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THIRD LECTURE

1949

THE
BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER
AND THE WORSHIP OF THE
NON-ANGLICAN CHURCHES

BY

WILLIAM D. MAXWELL

T.D., B.D., PH.D.

GEOFFREY CUMBERLEGE
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON

Oxford University Press, Amen House, London E.C.4

GLASGOW NEW YORK TORONTO MELBOURNE WELLINGTON
BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS CAPE TOWN

Geoffrey Cumberlege, Publisher to the University

FOREWORD

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The Society wishes to acknowledge the courtesy of the Editor of the *Hibbert Journal* in giving permission for material from Dr. Maxwell's article in that journal of July, 1949, to be incorporated in the following study.

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER AND THE WORSHIP OF THE NON-ANGLICAN CHURCHES

THE DR. WILLIAMS LECTURES

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Non-Anglican Churches, by William D. Maxwell, T.D.,
B.D., Ph.D. (1950) - - - - - 2s. 6d. net

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To understand the influence of the *Book of Common Prayer* upon the worship of the non-Anglican Churches, it is necessary to examine their origin and development. Both derive from the service books of the pre-Reformation Church, but their development took a different course.

I. THE SERVICE-BOOKS OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES

The earliest service-books of the Reformed Churches, which preceded the *Book of Common Prayer* by twenty-five years, have their origin in the first German Mass¹ translated by the Lutheran Dominican, Diebold Schwartz, at Strasburg in 1524, and first celebrated in St. John's chapel north of the high altar in the cathedral. It was simply the Latin eucharist translated into plain homely German, and expressing the new spirit while retaining as far as possible the old familiar things. The ceremonial, for example, was not appreciably altered; that is to say, the action itself looked much the same. And the words were not much changed, except unobtrusively to remove from the canon phrases which seemed to confirm the Roman doctrine of the Sacrifice of the Mass as a repetition of what took place on Calvary. The really far-reaching change, however, was to say the whole service in a clear audible voice and in the vernacular tongue; for, as low mass was the popular service before the Reformation, it meant that the old service had been not only in Latin but also inaudible. Now, at last, the people both heard the words and understood them; while, at one stroke, the old secret prayers disappeared and the central rite stood clear of its medieval accretions.

During the next five years, the reforms were carried further. German metrical psalms and hymns were introduced, to enable the people to take an active part in the worship. The Apostles'

Creed, as simpler, is offered as an alternative to the Nicene; the lectionaries are abandoned, and the Epistle and Gospel are read in course and at greater length; sermons are preached at every service; and the ceremonial is much reduced. The ancient basilican posture of the celebrant, when he stood behind the Holy Table facing the people, replaces the eastwards position; and the Holy Table itself, now no longer called the altar, is moved forward in the sanctuary to be nearer the people.

From 1530 onwards, Bucer's influence was dominant and the reforms more radical. Choices were given for the prayers, necessarily involving departure from the old text; and each successive choice was more verbose and didactic, while all responses disappeared. Was this because, in fact, the attempt to introduce responses was unsuccessful? People were conservative in these matters then as now, and it is not to be forgotten that responses were a tremendous innovation to those who had hitherto been accustomed to share in the service only by watching, not even by listening. For although the texts of the old worship contain responses, in practice they had not been made by the people for many centuries, and antiphonal worship had disappeared long before the Reformation except in the monasteries. Even at High Mass the people took no part. The Reformers, however, desired the people to have their proper and active place in common worship, and this was now effected by introducing an increasing number of metrical psalms and hymns set to tunes of great distinction though well within the musical capacity of ordinary folk; and this proved to be an enduring enrichment in Reformed worship. It was, nevertheless, regrettable that the prose versions of psalms and canticles should disappear, together with the *Sursum corda*, the Prefaces, *Sanctus*, and *Benedictus qui venit* in the Consecration Prayer. Sermons were unnecessarily long, judged by our standards, but ours have probably become too short. To have abandoned the old lectionaries in favour of reading the Scriptures in course is also to be regretted, for it destroyed the ancient balance of Prophecy, Epistle, and Gospel, a method by which the very core of Scripture could be read Sunday by Sunday. In fact, reading the Scriptures in course is unworkable for weekly worship: a revision of the lectionary was all that was required. The eucharistic vestments gave way to the cassock, black gown, bands, and scarf, formerly the out-door and preaching garments of the clergy. The *Orate fratres*, a bidding to prayer

where no prayer then existed, was expanded into a long didactic exhortation and fencing of the Table; and such exhortations became a feature—in truth, a somewhat tedious feature—of every Reformed liturgy and of the *Book of Common Prayer*. A central reform was the restoration of weekly communion, a primary principle of all the Reformers (though not always successfully given effect to) except Zwingli and his followers. In Strasburg there were weekly celebrations in the cathedral and monthly celebrations in the parish churches. When holy communion was not celebrated, all that could be retained in the service was retained; and the eucharist thus remained the norm of worship.

This was the situation when Calvin came to Strasburg, exiled from Geneva because of differences with the magistracy. At Strasburg, he became minister of the congregation of French exiles, and translated into French the book in use in the Strasburg churches. He made minor changes, including the substitution of the metrical decalogue (divided into two tables by a collect) for the *Kyries* and *Gloria in excelsis*. In this, he was later followed by the compilers of the *Book of Common Prayer*, but they collated the *Kyries* with the prose decalogue.

Persuaded to return to Geneva in 1541, he took this book with him. By this time it included an order for baptism, directions for the ordination of ministers, and other occasional offices; and metrical psalms were added to it. Entitled *La Forme de Prières*, it became the standard of Reformed worship. During Mary's reign, it was translated into English and revised and used by ministers of the congregation of Marian exiles at Geneva. Of these, John Knox, who later led the Reformation movement in Scotland, was one; and some others, upon their return to England after Mary's death, became Puritan leaders in England. They brought the book with them, under the English title of *The Forme of Prayers*. In Scotland, it was adopted after 1560 as the official service-book of the Church of Scotland, and was known variously as 'The Psalm Book', 'The Book of Common Order', and later as 'Knox's Liturgy'. As an indication of its wide use, it may be mentioned that over sixty editions were printed in Scotland between 1564 and 1638 (the year of the National Covenant, taken in revolt against 'Laud's Liturgy'); and it remained in use until 1644, when the Westminster *Directory* replaced it, as the evidence of a further seven or eight editions

shows.² In England, it was used at private meetings as early as 1567, and a little later in some churches, as Strype records in his *Life of Grindal*. Fewer editions are known in England than in Scotland, but there must have been a considerable number of them, some printed in London and some abroad. Here also it was known under various titles, *The Forme of Prayers*, *A Book of the Form of Prayers*, 'The Waldgrave Liturgy', 'The Middleburg Liturgy', 'The Geneva Form', etc.; it is the same book with unimportant variations. The last editions known were printed in London in 1641, 1642, and 1644 for submission to Parliament and the Westminster divines.³

Few would now hold that the liturgical quality of this book was very high, and none, I think, would advocate it for present-day use. It lacks the timeless quality of the *Book of Common Prayer*; the prayers are on the whole (in the English editions) prolix, lacking in rhythm and too aggressive. But it presented certain principles of enduring value, many of which have been forgotten by subsequent generations. For example, it pre-supposed the Lord's Supper as the normative worship of the Church, desired frequent communion, and even when Holy Communion was celebrated infrequently, the service was still based upon the eucharist. In accordance with this principle, common to all the Calvinian Reformers, the *Book of Common Prayer* from its first edition onwards included a similar service, known as Ante-Communion. Great emphasis, too, was laid upon preaching and exposition of the Holy Scriptures, with a high doctrine of the Word of God, in conformity with early Christian practice. Nor were the Reformers, as some have oddly supposed, ignorant of early Christian teaching; Calvin was pre-eminently the greatest patristic scholar of his age.

Since the Calvinian cultus was well-established abroad and well-known to English scholars before 1549, it influenced the compilers of the *Book of Common Prayer* in many things, and this is particularly evident in 1552 and onwards. Later, the position is reversed, as we shall see, and the *Book of Common Prayer*, as the only prayer book in English in constant use for four centuries, influenced non-Anglican worship at many points both in England and Scotland, and continues to do so at the present day.

Before turning from the Calvinian rite, it is useful to summarize it. It contained no order for daily prayer, though daily services took place, chiefly of a didactic nature with prayers added; and

family prayers were encouraged in the homes, consisting of reading of the Bible in course and simple prayers. The Sunday Service was as follows: Scripture Sentence from Psalm cxxiv. 8 (as in the Mass); Confession of Sins, with Scriptural Words of Pardon, or Absolution; Decalogue sung in metre, with Greek *Kyries* after each commandment, the two Tables divided by a collect for grace to keep God's Law; a collect for illumination; Scripture Reading, and Sermon; collection of alms; Intercessions; Lord's Prayer (sometimes in a long paraphrase); Apostles' Creed in metre; metrical psalm; Aaronic Blessing. In addition, one or two other metrical psalms were inserted at appropriate points, as we learn from contemporary descriptions. When Holy Communion was celebrated, the Lord's Prayer and the Blessing were omitted in the above, the Prayer of Consecration followed the Creed and was completed by the Lord's Prayer. Then followed the Words of Institution, the Fraction, the celebrant's communion, Delivery to the people who came forward to the Holy Table to receive in both kinds standing, while a Psalm was sung or the Scriptures read. The service concluded with a brief post-communion thanksgiving, the *Nunc dimittis* in metre, and the Aaronic Blessing. Originally, Calvin's service was conducted from the Communion Table, with readings and sermon from the pulpit; later, as in Anglican practice of the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, the whole service gravitated to the pulpit.⁴ The Christian Year was followed in its main feasts, but not in detail.

II. THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER

Many histories of the *Book of Common Prayer*^s exist, so here I shall mention only a few relevant details. The Prayer Book derives, like the Genevan rite, from the service-books of the old Church; in particular, from the Sarum use, but containing features imported from Eastern rites, Lutheranism, and Calvinism. In its conception of worship, it is more Lutheran than Calvinian, but the reverse is true of its doctrine. Yet it is impossible to describe it as other than English, and its contribution to both doctrine and worship is peculiar to itself. It expresses the genius of the English spirit in a catholic and reformed setting, with its ability to compromise while yet retaining the essentials.

Prepared for by some reforms, the first *Book of Common Prayer* was issued in 1549. Chiefly the work of Cranmer, it excelled in liturgical style all vernacular service-books of the period, and has since held this pre-eminence. It was singularly felicitous and appropriate to its purpose, direct, simple, concrete and biblical in its style, balanced and rhythmical so that singing tones could be used, expressing the new spirit yet retaining a rich treasure of liturgical material made fully accessible to and usable by the people in their own tongue. Even the peculiar genius of the collect was preserved, in its compactness, sobriety, and rhythm. Holy Communion was intended to be the principal Sunday service, and the Prayer Book's treatment of it is not unlike that of Schwarz. The whole service was to be said in a loud clear voice, but most of the ceremonial was retained, the various old forms of prayer (collect, litany, eucharistic, etc.), vestments, and furnishings. The consecration prayer was one of high merit, influenced by the old canon yet not bound to it in literal translation, containing an epiclesis in the Eastern manner, the whole in conformity with catholic and reformed doctrine. It deserves more attention and respect from Anglicans than it now receives. In addition to this, the old daily offices were compressed into two daily services, Matins and Evensong, and were to be said in all churches. There were many responsive elements in these services; and they included a lesson from each Testament, the lectionary being so arranged that in the year the Old Testament would be

read through once and the New Testament twice; and the Psalter would be recited through each month. Occasional Offices, such as the Ordinal, Baptismal Service, Confirmation, Marriage, Burial, etc., were also provided. The Kalendar was carefully revised, only Biblical saints and the feasts of our Lord being honoured, and invocation of the saints and of the Virgin was excluded.

This first Prayer Book, in spite of its many excellent qualities, was not very generally used. It did, however, provide the basis for English worship after the Reformation, and the book of 1552 was a revision of it. In this book the influence of the Calvinian school is strongly marked. Vestments are forbidden; 'mass' is deleted from the title of the Lord's Supper; Communion Tables are to be made of wood, and they are to stand east and west lengthwise in the chancel or quire (do we detect Zwinglian influence here?); the Decalogue is inserted in the same position as in Calvin's rite, and collated with the *Kyries* in English; *Agnus Dei*, *Christ our Paschal Lamb*, and *Benedictus qui venit* are deleted. The Consecration Prayer is reduced to Preface, Proper Preface, *Sanctus*, after which the Prayer of Humble Access is oddly introduced, followed by a short anamnesis and the Words of Institution with manual acts; the oblation might follow communion, but could be replaced by a post-communion collect; the epiclesis disappeared. Before communion, a black rubric was inserted, stating that to receive communion kneeling did not mean that 'adoracion' was done thereby to 'anye reall and essential (i.e., material) presence . . . of Christ's naturall fleshe and bloude'. The words of delivery were altered, being the latter half of the present formula. More frequent communion—a minimum of three times instead of once in the year—was enjoined. At Morning and Evening Prayer, as Matins and Evensong were now called, a penitential approach, consisting of exhortation, confession of sins, and absolution, was introduced.

The career of the second Prayer Book was brief—eight months—for Mary came to the throne, and England returned to the Roman obedience. It was, however, quite considerably used in Scotland by the reforming party up to the time of the publication of the first *Book of Common Order* in 1562, and in certain parishes it appears to have continued in use for some years longer. When Elizabeth came to the throne in 1559 the book was restored, with slight revision, and thus became the accepted pattern of Anglican worship. Elizabeth omitted the 'black rubric', permitted

again the use of vestments, and inserted the words of delivery of 1549 before the words of 1552.

Ante-Communion from that time onwards gained in importance and frequency, thus following Calvinian custom when it was found that it was difficult to make frequent communion popular. While the rubric confines its use to holy days, in practice it was widely used on Sundays as the principal service, and this was eventually given rubrical authority in 1662. In Elizabeth's time, at Canterbury for example, Ante-Communion was said daily, including Sundays, and Holy Communion celebrated only monthly. Communion, of course, was much less frequent in most parish churches, and remained so until the nineteenth century. After the Oxford Movement, having been attacked by the Tractarians, Ante-Communion tended to disappear from Anglican usage, to be replaced by early celebrations of Holy Communion, and this had the effect of making Morning Prayer the ordinary '11 o'clock' Sunday service, although now it has been put into a subsidiary position in many parishes by the introduction of a Sung Eucharist or High Mass at approximately that hour.

When considering the services of the *Book of Common Prayer*, it is to be remembered that while from 1549 they were responsive in character—and Morning and Evening Prayer most of all—they did not attain full use by the people in this form till the mid-nineteenth century. Till then the responses were usually said by the parish clerk, and this included responsive reading of the psalms; and the services were often also conducted in a very slovenly manner. Two- and three-decker pulpits were common, and the whole service was conducted from the pulpit in the nave, the clerk occupying the lower deck, with the parson in the middle for prayers and in the top for preaching. For sermon, he commonly changed into the Genevan gown, wearing the surplice at other times. Vestments had long before disappeared from use, but were revived by the Liturgical Movement of 1845 onwards consequent upon the Oxford Movement which began in 1833. The singers were usually at the west end of the nave, in a loft or at floor-level. The chancels were used for celebrations of Holy Communion.⁶ Ante-Communion, of course, has few responses; but Morning and Evening Prayer with their many responses became to a large extent a duet between parson and clerk, and the only vocal part the people enjoyed, speaking

generally, was the singing of metrical psalms (normally bound up with the Prayer Book). To these a few hymns were added in the eighteenth century, and after 1820 large numbers of hymns came into use when the hymnaries began to be published. There is, of course, no mention of either metrical psalms or hymns in the *Book of Common Prayer* itself, but they were inserted in the service, as they still are, at what were deemed to be suitable points. It is, therefore, a comical misconception, if now a common one, to think that the singing of metrical psalms was a vocal activity confined to Puritans and Scotsmen; they were universally used. The psalms were chanted in the great churches, but not as now in every parish church. Thus the influence of Geneva was much stronger in this respect, as in some others, than is perhaps generally recognized to-day.

III. THE WESTMINSTER *DIRECTORY* OF WORSHIP, 1644

The first influence of the *Book of Common Prayer* upon non-Anglican worship in England and Scotland may be seen in the *Westminster Directory*; and the influence is slight, for those who compiled the *Directory* all held Puritan or Reformed views though all were clergy of the Church of England or Scotland. Most were Presbyterian in polity, Calvinian in doctrine, and in opposition to the Anglican liturgy; while the Independents were represented by ten or eleven ministers who dissented to nearly everything. When Cromwell had gained control of the country, he summoned these divines to report upon a form of ecclesiastical government, a confession of faith, and forms of worship. We are concerned only with the last.

The *Directory*,⁷ as its name implies, contained no prayers, but gave precise and extensive directions concerning the order and content of every service. The Creed was at first omitted from it, but in Scotland was immediately subjoined to it. The Order for Sunday Morning worship may be briefly described. It consisted of a call to worship, a lengthy prayer of adoration, for worthiness to approach God, and for divine illumination. Then followed a chapter read in course from the Old and New Testaments, and metrical psalms were sung before and between the lessons. This was followed by a very long prayer of confession of sins, for pardon and absolution, and for grace to live a sanctified life, and then detailed and extensive intercessions. Next came the sermon, also of considerable length; then a general prayer of thanksgiving, supplications related to the heads of the sermon, self-oblation and offering of the spiritual sacrifice of worship, and special intercessions for the needs of the time. In the Scottish use, the intercessions were omitted earlier and included in this last prayer. The Lord's Prayer followed, and, if there was no celebration of Holy Communion (which was directed 'frequently to be celebrated'), the service concluded with a metrical psalm and the solemn blessing of the people.

If the text is examined carefully, it will be seen that the Genevan Book influenced much of the wording, and the Prayer Book

slightly influenced the structure, but the *Directory* differs from both. Compared with the Prayer Book, its length is inordinate. It is important, because it became the standard of worship for the Church of Scotland from 1645 onwards, for the Presbyterian Church of England when a synod was formally organized in the early nineteenth century, and was viewed with respect even by some later Congregationalists.⁸

IV. LITURGICAL MOVEMENTS IN THE SEVENTEENTH, EIGHTEENTH, AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES IN ENGLAND

During the Cromwellian period there was liturgical chaos in England. Puritan iconoclasm prevailed in both riotous and organized destruction of church furniture: stained glass was smashed, reredoses were disfigured and broken, organs demolished, altar rails hewn down, and pictures torn from the walls.⁹ On 3 January 1645, the Long Parliament established the *Directory* as the authorized manual for public worship; and on 23 August forbade the use of the Prayer Book in any 'public place of worship, or in any private place or family', fixing penalties of £5 for the first offence (a very heavy fine), £10 for the second, and a year's imprisonment for the third. A grave decline in music also ensued; and, although the metrical psalms were still sung, the great majority of the strong virile tunes which had previously characterized metrical psalmody, especially in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, fell into complete disuse. Successive revisions of the psalter had reduced the old variety of the metres, so that now the whole psalter might be sung to half-a-dozen tunes—a marked contrast to the psalters of Calvin and Louis Bourgeois,¹⁰ in which the metre provided infinite delight and variety. Only in our own generation is the richness of this pre-Cromwellian metrical psalmody being slowly recovered¹¹; and, owing to the fact that we still use seventeenth century psalters, a large proportion of the newly re-discovered tunes have of necessity been set to hymns. What was true of the metrical psalmody was also true of the more elaborate and charming church-music, which suffered greatly during this period and of which much sank into oblivion.

In many parishes, no doubt, where the Prayer Book was loved, little change took place, this being accomplished by the simple device of the parson learning much of the Prayer Book by heart; but in other parishes, all that savoured of the *Book of Common Prayer* was rejected. It is certain, however, that the *Directory*¹² was not widely followed; and among those opposed to the Prayer Book, services appear to have conformed instead to a

simplified Genevan pattern. Prayers were generally extemporaneous, verbose, and long. The Creeds ceased to be recited; the Lord's Prayer was discarded by many; and the metrical doxologies used at the end of the metrical psalms disappeared. In many places even the Holy Scriptures were not read in the churches, as it was considered that they should and could be read at home—which in fact was not everywhere possible, as large masses of the population were still illiterate—and the sermon was exalted to become the dominating feature in worship. In short, worship declined in vast tracts of the country to something like this; a metrical psalm, a long 'conceived' prayer chiefly of confession and supplication, another metrical psalm, a second long prayer (either before or after sermon) of thanksgiving and intercession, a sermon of an hour or more in length, and the blessing—the whole service being of two to three hours' duration. The conduct of life, also, took on a severe and restricted shape.

At the Restoration, the *Book of Common Prayer*, after debate and amendment, was adopted by both houses of the Convocations of Canterbury and York on 20 December 1661, and annexed to the Bill of Uniformity passed by Parliament on 25 February 1662. It is not possible in this paper to go into the debates of the Savoy Conference between the Puritans, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians¹³, nor to examine the liturgy presented by Baxter as an alternative to the *Book of Common Prayer*.¹⁴ It is interesting as a museum piece, indicating the views of those at that time in opposition to the use of the Prayer Book (and especially their love of long prayers, tedious and detailed), but it had no subsequent direct and verbal influence upon non-Anglican worship.

It is to be remembered that this was not an age of religious and liturgical toleration, such as we for generations have been accustomed to; and civil penalties were accordingly attached to the Act of Uniformity. It is unfair, however, to judge one side more harshly than another in this matter; religious intolerance was a defect of the age, and not of any specific party. It was common to all. As a consequence, a large number of the 'Presbyterian' clergy were ejected, and went their own way, founding congregations in defiance of the law. Precise facts about their worship are rare, but it is safe to deduce that it was much as I have described it above. In 1689, however, toleration came; but when it came, curiously enough, the Presbyterians ceased to be active advocates of a Presbyterian system of church-government,

and became immersed instead in doctrinal questions, particularly the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. Their churches of necessity became self-governing entities, yet unlike the Independents, or Congregationalists as they were later called, they did desire a national Church as opposed to local Churches. Thus, there were certain important differences: "Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Presbyterian ministers received their ministerial status as a result of ordination by ministerial laying on of hands, whereas according to Independent or Congregational theory a minister derived his authority from his own congregation. . . . While any member of an Independent congregation could administer the Sacrament, Presbyterian practice required the service of a fully ordained minister. Independent churches were controlled by members of the congregation, but Presbyterian churches were frequently in the hands of trustees. Indeed, in 1660 some Presbyterians would have been contented with a moderate Episcopacy, for they had no doctrinal differences with the conformist members of the National Church. Their position is best represented by Richard Baxter . . . whose broad-minded outlook was summed up in these words: "In things necessary, unity; in things unnecessary, liberty; and charity, in all".¹⁵ Later, voluntary 'classes' (i.e., what are now called 'presbyteries') were formed, but it was not till 1836 that the first Presbyterian Synod was created in England, of which about two-thirds of the congregations were of the old English stock and the remaining third of Scottish stock, chiefly Scottish dissent.

Non-conformist services were legalized in 1672, but it was not till 1689 that they were allowed to be held in public buildings. Accordingly, there was a wave of enthusiastic chapel building early in the eighteenth century. About 1,000 chapels, or meeting-houses as they came to be affectionately called, were built at this time. Until comparatively recently it has been common to depreciate their architecture, but while it is true that many of them (but not all) were of necessity modest buildings, the beauty and purity of much of their architecture is now highly esteemed by the discerning.¹⁶ They were not, it is true (nor should they have been, since their rite was different), in any way designed to imitate the parish churches. Drysdale has described their internal arrangement. They were rectangular buildings, built chiefly in the sober classical manner, and central to them against the middle of the long side, and not at the narrow end, as became common during

the next century, there was 'the pulpit, with its heavy canopy or sounding-board, surmounted perhaps with a dove and olive-leaf, the only emblematic figure admitted. There would be a nail or peg on the back-board of the pulpit for the preacher's hat (vestries being special city luxuries); a hoop or brass ring for the baptismal basin by the pulpit rail; a precentor's desk, the great square or oblong "table-pew", with the Communion Table in the middle.¹⁷ Then there were the deep heavy galleries, rows of stiff, high-backed pews, lined with green baize and studded with rows of brass nails, for the use of those of higher social rank.¹⁸ It is a mistake to think, judging by the situation of many of these meeting-houses now, that they were hidden away or built in mean streets. As Hay Colligan rightly pointed out, 'Time has altered the towns in which many of the meeting-houses were erected, which to-day are found mainly in quiet and dingy streets which have lost the respectability and dignity they enjoyed in the eighteenth century.' In fact, they attracted a goodly proportion of the better educated and more thoughtful part of the population. Some congregations were large, numbering from 1,000 to 2,000, in the principal towns, and, of the thousand or so congregations, about half were Presbyterian. The proportion of dissent to the total population was about one-tenth.

It is when we enter the eighteenth century, and consider the various suggestions from diverse quarters concerning the *Book of Common Prayer* that we begin to see how the Prayer Book began directly to influence the worship of the Dissenters. To study this movement in full in a brief paper such as this, is, of course, impossible; but the main lines may be traced, and the bibliography mentioned in the notes will give some idea of the richness of the material.

Before discussing the liturgies offered as alternatives to the *Book of Common Prayer*, it is instructive to see clearly what it is they were designed to reform, namely, the ordinary Sunday morning worship in the Anglican churches of the period. This consisted of several services combined together: first, the daily service of Morning Prayer (in itself a collation of three of the old Hours' offices), then the Litany, and finally Holy Communion. In most parishes, however, as Holy Communion was celebrated infrequently during this period in the Church of England as in other Churches, the normal Sunday service consisted of Morning Prayer, the Litany, and Ante-Communion with

Sermon. These were run together to form one service, and if the Prayer Book was followed strictly, as it was at that time, a good deal of repetition occurred. There were, for example, four readings from the Holy Scriptures—Old Testament and New Testament Lessons, the Epistle, and Gospel; the Lord's Prayer was said five times over, the Prayer of St. Chrysostom twice, and there were two Confessions of sins and absolutions; the King was prayed for three or four times, both the Apostles' and the Nicene Creeds were recited, and the *Gloria Patri* was repeated many times in the course of the service. Further, as I have pointed out, although the services were responsive in the Prayer Book, in practice the responses were made generally not by the people but by the clerk, and the people's part consisted only of the metrical psalms inserted at various points in the service. The Liturgical Movement within the Church of England in the mid-nineteenth century, and the Shortened Services Act of 1872,¹⁹ changed a great deal of this and the pattern was altered; but we must not make the elementary though somewhat common mistake of supposing that Anglican worship in the eighteenth century much resembled the arrangement and conduct of the services to which we are now accustomed.

We may now turn to the suggested revisions. They were all intended to shorten and unify the service, with the exception of one group which boldly went back to primitive sources.²⁰ No less, indeed, than some sixty liturgies (and probably more than this number) were published between the years 1696 and 1854; and a large number later than this, though these latter were not concerned with Prayer Book Reform until the twentieth century. To classify them as simply as possible, we may say they represented three main streams; and these might be further multiplied, or sub-divided, if we take into account theological considerations, for the attack upon the orthodox doctrine of the Holy Trinity played a large part in many of these revisions, which represented an attempt to accommodate the *Book of Common Prayer* to Arian or Unitarian doctrine. Important, however, as these theological considerations are, in this paper we are chiefly concerned with liturgical matters and the influence of the Prayer Book upon non-Anglican worship. Thus we may take note of the theological differences, without allowing them to complicate our study unduly.

The first of the three main streams comprises revisions suggested by churchmen within the Church of England.

Most of these are in the interests of doctrinal reform; therefore a great many of the modifications relate to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. Thus, throughout the new books, to a greater or less extent, prayers are altered,²¹ doxologies are changed or replaced,²² the Athanasian Creed omitted, and the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds and the *Te Deum* modified or deleted.²³ Secondly, what were regarded as redundancies were omitted, to make the Sunday service conform to the author's idea of unity; thus, the repetitions previously referred to were drastically reduced. One peculiarity common to all is that the little litany embedded in Morning Prayer with the Lord's Prayer introducing it after the *Kyries*, is omitted,²⁴ and the Lord's Prayer after the opening Confession of sins is retained—an alteration which did not indicate much liturgical understanding on the part of the compilers. The *Benedicite* was also excluded by most; and some held, further, that the *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, and *Nunc dimittis* should be omitted as referring to particular persons and therefore unsuitable to common worship. Verbal changes were made to 'modernize' the language and ideas, and the collects were lengthened and expanded inasmuch as they were thought to be too concise and lacking in literary refinement. Criticisms of this nature were very frequent during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Some, desirous of comprehending Dissenters within the Church, made modifications calculated to be agreeable to them: thus, the absolution sometimes becomes a prayer for pardon, and such phrases as 'there is no health in us' are omitted as being exaggerations, and more occasional prayers are added. Apart from those books previously mentioned, at least nine²⁵ liturgies by churchmen were published, besides various pamphlets, between 1713 and 1768, and of these six were unorthodox, their authors being influenced not only by practical but also by doctrinal considerations. All these liturgies except two were based upon the *Book of Common Prayer*. After 1768, all suggested revisions and other service-books were the work not of churchmen but of dissenters or those who became dissenters shortly after publication of their work.

The second of the three main streams consists of liturgies published either by dissenters or by those who became dissenters.

The most influential of these liturgies was Theophilus Lindsey's

Book of Common Prayer reformed according to the Plan of the late Dr. Samuel Clarke, published in 1774 (two editions), 1785 and 1793. Dr. Samuel Clarke (1675-1729) was a celebrated divine (who, had he not refused to sign again the 39 Articles, might have become Archbishop of Canterbury), a metaphysician of distinction, and a disciple of Isaac Newton. He wrote on many subjects, and famous among his writings was his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, published in 1712, and strongly Arian in its teaching. After this, he annotated in MS. a copy of the *Book of Common Prayer*²⁶ reformed to coincide with his theological views, and he also took the opportunity to give the collects a more 'literary' turn. This was not published until Theophilus Lindsey edited it in 1774. Lindsey (1723-1808) was a Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, and son-in-law of Francis Blackburne, Archdeacon of Cleveland, who had written against subscription to the 39 Articles. He was a friend of Dodderidge, and concerned to improve the relations between the Establishment and Dissent. When Vicar of Catterick, he, with his father-in-law, was active in forming a society for the abolition of subscription to the 39 Articles; but he gained little support among the clergy, many of whom were apathetic or timid, and his petition was dismissed by the House of Commons. In 1774, he resigned his living and opened a chapel in London, where he used the liturgy mentioned above. Though not the first liturgy used by dissenters it was by far the most influential, and of the subsequent liturgies based upon the *Book of Common Prayer*²⁷ published by Dissenters during the next eighty years, more than one-third are obviously closely related to Lindsey's service-book. And it is interesting to note, in passing, that every liturgy published after 1810 is strongly influenced by the *Book of Common Prayer*.

Before 1753, Dissenters made no attempt that can be definitely traced to use anything but free prayer, and their services closely resembled those described earlier in this paper, except that hymns began to be included with the psalms. But in judging their worship liturgically, we must judge it as a whole, taking into account the great hymn-writers of this and later periods.²⁸ It was through this medium that much of the common worship was expressed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Congregationalist and Methodist chapels; and in the noblest and most orthodox terms. And often it was genuinely more common worship than much of the liturgical worship of the period, for the psalmody

and hymnody provided a medium in which the people could gloriously share. Such worship, though aliturgical, had a glowing and prophetic heart, and a glance at the psalms and hymns indicates how unmistakably objective it was, possessed of a strength and power that contrasts sharply with the weak sentimentality and subjectivity of the words and music alike of many hymns of the mid- and late nineteenth century.

By limiting all prayer to free prayer, however, the dissenters of the first half of the eighteenth century and those who continued afterwards resolutely to perpetuate this tradition were not only untrue to their own earlier and richer tradition but they also cut themselves off from the devotional treasures of Christendom. Some among them began to recognize this, and a protest is made by the unknown editor of *A Specimen of a Liturgy* (note 26., p. 33) in 1753. This dissenter urged the expediency of set forms of prayer, and found his models in the Prayer Book. 'The Liturgy and the letter were something of a sensation, for the editor did not hesitate to proclaim his distaste for free prayer, which had, he asserted, "a tendency to destroy the very nature of prayer itself". Congregations, he believed, were apt to consider that prayer was the minister's business and not their own, regarding his "free prayer" as a trial of skill or a test of orthodoxy. The concern of the literary person for fine phraseology too often made his prayer "a work of the head rather than of the heart", though sometimes congregations were "in pain for him", when he suffered from hesitation or loss of thought.'²⁹

Dr. John Taylor (1694-1761) immediately took up the cudgels in defence of free prayer. He was a considerable figure in his day, a scholarly Hebraist, and the author of several books, among them a Hebrew concordance which represented the first attempt to fix the primitive meaning of Hebrew roots. He went to Norwich in 1733, and during his ministry there, in 1754, the famous Octagon Chapel was built. A D.D. of the University of Glasgow, he became divinity tutor at Warrington Academy four years before his death. He carried the day with the majority, and indeed a large number of persons in non-Anglican Churches are still against the use of any set forms of prayer, although their numbers are rapidly dwindling.

The liturgical movement, however, still went on, as we see from the large numbers of liturgies published. With only two exceptions, up to the third quarter of the nineteenth century all

of these dissenters' liturgies are Arian or Unitarian. They are over-literary in their style, and, judged by the Prayer Book, prolix; but compared with the aliturgical dissenting worship of their day terse and grave. Obsessed also by their desire to accommodate worship 'to the needs of the modern mind', they all over-emphasized the rational side of worship at the expense of the emotional, and it was here that a great weakness lay. It is hardly surprising that the Evangelicals of the age preferred, in spite of its defects (of which they were generally not aware), the warmth and ardour of free prayer; or, alternatively, the *Book of Common Prayer*.

It is impossible to enumerate or illustrate the changes proposed in these liturgies, which were many. The tendencies seen in the first stream are carried further, and lectionaries and the Christian Year (except for the main feasts) disappear. The style of prayer tends, too, often to become ejaculatory, and responses are reduced and altered. The collects are almost all omitted, but more occasional prayers are introduced, and specific detail is added in the general prayers.

The third main stream in liturgical experiment consists in those liturgies not based upon the *Book of Common Prayer*.

These are much fewer in number, but their influence is seen in many of the liturgies which were based upon the *Book of Common Prayer* in the provision of alternative services unrelated to the Prayer Book.³⁰ These liturgies, some of which were produced before³¹ and others after³² Lindsey's book of 1774 and up till 1854, were all the work of dissenters. It is difficult to determine the precise liturgical principles, apart from a sense of order and dignity, which inspired the authors and editors (though the theological bias is evident enough, for they are all Unitarian), for they do not betray any scientific study of liturgics. Although the words of the *Book of Common Prayer* seldom occur in them, the bare structure of their worship is often loosely related to Morning Prayer, so that even they do not escape its influence entirely. It may be added that in all of these liturgies aforementioned, whether based upon the Prayer Book or not, being Unitarian, the Lord's Supper is reduced to mere memorialism, or, properly speaking, the most extreme sacramentarianism.

After 1854, and continuing to the present day—eminent among them those by Martineau, Hunter, and Orchard—service-books have been compiled and composed by non-Anglicans.³³

In all of these, depart as they may sometimes do from it, the influence of the Prayer Book is to be seen in structure and in verbal relationship alike. And from the early twentieth century, a slight strain of high catholic churchmanship shows itself in Congregationalism, inspired perhaps chiefly by Dr. Orchard when at King's Weigh House, London. It is interesting to observe also that from 1817 onwards, the direct influence of the Prayer Book predominates in the great majority of non-Anglican Service Books. It was strong, too, in the Wesleyan revivalism of the eighteenth century; and it will be remembered that John Wesley was a churchman who emphasized not only the power of preaching but also the discipline of prayer and the weekly eucharist. However far some Methodists may have moved from the use of the *Book of Common Prayer*, its influence through Wesley continues, and this is particularly true of the eucharist.

Of necessity this survey is brief and general, but it indicates how the Prayer Book has played a decisive part in shaping and moulding the worship of even those Churches which grew up in dissent from it.

Both within and without the Anglican Church, the Evangelical Revival, Unitarianism, the Tractarian Movement, and the Liturgical Movement all in complementary ways (even when they were often at variance with one another) quickened men's sense of worship, each making an important contribution. And they are still effective, not least in this, that many now see that much in the old controversies was not contradictory but complementary, and that we enter into the true richness of our Christian heritage when we accept gratefully the best gifts from all and offer them back to God in praise and prayer, in the preaching of the Word, in the reverent action of worship, and in the ministration of the sacraments. Nor are we to forget the emphasis laid upon the centrality of the Lord's Supper by many in dissent, for there were long periods in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries when they insisted upon its centrality more than did Anglicans themselves. We see it in Calvin, again in the debates of the Westminster Divines, in the practice of many of the early Congregational Churches, and in the teaching and practice of Wesley. Nowadays this is too easily and lightly forgotten, if indeed it is even known, by many who inherit these traditions.

V. LITURGICAL MOVEMENTS IN THE SEVENTEENTH, EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES IN SCOTLAND

The Cromwellian period in Scotland, as in England, was a period of liturgical disorder and decline. The old Scottish *Book of Common Order* disappeared from use following the troubles with Charles I, and though it was replaced authoritatively by the General Assembly with the Westminster *Directory*, the *Directory* was in fact not followed. As in England, there was also a grave decline in metrical psalmody, and this was precipitated by the adoption of the English practice of 'lining'.³⁴

At the Restoration, Episcopacy was re-established, but the use of the *Book of Common Prayer* was not enjoined. Thus, during this period, the liturgical chaos continued and even increased, some ministers following the Prayer Book, but most their own diverse practices. Persecution, too, occurred on a heavy scale, and many ministers and people were slain, dispossessed, or exiled.

When Presbyterian Church Government was re-established at the Revolution Settlement, the chaos but not the persecution continued. Some ministers of episcopalian sympathies remained within the establishment and continued to use the *Book of Common Prayer*, but in the popular mind the Prayer Book, and therefore anything savouring of liturgy and set prayers, even to the reading of the Holy Scriptures in church or the saying of the Lord's Prayer, was anathema.

In the first few years of the eighteenth century, efforts were made by some to bring to worship a greater richness and solemnity, and the General Assembly enjoined that the *Directory* should be more closely followed; but in the parishes, any alteration of this kind was resisted, as indeed it was by the great body of the ministers. Insight into the situation is given, for example, in the *Disquisition by the Reverend John Anderson, Minister of Dumbarton, 1698-1718, on the Introduction of the Lord's Prayer into Dumbarton in 1705*.³⁵ A great tumult and long wrangle ensued not only in the parish but in the courts of the Church. Anderson remained steadfast, however, and in the end compromise was

reached by which he agreed not to use it every Sunday, and thereafter he occasionally omitted it in the interests of peace. But even he, as he states in his *Disquisition*, did not dare attempt to restore the reading of the Holy Scriptures in the services, in spite of the fact that many, being illiterate, could not read them for themselves. Such was the result of the turmoil and persecution during the greater part of the previous century, and the way of the restorer was hard.

Throughout the eighteenth century, there appear to have been few changes in Scottish worship, except for the introduction of metrical paraphrases of Holy Scripture, after much resistance, and later, after much controversy, of hymns, first favoured by those in dissent, as in England. Between 1770 and 1820, there was a sudden activity in the building of new churches, and many ancient churches were needlessly destroyed to satisfy the new craze; while about the same time many 'restorations', mostly deplorable, were undertaken in the great churches. There seems, however, to have been little or no liturgical awakening.³⁶ Leishman writes: 'The reading of Scripture between the second and third bells had been almost everywhere given up for want of hearers. The order of the first service was a psalm, a long prayer, the exposition of a considerable passage of Scripture, then, after a psalm and a shorter prayer, the sermon, a prayer ending with supplications for all conditions of men, a psalm or paraphrase, and the benediction. . . . Standing at prayer and sitting at singing were the invariable attitudes.'

In the early nineteenth century, however, the *Book of Common Prayer* began to make its influence felt, no doubt at first through the liturgical movement in Nonconformity, then with increasing vigour, as the century moved on, through the Oxford Movement and the Anglican Liturgical Movement. At first, little progress was made, and controversy in Scotland raged upon other matters, chiefly that of patronage, culminating in the Disruption in 1843. During this period, several ministers went quietly over to the Church of England, and many families, particularly of the nobility and upper classes, became episcopalian; while sons and grandsons of the Manse, in some numbers, followed the example of John Knox's sons three centuries earlier and received Anglican orders, three of whom in the next generations became primates of the Church of England.

The first official action taken by the Church was to appoint

in 1849 a committee to prepare forms of service for her people, either at home or abroad, who were without the services of a minister; and this book, *Prayers for Social and Family Worship*, was completed and issued in 1858. The prayers of the old *Book of Common Order*, and others of that period, together with material from the *Directory*, were included in it. The general arrangement of the traditional service was continued, but the prose Psalter, Scripture Readings, and the Lord's Prayer found their proper place. By another Act of the General Assembly in 1856, the clergy were enjoined to read lessons from both Testaments at the Sunday services, and generally to conform more closely to the *Directory*.

The situation, gradually altering,³⁷ was sharply disturbed by Dr. Robert Lee, Minister of Old Greyfriars, Edinburgh, who not only installed an organ in his church when it was restored after a fire, but also inaugurated new liturgical services, the people standing to sing and kneeling to pray. He published his service-book, *Prayers for Public Worship*, in which the prayers were of his own compilation. It is not of great liturgical excellence, and a glance at it shows that Dr. Lee was far from being an expert liturgist³⁸. The style of his prayers, however, is terse, chaste, and Scriptural.

Out of the controversy caused by his service-book the Church Service Society was born, for it forced men whose minds were in sympathy with liturgy into a closer association. The Society was formed on 31st January, 1865, and long before the century had closed about one-third of the clergy had joined the society. Fortunate in having a large number of scholars and eminent churchmen in its membership from the beginning, it began its task of leadership and enrichment by a careful study of the whole subject of worship, undertaken in particular by an inner group of scholars, who published a series of texts and manuals,³⁹ and in 1867 issued a service-book called *Euchologion or a Book of Common Order*⁴⁰, which ran into many editions and was widely used throughout the Church of Scotland and her daughter Churches. In its earlier editions, while it drew upon the *Book of Common Prayer* for certain of its material, it was not over-influenced by it, and made its own distinctive contribution drawing from many sources. But in 1896, against the advice of its best liturgical scholars, a group within the Society managed to bring about a revision by which the Order of Morning Service was made to conform more closely to Anglican Matins, and indeed

Anglican Matins somewhat misunderstood. Subsequent editions of *Euchologion* bore this amateur's mark; and it effected a grave departure from the Scottish tradition in worship, which properly derives from the eucharist and not from matins. It is an error, unfortunately, which has perpetuated itself not only to a large extent in the Church of Scotland to this day, but also in its daughter Churches throughout the English-speaking world, whose renaissance of worship has followed hers. In many other respects, however, particularly in the moulding of a devotional style in prayer and in the proper use of forms of prayer, the influence of the Prayer Book was inestimable; while an examination of the *Scottish Book of Common Prayer* of 1637 taught men something of what a full celebration of the Lord's Supper should be, and drove them back behind the Prayer Book to a study of the early liturgies and subsequently the whole history of worship.

In 1923, the General Assembly authorized an official service-book entitled *Prayers for Divine Service*, based upon *Euchologion*, the Prayer Book, and the ancient liturgies; a second edition, unfortunately revised, appeared shortly afterwards. Meanwhile, in the United Free Church, the liturgical leaven had also been working, and it, too, issued a service-book in 1928, entitled *The Book of Common Order*, 1928. The Churches united in 1929. A first act was to appoint a committee to prepare a service-book which would comprehend the full Scottish and Reformed tradition as a branch of the Catholic Church, and as a result the *Book of Common Order* was issued in 1940 as the official service-book of the Church of Scotland. It is coming into wide use, has already passed through several large editions, and is presented to every Divinity student in his first year and used as a basis for liturgical instruction in the Universities. Of outstanding excellence in this book is 'The Form and Order for the Celebration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion', which represents a long tradition brought to its perfection, Scottish and Reformed yet essentially Catholic. In its dignity of action, felicity of expression, and adequacy of content, it provides a vehicle of worship entitling it to a place among the great rites of Christendom, and it is rapidly being recognized as such. Here also will be seen the influence of the *Book of Common Prayer*, an influence which, however, has not bound but emancipated.

VI. A SUMMARY OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE *BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER*

As we have seen, we can trace clearly in the second half of the eighteenth century a growing liturgical movement in the non-Anglican Churches, which gained fresh impetus in the mid-nineteenth century and has continued and increased in strength to this day.

In the nurture of this movement, the *Book of Common Prayer*, as the only Prayer Book in English in constant use since the Reformation, and also because of its own inherent excellence, was a powerful and decisive force. Few, if any, of those who initiated the non-Anglican liturgical movement examined scientifically their own Calvinian or pre-Calvinian origins, and on the whole borrowed no more from Calvin than his title-page, even when the service-books they produced were independent of Anglican usage. Further, after 1810 almost every non-Anglican service-book is strongly influenced by the Prayer Book in the structure and content of at least some of its services.

Moreover, the Liturgical Movement in the Anglican Church, which arose in the mid-nineteenth century as a consequence of the Tractarian Movement, brought the Prayer Book alive even among those who did not subscribe to Tractarian views; and it became, as the century moved on, what it was first intended to be, truly a people's book. This was made possible in no small measure by the increasing literacy of the population, and worship became common worship by the people taking their full and audible part in the services. This, a unique gift of the *Book of Common Prayer* to the English-speaking Churches, helped to break down the prejudice among non-Anglicans against liturgical forms. Also, the liturgical principles and history of liturgy became, by intensive study, clearer to Anglicans themselves; for the liturgical and historical study of Anglican scholars in the nineteenth century was on a very different level from the attempts at liturgical unification, doctrinal accommodation, and 'literary' improvements of eighteenth-century Anglicans and others. From that point of view, it is fortunate indeed that liturgical reform did

not succeed within the Church of England in the eighteenth century.

In seeking to improve the quality of their worship, men outside the Anglican communion could not ignore the Prayer Book, and, as they studied it, many came to appreciate its sterling qualities—its objectivity, its purity of devotion, its concrete concise style, its direct simplicity, the sober and disciplined beauty of its collects, the variety of its forms of prayer, the value of people's responses in common worship, the charm of the psalms and canticles in their prose version, and its preservation of the Christian Year.

Thus, the influence of the Prayer Book made itself felt directly—the prayers began to be heard in non-Anglican Churches, the psalms and canticles began to be chanted, and recognizing the value of diversity in forms of prayer non-Anglicans were gradually delivered from the monotony and tyranny of the long, and often rambling, continuous general prayer. Indirectly, its influence upon the non-Anglican Churches was also enriching. The style of composed and extemporary prayer improved, taking on a new devotional directness and dignity, and losing some of the exotic, homiletic, and over-intimate qualities which had often defaced it. The collect, which was at first criticized for its brevity and poverty, was gradually seen to have a unique devotional value and won a place in non-Anglican worship. The study of prayer and its forms sent scholars searching more widely, until the glory of the Church's heritage of prayer began to open up before their amazed eyes. The general principles of worship, too, came to be more clearly understood. Further, not being tied to any specific book, the non-Anglican Churches were free to experiment, and did so; though, bound as they are by their own local traditions, the fullness of this freedom and its opportunity has hardly yet been realized. Not only did the Prayer Book influence worship itself—it also influenced the setting of worship, and non-Anglicans found it necessary to reconsider the principles that should govern the design and arrangement of the church-building, especially in view of the fact that their traditional method of receiving holy communion has considerably altered through the disappearance of the long central Communion Table at which communicants had sat. And from the late nineteenth century onwards, remarkable and widespread changes were made by a general return to the traditional ground plan.

The careful liturgical study which began among a group of scholars in Scotland towards the end of the nineteenth century is an example of how the *Book of Common Prayer*, by its very omnipresence, drove scholars of other communions to re-examine their own traditions and history, and behind them the origins and history of worship, in order to understand clearly its underlying principles. Much, of course, remains to be done, but the work has begun; and that the Church as a whole has become conscious of its importance is shown by the fact that service-books are no longer the work of individuals or groups only, but are being compiled and adopted in many non-Anglican Churches by the Churches themselves. In all this, the witness and influence of the Prayer Book has been of immense and lasting effect, whether it has been direct or indirect, conscious or unconscious.

In one direction perhaps, the influence of the *Book of Common Prayer* has been somewhat regrettable, namely, in the disproportionate influence of Morning Prayer upon the structure of morning worship in the non-Anglican English and even Continental Reformed Churches. This influence is to be traced through the reform movements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who sought to shorten and unify the Morning Service, as well as through the Liturgical Movement in the Church of England in the nineteenth century, which, by its suppression of Ante-Communion and its initiation of frequent early communions attended by small numbers, gave an increasing prominence to Morning Prayer at 11 o'clock. A glance at non-Anglican modern service-books will show how strong this influence has been. Those non-Anglicans, who do not understand very clearly either their own tradition and the principles underlying it or those of the Prayer Book, seem to turn instinctively (Is it partly because it stands first in the Prayer Book when it is opened?) to Matins as the norm of worship. This is sadly to err, for in the *Book of Common Prayer* and in all the early service-books of the Reformed Churches alike the norm of worship is the eucharist. That is the Catholic tradition in East and West. But this central fact has not always been recognized, particularly by non-Anglican liturgical innovators; and the result is unfortunate, in that it not only directs such Churches away from the eucharist and its essential centrality in Christian worship, but also fosters a good deal of meaningless liturgical millinery and confused misguided experiment and diversity. Liturgy, like philosophy, theology, and human institu-

tions, cannot be understood apart from history, for it does not exist in a vacuum but in the community called the Church, the Body of Christ, a living and historical organism. Liturgical study and experiment, therefore, can be rewarding and ultimately effective only when it builds upon the rock whence we are hewn. During the last twenty years or so, non-Anglican scholars have begun to see this more clearly, and, if liturgical study is maintained among them—and there is every evidence that it will be not only maintained but increased—it will have a beneficent and enduring effect. As we study anew the history and rationale of worship, the answer to the first question of the catechism composed by the Westminster Divines, 'What is man's chief end?' becomes significant and compelling: 'Man's chief end is to glorify God, and to enjoy him for ever.'

NOTES

(D.W.L. = Dr. Williams's Library)

1. References to the texts of all these rites, German, French, and English, will be found in my *Outline of Christian Worship*, O.U.P., 4th Impression, pp. 87 *seqq.*, where summaries and some translations are given, and mention made of where the original texts are accessible. The connexion between these liturgies is established in my *John Knox's Genevan Service-Book*, now out of print but available in D.W.L.

2. A complete Bibliography is given by Cowan, in the papers of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, vol. x, Edinburgh, 1913. Every edition is mentioned and described. See also my *JKSB*, pp. 66 *seqq.*

3. Several of these are reprinted by Hall, in *Reliquiae Liturgicae* and *Fragmenta Liturgica*, Bath, 1847 and 1848, available in D.W.L. Some originals exist in the B.M., and other libraries.

4. See Addleshaw and Etchells, *The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship*, London, 1948. On Puritan worship in general, see Davies, *The Worship of the English Puritans*, London, 1948.

5. *E.g.* Procter and Frere, etc.

6. See Addleshaw and Etchells, *op. cit.*

7. Copies of the original edition are in D.W.L., and many reprints are available.

8. This paper, thus far, derives with slight changes from an article written by me for the *Hibbert Journal*, July, 1949, here reprinted by permission of the Editor.

9. *Cf.* the Records of Will Dowsing, agent of the Cromwellian government for 'cleansing' churches.

10. See Millar Patrick, *Four Centuries of Scottish Psalmody*, London, 1949, pp. 3 *seqq.* 'There are no fewer than 110 metres and 125 tunes' in the Marot-Beza Psalter, of which Louis Bourgeois was musical editor, and which 'with inconsiderable modifications' is still in use (p. 19).

11. Sir Richard Terry edited and issued Calvin's Psalter; and many recent hymn books have made use of these and other sixteenth and seventeenth century tunes, as a glance at their musical indexes shows.

12. Sometimes the *Directory's* directions were turned back almost word for word into liturgical prayers, and it may have been followed in some places in that form. See *e.g.*, a book of devotions for use at

sea, 1645, in the British Museum, mentioned by Leishman in Story, *The Church of Scotland*, v. 386.

13. See, *e.g.*, E. Cardwell, *History of Conferences*; and the contemporary *An Account of all the Proceedings of the Commissioners of both Persuasions, appointed by his Sacred Majesty, according to the Letters Patent, for the Review of the Book of Common Prayer*, 1661, in D.W.L.

14. For text, see Hall, *Reliquiae Liturgicae*, vol. iii; summary in my *Outline of Christian Worship*, pp. 138-140.

15. A. G. Peaston, *The Prayer Book Reform Movement in the 18th Century*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1940, pp. 2-3.

16. See, *e.g.*, M. S. Briggs, *Puritan Architecture*, Lutterworth Press, 1946.

17. Note the influence of the eucharist upon the design of the building. It differed in design from the parish churches not because it was intended primarily for preaching but because the people came forward and sat at the Communion Table for communion, and therefore the Communion Table was placed along the main axis of the building. The eucharist dominated the design of the Meeting-House as much as it did that of any parish church of the period, and indeed more than that of many parish churches where three-decker pulpits were so placed as completely to shut out the view of the Holy Table.

18. A. H. Drysdale, *The History of the Presbyterians in England*, 1879.

19. For a digest of this Act, mention of which is too often passed over by historians of the period, see P. Dearmer, *Story of the Prayer Book*, ed. 1948, p. 29.

20. The movement began with Edward Stephens, a layman who later received Holy Orders, who in 1696 compiled and published the eccentric *Liturgy of the Ancients represented, as near as well may be, in English Forms, with a Preface concerning the Restitution of the most Solemn Part of the Christian Worship in the Holy Eucharist, to its Integrity, and just Frequency of Celebration*, London, 1696. (Reprinted in Hall, *Fragmenta Liturgica*, vol. ii.) The next publication of this family was by William Whiston, an admirer of Stephens, with a stronger liturgical sense but more unorthodox theologically; his work was entitled, *The Liturgy of the Church of England, reduced nearer to the Primitive Standard*. London, 1713. (Reprinted in Hall, *op. cit.*, vol. iii.) Next may be mentioned the eccentric and unorthodox John Henley's liturgy used in the Oratory at Newport Market: *The Appeal of the Oratory to the First Ages of Christianity, containing . . . the Liturgy improved, and the Primitive Eucharist*. London, 1727 (copy in D.W.L., reprinted in Hall, *op. cit.*, vol. iv.). Henley became a Dissenter when he founded his Oratory. The last of this series, also by an unorthodox (and unknown) author is *A Compleat Collection of Devotions: Taken from the Apostolical Constitutions, the Ancient Liturgies, and the Common Prayer Book of the Church of England. . . . Humbly offered to the Consideration of*

the present Churches of Christendom, Greek, Roman, English, and all others. London, 1734. (Reprinted in Hall, *op. cit.*, vol. vi.) These liturgies had little or no influence upon the other groups, but some at least must have been known to the compilers of the Catholic Apostolic Liturgy in the nineteenth century.

21. The Collect of Trinity Sunday was one of the first selected for revision. Thus Whiston substitutes this: 'O GOD, who by thy dear Son Jesus Christ our Lord, and by thy blessed Spirit the Comforter, hast united us unto thy holy Church; and who hast appointed Baptism unto the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost: Grant that we may live agreeably to our Christian profession; and that we may pay the highest praises and humblest adoration to thy divine Majesty, the most sincere obedience to the sacred laws of thy Son, and the most ready compliance with the holy motions of thy good Spirit, till we at length arrive safely at the haven of eternal life, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.' Apart from the subtle doctrinal implications of this prayer, the tendency, which soon became pronounced, to 'improve' the literary form of the Prayer Book is evident; this always results in greater length, conforming to the literary fashion of the period.

22. The formula first favoured was 'Glory be to the Father, through the Son, in (or by) the Holy Ghost, etc.' Later, Scriptural doxologies were preferred.

23. This took various forms, the modifications being in the section dealing with the Son, and being governed by the extent of the reviser's Arianism.

24. Perhaps they felt about this much as Dr. W. R. Inge does: 'The sentences after the Apostles' Creed', he says, 'are like a conversation between two deaf men' (*British Weekly*, 27 October 1949, p. 7). Others consider this section to be one of great beauty and felicity.

25. 1. *An Essay for a Review of the Book of Common Prayer to which is added a Specimen, by an Impartial Hand*, 1734, 1749 (probably by a churchman, and orthodox); 2. *A Form of Prayer fitted for the Use of Christians of any Denomination agreeable to the Plan of the Authors of the Free and Candid Disquisitions*, 1751 (in D.W.L.; unorthodox. The *Disquisitions* were published in 1749 in the interests of Christian unity by John Jones, Vicar of Alconbury; he promoted a body called the Catholic Christianity Society, and urged the publication of liturgies exemplifying the line reform might take); 3. *The Beauty of Holiness in the Common Prayer*, 1752 (in D.W.L.; unorthodox; mentions *Disquisitions*); 4. *A New Form of Common Prayer*, 1753 (in D.W.L.; orthodox; mentions *Disquisitions*); 5. *The Christian Common Prayer Book or Universal Liturgy*, 1761 (probably by a churchman; unorthodox); 6. *The Liturgy of the Church of England Reduced Nearer to the Standard of Scripture*, 1763 (in D.W.L.; unorthodox; mentions *Disquisitions*; edited by William Hopkins, Vicar of Bolney, Sussex); 7. *A New and Correct Edition of the Book of Common Prayer*, 1768 (orthodox). These were all published in London, and based upon the Prayer Book. In

addition, three other liturgies of doubtful authorship might be mentioned belonging to this period: 8. *A Christian Liturgy or a Devout and Rational Form of Worship*, 1741 (unorthodox; not based on *Book of Common Prayer*); 9. *A Christian Liturgy or Form of Divine Worship*, 1751 (ditto, but mentions *Disquisitions*).

26. In British Museum; a copy made by John Disney in D.W.L. This book now becomes the dominant influence through Lindsey. Before this, one liturgy by a dissenter based on the *Book of Common Prayer* was published, entitled, *A Specimen of a Liturgy designed for use of a Private Congregation*, London, 1753 (in D.W.L.).

27. In this list following, the letter L indicates that the liturgies so noted are in the Lindsey tradition. All are unorthodox, and this reminds us that the liturgical tradition in dissent was until recently almost wholly confined to the Unitarians, the Evangelicals chiefly favouring free prayer and growing out of or strongly influenced by the Wesleyan revival. This, of course, is no longer true. The liturgies, in the classification of which I am much indebted to Dr. Peaston whom I have corrected and added to, are: 1. *Forms of Prayer for Public Worship collected from Various Devotional Offices, composed for the Use of Prot. Dissenters, to which is added a Liturgy chiefly selected from the BCP*, Salisbury, 1776 (L); w. *Forms of Prayer for the Use of a Congregation of Prot. Dissenters at Manchester*, Birmingham, 1789 (L; in D.W.L.); 3. *The BCP Reformed upon Unitarian Principles*, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1790 (L; ed. by Temple and Holmes); 4. *Forms of Prayer for Public Worship*, London, 1791 (L; in D.W.L.); 5. *A Common Prayer Book According to the Plan of the Liturgy of the C. of E. with Suitable Services*, Exeter, 1791 (L; in D.W.L.; ed. Samuel Morgan); 6. *A Liturgy Compiled from the BCP Reformed According to Clarke*, Plymouth, 1791 (L; in D.W.L.; ed. by T. Porter and J. Kentish); 7. J. Bretland, *A Liturgy for use of the Mint Meeting in Exeter*, Exeter, 1792; 8. *Book of Common Prayer Reformed for Unitarian Congregations*, London, 1792, 1802 (ed. by John Disney, Vicar of Swinderby, later marrying a sister of Mrs. Lindsey and succeeding Lindsey as Unitarian Minister of Essex Street Chapel, London); 9. *Forms of Prayer used at Highbury Grove Chapel*, London, 1793 (in D.W.L.); 10. B. Carpenter, *A Liturgy Containing Forms of Devotion for each Sunday*, Stourbridge, 1793 (in D.W.L.); 11. *Forms of Prayer for Use of a Congregation of Prot. Dissenters at Bradford, Trowbridge*, 1793 (L); 12. *Two Services chiefly selected from the BCP and Devotional Offices collected from Various Services in use among Prot. Dissenters*, Salisbury, 1794, 1810 (in D.W.L.); 13. Ditto, Shrewsbury, 1795, 1797, 1814 (in D.W.L.); 14. *Devotional Offices for Prot. Dissenters at Mansfield, and two Services chiefly selected from the BCP*, Manchester, 1797 (in D.W.L.); 15. *The Common Prayer Book, of the Sect of the Thirty-nine Articles (still whimsically enough styling itself the C. of E.) made scriptural in point of language, if not in its mode of address, to the one only true God*, Uxbridge, 1820? (in D.W.L.); 16. *Forms of Unitarian Worship for a Small Society of Prot. Dissenters at Witham, Essex*, Sudbury, 1802, 1817 (ed. by J. T. Rutt; in D.W.L.); 17. *The*

BCP Reformed, by T. Belsham, London, 1805, 1813, 1820, 1822, 1823, 1824, 1835, 1836 (L.; Belsham was Disney's successor at Essex Street Chapel; in D.W.L.); 18. *Devotional Offices Collected from Various Services in use among Dissenters, to which are added Two Services chiefly selected from the BCP*, London, 1810 (in D.W.L.); 19. *Liturgies for Unitarian Worship*, by J. T. Rutt, 2nd ed., London, 1817 (in D.W.L.); 20. *The General Prayer Book, containing Forms of Prayer on Principles Common to All Christians*, by John Prior Estlin, Bristol, 1814; London, 1817 (in D.W.L.); 21. *Forms of Prayer for Use of the Prot. Dissenters at Manchester*, 1817, 1839 (L; in D.W.L.); 22. *The BCP, corrected and arranged for Public Worship . . . at New Road Chapel, Brighton*, London, 1820 (L); ed. by Robert Ainslie, Brighton, 1861, 1867 (in D.W.L.); 23. *A Help to Scripture Worship altered according to the Plan of the late Dr. S. Clarke*, Exeter, 1821 (L); 24. *Offices of Public Worship for the Use of Unitarian Christians*, by W. J. Turner, Newcastle, 1824 (in D.W.L.); 25. *Devotional Offices from the BCP for the Old Meeting House, Birmingham*, 1829, 1832, 1870 (in D.W.L.); 26. *The BCP revised (or Reformed) for Public Worship, as used in Essex Street Chapel*; ed. by Thomas Madge, London, 1836, 1839; ed. by Edward Tagart, London, 1846, 1848, 1849, 1865; ed. by T. L. Marshall, London, 1867 (in D.W.L.); 27. *Forms of Prayer for Public Worship*, London, 1839 (L); 28. *BCP Reformed for Christian Churches whose Worship is to One God, the Father*, Manchester, 1841 (L; in D.W.L.); 29. *Forms of Prayer for the Use of English-Presbyterian Congregations*, Ashton-under-Lyme, 1841 (L); 30. *Forms of Prayer for Christian Worship as used at the Old Meeting, Great Yarmouth, Yarmouth*, 1844 (L); 31. *The BCP of the C. of E. adapted for General Use in other Prot. Churches*, London, 1852 (by Henry Hunt Piper; in D.W.L.); 32. *Forms of Prayer: for Use in the Public Worship of Unitarian Christians*, Bury, 1854 (L; for use in Bank Street Chapel; in D.W.L.). This list may not be complete, but is nearly so, and indicates the wealth of material throughout this period. Some editions of the liturgies mentioned are almost certainly not included, as some no doubt have not been preserved in the larger libraries.

28. See, e.g., Bernard Lord Manning, *The Hymns of Wesley and Watts*, London, 1942.

29. A. E. Peaston, *op. cit.*, p. 12; see *A Specimen, etc.*, p. 4.

30. See note 27. Examples are to be found of this dual influence in numbers 1, 2, 4, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25, 26, 29, 30, 32 in this note.

31. *A New Office of Devotion Adapted to the Present Times*, London, 1758 (by Paul Cardale); 2. *A Form of Prayer for a Congregation of Prot. Dissenters at Liverpool*, Liverpool, 1763 (for use in the Octagon Chapel; in D.W.L.); 3. to these perhaps should be added, *A Christian Liturgy or a Devout and Rational Form of Worship*, London, 1741, and *A Christian Liturgy or Form of Divine Worship*, London, 1751.

32. 1. *A Liturgy on the Universal Principles of Religion and Morality*,

London, 1776; 2. Joseph Priestley, *Forms of Prayer for the Use of Unitarian Societies*, Birmingham, 1783 (Priestley was a most distinguished divine, a great physicist and chemist, 'the father of modern chemistry', but his scholarship extended to all branches of knowledge; successively Unitarian minister at Needham Market and Nantwich, tutor at Warrington Academy in languages, minister of Mill Hill Chapel, Leeds, of New Meeting, Birmingham, of Gravel Pit, Hackney; emigrated to U.S.A. in 1794, where he died ten years later; copy of his liturgy in D.W.L.); 3. *Forms of Prayer for Public Worship, Portsmouth*, London, 1791 (in D.W.L.); 4. *Specimens of the Manner in which Public Worship is conducted in Dissenting Congregations*, Preston, 1793 (by John Harrison for use in Lancaster; in D.W.L.); 5. *Forms of Prayer for Protestant Dissenting Congregations at Mill Hill Chapel, Leeds*, 1801 (ed. by William Wood; in D.W.L.); 6. Theophilus Browne, *Eight Forms of Prayer for Public Social Worship*, Bath, 1803 (in D.W.L.); 7. *Devotional Offices for Public Worship, collected from Various Services in Use among Prot. Dissenters*, London, 1810 (in D.W.L.); 8. *Devotional Services for the Public Worship of God*, Sherborne, 1812 (by W. Blake, Jr.; in D.W.L.); 9. *Devotional Offices collected from Various Sources in Use among Dissenters*, Poole, 1818 (in D.W.L.).

33. 1. *The Prayer Book revised*, London, 1855 (Kentish Town, Free Christian Church; in D.W.L.); 2. *Common Prayer for Christian Worship: in Ten Services for Morning and Evening, with special collects, prayers, and occasional services*, London, 1861 (compiled by Thomas Sadler and James Martineau; in D.W.L., as are successive editions mentioned); editions in 1862 by both; 1873, 1879, 1884, by Martineau; 1886, by Sadler; 3. *The Church Book, including Common Prayer, etc.*, Brighton, 1861, 1867; compiled by Robert Ainslie (in D.W.L.); 4. *The BCP revised*, London, 1867 (ed. by T. L. Marshall; in D.W.L.); 5. *Common Prayer, adapted for use in all Christian Churches*, London, 1867 (for use in Islington, Unity Church; in D.W.L.); 6. *Prayers and Ministries for public worship in six services . . .* by Peter Dean, Walsall, 1878 (in D.W.L.); above are all Unitarian, and the list might be increased; 7. *Devotional Services for Public Worship*, London, 1886 (compiled by John Hunter, Minister of Trinity Congl. Church, Glasgow, later of King's Weigh House; passed through many editions; 1st ed. D.W.L.); 8. *Devotional Services for use in Mill Hill School Chapel*, London, 1895; 9. *The Order of Divine Service*, London, 1919, etc. (compiled by W. E. Orchard, for King's Weigh House Church); 10. *Book of Congregational Worship*, London, 1920 (compiled by Com. of Congl. Union); 11. *Intercession Services for Congregational Use in Public Worship*, London, 1923, 1924 (ed. by G. H. Russell); 12. *The Rodborough Bede Book*, N.D.; 13. *A Free Church BCP*, London, 1929, etc.; 14. *A Book of Public Worship*, London, 1948. Compiled for use of Congregationalists by John Huxtable, John Marsh, Romilly Micklem, and James Todd; 15. *The Book of Public Prayers and Services for the Use of the People called Methodists*, London, N.D. This list might be considerably increased, but it is representative. Except 13 and 15, they are in Dr. Williams's Library. Throughout this

study no account has been taken of liturgies outside Britain; but in U.S.A. and Northern Ireland the Liturgical Movement through the Unitarians dates from 1785.

34. See Dr. Millar Patrick's authoritative work, *Four Centuries of Scottish Psalmody*, London, 1949.

35. I have a MS. copy in my possession, but it has also been edited and published by Dr. Cooper in the Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society.

36. The first manual of worship published in Scotland since the *Directory* was *The Scotch Minister's Assistant*, Inverness, 1802, issued again in 1822 at Aberdeen under a new title. Scott states in his *Fasti* that the author was H. Robertson, Minister of Kiltearn, and a relative of Gladstone.

37. The Catholic Apostolic Church's *Liturgy and other Divine Offices of the Church* played a conspicuous part in influencing Scottish churchmen during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

38. This is borne out by his advice to the young Church Service Society, fortunately not followed: 'Don't take up your time by talking of Greek liturgies and such far-away projects. None who have any tolerable acquaintance with those formularies will imagine they can furnish almost anything suitable for us.'

39. G. W. Sprott, *Book of Common Order, commonly called 'Knox's Liturgy'*, and *Scottish Liturgies of the Reign of James VI*; T. Leishman, *The Westminster Directory*; H. J. Wotherspoon, *The Second Liturgy of Edward VI*; and James Cooper, *The Liturgy of 1637, commonly called 'Laud's Liturgy'*. All of these scholars also taught and lectured on worship, etc., apart from the Society, and most of them published several other books on doctrine, practice, history, and ecclesiology. About 1890, the Ecclesiological Society was founded by Dr. Cooper, and it gave powerful support.

40. This and all the Society's books were published by Blackwoods, Edinburgh. It ran into at least twelve editions, rising from 750 copies to an edition of 3,500. Especially valuable for its historical introduction and notes on sources (though not wholly accurate) is the edition of 1905, edited by Dr. G. W. Sprott. He was not in favour of the Anglicizing of *Euchologion*, and the old order is retained on p. 176 as an alternative. On the other hand, the gradual addition of more prayers from the Prayer Book, and the litany in 1890, was an enrichment of *Euchologion*. In 1893, the Society published *Daily Offices for Morning and Evening Prayer*.