book services - was clearly discernible:

The fourme of it is more agreeable to the popishe churche then to the reformed Churches of the Gospell, bothe in the common course of the Service, as in the Scriptures sett downe here a peece and there a peece, and as in most of the prayers and Collects. 21

Cartwright was more explicit: the entire book was 'culled out of the vile popish service booke, with some certaine rubrikes and gloses of their owne devise'.²²

Puritans differed in their individual assessments of the 1559 communion service; some simply objected to the wearing of the surplice and kneeling for reception, whilst others found a great many faults. But taken overall, there were few items in the service which escaped Puritan criticism. These criticisms will be considered in relation to the Antecomunion and Eucharist proper.

A. The Antecomunion.

1. The opening rubrics were objected to because the minister was called 'priest', he was to stand at the

- translation, glosses and Annotations on the New Testament, Leiden, 1618, p. 717, on Rev. 4:8.
20. Articles answered by Mai. Edm(w). Dering, anno 1573, in PR, p. 73.
21. A Note of certaine Speciall Corruptions in the Booke of common prayer, unto which the ministers are yet urged by the Byshopps to subscribe, as not repugnant to the Worde of God. SPR, (127).
22. Second Admonition, Frere and Douglas, p. 93. cf.

North side of the table, and because the provisions for warning of and preparation for communion were too short.²³

2. In the Decalogue two criticisms could be made. The first related to the text:

In the recitall of the first commandment, a part of the text is cut off 'which brought them out of the land of Egypt out of the house of bondage.' 24

The second, by implication, was of the responses to the Decalogue, and indeed all use of salutations and responses:

Againe, where learned they to multiplie up many prayers of one effect, so many times Glorve be to the Father, so manye times the Lorde be with you, so many times let us pray. Whence learned they all those needelesse repetitions? Lorde have mercye upon us, Christe have mercy upon us, is it not Kyrie eleeson, Christe eleeson? 25

3. The Puritans saw no reason why the minister should have to stand to read the collect.²⁶ But there were also serious theological objections to particular collects. Regarding the collect for Innocents Day, 'Almightie God whose prayse this day the young Innocents, thy witnesses, have confessed & shewed forth, not in speaking but in dying', A Survey asked whether they were martyrs in the same sense as Stephen - were they killed for the Word of God and the testimonies they maintained?²⁷ In the same work, Query 43 asked concerning St. Michael's Day:

Field and Wilcox, *ibid*, p. 21; The Generall Inconveniencies of the booke of common prayer. SPR (165).

23. Exceptions to be taken against those articles proposed to be subscribed unto by the mynisters and people. SPR (57).

24. Faults of the booke gathered by Mr. L. SPR (77).

25. Cartwright, Second Admonition, Frere and Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

26. Faults of the booke gathered by Mr. L.

27. A Survey, p. 56.

Whither this be not a notable disparagement to our glorious Saviour that in our prayer to his heavenly Father, who hath glorified his Sonne, and will glorifie him againe we should ioyne him in services with meere created Angels, or ministring spirits, and that without a convenient note of his proper difference. 28

Cartwright had seized upon those of Christmas and Pentecost, and St. Bartholomew:

upon the nativitie day I must say, that Christe vouchsafed this day to be borne, & when I read it another day, I must say, he vouchsafed this day to be borne, and the next day againe this day. Surely I lie, one of the dayes, and suche a prayer is at whitsontide appointed.

wherin they pray that they may follow Bartholomews sermons, seeing there is never a sermon of his extant, and so we shall folow we wot not what? 29

4. It might be reasonable to suppose that the lections, being the pure Word of God, would have escaped criticism. In fact, the 'pistles and Gospells' were for the Puritans a major cause for complaint. Query 11 of A Survey raised objections to the introduction to the lections, 'The Epistle, or Gospel, is written in .. ' :

As if they were the only Epistles and Gospells, or the most holy of all Epistles and Gospells. 30

It was also noted with disapproval that many people still replied to the announcement of the Gospel with the response 'Glorie to thee O Lord', even though the rubric authorising it had been removed from the Prayer Book after 1549. The ministers of the Lincoln diocese criticised

28. A Survey, p. 60.

29. Second Admonition, Frere and Douglas, p. 116.

30. A Survey, p. 36.

them on the grounds that the order for appointing the lections was contrary to the Word of God, that chapters of the Bible were omitted, and that the pericopes for the Epistles and Gospels resulted in the Holy Scripture being 'mangled into shreds and pecies'.³¹

Query 10 of A Survey criticised the reading of the Epistle and Gospel on Sundays or weekdays when there was no communion service. It was argued that just as baptism, marriage and funeral offices were only said on their respective occasions, so too the collect, Epistle and Gospel, which belonged to the communion service, should be confined to when the Communion was celebrated.³²

5. Linked with the criticism of the collects, Epistles and Gospels was the objection to the liturgical Calendar - the Sunday sequence, the seasons and saints' days.

Query 14 of A Survey asked

Whither the catelogue of holy dayes be
authentically 33

and Query 52

Whither men may, with warrant of the word,
sanctifie any holy day to be observed, 34

since all holy days which God had prescribed for the Levites were abolished except the seventh day. Any other observance was tantamount to making the children of the marriage chamber fast when they had the bridegroom with them. One writer declared that to observe the fast of

31. An abridgment of that Booke, p. 75.

32. A Survey, pp. 33 - 34.

33. A Survey, p. 39.

34. A Survey, p. 66.

Lent and the keeping of saints days was unlawfull as well as superstitious.³⁵ Again, the observation of days and seasons was condemned by Paul (Galatians 4:10).³⁶ Ambrose and Tertullian had taught that men were cast down to hell if they observed Jewish ceremonies; Solomon's policy of unfaithfulness led to his downfall, for the Word of God is clear, 'Turne unto me with all your harte, saith the lorde, and put away thyn abominations.'³⁷

6. The Creed was 'as a peece of your masse'; there was nothing wrong with the Creed as such, but it should be taught and confessed in the sermon rather than merely recited.³⁸ (Yet the Reformed rites could also be indicted here.)

7. The provision for the reading of a homily instead of the preaching of a sermon was to be condemned.³⁹

8. The provision for the recitation of the Antecomunion without the Eucharist itself was the remains of the 'Dry Mass'.⁴⁰ Field and Wilcox went so far as to question whether there was any scriptural authority for any Antecomunion before the actual communion:

They shoulde first prove, that a reading service by the woorde of God going before, and with the administration of the sacraments, is according to the Woorde of God,.. 41

B. The Eucharist Proper.

It has already been observed above that one of the

35. Divers abuses to be reformed in the Church of England, SPR (166).
 36. Collections out of the communion book, SPR, (80).
 37. A Letter from Anthony Gilby to Thomas Cartwright. SPR (93)
 38. Certaine Articles .. with an Answere to the same, Frere and Douglas, p. 140.
 39. eg. Faults of the booke gathered by Mr. L. SPR (77).
 40. Exceptions to be taken against those articles, SPR, (57).
 41. An Admonition to the Parliament, Frere and Douglas, p.21.

major criticisms of the Eucharist of 1559 was the requirement of kneeling for reception. There were other criticisms.

1. The phrase in the Preface, 'therefore with angels and Archangels' was questioned on the grounds

Whether the Scripture do warrant that
speech of any more than one, namely
Jesus Christ. 42

The Proper prefaces could be criticised on the same grounds as some of the collects:

In the proper prefaces (all which for the most part are taken out of the Mass booke) And namely in that appointed to be read on Whitsunday, and Six dayes after it, it is said that the Holy Ghost came downe that day from heaven, and so upon every of the Six dayes, which maketh the Minister to lye, as much at Whitsontide as at Christmas. 43

2. Query 63 of A Survey attacked the free rendering of the Words of Institution in the prayer later to be called the 'Prayer of Consecration'.⁴⁴ Since Scripture faithfully records the words (apparently here overlooking the divergences of the New Testament) we should use them, and not make up our own. Furthermore, the joining of 'unnecessary & dangerous Prayers' to them was not warrantable by the Word.

3. The words of delivery in the 1559 liturgy were a combination of those of 1549 and 1552. Some Puritans objected to both.

42. Faults of the booke gathered by Mr. L.

43. Exceptions to be taken against those articles, ...

44. A Survey, p. 74.

Why content you not your selves with
Christes words and the Apostles?
Either folishe Paule and wise you, or
folish you, and wise the Apostles. 45

Query 62 of A Survey complained that the delivery of
Christ was in the plural, but that in the Prayer Book
individual.⁴⁶

4. There was no need to include the Gloria in excelsis
in the communion service:

Not every thing that is good, is to
be patched into the Communion, because
that christians ought not to make
quidlibet ex quolibet of a rede a rammes
horne. 47

5. The reserving of blessings for Bishops, and the use
of wafers were both contrary to the Word of God.⁴⁸

An overall assessment was given by Field and Wilcox,
comparing the usage of the early church:

They (the early church) had no introite,
for Celestinus a pope broght it in, aboute
the yeare 430. But we have borrowed a
peece of one out of the masse booke. They
read no fragments of the Epistle and Gospell:
we use both. The Nicene crede was not read
in their Communion: we have it in oures.
Ther was then, accustomed to be an exam-
ination of the communicants, which now is
neglected. Then they ministred the Sacra-
ment with common and usual bread: now with
wafer cakes, brought in by Pope Alexander,
being in forme, fashion and substance, lyke
their god of the alter. They receaved it
sitting: we kneelyng, accordyng to Honorius
Decree. Then it was delivered generally, &
in definitely, Take ye and eat ye: we

45. Certaine articles, Frere and Douglas, p. 141.

46. A Survey, p. 73.

47. Ibid., p. 141.

48. Articles sent to the Bishops and Cleargye in the
convocation house.. From the Marshalsye by
John Nasshe the Lordes prisoner 1580 Januarye. SPR
(99); Faults of the booke gathered by Mr. L. SPR
(77); Exceptions to be taken against those articles
... SPR (57).

peticulerly and singulerly, Take thou, and eat thou. They used no other wordes but such as Chryste left: we borrowe from papistes, The body of our Lorde Jesus Chryst which was geven for thee, &c. They had no Gloria in excelsis in the ministerie of the Sacrament then, for it was put to afterward. We have now. They toke it with conscience. We with custume. They shut men by reasen of their sinnes, from the Lords Supper. We thrust them in their sinne to the Lordes Supper. They ministred the Sacrament plainely. We pompously, with singing, pypyng, surplesse and cope wearyng. They simply as they receeved it from the Lorde. We, sinfulllye, mixed with mannes inventions and devises. 49

The Puritan criticism of the 1559 Eucharistic liturgy appears to the modern liturgical scholar as nothing more than a tedious catena of complaints about rubrics and precise grammar. But the tedious catena betrays an underlying fundamental objection to the whole ethos of the liturgy; it was quite simply too much like the Mass. Such an objection reveals a naive ignorance concerning the origin of the continental Reformed rites.

In at least three particular ways the Puritans sought to overcome the problem of an unscriptural enacted Eucharistic liturgy: by adapting it; by attempting to legalise the use of the Reformed rites of the 'Stranger' Churches; and by issuing revised editions of the Genevan Service Book.

1. Adaptations of Prayer Book Communion Service.

In a previous chapter we have already indicated that for the most part it is possible only to conjecture ~~on~~

49. An Admonition to the Parliament, Frere and Douglas, pp. 13 - 14.

what individual Puritan ministers might have omitted or changed in the Prayer Book services. In addition to John Elliston who omitted the Epistle and Gospel, Josias Nichols of Kent omitted the collect and creed, and William Jenkynson of Croxton near Thetford omitted the commandments and replaced the Epistle and Gospel with a portion of Scripture, as in the Genevan Service Book.⁵⁰

Many Puritan clergy and laity were cited for receiving the sacrament standing.⁵¹ On the other hand, Bishop Scambler of Peterborough was alleged to have sanctioned the practice of standing for communion at Northampton:

The maner of this communion is, beside the sermon, according to the order of the queen's Book; saving the people, being in their confession upon their knees, for the dispatch of many do orderly arise from their pews and so pass to the communion table, where they received the sacrament, and from thence in like order to their place, having all this time a minister in the pulpit, reading unto them comfortable scriptures of the passion or other like, pertaining to the matter in hand. 52

The reference to the reading of suitable passages of scripture during the administration may be compared with the Genevan Service Book:

Duringe the which tyme (i.e. the administration), some place of the scriptures is read, which doth lyvely set forth the death of Christ, that our hartes and myndes also may be fully fixed in the contemplation of the lordes death, which is by this holy Sacrament representede.

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50. P. Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, p. 366. In the case of Nichols this seems to be in reference to Morning Prayer rather than the communion service.
51. Ronald Marchant, op. cit., passim.
52. P. Collinson, op. cit., p. 369.

The practice at Northampton would appear to be a Genevan feature interpolated into the Prayer Book service.

The method of administration of a certain Puritan Vicar of Ratesdale, 'dealing the bread out of a basket, everyman putting in his hand and taking out a peece',⁵³ was judged to be irreverent and a breach of the rubrics.

A similar verdict was passed on Robert Johnson, preacher of Northampton, as regards the 'consecration' of the elements. When the Communion wine had failed, Johnson had sent for some more and had simply administered it with the words of administration, without first repeating the prayer (Prayer of Consecration) containing the Words of Institution. Johnson argued that in the Book of Common Prayer there was no rubric which demanded its repetition in such circumstances, and 'for that it being one entier action and one supper, the wordes of institution afore spoken were sufficient'.⁵⁴ Here Johnson was appealing to the conception of consecration found in Calvin's liturgy and the Genevan Service Book, and taught by such Puritan scholars as William Fulke and Thomas Cartwright,⁵⁵ that the Words of Institution were a warrant making the use 'lawfull unto us',⁵⁶ or in Johnson's words, 'that holynes is in the use and end and not in the substance.'⁵⁷ The Commissioners, accepting

53. The summe and substance of the conference ... at Hampton Court Jan 14, 1603. Contracted by William Barlow, D.D. in Cardwell, op. cit.

54. The examination of Master Robert Johnson, 1573, in PR, pp. 105 - 111, p. 106.

55. William Fulke, The Text of the New Testament ... with a confutation, p. 54, commenting upon Matthew 26:26; Thomas Cartwright, A Confutation of the Rheimists translation, p. 128.

56. Cartwright, ibid.

57. The examination of Master Robert Johnson, PR, p. 109.

St. Augustine's words 'Accedat verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum' to mean that the Words of Institution effected consecration or blessing of the elements, ruled against Johnson. Professor E. C. Ratcliff observed:

They were unmoved indeed by any argument which Johnson adduced; and they declined his interpretation of a passage of Bullinger and of the Scottish and Genevan Liturgies. 58

The rubrics of the Prayer Book were not to be interpreted by the theology and rubrics of Geneva.

In the Puritan editions of the Book of Common Prayer which appeared from 1578 onwards, only minor alterations were to be found in the Eucharistic liturgy:

1. 'Minister' was substituted for 'Priest'.
2. The introductory rubrics were omitted, including the direction for the minister to stand at the North Side of the Communion Table.
3. 'Great number' was substituted for 'good number' in the second rubric at the end of the service.

Although of an insignificant nature, all these points were ones to which Puritans objected; 'priest' because of its Catholic associations, 'North Side' as superstitious, and 'great number' may have been to guard against private communion.⁵⁹

Both the 'ad hoc' alterations, and the slight changes in the printed books give us adaptations of the Prayer Book Eucharist which stand in the tradition of the Liturgy of Compromise.

58. E. C. Ratcliff, 'The English Usage of Eucharistic Consecration, 1548-1662', I and II, in Theology, 60 (1957) pp. 229 - 236, 273 - 280, p. 278.
59. A. E. Peaston, The Prayer Book Tradition in the Free Churches, pp. 31 - 32.

2. The Stranger Churches: The Liturgies of Valerand Poullain, John à Lasco and Maarten Micron.

In a report to the Privy Council of January 1634, Archbishop William Laud, a bitter opponent of all forms of Puritanism, stated:

I conceive under favour that the Dutch Churches in Canterbury & Sandwich are great Nurseryes of Inconformity in those Partes. Your Majesty may be pleased to remember I have complained to your selfe and my Lords at the Counsell Board & humbly desired that they both of the French, Italian, & Dutch Congregations, which are borne Subjects, may not be suffered any longer to live in such Separation as they doe from both Church and State. And have accordingly commanded my Vicar Generall to beginn fairely to call them to conforme with the English Church. 60

Laud's intention to bring the foreign protestant congregations, the so-called 'Stranger' Churches, into conformity with the Established Church stemmed from that type of ecclesiastical nationalism admirably expressed by Fielding's Parson Thwackum, that religion, Christianity and Protestantism are synonymous with the Church of England. But Laud's remark also stemmed from his careful observations that while the Stranger Churches remained autonomous, they both spurred on and provided a court of appeal for the Puritan and Separatist movements.

The Stranger Churches had their origin with the congregations of Continental Protestants who fled to England during the reign of Edward VI and after 1559 in order to escape Catholic persecution and civil strife on

60. Harleian MSS. 787. fol. 32, quoted in R. P. Stearns, Congregationalism in the Dutch Netherlands, pp. 61 - 62.

the Continent. Thus, in 1548 Jan Utenove was associated with a Walloon congregation at Canterbury,⁶¹ and in 1550 Valerand Poullain settled with his French congregation at Glastonbury.

The autonomy of these Stranger Churches can be traced to the charter granted by Edward VI in 1550 in which the medley of foreigners in London were placed under the supervision of the Polish reformer, John à Lasco.

John à Lasco, or Jan Laski, described by his contemporaries as a nobleman,⁶² had been carefully prepared for the Church under the guidance of his uncle, also Jan, who was Primate of Poland. During his education he had been acquainted with Erasmus and Oecolampadius at Basle, and later with Zwingli. He became Bishop of Vesprin, but by 1538 had adopted Protestantism and had married. Forced to flee Poland, he settled at Emden in 1542 and became Superintendent of the Church of East Friesland. The enforcement of the Augsburg Interim in 1548 again forced him to flee, and at the invitation of Edward VI and Cranmer, he eventually came to England. After his arrival Maarten Micron, a Dutch minister, wrote to Henry Bullinger, explaining that there were plans for establishing a German (Dutch) Church in England.⁶³ This plan was confirmed by the Royal Charter of 1550, appointing à Lasco Superintendent:

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61. C. H. Smyth, Cranmer & The Reformation under Edward VI, Cambridge, 1926, p. 191.
 62. For a recent discussion of this and other biographical details, Basil Hall, John à Lasco 1499-1560. A Pole in Reformation England, Dr. Williams's Trust, 1971.
 63. Original Letters, Vol. 2, p. 560. Micron to Bullinger, May 20, 1550.

we will that John à Lasco, a pole by race, a man very famous on account of the integrity and innocency of life and manners and singular learning, to be the first and present superintendent of the said church; and that Walter Leonus, Martin Flandrus, Francis Riverius and Richard Gallus be the four first and present ministers. 64

The Dutch speaking congregation was given the Church of Austin Friars, and the French, St. Anthony's Hospital in Threadneedle Street. The 'independent' nature of this Church was guaranteed in the Charter:

We give also and grant to the said superintendent ministers and their successors faculty, authority and licence, after the death or voidance of the superintendent, from time to time to elect, nominate and depute another learned and grave person in his place; so nevertheless that the person so nominated and elected be presented and brought before us our heirs or successors, and by us, our heirs or successors instituted into the office of superintendent aforesaid.

We order, and firmly enjoining command as well the Mayor, Sheriffs and Alderman of our City of London, the Bishop of London and his successors, with all other our Archbishops, Bishops, Judges, Officers and Ministers whomsoever, that they permit the aforesaid superintendent and ministers and their successors freely and quietly to practise, enjoy, use and exercise their own rites, ceremonies and their own peculiar ecclesiastical discipline, notwithstanding that they do not conform with the rites and ceremonies used in our Kingdom, without impeachment, disurbance or vexation of them or any of them.

As in the case of the English Edwardian Church, the King's untimely death and the accession of his Catholic sister Mary, brought to an abrupt end the peace of the

64. The Charter is given in Latin and English in, J. Lindeboom, Austin Friars. History of the Dutch Reformed Church in London 1550 - 1950, pp. 198 - 203.

Stranger Churches. Poullain and his Glastonbury congregation fled to Frankfurt; the Dutch Church fled to Denmark, from there to Emden, and arrived finally in Frankenthal in the Palatinate. However, sufficient numbers must have remained in England, for although neither Poullain, à Lasco or Micron were to return, in 1559 Jan Utenhove returned to London to take charge of the Dutch speaking congregation, and in 1560 Nicolas des Gallars, a pastor from Geneva, arrived to minister to the Walloon Church.

Utenhove presented the 1550 Charter to Elizabeth, but although the Stranger Churches were allowed to continue as before, the Queen never confirmed the Charter, and insisted that the Superintendent should be the Bishop of London. Despite suspicion from the English hierarchy, the Churches continued to use their own rites and ceremonies, though during Laud's ascendancy, many were pressurised into adopting the Book of Common Prayer.⁶⁵

Even a cursory survey of Puritan literature reveals that Laud's charge against the Stranger Churches of being 'great nurseries of Inconformity' was not without foundation. For instance, one Puritan critic attacking the practice of kneeling could appeal to

all the churches of France, Flanders,
Hungarie, Polonia, Bernia, Zurick, Savoy,
Scotland besides the presidents and

65. D. N. Griffiths, 'The French Translations of the English Book of Common Prayer', in Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London, Vol. 22, (1972) pp. 90 - 114, pp. 94 - 95. The Dutch Church in London seems to have resisted the imposition.

practise wee have heere at home before
our owne eyes, in the French, Dutch,
and Italian Churches at London, Norwich,
Sandwich, and other places in this Realme. 66

Henry Jacob, in A Third Humble Supplication of 1605,
requested a covenanted Church 'As namely in the well
ordered and peaceable Churches of the French and Dutch,
which by your Maiesties gracious protection and
allowaince doe liue within your Realme', and gave an
assurance of keeping 'brotherly communion' with the
rest of the English Church 'according as the French and
Dutch churches do'.⁶⁷ Puritanism seems to have been
particularly strong in those towns which had a Dutch or
French Church. Their position from Laud's point of view
has been put succinctly by Patrick Collinson:

As members of organised Calvinist churches
which were largely self-governing and free
to elect their own officers and to exercise
Reformed, congregational discipline, the
foreign Protestants must have exercised a
fascinating influence over their English
brethren who longed for these rights but
could not as yet enjoy them. ... they
played the part of a Trojan horse, bringing
Reformed worship and discipline fully armed
into the midst of the Anglican camp. 68

The threat which the 'Trojan horse' posed to the
liturgy of the Established Church was only too well
illustrated by the Bill presented to Parliament in
May 1572, which would have empowered Bishops to licence
their clergy to omit parts of the Book of Common Prayer
in order to increase the time of preaching, and to use

66. Reasons against kneeling at the recit of the Communion, PR, p. 410. (Norwich seems to be a misprint).

67. Burrage, The Early English Dissenters, Vol. 2,
pp. 161 - 165.

68. P. Collinson, 'The Elizabethan Puritans and the
Foreign Reformed Churches in London' in Proceedings
of the Huguenot Society of London, Vol. 20 (1958 -
64), pp. 528 - 555, pp. 529, 531.

such forme of prayer and mynistracion of the woorde and sacraments, and other godlie exercises of religion as the righte godlie reformed Churches now do use in the ffrenche and Douche congregation, within the City of London or elsewheare in the Quenes maiesties dominions and is extant in printe, any act or acts, Iniunction, advertisement, or decree heretofore had or made to the contrarie notwithstandinge. 69

Any hopes the Puritans may have had concerning this Bill were dashed by the Queen's adamant refusal on this, or any other occasion, to grant them concessions. They were firmly ordered

to kepe the order of common prayer, divine services and administration of the Sacramentes accordyng as in the sayde booke of divine service ther be set foorth, and none other contrary or repugnant, upon payne of her highnesse indignation and of other paynes in the sayde acte comprysed. 70

The 'Trojan horse' was in quarantine, and would remain so.

Our concern here is to consider the liturgies which the Bill of 1572 sought to authorise for use in the Church of England.

Any consideration of the liturgies of the Stranger Churches must centre upon the liturgy of the Superintendent of the London Churches, à Lasco's Forma ac ratio Ecclesiastici ministerii in peregrinorum potissimum vero Germanorum Ecclesia instituta Londini in Anglia. However, a number of complex problems surround the Forma ac Ratio and the use of the Dutch and French Stranger Churches in 1572.⁷¹

69. Frere and Douglas, Puritan Manifestoes, pp. 149 - 151, p. 151.

70. *ibid.*, p. 151.

71. Too little is known of the Italian and Spanish congregations to consider them here. Already by 1571 the members of the Italian community asked the Dutch whether they might join in their communion

1. The first known edition of the Forma ac ratio was published in Frankfurt in 1555, after à Lasco and a large number of the London Church had fled. A French edition, Toute La forme & maniere du Ministere Ecclesiastique, en l'Eglise des estrangers, dressee a Londres en Angleterre, par le Prince tres fidele dudit pays, le Roy Edouard VI: de ce nom: L'an apres l'incarnation de Christ. 1550. avec le privilege de sa Majeste a la fin du livre, appeared in 1556 printed by Giles Ctematius.

The historian of the Dutch Reformed liturgy, J. A. Mensinga, believed that during his years in London, à Lasco used only a handwritten copy of the forms which he later elaborated for publication. Professor Lindeboom, in his history of Austin Friars, tends towards this view:

Less haste was made with the drafting of the church order and of a fixed liturgy, than had been applied to the compilation of the book of instruction There are indications of provisional rules relative to the liturgy having been drawn up, such as certain set prayers and a liturgy for the Communion Service. 72

However, this simple explanation is complicated by the fact that there exists what appears to be a Dutch abridgement of the Forma ac ratio by Maarten Micron, entitled Christian Ordinances of the Netherlands congregation of Christ which was established in London in 1550 by the Christian prince, King Edward VI; faithfully collected and published by M. Micron with the consent of the elders and deacons of the congregation of Christ in London; for the comfort and profit of all believers.

service. J. Lindeboom, op. cit., p. 98.

72. *ibid.*, pp. 18 - 19.

But this work appeared in 1554, a year before à Lasco's Forma ac ratio.

The problem raised by Micron's work is complicated even further by statements of à Lasco and Micron themselves. In his dedication to Sigismund of Poland, à Lasco mentioned that Micron had translated his work into Dutch, and Micron acknowledged his debt to à Lasco. But Micron also mentioned that Jan Utenhove had translated the 'present ordinances' into Dutch. Are we to infer from this that there was a liturgy connected with Utenhove - an elder associated with the Walloon Church at Canterbury and the Dutch Church at Austin Friars - which antedates both Micron and à Lasco, and what is the relationship between them all?

Utenhove did publish a Dutch catechism translated from à Lasco in 1551, and - for which his name is chiefly remembered - a Dutch version of the psalms which included the Decalogue, Lord's Prayer, Creed and a prayer before the sermon, all of which were important elements in the Dutch liturgy.⁷³ However, there is no actual liturgy of Utenhove.

In his introduction to Micron's work, Professor W. F. Dankbaar of Groningen University offered the following explanation.⁷⁴

The ordinances for the London Stranger Churches were

73. De Psalmen Davidis, in Nederlandischen sangs-ryme; door Jan Utenhove van Ghendtt. Copy of an edition of 1566 at Austin Friars.

74. W. F. Dankbaar, Marten Micron, De Christlicke Ordinancien der Nederlantscher Ghemeinten te Londen (1554), Kerkhistorische Studien Deel VII.'s-Gravenhage, 1956.

drawn up by à Lasco in 1551, first of all being a rough scheme which was gradually developed. But à Lasco did not know much Dutch. The scheme had to be discussed by the community, and Utenhove undertook to translate à Lasco's work. This work was merely for the community to discuss amongst themselves. This scheme would correspond to the handwritten copy which Mensinga and Lindeboom mention. Later, after he had left London, à Lasco sought to defend the London Church by setting out its constitution in the Forma ac ratio. Here à Lasco elaborated and expanded his earlier rough scheme, the result being both a description of the practice in London between 1550 and 1553, and what he hoped that practice might eventually have been. At the same time, Micron was preparing a popular or practical version, using the original Latin drafts and Utenhove's translations. But Micron did not work independently of à Lasco; a letter of à Lasco to Bullinger of 7th June 1553 mentioned that he had been assisted by Micron. The two works were, then, the result of co-operation between Micron and à Lasco, but the forms originate with à Lasco.

That there was an earlier form of the services of the Forma ac ratio is perhaps also suggested by the Italian congregation's La forma delle publiche orationi, et della cōfessione, & assolutione, la qual si usa nella chiesa de forestieri che è nuouamente stata instituita in Londra (per gratia di Dio) con l'autorità & cōsentimento del Re, translated by P. P. Vergerio, a copy of which is to be found in the British Museum. Consisting

of eight leaves without pagination, it appears to be a slightly abbreviated version of the Morning service of the Forma ac ratio. However, if the British Museum's suggested dating of 1551 is correct, it antedates the work of both à Lasco and Micron, and would indicate that the services of the Forma ac ratio are revised and polished versions of services compiled for the 'Strangers' in 1550.

Neither John à Lasco nor his Forma ac ratio were to return to the Dutch Church in London after 1559, but Micron's Christian Ordinances did. The liturgy is only slightly altered from à Lasco's, and the prayers, structure, and theology belong primarily to à Lasco.

2. After 1559 Micron's version of à Lasco's liturgy was in use in the London Dutch Church, together with the psalms of Utenhove. However, the Dutch Reformed Church in the Netherlands, which had its origin in the Palatinate, had another version of the psalms and another liturgy, being the work of Petrus Datheen, 1566. According to the archives of Austin Friars, the London congregation adopted Datheen's psalms on Easter Day 1571.⁷⁵ The earliest copy of Datheen's psalms and liturgy in the library of Austin Friars is indeed dated 1571, being bound with the Bible; the next edition is dated 1582. Does this imply that on Easter Day 1571 Datheen's liturgy was also adopted, and that the Bill of 1572, as regards the Dutch Church, referred to Datheen's liturgy and not that of

75. Kerkerads-Protocolen Der Hollandsche Gemeente te Londen 1569 - 71, ed. A. Kuyper, Utrecht 1870, pp. 302, 311. The reason was that some members of the congregation were using Utenhove's version, and others Datheen's, resulting no doubt in a dreadful sound.

à Lasco-Micron?

Even if Datheen's liturgy had been adopted in 1571, it would make little difference to our consideration of à Lasco-Micron. Datheen's liturgy will be considered later in a different context, but suffice it to say here that, for example, in the Morning service Datheen provided merely two prayers with a few rubrics; the à Lasco-Micron service is a lengthy one, and we would hardly expect this to have been replaced by a service of two prayers. Austin Friars has an edition of Micron of 1554, possibly brought back to England in 1559, and another edition dated 1582, suggesting that Micron's order was used for some time after 1571.⁷⁶ The prayers of Datheen may have been used, being inserted into Micron's order; Micron's liturgy was in no sense binding, and seems to have been to guide the minister, the people having their parts - psalms, creed and Lord's Prayer - in their psalm books. The Christian Ordinances was more of a directory than a Book of Common Prayer; this is also suggested by the alterations made by one minister, Godfried Van Wingen, who introduced some new prayers and changed others.⁷⁷ It appears that Micron's order was still used in the Netherlands after 1566 alongside that of Datheen.⁷⁸

76. The 1554 edition is printed by Collinus Volckwinner, alius Giles Ctematius, at Emden; the 1582 edition is confusing, the title page attributing it to Jaspas Troyens of Antwerp, the last page attributing it to Cornelius Jansz at Delft.

77. Dankbaar, op. cit., pp. 23 - 24.

78. *ibid.*, p. 25.

3. Even more complex is the position of the liturgy in use in the French Stranger Churches.

Any consideration of the liturgy of the French Stranger Churches must begin with the Liturgia Sacra of Valerand Poullain.⁷⁹ A successor to Calvin and Brully in the ministry of the French congregation at Strasbourg, Poullain had taken over Calvin's Strasbourg liturgy, though making a number of modifications to phraseology and to the rubrics. It is therefore of the same pedigree as Calvin's rite.⁸⁰

In 1549 Poullain arrived in England with some of his congregation, and he eventually settled at Glastonbury, in charge of a small community of Walloons. In 1551 he published his Strasbourg liturgy in Latin under the title of Liturgia Sacra, dedicating the work to Edward VI. A second edition appeared in French in 1552, and Latin editions were published at Frankfurt in 1554 and 1555. We refer here to the critical edition prepared by A. C. Honders, giving a summary of Morning service and the Lord's Supper.⁸¹

Morning service.

The first table of the Decalogue, sung.

(Clement Marot's metrical version verses 1-5).

'Our help is in the name of the Lord'.

Exhortation to Confession.

Confession. (Calvin, from Bucer.)

Absolution, the pastor recites sentences of Scripture concerning the remission of sins, and pronounces the Absolution to those who believe and are penitent, in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

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79. For a link between Poullain and Congregationalism, H. J. Cowell, 'Valerand Poullain, A Precursor of Congregationalism?' in CHST, 12 (1933-36), pp. 112-119.
80. Maxwell classed it as a fourth edition of Calvin's Strasbourg rite, The Liturgical Portions of the Genevan Service Book, p. 21
81. A. C. Honders, Valerandus Pollanus Liturgia Sacra (1551-1555), Kerkhistorische Bijdragen 1, Leiden, 1970.

The Second Table of the Decalogue, verses
6 - 8.

Prayer, that the commandments may be for
our instruction, implanted in our hearts
by the Holy Spirit and inscribed there,
that we may serve and obey in all
sanctity and Justice.

Last verse of Marot's metrical Decalogue.⁸²

Prayer of Illumination.

New Testament Lection.

Sermon.

Special Bidding Prayer for the sick or poor.

Offering.

Prayer for the Church. (Calvin, from Bucer.)

Apostles' Creed.

Psalm.

Aaronic Blessing.

The Order of the Supper (after the Apostles'
Creed).

Eucharistic Prayer. (Calvin, Strasbourg).

Words of Institution.

Exhortation with excommunication. (Calvin)

Fraction and Delivery.

Words of Delivery: The Bread which we break
is the communion of the Body of Christ.

The Cup which we bless is the communion of
the Blood of Christ.

Psalm during administration, at the minister's
discretion.

Prayer of Thanksgiving. (Calvin)

Aaronic Blessing.

Since the text of the prayers is almost identical to that
of Calvin's Strasbourg rite, there is little need for
additional comment here.

The title of the edition of 1552 described this
liturgy as L'Ordre des prieres et ministere Ecclesiastique
avec La forme de penitence pub. & certaines Prieres de
l'Eglise de Londres, and the Preface mentioned that for
three years previously there had been a French speaking
Church in London under the leadership of Richard Vauville,

82. See Honders' discussion, *ibid.*, p. 12. Also
A. C. Honders, 'Let us Confess our Sins...',
Concilium 2:9 (1973) pp. 86-94, p. 89.

'homme vrayment entier et parfaict en la piete Chrestienne'. However, there is no evidence to suggest that Liturgia Sacra was used in any other Church than Poullain's own congregation at Glastonbury.⁸³ Again in the 1552 Preface, Poullain explained that the London Churches, in order to provide stability and good order, had been placed under the charge of John à Lasco. We should expect that the foreign London congregations would have used the liturgy of their own Superintendent, the Forma ac ratio. Before 1550, or until the Forma ac ratio began to take shape, it may be the case that Vauville had used Calvin's Genevan rite. A Lasco himself recorded that as regards his own liturgy, he had in mind the examples of the Churches of Geneva and Strasbourg.⁸⁴ Poullain could provide the text of the latter; perhaps Vauville provided the text of the former. Once the Forma ac ratio had been drafted, we may presume that the London French Church adopted it.

However, which liturgy was in use in the French Churches in 1572? We have already drawn attention to the French edition of the Forma ac ratio of 1556; two copies of this edition are in the possession of Austin Friars, and a copy is also in the possession of the French Protestant Church in Soho Square, London, being the present-day successor to the original Threadneedle congregation. Although possession does not constitute proof of

83. My opinion is supported by Dr. A. C. Honders, in a letter dated 26th March, 1974. There is no evidence to support the claim of H. Hageman, 'The Liturgical Origins of the Reformed Church', in ed. J. H. Bratt, The Heritage of John Calvin, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1973, pp. 112, 116 that a Lasco's French speaking congregation used Liturgia Sacra.

84. ed. A. Kuyper, Joannis a Lasco Opera, 2 Vols., Amsterdam, 1866, Vol. 2, p. 50.

use, it might suggest rather more than academic interest. Nicolas des Gallars who became minister of the London congregation in 1560 came straight from Geneva, and presumably was familiar with Calvin's Genevan rite. Although he published no liturgy, des Gallars did publish the 'Discipline' of the French congregation, and he seems to have based it upon the Forma ac ratio. A short section dealt with the celebration of the Eucharist: it was to be celebrated when the consistory ordained it, and when the congregation was so disposed, and when there were sufficient communicants present; the minister was to distribute the bread and wine for good order, and with reverence, and no one else was to assist with the chalice except the elders or deacons; the tables were to be near the pulpit so that the mysteries could be better and more easily expounded near the tables; children and strangers had to present themselves for instruction.⁸⁵

The use of the Forma ac ratio in the compilation of the 'Discipline' might well suggest that à Lasco's liturgy provided a basic directory for the worship of the French Stranger Churches.

The tentative conclusion which we draw from the problems outlined above is that à Lasco's Forma ac ratio, either in the Dutch version of Micron, or in French and Italian translation, formed the basic directory of worship in the Stranger Churches.

85. Nicolas De Gallars, Polite et Discipline Ecclesiastique observee en L eglise Des Estrangers Francois A Londres, 1561.

As in the case of Calvin's rites, the Morning service and the Eucharist are separate orders, but they belong together. The Morning 'form and order of ordinary services on Sundays and Festivals in the Churches of Foreigners in London' according to the Forma ac ratio was as follows:⁸⁶

Exhortation to Prayer.
 Prayer before the Sermon.
 Lord's Prayer.
 Psalm.
 Bible Lection.
 Sermon.
 Prayer after the Sermon, that the word may
 be inscribed in our hearts.
 Decalogue (Exodus 20).
 Admonition to confession.
 Confession.
 Absolution.
 Apostles' Creed.
 General Prayer for the Church and World.
 Lord's Prayer.
 Psalm.
 Commendation of the Poor and Aaronic Blessing.

The absolution included the binding of the sins of the unrepentant. The general prayer contained the following:

- a) That God who has delivered us from ignorance and from Roman Idolatry, might fortify us and arm us with the Holy Spirit.
- b) For the universal Church; for true instruction, and deliverance from all false Pastors and teachers; for the edification of the Church.
- c) For the churches in England; for Edward VI.
- d) For the Royal family, Magistrates and the Parliament.
- e) For the whole Kingdom of England.
- f) For the City of London.
- g) For the Foreign Churches in England.
- h) For all Kings, rulers, magistrates, who are oppressed by anti-christian tyranny.
- i) For all brothers who are dispersed and oppressed for their faith.
- j) For the members of the Church who are in sickness, affliction and poverty.
- k) Provision for free prayer - particular present needs.

86. Latin text, ed. A. Kuyper, Joannis à Lasco Opera, Vol. 2. I am greatly indebted to Mr. D. G. Lane, M.A., for allowing me to use his English translation (unpublished).

The composition of this service is extremely interesting. It is clear that Poullain's Liturgia Sacra, or the use of Strasbourg, has had a marked influence upon the structure of the Forma ac ratio here. Nevertheless, à Lasco did not simply adopt Liturgia Sacra which would have been the easiest course open to him. The reason - apart from the Polish reformer's own ability - may well be connected with the fact that à Lasco had learnt protestantism from Oecolampadius and Zwingli, and many of the Dutch speaking Walloons had been under the influence of Basle and Zurich rather than of Strasbourg and Geneva. In a dispute with the Anabaptist Menno, à Lasco had sided with Zwingli rather than Calvin, and he spoke of Zwingli and Bullinger as 'our fathers'. It is significant that the Church at Austin Friars practiced 'Prophecyings' - the whole community had a chance to interpret Scripture - a practice which was imported from Zurich. Zurich seems to have been the source of much of à Lasco's theology, and of his liturgical thought; the Decalogue, Creed and Lord's Prayer feature prominently in the Forma ac ratio, these being prominent features also in the Pronaus - based liturgies of Zurich and Basle.

This 'Zwinglian' influence is born out by the structure of à Lasco's Morning service. The exhortation to prayer, the prayer before the sermon with the Lord's Prayer recall Poullain's service, but there is a clear parallel here with the services of Zwingli and Farel which begin with a bidding prayer and Lord's Prayer before the sermon.⁸⁷

The Decalogue was of course also found in Liturgia

87. For texts of Zwingli, Farel and Oecolampadius, Bard Thompson, op. cit.

Sacra, but there it came at the beginning with a confession before the sermon, and was to be sung. In Forma ac ratio it came after the sermon, was to be read by the minister, and led into the confession, absolution, Creed and intercessions - precisely the same sequence as in Farel's La Maniere et fasson; the confession and absolution also came after the sermon in Zwingli and Oecolampadius. The sequence Creed, intercessions and Lord's Prayer, had a precedent in Oecolampadius, and the intercessions, although corresponding to the Long Prayer of Bucer/Calvin/Poullain; also recall the bidding prayers of Zwingli and Farel. Finally, the blessing appears to be a combination of Oecolampadius's commendation of the poor with the Aaronic blessing as used by Bucer/Calvin/Poullain.

We have previously suggested that Bucer's Antecomunion was the Mass judged by and reformed from the standpoint of the acceptable features of the Pronaus;⁸⁸ perhaps this could be expressed in mathematical symbol as $\frac{\text{Mass}}{\text{Pronaus}}$. In the Forma ac ratio, à lasco seems to have had in mind the Pronaus-based services of Basle and Zurich, to which he has added elements from Poullain's Liturgia Sacra, which via Calvin came from Bucer. We might thus represent Forma ac ratio as $(\text{Pronaus-based service}) + \frac{\text{Mass}}{(\text{Pronaus})}$; the conclusion must be that Pronaus is a primary factor in this liturgy.

The order for the Lord's Supper followed the general prayer of the Morning service. It illustrates a

88. Above, Chapter 4, p.152.

blending of à Lasco's own ideas with the order in Poullain's Liturgia Sacra, although according to the study of Anneliese Sprengler-Ruppenthal, the 1535 Lutheran rite of East Friesland which was in use when à Lasco became Superintendent there, must also be taken into account.⁸⁹

Public reminder of those who are excluded.
Prayer (from the pulpit), that we may testify publicly the communion in the Body and Blood of Christ, and that we may be worthy.

Words of Institution.

Exhortation about worthiness, including the 'Reformed Sursum corda'.

*1 Cor. 5: 7 - 8 (from the table).

Fraction and delivery: The bread which we break is a sharing in the Body of Christ.

Take, eat and remember, that the body of our Lord Jesus Christ was for us given up to death upon the cross for the remission of all our sins.

The cup of blessing which we bless is a sharing in the blood of Christ.

X Taken, drink and remember that the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ was for us poured out upon the cross for the remission of all our sins.

During the administration one of the ministers may read John 6, or 13, 14 or 15.

*Words of Assurance: Be sure and do not doubt, all of you who have participated in this Lord's Supper and meditated on his divine mystery, that you have a sure and health-giving sharing with him in his body and blood to eternal life. Amen.

*Exhortation on the fruits of communion.

Thanksgiving.

*Admonition.

Psalm.

Blessing.

89. Anneliese Sprengler-Ruppenthal, Mysterium und Riten nach der Londoner Kirchenordnung der Niederländer, Köln, 1967. A Lasco's own statement that in the Forma ac Ratio he had in mind the liturgies of Geneva and Strasbourg (Opera, Vol. 2., p. 50) would seem to suggest that the 1535 Lutheran rite was not a prime source for his liturgy. For the 1535 rite, E. Sehling, Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des

A Lasco's order for the Eucharist is much closer to the corresponding rite in Liturgia Sacra than is his Morning service. If the structures of the two liturgies are compared, it will be seen that the basic outline of the Forma ac ratio is that of Poullain to which has been added those items which we have marked by an asterisk. Sprengler-Ruppenthal draws attention to the exhortation about worthiness in the 1535 East Friesan rite, suggesting some influence.⁹⁰ However, as regards position, in the Lutheran rite the exhortation came before the Lord's Prayer and Words of Institution (being based upon Luther's Deutsche Messe, 1526), whereas à Lasco followed Calvin and Poullain in their sequence of Words of Institution followed by an exhortation. Since à Lasco's brief exhortation includes the 'Reformed Sursum corda', it seems unnecessary to place too much weight on the 1535 rite and East Friesan usage.

Despite a similarity in structure to Poullain's rite there is an unmistakable difference in theological emphasis. Poullain's rite, being almost identical to Calvin's Strasbourg rite, implied that the bread and wine were not empty signs, but by eating and drinking the communicant received by faith and the Holy Spirit, the substance of the body and blood of Christ. Thus Poullain reproduces the words of Calvin's Eucharistic Prayer:

c'est qu'en certaine Foy, nous recevions
son corps et son sang: voir luy entierement:

XVI Jahrhunderts, Niedersachsen: II.1. Tübingen, 1963, pp. 373-397; the Lord's Supper, pp. 376 - 380.
90. A. Sprengler-Ruppenthal, op.cit., pp. 146 - 148.

This was also implied in the words of administration:

The bread which we break is the communion
of the body of Christ.
The cup which we bless is the communion of
the blood of Christ. 91

In Poullain's later Latin editions of 1554 and 1555,
perhaps in turn influenced by à Lasco, the words were
extended:

1554: accipe, manduca, memor Christi corpus pro
te fractum in remissionem peccatorum
tuorum.
accipe, bibe, memor Christum sanguinem
suum pro te profudisse in remissionem
peccatorum tuorum.

1555: Accipite Comedite, memores corpus Christi
pro vobis esse fractum in remissionem
peccatorum.
qui pro vobis est fusus in remissionem
peccatorum.

All the words imply that there is some connection between
the reception of the bread and wine and the body and
blood of Christ.

We have already mentioned the Zurich influence upon
à Lasco. Basil Hall has drawn attention to the denial by
à Lasco that he obtained his Eucharistic doctrine from
either Karlstadt or Zwingli, though the Polish reformer
cited in support of his own views Oecolampadius, Bullinger
and Vadian, all of whom may be termed 'Zwinglian' rather
than Calvinist.⁹² Although differing on some points from
Zwingli, à Lasco's teaching on the Eucharist shows clear

91. Panis quem frangimus, communicatio est corporis
Christi.
Calix cui benedicimus, communicatio est sanguinis
Christi.
Le pain que nous rompons est la communication du
corps de Christ.
Le hanap au quel nous benissons, est la communi-
cation du corps de CHRIST.

92. Basil Hall, op. cit., pp. 27 - 28; Joannis à Lasco
Opera, Vol. 1, p. 564.

signs of this influence. In his Epistola ad amicum quendam, 1544, à Lasco wrote:

And we call the symbols of the Supper *σφραγίδας* with Paul, i.e. seals of that very communion, which, while we receive them according to the Lord's institution, bring before our eyes in a mystery that same communion and renew it in our minds, and seal us wholly in certain and undoubted faith in it, by the operation of the holy Spirit, although we place in them no physical or real inclusion of the body and blood of Christ 93

The main difference between à Lasco and Zwingli was on the interpretation of the Words of Institution; the words 'Do this' à Lasco took to refer to the whole action of the Supper - breaking, partaking, drinking and giving thanks.⁹⁴ Nevertheless, C. H. Smyth's judgment that à Lasco may be reckoned as a Zwinglian from the year 1545 seems a fair one.⁹⁵ Certainly in the Eucharistic liturgy of the Forma ac ratio, a Zwinglian conception that the Supper was a fellowship meal by means of which the faithful were able to remember the benefits of the atonement, was prominent.

The opening prayer was hardly 'Eucharistic';⁹⁶ it asked that we may celebrate the memory of Christ's sacred body given up to death for us, and publicly witness to our sharing with him in the same body and blood. The Holy Spirit was requested to enable the worshippers to recognise the great kindness of Christ, the atonement.

93. Joannis à Lasco Opera, Vol. 1, pp. 465 - 479; cited in C. H. Smyth, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

94. Joannis à Lasco Opera, Vol. 1, p. 565; Vol. 2, pp. 143-4.

95. C. H. Smyth, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

96. Though in fairness it should be noted that à Lasco, as with Bucer/Calvin/Poullain, postponed 'thanksgiving' until after reception.

The same emphasis was to be found in the detailed rubrics for the fraction and administration. The fellowship meal was emphasised by the communicants sitting at the table, in successive sittings. The words for the fraction were taken from Poullain, but the emphasis was changed. Poullain's use of the words were as words of administration. In the Forma ac ratio à Lasco gave the following:

Fraction: Panis quem frangimus communio est corporis Christi. Poculum laudis, quo laudes celebramus, communio est sanguinis Christi.

Administration:

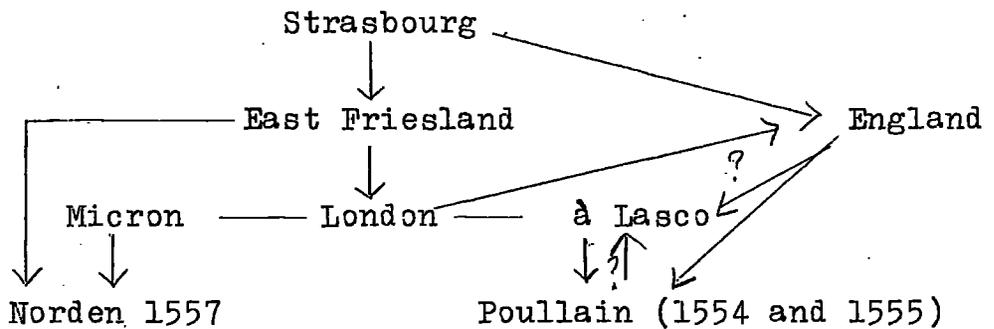
Accipite, edite et memineritis, corpus Domini nostri Iesu Christi pro nobis in mortem traditum esse in crucis patibulo ad remissionem omnium peccatorum nostrorum.
Accipite, bibite et memineritis sanguinem Domini nostri Iesu Christi pro nobis fusum esse in crucis patibulo ad remissionem omnium peccatorum nostrorum.

Sprengler-Ruppenthal suggests that the words of administration of the Forma ac ratio were in fact those that were in use at Emden during à Lasco's superintendency; he retained the formulae he knew, but used Poullain's words to a new purpose, before the administration as a fraction.⁹⁷ The ultimate source of à Lasco's Emden words of administration, she suggests, is Bucer's Strasbourg formula of 1525, noting that one finds traces of Bucer in the early reformation in East Friesland.⁹⁸ Noting also the similarity to the words of the 1552 Book of Common Prayer she suggests the following hypothetical scheme of derivation:⁹⁹

97. A. Sprengler-Ruppenthal, op. cit., pp. 159 - 160.

98. *ibid.*, p. 161.

99. *ibid.*, pp. 162 - 165; we have simplified the diagram given on page 165, omitting the later East Friesland



However, whatever the ultimate source may have been - and Sprengler-Ruppenthal's suggestion is purely conjectural - the actual use of the words are of considerable significance. Sprengler-Ruppenthal notes that whereas in Poullain's version of 1 Cor.10:16 the word communicatio is used - a favourite word of Calvin - à Lasco deliberately avoids this word in favour of communio.¹⁰⁰ It may be that whereas Poullain referred communicatio to a 'communication' of the crucified and risen Lord's body and blood to the communicant through the reception of the bread and the wine, à Lasco took corporis Christi and sanguinis Christi to refer to the body of Christ, the Church, the bread and wine symbolising the communio, or fellowship of Christians at the Lord's table. In any case, they were carefully separated from the act of communion so as to give no suggestion that the bread and wine were in any sense the vehicles of Christ's body and blood. The words of administration resemble those found in the 1554 and 1555 editions of Liturgia Sacra, and it is not certain whether à Lasco influenced Poullain or vica versa. However, à Lasco kept the words quite

and Dutch liturgies.
100. *ibid.*, pp. 160 - 161.

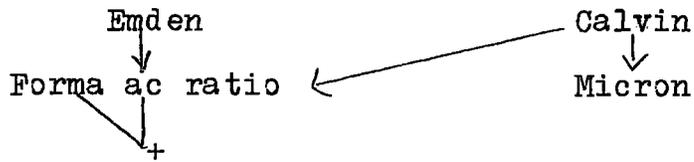
separate from the words of 1 Cor. 10:16, and against Poullain, has the words 'on the cross' (in crucis)^{patibulo}; the body of Christ would not be associated with the bread and wine, but rather the bread and wine were the means of remembering the death of Christ on the cross. They were a mental reminder of the atonement on Calvary.

The fellowship meal, though with an eschatological emphasis, was also to be found in the admonition after the communion:

I hope too that in coming to this table you have all perceived with the eyes of your faith that blessed reclining at table in the kingdom of God with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and that in your trust in the righteousness, recompense and victory of Christ the Lord in the sharing of which we have now been pledged you are as sure of this as we have surely taken our places together at this table of the Lord.

The services in Micron's Christian Ordinances are very similar to those of à Lasco. Micron seems to have given a free translation with stylistic emendations. However, it was no slavish copy. In the Eucharistic liturgy there are three significant differences. First, the exhortation to worthiness was considerably longer than à Lasco's, and included an explicit reference to certain sins, reminiscent of Calvin's exhortation and excommunication. Second, in the words of administration Micron expanded them slightly, 'Take, eat, remember and believe ...', though this made no difference to the Zwinglian theology. The other difference of significance was the thanksgiving prayer after the communion, which seems nearer to that of Calvin than of à Lasco. Sprengler-Ruppenthal suggests that à Lasco's thanksgiving

reflects former East Friesan usage, and expresses the relationship thus:¹⁰¹



à Lasco's expansion

Nevertheless, Micron's rite may be regarded simply as a version of à Lasco. The same applied also to the emendations made by Van Wingen.¹⁰²

Although we have considered in some detail the Forma ac ratio, it would be easy to over-estimate its importance and the extent of its influence on the English Puritans. It would be wrong, for example, to regard it as indicating a preference for a Zwinglian liturgy or theology;¹⁰³ furthermore, it has to be emphasised that the 1572 Bill came to nothing. Nevertheless, the significance of the appeal of the 1572 Bill is twofold. First, it illustrated that some Puritans were aware of the heritage of John à Lasco, and knew the liturgy of the Stranger Churches. But second, and of rather more significance perhaps, is the type of liturgy to which the Puritans were appealing; the liturgy of the Stranger Churches was in fact merely a directory of worship for the guidance of the minister. It provided a structure, but the minister was free to use his own prayers within the suggested structure.

101. *ibid.*, pp. 173 - 174.

102. Van Wingen, for example, altered the wording of the administration. It made no difference to the structure of the liturgy.

103. E. Brooks Holifield, *op. cit.*, p. 27ff. The English Puritans tended to see little difference between Zwingli and Calvin.

3. Editions of the Genevan Service Book.

It is known that in 1567 the Genevan Service Book of 1556 was used by the congregation which met in the Plumber's Hall, London, and also by the Puritans who met in Goldsmith's House in 1568.¹⁰⁴ Two attempts were made by the Puritans to authorise the use of revised editions of the Genevan Service Book of 1556. In 1584, Dr. Peter Turner attempted to present a Bill to Parliament which would allow its use, and a similar attempt was made in 1587 by Peter Wentworth and Anthony Cope.¹⁰⁵ As in the case of the Bill of 1572, the Queen's intervention meant that the Bills failed.

The two liturgies presented with the Bills of 1584 and 1587 were both entitled A Booke of the Forme of Common Prayers, administration of the Sacraments: &c. agreeable to Gods Worde, and the use of the reformed churches. They are known after their respective printers, the Waldegrave Book (1584), and the Middleburg Book (1586). The Waldegrave Book bears no date, but seems to have been printed by Robert Waldegrave, the printer of a great deal of Puritan literature, in 1584. Its authorship has been variously attributed to Cartwright, Dudley Fenner, Walter Travers, and Field and Wilcox. It is in fact merely a modified edition of the Genevan Service Book. The same is true of the Middleburg Book, editions of which were printed in 1586, 1587 and 1602 by Richard Schilders of Middleburg., Zeeland. Schilders,

104. The true report of our Examination, 1567, PR;
A. Peel, The First Congregational Churches, p. 11.

105. Above, Chapter 2, p. 48.

it is worth noting for future reference, also printed the liturgy of the Dutch Reformed Church by Datheen.

A. The Waldegrave Book 1584.

Morning Service.

(Reading Service).

Our help be in the name of the Lord, who hath made both heaven and earth.

Let us fall down before the majesty of Almighty God, humbly confessing our sins, and follow in your hearts the tenor of my Words.

Confession.

Psalm.

Prayer extemporary for the assistance of God's Holy Spirit that the Word may be expounded faithfully.

Lord's Prayer.

Lection from Canonical Scripture.

Sermon.

A Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church.

(Two alternatives provided).

Apostles' Creed.

Decalogue.

Lord's Prayer.

Psalm.

Aaronic blessing, or Grace.

The Morning service was prefaced by a rubric prescribing what has become known as the 'Reader's Service'. It provided for someone, appointed by the Eldership, to read chapters of canonical Scripture, singing psalms in between at discretion. W. D. Maxwell, noting that this became a feature of Scottish worship, has suggested that it was a Puritan form of Matins:

All responses and versicles are omitted, the Psalms are sung in metre and the canticles dropped and the lectionary is discarded. But the New Testament and the Old Testament are read through consecutively, the Readings interspersed with Psalms. The Reader's Service looks very much indeed like a 'purified' Matins.

106

The Call to worship, absent in the Genevan Service Book, was reintroduced from Calvin. The confession provided in Waldegrave was again Calvin's, the 1556 alternative based on Daniel 9 being omitted. The text of the confession differed in two places from that found in 1556:

forasmuch as thou hast vouchsafed to offer pardon to all that repent, and seek it in the name of thy beloved Son Christ Jesus, and that by thy grace ...

but also bring forth such fruits as may please thee, ...

The rubric after the confession was an expanded version of that of 1556, making more specific the content of the prayer of illumination, and including the Lord's Prayer. The 'canonical Scripture' carefully excluded the Apocrypha.

The sermon was followed by 'A Prayer for the whole State of Christ's Church', from the 1556 liturgy. The phrase 'that Romyshe idoll, enemie to thy Christe' of the latter was rendered 'the Antichrist of Rome', and the petition for the city of Geneva and its government was replaced by prayer for Queen Elizabeth and her government; 'clamitie of bodie, or vexation of mynde' was rendered 'grief of body, or unquietness of mind', and the portion of 1556 prayer for those in England under 'Babylonicall bondage' was omitted, since no longer applicable. As an alternative, however, the Waldegrave Book gave Calvin's Long Prayer which was derived from Bucer's third Canon.

A significant variation was the provision for a third alternative Long Prayer after the Sermon, beginning 'O God, Almighty and heavenly Father, we acknowledge in our consciences', which also occurs in the Middleburg.

book. In his edition of the Middleburg Morning service, Bard Thompson simply makes the following observation, referring to the original editors:

They added still a third alternative version of the Great Prayer - a ponderous and penitential piece, with parts of Calvin's Great Prayer as an appendage. 107

In a note on the text Thompson commented:

The editors of the Middleburg Liturgy likely supplied the third - a heavy, penitential piece, to which a substantial part of Calvin's prayer was to be appended. 108

But what was the source of this third alternative prayer? It was certainly not from the pen of the editors. It is in fact an English translation of the prayer after the sermon in the Dutch Reformed liturgy of Petrus Datheen. Many prominent Puritans, including Cartwright, spent some time in exile in the Netherlands, and were familiar with the Dutch liturgy. The inclusion of the Decalogue may have been suggested by the Forma ac Ratio.

The Manner of Administering the Lord's Supper.

Institution Narrative.
 Exhortation with excommunication.
 Eucharistic Prayer.
 Fraction and delivery with words of Institution.
 Scripture reading during administration.
 Thanksgiving.
 Psalm 103, or a similar type of psalm.
 Blessing.
 Note to the reader.

The Eucharistic liturgy proper of Waldegrave was essentially that of 1556, and was to follow on from the Morning service. As in the case of the Morning service, there are some variations of differing significance.

107. Bard Thompson, op. cit., p. 315.
 108. ibid., pp. 340 - 341.

In the exhortation, 'a singular medicine' was rendered 'an excellent medicine', and the phrase 'the true eatinge of his fleshe and drinke of his bloud' was altered to 'the true and spiritual eating of his flesh and drinking of his blood'.

The rubric after the Exhortation was considerably altered:

Waldegrave.

The exhortation ended, the Minister giveth thanks, either in these words following, or like in effect.

1556.

The exhortation ended, the minister commeth doune from the pulpit, and sitteth at the Table euery man and woman in likewise takinge their place as occasion best serueth, then he taketh bread and geueth thankes, either in these woordes followinge, or like in effect.

In Waldegrave the minister was to offer the Eucharistic Prayer in the pulpit, so that both the Institution Narrative and the Eucharistic Prayer could hardly be understood as consecrating the bread and wine in a localised sense; the Institution was addressed to the congregation, and the prayer to God; neither was spoken in association with the elements. It was only after the Eucharistic Prayer, that of 1556, that the minister came to the table, broke the bread and delivered it to the people with the words of delivery of Christ adapted for the congregation. Here was a strict interpretation of the action of the Eucharist - giving thanks, taking and giving, and the words of Institution as words of administration.

In the light of this, it is of little surprise that the rubric concerning the fraction and administration was

rather different from that of 1556:

<u>Waldegrave</u>	<u>1556</u>
<p>This done, the Minister, coming to the table, (and the table being furnished,) breaketh the bread, and delivereth it to the people, saying 'Take and eat; this bread is the body of Christ that was broken for us;' who distribute and divide the same among themselves, according to our Saviour Christ's commandment. Likewise he giveth the cup, saying, 'Drink ye all of this; this cup is the New Testament in the blood of Christ, which was shed for the sins of many: do this in remembrance of me'.</p>	<p>This done, the Minister breaketh the breade and delyuereth it to the people, who distribute and deuide the same amongst them seues, accordinge to our sauior Christes commandement, and in likewise geueth the cuppe.</p>

Dr. Stephen Mayor is correct to point out that the change in the place of the recitation of the Eucharistic Prayer has necessitated the change in this rubric.¹⁰⁹ However, Mayor has failed to point out that the new rubric had the effect of heightening the fraction, for it was here that the action regarding the elements was concentrated. This may well have been deliberate policy on the part of the editors.

Already in Calvin's thought we find a stress on the words 'broken' and 'shed' in the Institution:

We ought carefully to observe that the chief and almost the whole energy of the sacrament consists in these words, It is broken for you: It is shed for you. It would not be of much importance to us that the body and blood of the Lord are now distributed, had they not once been set forth for our redemption and salvation. Wherefore they are represented under bread and wine. 110

109. S. Mayor, op. cit., p. 11.

110. Institutes, 4:17:3.

But Calvin himself made no textual liturgical use of the fraction. However, Thomas Cartwright, who may have been involved with the Waldegrave Book, certainly grasped the symbolism that could be associated with the fraction and delivery; commenting upon the Institution he wrote:

When he had prayed thus, he broke the bread which he held in his hand (it was easier to break it than to cut it), with this intention, not only to represent before their eyes the destruction of his most holy body, but also to distribute it when broken amongst them: after breaking it, he gave it to his disciples saying: This bread represents for you the whole man in me, body and soul together; the breaking of it is unto you my destruction, the distribution of it the communion I have with you: receive this bread in your hand and eat: it is my body in very faith. As often as you do this, keep it in your mind as a remembrance of my love for you and of my bitter death on the cross. 111

The same concern is found in Dudley Fenner:

In the first part the breaking of the bread commeth to be considered, which is so playnelie set forth as a worke, and hath relation to the tormentes of Christ on the crosse for us: for in that bread is broken, that it may be eaten it doeth liuelie set before us, that Christ was tormented for us and for our nourishment and as the Apostle saith from Christ, my bodie which was broken for you, although it be true that not a bone of Christ was broke, and so breaking is not here taken properlie, but by a similitude, for weeping, tormenting, &c. as he was pearced, crucified, and on the crosse made curse for us, & as the Prophet sayeth, He was wounded for our transgressions, he was broken for our infirmities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed, Esai 57.5. So then this is to be done playnlie in the sight of all, and all ought to give diligent heede and waightie consideration with the meditation of these thinges with us. 112

111. Thomas Cartwright, Harmonia Evangelicia commentario, Analytico, Metaphrastico, Practico, Amsterdam, 1647, p.891.

112. Dudley Fenner, The Whole doctrine of the Sacramentes,

A similar concern for the symbolism of the fraction is to be found in another Puritan theologian, William Perkins. Observing that the minister's action in the Eucharist is four-fold - taking, blessing, breaking and distribution - Perkins commented:

The third, is the breaking of the bread, and pouring out of the wine; this doth seale the passion of Christ, by which he, verily upon the crosse was, both in soule and body, bruised for our transgressions. 113

In 1592, Lancelot Andrewes, later Bishop of Winchester, and a 'Laudian' churchman, complained that the attention given to the fraction by the Puritans was transforming the Eucharist into little more than an occasion for evoking mental images of the crucifixion, a trend which he condemned as the 'worshipping of imaginations'.¹¹⁴ It could well be that the rubric was designed to bring out this symbolism of the fraction. It would certainly be well supported by the rubric (of 1556) which followed it:

During the which time, some place of the Scriptures is read, which doth lively set forth the death of Christ, to the intent that our hearts and minds also may be fully fixed in the contemplation of the Lord's death, which is by this holy Sacrament represented.

The remainder of the liturgy was as in the 1556 Genevan Service Book.

B. The Middleburg Book.

The Middleburg Book, editions of which appeared in

- plainlie and fullie set downe and declared out of the word of God, Middleburg, 1588, n.p.
113. W. Perkins, A Golden Chaine: or, The Description of Theologie. Of the Lord's Supper, in The Works of William Perkins, 3 Vols, 1626-31, Vol. 1, p. 75.
114. Lancelot Andrewes, Ninety-Six Sermons, 5 Vols, Oxford, 1841-43, Vol. 5, p. 67.

1586, 1587 and 1602, was a slightly revised edition of the Waldegrave Book. In the Morning service, the overall structure remained identical, except that the Apostles' Creed, Decalogue, and the Lord's Prayer after the Long Prayer were omitted. Only one change seems to be of any significance. Part of the Prayer for the Whole State of Christ's Church which prayed for the Queen was considerably expanded:

especiallie, o Lorde, according to our bounded duetie, wee beseeche thee to maintaine and increase the prosperous estate of our moste noble Queene ELIZABETH: Who as thou hast placed ouer vs in thy great mercie, & preserued her by thy mightie power: so wee beseeche thee, o Lorde, by the same mercie, to multiplie on her the excellent giftes of the holy Spirite: And by the same power as thou hast alvvayes preserued her, so to preserue her still. And as thou hast discouered the vnnaturall treasons, and vvicked practises, so to discouer them still: that as for all other thy singular graces, so also for this great mercy, both Prince and people may reioyce & magnifie thy great Name. Also we pray thee for her Maiesties right Honorable Coucell, that thy good Spirite may furnishe euerie one of them with wisdom and strength, and other excellent giftes, fitte for their callinge. Furthermore, we pray thee for all other Mgistrates, and for the whole Realme, that all men in their calling may be founde faithfull in seeking to set foorth thy glorie, & to procure the godlie peace and prosperitie of all the lande: And lette thy fatherlie fauour (as Waldegrave)

This would appear to be a subtle declaration of loyalty, for it was obvious that the Queen was angered at attempts to remove the enacted Book of Common Prayer. The reference to 'unnatural treasons' was in all probability an allusion to the Babington Plot of 1586, an attempt by certain Roman Catholics to assassinate Elizabeth and bring Mary Queen of Scots to the throne. The Puritans were

never slow to improve their image by exploiting the political situation.

In 'The Manner of Administering the Lord's Supper', the order is that of Waldegrave, with the exception of a few verbal alterations, and the recasting of one paragraph in the exhortation. Thus, for example, 'Pastor' is used as an alternative for 'Minister'; where the Waldegrave Book states the danger of unworthy reception as being 'great', Middleburg has 'exceeding great'. Again, Middleburg adds after 'the Lord his body' the clause 'which is offered in the Sacrament to the worthy receiver'.

The one alteration of significance is the paragraph in the exhortation concerning excommunication or the fencing of the table. The Waldegrave Book followed 1556, but in Middleburg it was expanded, and, to use Mayor's words, 'becomes more severe'.¹¹⁵ Mayor adds, 'This was not at all the tone of Calvin's order'.¹¹⁶

If the corresponding sections of Calvin and 1556 are compared, it will be seen that Mayor's second statement is incorrect; Calvin's excommunication is lengthier and more severe than that of the Genevan Service Book. However, it is not Calvin who provides the source for the Middleburg paragraph, but it is the liturgy of Datheen.¹¹⁷

115. Mayor, op. cit., p. 13.

116. *ibid.*

117. Here we give a translation of 1732; the Dutch text is given in an appendix.

Middleburg

Therefore, if anie of you bee ignoraunt of GOD, a denier of the faith, an hereticke or scismatike an Idolatour, a worshipper of Angells, Saintes, or anie other creatures, a vvitch, sorcerour, southsayer, or suche as haue anie truste or confidence in them, a mainteyner of Images or mannes inuentions in the seruice of GOD, a neglecter, contemner, hinderer or slaunderer of God, his holye Worde, Sacramentes, and Discipline, a periured person, a prophaner of the Lords Sabbath: disobedient to parents, Magistrates, Ministers, and other Superiours, or bee a murderer, or in malice and enuie, or bee mercylesse and cruell, or an oppressour, Vsurer, or fornicatour, adulterour, an incestuous person, buggerer, or bee a theefe, a false dealer in bargayninge, or anie the like matter: a slaunderour, backebyter, or false witnessse bearer, or in anie other grieuous crime, lament & bewayle your sinnes and iniquities, and presume not to come to this holie Table, least the Deuill enter into you, as hee entred into Iudas, and fill you full of all iniquities, and bringe you to destruction, both of bodie and soule.

Datheen

Wherefore wee according to the commandement of Christ and the Apostle Paul, admonish all those, who are defiled with these following crimes, to keepe themselves from the Table of the Lord, and do declare unto them that they have no part in the Kingdome of Christ:

All Idolaters, all who invoke saints deceased, and Angels, and other creatures, all who worship Images, all enchanterers, diviners, charmers, and those who give credit to such enchantements. All despisers of God and his Worde, and his holy Sacraments: all blasphemers, all those who are given to make strife, sedition and mutiny in Church and Commonwealth: all perjured persons, all disobedient to Parents or Magistrates, all murderers, contentious persons, who live in hatred and envy against their neighbour; all adulterers, whoremongers, drunkards, thieves, usurers, gamesters, coveteous and all who live a scandalous life. All these, so long as they continue in such sins, are to abstain from this meat (which Christ hath ordained only for the faithfull) lest their judgement and condemnation be made the heavier and encreased.

The editors of Middleburg seem to have filled out the paragraph of 1556 and Waldegrave with words from the Dutch liturgy, adding also a few words of their own for good measure.

The remainder of the rite follows Waldegrave. At

the fraction and delivery the words are slightly altered:

Take & eate, this bread is the body
of Christ that was broken for us, Doo
this in remembrance of him.

Drinke ye all of this: This Cuppe is
the newe Testament in the bloud of Christ,
which was shedde for the sinnes of manie:
Doo this in the remembrance of him.

In retrospect, the Puritans of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries provide rather a liturgical disappointment. The appeal to the Word of God produced only fickle arguments over the rubrics and phraseology of the Book of Common Prayer Eucharistic liturgy, resulting only in minor unofficial emendations, or the borrowing of someone else's liturgy, either the Genevan Service Book, or à Lasco's directory for worship, and pieces of Datheen's Dutch liturgy. The Puritans failed to produce an original alternative to the enacted rite. We may note that in appealing to the Stranger Churches and by issuing emended editions of the Genevan Service Book, the Puritans were perpetuating the liturgical division found in Calvin's rite, and maintained by à Lasco, which separated Word and Sacrament.

APPENDIX

Petrus Datheen's Forme om het heylighe Avendtmael te houden
Part of the Exhortation. Edition of 1611.

Daero wy oor nae den bevele Christi en des apost. Pauli, alle die hen met dese nabolgede lasteren besmet weten, vermanen va de tafel des heeren hen te onthouden, en vercondighen hen datse gee deel int Kijcke Christi hebbe. Als daer zijn alle afgodendienaers, alle die verstorven heyligen, Engelen, oft andere Creaturen aenroepen. Alle die den Beelde eere aen doen, alle tooveraers en waerseggers, die vee ofte menschen, mitgaders ander dingen segenen, en die suleke segeninge geloove geve: alle verachters Gods, sijn Woorts, en der H. Sacramenten: alle Gods lasteraers, alle die tweedratht, secte, en muyterie, in kercken, en wereltlicken Regimenten begeeren aen te richten: alle Mayneedighe: Alle die haren ouderen en Overheyden ongehoorfaem zijn: alle Dootslagers, kijvers, en die in haet en nijt tegen hare nasten leven alle Echtbrekers, Koereerders, Dronckaertes, Dieven, Woeckeraers, Roovers, Tuysschers, Gierigaers, ende alle de gene die een ergerlick leven leyden. Dese allesoo lange sy in sulcken sonden blijven, sullen hen deser spijsse (welcke Christus alleen sijnen geloovigen verordineert heeft) onthouden, op dathaer gherichte ende verdoemenisse niet dies te swarer werde.

CHAPTER 6

THE EUCHARISTIC LITURGY AMONG THE SEPARATISTS

And even that best part of it they use is but Dagon's stump devoted (?), but a pece of swyne's flesh, an abhominable sacrifysse unto the Lord, ...

Henry Barrow referring to the Book of Common Prayer in Four Causes of Separation, 1587, in The Writings of Henry Barrow 1587 - 1590, ed. Leland H. Carlson, 1962, p. 56.

The Eucharistic Liturgy Among the Separatists.

The material available to us concerning the liturgical forms used by the Separatists is sparse. In the first place, their writings were mainly concerned with ecclesiology; their prime concern was the establishment and ordering of the Church in terms of covenanted believers, and their writings were mainly of a polemical nature, condemning the parochial system of the Church of England, and justifying from Scripture their own gathered congregational system. Again, as outlined above,¹ they objected strongly to all forms of written prayer, and so were hardly likely to record the prayers uttered 'in the Spirit' in their worship. The evidence and material is almost as fragmentary and scarce as that for the worship of the pre-Nicene Church, and indeed in many ways the Separatists found themselves in a similar position to the Church of those early years; being under the constant threat of arrest and imprisonment, they were hardly willing to divulge intimate information concerning their meetings. The material available to us consists of brief references in the writings of the Separatist leaders, and the descriptions found in some of the depositions made before ecclesiastical courts.

The Puritans demonstrated their dislike of the Prayer Book rites by a detailed analysis of the services; in contrast, since the Prayer Book was a written liturgy, the Separatists never subjected it to an analysis, for its very nature disqualified it from serious consideration.

1. See Chapter 2.

There are, however, a few passing references to it in the writings of the Separatist leaders.

Henry Barrow's contempt for the communion service of the Prayer Book is shown in a disapproving summary:

Likewise in their sacrament of the Supper, their frivolous leitourgie stinting the priest when and how to stand at the north end of the table, what and when to saye and praye, when to kneele, when to tourne, when to glory God, etc. Also the vayne dialogue betwixt the priest, clarcke, and people. Their altering the wordes of Christ's institution, and delivering it after a popish maner. The bodie of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve this thei bodie and soule unto everlasting life, etc. and that kneeling, that they might adore the bread, or at least retaine a taste of their former superstition in tyme of high poperie, etc. 2

As in the case of the Puritans, the Separatists detested the liturgical calendar:

... see how they abuse it to more accursed idolatry and abhominacion, as to their idol feastes both Jewish and popish, their fastes of all sortes, their holy daies. 3

Well, and besides that you have receaved and derived these fastes from the church of Rome, let your special collects, upon your saintes' Eaves, your bitter commination and special communion upon your Ash Wednesday, with your epistle out of Joel 2:12. Tourne you unto me with all your heartes, with fasting, weeping, mourning, etc., your gospell out of Matthew 6:16: When you fast be not sad as the hipocrites. etc. Likewise your Collect and Gospell

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2. H. Barrow, A Plaine Refutation, in ed. Leland H. Carlson, The Writings of Henry Barrow 1590-1591, 1966, p. 85. Cf. John Greenwood, A Collection of Certaine Sclaunderous Articles, in ed. Leland H. Carlson, The writings of John Greenwood 1587-1590, 1962, pp. 167-8.
 3. Barrow, A Brief Discoverie of the False Church, in ed. Carlson, The Writings of Henry Barrow 1587-1590, p. 383.

upon the first Sundaye of your Lent, making mention of Christ's forty dayes fast in the wildernes, desiring that your forty dayes fast may subdue the flesh, etc. Let this your apish, or rather popish counterfeighting, let your special communions in your passion weeke, your Maunday Thurs-daye, your Good Friday, etc., shewe how popishlie you keepe these your fastes. 4

Similarly, the Separatists disliked Saints' Days:

Furder what will you then say to your celebration of deade saints, keeping one solemne daye unto them all at once? And againe severallie to John Baptist, and to the apostles as they are allotted in their pageant. George also your St. patron must not be forgotten. A daye also is kept to the martyre Stephen, an other daye to the Innocents, with their daye, eave, fast, feast, cessation, special worship to everie one particularlie. What warrant can you shew for this out of the Bible? The patriarckes, prophets, godly kings were never so celebrated: neither have you anie commandment or president in al the Newe Testament thus to celebrate them. Paule and Peter whilest they were alive desired to be remembered and prayed for of the church, but never required anie such dutie being deade. 5

The Prayer Book lections for the Epistle and Gospel were also condemned:

I would moreover know of them, where they learned to hew out and dismember the Scriptures in this manner; to pluck them from the context with such violence, without al sense, order, or cause; I would also know of them, how their peeces of the prophecies became epistles? And where they learned to make thus many pistles and gospels? 6

Henry Barrow also attacked the recitation of the Creed, complaining of

Cf. Greenwood, op. cit., p. 167; Robert Browne, A Treatise of reformation without tarrying for anie, ed. Carlson and A. Peel, The Writings of Robert Harrison and Robert Browne, 1953, p. 168.

4. Barrow, A Plaine Refutation, in op. cit., p. 69.

5. ibid., pp. 72 - 73.

6. Barrow, A Brief Discoverie of the False Church, in

their forged patcherie commonly
 caled the Apostles' Creed or symbole,
 Athanasius' Creed, the Nicene Creed,
 sometimes sayde in prose, sometimes
 songe in meter on their festivals: 7

Barrow seems to have taken a particular dislike to the Preface in the communion service which mentioned angels and archangels. The latter are mentioned in Scripture twice only, I Thess. 4: 16 and Jude 1:9. Apparently Barrow felt that this was not sufficient to warrant their mention at the communion service; writing in reply to the attack of George Gifford,⁸ he wrote:

Nowe to help your memorie a little
 funder, we woulde desire you to con-
 sider better of that glorious antheame
 you singe or saye in your publique
 communion, wher-in "with angells and
 arch-angells and al the companie of
 heaven you laude and magnifie", etc.
 Wherin we wil not demaunde of you
 howe, whilest you remaine in the
 flesh, you can have such familiar
 conversation with those heavenlie
 souldiours and elect spirits of the
 faithfull deceased, that you together
 with them can praise and laude God.
 Nether wil we presse you with the
 papistical and curious speculations in
 making digrees of angells, arch-angels,
 etc. But we would here knowe of you
 howe manie arch-angells you reade of
 and finde in the Scriptures, and whether
 you knowe anie more heades of angells
 than Christ himself. Except peradventure
 your church have some especial
 prerogative from the apostatical sea,
 to make arch-bisshops and arch-angells. 9

op. cit., pp. 382 - 383; Cf. A Plaine Refutation,
 in op. cit., p. 98; Greenwood, A Collection of
 certaine sclaunderous articles, in op. cit., p. 167.

7. Barrow, A Brief Discoverie of the False Church, in
 op. cit., p. 382.
8. George Gifford, Vicar of Maldon in Essex, attacked
 Barrow in A Short Treatise against the Donatists of
 England, Whome We Call Brownists, 1590, (print of
 MS of 1587/88) and A Short Reply unto the Last Printed
 Books of Henry Barrow and John Greenwood, the cheafe
 Ringleaders of our Donatists in England, 1591, in
 which he defended the Book of Common Prayer.
9. Barrow, A Plaine Refutation, in op. cit., pp. 91 - 92.

His reply to Gifford's rejoinder was more concerned with its liturgical origin:

I hope you are not ignorant that the papists from whom you fetched this glorious antheme (which thei used at their high masse and you at your solemn communion upon your high feasts) thought and taught that at that instant in that parte of their masse the angels and all the company of heaven, the spirits of men disceased, did worship and laude God with them. If you thincke not so and would not have others so to thincke, whie use you this popish anth in the same wordes, order, and (so my wordz be not to far inforced) action that thei do? 10

It was almost certainly the Book of Common Prayer communion service which Browne described as 'The Signe made mockerie and trifle':

They take breade or a wafer cake and inchaunte it by reading a grace ouer it, and a number of other prayers: they reade it to be the bodye of Christ, which is but an Idole in stead therof, and they feede on it by their superstition, and growe into one wicked communion: so the priest doth eate of it himselve, and carieth it rounde about vnto them, with a vayne babling ouer euery one, which receyue and eate it kneeling downe before him.

Likewise also they take the cuppe, and inchaunte it, by reading a grace, or other prayers ouer it: then they reade it or by the booke pronounce it to be the bloud of Christ, which is but an Idole in steade thereof. And so he and they drinking it, doe euen drinke their iniquitie, and feede thereon.

So are they imbouldned and further strengthened in ther sinne. 11

The communion rite of the Prayer Book was superstitious

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10. Barrow, Barrow's Final Answer to Gifford, in ed. Leland H. Carlson, The writings of John Greenwood and Henry Barrow 1591-1593, London, 1970, pp. 155-156.
 11. Browne, A Booke which sheweth the life and manners of all true Christians, in op. cit., p. 284.

and idolatrous; but whereas the Puritans turned to the liturgies of the Reformed Churches, the Separatist refused any written form of worship.

The Brownists.

According to The Brownists Synagogue, the normal worship of the congregation consisted of prayer, lasting half an hour and including a petition that God would be pleased to turn the hearts of those who had come to laugh and scoff. A sermon then followed, lasting an hour, followed by a commentary or explanation of the sermon by another member of the congregation.¹² More information is provided by Browne himself concerning his congregation at Middleburg. The service included prayer, thanksgiving, reading of scripture, exhortation and edifying, with provision for discussion on subjects which were 'doubtful & hard'.¹³

Browne also provided directions for the celebration of the Eucharist. There must be adequate preparation beforehand:

There must be a separation fro those which are none of the church, or be vameete to receae, that the worthie may be onely receaued.

All open offences and faultings must be redressed.

All must proue and examine them selues, that their consciences be cleare by faith and repentance, before they receae. 14

For the Eucharist to be rightly administered, the Word must be preached and the sign or sacrament rightly applied.

12. The Brownists Synagogue, 1641, p. 5f.

13. Browne, A True and Short Declaration, in op. cit., p. 422.

14. Browne, A Booke which sheweth the life and manners, in op. cit., p. 280.

Browne explained:

By preaching the worde of communion we vnderstande not the blinde reading, or fruitlesse pratlinge therof at randome, but a teaching by lawful messengers, of the right vsing of the bodie and blood of Christ in one holie communion, and that with power. 15

This was qualified further:

The death and tormentes of Christ, by breaking his bodie and sheading his bloud for our sinnes, must be shewed by the lawful preacher. Also he must shewe the spirituall vse of the bodie & bloud of Christ Iesus, by a spirituall feeding thereon, and growing into it, by one holie communion. Also our thankefulnes, and further profiting in godlines vnto life everlasting. 16

Then came the Eucharistic action:

The preacher must take breade and blesse and geue thankes, and thē must he breake it and pronounce it to be the body of Christ, which was broken for the, that by fayth they might feede thereon spirituallie & growe into one spiritual bodie of Christ, and so he eating thereof himselfe, must bidd them take and eate it among them, & feede on Christ in their consciences. Likewise also must he take the cuppe and blesse and geue thankes, and so pronounce it to be the bloud of Christ in the newe Testament, which was shedd for remission of sinnes, that by fayth we might drinke it spirituallie, and so be nourished in one spirituall bodie of Christ, all sinne being clensed away, and then he drinking thereof himselfe must bydd them drinke thereof likewise and diuide it amōg them, and feede on Christe in their consciences. Then must they all giue thankes praying for their further profiting in godlines & vowing their obedience. 17

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15. *ibid.*, p. 281.
 16. *ibid.*, p. 282.
 17. *ibid.*, p. 284.

The Barrowists.

The little information we have describing Barrowist worship gives a picture not too dissimilar from that of the Brownists. We learn that meetings took place in private houses, or in some secluded place such as Islington woods.¹⁸ From a certain Clement Gamble we learn that in summer they met in fields outside London, and sat down on a bank and 'divers of them expound out of the Bible so long as they are there assembled'.¹⁹ In winter they met in a house for prayer and exposition.²⁰ After a meal they made a collection to pay the expenses, and any that remained was taken to their members who were in prison.²¹ One John Dove described their prayer thus:

In there praier one speketh and the rest doe grone, or sob, or sigh, as if they wold wringe out teares, but saie not after hime that praieth, there praier is extemporall. 22

From a certain William Clark we learn that

they prayed and exercised the word of God, and ther George Johnson used the exhortacon and prayer. 23

Only when Francis Johnson became pastor of the congregation did they begin to sing psalms.²⁴

Concerning the Eucharistic liturgy, Clement Gamble asserted that in eighteen months as a regular attender,

18. April 1593 Examinations before commissioners, Ellesmere Ms. 2101, in The Writings of John Greenwood and Henry Barrow 1591-1593, p. 319.
19. certen wicked sects and opinions, March 1588/9, Harley Mss. 6848, in The Writings of John Greenwood 1587-1590, pp. 294-299.
20. ibid.
21. ibid.
22. ibid.
23. Ellesmere Ms 2101, in op. cit., p. 319.
24. Henoah Clapham, A Chronological Discourse, 1609, p. 3, quoted in Burrage, Vol. 1., p. 157.

he had never seen the Supper celebrated.²⁵

Champlin Burrage suggested that the Supper was suspended while the Church was without a minister, though more recently Mayor has argued that Gamble saw no celebration because he was not regarded as a full member.²⁶ According to Francis Johnson and William Denford, a schoolmaster, the Supper could be celebrated at any time of day or night.²⁷

A clear description was provided by Daniel Bucke:

Beinge further demaunded the manner of the Lord's Supper administred amongst them, he saith that fyve whight loves or more were sett upon the table and that the pastor did breake the bread and then delivered yt unto some of them, and the deacons delivered to the rest, some of the said congregacion sittinge and some standinge aboute the table and that the pastor delivered the cupp unto one and he to an other, and soe from one to another till they had all dronken, usinge the words at the deliverye therof accordinge as it is sett downe in the eleventh of the Corinthes the xxiiiith verse. 28

And this description can be supplemented by Barrow's own brief directions:

Unto the supper of the Lord are required the elements of bread and wine: which bread (after thanks giving) is to be broken and to be delivered with such wordes of exhortation as are therunto prescribed, and the cup to be delivered in like manner. 29

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25. Harley Mss. 6848 in op. cit., p. 299.
 26. C. Burrage, The Early English Dissenters, Vol. 1, p. 127; S. Mayor, The Lord's Supper in Early English Dissent, p. 43. However, Burrage does suggest this in a footnote.
 27. April 1593, Ellesmere Mss. 2115 and 2117, in The Writings of John Greenwood and Henry Barrow 1591 - 1593, pp. 353-354; 363.
 28. Harley Mss. 6849, in op.cit., p. 307.
 29. A Brief Discoverie of the False Church, in op. cit., pp. 418 - 419.

The Separatists believed that their services rested on Scripture alone: 1 Tim. 2: 1ff required prayer; Romans 12:8, exhortation; 2 Cor. 1: 12, 11:2, the sermon; and examination before communion, Matt. 18: 15-18, 1 Cor. 5: 3-5, 11, and 1 Cor. 11: 27ff. A sermon before the sacrament which Browne insisted upon was warranted by Acts 20:27, and the Supper itself by the Synoptic Gospels and 1 Cor. 11: 23ff. Certainly in the case of Browne,³⁰ and probably in the directions given by Barrow also,³¹ there seems to have been a strict interpretation of the Words of Institution:

Taking the bread.
 Blessing and giving thanks over it.
 Breaking it.
 Pronouncing it to be the body of Christ.
 Administration of the bread.
 Taking the cup.
 Blessing and giving thanks over it.
 Pronouncing it to be the blood of Christ.
 Administration of the cup.

However, the scriptural warrant was not followed to its logical conclusions; for example, some communicants sat, and others stood, but no one reclined as in the Gospels. Again, there was no restoration of a meal with the Eucharist. No Christian liturgy is a creation ex nihilo. Browne and his followers had been acquainted with the more extreme Puritans, and were no doubt familiar with the Puritan editions of the Genevan Service Book. The Brownist service of prayer, thanksgiving, lections and exhortation echo the Genevan Service Book as much as

30. Browne, A Booke which sheweth the life and manners, in op. cit., p. 284.

31. Barrow, A Brief Discoverie of the False Church, in op. cit., p. 418.

scriptural warrant. The preparation before the sacrament as given by Browne seems a very good summary of the exhortation with excommunication found in Calvin's rite and the Genevan Service Book. Also, according to the Gospel narratives, after the Supper the disciples sang a psalm; Browne recommended a prayer of thanksgiving, praying for 'further profiting in godlines & vowing their obedience', which again recalls the Eucharist of Calvin and that of 1556. There is a strong suspicion here that the Separatist exegesis of scriptural worship was somewhat coloured by Calvinist liturgical usage.

One interesting fact which emerges from the Separatist accounts of worship is that the division between the service of Word and the Sacrament implicit in the Calvinist rites is now made explicit by the Separatists; the Eucharist was now an entirely separate service, and Clement Gambler could attend the ordinary worship for eighteen months without ever having seen the Eucharist celebrated.

CHAPTER 7

ENGLISH PURITANS IN THE NETHERLANDS

English Puritans in the Netherlands

If the English Puritan tradition could not enjoy Reformed discipline and worship in England itself, then for some of its more extreme adherents the only course open was that of exile. Among the many possible places of exile, a high proportion of these Puritans chose the Netherlands. In the early years of the Reformation, England had provided a place of refuge for Dutch protestants who were oppressed by Habsburg Catholic rule. With the gradual advance of the Sea beggars in Zealand and Holland after 1572, the Dutch Reformed States in their turn provided an attractive retreat for dissident Puritan and Separatist ministers and their congregations.

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries two large groups of Englishmen were to be found in the Netherlands, each of whom were sympathetic to Puritan views, and who exercised a certain amount of independence from the hierarchy of the Church of England: the English Merchant Adventurers, who had a monopoly of trade with the Low Countries, and who appointed their own chaplains, and the regiments of English and Scottish soldiers who had been sent to the Dutch States at regular intervals from the 1580's to assist in the struggle of the northern States against the Spanish.¹ As the northern States and towns were liberated from Spanish hands, a swift change of local government followed. The Erasmian tolerance of the

1. Pieter Geyl, The Revolt of the Netherlands, London, 1958, passim. For the vacillating policy of Elizabeth I, see Charles Wilson, Queen Elizabeth and the Revolt of the Netherlands, London, 1970.

liberated States,² together with a growth of Reformed discipline, meant that the English Puritans found some sympathy in the Netherlands; and it was in the Netherlands that Puritan theological tracts and works could be printed without hindrance from the authorities, and from there could be smuggled into England. The name of Richard Schilders, the printer to the States of Zeeland, was notorious in this connection.³

In such circumstances it is not surprising that many prominent Puritan ministers sought refuge in the Netherlands.⁴ Thomas Cartwright, Robert Brown and Henry Jacob were, successively, chaplains to the Merchant Adventurers at Middleburg; John Forbes, the promoter of the congregational English Classis, was also chaplain to the Adventurers at Middleburg and Delft. In 1600 the Brownist congregation in Amsterdam chose Francis Johnson as pastor, and Henry Ainsworth as their doctor or teacher. John Robinson, whose congregation was later to sail to America, arrived in Amsterdam in about 1608. Dr. William Ames, a Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, was forced into exile, and became professor of theology at the University of Franeker (Friesland). And of no less significance, Hugh Peters, later chaplain to Cromwell, was minister of the English congregation at Rotterdam, aided by Jeremiah Burroughes, William Bridge and

2. Geyl, op. cit., p. 52; Wilson, op. cit., pp. 48, 96 - 97.

3. A list of Puritan works printed by Schilders is to be found in, J. Dover Wilson, 'Richard Schilders and the English Puritans', in Transactions of the Bibliographical Society, Vol. II, 1909 - 1911, pp. 65 - 134.

4. See the lists in, W. Steven, The History of the Scottish Church at Rotterdam, Edinburgh, 1832.

Sidrach Simpson; at Arnhem in 1633 there were to be found Philip Nye and Thomas Goodwin, leading Independents of the Westminster Assembly.

English and Scottish congregations were to be found at Amsterdam, Arnhem, Bergen op Zoom, 's-Hertogenbosch, Breda, Den Briel, Delft, Dordrecht, Vlissingen, Gorcum, Haarlem, 's-Gravenhage, Leiden, Middleburg, Rotterdam and Utrecht.⁵ Professor R. P. Stearns has claimed that it was among these congregations that many of the "fathers of Congregationalism first found that freedom from English prelacy which enabled them to inaugurate and perfect their new polity without effective opposition".⁶

With such a medley of Puritan and Separatist ministers, liturgical usage was no doubt diverse, the precise forms of which would be a matter for speculation. However, some light is shed on the period 1628-1635 by information deriving from two interacting factors: first, the internal quarrels of the English Classis formed under the leadership of John Forbes, and secondly, the determined policy of Archbishop Laud "that over all provinces of his master a single rule should prevail".⁷

The Dutch States tolerated English congregations, but it was understood that the ministers would co-operate with and be subject to the Dutch Reformed Church, which was organised on the Presbyterian classis system. This was the position of John Paget, minister of the Begijnhof Church in Amsterdam. Paget had been a curate in Cheshire,

5. *ibid.*

6. R. P. Stearns, Congregationalism in the Dutch Netherlands, p. 7.

7. Hugh Trevor Roper, Archbishop Laud, second edition, 1962, p. 232.

and later served as chaplain to one of the English regiments in the Netherlands. On arrival in the Netherlands he subscribed to the Belgic Confession of Faith, and thus fitted himself to be called as minister to any congregation in the Dutch Reformed Church.⁸ Samuel Blamford, minister at 's-Gravenhage from 1630, abandoned the English Classis for the Dutch, and used the latter as a shield from Laudian interference.⁹

However, John Forbes, a chaplain to the Merchant Adventurers who had had considerable contact with Henry Jacob, was an Independent Puritan, and saw the best way of achieving fullest independency was by the formation of an English Classis. This classis would enjoy the best of both worlds; it would enjoy the privilege of other English congregations in the Netherlands as regards independence from the English hierarchy, and at the same time it would be quite independent of the Dutch Classis. It was able, in practice, to play one off against the other.¹⁰

The formation of an English Classis in the Netherlands did in fact cause considerable friction, and various internal disputes arose.¹¹ The reports of various irregularities amounting to ecclesiastical anarchy encouraged Laud, or rather, provided him with an opportunity, to investigate the status of the English congregations in the

8. A. C. Carter, The English Reformed Church in Amsterdam in the Seventeenth Century, Amsterdam, 1964.

9. Keith L. Sprunger, 'Archbishop Laud's Campaign Against Puritanism at The Hague', in Church History, 44 (1975), pp. 308 - 320. After dabbling in "Congregational" - style theology, Blamford returned to England in 1650 as a "Presbyterian".

10. R. P. Stearns, op.cit., passim.

11. *ibid.*

Netherlands, and to bring them into full conformity with the mother Church. It is from the correspondence arising out of the reports of irregularities and Laud's investigations, mainly supplied by Sir Dudley Carleton and Sir William Boswell, ambassadors at 's-Gravenhage, that we learn something of the liturgical usage of the Puritan ministers.

Before 1628 there were rumours that the members of the English Classis were using new liturgies and set prayers; in a list of articles presented by Sir Dudley Carleton to the English Classis in May 1628, dealing with alleged irregularities, article 1 stated:

It is his Majesties pleasure, that the said Ministers meddle not with the making or composing, much lesse ye publishing of any new Liturgie or sett forme of prayer for their congregations. 12

The ministers were swift to rebutt the charge:

concerning the making or publishing of any new Liturgie. We are sorry, that our best intentions are so misconstrued, it never have entered into our minds, to frame or publish any new Liturgie: or to oppose or condemne the Liturgies of any other Churches: but only to enlarge that already extant (Which by authority & command of the States we are enjoyned to observe:) by adding thereunto from other Liturgies; & among the rest from the Liturgie of England, so much as without offense or scandall in these Churches might be practised: w^{ch} foresaid Liturgie hath bene in continuall use in all Churches here, from the time of Q. Elizabeth of famous memory, whilst the Earle of Leicester did governe in these provinces; & agreed upon & practised in the Churches of the Brill & Vlissinghe, then absolutely depending upon y^e authority of the Kings of England, &

12. Articles exhibited & delivered unto the Synod of the English & Scottish Ministers in the Netherlands. Add Mss 6394 (Boswell Papers Vol. 1) fol. 41 - 44, ed. C. Burrage, The Early English Dissenters, Vol. 2.

maintained by them. Such was the care of your Majesties royall predecessors to have all things among their subjects here residing to be done in conformity to the Churches of these lands, thereby to prevent all offense, & to maintaine the peace & unitie of the Church: wch course we trust assuredly, your Majestie intends we should follow; not purposing we should putt in practise any Liturgy never as yett authorized in these parts; or that we should leave every man to his owne liberty to use what Liturgie he pleaseth; seing thereby as great, if not greater confusion & disorder should raigne amongst us after order established, as was before the erection of our Synode. 13

The English ministers denied the charge of innovation, maintaining that it was their right and duty to use the liturgy of the Dutch Reformed Church. They claimed that they were allowed to make additions to this liturgy, providing that these did not cause offence - which meant providing the Reformed nature of the rite was not changed. This, they asserted, had been the position since the 1580's.

However, from a letter of 1633, written by Stephen Goffe, a pro-Laudian chaplain, we learn that the English ministers gave rather a liberal interpretation to their rights and duties in liturgical matters. Goffe tells of four liturgical uses among the English ministers:

It is to be observed that of those Engl: Minister which use not the English forme (i.e. Book of Common Prayer)

1. Some use the Dutch translated. as M^r Paine. but yet that mended much left out, and some things added, as may appeare by M^r Paines booke.

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13. A petition of English and Scottish ministers in the Netherlands to King Charles I of England against six articles exhibited by Sir D. Carleton, 4th June, 1628. Add Ms. 6394. ed. Burrage.

2. Some use none at all as M^r Forbes. but every time they administer the Sacraments a new. they doe not stand to one of their owne.

3. Some use another English forme putt out at Midleborough 1586. This M^r Goodyer saith he vseth at Leyden. and M^r Peters saied to me that was the forme he found in his consistory. But whether he vse it or no I cannot tell, I believe he goes the Forbesian way.

4. Some vse our English forme in the sacraments but mangle them Leaving out and putting in whole sentences 14

In the State Papers for Holland there is to be found what appears to be an expansion of the above synopsis.¹⁵

These four liturgical uses outlined by Goffe will be considered further.

1. The Translation of the Dutch Reformed Liturgy.

Use of the Dutch liturgy was acknowledged by the ministers of the English Classis in their reply to the articles of 1628. They appealed to the authority of the States General of the United Provinces, and to the precedent established in the 1580's. Apparently the English authorities were not altogether convinced by the reply, for in 1629 Sir Henry Vane was dispatched on a special embassy to Holland with instructions to consult the ministers in case "you find them ... framing new Liturgies, or translating the Dutch into English".¹⁶ The letter of Goffe refers specifically to Mr. Paine, and apparently to a liturgy which he had translated from the Dutch.¹⁷ From

14. Add. MS. 6394. fol. 168. ed. Burrage, op.cit.

15. SP 16. Vol. 310, fol. 104. (Public Records Office). Cf. Boswell to Coke, SP 84 Vol. 146, fol. 195.

16. King Charles to Sir Henry Vane, November 1629. State Papers 16 Vol. 152, fol. 74.

17. Possibly this was manuscript. I have been unable to trace either the archives of the English Reformed Church at Bergen, or Mr. Paine's liturgy.

the Boswell Papers we learn that in 1633 Mr. Paine was chaplain to the Scottish garrison at Bergen op zoom:

Mr Paine was called from Schonehouen by y^e Englishe classis to Bergen op Zone. after y^t by their Authority, they had deprived (i.e. the English Classis) one M^r Clarke the Scotch regiment Preacher to y^e Earle of Bucklough. 18

In fact Paine had been deprived at Schonhoven for refusal to conform to the Book of Common Prayer, but Forbes was able to get him installed at Bergen. There he promptly proved his worth by persuading the Dutch ministers to lodge a strong protest at the use of the Anglican rite on an English ship.¹⁹ But according to Goffe, several ministers used a translation of the Dutch form, and since the States General expected them to conform with the Reformed nature of the Dutch Church, we may presume that most were acquainted with the Dutch liturgy.

The Dutch liturgy endorsed by the Synod of Dordt in 1619 was essentially that of Petrus Datheen of 1566, written for the Dutch congregation in the city of Frankenthal in the Palatinate. This work was in turn a translation and adaptation of the Pfalz liturgy of 1563, the work of Ursinus, a pupil of Melancthon, and Olevianus, who had studied at Geneva. Its genesis would thus appear to be Lutheran and Genevan, without any apparent link with the Dutch liturgy of Micron. However, the 1563 Pfalz liturgy was itself based upon four other liturgies: the Lutheran Pfalz Liturgy, 1557, the German editions of à Lasco and Micron, and the Liturgia Sacra of Poullain.

18. Add. MS 6394. fol. 175. ed. Burrage, op. cit.

19. Hugh Trevor Roper, Archbishop Laud, p. 248, citing State Papers 84. Vol. 147.

Liturgically it was a mixture of Lutheran, Calvinist and pro-'Zwinglian' sources; but the rite itself was Reformed rather than Lutheran, and Zwinglian rather than Calvinist.

The Rhine-Palatinate, standing between Wittenberg and Switzerland had been influenced by both Lutheran and Reformed theology, and it was in an attempt to end strife between the two Churches that the Elector Frederick had asked two of his court chaplains, Ursinus and Olevianus, to draft a new catechism (Heidelberg) and a liturgy.²⁰ Although the Lutheran Church seems to have conceded much liturgically, it should be remembered that the Lutheran rites of South and West Germany are grouped in a class described as "radical and mediating", and noted for their liturgical poverty.²¹ The Lutheran Pfalz liturgy of 1557 was no exception to this rule; although affirming doctrinal loyalty to the Augsburg Confession, it commenced with the Calvinist votum "Our help is in the name of the Lord", it contained a confession which echoed that of Calvin's rite ("but also that I by nature, sinful and unclean, conceived and born in sin"), and before the Words of Institution it had an extremely lengthy exhortation.²² Reformed liturgical features had already penetrated the Lutheran Church in the Palatinate, and thus less was conceded than may appear at first sight.

Petrus Datheen, the minister of the exiled Dutch congregation in Frankenthal, recognising the Elector's

20. Kirchenordnung wie es mit der Christlichen Lehre, Heiligen Sacramenten, und Ceremonien, in Des Durchleuchtigen, Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herren, Herrn Friderichs Pfalzgrauen bey Rhein, in A.E. L. Richter, Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts, 2 vols., Leipzig 1847, 1967 (reprint) vol. 2, pp. 256 - 275.

21. L. D. Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy, Philadelphia 1947, p. 90.

22. Text in Wolfgang's Kirchenordnung, Nuremburg, 1570.

desire for harmony, very diplomatically translated and adapted the ecumenical Pfalz liturgy of 1563 for his own congregation. A leading Reformed minister in the early years of the struggle for freedom in the northern provinces, it was Datheen's liturgy and not that of Micron which established itself as the official liturgical compilation of the Dutch Reformed Church. The actual textual provisions for the Morning worship in Datheen's liturgy were meagre - two prayers, one before the sermon and one after the sermon, and the Aaronic blessing. Of these two prayers, the first appears to have been his own composition, and the second was adapted from part of the prayer after the sermon of the Palatinate rite.²³ However, Datheen envisaged the use of other elements within the basic framework which he provided. Thus the order given in Austin Friars' 1571 edition envisaged the following:

The reading or singing of the Decalogue.
 Confession.
 Words of Assurance.
 Warning to the impenitent and declaration of
 grace to the penitent.
 Prayer before the sermon, ending with
 The Lord's Prayer.
 Creed.
 (Sermon).
 Prayer after the sermon, ending with
 The Lord's Prayer.
 Aaronic Blessing.
 Commendation of the Poor.

We have previously suggested that Micron's liturgy was probably used in conjunction with the new prayers of Datheen, and a comparison of the above order with that of Micron gives strong weight to the suggestion. But Micron had also been used as a source for the 1563 Palatinate

23. H. Hageman, 'The Liturgical Origins of the Reformed Churches', p. 127.

liturgy, and although in his Morning service Datheen's textual borrowing was slight, it would seem that some of the structuring of the German rite had influenced him. The 1563 rite envisaged the following:

Prayer before the sermon
 (Lections)
 Sermon
 Bidding to repentance, including the decalogue.
 Confession.
 Words of Pardon, with a warning to the impenitent.
 Invitation to confident prayer.
 Prayer after the sermon (thanksgiving and inter-
 cessions), ending with
 The Lord's Prayer.
 Hymn.
 Aaronic blessing.

Whereas à Lasco-Micron and the Palatinate liturgy placed the decalogue, confession and absolution after the sermon, Datheen placed these before the sermon. Further information regarding the structure of Datheen's Morning worship is provided by the resolutions of the Synod of Dordt, 1574.²⁴ Resolutions 37 - 52 of the Synod relate to Morning worship: After a psalm, the minister commences with the Calvinist votum, 'Our help is in the name of the Lord, who has made heaven and earth'; the sermon must be no more than an hour; the lections were to be taken from one book in succession, i.e. lectio continua; between the prayer before the sermon and the sermon itself the congregation sing 'O God die onse Vader bist', or some other hymn; the prayer after the sermon may be shortened; the psalms of Datheen and other hymns could be sung; after the prayer following the sermon, the Creed was to be recited, and the

24. De Kercken-Ordeninghen der Ghereformeerder Nederlandtscher kercken in de vier Nationale Synoden ghemaect ende ghearresteert. mitsgaders Eenige anderen in den Provincialen Synoden van Hollandt ende Zeelandt gheconcipteert ende besloten waerby noch anderen, in bysondere vergaderinghen goet-ghevonden, by ghevoeght zyn, ed. I. Andriesz, Delft, 1622, p. 13 ff.

Decalogue was transferred to the afternoon service; the congregation was free to read the psalms while they were being sung; the service concluded with the Aaronic blessing. It would appear that in some places in Holland the old Mass pericopes for the Epistle and Gospel were still used.²⁵

There would appear to have been considerable flexibility regarding the precise order of the Morning service, and Dr. H. Hageman has concluded that this was a deliberate policy to provide for both a Calvinist (Genevan) and a Zwinglian (Zurich) type of service.²⁶ What is significant is that much appeared to be left to the discretion of the minister, the liturgy being a type of directory.

Datheen's Eucharistic liturgy proper - which was to follow the Morning service - was an almost word for word translation of the Palatinate rite of 1563. It had the following structure:

Institution Narrative.
 Exhortation to examination, excommunication and reasons for the sacrament's institution.
 Eucharistic Prayer. Reference to the Holy Spirit: 'thou wilt be pleased to work in our hearts through the Holy Ghost, that we may give ourselves more and more with true confidence to thy Son Jesus Christ, that so our broken and burdened hearts may be fed and comforted through the power of the Holy Spirit with his body and blood, yea with him true God and Man'.
 Lord's Prayer.
 Apostles' Creed.
 Reformed Sursum corda.
 Fraction with Micron's words. ^ During the administration a psalm may be sung, or readings on the Passion - Isaiah 53, John 13, 14, 15, 16, or 18.
 Psalm 103.
 Prayer of Thanksgiving.
 Aaronic Blessing.

25. H. Hageman, 'The Liturgical Origins of the Reformed Churches' in op. cit., p. 120.
 26. *ibid.*, p. 126.

The use of Micron's words of administration, the London aanhangsel, was modified in the editions of 1568 and 1619, only the Pauline words being provided (1 Cor. 10:16). Furthermore, in Datheen's 1566 liturgy, Psalm 103 and the prayer of thanksgiving were alternatives.

The overall structure of Datheen's rite is not too dissimilar to that of Calvin/Poullain, and included the characteristic excommunication and Reformed Sursum corda. Of particular note is the reference to the Holy Spirit in the Eucharistic Prayer. It makes explicit the doctrine of Calvin that the communicant received the body and blood of Christ by faith and the power of the Spirit - a doctrine which Calvin himself failed to give adequate liturgical expression. As with à lasco and Micron, the fraction is explicit. Yet in addition to the Calvinist elements in the rite, Zwinglian influence is also present; in particular the teaching of the exhortation, that the bread and wine are a sure remembrance and pledge that Jesus becomes to us meat and drink of eternal life on the cross, and that he satisfies our hunger - not in the eucharistic elements - but by his death on the cross.

2. Extemporary or Free Prayer.

Goffe's report regarding the use of free prayer is confirmed by a report of Edward Misselden, the Merchant Adventurers' Deputy at Delft. Misselden fell out with Forbes and reported him and his congregation for non-conformity, accusing them of using no forms of prayer, nor any liturgy.²⁷ According to Goffe, Hugh Peters also

27. SP 16. Vol. 224. fol. 57. Cf. SP 16. Vol. 310. fol. 104; SP 84. Vol. 146. recto 202.

went the 'Forbesian way'.

We have already encountered Free Prayer with the Brownists and Barrowists. As with Brown, both Forbes and Peters had been Puritan ministers, and there is every reason to suppose that they were acquainted with the Genevan Service Book. Goffe confirms that Peters had access to the Middleburg Book. Possibly then, the type of order they used was very similar in outline to that in the Genevan and Dutch books, the ministers simply refusing to be bound by the texts provided. At Arnhem where Philip Nye and Thomas Goodwin were pastors we learn of the following type of service:

They haue two Preachers, and this the discipline of their Church: Vpon euery Sondag a Communion, a prayer before sermon & after, the like in the afternoone, The Communion Table stands in the lower end of the Church (which hath no Chancell) Altar-wise, where the Chiefest sit & take notes, not a gentlewoman that thinkes her hand to faire to vse her pen & Inke, The Sermon, Prayer and psalme being ended, the greatest companie present their offeringes, ... 28

The Eucharist here was celebrated weekly. It is interesting that prayers before and after the sermon correspond to the minimum textual provision in Datheen's rite. According to the 'Dissenting Brethren', their services consisted of the same elements as their Reformed brethren.²⁹

3. The Genevan Service Book.

According to Goffe, Goodyer used the Middleburg edition of this rite at Leiden. It may also have been the

28. Tanner Ms 65. fol. 24 (Bodleian), ed. Burrage op. cit.

29. An Apologeticall Narration, p. 8.

liturgy used by John Paget at Amsterdam. A letter of Paget to Sir William Boswell of March 1636 stated:

According to your desire I have sent vnto you this book of the forme of common prayers & administration of sacramentes printed at Midleburg this being the fourth edition. Some parts of it are translated out of the Dutch formulier; in some things it varies, Though I never accurately compared them together, yet I think vpon the view of some places, it had bene better if there had bene lesse variation. I can well misse it for twise so long a time as you mention; yet seing I have no more but this copy, neither know where they are to be got, I would willingly at your leasure receave it againe, when you have done with it. 30

Here Paget seems to have been referring to the fourth edition, 1602, of the Waldegrave/Middleburg book, where as we have observed above, certain material was incorporated from Datheen's rite.

Two things are of interest in Paget's letter. First, he did not know where to get another copy, suggesting that these Puritan liturgies were no longer in general circulation. Second, Paget was prepared to part with the book. Does this indicate that he used it merely as a guide or directory, and that during its absence, he went the 'Forbesian way'? Or, could it indicate that in addition to this book he used the Dutch form? Since he was qualified to be a minister anywhere in the Dutch Church, it is logical to suppose that he was more than familiar with its liturgy.³¹

4. The English Form.

As was the case in England, some Puritans in Holland

30. Add. Ms 6394 (Boswell Papers Vol. 1), folio 228, ed. Burrage op. cit.

31. Unless Paget did in fact use the Dutch form, it is difficult to account for the claim of the Consistory

simply made their own adaptations of the Book of Common Prayer. The report on the English Preachers in the Netherlands in the State Papers, which appears to be a fuller version of Goff's report to Boswell, notes that some ministers use the English liturgy, 'but mangle and pare, and purge it most spittifully'.³²

In exile in the Netherlands we find the same liturgical usage as amongst the Puritan extremists in England - the adaptation of the Prayer Book, the Genevan Service Book as printed at Middleburg., and Free Prayer. In addition, some ministers used the Dutch liturgy of Petrus Datheen, which in turn reflected the Calvinist-Zwinglian-Lutheran compromise of the Palatinate. It is not without significance that the Dutch form was more of a directory than a fixed form of prayer.

of the Begijnhof Church that the liturgical forms of the Dutch Church 'were first translated into English from the Latin and Dutch edition by Ministers of this Congregation'. See the booklet, The English Reformed Church Begijnhof Amsterdam, p. 13.

32. SP 84. Vol. 146 recto 202.