

long time to come, because the memory of the disaster of 1928 stands in the way."<sup>47</sup> It was thirty-three years before Archbishop Ramsey felt able to recommend that the Church undertake the revision of the Prayer Book and with a clear understanding of the consequences. On June 27, 1961, in his enthronement sermon in Canterbury, he said:

"Here in England the Church and the State are linked together and we use that link in serving the community. But, in that service and in rendering to God the things that are God's, we ask for greater freedom in the ordering and in the urgent revising of our forms of worship. If the link of Church and State were broken, it would not be we who would ask for this freedom who broke it, but those—if there be such—who denied that freedom to us."<sup>48</sup>

Dr. Ramsey's promise to re-institute liturgical reform was implemented in May 1962 when a new Liturgical Commission, representative of all schools in the Church, was appointed. It was not possible to do that until three long decades had helped to bury the bitterness caused by 1928.

<sup>47</sup> *Hibbert Journal*, Vol. XLVII, p. 21.

<sup>48</sup> James B. Simpson, *The Hundredth Archbishop of Canterbury*, pp. 5-6. It is significant that Dr. Hewlett Johnson, the Dean of Canterbury, referred to an interview with Dr. Ramsey in which the latter said: "I want to make men aware of God" (*ibid.*, p. 247).

## CHAPTER IX

### ANGLICAN WORSHIP AFTER 1928

WHAT WAS happening in the interval between 1928 and the present day? Clearly, a considerable breathing-space was afforded the Church of England to reconsider the relations of Church and State. As we have seen, an Archbishop's Commission was devoted to this purpose in 1931. In more recent years a rigorous attempt has been made to revise the Canons of the Church of England, and it is hoped that this may solve the disciplinary problem, possibly independently of any revision of the liturgy. In the same breathing-space it seems that the folly of divisiveness on the part of parties within the Church of England had been acknowledged, and the improved ecumenical climate has made intra-denominational divisions seem the more scandalous. Certainly there is a charity and even a mutual understanding between the High and Low Church far deeper than existed in 1928. These are significant changes of the Spirit which cannot be tabulated in statistical fashion, but they are readily acknowledged by the clergy.

The next three and a half decades show a remarkable advance in the appreciation of the importance of worship in the life of the Church. This is evident in three notable ways. What was lost at home might be gained overseas, and on this basis, apparently, English liturgical experts had a considerable influence in revising the formularies of the Prayer Books of several other Provinces of the Anglican Communion; to that extent the fruits of twenty years of liturgical research and revision in England were not lost. In the second place, there grew a deeper theological understanding of the place of the Liturgy, and especially of the Eucharist, in the life of the Church, as was to be seen in successive treatises.<sup>1</sup> Thirdly, due in part to the growth of the Continental Liturgical Movement, in part to the revival of a vigorous Biblical theology, and in part to the stimulus of the Ecumenical Movement, there was an unprecedented desire to make unofficial, and largely local, liturgical experiments of great fertility and relevance, as well as originality. The result is that there probably has never been in Anglican history such widespread interest on the part of clergy

<sup>1</sup> See *supra* Chap. I for the consideration of the theory of worship.

and people, or such informed knowledge on worship, as has been shown in the last two decades. To these developments we now turn.

### 1. *Anglican Liturgical Influence Overseas*

This is a subject calling for far fuller treatment. Nonetheless, it is important at least to notice how strong a lead was given by the Anglican revisers to Episcopal Churches overseas. One of England's most distinguished liturgiologists, the Rev. Edward C. Ratcliff, collaborated with the Rev. J. C. Winslow in producing the rich *Bombay Liturgy*, which was first printed in *The Eucharist in India, A Plea for a distinctive Liturgy for the Indian Church*, with the approval of the Bishop of Bombay, Dr. E. J. Palmer, in 1920. In 1923 it was authorized for experimental use in the diocese of Bombay, after certain changes were made. In 1933 it was approved, subject to episcopal permission, for the whole Anglican Province in India. After further revision, it was in 1948 incorporated in *A Proposed Prayer Book of 1951* as "A Liturgy for India." It is to appear in a Supplementary Book. Clearly, this Liturgy has had an important influence on the development of Christian worship in India and its influence is far from spent. The sustained elevation of its language, its profound sense of the Communion of Saints, the large element of adoration it contains, the frequent opportunities provided for responses in the richly varied intercessions, the beauty of the ceremonial, and the preservation of the indigenous atmosphere are its abiding qualities.<sup>2</sup> It is also significant that Dr. E. C. Ratcliff was consulted in the production of the ecumenical Liturgy of the Church of South India,<sup>3</sup> and that the latter includes as a direct borrowing from the Bombay Liturgy the widely admired response in the Prayer of Consecration: "Thy death, O Lord, we commemorate; Thy resurrection we confess; and Thy second coming we await."

This single example has been given prominence, but the pattern of the "Alternative Order for Holy Communion" in the 1928 Prayer Book has undoubtedly played its part in inducing the majority of liturgical revisers in the Anglican Communion to include in their Prayers of Consecration an *epiklesis*,<sup>4</sup> or petition

<sup>2</sup> The texts of the Bombay, the South African, the Indian, the Canadian, and other Anglican Liturgies recently revised are contained in *The Liturgy in English* edited by Bernard Wigan.

<sup>3</sup> See T. S. Garrett, *Worship in the Church of South India*. This former Anglican priest, now a presbyter of the Church of South India, has been the foremost expositor of its ecumenical worship.

<sup>4</sup> The 1928 form of the *epiklesis* was the following: "Hear us, O merciful

for the Holy Spirit's sanctification. It is at least significant that this Eastern importation by way of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, included in the English revision, is a feature of the Liturgies of South Africa<sup>5</sup> (1929), Ceylon (1933), Japan (1953), Canada (1959), the West Indies (1959), and India (1960).

Moreover, there is one other proof of the pervasive influence of Anglican liturgical thought and practice which is so commonplace that it may be taken for granted. That is, that when Congregationalists, Methodists, and Presbyterians have gone into an organic union with Anglicans, as in the Church of South India, or are considering such, as are the Methodists in England, or the three Free Churches in Australia, it is always assumed that the worship will take the form of the Book of Common Prayer. That is, after all, the only Reformed vernacular rite to have remained in continuous use since the mid-sixteenth century in Europe, and is not only an abiding link with the great Western Catholic tradition, but also owes something to the Eastern Church, and in its Psalter goes back to the Hebrew Temple and Synagogue. The denominations that have hitherto united with the Anglican Church have no comparable tradition of worship,<sup>6</sup> important as their theological and pastoral insights are.

### 2. *The Growing Importance of the Eucharist*

Several reasons may be given for the remarkable witness the Anglican Church has made to the centrality of the Sacrament of the Eucharist in the Christian life. In part it is included in Anglican loyalty to the Patristic tradition both credal and sacramental. It is also allied, at least in the twentieth century,<sup>7</sup> with the strongly incarnational theologies of Charles Gore, William Temple, Lionel Thornton, and O. C. Quick and others. Furthermore, Anglicans have always recognized that there is a deep mystery at its heart,

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Father, we most humbly beseech Thee, and with thy Holy and Life-giving Spirit vouchsafe to bless and sanctify both us and these thy gifts of Bread and Wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of thy Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, to the end that we, receiving the same, may be strengthened and refreshed both in body and in soul."

<sup>5</sup> See Professor P. B. Hinchliff's *The South African Liturgy and The Anglican Church in South Africa*.

<sup>6</sup> See W. D. Maxwell's *The Book of Common Prayer and the Worship of Non-Anglican Churches*.

<sup>7</sup> Gore and company, however, inherited an incarnational tradition of the nineteenth century based on Maurice, Westcott, and Hort, not to mention the earlier heritage of the Caroline divines and of the Elizabethans, Jewel, and Hooker. Furthermore, the Incarnation was linked with the Atonement in R. C. Moberly's *Atonement and Personality*.

and few have presumed to dissect it (or, what is the same, to define it). They have been content to refer to the "Real Presence." Then, again, their churches have always given a dominant place to the altar, and, in many cases, suggested its numinous quality with altar rails and richly embellished reredos, or given glimpses of it through wrought-iron screens or below massive roods. Even in the newest churches, designed in the light of the Liturgical Movement, the altars may be simpler but they are central and dominating. In many other Communion altars this has been dominated by the pulpit. In Anglicanism this was only true in the eighteenth and rationalizing century, and the Oxford Movement and the Cambridge Ecclesiological Society<sup>8</sup> soon put an end to that. It is hardly to be wondered at, then, that the present century should have produced some admirable Anglican studies of Eucharistic theology. This is so because Holy Communion, for High Churchman and Low Churchman alike, has been the chief means of grace, the application of the benefits of Christ's Passion and Resurrection to His people, and the inspiration and solace of the Christian life.

The century's classic philosophical and theological study of the theme was O. C. Quick's *The Christian Sacraments* (1927) which warrants extended treatment, but this was by no means the only worthy study of its theme. Gore's *The Body of Christ* (1901) attempted to recover the Patristic understanding of the Eucharist for Anglicans, and F. C. N. Hicks emphasized the same understanding in *The Fulness of Sacrifice* (1930). Both stressed the heavenly offering of the great High Priest. A. L. Lilley's *The Sacraments* (1928) was a concise historical study which gave a sympathetic interpretation of the mediaeval understanding of the Sacraments. J. K. Mozley's *The Gospel Sacraments* (1933), while acknowledging its indebtedness to Quick's monograph, was very practical in its emphasis, and in its appreciation of P. T. Forsyth's great book *The Church and the Sacraments* paid a tribute as just as it was unusual from such a quarter on such a theme. Eric L. Mascoll's *Corpus Christi, Essays on the Church and the Eucharist* (1953) was another High Church interpretation of its theme, but with singular independence of judgment. It criticized the psychological atomism of mediaeval and post-mediaeval interpretations of the Sacrament, and warned against building upon a sacramental theory of the universe or reducing the meaning of the

<sup>8</sup> See James F. White, *The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival*.

Eucharist to its social implications.<sup>9</sup> It also introduced many readers to the strengths and weaknesses of recent Roman Catholic Eucharistic interpretations, and re-emphasized the need to recover the eschatological dimension of the Eucharist. J. A. T. Robinson produced a very lively interpretation of the relevance of Holy Communion in his lectures, *On Being the Church in the World* (1960) and a more popular account in *The Liturgy Coming to Life* (1961).

It is a significant fact of the period that the Evangelicals in the English Church made their own contributions. That redoubtable Protestant Bishop E. A. Knox of Manchester produced a characteristically provocative study, entitled *Sacrifice or Sacrament* (1914), a theme to which another Evangelical, A. M. Stubbs, returned in *Sacrament, Sacrifice and Eucharist* (1961). Yet Stubbs' volume, while denying that we should think "we can share in offering the sacrifice which He alone could and did offer,"<sup>10</sup> or that Christ's sacrifice is perpetually offered, moves beyond Memorialism and acknowledges that the benefits received are the remission of sins, the life-giving Spirit, and the invitation to share in the eternal feast.<sup>11</sup>

The great Biblical fidelity and historical understanding of the Evangelical school is, however, more representatively expressed in two other volumes. The one is *The Evangelical Doctrine of Holy Communion*, edited by A. J. Macdonald, with a valuable chapter by its editor; it also includes a penetrating essay on "Anglican Eucharistic Theology Today" by V. F. Storrs, in which he asserts that "In the Evangelical wing of the Church a new feeling for sacramentalism is arising,"<sup>12</sup> and claims that the trend is towards dynamic receptionism and away from memorialism. The other important volume is J. E. L. Oulton's *Holy Communion and Holy Spirit, A Study in Doctrinal Relationship* (1951). This is a most careful exploration of the relationship between these two doctrines, in a detailed New Testament study with illustrative references to the doctrinal exposition and liturgical practice of the Early Church. It criticizes Low Church Memorialism as being "merely self-edification: it offers no grace, it contains no Gospel,"<sup>13</sup> it also criticizes High Church beliefs on the Latin model in the efficacy of a consubstantiation formula, as being further from the New Testament than the Eastern Church's preference for an *epiklesis*. But even here Oulton is critical of liturgies which invoke the Holy Spirit on the

<sup>9</sup> Pp. 42, 45-46.

<sup>10</sup> P. 80.

<sup>11</sup> P. 312.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 52-57.

<sup>13</sup> P. 128.

people as well as on the elements, for this is to pray "as if He were not already with them and abiding in them."<sup>14</sup> The scholarship of such Evangelicals cannot be dismissed lightly, and, what is more significant, there is no longer any desire to serve a party line, as the independence of the conclusions clearly shows.

Perhaps the most dated position on the Sacraments is the Modernist Anglican interpretation of which F. H. Amphlett Micklewright's *Sacraments and the Modern Man: A Modernist Explanation*<sup>15</sup> is an example, more notable for its negations than its affirmations. Nonetheless, while being concerned to cleanse the Sacrament from superstition and from any connotations of substitution and expiation, he recognizes the symbolic value of the Eucharist, as mystical and didactic. "It is this eternal preaching of the message of the Cross, the example of Jesus, which is presented to the worshipper through the symbolism of the broken bread and the pouring out of the wine."<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, "inasmuch as the Christian Gospel is one of Divine Action, the act of communion appears too as a meeting in a mystic sense of the temporal and the eternal, the reception by the believer, under the form of outward signs of the things which are eternal."<sup>17</sup> A recognition is also made of the social significance of Holy Communion.<sup>18</sup> Its gravest weakness, however, is the product of both the underlying idealist philosophy and of the belief in the uniformity of nature, which means that Micklewright dissociates the spiritual and the material instead of uniting them in the Incarnation and in the Sacrament. This is clearly shown in his pejorative references to "magical" views of Ignatius of Antioch and his approbation of the author of the Fourth Gospel as being the "father of all mystics," because in his thinking "the temporal and material universe stands over against that which is eternal, the world of values."<sup>19</sup> The disjunction is fatal to Micklewright's interpretation of the Christian faith, for Hellenism has overwhelmed the Gospel and the Sacraments.

The classic Anglican interpretation of the Eucharist in our period is O. C. Quick's *The Christian Sacraments*.<sup>20</sup> Quick's plan

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 133.

<sup>15</sup> No date, but clearly post-1933.

<sup>16</sup> *Sacraments and the Modern Man* . . . p. 130.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 142-44.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 112.

<sup>20</sup> The book was published in 1927; in 1933 A. G. Hébert in *Liturgy and Society* (p. 57) affirmed of Chap. v, "Christ's Life as a Sacrament (2) The Atonement," that it is a classic. J. K. Mozley in the Preface (pp. 9-10) of his *The Gospel Sacraments* wrote of Quick's monograph that it was "the most notable Anglican treatment of the subject within living memory."

was to lay a general philosophical foundation in the first three chapters, and to represent in the fourth and fifth chapters "the historical Incarnation and Atonement as the supreme sacrament and fount of all others,"<sup>21</sup> while subsequent chapters dealt with the operation of the Sacraments, the Church and its unity, and considered Baptism and Holy Communion in detail.

Crucial to his exposition was the distinction between ethical and aesthetic sacramentalism, corresponding to the difference between sacraments as instruments and sacraments as symbols. He contended that each needed the other, "yet no philosophical argument, or carefully drawn analogy, can help the understanding so much as the consideration of the life of Christ in its double aspect as the supreme self-expression of the Godhead within the created world, and as the supreme instrument whereby that world is brought to its fulfilment in eternity."<sup>22</sup> Moving from sacramentalism to sacraments, he affirmed that "for Christians the supreme sacrament, apart from which no other has use or meaning, is the life of Jesus Christ."<sup>23</sup> The fine intervening chapters on the Incarnation, the Atonement, the operation of the Sacraments, the Church and Unity,<sup>24</sup> as well as Baptism, must be ignored in our summary in order to concentrate on his treatment of the Eucharist. It is expressive because all human life, as it realizes its own ideal, is made up of an act of self-offering to God and an act of communion with Him and in Him through Jesus Christ our Lord; yet it is also instrumental as a constantly repeated act from which the soul draws its spiritual food.

The eschatological element is strong in Quick's interpretation,<sup>25</sup> which recognizes that the Messianic Banquet in the Kingdom of God is a central motif but insists that between the Last Supper and its establishment the crucifixion of the Messiah must take place. In the Eucharist Christians "are made partakers of the life offered for them on Calvary, in order that in the end their communion with that life may be fulfilled in the open and glorious vision of their Saviour before the throne of God."<sup>26</sup>

Quick then turns to the two vexed problems of Eucharistic theology, "the problem of the sacrifice offered, and the problem

<sup>21</sup> *The Christian Sacraments*, pp. xi-xii.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> This includes the fruitful idea that practically all the divisions of Christendom should be considered "as being in principle schisms within the Church" (*ibid.*, p. 147).

<sup>25</sup> Quick indicates here his indebtedness to the thought of Hoskyns in *Essays Catholic and Critical*.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 194.

of the presence communicated.<sup>27</sup> Christ's sacrifice, it is insisted, is representative, not vicarious. How, then, does the Eucharist become a sacrifice? Quick answers that it does so both mystically and morally. That is, "the life of the truly perfect man, being sacrificed once and for all, is sufficient to cleanse and perfect all those to whom it is really communicated," for "Christ died for us that He might live in us."<sup>28</sup> Thus, Christ's life in men exhibits itself in the same activity of self-sacrifice which He in His own person perfectly fulfilled.

Turning to the mode of Christ's presence in the Eucharist, Quick considers the four traditional theories: Transubstantiation, Consubstantiation, Virtualism, and Receptionism. The first two connect the Presence with the consecration of the elements and the second two affirm the Presence in the hearts and souls of faithful worshippers. Yet in assaying the traditional doctrines, two pre-suppositions are unacceptable to twentieth century minds. These are: the view that material objects possess a substantiality distinguishable from their accidents or sensible properties and from their value or use; and the concept that heaven is a place where Christ's ascended body is extended in space.

Quick is looking for a theory which will do justice to three factors. The Presence is to be sought, first, in elements not as physical objects but as they are within the process of a certain action which uses them as instruments and expresses itself in them. Secondly, such a theory must not imply a "real absence" of Christ elsewhere, but must insist that the Eucharist is the expressive symbol of the entire process by which the world is made to fulfil God's purpose. Thirdly, the "Real Presence" must be so defined as not to leave the communicant at the mercy of his own flickering introversion. Quick believes that these requirements are satisfied in the following exposition of his theory:

"The Eucharist is the self-offering of Christ as externalised in human ritual, so that human lives may be incorporated into its living reality through communion with Him. Who offers and is offered. The action of every Eucharist begins in the inward and eternal sphere where Christ is seated at the right hand of God. Christ's action then reaches its first stage of externalisation in His Body the Church, which at a given place and time in the person of its priest solemnly offers the bread and wine in memorial of His passion. The action is thus further externalised and extended

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 196.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

into the consecrated bread and wine as themselves representing the offered Body of Christ's manhood. From this furthest or lowest point of externalisation the action of the living Christ returns back and upwards into the members of His Body the Church as they receive Him in communion. In them it brings forth the spiritual fruits of their own self-offering which raises them towards heaven in Christ's power. So the Eucharistic action returns in the end to heaven which was its source. Thus interpreted it consists of a double movement, first downward and outward, then upward and inward. Thus it embodies in ritual and fulfils through the life of the Church that which was at first and perfectly embodied in fact through the historical life of Jesus Christ.<sup>29</sup>

The value of Quick's theory is that it tries to combine both expressive and instrumental elements in a mystical and moral combination. His final chapter, "Worship and Morals," warns against both ascetic rigorism and emotional self-indulgence, and reminds the reader that the reconciliation between worship and ethics is found "in the discovery that the true worship of God and the true service of men are alike possible in the one Holy Spirit of love."<sup>30</sup> Yet, with characteristic fidelity to the Bible, Quick says that this union is not commonly achieved—for the Parable of the Good Samaritan records that it was the men of worship (the priest and the levite) who passed by human need on the other side, and that Jesus gave a singularly cold reception to those who professed a sentimental devotion to Him, as in the case of the woman who cried, "Blessed is the womb that bare thee!" Worship, he concludes, is to be the stimulant of the soul, not its narcotic.

It is not the least of the values of Anglican sacramental teaching that it has often stimulated those who most value the Eucharist to undertake the humblest work for Christ in the slums or in the mission-field. No speech at the Anglo-Catholic Congress in 1923 received a stronger ovation than these simple words of the Bishop of Zanzibar: "You have your Mass, you have your altars, you have begun to get your tabernacles. Now go out into the highways and hedges, and look for Jesus in the ragged and the naked, in those who have lost hope, and in those who are struggling to make good. Look for Jesus in them; and when you have found Him, gird yourself with His towel of fellowship and wash His feet in the fellowship of His brethren."<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 223-24.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 240.

<sup>31</sup> H. Maynard Smith, *Frank, Bishop of Zanzibar*, p. 502.

The same sense of the social implications of the Eucharist, though expressed in a much more sophisticated way, and with a deeper understanding of the economic and political order, was characteristic of Archbishop William Temple's thinking. In *Personal Religion and the Life of Fellowship* (1926) Temple insisted that the Eucharist was no mystery cult, but the Family Meal where the children gathered round the Table to receive what the Father gives them. Consequently, he insisted, "differences of rank, wealth, learning, intelligence, nationality, race, all disappear; we, being many, are one Bread."<sup>82</sup>

By the time he wrote *The Hope of a New World* (1940), he saw the Eucharist as also the symbol of a transfigured social order and of the true sanctification of labour for the community. The Holy Communion is, of course, in the traditional sense a means of grace, an effective channel of God's transforming love, but it is also expressive of God's intentions for human community. Bread and wine are the perfect symbols of the economic life of man. Bread is an instance of God's gifts to man made available by human cooperation with God. On God's part there is the gift of seed, soil, sun, and rain. Man's contribution is the labour of ploughing the land, scattering the seed, gathering in of the harvest, threshing the flour, baking the bread and distributing it for the satisfaction of human need. Thus:

"In the Holy Communion service we take the bread and wine—man's industrial and commercial life in symbol—and offer it to God; because we have offered it to Him, He gives it back to us as the means of nurturing us, not in our animal nature alone, but as agents of His purpose, limbs of a body responsive to His will; and as we receive it back from Him, we share it with one another in a true fellowship. If we think of the service in this way, it is a perfect picture of what secular society should be; and a Christian civilization is one where the citizens seek to make their ordered life something of which that service is the symbol."<sup>83</sup> In the Holy Communion so interpreted there is a profound doctrine of man in society. The same theme is most eloquently developed in the

<sup>82</sup> *Personal Religion* . . . , p. 48.

<sup>83</sup> *The Hope of a New World*, pp. 69-70. It is worth recording Temple's notable definition of worship: "What worship means is the submission of the whole being to the object of worship. It is the opening of the heart to receive the love of God; it is the subjection of conscience to be directed by Him; it is the declaration of need to be fulfilled by Him; it is the subjection of desire to be controlled by Him; and as the result of all these together, it is the surrender of the will to be used by Him." (*The Church and Its Teaching To-day*, p. 15).

concluding paragraphs of the introduction to Dom Gregory Dix's *The Shape of the Liturgy* (1948), in which he contrasts "Acquisitive Man" and his successor "Mass-Man" with "Eucharistic Man."<sup>84</sup>

It has been contended that the Anglican Church developed a deepened appreciation of the centrality of the Sacrament of Holy Communion during this period, and the treatises from different schools of thought have borne this out. What is of equal significance, however, is that there has been developing a growing unity of interpretation, in marked contrast with the partisanship of Eucharistic interpretation that characterized the Prayer Book Controversy. The most impressive proof of this assertion is to be found in the remarkable agreement arrived at by a Commission, representative of the chief schools of thought, as it defined in *Doctrine in the Church of England* (1937) its understanding of the hitherto controversial concept of Sacrifice in the Eucharist:

"The Eucharist is a corporate act of the Church towards God, wherein it is united with its Lord, victorious and triumphant, Himself both priest and victim in the sacrifice of the Cross. This connection has been expressed in at least four ways: (1) through stress on the union of ourselves with Christ in the act of communion, and in that union the offering of 'the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving' and of 'ourselves, our souls and bodies'—a view generally held in the Church of England, many members of which would find here alone the sacrificial element in the rite; (2) through emphasis on the fact that in the Eucharist we repeat the words and acts of Christ at the last supper in words and acts whereby it is held that He invested His approaching death with the character of a sacrifice; (3) through the insistence that the rite is a representation before the Father of the actual sacrifice of the Cross; (4) through the doctrine of the Heavenly Altar, at which we join in the perpetual offering by Christ of Himself and share the life of Christ crucified and risen . . . . There are those who would combine all the views stated, while some of them would be repudiated in certain quarters. We consider that all of them would be regarded as legitimate in the Church of England, and we are agreed in general terms in holding that the Eucharist may be rightly termed a sacrifice—which we have defined as 'an act in which man worships God, the form of the act being an expression of the homage due from the creature to the creator.' But if the Eucharist is thus spoken of as a sacrifice, it must be understood

<sup>84</sup> Pp. xviii-xix, and cited fully in Chap. I.



as a sacrifice in which (to speak as exactly as the subject allows) we do not offer Christ, but where Christ unites us with Himself in the self-offering of the life that was 'obedient unto death, yea the death of the Cross.'<sup>35</sup>

That statement is an irenic triumph. Even so, there remain important differences of emphasis, as, for example, between those for whom the Eucharist is the Church's supreme offering, and those who believe it to be the thankful celebration of God's supreme gift.

Archbishop Ramsey has written of the permanent characteristics of Anglican theology as including "the appeal to Scripture and the Fathers, the fondness for Nicene categories, the union of doctrine and liturgy, the isolation from Continental influences."<sup>36</sup> This is a perceptive evaluation, provided that one modification and a significant addition may be made. The modification necessary is that increasingly as the century advanced Anglican theology became subject to Continental influences, both Swedish and French, and the German influence was not negligible.<sup>37</sup> The addition to be made is that Anglican sacramental teaching is inescapably ethical. Holy attitudes must issue in holy actions. One of the glories of the Anglican tradition is that it, like Puritanism, rejected a "cloistered and fugitive virtue." This insistence that the spirit of the sanctuary must be carried into the streets, and that without the humility induced by worship social service becomes mere patronage, is finely stressed by Bishop K. E. Kirk in *The Vision of God*. There he writes: "Yet apart from the atmosphere of worship, every act of service avails only to inflate the agent's sense of patronage. He is the doctor, humanity his patient: he is the Samaritan, his neighbour the crippled wayfarer: He is the instructor, others are merely his pupils. Gratitude (if they show gratitude) only confirms his conviction of his own importance; resentment (if they resent his services) only ministers to the glow of self-

<sup>35</sup> *Doctrine in the Church of England*, p. 162.  
<sup>36</sup> *From Gore to Temple: the Development of Anglican Theology between Lux Mundi and the Second World War, 1889-1939*, pp. viii-ix.

<sup>37</sup> Anglican Biblical scholarship was indebted to German thought and the Liberal school was influenced by Harnack, Schweitzer, and Otto. A. G. Hebert was, by his translations and his constructive works, a potent mediator of Swedish scholarship, and the influence of Yngve Brilioth, Gustaf Aulen, and Anders Nygren, in particular, was considerable, as English translations of *Eucharistic Faith and Practice*, *Christus Victor*, and *Agape and Eros* were widely read. In Patristics and Liturgics the influence of such French scholars as J. Daniélou, Louis Bouyer, and Cullmann, and of such German scholars as Bultmann and Jungmann was considerable. Barth was appreciated by such Anglican scholars as Hoskyns, Carnfield, and Bromley.

esteem with which he comforts himself in secret."<sup>38</sup> By contrast, the glory of worship is to elicit the grace of humility.

### 3. *A Fecundity of Experimentation*

The third characteristic of Anglican worship, particularly evident in the last decade of our period, was the fertility of liturgical experimentation. There could be no more vigorous indication of vitality in the Anglican tradition than this, especially as these experiments are marked by imagination and relevance.

Five experiments have evoked unusual interest and therefore deserve detailed consideration. The first is "Parish Communion," associated with A. G. Hebert of Kelham, which began obscurely in 1913, was given publicity in the book<sup>39</sup> which Hebert edited in 1937, and later was even more widely disseminated by the "Parish and People" movement, with its own magazine of that name. The second is the "House Church" associated with Ernest Southcott, who in 1950 or thereabouts attempted to combine the celebration of Holy Communion with evangelism by taking the Church to the homes of his people in the new housing estate of Halton, Leeds. The third experiment, "The Clare College Liturgy," is a liturgical manual of 1954 produced by two chaplains of this Cambridge College, J. A. T. Robinson and C. F. D. Moule. The fourth is "An Experimental Liturgy" of 1958, which was celebrated on the entire Independent Television network in 1959. The fifth and last is the official Report of the Church of England Liturgical Commission, *Baptism and Confirmation*, published in 1959.

### 4. "The Parish Communion"

'By the Parish Communion' is meant the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, with the communion of the people in a parish church as the chief service of the day, or better, as the assembly of the Christian community for the worship of God," wrote Hebert, adding "on Sundays the most suitable hour will generally be not long before or after 9.0. A.M."<sup>40</sup> This concern for a simple major celebration of Holy Communion in which most of the confirmed members of the parish would participate was meant to end the current fracturing of the family life and witness of the Church, whereby some parishes had sparsely attended 8 A.M. Communions

<sup>38</sup> P. 184.

<sup>39</sup> *The Parish Communion, A Book of Essays*.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

a theatrical spectacle performed by liturgical experts in the sight of a largely silent and submissive people.

The custom of holding a Parish Communion followed by a Parish Breakfast originated in 1913 in the rural Warwickshire parish of Temple Balsall,<sup>44</sup> where the Eucharist at 8.45 A.M. was the principal service of the day. The Parish Eucharist was initiated at St. John's, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in 1927 and by 1937, 170 of 250 communicants attended this service regularly each Sunday at 9.15 A.M. It may be of interest to provide a description of the form the Offertory took in this church at that date:

"During the saying of the Offertory Prayer we now have an Offertory Procession. A credence table is placed at the West end of the church, and on it two vessels containing the approximate number of breads that will be required for the communion of the people, and two wine cruets. When the celebrant returns to the altar after the address, four members of the congregation who have been chosen beforehand (if possible, a man and a woman, a boy and a girl) go to this credence table, and while the congregation are saying the offertory Prayer, carry the people's offerings of bread and wine through the congregation to the altar rail, where the offerings are received by the servers and handed to the celebrant for presentation at the altar. Such a procession helps the people to realize the significance of the offertory by giving it a visible dramatic form. It restores the act of offering to its true importance, and marks it as the foundation of the whole Eucharistic action. It has the additional value of giving a share in the action of worship to a greater number of the laity, who need not all be of the male sex."<sup>45</sup>

The Parish Communion has, in subsequent years, become almost the normative celebration of the Eucharist in the Church of England. It has stressed important values, but it has also raised some serious questions. Clearly it is a great gain that, as in the early Church, the Eucharist should have been re-established at the centre of Sunday worship and that it should be widely attended by a devout and committed people. It is also a considerable boon that it is customary in high as well as in low parishes, for it means that the Sacrament of unity is really accomplishing unification. Furthermore, Parish Communion (whether or not it is followed by Parish Breakfast as a kind of equivalent to the love-feast or *agape* of the early Church) undoubtedly helps the local congrega-

<sup>44</sup> Hebert, ed., *The Parish Communion*, p. 261.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 277-78.

followed by a largely attended service of Matins, while other parishes had a High Mass with large attendance and little participation in the Eucharist. It was also believed that the Holy Communion service should be the chief expression of the *koinonia* or fellowship of the Body of Christ in a particular parish and at a convenient hour for entire families to attend. Furthermore, when the worshippers partook of a "Parish breakfast" following the "Parish Communion," they would naturally get to know each other better and become more truly a community in Christ. These were the practical considerations.

There were also significant theological concerns. The Eucharist demonstrates the real nature of the Church when celebrated in the manner of the Parish Communion with full participation. The Church surrounding the altar rehearses "the mystery of the divine *agape* whereby man has been redeemed and the redeemed fellowship constituted as the Body of Christ. The Eucharist sums up the whole Gospel of redemption as the sacramental showing-forth of the one Sacrifice of Christ and of the offering up of the members of Christ through union with Him to be a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice to God."<sup>41</sup> The Offertory, therefore, must be shown to have much greater relevance to the worshippers. In the early church the bread and wine were brought to the altar by the people themselves and this act then clearly demonstrated their will to offer themselves with their gifts. The modern equivalent, popularized by the Parish Communion, is for representatives of the people to carry the elements in procession from the back of the church, as well as the alms, "each member of the congregation, in some cases, having placed a wafer in the ciborium or on the paten as they came into church."<sup>42</sup> In other ways, too, an attempt is made to involve the congregation more actively in the worship. The Epistle may be read by a layman; and the entire congregation will be instructed to join heartily in the responses and in such parts of the liturgy as are to be sung, where the settings are appropriate for community singing. "Often babies in arms or small children accompany their parents to the communion rail, to be blessed perhaps by the priest as he moves along administering the sacrament."<sup>43</sup> Such care to involve the congregation actively goes a long way to destroy the old mistaken view that the Eucharist was

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>42</sup> Martin Pierce, *The Parish Communion* (Alcuin Club Pamphlet, undated),

p. 4.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*



tion to understand itself as a true family in Christ. The meaning of Baptism is also more readily apprehended by the people. Not least important is the fact that "the Parish Meeting can discover itself as a fellowship of counsel and evangelism."<sup>46</sup> It has helped to awaken a responsible laity.

Even so, some serious theological questions must be raised by the popularity of the Parish Communion as, indeed, they were by Dr. A. M. Ramsey in his *Durham Essays and Addresses*. The most serious caveat concerns the reduction of instruction inevitable in a service which can allow only about seven minutes for a sermon. Such concision almost compels the preacher to be dogmatic and coercive rather than explanatory and persuasive. Here it is pertinent to recall that one of the attractions of the Elizabethan settlement, according to A. L. Rowse, was the change from the Mass to the sermon which led to "an increase of reflection and edification, a stimulus to education and the active virtues."<sup>47</sup> Is the Parish Communion, then, a second Elizabethan unsettlement? At least, it is a displacement of the Anglican conjoint emphasis on the Word and Sacrament to the advantage of the Sacrament and the disadvantage of the Word.

As Dr. Ramsey has indicated, an exaggerated emphasis on the importance of the Offertory can lead to a Pelagian glorification of man and a forgetfulness that the smaller human offerings are only possible because of the Father's prior acceptance of the perfect sacrifice of the Cross. Dr. E. L. Mascall has also warned that in some circles the idea has gained ground that what makes the liturgy corporate is the fact that many people celebrate it at the same time, yet "whether the communicants be few or many, the liturgy is essentially corporate because it is the act of Christ in the *corpus mysticum*."<sup>48</sup> Moreover, when the note of fellowship is stressed, it must not be forgotten that this is a larger community than the merely local parish community. It is linked with the whole Church militant upon earth and triumphant in Heaven, as the *Sanctus* in the prayer of consecration suggests.<sup>49</sup> The older generation of Churchmen also sense a loss of awe and numinosity in the Parish Communion, which they recall as characterizing the eight

<sup>46</sup> Piene, *The Parish Communion*, p. 16.

<sup>47</sup> *The England of Elizabeth*, p. 485.

<sup>48</sup> *Corpus Christi*, p. 78.

<sup>49</sup> Dr. Ramsey in *Durham Essays and Addresses* (p. 20) suggests this requires a fuller liturgical expression than is provided in the present Communion Office and which was a feature of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI.

o'clock early morning Communions. The provision of a nave altar and the use of the westward posture, not to mention the fidgeting of children, make it harder to concentrate on God and all too easy to focus on man.

It is, of course, possible that the vogue for Parish Communion will pass, especially as for many persons an Evening Communion would be more convenient, and there seems to be little point in Anglican hesitation on such a matter when Roman Catholic permission is readily available for Evening Masses. Moreover, the Evangelical wing of the Church has a long tradition of holding Holy Communion in the evening. Those who will resist such a change are, of course, such clergy as believe that fasting before Communion is an indispensable discipline.

### 5. The "House Church"

There are two very important features in the worship of the "House Church" as originally developed by Ernest Southcott in Halton, Leeds. The first is that this is an expression of liturgical evangelism, an attempt to supplement the worship and witness of the parish church in the homes of the people. The second is that an appropriate charismatic element enters into the service of Holy Communion when celebrated on the dining-table of a home. This is the interpolation of simple, extempore prayer for or by those in whose home Communion is celebrated.

Southcott's parish comprised some fifteen thousand persons, including the Halton Moor Estate, a slum-clearance area of some six thousand people. His problem was to discover how to make the Church relevant to their daily lives. For this purpose Southcott conceived the idea of *extensive* and *intensive* House Churches.<sup>50</sup> The *extensive* House Churches consist entirely of Bible Study groups of neighbours meeting in a centrally convenient home. The *intensive* House Churches are similar, but more fully instructed and committed cells or groups also meeting in homes, where the Holy Communion is celebrated. The latter is not a substitute for Communion in the parish church, but a supplement to it. It is even an incentive to attend the Parish Communion.

House celebrations have taken place in four different ways.<sup>51</sup> In the case of sick people who were regular communicants, Com-

<sup>50</sup> A third occasional type of House Church is interdenominational in character, but this has been little employed. See Malcolm Boyd, *Crisis in Communication: A Christian Examination of the Mass Media*, p. 83.

<sup>51</sup> See E. W. Southcott, "The House Church," in *Theology*, Vol. LVI, No. 395 (May 1953), pp. 169-70.

munion is taken to them from the Reserved Sacrament at monthly intervals where it is requested. In the case of elderly people, house celebrations are held monthly for their benefit in different parts of the parish and are attended by friends and neighbours. Twice a year (in a week during Lent and in a week following the Harvest Festival) the Halton clergy hold house celebrations each morning of the week and people are invited to attend by the family after consultation with the clergy. The lapsed are invited to be present, but not to communicate until they have been confirmed. The fourth method followed a month's mission in October, 1952, where the chief technique was to hold house meetings and house celebrations. For an entire month house celebrations were held each morning at 6, 7, and 9.15, and house meetings each day for a fortnight. Nine hundred attended the house celebrations, five hundred the house meetings and over a thousand people entered each other's houses during that short time. Canon Southcott comments: "Here is the Church being the Church. Certainly it is the Eucharist in action."<sup>52</sup>

This is but a sketch—it needs to be filled in with local colour. An American observer described his impressions as follows: "Early on week-day mornings there are house-church meetings with celebrations of Holy Communion in some of the small houses of the Halton Moor Estate. The lights of the house break through the cold and blackness outside and testify to the gatherings of Christians for the breaking of bread together—a very effective form of communication, one is told by certain men and women who first observed the goings on from outside across the street or way, and who are now inside the fold taking part." The account continues with an inside description: "The kitchen table is set up within the living room in one of the compact slum-clearance dwellings. Used candles from the altar at the parish church are placed upon the table that becomes the altar. . . . Home-made bread, the same bread that the family had eaten for tea the night before is used for the service. The Bible and last evening's newspaper are close together; and they will shortly be in the same conversation, too."<sup>53</sup>

Another observer also conveys a vivid impression: "Let it only be said, therefore, that in Halton men who would never otherwise have dreamt of coming to Communion, not in church, and certainly not on a weekday, are coming—at six in the morning—to Communion in the home." The explanation is: "Because here . . . is Christ abiding in the midst of the family. . . . Here is Christ ex-

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 170.

<sup>53</sup> Malcolm Boyd, *op.cit.*, p. 83.

posed in the midst of bread and wine and crockery and the tablecloth; and 'Jesus has come to our house!' Here they are, there he is, in the Church! Father reads the epistle. Mother offers up prayers for her home and her street, for her husband's works and the children. . . . and are in love and charity with your neighbours,' says the Invitation."<sup>54</sup>

Southcott himself has remarked that in the house-celebration there is occasionally time for a short relevant sermon and an opportunity for lay people to intercede in a movingly personal way such as could not be done in the formal worship of the parish. It is clearly one of the values of the house church that it can combine liturgical structure and order with free prayer. Here the Catholic and Puritan traditions are meaningfully combined in a way that has not been experienced in the Church of England since the time of John Wesley and George Whitefield.

What then, is the significance of the House Church experiment? Certainly it has proved to be an effective means of bringing the lapsed or the indifferent back to the Christian community and way of life. But has it any deeper theological significance? There is no doubt that it witnesses significantly to the fact that the Church does not consist of bricks and mortar or concrete, but is the *people* of God. Dr. J. A. T. Robinson believes that the House Church is an approximation to New Testament Christianity, representing the "tap-roots of the Vine, the Church under ground, that of the life of the tree most closely in contact with the clinging soil of everyday existence: it is the tree as it is embedded in the deepest crevices and seams of the secular world."<sup>55</sup> Its great advantage in the modern world is that the cell is a part of the Church with great flexibility and mobility, operating in the area of natural community. It meets in a house: it could as easily meet in an office or a factory or, as it once did, in the catacombs.

It is important to recognize, however, that this is never regarded as an end, complete in itself. The house celebrations are intimately related to Parish Communion at St. Wilfrid's Church, Halton. When Southcott was interviewed and asked about the relationship of the House Church to the Parish Church, he insisted that the House Church was giving roots to the Parish Church, for otherwise the latter's congregation was too large and the membership too

<sup>54</sup> Eric James, "What is going on at Halton?", *Theology*, Vol. LX, No. 440 (February 1937), p. 63.

<sup>55</sup> "The House Church and the Parish Church," *Theology*, Vol. LIII, No. 362 (August 1950), p. 285.

loosely linked together. In the House Church, it was realized that "We don't go to Church, we *are* the Church."<sup>56</sup> Furthermore, it is at these gatherings in the home that a new relationship is sensed between the holy and the common, and everyday life can be offered to God. He ended the interview with a reminder that the Abbé Michonneau said the parable of the hundred sheep should be retold for our own day: Now there are ninety-nine sheep out in the wilderness and only one in the fold.

As might be expected, the Parish Communion at St. Wilfrid's, Halton, is well abreast of the Liturgical Movement's achievements. The celebration is at a table-altar in the nave and the priest faces the congregation as he offers the consecration prayer. The people take bread and place it in the ciborium. Many of the collects in the Order for Holy Communion are said in common. Laymen lead many of the bidding prayers, speaking from different parts of the nave. A true participation of the people links house celebrations and parish celebrations.

What, then, are the values of the House Church experiment? A powerful means has been discovered for demonstrating the potential sanctification of the common life, of the nexus between Christ the Bread of Life and our daily bread, and of every meal as a miniature Eucharist. Here, too, is a Biblical and liturgical mission allowing for the differing stages of commitment. The interested but uncommitted are reached in the extensive house church, and are observers at the Eucharist in the intensive house church. Then, after instruction and confirmation, they share in the parish and House Church Communion, becoming witnesses in turn to their friends and neighbours. Above all, the Eucharist, whether celebrated with splendour or simplicity, is seen to be the pattern of Christian love and service in the world, empowered by the example and the grace of Christ.

There are two potential dangers in the House Church experiment. The first is that the part may be preferred to the whole. The intimate fellowship and the charismatic service in the home may make the formal parish Communion seem impersonal, theatrical, remote, and to that extent less meaningful. The second is a danger inherent in all aggrandizements of the role of the chief Sacrament in the life of the Church—that is the depreciation of the role of the ministry of the Word. To be sure, the Bible is given

<sup>56</sup> The interview is recorded in *Faith at Work* (October–November 1958), pp. 23-27. This magazine is published in Lebanon, Pennsylvania.

a preparatory and instructional role in the extensive house churches. But preaching is reduced to the briefest of talks in the intensive house church; yet the committed Christian needs the iron-ration of Scripture more than the catechumen.

One further hesitation remains. While the example of Ernest Southcott has been followed successfully in a few parishes of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States and, with some changes, in a few parishes of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, it has not been widely imitated in the Church of England. In fact, it has hardly been imitated at all in his own Communion. Is it particularly successful only in the north of England and would it be less successful among the more reserved southerners? Does it only succeed in slum-clearance communities deeply in need of new community roots? Was Southcott unusually fortunate in the sympathy and approval of his diocesan at Ripon and his suffragan at Knaresborough? Or, finally, does the "House Church" experiment need for its successful accomplishment a leader with the courage, drive, imagination, dedication, and warm personality of an Ernest Southcott himself?

#### 6. *The "Clare College Manual" for the Liturgy*

This experiment in worship attempts to meet the needs of a College House Church. It does not provide a new liturgy. The novelty is to be found in the fact that the Prayer Book Order for Holy Communion is made more meaningful by the use of a specially prepared manual of instruction, with the words of the service on the right-hand pages, and the commentary on the left-hand pages. Furthermore, the ceremonial adds to the relevance of the service in its context in collegiate life, and the exciting preaching of the former Dean, Dr. J. A. T. Robinson, added to the significance of the celebrations.

The manual illuminates the structure of the Liturgy by a helpful introduction and additional preparatory and post-communion prayers, as also by meditations and observations appropriate to the various parts of the Anglican service chosen from the Bible and from several ecumenical sources. Thus the chief gains of the modern Liturgical Movement are transmitted by the manual, which is simply titled, "The Holy Communion, Clare College, Cambridge." In this way members of the College, who comprised a number of Free Churchmen as well as the Anglican majority, became familiar with the coordinate stress on Word and Sacra-

and given in union with his, that God's redeeming work and rule may be extended *through* us.<sup>55</sup> There is special interest in the notes opposite the Offertory. There we read:

Jesus began by taking the loaf off the supper table. His work now, in us and through us, cannot start until the ordinary material of our lives, just as it is, is turned over entirely to him. In the Offertory we take a loaf baked in the College kitchens and a decanter of wine from the College cellars—symbols of our labour and our leisure, the gifts of God to us as we have worked upon them. They are brought up by laymen, out of the midst of our everyday life, and offered to God, together with our money.<sup>56</sup>

Further interest attaches to a rubric following immediately after the concluding Blessing:

The ministers go out, a deacon carrying the remainder of the Loaf not set apart for Holy Communion, to be shared at the Breakfast.<sup>56</sup>

The supplementary prayers for private meditation are taken from a wide range of sources, including the Armenian Liturgy, The South India Liturgy,<sup>57</sup> the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, the Liturgy of St. James, the Liturgy of St. Basil, the Liturgy of Malabar, and, most interestingly, John Wesley's Covenant Service as used by the English Methodist Church. The citations range from St. Augustine to P. T. Forsyth.

Of the instructional and inspirational value of this unpretentious manual of thirty-one pages there can be no question. But the service must have meant considerably more when Dr. John Robinson was preaching, as may be discovered from his book, *Liturgy Coming to Life* (1960), an account of the Clare College experiment, including some of his Eucharistic addresses. In terms of re-interpreting traditional services with imagination, wit and spirituality, the only parallel I can think of is Monsignor Ronald Knox's *The Mass in Slow Motion* (1948) and that is the highest praise.

The preparation of the Clare College manual was necessary

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12. <sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>57</sup> In fact, the citation comes from the Bombay Liturgy used as a source by the South India Liturgy.

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ment, the renewed understanding of the importance of the Offertory, and, in particular, with the "Four Action" pattern of the Eucharist as analysed by Dom Gregory Dix in *The Shape of Liturgy*, and the idea that this is a con-celebration of the whole people of God. In addition, the elements used for consecration consisted of college-baked bread and wine from the college cellars.

The great quality of the manual is that it combines clear theological instruction and spiritual directions with naturalness, and avoids the two commonest perils of manuals of this type, sentimentality and rubrical antiquarianism. A significant sample from the introduction will illustrate the qualities which have been claimed for it. After observing that the service of Holy Communion falls into two distinct parts, it continues:

The first part, the Liturgy of the Word, has its focus in the Bible, and takes place not at the Table but round the Lecterns. It is a service of prayer, Scripture-reading and preaching, in which the living Christ speaks to his assembled People, as Jesus discoursed with his disciples in the Upper Room, expounding the meaning of his death and promised presence.

In the second part, the Breaking of the Bread, he makes himself known in the Action which he instituted and which ever since has been the central act of the Church on the Lord's Day. In it he makes present to us, through the power of his risen life, all that he wrought on the Cross, till he comes in final victory.

The pattern of this action is four-fold, continuing that of Jesus at the Last Supper, when he took, and blessed, and broke, and gave.<sup>57</sup>

Then there follows a concise exposition of the spiritual meaning of the renewal of these acts in Holy Communion:

We come, first, to commemorate with thanksgiving that he in his life, death and resurrection offered himself thus to be taken and consecrated, broken and given *for* us;

secondly, to trust his promise that in the bread and wine, taken, blessed, broken and shared as he commanded, he will come *to* us;

thirdly, to let our lives likewise be taken, blessed, broken

<sup>57</sup> Clare College Manual, p. 2. The Clare College Communion Service complete with commentary is published also as an Appendix to J. A. T. Robinson's *The Liturgy Coming to Life*.

because previous ones were the reflection of party ecclesiastical prejudice and of subjective rather than corporate piety, or too obviously written by clergy for clergy. Robinson's manual was prepared in the conviction that "the road to living liturgical reform leads from the bottom upwards, and that is why controlled experiment in the local worshipping community, especially at the sub-parochial or house church level, is so vital to the health of the Body of Christ."<sup>62</sup> There were, of course, serious disadvantages in a college community attempting to live like a church, for it was both an artificial and a highly changing entity; artificial in that there were no women or children apart from those of the teaching and administrative staff, and highly mobile because most undergraduates left after three years. Moreover, the high points of the Christian Year, Christmas and Easter, for example, arrived to find the undergraduates on vacation.

Robinson felt that it was his duty, when Dean of Clare College from 1951 to 1959, to recover the Patristic understanding of the Liturgy as quite literally the *ergon* or work of the *laos*, the people (of God), by which the latter are constituted through the Sacrifice of Christ the very Body of Christ. He was greatly impressed by Gregory Dix's *The Shape of the Liturgy* because it emphasized that the structure of the Liturgy was not based on any pattern of words, but on a four-fold *action*, as performed by Jesus at the Last Supper. He hoped to make it clear in the celebration of the Liturgy that "this is the crucible of the new creation, in which God's new world is continually being fashioned out of the old, as ordinary men and women are renewed and sent out as carriers of Christ's risen life."<sup>63</sup>

He added the preparatory prayers and citations from the great liturgies of Christendom precisely because he felt the exultant note celebrating the mighty acts of God in Christ was missing in the Prayer Book, drowned by the penitential concentration on Calvary, to the neglect of the Creation, Incarnation, and Resurrection. He also magnified the place of the Liturgy of the Word, believing that the sermon is "an indispensable instrument for the regular communication of any through-going theology of the Eucharist and its implications" and that the Word of God must be contemporary, "speaking to every man in his own language, cutting through all

<sup>62</sup> *Liturgy coming to Life*, p. 15. The author adds: "Nothing lasting will be achieved, as 1928 showed, by imposition from the top downwards."  
<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

that muffles and stifles its impact."<sup>64</sup> He found it necessary to stress the four major actions of Taking, Blessing, Breaking, and Sharing, but this was difficult with the Prayer Book Rite of 1661 where the Offertory is separated from the Thanksgiving or Blessing, and the Fraction has been absorbed into the Consecration Prayer.

He also considered it important to accentuate the fact that the action of the Liturgy is social, not individual. If worshippers come to the Eucharist not merely to feed upon the Body of Christ, but to be created the Body of Christ, then this can be emphasized in the common loaf. It is lost in wafers or "breads." In the use of the common loaf there is a second advantage: the importance of the *Fraction* is demonstrated, with its symbolical reminder that the life of God can be given and shared only if it is broken. Moreover, Robinson wished to make it as plain as possible that the Liturgy was con-celebrated, the work of all the worshippers. For this reason he let it be known that any regular communicant was, in turn, to take his part in the communal action to which all were committed. He might be called upon to read the Epistle, to introduce the biddings or requests for prayer, or to make the offering of the bread and wine representing the common life. The western posture for the celebration was adopted, with the president facing the congregation, because it cut across party divisions, and because its psychological function was "to focus attention on a point in the middle, as the Christ comes to stand among his people as the breaker of bread, and to direct their gaze upwards as they lift their hearts to him as their ascended Lord."<sup>65</sup>

Like Archbishop William Temple, Dr. Robinson regards the Eucharist as the stimulus to sacrificial social action. Speaking of the common bread in the Eucharist, he insists that "we cannot without judgment share bread here and acquiesce in a world food distribution that brings plenty to some but malnutrition and starvation to millions more. We cannot without judgment share bread here with men of every race and tolerate a colour bar in restaurants and hotels."<sup>66</sup>

Dr. Robinson has shown that until the Church of England produces a revision of the Prayer Book more suitable both to the insights of our own day and of the early Church, it is possible by re-interpretation, by significant ceremonial, and by the use of an inspiring manual, to make the Liturgy indeed come alive.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>67</sup> There seemed to be no point in offering a critical evaluation, because we

## 7. "An Experimental Liturgy"

In comparison with the previous experiments we have been considering, here is a more daring enterprise, the construction of a new liturgy, which combines the best of the past and the present to provide a more adequate vehicle of worship for the Church of England in an ecumenical century. Ambitious as the project is, finality is not claimed for it. Its three authors, Professor J. Gordon Davies<sup>68</sup> of the University of Birmingham, and two fellow clergy of the same city, Dr. Gilbert Cope<sup>69</sup> and D. A. Tytler, gave it the modest title of "An Experimental Liturgy." Their hope, when this was published in 1958, was that it might lead others to produce their own experimental liturgies or constructively to criticize this one, and thus prepare the Church of England to study the issues that would have to be considered when full-scale liturgical revision should again be contemplated.

Four basic principles have controlled their thinking. The first was the negative decision to avoid depending too much on any existing rite, since all are either too mediaeval or too Reformed in character. They decided, in the next place, to make a comparative study of liturgies preparatory to devising their own, thus ensuring that their rite would have an ecumenical character.<sup>70</sup> Thirdly, they desired to manifest the Biblical foundation of faith as integrated into the Sacrament, and also to demonstrate the Biblical doctrine through the structure of the rite. Finally, this was to be an attempt to make the Liturgy a truly corporate action, thoroughly understood by the people.

have already recognized the criticisms of the house church and the parish communion, and this Clare College service of Holy Communion is something of a combination of both related to the special needs of an academic community. In one respect it improves on both—in giving a larger place to preaching. For a criticism of the theology of the Offertory, see Paul Gibson, "Liturgical Revision and a Theology of Incorporation," *Theology*, Vol. LXII, No. 486 (June 1960), p. 230.

<sup>68</sup> Professor Davies is the founder and head of the Liturgical Institute at the University of Birmingham, the author of *The Origin and Development of Early Christian Architecture* (1952) and of *The Architectural Setting of Baptism*, and is a former Bampton Lecturer.

<sup>69</sup> The Rev. Gilbert Cope wrote *Symbolism in the Bible and the Church* and edited *Making the Building Serve the Liturgy*.

<sup>70</sup> The Independent Television Authority's brochure publicising the transmission of the Experimental Order for Holy Communion on July 27, 1959, contains the following statement in the introduction by J. G. Davies: "the group responsible for producing this experiment did not take any one Order for Communion as its model, but tried, by a comparison of very many, to discover what features are essential in order that the rite should embody the fullness of Christian belief and practice as it is preserved fragmented in the separate branches of the Church."

They accepted the two-fold traditional structure of the Synaxis and the Eucharist, since the basic structure of the Synaxis came from the Synagogue, while that of the Eucharist derived from the Upper Room. Their only modification was to provide an act of Preparation to precede the Synaxis, and thus their rite has three parts.

Part I is *Preparation* and includes four elements: the Entrance, Chant, Greeting (and Collect for Purity), Confession and Prayer for Forgiveness (said by all the people). Part II is *The Ministry of the Word* (corresponding to the Synaxis) and contains ten elements: the Little Entrance (and Salutation), the Collect for the Day, the Old Testament Lesson, a Psalm or Canticle, the Epistle, a Psalm or Canticle, the Gospel (all standing) with *Gloria tibi* and *Laus tibi* optional, a Sermon, the Nicene Creed (with textual emendations), the Grace said by all (and possibly the Announcements and Special Biddings), and the Litany of Intercession. Part III is *The Ministry of the Sacrament*, which consists of five main elements, and many sub-elements. First there is the Offertory (with the *Pax* and presentation of offerings). Then the Thanksgiving follows, with *Sursum corda* and *Sanctus*, the Great Thanksgiving including an ascription to the Trinity said by the people, and the Lord's Prayer said by the people. The Fraction succeeds, including a Sentence and Response, this to be followed by Silence, and possibly by the Prayer of Humble Access. The fourth element is Communion, including the Communion of the clergy, the Invitation to the people and their response (emphasizing the concept of the Messianic Banquet), the Communion of the people, the Post-Communion Thanksgiving. The fifth and final element is the Dismissal.

Such is this interesting rite in skeletal form. There is a logic in the successive order of the various elements. The Preparation follows the shape of Isaiah's vision in the Temple, as the *Gloria in excelsis*—the sublime expression of adoration—leads naturally to the confession of sin and a plea for forgiveness.<sup>71</sup> The Ministry of the Word fittingly begins with a custom borrowed from the Eastern Orthodox Liturgy, the solemn carrying in of the Bible, known as the Little Entrance. This is followed by the reading of the Old Testament, the Epistle, and the Gospel, and the Sermon which expounds the Word of God, which fittingly elicits the response of

<sup>71</sup> It is not an Absolution, since this is to anticipate one of the benefits of the Eucharist itself.



vidly in the ceremonial. The range of Biblical lessons emphasizes the continuity of the people of God throughout history, and the Messianic Banquet the world-wide extension of the Church. The Prayer of Thanksgiving, in which the people have a large vocal part, provides a summary of the holy acts of God from the creation while the Messianic Banquet looks to the consummation of history, and the emphasis is on the once crucified but now risen and ascended Christ. It is a simple, Biblical, joyful, and ecumenical rite. The only question that remains is whether it is sufficiently comprehensive for its purpose, and perhaps whether God's offering to us is minimized and the Church's offering to God overstressed.

In a cogent reply to criticisms,<sup>73</sup> Professor J. G. Davies readily admits that a master of English prose, such as Cranmer was, would be required to provide better rhythms and cadences in the prayers than his group was capable of doing, and that a smoother transition might be effected between the end of the Preparation and the beginning of the Ministry of the Word. He is, however, unwilling to eliminate the Preparation, as some would wish, since he believes this is psychologically necessary for most modern congregations. He concedes, too, that since it is hoped that the sermon will lead to a deeper penitence, the Confession might be taken from the Preparation and inserted between the Sermon and the Creed. A desire was expressed for an action to accompany the versicle and response of the Pax, as is done in the Liturgy of the Church of South India.

More serious criticisms were made of the Thanksgiving. It was said to present two distinct parts instead of a continuous unity. It was also urged that the contention of Professor E. C. Ratcliff that the earliest prayers of consecration had the *Sanctus* as the climax, not the commencement, should have been heeded. Davies, however, remains unconvinced by the evidence, and even if he were, does not feel "that *there was only one pattern*" or that it should be regarded as an ideal form. While admitting that a good rationale has been given by the Rev. A. H. Couratin for the *Sanctus* as the climax of the prayer of consecration, Professor Davies thinks there is an equally good one for retaining it in its usual position, namely, that the focus and setting of Christian worship is in heaven. The position of the Fraction is criticized as coming after and not before the Lord's Prayer, to which Davies replies that it is much more convenient for distribution to follow immediately after frac-

<sup>73</sup> *Theology*, Vol. LXII, No. 469 (July 1959), pp. 274-79.

the Creed (in a revised version adopting the first person plural) said by all the people. This part of the service ends with a prayer of intercession in the form of a litany, to enable all to share actively in it. The second main division of the Liturgy, the Ministry of the Sacrament, begins with the bringing forward by the representatives of the people of the gifts of bread, wine, and alms, as tokens of their self-offering. These gifts are then taken and blessed in a prayer of thanksgiving, which offers God gratitude for creation, redemption, and the institution of the Holy Communion, asks for the fruits of communion—forgiveness, unity, renewal and spiritual strength, and recalls the saving acts of Christ to whom the worshippers are linked by the Holy Spirit. Such a prayer fittingly concludes with the recitation by all of the Lord's Prayer, the prayer of the Christian family. The Fraction, or Breaking of the Bread, is followed by a call to Communion. Then a short prayer of thanksgiving is followed by the Dismissal, which reminds the worshippers of their responsibility as representatives of the Church in the world consequent on their union with the risen and ascended Lord of the Church.<sup>72</sup>

The ceremonial of this rite strongly emphasizes the corporate character of the Church. The celebrant faces the people for all are gathered to make a common spiritual sacrifice and to share a common meal at the same altar-table. Members of the congregation take it in turn to bring the Bible to the lectern and to read the Old Testament Lesson and the Epistle. The Litany of Intercession takes the responsive form, but extempore prayer or silence (with or without biddings) may be used, and in each case a member of the congregation may lead the congregation in these prayers. Representatives of the laity bring up to the table-altar the bread, wine, and alms. A single loaf of bread is used for the Fraction to symbolize the unity of all members in the Body of Christ. The Invitation to the people and their response employs the concept of the Messianic Banquet, in which the world-wide fellowship in the Kingdom of God is acknowledged. In all these ways, and in many responses, psalms and canticles throughout the service, the *koinonia* of the Church is re-affirmed and the people really share in the Liturgy.

"An Experimental Liturgy" is therefore marked by a strong consciousness of the fellowship of the Church of Christ, expressed

<sup>72</sup> This is a summary of the meaning of the service using the words of Dr. J. G. Davies as much as possible.

tion and it is more emphatic as a central act in its present position. In keeping with the corporate principles of the revisers it is also suggested that all (not merely the celebrant) should say the Post-Communion Prayer. Finally, Davies concedes that a better form of Dismissal would be: "The Lord be with you. And with thy spirit. Let us depart in peace. In the name of Christ, Amen." And his parting wish is: "May the debate continue to a fruitful conclusion."

From the widespread discussion that the experimental rite evoked, from Canada to Australia, and from India to the United States, it is clear that it has fulfilled its primary purpose of stimulating Anglicans to consider afresh in the light of modern liturgical thinking the principles of Prayer Book revision. It has, moreover, stressed the importance of Biblical theology in liturgical reconstruction, and has dared to treat the English Prayer Book as if it were not sacrosanct and inalterable. Furthermore, while it is not likely to be the *last* word in liturgical revision, it significantly stresses the Eucharist in comprehensive fashion as a memorial, a thanksgiving, a sacrifice, a communion, and an eschatological anticipation of the consummated Kingdom of God. And, as we have suggested, it is an important *first* word in liturgical reform, and one of ecumenical interest precisely because of its attempt at Biblical fidelity. Its borrowings from the Eastern Rites (a Little Entrance, without a Great Entrance, and an *epiklesis*) for a Western Rite are, however, perhaps exotic and not entirely consistent.

#### 8. *The Reconsideration of Baptism and Confirmation*

Hitherto our consideration of worship in the Anglican Church has been almost exclusively concerned with Holy Communion, the central and normative Sacrament of the Christian life. Turning to the initiatory Sacrament, Baptism, and its completion in Confirmation, will give us an opportunity both to study the radical rethinking on Baptism that has occupied Anglican theologians for many years, and to consider the work of the Church of England Liturgical Commission which, after the disappointment of 1928, has after thirty years taken up again the official task of Prayer Book Revision. Its first fruits are to be seen in the report, *Baptism and Confirmation*, presented to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York in November of 1958 and published in 1959.

The subject of Baptism has lately become a storm centre of controversy. For this there are many reasons. Much of the practice

of Infant Baptism has obviously become nominal, since a pitifully small number of the children who are baptized ever become confirmed communicant members of the Church. Furthermore, a vigorous denomination, the Baptists, exists to combat the very concept of paedobaptism, restricting this Sacrament to believers, and yet many of them believe that there is an advantage in holding a dedication of the child to God within the Christian community. It is also significant that two distinguished Reformed theologians, Karl Barth and Emil Brunner, reject Infant Baptism as a declaration from the New Testament insistence upon repentance and faith as prerequisites for entry into the Christian community, while Oscar Cullmann and Joachim Jeremias have defended the traditional practice.<sup>74</sup>

The whole historical question of whether Infant Baptism is an early and primitive practice in the Church or a late excretion is hotly debated. Moreover, theologians in support of the traditional practice assert that Infant Baptism alone stresses the priority of grace, the finished work of Christ, and the import of the Christian Church as the sphere of the operation of the Holy Spirit. Their Baptist critics, however, assert that faith as the conscious human response to grace must be given its proper role, and that Baptism by immersion is the most dramatic symbolic way of marking the death of the egocentric personality and its rebirth in Christ. Finally, there is commonly felt to be the need for a stronger link binding Baptism to Confirmation and first Communion.

The Church of England was driven to a reconsideration of Baptism by its failure to keep in its community the infants brought to the font. In 1939 it was reported to the Upper House of Canterbury that in the previous twenty-four years 67 per cent of all babies born in England, that is 11½ millions, were baptized in the Church of England, yet the Easter communicants in 1937 numbered only 2¼ millions.<sup>75</sup> Moreover, of the 67 per cent baptized, only 26 per cent were confirmed, and no more than 9 per cent became regular Anglican communicants. It was abundantly clear that the act of Baptism initiated but did not incorporate.

<sup>74</sup> See Barth's *Die Kirchliche Lehre von der Taufe* (1953) and Brunner's *Wahrheit als Begegnung* (1938) and the defences in Cullmann's *Die Tauflehre des Neuen Testaments* (1948) and Jeremias' *Hat die Urkirche die Kindertaufe geübt?* (1949). A useful survey of recent ecumenical thinking on Baptism is Ernest A. Payne's contribution to *Christian Baptism, A Fresh Attempt to Understand the Rite in terms of Scripture, History and Theology*, edited by A. Gilmore. See also the Church of Scotland's fine study, *The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism*.

<sup>75</sup> Figures given in Roger Lloyd, *The Church of England in the Twentieth Century*, Vol. II, p. 63.

Dom Gregory Dix in *The Theology of Confirmation in Relation to Baptism* (1946) emphasized that in the Early Church the catechumens underwent a long period of training before Baptism and that after their initiation there followed "Easter Mass in the dawn, and first Communion, as the beginning of Christian life in the exultant Church."<sup>76</sup> He insisted that in those days Baptism, Confirmation and first Communion were three parts of the same rite, and several responsible Churchmen have urged that Baptism should be preceded by instruction and be administered at the age of Confirmation.

On the other hand, two important studies in the early history of Baptism by English scholars supported the view that Infant Baptism was probably known in New Testament times and certainly not later than 80 A.D. W. F. Flemington, a Methodist scholar, made his case in *The New Testament Doctrine of Baptism* (1948). He claimed that "the baptism of infants is a thoroughly legitimate development of New Testament teaching, a practice in full accord with the mind of Christ, and, indeed, one that, rightly interpreted, safeguards certain aspects of evangelical teaching even more effectively than the practice whereby baptism is administered only to 'believers.'<sup>77</sup> He elucidated the latter point in his claim as meaning that Infant Baptism expresses "the objective givenness of the Gospel."<sup>78</sup>

The other defence of the traditional practice came from the hand of Professor G. W. H. Lampe in *The Seal of the Spirit* (1951). He argued, most eruditely, that in the apostolic Church "Spirit-baptism" and "water-baptism" were indissolubly linked. He concluded that Baptism was the indwelling presence of the Holy Spirit as personal, rather than as a *donum gratiae*, which was given to the believer at this Sacrament of conversion, and that this personal presence would be more fully understood and experienced in the further Christian pilgrimage in the Spirit. This expectation of a fuller apprehension of the meaning of Baptism in the future is clearly as applicable to Infant as to Believers' Baptism. Lampe, however, is critical of some Anglican theologians who associate the special linking of the Holy Spirit with Confirmation and the laying-on of hands, for this denigrates the gift of the Spirit in Baptism.

<sup>76</sup> P. 12. L. S. Thornton, *Confirmation To-day*, should also be consulted, as both Dix and Thornton recognize Confirmation rather than Baptism as the predominant element in Christian initiation. <sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 131.

Two further studies which influenced the thought of the Liturgical Commission of the Church of England in its thinking were official reports. The first was *The Theology of Christian Initiation*, the result of a theological commission "appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to advise on the relations between Baptism, Confirmation and Holy Communion." The Commission emphasized the continuity between the three rites, because "the present-day counterpart to the primitive initiation is not Baptism alone, but Baptism, together with Confirmation, followed by first Communion."<sup>79</sup> Baptism and Confirmation were ultimately separated in the West and were linked in the East only at the expense of administering the complete rite to infants. It was emphasized that the classical order of Christian initiatory rites is "1. Preparation and Examination; 2. Baptism; 3. Confirmation; 4. First Communion." But, it was pointed out, "When Baptism is given in infancy, 1. has to be taken in two parts, (a) by sponsors, (b) in person, so that the new order is 1a, 2, 1b, 3, 4."<sup>80</sup> This situation has arisen not only because of the problems related to Infant Baptism, but also because in the earliest days the abyss dividing the Church and the world was clear-cut, whereas the situation is different in the settled life of the Church centuries later.

Four suggestions are made as warranting careful consideration: "(a) The confining of Infant Baptism to those children of whose Christian upbringing there is some assurance. (b) The establishment of a Catechumenate. (c) The more frequent administration of Baptism within the public Services of the Church. (d) The bringing into prominence of the Baptism and Confirmation of adults as an object-lesson on those aspects of initiation which were prominent in the first age of Christianity and now need to be made prominent again."<sup>81</sup>

The second important official study in this area was the final report of the Joint Committee of the Convocations of Canterbury and York, which was published as *Baptism and Confirmation Today* (1954). It was clearly intended to strike a hard blow against the nominalism associated too frequently with Infant Baptism in the Church of England. Its conclusions were substantially in keeping with the earlier report of 1948. It concluded that "Infant Baptism is only in line with the full teaching of the Church if: (i) it is accepted that it points forward to Confirmation

<sup>79</sup> *The Theology of Christian Initiation*, p. 12.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19. <sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

and Holy Communion; (ii) there is reasonable chance of the child being taught to 'improve his Baptism'; (iii) the instruction of baptized children in the Christian faith and life be regarded as a matter of the utmost importance."

With this growing unity of opinion in the understanding of initiation, the Liturgical Commission of the Church of England was in a happy condition for commencing the task of Prayer Book revision. It turned its attention first to Baptism and Confirmation, and later was engaged on the reform of the Eucharistic Liturgy.

The first and eagerly awaited report of the Liturgical Commission was submitted to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York in November of 1958 and was printed in 1959 as *Baptism and Confirmation*. Representative of both Anglo-Catholic and Evangelical viewpoints, the Commission was remarkable for its many scholars learned in liturgical lore. Many of them, whom it would be invidious to single out for mention, were known to the wider world through their writings. It may, however, be remarked that it was a little curious that there was no layman in the original membership of the Commission, especially as on all hands the modern stress is on the importance of the laity's part in the Liturgy.

One great novelty, though it was an attempt to recover primitive usage, was the printing first of the Order for the Baptism and Confirmation of Adults, as the "archetypal" service. The Order for Infant Baptism was printed next as a separate service, but directions were appended for its combination, when desirable, with Holy Communion or with Morning or Evening Prayer. The intention was clear that Infant Baptism with its solemn promises made by the sponsors was to be regarded as no "hole and corner" affair, but ought to be administered in the context of full congregational worship. Adult Confirmation was printed third, as a corollary of Infant Baptism. "In this way it is hoped," so the report reads, "to relate each part of the pattern to the archetypal service, while at the same time providing for the maximum of flexibility to meet a variety of pastoral occasions."<sup>82</sup>

A second novelty is the provision for the "Ministry of the Word." That is, a new preface to Adult Baptism, Infant Baptism, and Adult Confirmation is provided, of substantially the same type as the introduction to Holy Communion in the Prayer Book, consisting of a Collect, Scripture Lessons, and a Sermon or Homily framed upon them, in conformity with both Patristic and Reformed

<sup>82</sup> *Baptism and Confirmation*, p. x.

tradition. This, again, was an effective way of combatting mere convention and nominalism in these orders of worship.

An attempt was made to frame orders for Infant and Adult Baptism as much alike as possible. In each order the blessing of the water comes first, then the acts of renunciation and faith, and then the pouring of the water. The principal prayer in each service is the blessing of the water, and in this "an attempt has been made to express the whole Biblical doctrine of Baptism."<sup>83</sup> This prayer offers thanksgiving for Christ as the agent of creation and of redemption, who received the Baptism of repentance and was anointed with the Holy Spirit for man's sake, was delivered up to the suffering of death to purify unto himself a people for his own possession, and who on his ascension poured out the Holy Spirit of promise and renewal. It ends by beseeching God "to sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin; and grant that all to be baptized herein may be made members of thy Church, which is the Body of thy Son our Lord; that so, being baptized unto his death, and being made partakers of his resurrection, they may die daily unto sin and rise again unto righteousness; and serving thee faithfully with all thy saints, may inherit the kingdom of thy glory. . . ."<sup>84</sup> This is an admirable summary of the *heilsgeschichte* with special reference to Baptism. In the matter of the promises required there is, however, a different requirement for adults and children. The form for adults is the customary one, while that for infants is briefer and simpler, being thought more apt for godparents at Infant Baptism and for children making promises at Confirmation.

Since it was reported that the ceremony of signing with the Cross was thought by some persons to be the outward and visible sign of Baptism, it was thought wise to place it, along with the optional giving of the lighted candle, under a new heading, "The Ceremonies after Baptism." No provision, however, was made for the giving of a white robe or for the permissive use of oil before Baptism or of chrism after Baptism or Confirmation, since such customs were either impractical or did not command widespread interest.

The Confirmation Rite was drafted with the purpose of "emphasizing the centrality of the prayer for the coming of the Spirit."<sup>85</sup> The Bishop is directed to say this prayer facing the candidates with arms outstretched in their direction according to ancient

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xi.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xii.

custom. Great care was taken in employing the term "confirm" in such a way as to exclude neither of the meanings attached to it, as strengthening or completing.

The important prayer of the Bishop includes responsive "Amens" to stress the significance of the gifts of the Spirit:

Almighty and everliving God, who hast vouchsafed to regenerate *these thy servants* by water and the Holy Ghost, and hast given unto *them* forgiveness of all their sins: Send down from heaven upon *them* thy Holy Ghost the Comforter. *Amen.*

The Spirit of wisdom and understanding. *Amen.*

The Spirit of counsel and ghostly strength. *Amen.*

The Spirit of knowledge and true godliness. *Amen.*

And fill *them*, O Lord, with the Spirit of thy holy fear. *Amen.*<sup>86</sup>

The formula of confirmation is simple, speedy, and sufficient: "Confirm, O Lord, thy servant N. [or, this thy servant] with thy Holy Spirit, that *he* may continue thine for ever."<sup>87</sup>

Three General Rubrics are provided. The first indicates the norm for the administration of these services, namely that the whole congregation shall witness the reception of new members into Christ's Church and be themselves reminded of the promises that they (or their sponsors) made at Baptism and which they made for themselves at Confirmation. The second rubric requires the font to be set up in such a place that the whole congregation shall be able to see and hear the Sacrament of Baptism. The third rubric indicates that Confirmation requires of candidates the ability to say the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Decalogue, and the capacity to answer the other questions asked in the Church Catechism.<sup>88</sup>

Finally, the Commission expresses the hope that the report will be welcomed as an attempt to equip the Church with flexible liturgical forms adaptable to changing needs in the pastoral situation, and that it will be recognized as an honest attempt to get behind those controversies which arose out of the late mediaeval period.<sup>89</sup>

The members of the Liturgical Commission must be applauded for their irenic spirit, for the strong Biblical basis of their theology and prayers, for clearly indicating by their rubrics that Baptism is most meaningful as a part of a regular service in the face of a congregation (not a private gathering for family and friends), and

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xvi.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

for stressing the solemnity of the promises made (which a sermon or homily will make plain). Moreover, the formal unity of the three services may do much to accustom the mind of the people to a sense of their inter-relationship in the development of the Christian life, while the flexibility allowed for so that they may be incorporated in Morning or Evening Prayer or in the service of Holy Communion will be welcomed by the parish minister. All this represents a considerable achievement and augurs well for the consequent responsibility for providing a revised Order for Holy Communion.

Nonetheless, the Orders already published have not escaped criticism. Indeed, two members of the Commission thought the revision was too radical a departure from the present practice of the Church of England, and disliked the flexibility. Others are disturbed that the Order for Infant Baptism includes no mention of the customary "receive this child into the congregation of Christ's flock." Objection has been raised to the elimination of Mark 10:13-16 and the substitution of Matthew 28:18-30 in the Baptism of Infants since it has nothing to do with infants, to which it might be retorted that the alternative has nothing to do with Baptism. Some exception has been taken to the infelicitous English of the prayers. Perhaps the most controversial feature of the report is to have taken the Adult Baptism and Confirmation as archetypal and primary, when, in fact, Infant Baptism is the commoner mode of present day initiation. On the whole, however, the report has been welcomed.

### 9. *Retrospect and Prospect*

The historian's task is to record and interpret, not to prophesy, especially in such uncertain times as the present. In comparing the ethos of the Church of England in its internal and external relations at the beginning of the century and in the nadir of its fortunes in 1928, with the present situation, some important and hopeful differences can be observed, and these are promising for the development of its worship.

At the beginning of the century relationships between Anglicans and Free Churchmen were embittered, but there is today a common recognition that England is mission territory for all the denominations. Furthermore, it is common in most universities for Anglican and Free Church ordinands to have been taught by some lecturers of confessional loyalties other than their own, and cer-

tainly the best contemporary scholarship in theology is far from being exclusively Anglican. The Student Christian Movement at the universities and local ministers' fraternals in towns and cities have broken down the older alienation. It is commonly admitted that Anglicans have the pre-eminence in worship and Free Churchmen the leadership in preaching, and among the younger generation of clergy and ministers there is a deep longing for reunion. The Ecumenical Movement has changed the whole picture.

The old party exclusiveness which characterized internal relationships at the beginning of the century, and which reappeared in the tragic divisions over Prayer Book revision in 1927 and 1928, has now markedly decreased, with the increase of a great sense of common loyalty to the Church. The Anglo-Catholics are now far less likely to imitate Roman Catholicism than they were and they have entered fully into the recovery of a Biblical theology. Their strenuous spiritual regimen once feared by the Low Churchmen is now admired, as well as their splendid record of service in slum parishes, and their stressing of the social implications of the Eucharist. Anglo-Catholics for their part have come to respect the scholarship and devotion of the Evangelical clergy,<sup>90</sup> and the Evangelicals themselves have acknowledged that they did not pay enough attention to the beauty of holiness in worship or to the importance of the corporate nature of the Church manifested and renewed in the Eucharist. This unity is above all seen in the conjoint stress on Word and Sacrament. Thus an united Church of England is far likelier than the quarrelsome Church of 1928 to impress Parliament with the urgent need for the reform of the Prayer Book. The very fact that the Church of England members of a joint Anglican and Methodist Committee appointed to reconsider the reunion of these Churches were unanimously in favour of union could also prove that the Church of England has more right to speak for the nation spiritually than might previously have been supposed. For, after all, the Methodists are the largest of the English Free Churches.

The almost arrogant sacerdotalism of earlier generations of Anglican clergy is now obsolescent and may shortly become obsolete. Contemporary Anglican worship manifests, through the

<sup>90</sup> The Evangelicals have established a research centre at Oxford, named Latimer House, presumably as a complement to the High Church centre at Oxford, Pusey House. In 1960, the Evangelicals established a College of Preachers to which some High Church as well as many Low Church clergy have repaired for refresher courses.

Parish Communion, the House Church, "An Experimental Liturgy," and the Clare College Manual for Holy Communion, a desire to recognize the importance of the laity. It is likely that the apostolate of the laity will be even further developed if the Anglicans and the Methodists unite, for a great strength of Methodism has been the thousands of local preachers who have supplemented the work of the ordained ministers, and who have preached the Gospel in terms understood by the common people. The demoralisation of the Church is likelier to lead to even greater relevance in its worship.

Furthermore, we have drawn attention to the more influential examples of liturgical experiment in the Anglican Church in recent years as a sign of new life in a community that reveres tradition. These were, however, only a tithe of the experiments that were being tried. No mention was made of the Rev. Geoffrey Beaumont's *Folk Mass*,<sup>91</sup> an attempt to utilise popular melody in the service of the Church, and thus to bridge the gap between the Church and the world, and between the older and the younger generations. Nor were the renewed importance of services of spiritual healing mentioned. Both experiments are likely to become more common in the future. It is very likely also that the Easter Vigil, a recent Roman Catholic recovery of the practice of the Early Church, may become acclimatised in England in the near future.<sup>92</sup>

From time to time the names of members of Anglican religious communities have appeared in these pages, notably those of Father A. G. Hebert and Dom Gregory Dix, the authors respectively of *Liturgy and Society* and *The Shape of the Liturgy*. It is not without significance that these are among the most significant Anglican treatises on worship in our period. The implication is clear that in such communities of celibates, dedicated to the contemplation of God, deep spirituality may be found, and that its gains are made available for the culture of the spiritual life not of the few, but of the entire Church. The same spirituality engenders the courage of faith as manifested, for example, in Father (now Bishop) Trevor Huddleston's fight against *apartheid* in Southern Africa, so modestly recorded in *Naught for Your Comfort* and so movingly described in the character of Father Vincent in Alan

<sup>91</sup> For a critique see Erik R. Routley, *Church Music and Theology*, pp. 104-07. Also see Chap. III *supra*.

<sup>92</sup> See J. T. Martin, *Christ our Passover*.



Paton's *Cry the Beloved Country*. The Church of England's heritage of worship is immeasurably strengthened by the presence in its midst of communities consecrated to the *opus Dei*, in which there is discipline without deadliness, goodness with gaiety, and faith without fear or favour. The Community of the Resurrection, The Society of the Sacred Mission, the Cowley Fathers, and the Anglican Benedictine Community at Nashdom, must not be forgotten for their contribution to the renewal of worship in England.<sup>93</sup>

We have cited Bishop Hensley Henson's judgment that the Parliamentary rejection of the Revised Prayer Book was in fact less a vote of no confidence in the Book than in the Bishops, for they seemed to be men of expediency rather than of conviction. The same charge could hardly be made of the present Archbishop of Canterbury who, in his enthronement sermon, announced a determination to see Prayer Book revision through and an unwillingness to muzzle the Church at the behest of Parliament. No more could it be made against the present Bishop of Woolwich, whose book *Honest to God*<sup>94</sup> has been satirized as an exposition of the paradox that "the creed of the English is that there is no God and that it is wise to pray to him from time to time," but whose worst enemies could not deny him candour and courage. The bench of Bishops is no longer a synonym for vacillating expediency.

Throughout our period, which has been one of increasing gains for secularism, we have yet seen a genuine ecumenical advance, an improvement in the internal and external relationships of the Church of England, a desire to make far greater use of the talents of the laity, an increase in the courage of the leaders of the Church, a new fertility in liturgical and evangelistic experiment, an increase in the appreciation of monasticism, a deepening concern that society shall manifest the justice that God wills for his people, and a desire to correlate religion with visual art and drama. Above all, there has been growing a clearer and more cogent conviction of the Divine origin and empowering of the Church as manifested in the Eucharist. However strong the forces of secularism and materialism, there is great encouragement in the thought that the

<sup>93</sup> See Peter F. Anson, *The Call of the Cloister* and A. M. Allchin, *The Silent Rebellion* (1958). See also the tribute of an English Presbyterian: "The whole witness of the religious orders is a standing challenge to the values of the present age. The vows to poverty, chastity and obedience are the very opposites of the materialism, sensuality and license which are commonly exalted among us." (Kenneth Slack, *The British Churches Today*, p. 37).

<sup>94</sup> This book was discussed in Chap. V.

Church has never lost sight of her calling to adore God and to serve mankind. And it is precisely this calling which has been renewed in the Church of England through more than half a century's concentration on worship.<sup>95</sup>

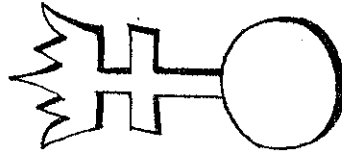
<sup>95</sup> One is reminded of the words of Reinhold Niebuhr to Archbishop William Temple: "I told him I thought the Prayer-book had saved the Anglican Communion from rationalism and Pelagianism more than Episcopacy had done" (cited in F. A. Ironmonger, *William Temple*, p. 494).

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BY HORTON DAVIES



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