

THE STRUCTURE OF CHRISTIAN WORSHIP

by

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PREFACE

One thing the Christian Church has done since its inception with almost absolute unanimity and regularity is meet each Lord's Day for the purpose of worship. This seems to be the one most important thing it does. Martyrs of the church have been born because they felt Christian worship was necessary to their lives. Church wide controversies have been generated over the purpose and manner of worship. Entire religious movements have started, for example, the Puritan, because of dissatisfaction over the way worship was conducted. The Church has felt that worship is vitally important to its existence.

Can it be said that there is a distinctly Christian way in which to worship? Can it be said that for worship to be Christian certain things must be done? Will it have a set structure? Are there various structures for different types of worship? Many factors are involved in attempting to answer such questions: theological, traditional, psychological, etc. To delve into all of these would be outside the scope of such a paper as this.

The purpose of this paper will be to see if some basic structure or structures have been developed or used by the Christian Church throughout its history. As such it will be mainly an attempt to report what the church has done rather than dealing with the theological factors involved although the two cannot be completely separated. As a

result of doing these things it will attempt to find out if the Church has traditionally held to one structure in expressing its Faith.

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CHAPTER I

EARLY WORSHIP

1. Origins

The origin of Christian worship has its roots in the Old Testament as does the Christian faith. During and after the exile the Synagogue came into existence because the Temple was destroyed. Even after the Temple was rebuilt the Synagogue services continued to exist. This was especially necessary due to the dispersion of Jews over wide geographical areas. Some claim that the worship of the Synagogue represents the prophetic traditions and the priestly tradition was represented by the sacrificial culture of the Temple. This is probably an over simplification. In New Testament times in the full religious practice of the devout Jew both the Temple and the Synagogue were accepted as two aspects of a total response to God.¹

It is generally agreed that the temple worship had little influence on Christian Worship.² On the other hand it is believed by most scholars that the Synagogue services had a great influence on Christian Worship. It is probable that the Synagogue had originally as its chief

¹Evelyn Underhill, Worship, (N.Y., Harpers, 1937), p. 209

²Ilion T. Jones, A Historical Approach to Evangelical Worship, (N.Y., Abingdon, 1954), p. 67

purpose the reading and exposition of the Law and religious exhortation. Prayers in more or less fixed formulas must have come into existence, however, as the Synagogue worship developed. These prayers were apparently said in connection with the lectionary and on special occasions.¹ The Synagogue worship developed to where it had four distinct elements in worship: the reading of the Scripture; the preaching of the Word; prayers; and psalmody. These were the essential and integral parts of the Synagogue liturgy.²

For the praise the old psalms were used and new psalms composed. The prayers were in such a form that all could take part in their recitation, and, though not committed to writing until probably the fourth or fifth century of our era, by the time of our Lord both their form and content appear to have been fixed and were handed down by oral tradition. By that time also readings from the Prophetic Books, added to the canon of Jewish Scripture two centuries earlier, were included in the Synagogue services. All this Christianity inherited from old Judaism.³

¹Paul P. Levertoff, "Synagogue Worship In The First Century", in book edited by W. K. Lawther Clarke, Liturgy and Worship (London, SPCK, 1932), p. 61.

²W.O.E. Oesterley, "Worship In The Old Testament", in Clarke, p. 51

³William D. Maxwell, An Outline of Christian Worship, (N.Y., Oxford, 1952), p. 3.

Jones states that the Synagogue services became the cradle of the Christian Church and the forebearer of Protestantism,¹ but that it was an oversimplification to say that the Christian Church took over bodily the synagogue worship.² Actually, Christian Worship could not be a precise copy of the Synagogue worship because it had to take into account the new revelation that came about in the Christ event.³

The structure of the synagogue service consisted of public readings from the scripture, the singing of psalms, a sermon and a number of set prayers. Dix states that rabbinic scholars are in disagreement as to whether the prayers came first or last in the synagogue service of the first century a.d., and there is no direct evidence as to what prayers were in use. In the third century a.d. the Jews undoubtedly placed the prayers in a group at the beginning and it is possible that this may have been the original practice of the synagogue. However, this was not the practice of the Christian Church at least from the second century.⁴

To the synagogue service was added another element that came directly from the action of our Lord Himself in

¹pp. 34-35, p. 36

²Ibid., p. 69

³Maxwell, p. 3

⁴Gregory Dix, The Shape of The Liturgy, (Westminster, Dacre Press, 1954), p. 37

the sacramental experience of the Upper Room.¹ The origin of the Last Supper, although directly of Christian development, had a Jewish background in the passover sacrifice meal, in the kiddush or religious meal of the household with which the sabbath and the great feasts began and in the common meals held for devotional purposes.²

It is generally believed up until recently that the Lord's Supper was the celebration of the Passover meal. But evidence now points toward the idea that the meal was a "Passover kiddush". In Jesus' day a group of male Jews would meet to organize a chaburrth (a society of friends).³ Their meetings consisted of a meal of common bread and wine mixed with water⁴ and was accompanied by religious discussion. The meals were more formal than ordinary meals and were presided over by a president. At the table thanks were given and a benediction said over the wine passed.⁵

It is almost certain that our Lord and His disciples were accustomed to partake of this meal of fellowship on the eve of every Sabbath and festival: the 'last supper', therefore, was the last of these meals they shared together.⁶

¹Maxwell, p. 4

²Dix, p. 36

³Jones, p. 54

⁴Maxwell, p. 5

⁵Jones, p. 55

⁶Maxwell, p. 6

2. The First Century

Now, what about a fixed Christian order of worship? Jones states that the process of a distinctly Christian order of worship appears to have been well along toward completion by the New Testament writing.¹ However, the records are silent as to any order of public worship.² Cullman believes that we are dealing with fixed practices of worship in the New Testament³ and that the primitive Christians did not hesitate to use stereotyped liturgical formulas⁴. Dix believes that the standard structure of 'Shape of the Liturgy' can be shown to have its first formation in the semi-jewish church of the apostolic age.⁵ Cullman says that the basic early Christian worship was sermon, prayer and supper.⁶ Maxwell says that from the New Testament on, the typical worship of the church consisted in the union of the worship of the Synagogue and the sacramental experience of the Upper Room.⁷ Cullman

1p. 69

2Ibid., p. 70

3Oscar Cullman, Early Christian Worship (Chicago, Regnery. 1953), p. 19.

4Ibid., p. 23

5p. xi

6p. 20

7p. 5

says there are Christian texts which exclude any systematic distinction between gathering for the Word and gathering for the Lord's Supper.¹ "As a rule there was no gathering of the community without the breaking of bread and that, even if there had been a service which was exclusively a service of the Word, it would have been in any case an exception."² This seems to be too categorical^a statement, however, since some Christians probably continued to worship in the Jewish Synagogues well through the New Testament period. That they tried to make the Synagogue services Christian is attested to by the violent arguments, riots, and persecutions inflicted on the Christians.³ It is quite possible that some Christians worshipped in Jewish synagogues on the Sabbath and then worshipped in partaking of the Lord's Supper with their own group on Sunday.

The rites of the church were fundamentally similar by the end of the New Testament period although they were still fluid.⁴ What were these rites? Dix breaks

¹p. 28

²Ibid., p. 29

³Jones, p. 83

⁴Maxwell, p. 7

them into two parts: the synaxis (literally "meeting") and eucharist.¹ Maxwell divides them into the 'Liturgy of the Word' and the 'Liturgy of the Upper Room'.² Dix says we can speak with certainty about the outline or shape of the liturgy by the earlier half of the second century and there is good reason to think that it is of genuine apostolic tradition.³ To those who would say that there is no scriptural proof or command for such an early outline, Dix, at least for the Lord's Supper, would answer:

But such information as the New Testament offers is theological or disciplinary rather than liturgical, i.e. it deals with the meaning and efforts of the rite and the spirit in which it is to be performed, rather than the actual way in which it is to be performed, which the New Testament everywhere takes for granted. This is quite natural. The eucharist had already been at the heart of the religion of Christians for twenty years before the first of these New Testament documents was written. . . . it is important for the understanding of the whole future history of the liturgy to grasp the fact that eucharistic worship from the outset was not based on scripture at all, whether of the Old or New Testament, but solely on tradition.⁵

That this tradition was followed early Dix points to the first Christian writing outside the New Testament

¹p. 36

²pp. 12, 13

³p. 5

⁴p. 3

in which the performance of the eucharist is described. It is a writing by Clement toward the end of the Domitian persecution in the autumn of 96 a.d. Clement is writing the Roman Church:

'Unto the high-priest (= the celebrant bishop) his special "liturgies" have been appointed, and to the priests (= presbyters) their special place is assigned, and on the levites (= deacons) their special "deaconings" are imposed; the layman is bound by the ordinances for the laity. Let each of you brethren, make eucharist to God according to his own order, keeping a good conscience and not transgressing the appointed rule of his "liturgy".'¹

Note the corporate action in the celebration of this eucharist. The laity have their 'liturgy' which they are urged to keep and to which they are charged to be faithful.

3. The Second Century

As has been noted previously the early Christian worship was probably one consisting of Sermon, Prayers and Supper, but on the other hand the synaxis and the eucharist were separable and could frequently be held without the other. The earliest account of Christian worship in any detail is given in Justin's Apology (c.a.d. 155). Here the eucharist is described twice. Once it is preceded by the synaxis and the other time it is preceded only by the baptismal rites.² However,

¹p. 11

²Ibid., p. 36

"despite their separate origin and different purpose, the synaxis normally preceded the eucharist in the regular Sunday worship of all churches in the second century."¹
The Sunday Morning service is assuming a fixed order.²

Maxwell reconstructs from the writings of Justin the structure of his liturgy as follows:³

The Liturgy of the Word

Lectons from the Prophets, and the Epistles and Gospels (called 'Memoirs of the Apostles')

Instructions and exhortations based upon the lections
Common prayers, apparently in litany form
Psalms and hymns also probably had a place

The Liturgy of the Upper Room

Kiss of Peace

Offertory: Collections of gifts for poor
Bringing in of the Elements

Prayer of Consecration:

Thanksgiving for creation, providence, and redemption

Memorial of Passion (later known as Anamnesis)

Oblation of gifts with self-oblation

Invocation of the Word and Holy Spirit to bless the
gifts of bread and wine (later known as the
Epiclesis)

Intercessions

People's Amen

Fraction

Communion

Dismissal

As may be noticed the prayers in the synaxis or 'The Liturgy of the Word' come after the sermon. Although Dix gives evidence from Justin that the eucharist is

¹Ibid., p. 37

²D. H. Hislop, Our Heritage In Public Worship, (N. Y., Scribner's, 1935), p. 81

³pp. 12, 13

celebrated without the synaxis Jones still insists that the service is continuous and not divided into parts. He does state, however, that "a slow development was going on in the direction of an expanded liturgy; and a general outline was in process of becoming traditional".¹ Dix also cites Hippolytus in his Apostolic Tradition (c.a.d. 215) as describing the eucharist twice, once being preceded by the consecration of a bishop and once preceded by baptism and confirmation.²

4. The Third and Fourth Centuries

Dix states that in all Christian churches from the earliest moment that definite evidence is available (Justin a.d.155 for Rome; and the Didascalia and Origen in the first half of the third century for Syria and Egypt) the prayers were universally placed last after the sermon and remained there. He feels that this was evidently a fixed Christian tradition.³ As was noticed earlier in this paper the Jews by the third century a.d. placed their prayers at the beginning of their Synagogue service. Dix feels that probably the later Jewish practice differed from the practice of the Jews in apostolic times. It is conceivable that the Christian Church deliberately changed the position of the prayers. "If so, the change

¹p. 91

²p. 36

³p. 37

must have been made early and probably by apostolic authority, for later Christian tradition to be so universal and firm on the point."¹

Dix also feels that there is no question that the Christian Church had an outline for its worship.

The original unchanging outline of the Christian synaxis everywhere was as follows:

1. Opening greeting by the officiant and reply of the church
2. Lesson
3. Psalmody
4. Lesson (or Lessons, separated by Psalmody).
5. Sermon
6. Dismissal of those who did not belong to the church.
7. Prayers
8. Dismissal of the church.
- (9. On occasions a collection for the poor, the expenses of the church, etc. was made. But this was a separate duty of church life, which might for convenience be performed at the 'meeting', than a part of the synaxis itself.)²

As the name synaxis implies, it was used as a 'public meeting' open to all who wanted to attend whether Christians or not. The church is required to preach the Gospel to the world. But up to the sermon there were no prayers at all. After the sermon all were dismissed who were not Christian.

The church is the Body of Christ and prays 'in the name' of Jesus, i.e. according to the semitic idiom which underlies the phrase, 'in His Person!' 'The Spirit of adoption whereby' the church cries to

¹p. 37

²p. 38

God in Christ's Name, 'Abba, Father' with the certainty of being heard, 'Himself makes intercession' with her in her prayers. The world had a right to hear the Gospel; but those who have not yet 'put on Christ' by baptism and thus as 'sons' received His Spirit by confirmation cannot join in offering that prevailing prayer. All who had not entered the order of the laity were therefore without exception turned out of the assembly after the sermon.¹ Yet the synaxis is not rightly regarded either as a mere propaganda meeting for outsiders or even primarily an instruction service for the faithful, though the lections and sermons enabled it to serve both purposes. By intention though not in form it was an act of worship. The Liturgy of the Spirit, in which the church indwelt by the Spirit adored as well as proclaimed the Divine redemption wrought through Jesus.²

Dix feels that the Last Supper is the service of the eucharist celebrated by the Christian Church but not the model of its performance. The New Testament gives us a 'seven-action scheme' of the Last Supper when it was inaugurated.

Our Lord (1) took bread; (2) 'gave thanks' over it; (3) broke it; (4) distributed it, saying certain words. Later He (5) took a cup; (6) 'gave thanks' over that; (7) handed it to His disciples, saying certain words.³

Dix states that we have become so accustomed to the present shape of the eucharist that we do not instantly see that it is not based on practice of this 'seven-action scheme'. It is rather based on a drastic modification of it.

¹Dix, p. 41

²Ibid., p. 434

³p. 48

With absolute unanimity the liturgical tradition reproduces these seven actions as four: (1) The offertory: bread and wine are 'taken' and placed on the table together. (2) The Prayer; the president gives thanks to God over bread and wine together. (3) The fraction: the bread is broken. (4) The communion: the bread and wine are distributed together.

In that form and in that order these four actions constituted the absolutely invariable nucleus of every eucharistic rite known to us throughout antiquity from the Euphrates to Gaul.¹

The sources for Christian worship became extensive during this period. But most of the writers (except Sarapion and Hippolytus) are reticent in dealing with the Prayer of Consecration and the eucharist. Christians were under persecution and soon after Justin's death secrecy began to be observed until the death of Constantine and was known as the disciplina arcani. Many new details of importance appeared during this period, "and since these are not usually quoted as novelties, it is probable that many of them had been long embedded in Christian practice, although the precise date of their origin is obscure?"² Jones does not believe that the liturgies of the second, third and fourth centuries can be in true succession of the apostolic worship.³ He thinks that the elaboration in worship that had been going on since sub-apostolic days

¹p. 48

²Maxwell, pp.14, 15

³p. 97

was detrimental to the early New Testament worship. He attributes this to the influence of Judaism and the mystery religions.¹ Undoubtedly Christian Worship had pressures placed on it from all sides by different theological opinions. However, Jones offers no great amount of evidence as over against Dix who establishes his order upon analysis of a vast amount of original sources. And, too, Jones admits that the various liturgies throughout the Church had basically the same general outline. There is surprising unanimity as to the general outline of them all.² Maxwell agrees with this when he states that worship was still in a fluid state, but had a typical structure and a notable similarity throughout the Church.³

Dix states that from the fourth century on, which is after the era of persecution and Christianity became the official religion, the synaxis and eucharist were gradually fused until they came everywhere to be considered inseparable parts of a single rite.⁴ At this time also the intercessory prayers in the synaxis were transferred to the second half of the eucharist prayer. Some of the prayers of the synaxis became a wholly 'public' service and the Christian part was transferred to the eucharist section.⁵

¹p. 94

²p. 105

³pp. 17, 18

⁴p. 37

⁵Ibid., pp. 437, 438

5. Medieval Worship

There was no conscious or deliberate fusion of the synaxis and the eucharist, but by c.a.d.400-500 the fusion had taken place in most places. "As whole populations became nominally Christian, there ceased to be anybody not entitled and indeed obligated as a member of the faithful to be present at both rites."¹ The synaxis then began to need to be adapted to a public worship. Different schemes of introductions arose over the church, but all were intended to strengthen the element of worship in the synaxis.² Although starting out simply as a prose hymn³ the introduction later "consisted of various prayers and singings, mingling praise, penitence, adoration and supplication, the dominate feature being the deacon's litanies."⁴

Another element was added to the liturgy - the service of prothesis, a private preparation of the clergy. It consisted of a confession of sins, litany of the saints, and various collects while the clergy vested and prepared the elements.⁵ Although this may have started sometime after the fourth century,⁶ it was the

¹Ibid., pp. 431, 436

²Ibid., p. 469

³Ibid.

⁴Maxwell, p. 38

⁵Ibid., p. 37, 52

⁶Ibid., p. 37

eleventh century before the present forms began to be used.¹

The 'shape of the liturgy' was pretty well fixed by the eighth century all over Christendom.² However, there was continual borrowing from church to church from the first century on up until the edicts of the Byzantine emperors and Charlemagne.³

6. The Dry Mass and Prone

The dry mass or missa sicca was a low mass said without consecration of the elements or the communion. Those parts of the service connected with the communion were entirely omitted: This service in the West came about in the Middle Ages and provided a service similar in general outline to the synagogue service. In the East it can be compared with the Liturgy of the Pre-Sanctified in which the elements were used but they had been previously consecrated in another service.⁴ Maxwell believes the dry mass is important to the development of worship since it is not unlike the Ante-Communion in the Anglican Church and the Sunday Morning Service of the Reformed Churches.⁵

¹Dix, p. 524

²Ibid., p. 522

³Ibid., p. 587

⁴Maxwell, pp. 64, 65; Jones, p. 115

⁵p. 65

Regular high mass was becoming more of a spectacle. For the most part the rite had become inaudible.¹ The low mass was quiet and provided the worshippers with an excellent opportunity of using mentally the vernacular^a prayers which they substituted for the Latin text of the liturgy as their personal worship. But this was not all gain according to Dix:

Let us be quite clear what this last development really means. The old corporate worship of the eucharist is declining into a mere focus for the subjective devotion of each separate worshipper in the isolation of his own mind. And it is the latter which is beginning to seem to him more important than the corporate act. The part of the individual layman in that corporate action had long ago been reduced from 'doing' to 'seeing' and 'hearing'. Now it is retreating within himself to 'thinking' and 'feeling'. He is even beginning to think that over-much 'seeing' (ceremonial) and 'hearing' (music) are detrimental to proper 'thinking' and 'feeling'. While the catholic doctrines of the priesthood and the conversion of the elements were retained, the remnants of the corporate action still provided an objective centre which was identical for all present. But it needed only a continuation of the shift of emphasis for the eucharistic action itself to come to be regarded as a mere occasion for or accompaniment to the individual's subjective devotion and thoughts. This shift of emphasis was growing in the fifteenth century, and it reached full development in the sixteenth. We call it 'the protestant conception of the eucharist.'²

The Prone was a vernacular service said from the pulpit, and was inserted into the mass after the Gospel. It

¹Ibid., p. 65

²pp. 599, 600

was not fixed by Papal authority and did not appear in the text of the mass, however. It was composed usually of bidding prayers, the Epistle and Gospel, the Creed, sermon, exhortation and the Lord's Prayer, or sometimes a lengthy paraphrase of it. This service became popular particularly in France and Germany.¹ Although it has been proposed that the Reformed Services of Strasbourg were derived from the Prone, Maxwell states that this is in error.²

7. The Quire Offices

The origin of the Divine Office, the Canonical Hours, the Hours, Quire (Choir) Offices or hours of prayer can be found in Jewish practice. The Book of Acts (2:1,15; 3:1; 10:9,30) mention the third, sixth and ninth hours as prayer times. The Didache states that the Lord's Prayer is to be said three times a day probably to match the three hours mentioned in Acts. Tertullian mentions a night vigil (vigilare, 'to watch at night!') around 200 a.d.³ From earliest times Christians had formed habits of Bible reading and prayer. The monastic movement took these private devotions and developed them into liturgical offices.⁴ These consisted

¹Maxwell, p.66; Jones, p.115

²p. 66n

³Ibid., pp.163, 14

⁴Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., The Worship of The Church, (Greenwich, Seabury, 1952), p.81

of psalms, hymns, Scripture lections from the Old and New Testaments, and prayers. They were based on the synagogue services.¹

A verse of Psalm 119, "Seven times a day do I praise thee", suggests a division for these offices. In the monastic rules of Basil (d.379 a.d.) the canonical hours are outlined. These hours were perfected and incorporated into the rule of Benedict of Nursia (d.c.547 a.d.) and became an integral part of daily monastic life in the Western Church.²

Actually there were eight canonical hours although they were counted as only seven since two were celebrated together as one continuous office. This seemed to be justified by the seven fold theme of Psalm 119. These offices were sung daily 'in choir' in all monasteries. Parish clergy were expected to read them if they missed their recitation in church. The laity were under no obligation to attend although they were encouraged to hear them, especially the morning office of Lauds and the evening office of Vespers. These two offices were commonly said in parish churches on Sundays and holy days.³

The eight Canonical Hours or services of the Breviary were these: (1) Matins (also called Nocturns), the largest of all the offices, consisted chiefly of three sets of psalms and lessons. It was a 'vigil'

¹Maxwell, pp. 163, 164

²Shepherd, pp. 81, 82

³Massey H. Shepherd, Sr., The Oxford American Prayer Book Commentary, (N. Y., Oxford, 1953), p. 1

service, begun several hours before dawn. (2) Lauds (sometimes called Matins) followed immediately upon the preceding service, at the break of day. It took its name from Psalms cxlviii-cl, which always formed part of the office. (3-6) The 'Little Hours' of Prime, Terce, Sext, and Nones, marked off the major divisions of the day, being said at the first, third, sixth and ninth hours, respectively, of the daytime. Section of Psalm cxix formed the principle substance of these offices. (7) Vespers was sung at sundown, and followed the same pattern as Lauds - a few psalms, a short devotion similar to the 'Little Hours' of the day. The entire Psalter was recited every week by way of a regular distribution of the psalms among the various Offices: and the other books of the Bible were appointed to be read at least once in the course of a year.¹

Jones cites Dix as calling these services the "Puritan" or "private" or "purely personal" worship of the Church.²

¹Ibid., p. 1

²p. 116

CHAPTER II

REFORMATION WORSHIP

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the celebration of the Lord's Supper had become a dramatic spectacle. It had ceased to be a communion and was replaced by transubstantiation. The Mass was said inaudibly in an unknown tongue and was surrounded with ornate ceremonial. It presented only meagre opportunity for participation by the common people. They were not encouraged to communicate more than once a year. In addition, the sermon had become poor since most of the priests were too illiterate to preach. The Scriptures were not readily available in the common tongue and paid masses had led to exploitation of the use of worship. A reformation was badly needed.¹

Maxwell states that the results of the Reformation movement were imperfect as far as the forms of worship were concerned. This was probably due to the fact that the continental Reformers did not have a very great historical knowledge of the origins and principles of worship.² "This meant that at a time of intense spiritual revival there was no leader on the Continent equipped to provide forms of worship fully adequate to express the new spirit." Nevertheless

¹Maxwell, p. 72

²p. 72

the principles the forms were intended to express are living and imperishable.¹

1. Luther

As early as 1516, Luther in a sermon on the Third Commandment stressed the necessity of "hearing the Word of God" as over against the idea of "hearing Mass." Then in 1520, he thought that communion should be taken in both kinds 'for the sake of the completeness of the sign.'² Although Luther protested against unevangelical features, he never sought to abolish the historic order and substitute a new service. He felt that purification and not destruction was needed. The programs initiated by Carlstadt and the Anabaptists with their different spirits strengthened him in his conviction.³

When Luther saw that his followers were preparing a number of German Masses, he undertook to guide it by his own rite the Formula Missal, which was published in 1523.⁴ His Formula was intended as a trial program and not a general order for the whole Church. However, it ^{is} was thought by his present followers to be his greatest contribution to general liturgical reform⁵ even though at that time it was negative and unconstructive. It became the norm for the later Lutheran liturgies of which

¹Ibid., p. 73

²Luther D. Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy, (Phil., Muhlenberg, 1947), p. 68

³Ibid., p. 68

⁴Jones, p. 122

⁵Reed, p. 71

the Strasbourg liturgy is important to the Reformed tradition.¹

Luther made further changes in his second rite, the Deutsche Messe issued in 1526 which was intended to act as a brake on those followers who were making changes which were too radical.² He used it for a year first in Wittenberg before he published it. The mass was in the vernacular and had far-reaching and drastic changes. Maxwell records it as follows:³

Liturgy of The Word

Introit on German hymn
Kyrie eleison
Salutation and collect
Epistle
German hymn
Gospel
Apostles' Creed (Elements prepared now)
Sermon on homily

Liturgy of the Upper Room

Paraphrase of Lord's Prayer
Exhortation
Recitation of Words of Institution, accompanied by Fractions and Delivery
Communion, hymns sung meanwhile
Post-communion, collect
Aaronic blessing

Maxwell states that Luther's German mass was defective in many parts. "But he broadened and deepened the spirit

¹Maxwell, p. 78

²Jones, p. 122

³pp. 79, 80

of worship and gave the people a more intelligible part. They now knew at least what was being done, and could join in the common action; and communion was restored to its rightful place. The impetus given by Luther to the hymnody of the Church was to produce lasting and glorious results."¹

Not all of Luther's followers were as negative and extreme as he. Many of the Lutheran liturgies are richer in content. Absolute uniformity in liturgy has never been a Lutheran practise, and their rites varied between cities and provinces, although all belonged unmistakably to the same family.²

2. Zwingli

It is stated that Zwingli was a humanist in his thoughts which made his theology, including his prayers, more rationalistic and tended to obscure the idea of fellowship in the eucharist. Unlike the other Reformers he did not regard the Lord's Supper itself as a means of grace or as a norm of Christian worship. He differed quite decisively from Luther and Calvin in that he did not favor frequent communion.³ He was first with two innovations. He had the people sit while they communed

¹p. 80

²Ibid., p. 80

³Ibid., p. 81

and he confines it to four times a year. In April 1925, he published the first German rite to appear in Zurich. It was entitled, 'The Action or Use of The Lord's Supper.' Maxwell outlines it as below:¹

Liturgy of the Word

Ordinary Morning Service (a form of Mattins),
concluding with Sermon and a Confession
of sins
Offertory: preparation of elements
Invocation: 'In the Name of the Father, etc.'
Collect
Epistle
Gloria in excelsis (said antiphonally)
Gospel
Apostles' Creed

Liturgy of the Upper Room

Exhortation
Fencing of the Table
The Lord's Prayer
Prayer of humble access
Words of Institution, with:
Fraction
Minister's communion
Delivery, and communion of the people
Post-communion psalm (said antiphonally)
Post-communion collect
Dismissal

Zwingli also abolished singing although later he did as other reformed churches and took a more reasonable course of substituting congregational singing for the elaborate music rendered in the mass by choirs.² "In content, the Zwinglian rite must be regarded as the least adequate of

¹pp. 84, 85

²Ibid., p. 86

all Reformation liturgies."¹

3. Strasbourg Rites

At Strasbourg some of the most significant work took place pertaining to reformed worship. The city was under Lutheran influence until 1530, when Bucer became superintendent. He brought Zwinglian influence to bear upon the Strasbourgian Reformers. Strasbourg became a via media between Luther and Zwingli.²

Before Bucer came there was a revision of the mass which was carried out in 1524 by Diebold Schwarz in German. His mass was less radical than Luther's revision and was more creative. A new spirit was expressed, although the best of the old form was retained.³ The outline of Schwarz's rite during 1524-5, underwent nine or ten printed editions. The outline of the seventh in this series, which also represents the third step in the revisions at Strasbourg,⁴ may be seen in Appendix A. As may be noted the Confiteor was replaced by a confession of sins. Actually the Confiteor was modified slightly and said aloud as a general confession. The first personal singular was retained.⁵ This was in line with the reformation principle.

¹Ibid., p. 87

²Ibid., p. 87

³Ibid., p. 88

⁴Ibid., p. 90

⁵Ibid., p. 88

The Confiteor became the act of the people instead of the priest. Most of the Continental rites followed the order of the Mass, beginning the whole service with this penitential preparation.¹

This rite existed until 1537 when fourteen revisions were made. (See Appendix A). The 1537 rite is important because the Calvinian and Scottish rites and services were derived from it.² These Strasbourg services were conducted from behind the Communion Table. When the sacrament is served the celebrant stood at the north end of the Table to give bread, and the assistant minister stood at the south end to minister the cup. The worshippers formed a line down the central passage of the nave. They would come forward to receive first the Bread and then the Wine, and then return to their places.³

In these German rites of Strasbourg we see the service come into being which was to become the norm of Sunday Morning Worship in the Reformed Churches. During the period of development at Strasbourg, the practice of weekly communion declined. By 1537, it was celebrated weekly only in the cathedral and monthly in local churches. The eucharist

¹Stephen A. Hurlbut, The Liturgy of The Church of Scotland, Part I. "Calvin's Liturgy", (Washington, St. Albans, 1944), p. 26

²Ibid., p. 101

³Ibid., pp. 91, 111

still remained the norm, however. If there was no communion those parts were omitted which belonged to consecration and communion. The service was still conducted from behind the communion Table and the minister adopted the basilican posture.¹ Maxwell feels that "Such a service lacks the centrality of the encharist, but it is immensely richer in content and broader in scope than worship that takes the quire office as its norm."²

4. Calvin

When Calvin was banished from Geneva, he went to Strasbourg. There he taught theology and in 1538 ministered to a group of French driven from France because of their reformed views. Until Calvin came, the German civil authorities would not let the French celebrate the Lord's Supper. After he arrived the French were allowed to celebrate the Lord's Supper monthly which was the customary practice there. The French congregation needed a service book. Calvin did not know German, so a friend translated the Strasbourg rites into both Latin and French. Calvin then proceeded to translate this draft into literary French. He adopted the Strasbourg rite almost word for word. By 1540 he issued his first complete service book which he called The Form of

¹Ibid., pp. 100, 111

²p. 111

Prayers and Manner of Ministering the Sacraments according to the Use of the Ancient Church. It went through at least three editions: the second in 1542 and the third in 1545.¹ (See Appendix A).

When Calvin went back to Geneva, he published in 1542 a modified form of the Strasbourg rite which went through several editions after 1547. This Geneva rite is not to be confused with the 1542 Strasbourg rite. As may be noted in Appendix A, the changes were slight. Calvin in prefacing his 1545 service book shows the rationale of his structure. "We begin," he says, "with confession of our sins." He then goes on to state the use of psalms, hymns of praise, scripture, confession of faith (the Apostle's Creed), oblation and offerings and then continues:

..... quickened and stirred by the reading and preaching of the Gospel and the confession of our faith, it follows that we should pray for the salvation of all men, for the life of Christ should be greatly enkindled within us. Now, the life of Christ consists in this, namely, to seek and to save that which is lost; fittingly, then, we pray for all men. And because we receive Jesus Christ truly in this Sacrament, we worship Him in spirit and in truth; and receive eucharist with great reverence, concluding the whole mystery with praise and thanksgiving. This, therefore, is the whole order and reason for its administration in this manner; and it agrees also with the administration in the ancient Church of the Apostles, martyrs, and holy Fathers.²

¹Jones, p. 126; Maxwell, pp. 112, 113

²Quoted by Maxwell, p. 116

Maxwell believes it is "perfectly clear that it was Calvin's wish to restore the encharist in its primitive simplicity and completeness as the weekly worship of the Church."¹

To imagine that Calvin wished to replace sacramental worship by a preaching service is completely to misunderstand his mind and work and to ignore all that he taught and did. His aim was two fold: to restore the encharist in its primitive simplicity and two proportions - celebration and communion - as the central weekly service, and, within this service, to give the Holy Scriptures their authoritative place. The Lord's Supper, in all its completeness, was the norm.²

This last sentence would probably be better expressed in the following manner:

Far from separating the Supper from the preaching Word in order to make a different service of it, he [Calvin] demands that it be attached thereto to form a natural climax and thus shows that he understands its true nature. He thought of worship as forming one whole, the strictly liturgical part being inseparable from the homiletic part, the one requiring and demanding the other.³ The Word is not an insertion, like the Prone, into an otherwise complete sacramental drama: the Sacrament itself is a seal of the Word.⁴

Hislop feels that Calvin alone of all the reformers did not want the service divided into two parts - "the one liturgical and the other entirely at the discretion of the

¹p. 116

²Ibid., p. 112

³John S. Whale, "Calvin" in Christian Worship, ed. by Nathaniel Micklem, (Oxford, Clarendon, 1936), p. 168

⁴Raymond Abba, Principles of Christian Worship, (N.Y., Oxford, 1957), p. 25

officant. Calvinistic worship is a unity." This unity is illustrated in the fact that Calvin wanted the preaching service and communion service together for Sunday morning worship.¹

Calvin believed that Communion should be held weekly. He was unable to have his way in this matter because of the opposition of the civil authorities of Geneva. However, he continued to hold to the idea that it should be a part of the weekly service.² His Sunday morning worship then became a "service without a visible partaking, but all the elements that belong to sacramental worship in his view are given in this service."³ This meant that from the normal eucharistic service shown in Appendix A, the following were omitted: the actual Consecration, the Words of Institution, the Exhortation, and the Post Communion. The remainder of the service was retained. The morning service of the Reformed Church then became a 'Missa sicca', a dry mass or to quote a primitive parallel, a 'Missa catechumenorum', or to state a modern parallel, an 'Ante-communion' service.⁴

The question is often raised as to how rigid Calvin was in demanding the use of a certain structure of worship.

¹p. 188

²Jones, p. 128

³Hislop, p. 188

⁴W. D. Maxwell, John Knox's Genevan Service Book, (Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd, 1931), p. 33

He was free on non-essentials and adamant on essentials. But what constitutes each of these? In his Institutes, he regards the form of certain parts of the celebration of the Lord's Supper as of no importance.

As for the outward details of the action whether believers should take the bread in their hand or not, should distribute it among themselves or whether each should eat the portion just as it is given to him, whether they should hand back the cup to the hand of the deacon or pass it to their neighbor, whether the bread should be leavened or unleavened, whether red or white wine should be used - all this is of no importance.¹

In another place Calvin says, "such uniformity in outward matters will receive no consideration; we shall rather be asked about the right use of freedom. But the right use will be that one which has contributed most to the edification of the Church."²

But Calvin seemed reluctant to consider the structure of worship as a non-essential. He seemed to desire "that no deviation be allowed from those parts which are presented."³ Calvin in a letter to Protector Somerset says:

As to what concerns a form of prayer and ecclesiastical rites, I highly approve of it that a certain form, from which the ministers be not allowed to vary: That first some provision be made to help the simplicity

¹IV, 17, 43

²cited by Wilhelm Niesel, The Theology of Calvin Trans. by Harold Knight, (Phil., Westminster, 1956), p. 207

³Charles W. Baird, The Presbyterian Liturgies, (Grand Rapids, Baker, 1957), p. 23

and unskillfulness of some; secondly, that the consent and harmony of the churches one with another may appear; and lastly, that the capricious giddiness and levity of such as affect innovations may be prevented. To which end I have showed that a Catechism will be very useful. Therefore there ought to be a stated Catechism, a stated form of prayer, and administration of the sacraments.¹

In his liturgy Calvin made special provision for voluntary and extemporaneous prayer.

Only in those general supplications which, from their nature must be uniform, as they express common wants and desires, the reformer required a close adherence to the public formularies of the Church. This union of free prayer with the rigid use of a Liturgy, was the marked and peculiar excellence of the Genevan worship.²

Baird states that this was carried out by frequent ecclesiastical enactments in the Reformed Church of France. "All pastors were required by their ordination vows, to use the liturgical forms in 'public prayers and administration of the sacraments'; while for all secondary occasions they were left to provide by extempore prayer."³

5. John Knox and Scotland

The history of the Reformed rites is somewhat complicated in Scotland because it is interwoven with the English

¹cited by Baird, p. 23

²Baird, p. 24

³p. 24

rites. A reform movement began in both places about the same time. In Scotland many looked toward the reform movement in England for guidance and support and others looked toward the Continent. In 1552 in Scotland, the "Lords of the Congregation", that is the nobles and barons of the reforming party adopted the Book of Common Prayer, the second book of Edward VI, with the approval of John Knox.¹ This adoption did not have the force of law but was used for quite some time. It was officially replaced by the Book of Common Order in 1562 for performing the sacraments, and in 1564 for all purposes. However, it was still quite some time until the use of the Book of Common Prayer disappeared.²

The origins of the Book of Common Order began at Frankfort-on-Main where in 1554 a group of English exiles fled who were refugees from the persecutions of Bloody Mary. The majority of these exiles were Calvinians, but many of them preferred the Book of Common Prayer. Others, including Knox, were strongly attached to Calvin's forms of worship.³ This latter group came originally from Strasbourg where they worshipped under the leadership of Valerand Pullain who was Calvin's successor. Pullain and

¹Jones, p. 128

²Maxwell, Outline of Christian Worship, p. 121 abbreviated hereafter O.C.W.

³Ibid., p. 121

his congregation, composed mostly of Belgian Walloons, had to flee from Strasbourg and went to London. Then they fled Bloody Mary's persecution to Frankfurt.¹

In Frankfort Knox declined to use the 1552 BOCP and drew up a new order along with Whittingham and others which later became known as John Knox's Genevan Service Book. It did not differ greatly from the Calvin's Genevan Order. The reformers in the various factions placed great importance on their liturgy and controversy raged. The Angelican party got the upper hand and Knox fled to Geneva where he acted as a minister to the English congregation for a few weeks before he left for Scotland in August 1555. That winter Whittingham and other exiles came to Geneva. Under Whittingham's leadership the form of service which he, Knox and others had drawn up in Frankfort was revised and adopted in 1556. It was printed in Geneva and had the title: The Forme of Prayers and Ministrations of the Sacraments, etc., used in the English Congregation: and approved by the famous and godly learned man, John Calvin.²

Maxwell in his John Knox's Genevan Service Book, gives extensive textual evidence to show that this rite, The Forme of Prayers, is derived directly from Calvin's service book. However, The Forme of Prayers is not a slavish translation,

¹Jones, p. 129

²Horton Davis, The Worship of the English Puritans, (Westminster, Dacre, 1948), pp. 30, 31

but has evidence of an independent spirit. In other parts, it shows the influence of the BOCF, 1552.¹ The outline of this 1556 Geneva service may be seen in Appendix B.

It was largely due to Knox's leadership that the Forme of Prayers was introduced in Scotland after 1560. As pointed out previously, it was adopted there in its complete form in 1564. It was also used by the Puritans in England.² (See Appendix A for the structure of this service.) The Forme of Prayers or the Book of Common Order continued to be the standard of worship in Scotland for over eighty years. It had a long and stormy career but remained until the Westminster Directory in 1645.³

The BOCO reduces the eucharist to its simplest elements, but it is truly catholic in structure and is an adequate vehicle of devotion.⁴ It, like Calvin's service when communion was not served, retained as much of the eucharist form as possible even when it was not celebrated. Only that which pertained to consecration and communion is omitted. After the recitation of the Creed, a metrical psalm was sung and the service concluded with the Blessing. The Scottish Sunday Morning Worship was thus based upon the

¹Maxwell, O C W, p. 123

²Davies, p. 34

³Maxwell, O C W, pp. 127-129

⁴Ibid., p. 124

full eucharist service, and not upon the Hours' Offices.¹

It should be remembered that the BOCO was not a fixed and absolute service book as the BOCP. Instead it is rather a standard of worship which left much to the discretion of the minister. At the same time it was not a mere directory.²

6. England and The Book of Common Prayer

English worship had a unique history since the English reformation had a character all its own. It was closely related to what was happening on the Continent and in Scotland.³ Henry VIII broke with the popery in 1534, but the mass remained unaltered for years. There was not absolute uniformity in worship in England although the dominating use was the Sarum. Differences were essentially unimportant.⁴ A number of minor steps were taken from 1536 to 1544 to reform the mass. The leader in the major reform work was Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury. He used the Latin rite according to the Sarum and others used in England. In addition, he was influenced by a reform of the Latin Breviary prepared for the pope by a Spanish Cardinal, Quinones, published in 1535, 1537. He also made

¹Ibid., pp. 126, 127

²Ibid., p. 127

³Jones, p. 133

⁴Maxwell, O C W, p. 145

studies of the Greek liturgies printed in 1526 and editions of the ancient Spanish liturgy (Mozarabic rite) which appeared in 1500, 1502.¹

Cranmer also came under continental influence. In Germany, in connection with Henry VIII's annulment case, he came to first-hand knowledge of Luther's experiments in liturgical reform. He came under the influence of one particular Lutheran Order. This was the constitution of Archbishop Hermann von Wied of Cologne. This constitution was largely the work of Bucer and Melancthon. Also during the reign of Edward VI, Bucer and Martyr were exiled to England and their criticisms carried great weight with Cranmer.²

After Edward VI came to the throne, the reform party led by Cranmer was free to promote changes. In 1548, Cranmer published his Order of the Communion which was later incorporated into the BCP. In 1549, the first prayer book was ordered into use by the Act of Uniformity passed by Parliament. The more extreme reformers with whom Cranmer sided pushed through a second prayer book in 1552 under a new Act of Uniformity.³

In 1551, John Knox visited England and he was invited

¹Shepherd, Commentary, xvi

²Ibid., xvii

³Ibid., xvii

to assist in the revision of the Prayer Book then in progress. Calvin also was consulted in the compilation of the Prayer Book. His hand can be seen in the introductory portion of the daily service; the Scriptures, exhortation, confession and absolution; in singing metrical hymns; and the words of the distribution of the elements in the celebration of the Lord's Supper.¹ Baird says about the introduction:

We have said that no ancient Liturgy opens with a general confession of sins and supplication of forgiveness. The Anglican ritual, at the beginning of each of its chief services, the Common Prayer and the Communion, presents this feature. Without analogy elsewhere, it finds a parallel in the Liturgies of the Reformed Churches.²

Maxwell feels that the 1549 prayer book had an order of service that was beautiful, adequate and reformed. The 1552 prayer book according to him is "a drastic, impoverished revision of that of 1549."³

Communion was the essential part of the rite according to Maxwell. At every celebration some of the people were required to communicate. On Wednesdays, Fridays, and Holy Days, if there were no communicants, all that followed the offertory was omitted. Added to this were one or two collects in order to conclude the service. "This service was known

¹Baird, pp. 195-197, 202

²pp. 199, 200

³O C W, p. 148, 149

as Ante-Communion, and it was in accordance with the custom of the Reformed Churches on the Continent."¹

The accession of Bloody Mary to the throne quickly brought an end to the use of the Prayer Book. She restored the liturgy as it was performed at the close of Henry's reign. Elizabeth, when she came to the throne, restored the second Prayer Book by an Act of Uniformity in 1559 with a few, insignificant changes.² No further revisions, except the interlude of the Westminster Directory were made until 1662. There were no major revisions then except Ante-Communion was extended to include Sundays also, if there were no communicants. "The practical result was to make Ante-Communion the principle Sunday Service henceforward in most parishes, communion being celebrated only three or four times a year."³

The structure of the worship of the BOCF of 1662 is as follows:⁴

The Liturgy of the Word

Lord's Prayer said by celebrant alone
Collect for purity
Decalogue with English Kyries and "Incline
our hearts," etc.
Collect for the King
Collect of the day
Epistle

¹OCW, pp. 146, 159

²Shepherd, *Commentary*, p. xviii

³Maxwell, OCW, p. 151

Gospel
 Nicene Creed
 Sermon on Homily shall follow

The Liturgy of the Upper Room

Offertory:
 Scripture Sentences, said
 Collection of alms, etc.
 Preparation of elements
 Intercessions, with commemoration of
 departed
 Exhortation
 Invitation
 General Confession
 General Absolution
 Comfortable Words
Sursum corda
 Prayer of Consecration
 Preface and Prayers
Sanctus
 Prayer of Humble Access
 Commemoration of Passion
 Words of Institution with manual
 acts and Fraction
 Communion
 Lord's Prayer (Matt. doxology)
 Oblation or Post-Communion Thanksgiving
Gloria in excelsis
 Peace and Blessing

7. Daily Offices or Prayers

By the time of the Reformation, the morning office of Lauds and the evening office of Vespers, were commonly said in parish churches on Sundays and Holy Days. All the Reformers, therefore, inherited from the Middle Ages a double tradition of Eucharist and Quire offices. However, only the liturgical genius of Cranmer deliberately retained both. He adopts the medieval Quire office to the needs of Reformed parish worship, and places the reading and hearing of the

Word of God at their center.¹

It is important to realize that Cranmer was not previously concerned with producing a revised breviary, a choir-office for the clergy, nor with the simple restoration of an unbroken course of psalms and lections freed from medieval elaboration and interpolation: he was concerned with common prayer, with the needs of the whole Church, laity as well as clergy.²

Cranmer does not appear to have worked out a precise relationship between the Quire Offices and the Eucharist. However, it is clear that he intended the weekly Eucharist to be the chief Sunday Service. Morning Prayer was to proceed and lead up to it.³ Below is Cranmer's 1549 revision of the Quire office as given by Shepherd:⁴

<u>Morning Prayer</u>		<u>Evening Prayer</u>	
Lord's Prayer (said aloud not silently)	] Matins	Lord's Prayer (said aloud not silently)	] Vespers
Versicles and Gloria		Versicles and Gloria	
Venite and Psalms (read in a monthly, rather than a weekly course)		Psalms (in course, as at Morning Prayer)	
First Lesson		First Lesson	
<u>Te Deum</u>	] Lauds	<u>Magnificat</u>	] Compline
<u>Benedicite</u>		Second Lesson	
Second Lesson	] Prime	<u>Nunc Dimitis</u>	] Vespers
<u>Benedictus</u>		Creed, Lord's Prayer and Suffrages	
Creed, Lord's Prayer and Suffrages	] Lauds	Collect of the Day	] Compline
Collect of the Day		Collect for Peace	
Collect for Peace		Collect for Aid against Perils	
Collect for Grace	] Prime		

¹Abba, p. 33

²D. E. W. Harrison quoted by Abba, p. 33

³Abba, p. 34

⁴Commentary, p. 1

Because of the shortness of the daytime offices of Terce, Sext, and Nones, Cranmer did not draw on these. In addition, in the interest of simplification, he reduced much of the antiphonal responses.¹

In the 1552 revision of BOCP, Cranmer placed at the beginning of the service, Scripture Sentences, an Exhortation, a Confession of Sins and Absolution. This could have been drawn from Calvin's liturgy as Baird stated. The forms provided are not translations of the medieval Latin formularies. Shepherd states that placing ^{them} at the first of the service was suggested by the reformed Breviary of Cardinal Quinones in his office of Mattins.² Other small changes were made both in the 1552 and 1662 revisions of the BOCP.

Although Cranmer was the person who was the liturgical genius behind the Daily offices, they were not absent in either the Lutheran or Reformed traditions. Calvin made abundant provision for the frequency of public services of worship in Geneva. Prayers with sermons were said on every day of the week, and are still (1855) said without sermons in the churches of Geneva.³ The daily service was no innovation in Scotland either. It was either a substi-

¹Ibid., p. 1

²Commentary, p. 5

³Baird, pp. 31, 32

tute or a complement of the weekly service of worship.¹

The Reformed reformers were desirous of carrying out daily offices by gathering the people together in church. However, they were more anxious to secure a regular and devout observance of worship for all their people. Thus one of the earliest acts of the Church of Scotland, after recommending daily services of prayer and preaching in the churches, directed that, "in private houses the most grave and discreet person use the Common Prayers at morn and night, for the comfort and instruction of others."² The Church of France felt so strongly on this matter that it asked its churches holding daily morning and evening services to do so where it would not conflict with family prayers.³

Calvin himself, was the composer of remarkable forms for morning and evening prayers. Some of these forms came to America via the Dutch Reformed Church and were called "The Morning and Evening Prayers." In Knox's liturgy, they came as "Christian Prayers and Meditations."⁴ The night Knox died, his friends had just finished reading to him Calvin's "Evening Prayer".⁵ It was in the act of

¹Hislop, p. 276

²Quoted by Baird, p. 60

³Ibid., pp. 60, 61

⁴Ibid., p. 61

⁵Ibid., pp. 65, 82

repeating the Morning Prayer of Calvin's Liturgy that Admiral Coligny spent his last moments on the fatal morning of St. Bartholomew's day, 1572.¹

Actually the forms of prayer used by Calvin in the daily services of the Church at Geneva were not included in his Liturgy. They have instead been handed down in connection with his lectures. Listed below is an outline of his daily Prayers.²

The Daily Prayers

Invocation: Scripture sentence - "Our help..."
Prayer of Supplication
Sermon
The Special Prayer (for grace)
The General Prayer (for all people)
The Creed
The Blessing

¹Ibid., p. 85

²Ibid., pp. 66-70

CHAPTER III

POST-REFORMATION WORSHIP

1. The Puritans

The interval of approximately one hundred years between the appearance of the first and last or 1662 edition of the Book of Common Prayer is sometimes called the period of 'Puritan pressure'. During this time it was the policy of Puritans to continually try to bring about additional changes in the Book of Common Prayer. Indeed, the Puritan movement originated as a party opposed to the Prayer Book.¹

This division between the Anglicans and the Puritans found itself resting upon the differences between the two main continental reformers.

The real difference between the Lutheran and Calvinist reform in worship may be summed up as follows: Luther will have what is not specifically condemned by the Scriptures; whilst Calvin will have only what is ordained by God in Scriptures. That is their fundamental disagreement. It is of vital importance in the history of Puritan worship, since the Puritans accepted the Calvinist criterion, whilst their opponents, the Anglicans, accepted the Lutheran criterion.²

The Puritans were divided into two groups. One group stood by the Book of Common Prayer but objected to its ceremonies. The other group rejected it and preferred to use the Genevan type of worship.³ Over against the

¹Jones, p. 135

²Davies, p. 16

³Ibid., p. 33

Puritans stood the Separatist who Davies carefully distinguishes from the Puritans.¹ Another way of dividing these groups which is not exactly synonymous with the above but shows the later distinction is to divide the Puritans into two schools: the Presbyterians and the Independents who were later known as the Congregationalists (Free Church).² The Separatists were those groups who later called themselves Baptists.³

The Puritans had it clearly in their intention to bring the English worship into line with Reformed practice. The early Puritans constantly appealed to the continental Reformed Churches for precedents in their desire to reform worship. Even the Separatists claimed the reformation heritage. The Puritans regarded themselves as representatives of the Reformed tradition in England. Although they were essentially in agreement with the continental Reformed Churches, they reserved the right to differ with them in certain matters. Their criterion was the Word of God by which both the overseas churches and themselves were to be judged.⁴ The English Puritans always recognized in the Reformed Churches on the continent a close relationship to themselves. Davies says:

¹p. 77 and

²Maxwell, OCW, p. 137; Davies, p. 127

³Davies, p. 91, 96, 97

⁴Davies, p. 35, 36

They would probably have been surprised had they realized the extent of divergence from the customs of the Reformed Churches. They would have been amazed to learn that, in certain features of her worship, the Established Church in England approximated more closely to the Reformed tradition than they did themselves.¹ . . . The Book of Common Prayer approximated more closely to the Reformed tradition than did the Puritan practice of extempore prayer. On the other hand, the Westminster Directory by defining the subject-matter of prayer, without suggesting the actual wording, brought the Puritan practice nearer to Calvin's. It is most probable that Calvin would have regarded the extreme Separatist insistence on extempore prayer as entitling them to the rebuke of 'novationes quasdam affectant'.²

The Puritans did not follow Calvin's lead in emphasizing the centrality and dignity of the Lord's Supper. The early Puritans celebrated Communion every Sunday regularly, but then gradually changed to a monthly and finally a quarterly celebration.³

2. Puritan Prayer-Books

As discussed in the last chapter, there was a clash between two liturgical parties in Frankfort. Each was convinced of the need of a formulary for public worship. They disagreed as to which was to be used. Out of this controversy came The Forme of Prayers in 1556. (This later in 1564 became the Book of Common Order in Scotland.) This has been called the first entirely Puritan

¹p. 38

²p. 39

³Ibid., p. 42, 43

prayer-book.¹ It had a profound influence on the English Puritans. Two revisions, with relatively little changes, came to be used among English Puritans. One was used in England and the other by Puritan exiles in Middleburgh, Holland. The first of these was published in 1584 or 1585 by Waldegrave and entitled, A booke of the forme of common prayers, administration of the Sacraments, etc. agreeable to God's Worde, and the use of the reformed Churches.

(See Appendix B for outline). Some Puritans tried to get Parliament to make this book exclusively authoritative in public worship.² It would seem that the moderate Puritans, made up mostly of Presbyterians,³ were moving in a direction toward prescribed forms of prayer and away from free prayer. "Perhaps the license (as they would conceive it) of the Brownist or other groups of Dissenters had confirmed them in this view."⁴

It is probable that Thomas Cartwright printed the Waldegrave Liturgy. In 1585 the Star Chamber prohibited a second use of it to be printed. An English congregation was exiled to Middleburgh in 1586 where Cartwright became their pastor. The liturgy used there shows marked similarity with the Waldegrave Liturgy and seems to be based on it. (See Appendix B). Both orders are based on

¹Ibid., p. 116

²Ibid., p. 122, 123

³Ibid., p. 115

⁴Ibid., p. 123

Knox's, The Forme of Prayers. The structure of all three are the same. Some slight differences are that both English liturgies start with Scripture Sentences whereas the Genevan order started with the prayer of Confession; and "both allow prescribed prayers of Intercession and even (if desired) an extempore prayer of Intercession."¹

The marked similarity of these three liturgies show conclusively the Calvinistic basis of Puritanism and that the moderate Puritans used a liturgical type worship.

This in itself, while not excluding but severely restricting free prayers, would tend to suggest that the Parliamentary Directory of 1644 was a compromise urged on the Presbyterians by the Independents. The natural development of Presbyterianism was toward a prescribed form of prayers, with alternatives and occasional opportunity for extemporary prayers. That the next prayer-book issued by the Presbyterians was a manual rather than a liturgy is conclusive proof that they were persuaded by the Independents, the heirs of the Brownists and Barrowists, to move in the direction of unprescribed prayer.²

3. The Westminster Directory

In 1663 an ordinance of Cromwell passed both houses of Parliament stipulating that a Synod of divines and laymen be set up to settle the church government and Liturgy of England. This was the Westminster Assembly which produced a Directory for the Public Worship of God in the three Kingdoms. The Assembly was elected by Parliament

¹Ibid., p. 125

²Ibid., p. 127

on a county basis, but also included members of both houses and deputies from the Church of Scotland. The Episcopal clergy were invited but declined to attend. Consequently the Assembly was left exclusively in the hands of Presbyterians and Independents, all totalling sixty-nine members.¹

At first it appeared that nothing more than a revision of the existing Prayer Book was contemplated. The small subcommittee which was assigned the preparation of a rough draft had on it the Scots and one Independent, Goodwin, This

accounts for the predominating Scottish character of the Directory, which is structurally based on the Book of Common Order a close relative of John Knox's Genevan Service Book, whilst Goodwin's presence is responsible for the many alternatives allowed and the variations from the Genevan Book.²

As it turned out the compilers of the Directory had three aims: the divine sanction for their ordering of worship; to achieve uniformity in worship; and to provide not an invariable prayer-book, but a general directory. The reason for a directory was to prescribe a manual rather than a prescribed liturgy in order that 'the ministers may be hereby directed in their administrations to keep like soundness in doctrine and prayer' and that they also may be provided with various aids or helps for prayer.³

¹Ibid., p. 127

²Ibid., p. 128

³Ibid., p. 129

The Directory, therefore, aimed at the merits of a prayerbook without its attendant disadvantages. It was to be Scriptural, comprehensive, orderly. But these merits in a prayerbook were not to be obtained by the suppression of the minister's gifts for extemporary prayer. It aimed at a marriage between order and liberty, which hitherto had been estranged.¹

The Sunday Morning Service outlined by the Directory shows almost exact structural similarity to the Genevan Form of Prayers. See appendix B. Two notable differences are present. One is that the Prayer of Confession has been taken from its historic position and placed after the Scripture lections. No reason is apparent for this. The other difference tends to change the structure of the worship considerably whenever Communion is dropped from the service. This is the moving of the prayers of intercession from after the sermon to a position prior to the sermon. This deviated from any previous Puritan or Catholic practice. It was a concession to the Independents but for what reason is not clear. Davies cites Baille as saying the long prayer is

a new fancy of the Independents grounded on no solid reason, and contrair to all the practices of the Church, old or late, who divided always their prayers in more small parts, and did not have any one of a disproportionab~~le~~ length.²

¹Ibid., p. 129

²p. 132

It was chiefly on account of the Scottish element in the Assembly that the Directory said Prayers of Intercession could come after the sermon as well as before.¹ The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland when adopting the Directory followed their commissioners in that they prescribed that the old custom of including the intercessions in the prayer after the sermon should not be abandoned in Scotland, but should be continued as formerly. "The Scots objected strongly to the English Independents' practice of placing the long prayer ^{before} after the sermon."²

The importance of the Parliamentary Directory is three fold. It was the first comprehensive attempt to find an order of worship that was acceptable to both elements of the Puritans alike, the Presbyterians and the Independents. In the second place it is unique as a via media between apparently unpremeditated and extempore worship of the Separatists and the prescribed liturgical order of the Establishment. Thirdly the Directory destroys the idea that Puritan prayer was necessary and always extempore.³

It should be remembered that the Puritans at no time claimed liberty to worship God as they pleased: their demand was rather that they should worship God according as he desired to be worshipped in his Word. The Calvinists orders of worship were

¹Hurlbut, Part III, "The Westminster Directory", 1950, p. 80

²Maxwell, OCW, p. 131

³Davies, p. 141

acceptable to them because they believed these to be true to the criterion they demanded.¹

4. The Savoy Liturgy

The Westminster Directory remained in use for sixteen years until the Restoration. The Anglicans came back into power and established the use of the Prayer Book. An attempt was made to propose a use of a Reformed liturgy as an addition to the liturgy of the Prayer Book.² A Conference took place at Savoy in 1660. Although one-half of the Presbyterian commissioners who attended the Savoy meeting had been delegates to the Westminster Assembly³ they did not seem to have any great interest for promoting the Westminster Directory⁴. Instead they turned to a liturgy. They were free to do this because the Independents refused to have a part in the negotiations. They disapproved of the Erastianism of the Presbyterians and by now were beginning to think there was no scriptural warrant for set forms of prayer.⁵

This left the Presbyterians free to discuss liturgical comprehension with the Anglicans. The English Presbyterians were. . . . more akin to the Established Church than their Scottish brethren. They were more willing

¹Davies, p. 141, 142

²Baird, p. 165

³Davies, p. 128

⁴Hurlbut, Part III, p. 66

⁵Davies, p. 142

to admit the value of a modified liturgy and had no objection to a primitive episcopacy. Moreover, they were not jealous of interference of the secular arm in religious affairs. Hence the way lay open to them to enter into negotiations with the Anglicans
 1

From the beginning of the conference it seemed that both sides had no intention to reach a compromise or make a concession. The bishops were determined to yield nothing and the Puritans were rigid in their demands. Under the leadership of Richard Baxter the Puritans brought in a list of exceptions to the BOCF and a liturgy entitled The Reformation of the Liturgy. (See Appendix B). It was their request that this not replace the BOCF but that the use of certain forms be left up to the minister's choice.² The conference ended with slight revisions being made to the BOCF which did not take into account any but the smallest of the Puritan desires.

In many ways Baxter's liturgy has a close structural resemblance to the outline of the Westminster Directory. The latter was a compromise of the English Presbyterians, the Scottish Presbyterians and the Independents. The Savoy liturgy was probably more representative of the English Presbyterians. It is valuable in offering an indication of how the Directory might have been written had the Independents not pressed their views on the

¹Ibid., p. 142, 143

²Baird, pp.163, 167, 168

Presbyterians. It shows clearly that the Presbyterians had no objection to a liturgy provided it was not imposed upon them.¹

The structure of the Savoy liturgy was in the main stream of Calvinian worship. It changed the Prayer of Confession back to the historic position from the curious position in which it was placed by the Directory. However, the Directory's position of changing the Prayer of Intercession and putting part of it before the Sermon still took precedent. Immediately after the New Testament Lesson a Prayer of Intercession was made for King and Magistrates. It was followed by a Psalm or Benedictus or Magnificat and then the first half of the general prayer of intercession was given. This prayer was given in the pulpit just prior to the sermon. After the sermon comes the long prayer or general prayer. The minister was allowed the latitude of placing this long prayer before the sermon if he so desired. If this was done nothing was left after the sermon except the Blessing on days when communion was not held.²

A comparison of the Savoy liturgy with the Westminster Directory will show that the Savoy liturgy is much fuller. The Directory has an order consisting of eight items. "In comparison with the parallel order in the Savoy Liturgy this is bald and dull. Baxter's order has sixteen items. . ."³

¹Davies, pp. 156, 157

²See Maxwell, OCW, p. 138, 139 and Baird, p. 172-191 for a full description of this liturgy.

³Davies, p. 157

Baird thinks the Savoy liturgy is remarkable for simplicity, appropriateness and fullness.¹

The Savoy liturgy failed in its purpose and apparently was never used. The Book of Common Prayer was imposed on the churches in 1662 with a consequent 'Great Ejection' by which two thousand ministers who would not conform were deprived of their living. This brought the Book of Common Prayer, prescribed liturgys and prayers into great disrepute. For two centuries the successors of the Puritans reacted against prescribed forms of worship and prayers.²

5. Decline In Use of Worship Forms

The reaction against any kind of fixed liturgy went to the barest extreme following the enactment in 1662. The service was reduced to the singing of a metrical psalm, followed by a long prayer, another psalm, the sermon, a long concluding prayer, another psalm and the benediction. The metrical psalm had a very limited number of tunes until the latter part of the eighteenth century. Paraphrases were first used beginning in 1745. It was the general practice for the precentor to repeat each line in a monotone on the note to be taken up by the people. This went far to degrade music.³

¹Baird, p. 171

²Davies, p. 161

³Maxwell, OCW, p. 132

In general the structure of worship was meagre, the prayers/^{were}quite lengthy and didactic. The sermon was the principle act of public worship.¹ The ordering of everything according to the Word of God, which was the goal of the Puritans, had now degenerated to Scripture literalism.² The pressure of the Separatists seemed to take hold everywhere. For example,

In 1675 the Aberdeen Presbytery (in Scotland) ordered that the precentor must 'from henceforth desist from saying any liturgy, reading (i.e. from the Bible), singing the Doxology, in the Kirk, morning and evening, as before.' It is perhaps true on the whole, to say that toward the close of the 18th century the public services of the Church of Scotland had become probably the baldest and rudest in Christendom."³

In addition to a meagre structure and bare worship forms the Lord's Supper was not celebrated but four times a year. The classic structure of worship with the eucharist had been discarded. One of the strong critics of such Protestant liturgical practice says:

The Reformers themselves. . . tried hard to retain a central importance and meaning for the eucharist in Christian worship. But in every case they failed to carry their followers with them. Throughout the churches of the Reformation the eucharist rapidly assumed the position of an occasional addition to a worship which ordinarily consisted only of praises, prayers, exhortation and reading, somewhat similar to what the primitive church had

¹Ibid., p. 140

²Hurlbut, Part III, p. 88

³Ibid., p. 90

considered suitable for the catechumens at the synaxis It is too strong to say that protestant worship in its orthodox period represents no more than the lay folk's devotion at mass with the eucharistic action altogether removed. But that is only an exaggeration of a real and observable resemblance and derivation.¹

6. The Wesleyan Movement

In the 18th century a great spiritual revival was born in the Anglican church and then separated from it. In 1784 John Wesley and two other priests of the Church of England ordained two deacons, two elders and two superintendents to care for the Methodists of North America. In the same year Wesley prepared and sent to these people a liturgy for their use as they traveled in the United States.² At the Christmas Conference of that year his book of services was unanimously accepted for use in all Methodist congregations. Wesley wrote, "I have prepared a liturgy which I advise all the travelling preachers to use on the Lord's day, in all their congregations I also advise the elders to administer the supper of the Lord on every Lord's day. If one will point out a more rational and scriptural way of feeding and guiding those poor sheep in the wilderness, I will gladly embrace it. At present I cannot see any better method than that I have taken." Wesley headed

¹Dix, p. 600

²Jones, p. 150

the service, "The Order of Morning Prayer Every Lord's Day. . ."¹

When compared to the BOCP Morning Prayer Service, Wesley's service is approximately the same. He omitted a sentence from the Call to Confession; substituted the Collect for 24th Sunday after Trinity as "Prayer for Pardon" in place of Absolution because the service was to be used by traveling preachers as well as elders; and changed the "Five Prayers" at end of the service to replace King, etc., with "Supreme Rulers of the United States." This service immediately dropped from sight and was never printed in America until 1945, despite the statement in the Methodist Book of Worship.² that it was printed in the Discipline from 1792 on.

7. Denominations with Prescribed Worship

In 1789 the Protestant Episcopal Church adopted an American revised edition of the English BOCP. The basis of this book was the 1662 edition, but it was revised slightly in light of the Scottish Prayer Book. The first edition was not actually published until 1793. Although prescribed forms were stipulated the Episcopal church was influenced greatly by the frontier movement in America and defected/^{in many places}from their rubrics. In 1892 the Prayer Book

¹Edward C. Hobbs (ed.) The Wesley Orders of Common Prayer (Nashville, National Methodist Student Movement, 1957), p. 8.

²The Book of Worship For Church and Home, The Methodist Church (Methodist Publishing House, 1945) p. vi.

was revised with minor changes born out of the controversy arising over the Tractarian Movement in England at mid-century. Some influence also came from the Church of Ireland (Anglican). The most recent revision was made in 1928 to take into account changes that did not come about in 1892. Influence was also felt by similar revisions going on in Ireland, Scotland, England and Canada.¹

The Lutheran Church in American has always had a fixed liturgy. When migration commenced to American manuscripts of various liturgies were brought from Sweden and Germany. As we saw earlier different provinces and cities would use different services, but all of these services were of the same family. The first step toward uniformity in America was brought about under the guidance of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg in 1748. It was based on various manuscripts from different sources. It was little more than an outline. It lacked complete texts of the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels. Revisions of this were made and other liturgies were adopted and different Lutheran bodies carried different traditions throughout the years.² In 1878 the General Synod of the United Lutheran Church began an attempt to unite in preparation of a Common Service Book for all English Speaking Lutherans. This was completed in 1888 and revised in 1917. In it is stated.

¹Jones, p. 152, 153; Shepherd, Commentary, pp. xxi, xxii.

²Jones, p. 153; Reed, pp. 160-180

no order of Service, however pure, ancient or widely observed, can be made absolutely binding on the congregation . . . In agreement with the above principle, the General Bodies which have prepared the Common Service commend it to all Lutheran Congregations. But at the same time they declare that they dare not make any Order of Service binding on the congregation and that no Order of Service should be used any longer than it serves for edification.¹

8. Revived Interest In Worship

Among those churches who did not adhere to fixed liturgical forms there was a general decline and confusion in worship forms. There were some efforts to stem the tide. At the close of the Revolution the Synod of New York and Philadelphia appointed a committee to modify and arrange Presbyterian the/Directory on government and discipline for its new civil dispensation. Another committee was appointed to perform a similar work on the Directory of Worship. It proposed liturgical forms for use but the proposal was not accepted.² Of all the Calvinistic Churches in the world including the primitive Christians of the Alpine Valleys and the Waldenses, the ones in Great Britain and America offer the sole instances of Calvinistic churches without a Liturgy.³

By mid-nineteenth century there was an attempt to start

¹Common Service Book, United Lutheran Church in America, (Phil., Board of Publication, 1917) pp. 308, 309

²Baird, pp. 233-235

³Baird, p. 255

the pendulum swinging the other way. In Scotland in 1840, Knex's Liturgy or the old BOCF was reprinted, which had been completely out of use and out of print. In 1857 Robert Lee, a leader in the Scottish Church, published Prayers for Public Worship which was a true liturgy. The "Catholic Apostolic" Liturgy and other Divine Offices of the Church was reprinted and used in 1842 in London.¹ Maxwell quotes Heiler as saying this "is undoubtedly one of the finest and fullest forms of Christian worship. Indeed, of all the liturgies of today it comes nearest to the primitive Church." Maxwell states it also has many elements that are not primitive. This liturgy had a marked influence on the Church of Scotland's Prayers for Divine Service.²

About the same time in America a similar liturgical reform was going on in the (German) Reformed Church. (Now Evangelical and Reformed). The "Mercersburg School" led by Philip Scheff and John Williamson Nevin compiled and issued a Book of Worship in 1858. This was an 'admirable' book and was revised in 1866. The editors made use of the Catholic Apostolic Liturgy.³

The Church Service Society was born in the restoration of liturgical worship in the Church of Scotland. It was

¹Hurlbut, Part IV, Revival and Restoration (1952) p. 91-95

²OCW, p. 159-161

³Hurlbut, Part IV, p. 96

founded in 1865 for the purpose of 'the study of the liturgies, ancient and modern of the Christian Church, with a view to the preparation and ultimate publication of certain forms of prayers for public worship.' Their chief contribution has been the successive editions of the Euchologion, called the new Book of Common Order (not to be confused with Knox's Book of Common Order). It was first issued in 1867 and was influenced by the Book of Worship described above. This paved the way for the Church of Scotland to issue a service book in 1925 called Prayers for Divine Service. It was revised in 1929. This service book was followed by the Book of Common Order in 1928 just before the union with the United Free Church. Next came the Ordinal and Service Book for use in the Courts of the Church in 1931 and the Book of Common Order in 1940.¹

After the turn of the century there were a great number of service books produced both by individuals and denominations. Those denominations associated with the Reformed tradition that have published service books in some form usually in several revisions and editions are: Congregational both in U. S. and Britain, Congregational-Christian, Church of Scotland, Church of South India, Evangelical and Reformed Church, Presbyterian Church(es), and United Church of Canada. (See Bibliography for list of books).

¹Hurlbut, Part IV, p. 97

In addition to these a large number of books were being written on worship, each attempting to tell how worship could be enriched. Worship was approached from the aesthetic, psychological and theological angle. In addition the ecumenical movement forced all the churches to take a look at why they were worshipping as they were. This created a healthy investigation of worship and its forms. This has lead denominations to see that they should "repudiate the conception at one time common in Protestant circles, that the effect of tradition has been in large part to vitiate the scriptural position, to corrupt the biblical foundations of faith."¹ This has caused them to examine their tradition. The Reformed tradition has yielded much that is fruitful.

John Marsh, a present day child of the Independent Puritans, says, "By one of the strangest ironies of history, Matins (or Evensong) has largely replaced Holy Communion as the central Sunday service in which the body of the people join."² This also became the norm in many of the non-Anglican Churches who (as well as the Anglican Church) added a sermon on to the end of the service,³ which this type service "never meant to have". This partially restored the

¹G. Van der Leeuw, Chairman, "The Report of the Commission", Ways of Worship, edited by Pehr Edwall et.al., (London, SCM, 1951), p. 24.

²John Huxtable (et.al.), A Book of Public Worship (London, Oxford, 1949), p. xi. Marsh wrote the Introduction.

³Maxwell, OCW, p. 167

fullness of worship.

But modern Congregational worship has not been added to an office that was originally without it; it has been in our Sunday public worship from the beginning. Indeed the reformers intended to reinstate what the medieval church had lost - the full service of Sermon and Supper as the normal act of worship on the Lord's day. So Congregational worship is to be understood in terms of Holy Communion, not of Matins or Evensong.¹

Why then did most of the Protestant services come to conduct their weekly service around the Anglican Morning Prayer?

During the nineteenth century, particularly during the last half when a renewed interest in worship began to take place, the true norm of worship in the Reformed Church had been all but forgotten.² For example, collation of the Strasburg rites and their connection to Calvin's orders were not known until 1900.³ The only service books in the English tongue were the BOCF and the Book of Worship besides the Catholic Apostolic Church. And of these the Morning and Evening Prayer of the BOCF were best known. The structure of these services is not unrelated to the Westminster Directory with its prayers before the sermon. Scholars more and more turned to Morning Prayer as a norm for Sunday Worship. Successive

¹p. xi

²Maxwell, OCW, p. 167

³Ibid., p. 167n

editions of the Euchologien show increasing conformity to this structure. The present relationship between the Sunday morning worship of the Scottish Church and the Anglican Morning Prayer is indisputable.¹

9. Present-day Eucharistic Worship

A movement is present to restore the structure of worship today to its historical norm in which preaching and Lord's Supper both present the Word of God.

It seems clear to us that the opposition of the Word to the Table is not biblical and, where it exists, must have arisen from some misunderstanding. It is, for example, a misunderstanding to think of an original and straightforward evangelical message having degenerated into sacramentalism. There was just as simple and just as straight forward an injunction of our Lord to break bread and drink wine. Perhaps the origin of the misunderstanding is to be found in the application of modern humanist norms to the interpretation of ancient, biblical matter. That idealistic conception of the Word as belonging entirely to an immaterial realm of pure spirit endangers not only the whole conception of sacraments, but such essential Christian doctrines as creation and Incarnation.²

Almost all Christian denominations that have any type of liturgical tradition have the same structure when the service includes the Lord's Supper. Appendix C shows this very clearly. Six denominations including the Roman Catholics have the same basic structure in their worship.

¹Ibid., p. 168-170

²Huxtable, p. 31

Even the separatists churches approach this basic structure when they have communion.

This structure is described in various ways by different people, but the outline is basically the same. Listed below are some of the ways this outline is shown.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| I. Adoration of God | 1. The Preparation or Approach |
| II. Communion with God | 2. The Holy Scriptures |
| III. The Dedication ¹ | 3. The Oblation and Fellowship of Prayer ² |
-
- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. The Service of Confession ¹ | 1. The Approach - Purgative |
| 2. The Service of the Word | 2. The Liturgy of the Word - Illuminative |
| 3. The Service of Offering ³ | 3. The Liturgy of the Upper Room - Unitive ⁴ |
-
1. The Preparation
 2. The Ministry of the Word of God
 3. The Breaking of the Bread⁵

10. Present-day Sunday Morning Worship

Although the celebration of the Lord's Supper is becoming more frequent there is only one Protestant denomination that celebrates Holy Communion each Lord's Day as part of its regular Sunday morning worship. This is the only major denomination born on American soil - the Disciples

¹Charles Seidenspinner, Form And Freedom In Worship, (N. Y., Willett, Clark, 1941), pp. 66-77

²William D. Maxwell, Concerning Worship, (London, Oxford, 1948), pp. 35-36

³Hobbs, p. 9

⁴Colin F. Miller, Prayers For Parish Worship, (London, Oxford, 1948), p.xii

⁵The Lord's Supper, The Church of South India, (London, Oxford, 1950), p. 16

of Christ or the Christian Church. Because of tradition and sometimes practical matters the celebration of the Lord's Supper is omitted in the regular Sunday morning worship of most Protestant churches. When it has the traditional order or structure this service is sometimes called the Ante-communion service. But such a name suggests that the service is only a torso and that weekly communion should be the practice. As such the title ante-communion is objected to for two reasons. First, such a title is historically said to mean the 'Mass of the Catechumens' which was followed by the 'Mass of the Faithful' celebrated after the catechumens had left. Secondly, such a title shouldn't be used for a service that has become complete in itself, substituted for the whole. If there is no celebration of the Lord's Supper, there may be a fellowship of prayer and thanksgiving and oblation. This is an insufficient substitute for the sacrament, but it does make the service more than an ante-communion service.¹

When the structure of the service is so arranged that the place of the Lord's Supper is taken by a fellowship of prayer, thanksgiving and oblation, the three-fold structure described above for the eucharist service still applies. The only Protestant denomination that has more or less faithfully held to this structure since the reformation is the Lutherans. Listed below is their present liturgy

¹Huxtable, p. 32

for a Sunday morning service.¹

Invocation
Preparation for Confession
Prayer of Confession
A Declaration of Grace
Introit
Gloria Patri
Kyrie
Gloria in Excelsis
Collect of the Day
Epistle
Gradual of the Day
Hallelujah
Gospel
Creed
Hymn
Sermon
Offertory
General Prayer
Lord's Prayer
Hymn
Benediction

As has been shown previously, many are striving to get this historic order back. However, not all think this is the best order for today's worship. Sperry chooses to use the Anglican Morning Prayer order with the Sermon attached on the end.² Jones believes this type order is best for today's worship. The sermon acts as a climax to the service.³ Most of the service books make this their standard order of worship. The structure is the same whether they provide both a liturgical worship and a "Free Order of Worship" which the Book of Worship for the Evangelical and Reformed Church⁴ and the Free Church Book of Common Prayer⁵ both do.

¹Common Service Book, pp. 9-21

²W.L.Sperry, Reality In Worship, (N.Y.MacMillan, 1925), p. 278

³pp. 272, 273

⁴(Cleveland, Central Pub. House, 1940)

⁵(London, J. M. Dent, 1929)

Incidentally this latter service book prints nine orders of worship plus a free order of worship. All orders are complete and at the bottom, similar to a footnote and in small type, they have a statement that a hymn, sermon, offering, closing hymn and benediction may be added if desired.

The Morning and Evening Prayer Services are beautiful and well arranged and structural even for those who oppose their use. They just do not feel that the sermon should be tacked on to the end and used as the regular Sunday Morning Worship although they think it is fine for daily prayer. It is surprising that no one has previously thought of placing the sermon in the worship right after the Scripture readings. The structure then becomes a standard eucharist norm and fits the three-fold division described above. This suggestion has recently been made in The Wesley Orders of Common Prayer.¹ The same end is accomplished by the First Order of Service in the Book of Common Worship where as an alternative choice the sermon may be placed after the Gospel and Creed.²

Plate 1 shows the BOCO standard order (after the Morning Prayer)

¹Hobbs, p. 13

²(Phil. Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church In the United States of America, 1946), p. 14

Plate 1

Book of Common Order
pp. 11-17

Psalm or Hymn of Praise
Scripture Sentences
Prayers: Adoration
 Confession
 Pardon
 Supplication
Psalm, hymn or canticle
Old Testament Lesson
Prose or metrical psalm
Epistle or Gospel
Apostles' Creed
Prayers: Thanksgiving
 Intercession
 Commemoration of
 the Departed
The Lord's Prayer
Psalm or hymn
Prayer for Illumination
Sermon
Ascription of Praise
Collection of Offerings
Prayer of dedication and oblation
Psalm or hymn
Benediction

Book of Common Worship
pp. 11-19

Hymn
Scripture Sentences
Prayers: Adoration
 Confession
Assurance of Pardon

Psalm and Gloria Patri
First Scripture Lesson
Hymn or Anthem
Second Scripture Lesson
The Creed
Hymn or Anthem
(Sermon)
Prayers: Thanksgiving
 Supplication
 Intercession
 Commemoration of
 Saints

Offering
Doxology and Prayer of Dedication
Hymn or Anthem
Prayer of Illumination
Sermon
Ascription of Praise
Hymn
Benediction

Book of Common Order
pp. 42-45

Psalm or Hymn of Praise
Scripture Sentences
Prayers: Adoration
 Confession
 Pardon
 Supplication
Psalm, hymn or canticle
Old Testament Lesson
Prose or metrical psalm
Epistle or Gospel
Apostles' Creed
Prayers: Intercession
 Commemoration of
 the Departed
Psalm or hymn
Prayer for Illumination
Sermon
Ascription of Praise
Collection of Offerings
Great Prayer: Thanksgiving
 Dedication
 Oblation
 Intercession
 Communion of
 Saints
 Doxology

Lord's Prayer
Psalm or hymn
Benediction

and its alternate order (after the traditional form). In between is the First Order of the BOCW with the alternate position of the sermon shown in parenthesis. The Order can be adapted to the traditional structure with little effort.

Plates 2 and 3 show five orders of worship from A Book of Public Prayer. This is the only other service book of the Reformed heritage that gives the two alternatives (Daily office and Eucharist) for the Sunday morning worship without the elements. Indeed they give several ranges of choices of each. Plate 2 gives two orders after the Morning Prayer Service, and Plate 3 gives three services based on a structure of the traditional or eucharist norm without the elements. The Book of Common Order of the United Church of Canada¹ is actually a directory instead of a service book. But the directory gives several arrangements and then gives possible orders of worship for each directory. As it makes available the two types of structure also.

11. Conclusion

When the Lord's Supper is celebrated a similar order of worship is used by all denominations. This order goes back to Apostolic times. For the times when communion is not served which is the usual Sunday Morning Service two distinct structures are available to use. One is based on the traditional eucharistic norm. Although this is in

¹(Toronto, United Church Pub. House, 1946)

Plate 2

"First Order of Service"
p. 2

Scripture Sentences
Prayers: Adoration
 Confession
 Absolution
Hymn
Old Testament Lesson
Psalm or Canticle
New Testament Lesson
Hymn
Prayers: Thanksgiving
 Supplication
 Intercession
 Lord's Prayer
Notices
Offerings
Prayer of Dedication
Hymn
Prayer of Illumination
Sermon
Prayer
Hymn
Blessing

"Second Order of Service"
p. 9

Scripture Sentences
Prayer of Invocation
Hymn
Prayers: Confession
 Supplication
Old Testament Lesson
Psalm or Canticle
New Testament Lesson
Hymn
Prayers: Thanksgiving
 Intercession
 Lord's Prayer
Notices
Offerings
Prayer of Dedication
Hymn
Prayer of Illumination
Sermon
Prayer
Hymn
Blessing

From A Book of Public Worship

Plate 3

Third Order of Service
p. 16

Scripture Sentences
Hymn
Prayers: Adoration
 Confession
 Supplication
Old Testament Lesson
Psalm or Canticle
New Testament Lesson
Hymn
Prayer of Intercession
Notices
Hymn
Prayer of Illumination
Sermon
Offerings
Prayers: Thanksgiving
 Dedication
 Lord's Prayer
Hymn
Blessing

Fourth Order of Service
p. 23

Hymn
Scripture Sentences
Prayers: Confession
 Supplication
Old Testament Lesson
Psalm or Canticle
New Testament Lesson
Hymn
Notices
Prayer of Illumination
Sermon
Offerings
Prayer of Dedication
Hymn
Prayers: Thanksgiving
 Intercession
 Lord's Prayer
Hymn
Blessing

Fifth Order of Service
p. 29

Scripture Sentences
Hymn
Prayers: Thanksgiving
 Confession
 Supplication
Hymn
Old Testament Lesson
Psalm or Canticle
New Testament Lesson
Hymn
Sermon
Hymn
Prayers: Intercession
 Lord's Prayer
Notices
Offerings
Prayer of Dedication
Hymn
Blessing

From A Book of Public Worship

some ways an ante-communion service it is more than a 'Missa Catechumen' service since it is a full service for the faithful. The fellowship of prayer, thanksgiving and oblation round out the service to take the place of the elements. The other type service is in general the daily office or Morning Prayer Service with the sermon added on to the service.

The type service a minister will use will probably depend on the local situation, the theological presuppositions of the minister and congregation, and practical considerations involved.

APPENDIX A

The Reformed Liturgy:
From Rome To Scotland Via Strasburg,
Frankfort & Geneva¹

¹Hurlbut, Part I, pp. 24, 25

THE REFORMED LITURGY: FROM ROME TO SCOTLAND, VIA STRASBURG, FRANKFORT, & GENEVA

<u>The Roman Mass</u>	<u>German Mass, 1525, at Strasburg</u>	<u>The Lord's Supper, or The Mass, Bucer, 1537</u>	<u>The Form of Prayers, Calvin, 1542, 1545</u>	<u>Book of Common Or- der, Scotland, 1564</u>
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Missa Catechumenorum

Liturgy of the Word

Sunday Service

Penitential Preparation: Confiteor, etc. Absolution "Adjutorium nostrum"	Penitential Preparation: Confession (Confiteor) Sentence of remission (I Tim. i. 15) "Our help is in the Name of the Lord." (Ps.124,7)	Penitential Preparation: Confession (choice of 3) Sentences of remission (Choice of five) Absolution Psalm or Hymn (in place of Introit); sometimes, Kyrie, and Gloria in excelsis	Penitential Preparation: "Our help is in the Name of the Lord." Confession (Bucer's 2nd) Sentence of remission Absolution (omitted in the Genevan form) Decalogue (in metre) with Kyrie eleison	Penitential Preparation: Confession (Calvin's) Assurance of pardon Psalm (in metre)
INTROIT (variable) Kyrie eleison (9-fold) Gloria in Excelsis Salutation, and Collect(s) (variable) Epistle Gradual, and Alleluia Gospel (Sermon) Creed, Nicene	INTROIT (fixed) Kyrie Gloria in excelsis Salutation, and Collect (fixed or variable) Epistle, and Alleluia (sung) Gospel Sermon Creed, Nicene or Apostles'	Salutation, and Prayer for Illumination (in place of Collect; example given) Psalm (in metre) Gospel Reading, and Sermon, ending with an Exhortation Apostles' Creed (sung), or Psalm or Hymn	Prayer for Illumination (example given) Scripture Reading, and Sermon, based thereon	Prayer for Illumination (called 'Prayer before Sermon,') composed by Minister. Sermon, based on Scripture Reading

Missa Fidelium

(during which singing)

OFFERTORY, and Chant	Preparation of the elements	Preparation of the elements	
Censing, Ablution, and Offertory prayers (late) "Orate fratres" "Secreta" (variable)	Short Exhortation (based on "Orate fratres," instead of the old offertory prayers)		? Collection of alms, either here or at the end of the service

-PREFACE:

'Sursum corda'
Preface (fixed & Proper)
Sanctus and Benedictus

PREFACE:

'Sursum corda'
Preface (fixed & Proper)
Sanctus and Benedictus
Lavabo. and collect.

LITURGY OF THE
SACRAMENT
Salutation

CANON MISSAE

Prayers of Intercession for the living	CANON (a new composition) including:	GREAT PRAYER (Canon) choice of three forms, including:	GREAT PRAYER (Bucer's) 3rd alternative Canon)	LONG PRAYER after the Sermon (a new composition, Book of Geneva)
Commemoration of the saints	Intercessions	Intercessions for rulers, the Church all men	Intercessions for rulers, the Church all men, (with long paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer)	Intercessions
Oblation of the elements				
Institution (Consecration/ with elevation)	Institution (called Con- secration, with elevation)	Prayer of consecration with	Apostles' Creed (sung) during which	Lord's Prayer Apostles' Creed (said)
Anamnesis and Oblation	Anamnesis	Anamnesis, and prayer for worthy reception	Preparation of the bread and wine for	Psalm, during which
Intercessions for the dead/ and the living		ending with the	THE LORD'S SUPPER	Preparation of the bread and wine for
Doxology			Prayer of consecration, with	THE LORD'S SUPPER
Pater Noster	Lord's Prayer	Lord's Prayer		
Fraction, with	Pax		Anamnesis, and prayer for worthy reception	
Agnus Dei	Agnus Dei		ending with the	
Pax Domini			Lord's Prayer (in the 1545 edition)	
Private devotions of the priest before	Prayer before communion Short exhortation (1525)	Short exhortation (unless already said after semon)	INSTITUTION, and long EXHORTATION, with 'fencing' of the tables Words of delivery	INSTITUTION, and long EXHORTATION, with 'fencing' of the tables Prayer of Consecration (a new composition) Fraction and Delivery (Words of the Institution repeated)
COMMUNION	COMMUNION of priest & people(at altar-table)	Psalm or hymn, during the COMMUNION, of people	Psalm, during COMMUNION of Minister and people	COMMUNION, seated at tables, with reading of the Scripture
of clergy and of people		Thanksgiving prayer(three forms)	Thanksgiving prayer (Bucer's 2nd form)	Thanksgiving prayer
'Communio,'psalm-verses	'Nunc dimittis,' or	Blessing (Aaronic)	Nunc dimittis	Psalm 103 (in metre)
Post-communion collects	Communion anthem		Blessing (Aaronic)	Blessing (Aaronic) and Trinitarian
Dismissal	Post-communion thanks- givings (two forms)	Dismissal		
'Ite,missa est,' or	Blessing (Aaronic)			
'Benedicamus Domino'	and Trinitarian			
Last Gospel (very late)				

APPENDIX B

A Comparative Analysis Of
Puritan Liturgies

The Sunday Morning Service¹
The Lord's Supper²

¹Davies, p. 263

²Ibid., p. 264

THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

Calvin's <u>La Forme</u> Geneva 1542, etc.	Knox: <u>Forme of</u> <u>Prayers</u> Geneva 1556	<u>A Book of the Forme</u> <u>of Common Prayers, etc.</u> London, Robert Waldegrave, 1584/5	<u>A Book of the Forme</u> <u>of Common Prayers, etc.</u> Middleburgh 1586, 1587, 1602	<u>A Directory for the</u> <u>Public Worship of</u> <u>God</u> , London, 1644	Baxter: <u>The Reformation</u> <u>of the Liturgy</u> London 1661
Scripture Sentences		(Reader's Service: chapters of Scripture) Scripture Sentences	(Reader's Service: chapters of Scripture) Scripture Sentences	Call to Worship Prayer of Approach: adoration supplication illumination	Prayer of Approach (long or short alternative) One of the three) Creeds) read Decalogue) by Scripture Sen-) Min- tences) ister
Confession of Sins	Confession of Sins Prayer for Pardon	Confession of Sins	Confession of Sins	Metrical Psalm O.T. Lession (one chapter) (Metrical Psalm)	Confession and Lord's Prayer Scripture Sentences of Absolution & Exhorta- tion
Metrical Psalm Prayer for Illumination	Metrical Psalm Prayer for Illumination	Metrical Psalm Prayer for Illumina- tion & Lord's Prayer	Metrical Psalm Prayer for Illumination	N.T. Lession (one chapter) Prayer of Confession & Intercession SERMON	Psalm of praise Psalms in order for the day O.T. Lesson (one chapter) (Metrical Psalm or Te Deum (said) N.T. Lesson (one chapter) Prayer for King and Magistrates Psalm or Benedictus or Magnificat Prayer of Intercession SERMON
SERMON	SERMON	SERMON	SERMON		
Marriages, Baptisms & Publication of Banns	Baptisms & Publication of Banns (? with Of- fering for Poor)	Prayer of Inter- cession for whole state of Christ's Church to conclude with:	Prayer of Intercession for whole state of Christ's Church Apostles' Creed) said (Decalogue) by Mini- ster	General Prayer and Lord's Prayer (if no Communion is to follow)	
Long Prayer or Lord's Prayer in long para- phrase	Long Prayer and Lord's Prayer				
Apostles' Creed (either said by Minister or on Communion Sundays sung by people in Metre)	Apostles' Creed (said by Minister)	Apostles' Creed, Deca- logue & Lord's Prayer			
Metrical Psalm Blessing (Aaronic)	Metrical Psalm Blessing (Aaronic or Apostolic)	Metrical Psalm Blessing (Aaronic or Apostolic)	Metrical Psalm Blessing (Aaronic or Apostolic)	Metrical Psalm Blessing (Aaronic or Apostolic)	Prayers of Intercession Psalm or 'Hymn' Blessing

THE LORD'S SUPPER

Calvin: Geneva 1542, etc.	Knox: Geneva 1556	Waldegrave 1584/5	Middleburgh 1586, etc.	Directory 1644	Savoy Liturgy 1661
Apostles' Creed sung during preparation of the elements				Exhortation Fencing of the Table Setting apart of Ele- ments to holy use	Explanation of the nature of the Sacrament Exhortation Prayer of Access Offertory
Words of Institution	Words of Institution	Words of Institution	Words of Institution	Words of Institution	
Exhortation	Exhortation	Exhortation	Exhortation	Exhortation	Eucharistic Prayer (Consecration)
Eucharistic Prayer	Eucharistic Prayer	Eucharistic Prayer	Eucharistic Prayer	Eucharistic Prayer	Words of Institution Brief Intercession
Fraction	Fraction	Fraction	Fraction	Fraction	Fraction Libation of Wine Prayer for sanctified life
Delivery	Delivery	Delivery	Delivery	Delivery	Delivery
Communion (while Psalm or Scripture is read or sung)	Communion (while Scripture is read)	Communion (while Scripture is read)	Communion (while Scripture is read)	Communion (Minister receiving first) Exhortation to a worthy life	Communion (Minister receiving first)
Post-Communion prayer	Post-Communion prayer of thanksgiving and petition for a worthy life	Post-Communion prayer of thanksgiving and petition for a worthy life	Post-Communion prayer of thanksgiving and petition for a worthy life	Post-Communion prayer	Post-Communion prayer Exhortation to a godly life
*(Nunc Dimittis)	Psalm 103	Psalm 103	Psalm 103	Metrical Psalm of praise	Psalm of praise (23,100, 103 or 116)
Blessing (Aaronic)	Blessing (Aaronic or Apostolic)	Blessing (Aaronic or Apostolic)	Blessing (Aaronic or Apostolic)	Blessing	Blessing: 'Now the God of peace. . .'

*only in Strassburg (1545) edn.

APPENDIX C

Arrangement of Some Current
Western Liturgies¹

¹George Hedley, Christian Worship
(N. Y., MacMillan, 1953), pp. 272-276

ARRANGEMENT OF SOME CURRENT WESTERN LITURGIES

ROMAN	LUTHERAN	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	AMERICAN EPISCOPAL	AMERICAN METHODIST	AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN
	(Missouri Synod, 1941)	(1552, 1662)	(1928)	(Order I in the Ritual of 1944)	(First form in the book of 1946)
		Hymn		Hymn	
Versicles	Versicle			Versicles	Versicles
Confession	Confession				
Prayer for Absolution	Absolution				
Introit	Introit				
	<u>Gloria Patri</u>			<u>Gloria Patri</u>	
		Lord's Prayer	Lord's Prayer		
		Collect for Purity	Collect for Purity	Collect for Purity	Collect for Purity
					Lord's Prayer
<u>Kyrie Eleison</u>	<u>Kyrie Eleison</u>	Decalogue with <u>Kyrie</u>	Decalogue with <u>Kyrie</u>	Decalogue with <u>Kyrie</u>	Decalogue with <u>Kyrie</u>
					Invitation
					Confession

ROMAN	LUTHERAN	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	AMERICAN EPISCOPAL	AMERICAN METHODIST	AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN
					Declaration of Absolution
				Beatitudes	
				Responsive Scripture (Isaiah 53)	
<u>Gloria in Excelsis</u>	<u>Gloria in Excelsis</u>				<u>Gloria in Excelsis</u>
Prayer of the day	Collect for the day	Collect for the day	Collect for the day		
Epistle	Epistle	Epistle	Epistle	Epistle	Epistle
Gospel	Gospel	Gospel	Gospel	Gospel	Gospel
Nicene Creed	Nicene or Apostles' Creed	Nicene Creed	Nicene or Apostles' Creed	Apostles' Creed	Apostles' or Nicene Creed
	Hymn				
	Sermon	Sermon	Sermon	Sermon	
				Hymn	
Offertory	Offertory	Offertory	Offertory	Offertory	
<u>Lavabo</u>					
<u>Orate Fratres</u>					
Secret prayer	General prayer	Prayer for the Church	Prayer for the Church		Prayer for the Church

ROMAN	LUTHERAN	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	AMERICAN EPISCOPAL	AMERICAN METHODIST	AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN
					Hymn
					Sermon
					Offering
		Invitation	Invitation	Invitation	
		Confession	Confession	Confession	
		Declaration of Absolution	Declaration of Absolution	Prayer for Absolution	
		Comfortable Words	Comfortable Words	Comfortable Words	Comfortable Words
					Words of Institution
<u>Sursum Corda</u>	<u>Sursum Corda</u>	<u>Sursum Corda</u>	<u>Sursum Corda</u>	<u>Sursum Corda</u>	<u>Sursum Corda</u>
Preface	Preface	Preface	Preface	Preface	Preface
<u>Sanctus</u>	<u>Sanctus</u>	<u>Sanctus</u>	<u>Sanctus</u>	<u>Sanctus</u>	<u>Sanctus</u>
	Lord's Prayer				
		Prayer of Humble Access			
Commemoration of the Living					

ROMAN	LUTHERAN	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	AMERICAN EPISCOPAL	AMERICAN METHODIST	AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN
Consecration	Words of Institution	Consecration	Consecration	Consecration	
Oblation			Oblation Invocation		Oblation Invocation
Commemoration of the Dead					
Lord's Prayer			Lord's Prayer Prayer of Humble Access	Prayer of Humble Access	Lord's Prayer Consecration <u>Agnus Dei</u>
<u>Agnus Dei</u>	<u>Agnus Dei</u>				
Communion	Communion	Communion Lord's Prayer	Communion	Communion	Communion
	<u>Nunc Dimittis</u>				
Prayers (Communion and Postcommunion)	Thanksgiving	Oblation or Thanksgiving	Thanksgiving	Oblation	Thanksgiving
		<u>Gloria in Excelsis</u>	<u>Gloria in Excelsis</u>	<u>Gloria in Excelsis</u>	
Blessing	Benediction	Blessing	Blessing	Blessing	Blessing
Last Gospel					

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