

AMERICAN SARUM



*The Liturgy of
Christ Church
Bronxville, New York
Within the History
of Anglican Worship*

by
CODY C. UNTERSEHER

With a Foreword by
MICHAEL A. BIRD

AMERICAN SARUM

*The Liturgy of Christ Church
Bronxville, New York
Within the History of Anglican Worship*

by
CODY C. UNTERSEHER

With a Foreword by
MICHAEL A. BIRD



Christ Church Press

AMERICAN SARUM:

The Liturgy of Christ Church, Bronxville, New York, Within the History of Anglican Worship

Copyright © 2010, 2011 by Cody C. Unterseher and the Rector, Wardens and Vestry of Christ Church. All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means known or yet unknown, for any purpose excepting brief quotations for the purpose of review, without prior written permission of Christ Church, Bronxville, New York.

Neither the author nor Christ Church, Bronxville, New York, its Rector, Wardens or Vestry, have any responsibility for the maintenance, persistence or accuracy of the Uniform Resource Locators (URLs) for external or third party internet websites referred to in the notes of this publication, and cannot guarantee that any content on such websites will remain accurate or appropriate.

Unless otherwise noted, all Scripture quotations are taken from the New Revised Standard Version of the Bible, copyright © 1989 by the Division of Christian Education of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America. All rights reserved. Used by permission.

Cover and interior design: Hershell George, h george design, Inc., New York, NY.

Cover photo: Ken Richardson/CCBNY © 2010. Used with permission.

Title lettering: Eugene Elliott © 2009. Used with permission

This document is typeset in Centaur.

Unterseher, Cody C., 1976 - .

American Sarum : the liturgy of Christ Church, Bronxville, New York, within the history of Anglican worship / Cody C. Unterseher ; with a foreword by Michael A. Bird.

246 p. 23cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN: 978-0-578-07671-3

I. Episcopal Church — Liturgy — History. 2. Anglican Communion — Liturgy — History. 3. Christ Church (Bronxville, N.Y.) — Liturgy — History. 4. Bronxville (N.Y.) — Church history. I. Title.

BX5940.U58 2011

Christ Church Press

17 Sagamore Road

Bronxville, New York, 10708

+

*On behalf of the faithful people
of Christ Church
the author gratefully dedicates this book
to the Glory of God and in memory of*
STEWART MACGREGORY
(1917-2007)

+

TABLE OF CONTENTS



Foreword by the Reverend Michael A. Bird	vii
Preface	xi
Introduction	I
Chapter 1: Early Christian Worship in England	II
Chapter 2: Life and Liturgy at Salisbury Cathedral	29
Chapter 3: The Mass Liturgy in the Sarum Use	45
Chapter 4: The Coming of the English Prayer Books	65
Chapter 5: Ritualism in Nineteenth Century America	87
Chapter 6: An American Sarum	III
Chapter 7: Changes and Challenges, Past and Future	139
Appendix I: Inventor Rutili	153
Appendix II: The Hohly-Stone Customary (1944)	161
Appendix III: A Twenty-First Century Customary	195
Bibliography	209
Index	223

FOREWORD



Almost thirteen years ago I traveled to the Monastery at Taizé for the first time. It was the dead of winter, I was suffering from jet lag and I really had no idea what to expect. My first moments in that church, sitting (as my children say) “criss-cross applesauce,” were definitely tinged with anxiety. At Taizé no instructions are given about worship. No rubrics are printed in the song books. You simply trust that the community of monks and pilgrims will carry you until you have embodied the liturgy. Extraordinary is the only word for it. All face east together. All turn together for the Gospel reading. All sing. All are silent — and all without instruction.

Of course, it doesn't always go smoothly. Songs can get pitchy, to say the least. With hundreds of adolescents present, some distraction is bound to happen. Times of prayer at Taizé aren't utopian, and they don't try to be. But invariably the pieces all fall together — it “works,” and worship happens. God is praised and people are changed. This seems to be the case because the worship is intentional: it is purposefully God-centered, genuinely welcoming, interpersonally connective and spiritually challenging.

My experience of worship at Taizé shocked me with the idea that the unfamiliar and the unknown can be welcoming and inspiring. “To welcome is first of all to make oneself, and then everything, available for an encounter with what is expected and unexpected. It involves an openness without any *a priori* to the reality of persons and events, in the intuition that there exists within everything a creative potential to be explored.”¹ The beauty inherent in the intentionality and authenticity of worship at Taizé allowed me to open myself, to make myself available for a genuine and transformative encounter with God and with others.

One of my greatest joys at Christ Church, Bronxville, remains the ongoing opportunity for standing shoulder to shoulder with the congregation, musicians and clergy, to discover, uncover and recover the liturgical expression

¹ Daniel de Montmollin, et al., *Clay Shared: Key Words for Accompanying Creativity*, tr. Anthony Teague (Vendin-le-Vieil, FR: Éditions La revue de la céramique et du verre, 2009), 88.

most authentic to this community, the ways and means of worship that best serve to make us all available — in this place and at this time — for the sort of encounter with God and one another that leaves us all changed for the better. Every morning I wake up with the excitement that comes from the life-giving work of sharing this congregation's history and mission, and every day I strive with this community to bring that history and mission to life within the broader contexts of the Episcopal Church and the Anglican Communion.

The gift that the current congregation and staff have received from our predecessors is a tradition of asking “Why do we do what we do?” when we gather. As the ninth rector of Christ Church, it is my responsibility to keep asking that question, to help the congregation own our common past, seeing our liturgical tradition as a treasured gift. Through the encounter of worship and through the telling of our story we are given our identity and purpose: we are re-membered to Christ and to one another. But that doesn't happen on the basis of history alone. The processes and practices of worship, the “common work” of liturgy are vital realities. So it is also my responsibility to treat our received liturgical tradition as a living treasure, not only to preserve it but to help it grow.

We have a collective obligation not only to own the tradition we've received, but also to nourish it, knowing that whenever we do something that was done in the past, we do it in the here-and-now, for the here-and-now. Liturgy is not about reconstructing or recreating the past; it is about worshipping God with one another in an ordered, corporate way. So liturgy must speak to us, or we will be unable to embrace its work, unable to find within ourselves that welcome place for encounter. We may “do” the work of worship because we are told to — because it's tradition, because we have a sense of obligation — but unless it is really ours, we will find in it no joy, no comfort, no inspiration, no life and no transformation.

The liturgy is not some pure, unspotted holy entity the ages have handed down to us for aesthetic enjoyment. The liturgy is “the work of the people,” it is the action, the yearning, the heartbreak, and the outstretched hands of those who are gathered around the Table and the action, the yearning, the heartbreak, and the outstretched hands of the God who deems to meet them in the flesh.²

2 William H. Willimon, *Worship as Pastoral Care* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1979), 216.

This sort of worship takes effort. As one of my predecessors, Father Harold Hohly (about whom you'll read more a bit later), was fond of saying, "worship is work." And of course part of that work involves regularly evaluating where we are as a community. Is our liturgy — its prayers, processions, postures and music — bringing us closer to God and to our neighbor as Christ would have us embrace the word? Will we engage the ongoing process of sanctification or will we settle for the easily attainable and eventually unsatisfying pursuit of goodness?

In Christ, holiness is connection with others. It is the unclean cross and life through death and welcome to the outsiders and transformative mercy for the world. If the meeting constitutes just us as the insiders, then Christian holiness involves the subversion of the meeting. It involves the transformation of the meeting to be much more than our social conventions of gathering, from any culture, could ever make it. The practice of holiness involves the constant work on the open door, both that all others may come in and that what is seen in the liturgy may flow out. The practice of holiness is the discovery of God's gift to all of us, together.³

Good liturgy builds up faith. It re-members the Body by freeing the members of the body to be themselves before God with one another. Bad liturgy makes no impact, or worse, leads to dis-membering. Bad liturgy leaves us unchanged, allows us to continue to wear our masks, flaunt our pretensions and ignore the needs of one another and the world around us. One of my guilty pleasures is indulging in the wit and wisdom of Percy Dearmer — another of the characters you'll read about in the pages ahead. Although I do not agree with him on many issues related to church practices, pastoral or liturgical, I share with him the conviction that good liturgy builds faith and changes lives, that "a consistent, beautiful, and expressive" liturgy is "the only language that the whole world can read."⁴ I am in awe of Dearmer's faith and his hopes for the future of the Church. And I applaud his call to pass on what we have been given.

Christ Church published its centennial history in 2004, the year I was called to be rector. To have the parish's story in hand as we moved forward

3 Gordon Lathrop, *Holy People: A Liturgical Ecclesiology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999), 211.

4 Percy Dearmer, *The Art of Public Worship* (London: Mowbray, 1920), 116.

into the next phase of life together was a tremendous blessing. It gave me an entrance into the fascinating liturgical history of the parish and introduced me to some of the great characters involved. From that history it was clear that worship has always been central to the identity and mission of this parish; and yet, it was also clear that there was more to be told. Three years later, when I called Father Cody Unterseher as a priest associate, I had no idea that he would be the one to undertake the rest of that telling, in a way that helps us all understand not only the unique history of worship at Christ Church, but also the place one parish holds in the history of the Anglican Communion.

The book you are about to read is an extraordinary achievement, but it is not a recipe for how to “do” church. If left solely to my own devices, I am certain I would not have us worship exactly according to the customary you will find in the third appendix, much less that in the second. I doubt any of us would be interested in recreating the liturgy of the Sarum Use, described in chapter three. And I wouldn’t transplant the worship I experienced at Taizé here and expect it to resonate like it does there. But here at Christ Church I am not alone in this: we work at worship together, and together we have found a way to worship that works — here-and-now, at least. What I hope this book illustrates is the great hope and joy to be found in knowing and owning the liturgical tradition of one parish, in adapting it pastorally and sensitively to the modern context, and in carefully and creatively educating around it so that it may be passed on as a living tradition to the next generation.

And of course, I hope this book captures some of the wonder that comes from an authentic, transforming encounter with God and with others—some of the passion that we all share for our worship life together at Christ Church.

Michael A. Bird,
Rector

PREFACE



When I arrived at The General Theological Seminary of the Episcopal Church in New York City near the end of August, 2007, I was a little over one month away from my ordination to the priesthood. My primary task, as was made clear to me by my ordaining bishop, was to find a parish for my first parochial assignment: without that — a “cure,” as it is called — I could not canonically be ordained a priest. So I quickly undertook to familiarize myself with some of the New York parishes whose reputations suggested that I might find them to be liturgically, theologically and politically comfortable (or at least tolerable). At the end of August, however, nobody is looking for an extra priest associate — most open positions are filled in early summer (around the time of seminary graduations). I approached the then-Chaplain at General Seminary, the Rev. Dr. Ellen Sloan, who coordinated the school’s Deployment Ministry. “We might find you steady supply work,” she said during our first conversation, “but I’m not aware of anything that would be regular in one place.” (Supply ministry would have amounted to “fudging” the canons, though such arrangements are far from unknown. But in the end, that sort of work would not have proven useful for a first experience of ordained parochial ministry.) So I resigned myself then and there to the notion that, if it was going to happen at all, the Holy Spirit would have to make it happen.

Not more than two hours later, I had word that the Chaplain was looking for me. She had received a telephone call from a former General Seminary student who was serving as Assistant to the Rector in a parish looking for a regular priest associate to assist during the coming program year. “Out of the blue,” she said, “I got this call.” She handed me a slip of paper with “The Rev. Kate Malin” and a telephone number written on it. “It’s a good parish,” she added, “and really good clergy.” I gratefully accepted the note, and went off to get in touch with Mother Malin.

Now, prior to moving to New York, I had resisted getting a cellular phone. I didn’t want to be reachable wherever I went; I do not consider myself indispensable, and (more to the point) I had been annoyed sufficiently by their

ringing in church that I really wanted nothing to do with the vile little things. The universities where I had previously studied all included a landline in their student housing packages, so I hadn't considered a cellular telephone to be a real need. But such was not the case at General Seminary, and a cell phone would be a necessity. I had not yet acquired one, though, so I was reduced to using a pay phone in the Seminary lobby for making calls in those first few days in the city. My initial conversation with Mother Malin was, as she herself would later describe it, "a most inauspicious beginning." I had to feed quarters into the phone at regular intervals just to keep the conversation going — and once, embarrassingly, I lost the connection. Nevertheless, I arranged through her to meet with the rector of this parish, Christ Church, in a suburb of New York City called Bronxville. "A half-hour train ride from Grand Central Terminal," Mother Malin told me, "and when you step off the train, just look for the big stone church. You can't miss it!"

The following Sunday, I was on my way, but the comedy of errors was far from over. Stepping off the train, I caught a glimpse of a "big stone church" to my right. Its square tower and broad gothic windows with stone tracery were *very* English in appearance, leaving no doubt in my mind that this had to be an Episcopal church. A short walk from the platform and I would be there. But as I approached, I noticed a sign above a side entrance: "Jubilee 2000 Millennium Door." From that I knew I had found the local Roman Catholic church — Saint Joseph's, as I would later learn. I walked past that building and turned the corner, still determined to find my own way. A couple of blocks ahead of me I saw another large, gothic, stone church, again with a broad, square, English-style tower. It proved, however, to be the local Reformed church. Although I was glad to discover the landmarks of a strong Christian presence in Bronxville, I could have done without the self-guided walking tour, as now I was late for the service preceding my appointment. I decided to make my way back toward the train station, walking up what seemed to be a main street of the town, and hoping that I would find someone who could give me directions. (At 9:15 a.m. on the Sunday morning of Labor Day weekend, Bronxville is a surprisingly quiet place.) Nearing the end of that main road — Pondfield, for those that know the village — I began to round a curve toward the train station. While crossing an intersection near the end of that street, a thin but towering copper spire to my right caught my attention. I could see that it was attached to a fieldstone church just a block or so up a hill. "It's probably Lutheran, with my luck," I thought to myself, "but if there's a service on, I'll just attend there, and ask to use a telephone afterward."

I trotted up the hill, and entered the church mid-sermon. A clergy

person in full vestment was in the pulpit, telling a story about his precocious son Patrick learning how to ride a bicycle. I hate to admit that I recall little else of the sermon, though I was quite taken with the story. I was yet more taken, however, with the building I had entered. It is not too much to say that this was a sort of architectural “love at first sight.” Rough-cleaved stone pillars and chancel walls, delicately stenciled wood ceiling, breathtaking windows in rich hues and an imposing Rood Beam all conspired to create an arresting internal architectural harmony. And the bulletin handed to me by the usher confirmed what I had immediately intuited: this indeed was Christ Church, Bronxville, and had I looked it the *other* direction when I stepped off the train, I wouldn’t have missed it. After the service, I met briefly with the Rector, the Rev. Michael A. Bird. It seemed clear almost immediately (to me at least) that this would be a viable, even comfortable first assignment. “You probably should know,” he said near the end of the conversation, “we do a sort of modified Sarum liturgy here.” Not a problem for this liturgy major, I thought. I was just relieved that I had found a place that would have me.

As I said above, I fell in love with the building the moment I walked through the doors; and in the two years since, I’ve delighted numerous times to relive that moment vicariously as I’ve introduced guests — particularly students from General Seminary — to the place. But my admiration for the building pales in comparison with my love for the people who gather therein to worship. For I didn’t find just a first assignment at Bronxville that Sunday morning: I found a community — indeed, a family in faith — that would become very much my own, and for which I will always be grateful.

Although I could not have foreseen it at the time, this book was conceived in that fascinating remark made by Father Michael Bird during my initial interview: “we do a sort of modified Sarum liturgy here.” Those words remain a fairly accurate assessment. My first two years of ministry at Christ Church and my two years of study at General Seminary were complimentary, inasmuch as they mutually informed my understanding of what sort of beast a “modified Sarum liturgy” actually might be. This volume, then, is at the intersection of both experiences, and represents an understanding of the Anglican/Episcopal liturgical heritage that I suspect goes underappreciated in most congregations from week to week. It fulfils one of the tasks of my ministry at Christ Church (which after a year as Priest Associate grew into the position of “Theologian in Residence”), namely, to provide educational opportunities for parishioners to grow in understanding and appreciation of their identity as Christians within the broad context of the Anglican tradition.

Working from the perspective of a liturgical historian, I have tried to illustrate in some detail how that identity has been shaped not only over the past century in the immediate history of Christ Church, but how it is grounded in the worship experiences of English Christianity from the very beginning. Particularly in detailing the liturgy of the Sarum Use in its own historical context, I have attempted to offer a verbal picture against which present practices might be compared. I believe the claim that “we do a sort of modified Sarum liturgy” is valid; but I also believe that this claim must be understood in light of the Sarum Use as it was known and celebrated at its height in the late-thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Furthermore, I do not believe that such an assertion ever could have been made in the United States except for the Ritualist controversy of the nineteenth century and its impact on the subsequent development of Episcopal liturgy. Unfortunately, the events of that period in American ecclesiastical history are usually glossed in most standard Episcopal history textbooks with just a few brief paragraphs. Here I have chosen to tell that story in some detail, shedding light on its theological dimensions, and making use of the primary sources that survive.

I am painfully conscious of the fact that in this volume I have but barely touched upon the integral place accorded to sacred music in the historic Sarum liturgy and in the liturgical life of Christ Church. This is not an accidental oversight, but reflects a necessary and intentional (if also regrettable) decision: to do any semblance of justice to that topic would have resulted in a book nearly half-again the size of this present work, and — despite my own ongoing academic interest in sacred music and practical experience in church musicianship spanning some fifteen years — would have required more expertise in that discipline than I can rightly claim for myself.

A number of people have played a part in bringing this modest contribution to Anglican liturgical historiography into being, though any errors within these pages are entirely my own. I wish to express my heartfelt gratitude foremost to the people of Christ Church, Bronxville, among whom I first ministered as a priest, for whom this book was written and on whose behalf I dedicate it to one of their much-beloved and much-missed own. My thanks go especially to their Rector, the Rev. Michael A. Bird, not only for calling me to my first cure and being a truly gifted mentor, but also for masterminding this project, enthusiastically supporting it at every stage of its development, undertaking its final editorial reading and himself contributing the foreword; to the Rev. Kate M. Malin, formerly Assistant to the Rector at Christ Church and now Rector of Saint Anne’s in-the-Fields, Lincoln, Massachusetts, for seeing past that “most inauspicious beginning” and proving

to be a wise colleague and most treasured friend; to the Rev. Amy Lamborn, another valued colleague and friend, who succeeded me at Christ Church in the enviable ministry of Theologian in Residence; and especially to the Rev. Jennifer Brown Lanier, “my Jen,” who continues to be an unfailing source of affection and inspiration.

For their love and encouragement, support and understanding, I owe my parents, Kim and Carla Unterseher, a debt of profound gratitude.

My appreciation and esteem extend to two faculty members of The General Theological Seminary — the Rev. Canon J. Robert Wright, St. Mark’s Church in the Bowery Professor of Ecclesiastical History; and Dr. R. Bruce Mullin, Society for the Promotion of Religion and Learning Professor of History and World Mission and Professor of Modern Anglican Studies — for whom substantial portions of chapters one, four and five were originally conceived and written as course papers. My thanks also go to the staff of the St. Mark’s Library at General Seminary, especially the Rev. Andrew Kadel, Director, and Laura Moore, Head of Circulation, without whose encouragement and assistance I would not have located all the resources needed for this project. I am grateful to Troy Stefano, Instructor in Theology at Barry University and Saint John Vianney College Seminary, Miami, Florida, for critical assistance in finalizing my Latin translations in chapters three and four. And I especially thank Dr. Martin F. Connell, Associate Professor of Theology at Saint John’s University, Collegeville, Minnesota, whose mentoring friendship has strengthened my skills as a researcher, writer, historian, theologian and (most importantly) as a Christian.

Special appreciation goes to Dr. Warren Ilchman, whose personal encouragement of my academic work at General Seminary and my ministry at Christ Church have gone hand in hand with his unflagging commitment to both the seminary and the parish; to Christopher and René Atayan, who very graciously provided accommodations for me in Bronxville during the summer of 2009 while I completed the research phase and majority of the writing for this project; to Krista Dias, Director of Youth Ministry at Christ Church, and Karly Redpath, both of whom assisted in the archival research process; to Barbara Deller and Phyllis Schneider, who both read portions of the manuscript in its early stages and offered critical feedback; to Eugene Elliott, who lettered the title of this book for the cover; and especially to Hershell George — graphic designer, parishioner and friend — of h george design, Inc., New York, whose firm turned this manuscript into a book.

I will ever remain grateful for all my friends from The General Theological Seminary, with whom and from whom I learned far more than I

ever could have imagined. Space does not permit me to name them all here, but I would be utterly remiss not to acknowledge those who have sought to encounter Christ Church, Bronxville — whether by way of occasional visits for liturgy and fellowship, or by a more extended commitment through field education — and to learn and claim as their own something of its magnificent manner of worship.

Cody C. Unterseher, M.A., S.T.M.

Bronxville, New York

August 6, 2010

*The Transfiguration of our Lord,
titular feast of Christ Church*

INTRODUCTION



“If you want to know who we are, come and worship with us.” Each Sunday, the open invitation of this popular slogan happily results in a number of visitors and guests gracing the worship services of many Episcopal parishes across the United States and throughout the global Anglican Communion. They come as un-churched seekers, drawn by the desire to connect their life’s journey more deeply to its source and goal; they come as settled, committed Christians who just want to know more about a tradition or denomination other than their own. Whatever impulse or reason draws them through the doors, simply being in church for that hour on Sunday is indeed the right thing for the curious to begin exploring the Episcopal Church. “If there is one activity which dominates the spiritual lives of Anglicans, it has been, and often still is, *common public worship*,”¹ and so far as churches go, what is both public and common is (or should be) the most telling.

To ease the experience of such newcomers, many parish communities offer some sort of pamphlet or brochure (often exuberantly entitled “Welcome to Worship!” or something similar) that explains the basic symbols, gestures and words of the liturgy. In one such tract, *Explaining the Sarum Use* — written specifically for Christ Church, Bronxville, New York — a question is posed from an imaginary visitor: “If [the liturgy here] follows the Book of Common Prayer, why then do you adapt this to the Sarum Ceremonial?”² By way of a response, the tract briefs decisions taken during the rectorate of the Rev. Harold F. Hohly (1933-1954), and outlines a short *apologia* or defense for the adoption and persistence of certain medieval customs (popularly called the “Sarum Use”) in a now twenty-first-century American Episcopal parish. Correctly identifying the need “to counterbalance [a] sort of watered-down Roman use” as the overarching motivation for retrieving and maintaining

¹ Alan Bartlett, *A Passionate Balance: The Anglican Tradition*, Traditions of Christian Spirituality (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2007), 170; emphasis original.

² Stewart MacGregory, *Explaining the Sarum Use* (Bronxville: Christ Church, undated pamphlet, c. 1995), 1.

medieval English ceremonial at Bronxville, the tract also accurately notes that “[a]lthough many changes have been made in our liturgy since Fr. Hohly’s time, we have tried to maintain the spirit of the original Sarum Use.”³

Liturgy and History: Change and Continuity

During his many years of volunteer ministry, the tract’s author — long-time sacristan and Master of Ceremonies Stewart MacGregory (1917-2007) — likely encountered the question of his imaginary visitor more than once in real life, and “Why Sarum?” remains a question still asked occasionally today. This book intends to answer that question in greater detail than possibly could be covered in an introductory brochure, and does so by taking a much longer view of history than over just the last century. When “our story” is told through the lens of liturgy and contextualized within the history of Anglican worship, it necessarily reaches back to some extremely obscure beginnings (and relates details that — at first glance — will seem entirely too wide of the mark for Bronxville, New York). The first developments of Christian liturgical practices in England, the evolution of a rich and lively medieval cathedral customary, beyond the Reformation through nineteenth-century controversies and into the present: but for these various twists and turns of history, there simply would be no Sarum Use liturgy (however adapted or “modified”) of which to speak at Christ Church.

Yet in taking such a long view of history, particularly one that (as here) is also necessarily selective — piecing together a sort of evolutionary patchwork from a number of particular, local expressions of Christian worship — the risk is run of assuming or implying more universality or continuity than actually can be ascertained from the surviving sources, and so identified from one period to the next. The history of all liturgical development is narrated in fits and starts, in episodes of revision and reform, resistance and rupture, renewal and retrieval: it is as much synthetic as it is organic, as contrived as it is natural, and the story of the church at corporate prayer is nowhere and never as neat-and-tidy as the proponents of a “hermeneutic of continuity” would like to suggest.⁴ As Paul Bradshaw, an Anglican priest and liturgical historian, observes,

³ Ibid., 2.

⁴ Such proponents of a “hermeneutic of continuity” or of “organic liturgical development” (a much misunderstood concept in contemporary discourse) decry radical reforms of Christian liturgy on the grounds that such change jeopardizes the orthodoxy of Christian worship, and so also the substance of the Christian faith. While debates about continuity are presently a dominant and polarizing topic primarily within some groups of Roman Catholics, the Rev. Dr. Peter Toon (1939 – 2009) and the various Prayer Book Societies (in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom and Australia especially) have represented such attitudes within Anglicanism.

historical research. . . does not give us the grounds for concluding that there is any fundamental continuity, except in the very broadest of terms. . . . There are very few things that Christians have consistently done in worship at all times and in all places. Of course, the task is made somewhat easier if one restricts one's vision to just a single ecclesiastical tradition and ignores all the rest, but even there the genuine historical continuities are generally fewer than the often sweeping generalisations of [certain individuals] seem to suggest.⁵

The experience of Christian worship rarely, if ever, passes unchanged from one period to another. The various elements and arts (textual, ceremonial, musical and plastic) that collectively contribute to liturgical expression are subject to cultural adaptation, theological development and shifting social and aesthetic sensibilities. Some things are set aside for a time, only to be taken up again in another age, while others are recognized (even after many centuries) as false moves, illegitimate outgrowths that must be pruned lest they continue to obscure the gospel. Just as the church is *semper reformans*, always reforming, so also is its worship: not just developing in a linear progression, but here being reshaped, there being redeveloped, through various changes and chances, not always predicable on the immediate past, nor predictable in outcome with regard for the future.

More often than not, then, a *rupture* between historical periods — a decisive and intentional break with past practices, ideas and attitudes — proves absolutely essential for engendering the sort of rethinking, retrieving and new syntheses that permit liturgical prayer to remain both vital and viable for Christian expressions of worship from one generation to the next. While *some* degrees of continuity invariably can be recognized, the finely woven strands that stretch to connect “our story” with key moments in the past are most likely to be found in order and ethos, theme and intention — preserved, through reform, in careful retrievals and critical, creative re-appropriations. Only in these ways can it be said of matters liturgical that “what has been is what will be, and what has been done is what will be done; there is nothing new under the sun” (Eccl I:9) — and this is no less true of “our story” at Bronxville than it is of the larger story that frames it and makes its particulars intelligible.

But telling “our story” within the context of a larger history does

⁵ Paul F. Bradshaw, “Difficulties in Doing Liturgical Theology,” *Pacifica* II (1998), 184-185.

more than simply answer the question of a hypothetical (or, for that matter, real) visitor. It also promotes a deeper appreciation for, and more profound engagement with, what it means for a community of believers to gather together *as church* for the purpose of divine worship. Liturgy — here understood most simply as the public and corporate worship of God — is no static thing, not frozen in a vacuum of space and time. And although liturgy is an aesthetic event, a manifestation of divine beauty in humanly beautiful words and music, actions and arts, it does not exist to be admired for its own sake or appreciated for its own worth. Liturgy intends more than its own inherent beauty: *it is the purposeful expression of a particular community's grateful reception of the gift of God's reign that is already coming to each and all together in Jesus Christ through the power of the Holy Spirit.*

By this thick definition (one among many possible), liturgy necessarily belongs to the community that gathers for its celebration.⁶ It therefore must always be fresh, a timely expression of receptive faith, grateful praise and earnest commitment to the call and challenge of the gospel. At the same time, however, liturgy is the premiere event in which earth and heaven are wed and past and present unite, as the whole people of God in every age and place join with all the company of heaven to proclaim the glory of God's Name. "In worship we are not bound to our own time and place. . . [but] with all the ages and every place where God has been glorified."⁷ From a properly theological

⁶ Although this and the surrounding paragraphs place a certain emphasis on the *horizontal dimensions* of the liturgy — historically, in terms of its development, and theologically, in terms of its trans-historical mediation of the temporal past and temporal future to the present — this is not to exclude or in any way minimize the primary and logically prior *vertical dimensions* of worship. Two key phrases in the definition of liturgy proposed here point to this verticality: "purposeful expression" and "grateful reception." What liturgy expresses, in terms of praise and thanksgiving, adoration and confession, intercession and lamentation, is fundamentally a human response to the prior action of God. Primacy of relation and primacy of action always belong to God alone, and whether in creation, in redemption, in eschatological fulfillment or simply in everyday human experience, God always makes the "first move," a move that is always gratuitous — a totally free, immeasurably generous gift of unconstrained love, utterly unearned and undeserved on the part of the recipients. "The initiative for giving always comes from God; in Jesus Christ, that giving is revealed as very costly giving indeed. The risen Lord Jesus in turn shares the Spirit with us so that we might give as God gives"; R. Kevin Seasoltz, *God's Gift Giving: In Christ and Through the Spirit* (New York: Continuum, 2007), 15. Having received quite literally *everything* from God, human worship only can be responsive, an acknowledgment of God's gracious giving with humble, if also joyful, gratitude. Even when asking for mercy and forgiveness, or making intercession for some other particular grace, such petitions are made in a trusting dependence founded on the basis of God's faithfulness and love as experienced in prior expressions of divine gratuity. Thus, while liturgy necessarily has certain horizontal dimensions in terms of history, community and responsibility, it is nonetheless a principally vertical, relational and responsive engagement with God.

⁷ *Rule of the Society of St. John the Evangelist*, North American Congregation (Boston: Cowley, 1997), 33.

perspective, the worship of today is deeply, vitally rooted in the worship of generations long past — not just the objective forms of liturgy, which are historically subject to (sometimes disruptive) change, but the engaged action of communal worship as such. Put another way, liturgical worship embodies and enacts tradition and envisions the future.

[O]ur worship is a constant process of simultaneously holding on and letting go. That is why we have so much difficulty with it. We know that we must hold onto the tradition, to the memory, in order to know what is real, in order to organize all the data which comes to us — otherwise we are swamped. And yet we know that there is no memory which is as real as what is happening to us at this very moment. This present moment always transcends every moment which has gone before. In fact, this present moment in some manner actually participates in the transcendence which we call “future” — that toward which we are always rushing headlong.⁸

Liturgy in the present moment, the here-and-now engagement of a particular community in the activity of worship, is always grounded in what has gone before, always receiving that which is *traditioned* — handed on — from ages past. And yet, liturgy is subject to change and development, according to the aspirations and needs of each present age and each local assembly, precisely so that it can continue to be for-and-in the present what it has been for-and-in the past: a foretaste and realized anticipation of the promised future life in the reign of God, which is both the context and the content of Christian hope.

Entertaining Questions about Peculiar Terms

Parishioners of Christ Church, Bronxville, generally comprehend how liturgy embodies and enacts tradition as a vital reality, at once rooted in history, open to change and focused toward God’s intended future — even if they might not always choose to articulate this phenomenological complex in quite such terms. Owing to a fair amount of regular, direct and intentional liturgical formation for both youth and adults over many years, a majority of these parishioners have a good sense of why and how their liturgy is in continuity with that of the Episcopal Church in the United States (and therefore the

⁸ Richard D. McCall, “‘In My Beginning is My End’: Remembering the Future Shape of Liturgy,” *Anglican Theological Review* 82:1 (2000), 19-20.

world-wide Anglican Communion) and yet differs significantly from that of other parish communities in the surrounding Westchester County and New York metropolitan areas. These parishioners speak confidently, comfortably and proudly about their “Sarum Use” liturgy, and have a remarkably well-developed understanding of what, in their own context, that means. But visitors and guests occasionally find this terminology confusing — especially those who have heard the word *Sarum* used in a radically different way, or those who have heard of a “Sarum Rite” but not the Sarum Use. Thus visitors’ questions often center on these two points.

“*Sarum — but isn’t that a color?*” “Sarum” is indeed a color, a unique, muted shade of blue that some would call “greenish,” and others “greyish.” (One occasionally sees the term incorrectly spelled “serum,” especially in the catalogues and on the websites of liturgical vestment manufacturers who should — but apparently do not — know better.) But the color owes its name to the place where it sometimes may have been used for liturgical vestments: Salisbury, a cathedral town in southwest England. “Sarum” is the abbreviated form of *Sarisburim* (or *Sarisberium*, as it appeared in the 1086 Domesday Book), the medieval Latin name for *Sarisburg* or *Salisbury*, a fortress town in the southern English county of Wiltshire. In the Middle Ages, “it was usual for scribes to shorten long words. . . and put a line over the shortened area. The line eventually developed into an apostrophe, thus, in such as the Magna Carta, William Longspee is referred to as the Count of Sar’ (short for *Sarisberien*se). This short name was commonly used until, to give it a more credible sound, the common Latin town ending of ‘um’ was added, making it Sar’um.”⁹ Eventually the apostrophe disappeared altogether, leaving the contracted “Sarum” that is familiar today — and from which both the color and the liturgical use take their name.

“*I’ve heard of the Sarum Rite, but what’s the Sarum Use?*” One occasionally does hear the term “Sarum Rite,” though this is a misapplication of technical ecclesiastical jargon. When speaking of the liturgy with reference to Sarum, one properly speaks of the “Sarum Use.” But what marks the difference between a rite and a use?

The word *rite* carries two meanings, the first and most fundamental usually referring to units of text and ceremonial enactment constitutive of liturgical worship. In this sense, the whole celebration of the eucharist is a rite,

⁹ Philip Baxter, *Sarum Use: The Ancient Customs of Salisbury* (Reading, Berkshire, UK: Spire Books, 2008), 19.

as is the “rite” of baptism, the “rite” of marriage, the “rite” of anointing the sick and so forth. But the individual parts of these liturgies also have come to be called rites; for example, the unit of gesture, music and verbal material that extends from the beginning of the opening hymn through the end of the collect for the day at the eucharist is a “rite of gathering,” an “entrance rite” or an “introductory rite” (and different church bodies name that particular ritual unit differently). An entire liturgical celebration may be considered as composed of a series of such so-called rites — separate but related units of text and ceremonial that together form a cohesive liturgical whole.

The second meaning of rite has more collective, cultural, geographical and organizational overtones, as Aidan Kavanagh, OSB, explains:

Rite means more than liturgical customs. It could be called a whole style of Christian life, which is to be found in the myriad particularities of worship, in canonical law, in ascetical and monastic structures, in evangelical and catechetical endeavors, and in particular ways of theological reflection. The liturgy specifies all these, and in doing so makes them accessible to the community which assembles within a particular style of Christian life.¹⁰

In this second sense, rite connotes the collected liturgies proper to an ecclesial body, as well as certain structures of authority and administration, including Canon Law. This use of the term rite is primarily found in the Roman Catholic Church, which in fact is a collective body of such rites: a hierarchically-ordered communion of non-autonomous local church bodies, each with its more or less distinctive “style of Christian life” and worship, and all adhering to the leadership of the bishop of Rome. While all are “Roman Catholic,” the liturgical, structural and cultural characteristics of these local churches are sufficiently different one from another that each earns the title “rite.” Most people, whether Catholic or not, are familiar with the *Latin Rite* of the Roman Catholic Church — it being the most widespread — but others do exist. The so-called Western Rites tend to be geographically local, like the Hispano-Mozarabic Rite (now confined to a handful of churches in the Diocese of

¹⁰ Aidan Kavanagh, *Elements of Rite: A Handbook of Liturgical Style* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press/Pueblo, 1990), 44; see also idem, *On Liturgical Theology* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press/Pueblo, 1992), 100. I am grateful to Maxwell E. Johnson, Professor of Liturgical Studies at the University of Notre Dame in Indiana, for bringing these quotations to my attention.

Toledo, but once proper to much of Spain and Portugal), or the Ambrosian Rite (unique to the Diocese of Milan in northern Italy). The “Eastern Rites,” such as the Melkite and Ukrainian Rites (among several others), have become more geographically widespread through immigration. Many of the Eastern Rites of the Roman Catholic Church are paralleled by ecclesial bodies that are *not* in communion with the bishop of Rome — these form some of the churches known collectively as “Eastern Orthodox.”

The Anglican Communion, of which the Episcopal Church in the United States of America has been an historically constitutive part, is so structured that it has no need for, and therefore no direct equivalent to, Roman Catholicism’s system of rites. Still, among the various national and provincial churches of the Communion, there are sufficient liturgical and constitutional differences that one might recognize in each the characteristics proper to a rite (in the second sense of the term). Furthermore, the variations found between the traditional and contemporary liturgies in many of the churches’ Prayer Books are such that they too can be identified properly as rites, in *both* senses of the term. (The most obvious example of this is the 1979 Book of Common Prayer of The Episcopal Church in the United States, in which the traditional and contemporary liturgies are identified rather baldly as “Rite I” and “Rite II.”) Nevertheless, the polity and structure of global Anglicanism is that of a communion of autonomous churches, not of juridically interdependent rites.

Within a particular rite — speaking again in the second, more collective and cultural sense — one might find slight regional variations and local arrangements in matters liturgical or organizational: here the term “use” or “form” is employed. Properly speaking, what the worship of medieval Salisbury (or Sarum) Cathedral and its dependents represented was its own *use*: a geographically and culturally circumscribed, identifiably unique and particular manner of celebrating the Latin Rite liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church. Prior to the various reforms of the sixteenth century (insular and Continental) a number of such local uses prevailed throughout Europe; in England alone, the dioceses of York, Hereford, Bangor and Lincoln each had its own use of the Latin Rite (though all seem to have had at least an eye on what went on in the diocese of Salisbury.)¹¹ But the Sarum Use, “exuberant, elaborate, beautiful, and especially well-arranged” as it was, had the strongest impact and “was gradually adopted by most of the rest of England as well as

¹¹ Bangor apparently had more than just an eye on Salisbury: by the end of the fifteenth century, the contents of its Missal were nearly identical to those of the Sarum Missal.

much of Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and even some places on the continent.”¹² Yet, as much as Sarum was renowned for its liturgy, it was also respected for the organization and maintenance of its clergy, buildings and finances;¹³ these features gave the immediate community of Salisbury Cathedral many of the non-liturgical characteristics distinctive to a rite (in the second sense of the term). The history of those administrative details is well-documented elsewhere;¹⁴ although practically intertwined with the development of the Sarum Use liturgy, that history is only briefly outlined in this volume.

Ancient Roots, Contemporary Validity

In 1945, the Anglican Benedictine Dom Gregory Dix published *The Shape of the Liturgy*, a seminal work in liturgical history that (for all its inaccuracies)¹⁵ remains an engaging study, as well as a classic monument to the scholarship of its era. Near the end of the book, in what is rightly its most famous passage, Dix meditates at length on Jesus’ injunction from the Last Supper to “do this” for the remembrance of him:

Was ever another command so obeyed? For century after century, spreading slowly to every continent and country and among every race on earth, this action has been done, in every conceivable human circumstance, for every conceivable human need from infancy and before it to extreme old age and after it, from the pinnacles of earthly greatness to the refuge of fugitives in the caves and dens of the earth. Men have found no better thing than this to do for kings at their crowning and for criminals going to the scaffold; for armies in triumph or for a bride and bridegroom in a little country church; for the proclamation of a dogma or for a good crop of wheat; for the wisdom of the Parliament of a mighty nation or for a sick old woman afraid to die; for a schoolboy sitting an examination or for Columbus setting out to discover America; for the famine of

12 J. Robert Wright, “The Sarum Use,” unpublished lecture (New York: Miller Theatre, Columbia University, January 6, 2002), 1; <http://anglicanhistory.org/essays/wright/sarum.pdf> (accessed July 24, 2010).

13 Baxter, 12.

14 See Baxter, 19-48; also Walter Howard Frere, CR, *The Use of Sarum, Vol. I: The Sarum Customs as set forth in the Consuetudinary and Customary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898), xiv-xvii; xxi-xxxvii.

15 On this point, see below, pages 131-132.

whole provinces or for the soul of a dead lover. . . tremulously, by an old monk on the fiftieth anniversary of his vows; furtively, by an exiled bishop who had hewn timber all day in a prison camp near Murmansk; gorgeously, for the canonization of S. Joan of Arc — one could fill many pages with the reasons why men have done this, and not tell a hundredth part of them. And best of all, week by week and month by month, on a hundred thousand successive Sundays, faithfully, unfailingly, across all the parishes of Christendom, the pastors have done this just to *make the plebs sacra Dei*, the holy common people of God.¹⁶

The manner in which the command of Jesus has been fulfilled from one age to another and one church to another necessarily has differed (as can be inferred from the various examples in Dix's meditation). Thus, what unfolds "faithfully, unfailingly," Sunday after Sunday, at Christ Church, Bronxville, remains this same act of obedience; but it is *not* in itself the liturgy "according to the Use of the distinguished and renowned Church of Sarum."¹⁷ Owing to the English Reformation and the development of the Book of Common Prayer it could not be, and in fact it was *never intended to be*.¹⁸ This point must be understood from the outset: Bronxville's liturgy does not recreate the Sarum Use as it evolved and was celebrated in medieval Salisbury. Rather, the liturgy celebrated at Christ Church today is an appropriation and a modification, drawing intentionally and advisedly, with pastoral sensibility and sensitivity, on the forms and principles of that ancient and venerable use: it is an adaptation — with honesty and integrity — and it admittedly always has been.

In this, perhaps, Christ Church is more like its adopted medieval predecessor than one might be inclined at first to think. Philip Baxter has commented of twenty-first-century liturgy at Salisbury Cathedral that "[a]s long as public worship continues, so will the development of its liturgical forms, seeking ancient roots yet contemporary validity," for such is the nature of embodied and enacted tradition.¹⁹ Nothing less can be said of the liturgy of Christ Church, Bronxville, New York — as near to an American Sarum as anyone will find today.

16 Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London: Continuum, 2001), 744.

17 The epithets *secundum usum insignis et praeclarae Sarisburiensis ecclesiae* — "according to the use of the distinguished and renowned Church of Sarum" — and *ad usum percelebris Ecclesiae Sarisburiensis* — "for the use of the celebrated Church of Sarum" — frequently appeared on the title pages of the liturgical books that codified and were employed in Salisbury's liturgical use.

18 On this point, see below, pages 133-137.

19 Baxter, 114.

EARLY CHRISTIAN WORSHIP IN ENGLAND



Long before the Sarum Use emerged as a distinctively recognizable liturgical form, Christian faith and Christian worship were carried to the shores of the British Isles. Commitment to the gospel there (first among Roman traders and soldiers, then native Britons, Angli and even some Picts) can be dated with certainty to the beginning of the third century CE, as such far-flung witnesses as Tertullian in North Africa (*Adversus Iudaeos* VII.7) and Origen in Alexandria (*Homilia in Ezechielem* IV.I, via Jerome's Latin translation) apparently attest, though a mid-second-century date is more likely for the first Christian presences in England.¹ Still, evidences for this primitive stratum of Christian history in Britain are scarce, with the most complete source being the rather-late *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* by the Venerable Bede (672-735), a biblical scholar, historian and priest-monk of the monastery of Wearmouth-Jarrow in the region of Northumbria. Bede relates a tale regarding an alleged petition from a certain British king Lucius to Pope Eleutherius in the year 156. Lacking a proper minister to baptize him, the king begged the pope to grant him status as a Christian by rescript.² Bede's account is somewhat fictitious: while it seems that such a request actually was made and granted, it was by another king, Abgar IX, and from another place, Edessa, in present-day Turkey. Nonetheless, the story apparently was "invented to explain a true fact, that Christianity seems to have somehow reached Britain by the late second century, probably by commercial and military contacts between Britain and Gaul."³

Of Christian worship among the Roman colonists, Britons and Angli during this earliest period, next to nothing is certain. The great majority

1 See J. R. H. Moorman, *A History of the Church in England*, third edition (Harrisburg, PA: Morehouse, 1980), 3; see also John T. McNeill, *The Celtic Churches: A History, A.D. 200-1200* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 18-19.

2 Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (hereafter EH), eds. Judith McClure and Roger Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), I.4, I.4; see also V.24, 290.

3 J. Robert Wright, *A Companion to Bede: A Reader's Commentary on The Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 15; see also McNeill, 18.

of evidence regarding “how Christians worshiped in the first three centuries has disappeared for ever, either by wholesale destruction of documents and monuments, or because most of the content of worship was transmitted orally, and most of its practice by memory and habit.”⁴ What little does remain focuses attention almost entirely on Christian life and worship in and around the major population centers of the Mediterranean Basin. So while the Venerable Bede may make mention of the early erection of churches and “shrines to the holy martyrs” on British soil, and of Christians there “celebrating their festal days and performing their sacred rites with pure heart and voice,”⁵ the sources for, and contents of, these pre-Anglo-Saxon festivals and rites remain almost wholly unidentified. Whatever liturgical celebrations were kept among primitive British believers, they were likely dependent on the forms of worship known to the first Christians entering Britain.

Among Celtic populations in the Isles, Christian faith and worship also seem to have developed from contact with traders, mostly from Gaul and perhaps also Syria.⁶ Very little is known of Celtic Christianity prior to the fifth-century, when missions by Celts from both Britain and western Gaul saw the spread of the gospel into Scotland and Ireland — and with them, the nascent Gallican Rite liturgy. In the sixth century, further missions to these regions and to Wales resulted in the emergence of a local Christian ethos particularly given to both aesthetic and ascetic expressions. Sadly, popular notions that Christianity among the Celts was somehow more accessible, mystical, charismatic or syncretistic — a sort of “baptized” druidism — than it was among the Britons and Angli (or elsewhere on the European Continent) are “almost wholly without any historical justification”⁷ and have tended to obscure the non-negotiable centrality of the gospel and liturgical worship among the early Celtic faithful. While it is the nature of Christianity (as an incarnational religion) to absorb and transform positive characteristics from the surrounding culture, giving the religion a certain local color or flavor, such localization or inculturation of the religion and its liturgy was far less

⁴ George Guiver, *Vision Upon Vision: Processes of Change and Renewal in Christian Worship* (Norwich, Norfolk, UK: Canterbury Press, 2009), 4.

⁵ EH I.8, 19.

⁶ Regarding possible Syrian influence on the development of the Gallican and Celtic liturgies, see Louis Bouyer, *Eucharist: Theology and Spirituality of the Eucharistic Prayer*, tr. Charles Underhill Quinn (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968), 315-329; Edmund Bishop, “The Litany of the Saints in the Stowe Missal,” in idem, *Liturgica Historica: Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918), “Note B,” 161-163.

⁷ Thomas O’Loughlin, *Celtic Theology: Humanity, World and God in Early Irish Writings* (New York: Continuum, 2005), 4.

radical among the Celts than it was, for example, among communities in the Christian East. Early Celtic Christians “sought that theological ideal that the truth was ‘what was held always, everywhere, by everyone,’ and if they had suspected that they were in any way idiosyncratic, they would have been the first to adapt their ideas to that of the larger group.”⁸

Worship and Mission in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries

Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History* indicates that the first missionaries to Britain known by name were the Gallican bishops Lupus of Tricassium (or Troyes; ca. 383-ca. 478) and Germanus of Antissiodorum (or Auxerre; ca. 378-448). They were invited by the Christian Britons sometime between the years 422 and 429 to help put down the spread of Pelagianism, a heresy that denied absolute human dependence on divine grace for salvation.⁹ Bede makes particular mention of Germanus’ devotion to the apostolic martyrs and their relics, noting the intrepid bishop’s practice of applying relics for healing, and his placement of relics of the apostles in the tomb of the British protomartyr Alban (died early to mid-third century).¹⁰ Such devotion to the relics of the saints (although everywhere strong in the Middle Ages) would prove particularly important in English pilgrimage centers such as Westminster, Canterbury and Salisbury.

Bede makes an early reference to liturgical timekeeping in connection with the missionary efforts of these bishops. Besieged by Saxon and Pictish forces, the Britons appealed to Germanus and Lupus for spiritual support in battle. “Indeed,” Bede writes, “with such apostolic leaders, it was Christ Himself who fought in their camp.” He goes on to describe what, by today’s standards, would have been a most unusual preparation for combat:

Now the holy season of Lent had come round and was made more sacred by the presence of the bishops, so much so that the people, instructed by their daily teaching, flocked eagerly to receive the grace of baptism. Vast numbers of the army were baptized. A church of wattle was built in preparation for Easter Day and set up for the army in the field as though it were in a city. So, still soaked in the waters of baptism, the army set out.¹¹

⁸ Ibid., 17; quoting Vincent of Lérins, *Commonitorium* 4.3.

⁹ EH I.17, 29. On the question of the date of the mission, see the editorial note on page 369 of that volume.

¹⁰ On the date of Alban’s martyrdom, see Wright, I6-17.

¹¹ EH I.20, 33.

Though an impromptu battle-field catechumenate, or course of preparation for baptism, may come as a bit of surprise, such is suggested by the reference to “daily teaching” on the part of the bishops. Bede’s ordering of the sequence of events leaves something to be desired: it seems at first glance that the baptisms take place before the building of the wattle church and the celebration of Easter. But Bede clarifies matters a few lines later, writing that

when the Easter solemnities had been celebrated and the greater part of the army, still fresh from the font, were beginning to take up arms and prepare for war, Germanus himself offered to be their leader. . . . The fierce enemy forces approached, plainly visible as they drew near to the army which was lying in ambush. Germanus who was bearing the standard, thereupon ordered his men to repeat his call in one great shout; as the enemy approached confidently. . . the bishops shouted “Alleluia” three times. A universal shout of “Alleluia” followed, and the echoes from the surrounding hills multiplied and increased the sound. The enemy forces were smitten with dread. . . .¹²

So it does seem that the baptism of the Britons took place on the paschal feast, with the peaceable victory that followed attributable to the great triple acclamation of the Easter Alleluia.

In 596, Pope Gregory the Great (c. 540-604) initiated what Bishop Stephen Neill describes as “almost the first example since the days of Paul of a carefully planned and calculated mission.”¹³ To lead this mission to the under-evangelized British population, Gregory chose Augustine (d. 604), a Benedictine monk and prefect of the Abbey of Saint Andrew in Rome (where Gregory himself once had served as abbot, 585-590).¹⁴

Augustine and his companions arrived in England in 597, landing on the Thanet island where they remained until summoned to meet with the king of Kent, Ethelbert. Bede describes their journey to meet the king in terms of a liturgical procession — specifically, a rogation procession: “they came. . . bearing as a standard a silver cross and the image of our Lord and Saviour painted on a panel. They chanted litanies and uttered prayers to the Lord for their own eternal salvation and the salvation of those for whom and

¹² Ibid., 34.

¹³ Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, Penguin History of the Church (London: Penguin, 1990), 58.

¹⁴ Wright, 25.

to whom they had come.”¹⁵ Their meeting was successful: the king granted leave for Augustine and his company to undertake missionary work among his people. Bede also describes their journey into Canterbury, where Ethelbert was to provide quarters for them, using terms similar to those describing their trek to the first meeting: “as they approached the city in accordance with their custom carrying the holy cross and the image of our great King and Lord, Jesus Christ, they sang this litany in unison: ‘We beseech Thee, O Lord, in Thy great mercy, that Thy wrath and anger may be turned away from this city and from Thy holy house, for we have sinned. Alleluia.’”¹⁶ This rare instance of a liturgical text recorded within the *Ecclesiastical History* “is [from] the Gallican Rogation Day antiphon for Processions, from Daniel 9:16.”¹⁷

Shortly after his arrival in Britain, Augustine sent a series of questions to Gregory covering a variety of matters, including issues related to liturgy and church order; both the missionary’s queries and the papal replies are recorded by Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History*.¹⁸ Among his questions, Augustine asks, “Even though the faith is one are there varying customs in the churches? And is there one form of mass in the Holy Roman Church and another in the Gaulish churches?” Augustine was perhaps reacting to the local liturgical variations that he and his companions observed on their journey through Gaul — though as a monk from Rome he theoretically should have had some awareness of the variations between the stational or papal liturgy and the titular or parochial liturgies of the city (not to mention the liturgical customs that were unique to his own monastic house). He may also have been conversant with the different local uses throughout Italy, such as the Milanese or Ambrosian Rite in the north and the Beneventan Rite in the south. In any case, Gregory’s response opened the door to the possible development of a local liturgy proper to the English people, by way of what today might be termed “liturgical inculturation.” His remarks remain an example of respectful, pastoral consideration for the genius of the local culture:

You know, brother, the custom of the Roman Church in which you were brought up; cherish it lovingly. But as far as I am concerned, if you’ve discovered something more pleasing to almighty God — in the Roman or Gallican or any other church — choose carefully, gathering the best customs from many different churches, and arrange them for use in the church

¹⁵ EH I.25, 39-40.

¹⁶ Ibid., 40.

¹⁷ Wright, 29.

¹⁸ EH I.27, 42-54 *passim*.

of the English, which is still a newcomer to the faith. For we should love things not because of the places where they're found, but because of the goodness they contain. Choose, therefore, those elements that are reverent (pia), devout (religiosa), and orthodox (recta), and gathering them all into a dish (as it were), place it on the table of the English as their customary diet. 19

Gregory's response suggests on his part a carefully reasoned sensitivity to the need for presenting the worship of this new and imported religion in a manner suitable to the minds of the English peoples. That being said, the missionary zeal of the pope remained intact, and the truth of Christianity (including its liturgy) would have to replace the false gods and false cults of the native pagan religions. So in a letter to King Ethelbert, bearing the date of June 22, 601, Gregory wrote: "watch carefully over the grace you have received from God and hasten to extend the Christian faith among the people who are subject to you. Increase your righteous zeal for their conversion; suppress the worship of idols; overthrow their buildings and shrines; strengthen the morals of your subjects by outstanding purity of life, by exhorting them, terrifying, enticing, and correcting them..."²⁰ For the sake of establishing precedent, Gregory notes that "[i]t was thus that Constantine, the most religious emperor, converted the Roman Senate from the false worship of idols and subjected it and himself to Almighty God."²¹ Such uses of Roman civil authority for the razing of pagan shrines in missionary territories had been practiced as a matter of policy at least since the Emperor Theodosius had adopted Christianity as the state religion of the empire in 381.

Still, Gregory continued to ponder the wisdom of totally uprooting indigenous religious practices, and eventually decided to moderate his strategy. On July 18, four weeks after ordering Ethelbert to "overthrow their buildings and shrines," Gregory sent word to Augustine's companion Mellitus, who then was returning to Britain through Gaul:

when Almighty God has brought you to our most reverend brother Bishop Augustine, tell him what I have decided after long deliberation about the English people, namely that the idol temples of the race should by no means be destroyed, but

19 Gregory I, *Letters* XI.64 ad 3 (see equivalent in EH I.27, 43); tr. Nathan Mitchell; as cited by Gilbert Ost diek, OFM, "Principles of Translation in the Revised Sacramentary," in Mark R. Francis, csv, and Keith F. Pecklers, sj, eds., *Liturgy for the New Millennium: A Commentary on the Revised Sacramentary* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press/Pueblo, 2000), 33, note 28.

20 EH I.32, 59.

21 Ibid.

only the idols in them. Take holy water and sprinkle it in these shrines, build altars and place relics in them. For if the shrines are well built, it is essential that they should be changed from the worship of devils to the service of the true God. When this people see that their shrines are not destroyed they will be able to banish error from their hearts and be more ready to come to the places they are familiar with, but now recognizing and worshipping the true God. And because they are in the habit of slaughtering much cattle as sacrifice to devils, some solemnity ought to be given them in exchange for this. So on the day of the dedication or the festivals of the holy martyrs, whose relics are deposited there, let them make themselves huts from the branches of trees around the churches which have been converted out of shrines, and let them celebrate the solemnity with religious feasts. . . . Thus while some outward rejoicings are preserved, they will be able more easily to share in the inward rejoicings.”²²

Although Gregory provides interesting details pertaining to the preparation of the “idol temples” for Christian worship,²³ most striking is the pontiff’s keen (if at times also patronizing) pastoral sense. Thus he continues the foregoing with the observation that “[i]t is doubtless impossible to cut out everything at once from their stubborn minds....” Previously, the church had depended on secular authority to coerce an immediate acceptance of Christianity among pagan peoples. Under Gregory a more tolerant practical policy emerged, cautious in its pacing and relatively free of political pressure. By ordering the recycling of existing shrines and converting of pagan festivals into Christian feasts, Gregory was directing Augustine to woo and win the hearts of the English, not to ride roughshod over them.²⁴

As Gregory would have it, the form and content of the liturgy to be celebrated in those now-Christian temples was left largely to Augustine’s

22 Ibid., I.30, 56-57.

23 Both the sprinkling of holy water to purify and sanctify a building (new or recycled) and the enclosing or “burial” of martyrs’ relics within altars were standard practice in the consecration of churches, from at least this late-antique period throughout the Middle Ages; both are still practiced by Roman Catholics and some Anglicans today.

24 Gregory’s apparent about-face must be understood only in terms of practical pastoral application. His articulated theological position remained “absolutely clear at the level of religious conviction, seeing heathen worship, as do many biblical and other writers, as worship of devils. Yet [his latter statement] distinguishes between action and belief, seeing it as possible that the same actions can be motivated by completely opposite belief-systems”; Paul Cavill, *Anglo-Saxon Christianity: Exploring the Earliest Roots of Christian Spirituality in England* (London: HarperCollins/Fount, 1999), 20.

discretion and creativity. Yet Augustine and his companions do not seem to have followed Gregory's advice to adopt elements they found "more pleasing to almighty God" from Roman, Gallican or other local churches and adapt them to English sensibilities. It was certainly more convenient, and undoubtedly more comfortable, for these Benedictines from Rome simply to retain the rites in which they "were brought up" than to construct something new for the emerging local church. Liturgical creativity certainly must have been a low priority in this missionary climate: evangelization and catechesis were of primary importance; only after those could come the establishment of the liturgical and sacramental life of the local church. And all the while, the missionaries had their own vowed obligations to celebrate the Daily Office and observe the fasts and feasts of the liturgical year. As no independent English Rite ever emerged, but only (and later) variations or uses of the Roman and Gallican Rite liturgies, it is almost certain that Augustine and his companions made no major attempt at the "inculturation" that Gregory authorized, if not in fact advocated.

The Ecclesiastical History and the Eucharistic Mystery

In his *Ecclesiastical History*, Bede professes to chronicle a span of nearly seven centuries, stretching from the arrival of Christianity in Britain through his own lifetime. Insofar as he accomplishes this (however anecdotally), his annals serve as the primary historical record for Christianity in that time and place. Given the interval covered, then, one should not be surprised that the eucharist features more than occasionally in Bede's narrative. Thus, while no systematic treatment of eucharistic theology is offered in the *History*, references to liturgical celebrations and the language employed in discussing the sacrament shed light on both its practice and its central place in early Christian England.

Mention has already been made of the advice-seeking exchanges between Augustine of Canterbury and Pope Gregory the Great. In addition to setting the stage for Gregory's policies of liturgical inculturation, the pontiff's answers to the missionary bishop's questions make use of an expansive vocabulary for the eucharist, revealing not only the pope's rich eucharistic theology, but also his profound devotion to the Blessed Sacrament—which, beginning with Augustine, would be transmitted to the English church. Where in some of his questions Augustine expresses concern for the relationship between moral behavior and sacramental reception, Gregory's responses are pastorally conditioned, constrained by a principle of economy that usually favors fostering and promoting a person's participation in the sacraments. Thus,

in reply to the fifth question (on the issue of those who had married within bloodlines of close kinship prior to their conversion to Christianity), Gregory writes that “they are not to be deprived of the communion of the sacred Body and Blood of the Lord for this cause, lest they seem to be punished for sins which they committed through ignorance, before they received the washing of baptism.”²⁵ Gregory’s use of the phrase “communion of the sacred Body and Blood of our Lord,” suggests that he embraced a moderate sacramental-realist theology of the eucharist: “the sacred Body and Blood of the Lord” are truly present — though sacramentally — through the consecration of the elements for their reception in communion.

Augustine’s eighth query to Gregory poses a series of questions regarding the admission of pregnant women to the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist and their “churching” or purification after childbirth, and the admission of both women and men to communion after sexual intercourse. (These questions betray a certain naiveté on Augustine’s part with respect to human sexuality and reproduction, perhaps reflective of his sheltered experience in the monastic cloister.) Gregory’s responses are consistently pastoral in tone:²⁶ menstruation, pregnancy and birth are no hindrances to reception of the sacraments; men ought to bathe after intercourse before entering a church, but they should not refrain from receiving communion unless they find themselves still lustful; women, too should preserve bodily purity insofar as possible before receiving communion, “lest they be weighed down by the greatness of that inestimable Mystery.”²⁷ Similarly, the tenth question deals with the reception of the eucharist by a man after experiencing nocturnal emission — “and if he is a priest can he celebrate the holy mysteries?”²⁸ Such natural bodily functions, Gregory notes, are illusory and not necessarily sinful in themselves, though they may be the natural outcome of immoderate behaviors such as gluttony or willingly entertained lusts. With regard to priests Gregory states “the mind contracts some guilt, but not enough to prevent him from partaking of the holy mystery or celebrating the solemn rites of the mass. . . . [But] if others are present who can fulfill the ministry. . . he ought humbly to abstain from offering the sacrifice of the holy mystery.”²⁹

Although Gregory’s replies to Augustine’s inquiries utilize multiple terms to name the eucharist — communion, Body and Blood, holy (or

25 EH I.27, 45.

26 Ibid., 47-52.

27 Ibid., 52.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid., 53.

inestimable) mystery and sacrifice — the majority of Bede’s references to the sacrament in the *Ecclesiastical History* come by way of noting particular liturgical events, or the habits of certain persons with regard to eucharistic celebration, its frequency and the like. In his own choice of vocabulary, Bede maintains a subtle but useful distinction between the action of the liturgy and the sacrament itself: “for Bede the ‘Eucharist’ is generally an object and not an action, the Eucharistic act of worship itself being generally called the ‘Mass,’ and by contrast ‘the Eucharist’ being the sacramental object or the sacred food of communion.”³⁰ This distinction is easily lost on present-day readers of Bede, who might be accustomed to using both terms interchangeably in reference to the liturgical event.

In the last of Gregory’s responses noted above, the pope speaks of the liturgy as “offering the sacrifice of the holy mystery.” For Bede, notions of offering and sacrifice are central to his understanding of the mass. While the idea of eucharistic sacrifice had not yet acquired the full, complex and sometimes over-determined variety of meanings that it would bear through much of the later Middle Ages, Bede and his contemporaries experienced the sacrifice of the mass as a moment of efficacious grace that might be offered appropriately for a specific need or person (living or dead) as a particular intention of intercession. He thus relates “a remarkable incident. . . which. . . should certainly not be passed over in silence, since the story may lead to the salvation of many.”³¹ A certain thane of King Elfwyn named Imma was captured in battle and thought by his brother Tunna (a priest and abbot at Tunnacester) to have been killed. Tunna found a mutilated body reasonably resembling that of his brother on the battlefield and had it buried; he then proceeded “to offer many masses for the absolution of his soul.”³² Far from dead, however, the war-captive Imma, shackled and imprisoned, experienced a loosening or release from his chains each time that Tunna celebrated the mass for his repose, such that he could not be kept bound. Imma explained to his captors, “I have a brother in my country who is a priest and I know he believes me to be dead and offers frequent masses on my behalf; so if I had now been in another world, my soul would have been loosed from its punishment by his intercessions.”³³

Bede likewise relates the visionary experience of a man who, having come back from the dead, became a monk. Among the details this monk provides is a comment about “those souls [who] have to be tried and chastened,”

³⁰ Wright, 105.

³¹ EH IV.22, 207.

³² Ibid., 208.

³³ Ibid.

but who benefit from the “prayers of those who are still alive, their alms and fastings and *specially the celebration of masses*.”³⁴ The eucharistic prayer or Canon of the Mass used in Bede’s time contained a petition that the dead might find refreshment, light and peace; it also begged for the eternal salvation of the living, which request Bede notes in connection with Gregory the Great: “in the celebration of the mass, he added three quite perfect petitions, ‘Dispose our days in peace, and *command that we be saved from eternal damnation*, and that we be numbered among the flock of thine elect.’”³⁵ Bede is one of the few witnesses to the Gregorian origin of this petition in the *Hanc igitur* portion of the Roman Canon or eucharistic prayer; while such attributions to apostolic or papal origins for texts are often more legendary than factual, in this case modern scholarship confirms Bede as a reliable witness.³⁶

At times, the events that Bede records in the *History* and the concerns surrounding those events can seem profoundly contemporary to the postmodern reader. In one such episode, Bede sheds light on the present-day controversy in some Episcopal congregations and dioceses regarding “Open Communion,” or the admission of non-baptized persons to the eucharistic table. Some would see an open invitation of all people to communion (regardless of their relationship with Christ and the church through baptism) as an accurate imitation of the example of Jesus — particularly the open commensality of his meal practices as recorded in the Gospel of Luke. But Bede describes an episode in which the ancient Christian understandings of eucharist as communion among the baptized and culmination of Christian initiation are at the fore:

On the death of Saeberht, king of the East Saxons. . . he left three sons as heirs to his temporal kingdom who had all remained heathen. They quickly began to practise openly the idolatry which, during their father’s lifetime, they had apparently given up to some extent. . . . There is a story that when they saw the bishop [Mellitus, companion of Augustine], who was celebrating solemn mass in church, give the Eucharist to the people, they said to him, puffed up as they were with barbarian pride, “Why do you not offer us the white bread which you used to give to our father Saba. . . and yet you still give it to

34 Ibid., V.12, 256; emphasis added.

35 Ibid., II.I, 69; emphasis added.

36 See R. C. D. Jasper and G. J. Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed*, third edition (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press/Pueblo, 1990), 159.

the people in church?" The bishop answered them, "If you are willing to be cleansed in the same font of salvation as your father was, you may also partake of the holy bread as he did. But if you despise its life-giving waters, you certainly shall not receive the bread of life."³⁷

In this incident, roles rather seem reversed in comparison to present controversies surrounding Open Communion: most frequently today, it is Christian persons in positions of pastoral or ideological leadership who are the greatest proponents of Open Communion — *not* unbaptized persons demanding a place at the Lord's Table. At the same time, there are occasions when the spiritual promises extended in the eucharist are perceived by a non-baptized person, who then petitions to be admitted to communion. One senses something of this spiritual perception in the continuing conversation of Saeberht's sons with Mellitus — even as they obstinately rejected baptism: "We will not enter the font because we know that we have no need of it, but all the same we wish to be refreshed by the bread.' In vain were they warned earnestly and often that this could not be done and that without that holy cleansing no one could share in the sacred oblation."³⁸ Bishop Mellitus was ultimately exiled for his refusal to extend communion to the pagan sons of Saeberht — a white martyr of sorts, suffering without bloodshed on a matter of principle. But "[i]f it was only a trivial matter anyway, as the sons of Sabert exclaimed, then why not make peace with the rulers of the present age?"³⁹ Admittedly, the witness of Mellitus via Bede on this point is but one; nevertheless, it accords with the most ancient traditions of Christian initiation, deserving careful consideration in today's wrestling with the questions surrounding Open Communion.

Keeping the Pasch and Keeping the Peace in Britain

Like the issue of Open Communion, determining the date of Easter is a divisive contemporary question with roots in Christian antiquity. By the end of the first century CE, at least two groups of Christians claimed to be keeping the "true" Easter: those who observed the paschal feast on a Sunday — the day of resurrection, the first day of the week and first day of the new creation, which also represents the eighth day of the week, the everlasting Sabbath after

³⁷ EH II.5, 73.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ J. Robert Wright, "Communion of the Non-Baptized: Is the Water of Life Necessary for the Bread of Life?" *The Anglican* 35:1 (2006), 3.

the seventh day — and those who observed Easter on the fourteenth day of the Jewish month Nisan (see Exod 12:6), the day of Passover commended to the Hebrew people's keeping “as a perpetual ordinance” (Exod 12:17). In the early second century, some degree of rapprochement was achieved between these two groups: an agreement to disagree was struck between Polycarp, the Bishop of Smyrna, and Anicetus, the Bishop of Rome, as recorded by Eusebius of Caesarea in his *History of the Church*, quoting a letter attributed to Irenaeus of Lyons:

when Blessed Polycarp paid a visit to Rome in Anicetus' time, though they had minor differences on other matters too, they at once made peace, having no desire to quarrel on this point. Anicetus could not persuade Polycarp not to keep the day, since he had always kept it with John the disciple of our Lord and the other apostles with whom he had been familiar; nor did Polycarp persuade Anicetus to keep it: Anicetus said that he must stick to the practice of the presbyters before him. Though the position was such, they remained in communion with each other, and in church Anicetus made way for Polycarp to celebrate the Eucharist — out of respect, obviously. They parted company in peace, and the whole Church was at peace, both those who kept the day and those who did not.⁴⁰

Regrettably, this agreement to disagree amicably was unable to endure. By the end of the second century the controversy had reopened and the “Quartodecimans” or “Fourteeners” — those who kept the Easter feast on the day of the Jewish Passover — had been excommunicated by a successor of Anicetus, Pope Victor I.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Eusebius, *The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine*, tr. G. A. Williamson, rev. and ed. with new introduction by Andrew Louth (New York: Penguin, 1989), 5.24, 173.

⁴¹ Eusebius (writing in the first quarter of the fourth century) is not known as the most impartial of chroniclers; in this case, he may have been projecting anachronistically the rather pressing concerns of his own day onto the meeting between Polycarp and Anicetus. Recent scholarship indicates that the Quartodeciman observance of Easter was “not some local aberration from a supposed normative practice dating from apostolic times, but is instead the oldest form of the Easter celebration,” with the custom of observing Easter on a Sunday being “a considerably later development. . . not adopted at Rome until about 165” — about a decade *after* the death of Polycarp, and near the end of Anicetus' service as Bishop of Rome in 167; Paul F. Bradshaw, “The Origins of Easter,” in Bradshaw and Lawrence A. Hoffman, eds., *Passover and Easter: Origin and History to Modern Times*, Two Liturgical Traditions, vol. 5 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999), 82.

The first Council of Nicaea, meeting in the year 325, addressed itself to regularizing the date for keeping Easter (among other, more pressing issues). The council determined that the church in Alexandria would be responsible annually for informing the rest of the Christian world when the date of Easter would be. Although Quartodecimanism persisted (and would be successively condemned at Antioch in 341, at Laodicaea in 364 and again at Constantinople in 364), the greater part of the church had agreed in principle to abide by the Alexandrian dating.⁴² Still, this agreement was regularly breached, with Rome and Alexandria each maintaining its own method or *computus* for calculating the date of Easter. Both local churches, however, were conscious of a basic principle: “Easter Sunday, the anniversary of the Resurrection, was to be celebrated on the first Sunday which came after the 14th day of the paschal moon (the days being counted from the appearance of the new moon). The paschal moon was the first whose 14th day fell on or after the vernal equinox [the first day of Spring].”⁴³ The difference between the two patriarchal sees stemmed from their dating of the equinox: Alexandrian astronomical observations placed it on March 21, while Roman tradition associated it with March 25 — which came to be observed as the Feast of the Annunciation and also was held to be the traditional date for the crucifixion.

Pope John I, during his tenure as Bishop of Rome (523-526), enlisted the services of one Dionysius Exiguus, abbot of Sycthia, to provide a more accurate means for calculating the date of Easter. His methodology would be used to determine the date of the paschal feast up until the time of the Protestant Reformation. The Dionysian “canon,” or rule, was founded on an historical fact — the record of a new moon on March 23, 323 — and on a wrong assumption — that the vernal equinox occurred that year on the very same day.⁴⁴ In spite of this error, Dionysius correctly created a system for calculating the date of Easter based on the observation of the equinox on March 21. This approach was embraced by the Roman church and was used wherever Roman influence was felt.

Among the Christians who did *not* feel Roman influence during this period were the more independent Celts of Northumbria, who maintained the pre-Dionysian Roman calculation of the date of Easter (assuming the vernal equinox to fall on March 25). According to the Venerable Bede’s account in the *Ecclesiastical History*, while the English Christians — those in the south of Britain,

42 E. G. Richards, *Mapping Time: The Calendar and its History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 348-349.

43 Ibid., 349.

44 Ibid., 350.

who most frequently had contact with Roman customs by way of Gaul — were adopting the Dionysian *computus*, Celtic Christians in the north clung to the old tradition as they had received it from early missionaries.⁴⁵ This gave rise to a dispute between the two groups, in which the orthodoxy of the Celts was called into question by the English. While both bodies were in agreement that Easter was to be celebrated on the first Lord's Day following the first full moon after the Vernal Equinox, determining when that equinox fell sometimes resulted in a difference of date — usually a discrepancy of one week in every seventh year. Bede describes the impact of this difference as it was felt in the household of the Northumbrian King Oswy and Queen Eanflaed:

Queen Eanflaed and her people. . . observed [Easter] as she had seen it done in Kent, having with her a Kentish priest named Romanus who followed the catholic [universal] observance. Hence it is said that in these days it sometimes happened that Easter was celebrated twice in the same year, so that the king had finished the [Lenten] fast and was keeping Easter Sunday, while the queen and her people were still in Lent and observing Palm Sunday.⁴⁶

In Bede's mind, this situation was intolerable — not simply the situation of a divided Northumbrian royal household, but that of division among Christians in the same land. "The dating of Easter was. . . the point of origin for the whole liturgical calendar, the moment of resurrection when heaven breaks into earth and time crosses with eternity, and was thus directly linked to the observance of the central feast of the Christian year."⁴⁷ So although the political matter of national unity was certainly a factor in the dispute, the ecclesiological issue — the unity of the people of God in celebrating the resurrection of the Son of God — was, for Bede at least, at the fore.

To resolve the discrepancy King Oswy convoked a Synod at the double monastery headed by the abbess Hilda at Streanaeshalch (generally

45 Celtic Christians in Galicia had adopted the Roman calculation for the date of Easter at the Council of Toledo in 633; southern Ireland followed suit in 636; see Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, tr. and rev. William Storey and Niels Rasmussen (Portland: Pastoral Press, 1986), 280.

46 EH III.25, I53. For a technically detailed analysis of the Celtic Easter cycle and its computation as based on the Padua Biblioteca Antoniana ms I.27, see Daniel McCarthy, "Easter Principles and a Fifth-Century Lunar Cycle Used in the British Isles," *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 24 (1993), 204-224.

47 Wright, *Companion*, 8.

accepted as the place later known as Whitby) in the year 664.⁴⁸ Anglican solitary Benedicta Ward, SLG, sets the scene for the Synod, observing that

[t]his meeting has been presented often enough as a clash between two kinds of Christianity, as an antagonism that was continual and deep. This has led to the view that there was an irreconcilable difference between Irish and Roman missionaries, finally culminating in a clash between charismatic simplicity and legal power about the date of Easter. But it was in no way an anti-Irish, pro-Roman tussle. That was the view of churchmen in the nineteenth century concerned with their own problems about English-Roman church differences, and not of seventh-century Northumbria. It is a misconception which is now creating the fantasy of a “Celtic spirituality”. . . . Concern for the Easter date. . . was not seen by the participants as a quarrel between different styles of Christianity, institutional Roman and free-spirited Celt; both were concerned with the same problem and went about solving it in the same way. What united them was far more profound than what divided them.⁴⁹

In support of her argument, Ward detangles from Bede’s sometimes perplexing narrative the lines of relationship among the major characters involved in the Synod, showing that “almost everyone at Whitby had close and friendly contact with both Roman and Irish missionaries; it was not a clash of opposites, but an argument between friends. . . . [N]o-one was judged as Roman, English or Irish; such divisions were not appropriate. Roman missionaries, Anglo-Saxons and Irish were *all in their conduct as Christians* praised for some things and not admired for others.”⁵⁰ Such was the unitive spirit behind King Oswy’s purported remarks at the opening of the Synod: Bede notes that Oswy considered it “fitting that those who served one God should observe one rule of life and not differ in the celebration of the heavenly sacraments, seeing that they all hoped for one kingdom in heaven. . . .”⁵¹

48 On the location of the Synod, see P. S. Barnwell, L. A. S. Butler and C. J. Dunn, “The Confusion of Conversion: Streanaeshalch, Strensall and Whitby and the Northumbrian Church,” in Martin Carver, ed., *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, A.D. 300-1300* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell, 2006), 311-326.

49 Benedicta Ward, *A True Easter: The Synod of Whitby 664 AD* (Oxford: SLG Press/Fairacres Publications, 2007), 4-5.

50 Ibid., 10; emphasis added.

51 EH III.25, 154.

Although all were servants of the same God, with the same hope for the same heaven, what was at stake for all was their understanding of what it meant to be the church, gathered together in the present, celebrating the Great Feast from which all others flow. Yet for the Celts as well as for the Romans, adherence to received tradition (respectively speaking) was paramount. Thus the Celtic Bishop Colman insisted that “[t]he method of keeping Easter which I observe, I received from my superiors who sent me here as bishop; it was in this way that all our fathers, men beloved of God, are known to have celebrated it.”⁵² The pro-Roman Bishop Wilfrid likewise stated, “The Easter we keep is the same as we have seen universally celebrated in Rome, where the apostles St Peter and St Paul lived, taught, suffered and were buried.”⁵³ Although both bishops appeal to beloved tradition, the appeal to the apostolic tradition that Rome represented would prove to be the more convincing. (A fascinating moment in the debate arose, however, when Colman made appeal to the tradition of the apostle John⁵⁴ — fascinating because that tradition was likely the Quartodeciman practice described by Polycarp in his exchange with Pope Anicetus and recorded in Eusebius’ *History of the Church*.)⁵⁵ During a refutation by Wilfrid the precise details of the differences between the old Celtic and Roman Easter dating became clear, the key point being that when the first Sunday after the first full moon after the Vernal Equinox coincided with Passover (14 Nisan), Rome postponed the Easter feast, whereas the Celts did not.⁵⁶ This resulted in the one-week difference in dating, occurring once every seven years, that had created visible disunity in the Northumbrian royal household of Eanflaed and Oswy.

In the end, it was appeal to Matthew 16:18-19 — on which Rome staked its claim for the ongoing authority of St Peter — that swayed King Oswy and settled the dispute in favor of the Roman calendrical custom. For Bede, this was

the fulfillment of Pope Gregory’s mission to England, the pledge of unity for the nation based upon a common liturgy, the promise that diversity will be checked by centripetal motion and the certainty that henceforth the Church in England will soon be united in a common observance of a common date for celebration of the most important Christian feast, visibly and sacramentally linked by its episcopal structure in communion

⁵² Ibid., 155.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 155-156.

⁵⁵ See above, page 23

⁵⁶ Ibid., 156-157; see Ward, I-2.

with the wider church.⁵⁷

While this remains quite true of Bede, the anti-Catholic sentiment of Presbyterians and evangelical Anglicans in Scotland and northern England during the nineteenth century led some to view the Synod of Whitby as a devastating triumph for Roman Christianity over native Celtic Christianity — certainly not the “argument between friends” that Benedicta Ward suggests. Sadly, projection of such post-Reformation concerns into a seventh-century Northumbrian dispute has too long obscured the chief result of the Synod of Whitby: the unity in keeping the paschal feast which it fostered.

Following their southern Irish and Galician counterparts, Northumbrian Celts adopted the Roman calculation for the date of Easter — and gradually other Roman liturgical customs as well.⁵⁸ Still, traces of their own liturgical practices persisted well past the mid-seventh century. The *Bangor Antiphonary* of that century, and the ninth-century *Book of Deer* and *Stowe Missal*, all highlight the Gallican Rite roots of Celtic liturgical customs. Strong affinities in these books with the Hispano-Mozarabic Rite are also evident, as are traces of Syrian liturgical formulae, resulting in “a *mélange* of foreign elements...”⁵⁹ Above all, though, it was the prepotent Roman Liturgy (which itself was shaped and reshaped over time by Gallican and Germanic influences), together with Celtic and Anglo-Saxon liturgical customs,⁶⁰ that would form the fertile soil from which the liturgy of the Sarum Use eventually would grow.

⁵⁷ Wright, *Companion*, 79–80.

⁵⁸ See above, page 25, note 45. The Synod of Birr in 696 saw the northern Irish adoption of the Roman date. Celts in Wales held on to the older dating until the mid-eighth century, and those in Devon and Cornwall until the tenth; see Vogel, 280.

⁵⁹ D. M. Hope, “The Medieval Western Rites,” rev. Graham Woolfenden, in Cheslyn Jones, et al., eds., *The Study of Liturgy*, revised edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 274; see also Bouyer, 319; McNeill, 131.

⁶⁰ These included especially “the abundant use of candles, around the altar on high candlesticks [though not, generally, on the altar itself], over the altar or presbytery on a large, multi-rung corona [or trendle], and portable candles carried by all...”; Philip Baxter, *Sarum Use: The Ancient Customs of Salisbury* (Reading, Berkshire, UK: Spire Books, 2008), 16.

LIFE AND LITURGY AT SALISBURY CATHEDRAL



*Presbyter, in Christi mensa quid agis, bene pensa.
 Aut tibi vita datur, aut mors aeterna paratur.
 Dum candela luit se destruit officiando;
 Presbyter ita ruit, si sit reus, celebrando.
 Mors tua, mors Christi, fraus mundi, gloria coeli,
 Et dolor inferni, sunt memoranda tibi.*

What thou doest at Christ's table,
 Presbyter, think well;
 Life eternal is prepared
 There for thee, or hell.

As the sacred taper burning
 Dwindles in its size,
 So the presbyter, if guilty
 Celebrating, dies.

Think of these — the death of Jesus,
 Thine own death as well,
 Earth's deceptions, heaven's glories,
 And the pains of hell.¹

The popular idea that the medieval mind was obsessed with sin, death and hell receives perhaps unfortunate support from the rather famous six-line Latin poem that appears as part of the priest-celebrant's thanksgiving or "Prayers after Mass" in a 1526 printing of the Sarum Missal. There the priest is admonished — after the fact — to meditate on the everlasting rewards that flow from a worthy celebration of the mass, and on the eternal punishments

¹ *The Sarum Missal in English* (hereafter SM), Part I and Part II, tr. Frederick E. Warren; Alcuin Club Collections XI (London: Mowbray, 1913), 62.

that await those who would engage in such a sacred work while distracted or sullied by sin. Understood in terms of offering a propitiatory sacrifice for the salvation of souls both living and dead, the priest-celebrant's role at mass was never to be taken lightly — least of all in a place like Salisbury Cathedral, where many masses were offered for many needs by many priests at many altars each day. Such a routine necessarily produces familiarity; and since familiarity runs the risk of breeding indifference (if not contempt), the Missal's poetic reminder was perhaps necessary: never should the priest have approached the sacred mysteries unreconciled with God or neighbor; always was the priest to be conscious of what he was doing, and to understand the great burden placed upon him by celebrating the sacrifice of the mass. The grave nature of the message conveyed in this brief text was in no way trivialized but only heightened by its rhyming, almost sighing form.

And yet neither life nor liturgy at Salisbury Cathedral were particularly penitential, much less morose. Solemn, perhaps, is the best description, a quality in no way at odds with the rich and often festive experience of worship suggested by the evidences that remain of the Sarum Use. Filled with color, sound and motion,

[t]he elaborate splendour of Sarum ceremonial, as carried out in the cathedral church in the centuries immediately preceding the Reformation, contrasted vividly with the comparative simplicity of the practice of the Roman Church. Three, five or even seven deacons and [an equal number of] subdeacons, two or more thurifers, and three crucifers figured on solemnities; while two or four priests in copes (“rectores chori”) acted as cantors. There was the censuring of many altars, and even during the lessons at matins vested priests offered incense at the high altar. Processions were frequent, and those before High Mass on Sundays were especially magnificent. On the altar itself there were rarely more than two lights, but on feasts there were many others, either standing on the ground, or suspended from the roof.²

On the major feasts of the liturgical year, the liturgy of Salisbury Cathedral presented nothing less than a dramatic delight to both spirit and senses. This magnificent worship was the product of much trial and error, practice and development, and was set within the life of a cathedral community with roots extending back into the eighth century.

2 Archdale A. King, *Liturgies of the Past* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1959), 316.

The Foundations of the Sarum Use

The liturgical practices that became characteristic of Salisbury Cathedral — and from there spread in influence to many English cathedrals, as well as to places on the European continent — were part of a larger system of common life, organization and administration, the elements of which were collectively called the “Sarum Use.” Philip Baxter traces the origins of this system to the subdivision of the Wessex Diocese of Winchester in 705, with Sherborne becoming the new see, or bishopric, for the counties of Wiltshire, Dorset, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall.³ Beginning with the leadership of Bishop Aldhelm (c. 639-709), a small community of secular (diocesan, as opposed to monastic) clergy developed at Sherborne to serve the cathedral or mother church of the southwestern Saxons and Celts, gaining notoriety for both their scholarship and their worship. The latter was a conglomeration of influences drawn from established local liturgical traditions as well as from the diverse experiences of the clergy who came to be in residence at the cathedral. Wiltshire County was served as part of the Sherborne Diocese until it was united with Berkshire County to form another diocese in 909, with the new see located at Ramsbury.

Around the turn of the millennium, vowed religious life throughout Europe and in England gained a new vigor, and among the places it took root was Sherborne. The cathedral community of clergy there became a monastic house in 999, adding to its already developed repertoire the liturgical and communal customs of a monastery.⁴ In 1045, a certain Herman, former chaplain to King Edward the Confessor, was appointed its bishop. By contrast, Ramsbury lacked any sort of community organization or royal connection to support its life and ministry, and so never attained the notoriety of its sister church at Sherborne. The two dioceses were recombined by King Edward, with Herman becoming bishop at Sherborne in 1058.⁵

The Norman Conquest of 1066 seems not to have upset life at Sherborne. In 1075, however, the Council of London presided over by King William the Conqueror ordered that diocesan centers be located in fortified towns. Bishop Herman and the cathedral community would be relocated to a site just outside the fortified hill town of Sarisburg — known today as Old Sarum.

3 Philip Baxter, *Sarum Use: The Ancient Customs of Salisbury* (Reading, Berkshire, UK: Spire Books, 2008), 16.

4 Walter Howard Frere, CR, *The Use of Sarum: I. The Sarum Customs as set forth in the Con-suetudinary and Customary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898), xiii.

5 Baxter, 17.

Herman remained as bishop and moved into Old Sarum with his archdeacons to build a cathedral, probably on the site of a Saxon manorial church, dedicating it to the Blessed Virgin Mary, as was Sherborne. Almost certainly, as former monks at Sherborne, they would have started a monastic community at Old Sarum. . . . It is also fairly certain that they brought with them their liturgical books and practices, thus giving continuity to the long heritage of Celtic-Saxon customs.⁶

Herman is thus recognized as the first bishop of the Diocese of Salisbury. During the two brief years of his episcopate there, work began on the first cathedral, a Romanesque structure the foundations of which are still partially visible today.

Upon Herman's death in 1077, King William appointed Osmund, one of his own kinsmen, as the second bishop of Sarisburg. William had established his principal home in England at Clarendon Palace, the former hunting lodge of the Saxon kings, about three miles away from Old Sarum. Osmund, who had already served William as an administrator in Normandy and as Chancellor of England, would be "not only a bishop, but [the king's] personal confessor and adviser."⁷ Osmund continued construction on the cathedral begun under Herman, meanwhile refashioning community life at Old Sarum. The monastic establishment gave way to a chapter of secular canons,⁸ supported by largely by prebends⁹ from lands and income donated by the new bishop himself. Osmund drew up a Constitution for the governance and management of the community, establishing a dean for the administration of the cathedral and three archdeacons for the diocese. "Uniquely in cathedral constitutions, Osmund appointed himself a canon amongst canons. . . . He

⁶ Ibid., 19.

⁷ Ibid., 20.

⁸ Secular canons are clergy whose ministry is exercised in close association with a bishop. Like monks gathered around an abbot, canons in the eleventh century lived in community, participating in the daily liturgical life of the cathedral and benefiting from a common table and dispensary. Unlike either monks or canons regular (canons who lived under a religious rule of life), secular canons were not bound by vows of poverty or stability: they were thus free to earn a living (usually by way of an established prebend) and could come and go as their outside duties demanded.

⁹ A prebend is the income derived from a particular ministry, such as the pastorate of a parish, or from an endowment or other investment, such as might be had from the agricultural use of a parcel of land.

thus sat as a full member of the chapter over which he also presided.”¹⁰

Among his achievements at Old Sarum, Osmund was responsible for organizing the Council of Sarum in 1086, at which the Domesday report was received by William the Conqueror. During William’s reign Osmund would receive royal approval for his Constitution (1091) and complete the construction of the first cathedral at Old Sarum. Consecration of the grand Romanesque edifice was celebrated on April 5, 1092. In keeping with the architecture of the day, the *cathedra*, or bishop’s chair, was set in the easternmost apse of the building, facing the choir and nave over the freestanding altar. From a beam above the altar was hung a pyx, a small cylindrical or dove-shaped container, likely veiled, in which the sacrament was reserved.¹¹ “In front of the altar hung a corona or chandelier of candles.”¹² The canons’ choir was separated from the nave by a high screen, with walls on the north and south sides. “The point was that the religious community was blatantly a class apart from the townspeople. . . . Theirs was to attend, not to participate.”¹³ Osmund’s episcopacy lasted a little over twenty-one years, in which the legal, canonical and structural foundations of Old Sarum were made firm. His burial in the cathedral on December 4, 1099 was almost immediately followed by efforts for the recognition of his sainthood.¹⁴

Eight years passed between Osmund’s death and the appointment of a successor. During that time the cathedral at Old Sarum suffered a partial collapse after a lightning strike, as well as deterioration from inattention to the fabric of the plant. In 1107, Roger of Caen was consecrated third bishop of Sarisburg, and would serve King Henry I (reigned 1100-1135) as Chancellor and Chief Justiciar as well.¹⁵ Roger’s civil responsibilities kept him away from his chapter and cathedral for much of the time, but this proved only to benefit the chapter in the long run: the position of the cathedral’s dean was strengthened, and other leadership roles were established in the posts of precentor (music director), chancellor (business director and educator), and treasurer. Roger maintained the practice established by Osmund, whereby the

10 Baxter, 24.

11 On the suspended pyx in English churches, see W. A. Freestone, *The Sacrament Reserved: A Survey of the Practice of Reserving the Eucharist, with Special Reference to the Communion of the Sick, During the First Twelve Centuries*, Alcuin Club Collections XXI (London: Mowbray, 1917), 195-198; see also Stephen N. Fliegel, *Resplendent Faith: Liturgical Treasures of the Middle Ages* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2009), 28-32.

12 Baxter, 24.

13 Ibid., 24-25.

14 Ibid., 25.

15 Ibid.

bishop sat in chapter as a canon, but no-longer would he serve as president. “This arrangement was not necessary at other cathedrals, and was not widely followed, but it was virtually essential at Sarum where the cathedral had to proceed independently of its regal and stately bishop.”¹⁶

In spite of his frequent absences, Roger was able to initiate and complete a program for the restoration and renovation of the cathedral. The choir was doubled in length and the bishop’s *cathedra* was moved out near the choir. While the high altar in the choir likely remained freestanding, celebration of the eucharist would now be oriented — eastward-facing, with the celebrant standing at the head of the assembled community and all facing the same direction. Small chapels were added behind the high altar and an ambulatory or walkway was constructed on all sides of the canons’ choir. A chapter house was also built, so that business affairs could be conducted outside the cathedral church proper.¹⁷ The foundations of the chapter house remain visible today, just beyond those of the cathedral’s north transept.

Roger’s monumentalizing ministry as bishop of Old Sarum lasted for thirty-two years before falling victim to the civil war that raged between Empress Maud and King Stephen following the death of Henry I in 1135. The bishop’s waffling support between both contenders for the crown won him no favor with the successful Stephen, who had Roger deposed from his religious and civil offices and imprisoned. “He died a destitute and broken man four years later in 1139. It was a sad end for such a notable and talented, if ambitious and worldly, bishop-baron.”¹⁸

Jocelin de Bohun followed Roger as of Bishop of Sarisburg. Stephen’s distrust of career ecclesiastics effectively liberated Jocelin from civic duties, so the bishop was able to devote himself fully to his ministry. During his time, the roles of sub-dean, succentor (sub-precentor), sub-chancellor and sub-treasurer were established as the chapter continued to grow. Jocelin therefore took responsibility for making an attempt at codifying certain aspects of the Sarum Use. “The matured prebendal arrangements, along with precedents of other customs were probably written, along with his own management ideas, by Jocelin into an *Institutio*, once believed to have been originated by Osmund.”¹⁹ Jocelin is perhaps most remembered for siding with Stephen’s successor, Henry II, against Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, in a controversy over the application of civil justice to clergy. Becket had refused

16 Ibid., 28.

17 Ibid., 28-29.

18 Ibid., 29.

19 Ibid., 31.

to sign the Constitutions of Clarendon of 1164 that would have extended the King's authority in the ecclesiastical courts, and excommunicated Henry and Jocelin both.²⁰ Shortly after Christmas in 1170 Becket was martyred in Canterbury Cathedral at the hands of Henry's zealots; following Becket's canonization three years later, the repentant Jocelin dedicated an altar to the new martyr-saint in Sarisburg Cathedral.

Hubert Walter became bishop in 1189, but served only three years before being appointed Archbishop of Canterbury. He was followed in office at Sarisburg by Herbert Poore, who in 1197 appointed his own brother, Richard, as dean of the cathedral.²¹ Together the Poore brothers opened considerations on moving the cathedral community and re-writing the constitution and customs of the cathedral. Plans for relocation were tabled when Richard was named Bishop of Chichester in 1215, but it seems that before this move, he was able to complete work on a new *Institutio*, or constitution, loosely based on Jocelin's original. He also made his own contribution, codifying the practical operational details and liturgical customs of the Sarum Use in two volumes, the *Consuetudinarium* and the *Ordinale*.

The Building of New Sarum

Richard's episcopal ministry at Chichester was cut short by the death of his brother Herbert in 1217. Richard returned to Sarisburg to assume the office of bishop there. Reviving his late brother's earlier plans, Richard initiated the work of moving the cathedral and its community. One of the canons, Elias de Derham, who had played a key role on behalf of the Archbishop of Canterbury in negotiating *Magna Carta*, was chosen as chief architect.²² Richard and Elias together in 1219 laid out the grid of the new town of Salisbury on land in the parish of Saint Martin, not too distant from Old Sarum.

Canons' lodgings were build around the square of the [cathedral] Close, outside which was also begun the chequered plan of houses, inns and shops serviced by a grid of streets and river-fed drainage channels. The bishop, dean and chapter controlled the whole comprehensive plan, realised, of course, on their own prebendal land. Thus it was that the bishop's judicial powers covered the civil city as well as the cathedral.²³

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid., 33.

22 Ibid., 36.

23 Ibid., 36-38.

Although construction of the cathedral would take nearly forty years, Richard Poore's dedicated service as dean and then as bishop truly laid the foundations upon which New Sarum would stand and the Sarum Use would flourish.

Richard's ministry at Sarisburg was not entirely administrative or architectural. He showed great pastoral felicity especially for children, ordering his clergy to preach regularly on the dangers of leaving small children home alone,²⁴ providing for their catechetical instruction and endowing teachers so as to relieve parents from the often impossible expense of education.²⁵ But Richard's skills would be needed elsewhere, and in 1228 he was translated from Sarisburg to the Diocese of Durham. He died in that office in the year 1237.

During the successive episcopacies of Robert Bingham (1229-1246) and William de York (1246-1256), assessments were made on the prebendial incomes of the canons to ensure that construction continued apace on the grand gothic edifice of the cathedral.²⁶ Taller and lighter than its immediate Romanesque predecessor, the rising thirteenth-century structure was a marvel to behold. As cathedral and town neared completion, King Henry III enlisted Elias de Derham to renovate and expand nearby Clarendon Palace. Although labor on the cathedral's crossing tower and spire would not begin until 1285 (nor be complete until 1320), the church itself was ready for consecration by 1258, during the ministry of Giles de Bridport as Sarisburg's bishop.

The building, at one and the same time, of a new cathedral, a new town and a royal palace, all within a couple of miles, must have constituted the most prestigious triple building project the country had ever seen. There is little wonder that Sarum became so widely known and respected, that many bishops came to the consecration, that many pilgrims visited, that many scholars sought a place here, and that constitutional and liturgical customs spread through the medium of these visits.²⁷

24 J. R. H. Moorman, *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century*, revised edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), 81-82.

25 Ibid., 105.

26 William Henry Jones, *Salisbury* (London: SPCK, 1880), 94.

27 Baxter, 38.

Setting the Sarum Use Apart

The Sarum Use was shaped over the centuries within the context of ecclesiastical life in the community of canons who served the two cathedrals at Old and New Sarum. As a whole, the use was distinguished not only for its liturgy, but also for the organization and administration of Salisbury Cathedral and its chapter of canons. Both aspects (worship and governance) came to exert widespread influence throughout ecclesiastical England; their emulation was due in part to the regular influx of pilgrims to the cathedral (including many bishops); in part to the occasional transfer or promotion of canons to various ministries in other dioceses;²⁸ and in part to the successful work of the cathedral's scriptorium that made copies of Sarum's books of prayers and customs, rules and regulations relatively available for those who looked to Salisbury for a model. Of the documents and books that governed the life of the chapter, mention has already been made of the *Institutio* and the *Consuetudinarium*. The former, the governing constitution, originated with Bishop Jocelin de Bohun, but how much of his original work survived after Richard Poore's revision during his tenure as dean is open to speculation. The *Consuetudinarium* was part expansion of and commentary on the *Institutio*, and part record of liturgical customs and observances at Salisbury.²⁹ This volume, in turn, was the basis for the *Customal*, a shorter book outlining the most important liturgical rubrics — ceremonial directives and notes. The *Ordinal* was a handbook of liturgical cues and directions for the performance of the rubrics, while the *Pica* or *Pie* gave similar instructions but with an eye to the liturgical calendar and the proper matching of prayer texts and chants to specific feasts. Eventually the *Pica* or *Pie* and the *Ordinal* were bound together in a single volume, the *Directorium*.

Just as a variety of books regulated the liturgy at Salisbury Cathedral, so a number of books were used during the celebration of the liturgy itself. The Missal (eventually an omnibus book of prayer, chant and lesson texts for the priest-celebrant), the Book of Epistles and the Book of Gospels were the most visible, being used in the service at the altar; but the choir books of chant — the *Graduale* for the psalm between the lessons, the *Kyriale* with the chanted service music, the *Troper* that provided lyrical expansions of the texts in the *Kyriale*, and the *Sequencer* for the long poetic hymns before the Gospel — were necessities as well. Separate books of psalms and antiphons, lessons,

²⁸ One example of where influence from the Sarum Use seems to have extended through the transfer of clergy was Saint Paul's Cathedral, London; see Jones, 138-140.

²⁹ Frere, xxi.

legends and collects were used during the various services of the Daily Office. And one must not forget the *Processionale*, the book that provided detailed instructions for the organization of the many splendid processions that took place before services on the major Sundays and feasts of the year.³⁰ Eventually the Missal grew, bringing many of the liturgical texts for the mass from these disparate books together with ceremonial and calendrical directives from the *Customal* and *Directorium*. The *Portiforium* or Breviary would accomplish the same for the Daily Office.

“The liturgy’s ceremonial side is a necessity, so that the liturgical rites can take place in absolute peace and communicate a sense of sacredness to the faithful.”³¹ In the Sarum Use, such ceremonial aspects (being the richest, most varied and most apparent dimensions of life at Salisbury Cathedral) attracted immediate attention from pilgrims and other visitors. Indeed, for centuries the bishops of Salisbury held the honorific title of “Papal Master of Ceremonies,”³² as the Sarum Use was widely recognized and often imitated for the excellence of its worship — apparently even in Rome. Such recognition was the result of careful attention to various details governed and regulated by the many books of the Sarum Use, especially regarding the management of the liturgical kalendar, the use of color in the liturgy and the imaginative ceremonies that were often employed on feast days. Each of these deserves consideration in turn.

Kalendar

The kalendar of the Sarum Use, marking the rhythm of fasts and feasts throughout the liturgical year, was unique in its terminology for the classifications of feasts, though the priority and actual degree of solemnity assigned for most days overlapped with the other English uses. Major feasts were called “doubles,” on account of the double repetition of the antiphons sung before and after the psalms during the Daily Office. Doubles were further subdivided into four categories (principal, greater, lesser and inferior), based on the number of lessons and responsories employed in the Office of Matins. A “simple” festival had only a single singing of the antiphon before and after the psalms and canticles in the Offices. The Sundays of the church year were subdivided like the double feasts, according to the season in which

30 See Christopher Wordsworth, ed., *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1901).

31 Fliegel, 13.

32 Baxter, 44.

they fell. A number of the feast days on the Sarum Kalendar commemorated the lives of local saints; other feasts that came to be universal (such as Trinity Sunday) were often observed at Salisbury long before being absorbed into the kalendars of other English dioceses, or even that of Rome.³³

Color

Closely related to the kalendar was the utilization of color in liturgical vesture. The sequencing of color throughout the year in the Middle Ages was not as fixed a matter as it is today, and what was specified for a season or feast day frequently varied from place to place. Further, the resources of Salisbury Cathedral itself were significantly greater than those of the surrounding parishes and other places under the influence of the Sarum Use, so variations in color schemes were common and accepted. The principal rule regarding vesture was the greater the feast, the finer the vestment used. “Generally, for the principal feasts, it appears that the best vestments were worn, whatever their color was. Many churches only owned two sets of vestments: red or white or cloth-of-gold for all festivals and some non-penitential days, and green or blue or brown or grey for ferias and/or penitential use.”³⁴ Likewise, at Salisbury Cathedral itself (the surviving inventories of which indicate an extensive range of vestment colors), “[p]rincipal double feasts, being the great high days, were accorded the finest and most precious, jewel-encrusted vestments. . . for which the precise colour was of secondary importance.”³⁵

Evidences for the assignment of specific colors to feasts or seasons at Salisbury Cathedral come from the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries, and again from the fourteenth century. The earlier data is incomplete — lacking, for example, any specific mention of Advent — and indicates a simple scheme alternating between white and red vestments throughout the year.³⁶ By the fourteenth century, however, a variety of colors had come to be identified with particular days and seasons, the most notable perhaps being the use of white throughout the fifty-day season of Easter (even when an intervening feast, such as that of a martyr, might suggest a different color) and

33 Ibid., 64; see also *The Liturgy of the Church of Sarum: Together with the Kalendar of the Same Church*, tr. Charles Walker (London: J. T. Hayes, 1866), 12-13 and 31-32.

34 J. Robert Wright, “The Sarum Use,” unpublished lecture manuscript (Miller Theatre, Columbia University, New York, NY; January 6, 2002), 6; <http://anglicanhistory.org/essays/wright/sarum.pdf> (accessed July 24, 2010).

35 Baxter, 65.

36 J. Barrington Bates, “Am I Blue? Some Historical Evidence for Liturgical Colors,” *Studia Liturgica* 33 (2003), 80.

on feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary throughout the year. Red was the most common color by far, used on the Sundays during Advent, Lent and after Trinity Sunday.³⁷ Red was also used on the Sunday of Pentecost, the feasts of martyrs, on Ash Wednesday and during all of Passiontide (the last two weeks of Lent, including both Maundy Thursday and Good Friday). Green was the appointed shade for the Sundays after Epiphany, and frequently appeared on ordinary (non-festival) weekdays outside of Lent and the Easter Season; but blue, brown, or grey were also known on these days. Saffron, or yellow, was used on the feasts of “confessors” — saints who were not also martyrs. Lenten weekdays (and perhaps Sundays in some places) saw the use of unbleached linen or sackcloth, which ranged from a pale cream shade to brown: “tawny” or “ashen” (and occasionally violet) are the terms that appear for these days in some calendars.³⁸ Black was reserved for the burial offices and masses for the dead.³⁹ Finally, some festal days (such as All Saints’ Day) may have been marked by the combinations of colors, with the priest-celebrant wearing vestments of one color and the deacons and subdeacons wearing others.

Ceremonies of the Liturgical Year

Throughout the liturgical year a number of particular ceremonies aided the canons and lay folk of Salisbury Cathedral in marking the passage of time. On most Sundays and many feast days elaborate processions wound their way around the cathedral interior and occasionally its exterior as well.⁴⁰ “The normal processional route at New Sarum led from the presbytery step through the north quire door into the north quire aisle, clockwise round the east end, down the south quire aisle and, in summer, round the cloister, or down the south nave aisle, round the west-end font and up the centre of the nave.”⁴¹ Often led by multiple vergers, triple clerks with crosses and double thurifers, these processions preceded the celebration of the mass, filling the cathedral with motion, incense smoke and the singing of litanies. The people and “[a]ll chapel altars were sprinkled [with holy water] as the celebrant passed nearby, and a station was made before the St Cross altar before the rood screen. At this

³⁷ Ibid; see also Baxter, 65; *The Sarum Missal Done into English*, second, revised edition, tr. A. Harford Pearson (London: Church Printing Company, 1884), xx.

³⁸ See *The Sarum Missal*, tr. Pearson, xx.

³⁹ Bates, 81.

⁴⁰ Terence Bailey, *The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church* (Toronto: Pontifical Medieval Institute, 2007), 12.

⁴¹ Baxter, 71.

point, the celebrant turned to the people and, in the only vernacular of the service, read the bidding prayer, another Sarum peculiarity.”⁴² Of particular note was the procession for Palm Sunday, which led out of the cathedral and into the town. During this procession deacons carried a *feretrum*, a sort of ark or casket in which was placed a consecrated host suspended in a pyx, and relics of the saints.⁴³ This procession was first described by Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury in the late eleventh century and persisted up until the early sixteenth,⁴⁴ undoubtedly growing more elaborate with each passing year.

Liturgy at Salisbury Cathedral during all of Holy Week was intensely dramatic, the Palm Sunday procession being but the beginning of the rich ceremonies. On Wednesday, during the reading of the Passion from the gospel of Luke, the great veil of unbleached linen or sackcloth that had hung between the altar and the choir throughout the season of Lent was loosed from its windlass and allowed to drop when the words “the curtain of the temple was torn in two” (Luke 23:45b) were read. On Maundy Thursday morning, any penitents who had been temporarily excommunicated on Ash Wednesday were reconciled in a lengthy service. Unlike the Roman Pontifical, which reserved this rite to a bishop, at Sarum the rite apparently could be performed by a priest.⁴⁵ Three hosts were consecrated at mass on Maundy Thursday, with two being reserved for the following day. At the end of the mass, all the altars of the cathedral were stripped of their linens and washed with wine and water.⁴⁶ Then the canons entered the chapter house where the *maundy* or foot washing ceremony took place, accompanied by some of the richest chants of the church year. Then the “loving-cup” was shared among the canons as the Farewell Discourses from the gospel of John were read (John 13-17).⁴⁷

42 Ibid. For the text of the “Bidding of the Bedes” see Wordsworth, 22-32.

43 Bailey, 72; see SM I, 220.

44 Nathan Mitchell, *Cult and Controversy: The Worship of the Eucharist Outside Mass* (New York: Pueblo, 1982), 171; see also the detailed description and analysis by Thomas J. Talley, “The Entry into Jerusalem in Liturgical Tradition,” in J. Neil Alexander, ed., *With Ever Joyful Hearts: Essays on Liturgy and Music Honoring Marion J. Hatchett* (New York: Church Publishing, 1999), 215-217.

45 SM I, 238. Although editions of the Sarum Missal from the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries conserved a textual witness to the excommunication and reconciliation of penitents during Lent, from the twelfth century onward “this form of penance had lost most of its significance once private penance was introduced. It became so rare as to have no real place in the life of the Church, even if it did retain a place in liturgical books”; James Dallen, *The Reconciling Community: The Rite of Penance* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press/Pueblo, 1991), 123.

46 SM I, 245.

47 See *ibid.*, 250-251; also Baxter, 67; Wordsworth, 80.

The Good Friday office commemorating the Lord's Passion was celebrated in red mass vestments, except for the Veneration of the Cross, during which the outer vestments of the priest, deacon and subdeacon, and the shoes of the clergy and choir canons, were removed as a sign of humility and penitence.⁴⁸ One of the two hosts consecrated in the previous day's mass was consumed as the priest-celebrant's communion; the other was laid in a sepulcher with the cross until Easter Morning. This last custom was widespread in England, and in many churches surviving from the Middle Ages the aperture or shelf for the Easter Sepulcher remains a visible part of the architecture today.⁴⁹

The Great Paschal Vigil in the night of Holy Saturday or Easter Even was the richest and most complex celebration of the entire year. One of the most unique elements of the vigil was the singing of the hymn *Inventor Rutili* during the procession into the darkened cathedral.⁵⁰ Lanfranc's *Decretals* of 1070 reported that the hymn was "sung by two choirboys standing close to the bishop's throne as the procession made its way from the place where the new fire had been kindled and blessed; but the practice developed in which the singers themselves joined the procession and a chorus, formed of those participating, repeated the first verse of the hymn as a refrain between the singing of subsequent verses."⁵¹ Use of *Inventor Rutili* at the Paschal Vigil neither originated nor was confined to Salisbury alone; but whereas in some German and French Uses, it was employed at the very beginning of the Paschal Vigil during the procession of ministers to the place of the new fire, at Salisbury it was sung *after* the blessing of the fire during the procession of light into the church — taking the place of the triple *Lumen Christi* (Light of Christ) acclamation that became common elsewhere.

Easter morning saw the literally dramatic resurrection of the cross and host from the sepulcher, with canons and choristers singing in dialogue the parts of the myrrh-bearing women who went to the tomb after the Sabbath to anoint the body of Jesus. Festive chants and a grand procession then led into the celebration of the Easter Day eucharist. And whether it was on Easter

48 SM I, 259.

49 See Justin E. A. Kroesen, *The Sepulchrum Domini through the Ages: Its Form and Function*, Liturgia Conenda 10 (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 139-180.

50 For a more detailed consideration of this hymn and its place in the liturgy of the Easter Even Vigil, see Appendix I: *Inventor Rutili*, pages **153-160** below.

51 A. J. Macgregor, *Fire and Light in the Western Triduum: Their Use at Tenebrae and at the Paschal Vigil*, Alcuin Club Collections 71 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992), 279-281.

morning or on a simple weekday in the midsummer season “after Trinity,”⁵² it was the eucharist — the “holy sacrifice of the mass” — that stood at the heart of the cathedral’s liturgical and spiritual life.⁵³

52 Where most of the dioceses in England followed the Roman custom of counting the so-called “Ordinary” (meaning ordered or numbered — *not* plain or unimportant) Sundays of the year as “after Pentecost,” at Salisbury they were reckoned as “after Trinity”; see Baxter, 64.

53 This was true as much for the lay folk of Salisbury as it was for the canons and choristers who formed the Cathedral community. Limitations of space in this chapter and the next have curtailed a detailed consideration of lay piety vis-à-vis the liturgy of medieval Salisbury, though the most crucial points of interest are highlighted in the following pages. Suffice it to say that although lay participation (such as it is thought of today, in terms of involvement with liturgical ministries, vocal responses, congregational singing, etc.) was minimal, spiritual growth and devotion, purposefulness and a sense of community were all fostered and nurtured by the lay experience of the medieval liturgy.

THE MASS LITURGY IN THE SARUM USE



The solemn celebration of the mass was the centerpiece of liturgical life at Salisbury Cathedral; further, it was above all the eucharistic liturgy, “The Holy Communion” of the Book of Common Prayer, that the clergy of Christ Church, Bronxville, would eventually seek to enrich by incorporating elements from the Sarum Use. The two-volume English translation of *The Sarum Missal*¹ once belonging to the Rev. Morton C. Stone (Associate Rector at Bronxville, 1934-1956), and now in the archives of the parish, shows evidence of more than light perusal by its owner. Stone’s marginal notes highlight the features of Salisbury’s liturgy that came to be incorporated in what one author has termed the “Sarum Rite Bronxville-style.”² It is those elements, and other distinguishing characteristics from “the use of the distinguished and renowned Church of Salisbury”³ that are of interest here. Although not all of the rich peculiarities of the Sarum Use would prove to be either compatible with Prayer Book liturgy or pastorally useful for the Bronxville congregation, they illustrate what made Salisbury’s interpretive celebration of the Roman mass not only unique but highly-esteemed among the uses of the Western church.

What follows here is a hypothetical and synthetic description of the ceremonies of a solemn mass in Salisbury Cathedral, as it might have been celebrated on a principal feast day sometime in or after the second half of the fourteenth century. By this period “there appeared a fuller codification of the rubrics according to which services were to be conducted at Salisbury Cathedral. . . . The new rubrics are characterized by a great attention to, indeed an apparent fascination with, details of the tiniest sort.”⁴ Yet, while much of

1 *The Sarum Missal in English* (hereafter SM), Part I and Part II, tr. Frederick E. Warren; Alcuin Club Collections XI (London: Mowbray, 1913).

2 David T. Andrews, *Built Upon A Rock: The First 100 Years of Christ Church* (Bronxville: Christ Church, 2004), 62; note, however, the appellation of the term “rite” is inaccurate in this context.

3 See above, page 10, note 17.

4 Richard W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 412.

the surviving data for the mature form of the Sarum Use comes from this period, nonetheless the liturgical reconstruction is necessarily composite: it relies for its details on both on primary sources in Latin and English, and on secondary sources that are sometimes conflicting in their analyses. Difficulties in providing a descriptive reconstruction largely stem from the fact that the Sarum Use underwent a number of periods of rapid evolution, such that “even when a particular source describes something as being ‘according to the use of Sarum’. . . it only means Sarum Use as it was understood at a particular time and place and not as it was set down for all eternity in some one single source book to which every medieval English liturgical specialist had access.”⁵ The reconstructive task is further complicated by the lack of an accurate, contemporary English translation of the Sarum books based on critical editions of the surviving medieval Latin sources. The translations of the liturgy of the *Missale Sarisburiensis* that are most readily available today were produced between the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁶ Further, they are the work of Anglican liturgiologists who had an unscholarly, though understandable, predilection for inserting texts from the Book of Common Prayer into their translations where the medieval Latin was approximately, if not exactly, equivalent; that is, where the redactors of the Prayer Book borrowed more or less wholesale from the Sarum Missal. At points within some of these prayers, however, the English of the Prayer Book departed significantly from the Latin original, usually on account of the theological commitments of the Anglican Reformers.⁷ Unless otherwise noted, all quoted prayers have been newly translated for this volume from the text of the Order and Canon of the Mass of the *Missale Sarisburiensis* printed at Rouen in 1492, as reproduced in

5 J. Robert Wright, “The Sarum Use,” unpublished lecture manuscript (Miller Theatre, Columbia University, New York, NY; January 6, 2002), 4; <http://anglicanhistory.org/essays/wright/sarum.pdf> (accessed July 24, 2010).

6 Namely SM I and II; *Ordinary and Canon of the Mass: According to the Use of the Church of Sarum*, tr. John Theodore Dodd (London: Joseph Masters, 1872); *The Sarum Missal Done into English*, second, revised edition, tr. A. Harford Pearson (London: Church Printing Company, 1884); and *The Liturgy of the Church of Sarum: Together with the Kalendar of the Same Church*, tr. Charles Walker (London: J. T. Hayes, 1866). A decently literal translation — free from Prayer Book interjections but set in an uncharitably-biased, evangelically Protestant context — can be found in R. P. Blakeney, *The Book of Common Prayer in its History and Interpretation: With Special Reference to Existing Controversies* (London: James Miller, 1866), 394-404.

7 For example, the Collect for Purity as it was translated in the Book of Common Prayer was revised from the original to reflect the reformed understanding of justification by grace. The theologically contentious and much misunderstood word “merit,” which appeared in the Latin, was thus excised from the Prayer Book translation; compare the text of any English or American edition of the Prayer Book against the translation on page 48 below.

William Maskell's *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England*.⁸

Private Masses and the Community Mass

The primary liturgical responsibilities of the canons of Salisbury Cathedral were the recitation of the Daily Office and the celebration of the mass. Each of the ordained priests among the canons normally would have been expected to minister as celebrant for a *missa privata* on a daily basis. The notion of the “private mass” derives in part from this sort of quasi-individual practice, though the original meaning of the term seems to suggest a “deprived” mass — one with reduced ceremonial, not necessarily one celebrated by a priest alone without a congregation⁹ — as contrasted with the *missa sollemnis* — the solemn mass, which at Salisbury was the daily “conventual” or principal community mass at the main or high altar in the choir, attended by all the canons and choristers (including the ordained canons who had already celebrated). We know very little about the private masses at Sarum, other than that each priest would have served as celebrant once only each day, and each at a separate altar in a side-chapel, chantry or bay.¹⁰ Standard practice among communities of both monastics and secular canons in this period suggests that these masses were celebrated roughly between 6:00 a.m. and 9:00 a.m., that is, between the Daily Offices of Prime and Terce. They were likely celebrated near-simultaneously, perhaps only slightly staggered so that the consecration of the eucharistic elements at the various altars would not take place at precisely the same moment. And although of greatly diminished ceremony, these private masses would have been celebrated using the texts and rubrics of the Sarum Missal (with appropriate adaptations for the situation).

The solemn community mass usually took place immediately after the Office of Terce. On Sundays and major feast days, this mass likely would have been attended by a number of pilgrims as well as local lay folk (for whose participation special provisions were made, as noted below.) Often preceded

⁸ William Maskell, *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England: According to the Uses of Sarum, Bangor, York & Hereford and the Modern Roman Liturgy*, second edition (London: William Pickering, 1846), cliii.

⁹ See Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, tr. and rev. William Storey and Niels Rasmussen (Portland: Pastoral Press, 1986), 157. For a survey of alternate theories on the origin and development of the *missa privata* see Herman A. J. Wegman, *Christian Worship in East and West: A Study Guide to Liturgical History*, tr. Gordon W. Lathrop (New York: Pueblo, 1985), 192-194.

¹⁰ Philip Baxter, *Sarum Use: The Ancient Customs of Salisbury* (Reading, Berkshire, UK: Spire Books, 2008), 60.

by a grand procession, the daily community mass could take upwards of an hour and a half on a high-ranking festival.¹¹ On an average *feria*, or weekday, the duration of the liturgy would have been much abbreviated, as ceremonial elements would have been considerably fewer than those noted here.

The Preparation and Entrance of the Ministers

The *ordo missae* or order of mass in the Sarum Missal begins with the vesting of the sacred ministers. At some point during the singing of the Office of Terce, the priest-celebrant, deacon, subdeacon and other assistants would have gathered in the south choir aisle, which served as a sort of vesting sacristy. “While the quire [choir] clergy continued with Tierce, the altar party robed into their mass vestments. . . . The very audible Tierce office hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus* [Come, Creator Spirit] was therefore necessarily the preparation hymn for the celebrant and assistants.”¹² Although a few examples of the Sarum Missal appoint separate prayers to accompany the donning of each piece of vesture, in the greater number of surviving copies of the missal the *Veni Creator* hymn is appointed to be sung or recited by the celebrant in place of vesting prayers.¹³ It is immediately followed by a versicle and response (Psalm 104:30), and one single oration:

O God, to whom every heart is opened and every desire is spoken, and from whom no secret is hidden: by the outpouring of your Holy Spirit purify the thoughts of our hearts, that we may merit to love you perfectly, and praise you worthily; through our Lord Jesus Christ your Son, who lives and reigns with you in the unity of the Holy Spirit, God through all ages of the ages. Amen.¹⁴

This prayer — which ultimately survived the sixteenth-century English reform (very slightly relocated, and equally slightly revised, as the “Collect for Purity” in the Book of Common Prayer) — is traceable at least as far back

¹¹ Ibid., 82.

¹² Ibid., 75.

¹³ SM I, 20; for examples of separate prayers for each vestment, see J. Wickham Legg, *The Sarum Missal: Edited from Three Early Manuscripts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916), 216.

¹⁴ *Deus, cui omne cor patet et omnis voluntas loquitur, et a quo nullum latet secretum: purifica per infusionem sancti Spiritus cogitationes cordis nostri, ut te perfecte diligere, et digne laudare mereamur; per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti, Deus per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen;* Maskell, 4, 6 (cols. Sar.); tr. author.

as to Alcuin of York (c. 735-804),¹⁵ from whose little collection of votive mass texts it was taken into the daily monastic office in the *Regularis Concordia* or “Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation” in the year 970.¹⁶

After this collect, the sacred ministers made their way to the altar. On days for which a procession around the cathedral was appointed, after reverencing the altar with a bow, the deacon turned to the choir and gave the dismissal, “Let us go forth in peace.” The procession then formed, including the entire choir of canons and choristers. “On ordinary Sundays, except in parochial churches, it was the custom to say the [vernacular] Bidding Prayers during the procession, at the Rood step, just before the return to the choir.”¹⁷ Reentering the choir after this station, the priest-celebrant commenced recitation of Psalm 43 with its famous antiphon “I will go to the altar of God, to God my exceeding joy” (Ps 43:4). This psalm was recited in alternation by the sacred ministers as they approached the altar. Meanwhile the choir itself would have sung a responsory from Matins, a festival antiphon or one in honor of the Blessed Virgin¹⁸ before beginning the *Officium* or introit antiphon and psalm proper to the day. The invocations *Kyrie eleison*, *Christe Eleison*, *Kyrie Eleison* and the Lord’s Prayer were recited by the clergy at the altar step (the Hail Mary being inserted after the Lord’s Prayer at a late stage, and somewhat interrupting the logical flow of these prayers with what followed.)¹⁹ Initially said aloud, the Lord’s Prayer came to be recited silently, with only its concluding lines said audibly, in versicle-response form; this was followed by Psalm 118:I (also in versicle-response form).²⁰

The First Part of the Mass

The mass (properly speaking) began at the altar step with the general confession of the sacred ministers. Like its Roman counterpart, the confession was double: the priest-celebrant said the confession alone, and a deprecatory prayer of forgiveness was recited by the other sacred ministers (deacon and subdeacon),

¹⁵ Gerald Ellard, SJ, *Master Alcuin, Liturgist: A Partner of Our Piety* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1956), 161.

¹⁶ Wright, 9; see also idem, *The First Prayer Book of 1549*, The 32nd Annual Morpeth Lecture (Morpeth, NSW, Australia: The College of St John the Evangelist, 1999), 12.

¹⁷ Terence Bailey, *The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church* (Toronto: Pontifical Medieval Institute, 2007), 44; see also above, pages 40-41.

¹⁸ Ibid., 44-47.

¹⁹ Wright, “Sarum Use,” 9.

²⁰ SM I, 21.

or in their absence — as in a private mass — the acolyte. Then the deacon and subdeacon or acolyte recited the confession and the priest-celebrant said both the deprecatory prayer for forgiveness and a second, distinct absolution. The confession in the Sarum Use was relatively brief:

I confess to God, to blessed Mary, to all the saints, and to you, because I have sinned greatly in thought, word, and action, by my fault: I beg holy Mary, all the saints of God, and you, to pray for me.²¹

By comparison, the confession in the Roman liturgy, with its famous triple *mea culpa* and invocation of a number of saints, was quite lengthy.

Then followed versicles and responses from Psalm 124:8 and 113:2 — the text that today begins many blessings (including the “pontifical” or bishop’s blessing) — followed by a variable collect. The combination of this responsory and the accompanying collect at this location were unique to Sarum; how they came into use at this position in the liturgy is unknown.²² Immediately following that, and also unique to Sarum, was the first kiss of peace among the sacred ministers, with the greeting “Have you the kiss of peace and love: that you may be fit for the most holy altar to the performance of divine offices.”²³ This done, the torchbearers set their candles on the first step, and the sacred ministers ascended to the altar and bowed. (Genuflection was not specified in any of the English cathedral uses, possibly through the influence of Salisbury.)²⁴ The priest-celebrant offered a brief private prayer and then kissed the altar. In the Roman Rite the priest recited a brief formula during the kissing; at Sarum the action was performed silently, with “no mention. . . of the relics or Host which most Sarum altars had consecrated within them.”²⁵ There followed the sign of the cross with the invocation of the Trinity and the censuring of the altar. At Sarum, the deacon and not the

21 *Confiteor Deo, beatae mariae, omnibus sanctis, et vobis, quia peccavi nimis cogitatione, locutione, et opere, mea culpa: precor sanctam mariam, omnes sanctos Dei, et vos orare pro me*; Maskell, 10 (col. Sar.); tr. author.

22 SM I, 22; Maskell, I4, note I5.

23 *Habete osculum pacis et dilectionis: ut apti sitis sacrosancto altari ad perficiendum officia divina*; Maskell, I4 (col. Sar.); tr. author.

24 Baxter, 77; Wright, “Sarum Use,” I0.

25 Wright, “Sarum Use,” 9; see SM I, 23. The custom of placing the relics of saints (preferably martyrs) into a sealed aperture in the surface of an altar is thought to stem from early Christian celebrations of the eucharist on the tombs of martyrs. In many English churches, but especially those within Salisbury’s sphere of influence, a consecrated Host was also placed in the aperture.

priest-celebrant was responsible for placing incense on the burning coals. After the priest had censed the altar, he was in turn censed by the deacon. Immediately thereafter the subdeacon brought the “Text” to the celebrant to be revered with a kiss. Not specified is *which* text: most likely it was the Book of Gospels²⁶ — an object particularly revered in the Sarum Use — though, coming from the hand of the subdeacon (and only shortly before its own liturgical use), it well could have been the Book of Epistles.

During the censing the choir began the nine-fold *Kyrie eleison*. At Salisbury during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the *Kyries* were embellished with lengthy “tropes” — texts added between “Lord” and “have mercy” to expand the meaning of the petition.

These troped texts. . . became related and peculiar to certain feasts. For the feasts of Epiphany, Pentecost and Corpus Christ [for example,] there was sung not simply “*Kyrie eleison*,” but “*Kyrie, fons bonitatis. . .*” or “Lord, fountain of goodness, Father unbegotten, from whom all good things do come, have mercy; Lord, who bestowest seven-fold gifts by the Spirit with which haven and earth are fulfilled, have mercy” etc. The succeeding *Christe* and *Kyrie* verses were similarly troped.²⁷

After the censing, while the lengthy *Kyries* were chanted, the celebrant proceeded to the right-hand or “epistle” side of the altar and (in some places, at least) may have recited to himself an exceptionally lengthy prayer usually attributed in the Sarum sources to Saint Augustine of Hippo.²⁸ Whenever the celebrant stood facing the altar for such prayers, the deacon stood directly behind him but one step below, with the subdeacon standing yet a step below the deacon.²⁹

The hymn of praise *Gloria in excelsis Deo* followed the *Kyries* on all major feasts and Sundays throughout the year, except (as in the Gallican Rite liturgy) during Advent and Lent. The priest-celebrant, now standing at the

26 SM I, 23, note 2; Wright, “Sarum Use,” IO.

27 Baxter, 76.

28 “O Great High Priest and true Pontiff”: for the Latin text, see Legg, 205-208; a somewhat truncated English translation may be found in *The Sarum Missal*, tr. Pearson, 273-274. In some medieval and most modern sources, this prayer is attributed to Saint Ambrose of Milan.

29 SM I, 27. In the Roman Rite, the deacon and subdeacon were similarly arranged on their steps, but staggered diagonally to the right of the celebrant at this point in the liturgy.

center of the altar, intoned the first line of the hymn; the choir then took up the remaining chant while the sacred ministers returned to their positions at the south or right-hand end of the altar. Choir and ministers all bowed toward the altar during the phrases “we worship you” and “receive our prayer,” and from “Jesus Christ, with the Holy Spirit” to the end of the hymn, when the sign of the cross was made.³⁰

At the end of the *Gloria*, the priest-celebrant and deacon both turned to face the people (the subdeacon stepping up to “occupy himself in handling the priest’s chasuble”),³¹ and the priest greeted the people, saying “The Lord be with you.” Turning back to the altar, the priest said “Let us pray,” and prayed the collects, which could number up to seven depending on the occasion, “according to the use of the Church of Sarum.”³² (By the late Middle Ages, a number of local uses within England and beyond permitted multiple collects; but normatively they did not number more than seven.) At Salisbury “[t]he rule became established for an odd number of collects, and if an even number resulted from normal selection, then the collect for All Saints was added to make the number uneven.”³³

The Lessons

There followed a lesson from the New Testament letters (the Epistle), an intervening psalm (Gradual), the Alleluia (or, during Lent, the Tract — another psalm portion) and on most days, a Sequence (a lengthy chanted poem, in honor of the feast or saint being commemorated).³⁴ The subdeacon was responsible for chanting the Epistle. On Sundays and feasts, in order that both the choir of canons and the lay folk assembled in the nave could hear the lesson (although sung in Latin), the subdeacon ascended to the top of the *pulpitum*. What in most parish churches took the form of a simple wooden partition dividing the choir from the nave (and usually surmounted by a Calvary scene — hence the term “Rood Screen”), often was, in English and many Continental cathedrals, a massive stone structure. Accessible from within the choir by stairs, the *pulpitum* was a convenient place from which both portions of the church could be simultaneously addressed.³⁵

30 SM I, 27.

31 Ibid., 29.

32 Ibid., 28.

33 Baxter, 78.

34 See *ibid.*, 78-79.

35 The English word “pulpit” takes its name from this structure.

After the Epistle, while the Gradual psalm was sung, the subdeacon returned from the *pulpitum* to the altar. There, so reads a rubric, “the subdeacon shall receive the bread and wine and water with the chalice, and shall prepare them for the administration of the Eucharist....”³⁶ While not performed at this point in the liturgy of the Roman Rite, the preparation of (at least) the chalice here is an element shared not only among some of the English cathedral uses, but appears also in the proper liturgies of some religious orders — most notably the mass of the Dominican Rite. It is known, however, that Salisbury preserved for some time the ancient Offertory procession, with the lay folk providing and carrying forward the eucharistic gifts, long after it fell into general disuse. Whether that procession took place at this point in the liturgy or at its more familiar position between the Creed and the Canon is disputable.³⁷

The Alleluia with its verse followed the Gradual psalm, and frequently after that, the Sequence was sung. These chanted poems (essentially hymns) were not uncommon among the various medieval rites and uses in England and on the Continent; but Sarum is especially noted for the proliferation of these chants. Most saints’ days, not to mention feasts of the Lord and of the Blessed Virgin Mary, had proper Sequences, as did each day in Easter Week, each of the three Christmas Day masses, and each day of the Christmas octave. “There is an abrupt and fanciful wildness in these compositions which may not unfitly be likened to the style of choral odes in Greek plays; their language and grammatical construction is extremely anomalous, abounding in Greek words Latinized, and others of Mediaeval coinage; their meaning is often very obscure, and the symbolic allusions are exaggerated, and difficult to discern.”³⁸ With the Alleluia, the Sequence was suppressed during Lent, being replaced with the Tract — a selection of psalm verses similar to the Gradual. During the singing of the Sequence or Tract, “[t]he altar was censed again, and after the deacon’s blessing, the gospel procession moved to the pulpitum involving thurifer, acolytes with tapers, sub-deacon and deacon. [...] For the gospel, the deacon faced north so as not to have his back either to the celebrant at the altar or to the laity in

36 SM I, 27.

37 Wright, “Sarum Use,” 9-10, mentions the preparation of the gifts during the chants between the lessons, and makes no mention of the Offertory procession at the later, expected point. Baxter, 79-80, refers to the preparation of vessels on the altar after the epistle, as well as reporting the details of the Offertory procession before the Canon. Both practices are considered distinctive of the Sarum Use *vis-à-vis* the Roman Rite liturgy; the scholarly discrepancy may simply reflect appeal to different stages of liturgical development, as represented by different manuscripts of the Sarum Missal.

38 *The Sarum Missal*, tr. Pearson, xxxv.

the nave. Clergy in the quire bowed first to the altar then turned to face the gospeller.”³⁹ Like the Epistle, the Gospel lesson was sung.⁴⁰

In common with other western Christian liturgies, the procession returned to the altar after the chanting of the gospel, and the deacon presented the Book to the celebrant for reverencing with a kiss. Then, in a ceremony unique to the Sarum Use, the Gospel Book was passed throughout the choir for similar veneration.⁴¹ During the duration of this action, the Nicene Creed was sung.⁴² All stood facing the altar throughout; all bowed at the introductory words “I believe in one God,” and at the phrase “he became incarnate by the Holy Spirit of the Virgin Mary and was made human.” A second, separate bow quickly followed at the words, “he was crucified under Pontius Pilate,” and a third was made at the end — “and the life of the world to come. Amen.”⁴³ There is no rubric indicating that the sign of the cross was made at the reference to “the resurrection of the dead”; although the practice was widespread in the Western church, its place in the Sarum Use cannot be taken for granted.

The Offertory

After the Creed, the priest-celebrant turned to greet the people, after which the Offertory began. “The Offertory was the offering of the oblations of bread and wine at the altar. Representatives of the town people in the nave, by rota, traditionally brought the elements to the nave. . . altar.”⁴⁴ At least on Sundays, the people’s offering of bread was set aside for later blessing and distribution, though early in the development of the Sarum Use, the bread and wine offered for consecration on the high altar were likely taken from what was collected from the lay folk.

The ceremonies surrounding the Offertory in the Sarum Use were

39 Baxter, 79.

40 Today, the singing of the lesson texts is generally understood to be a mark of progressive solemnity, employed on the greater feasts (and, in some places, every Sunday) of the church year. In the Middle Ages, though, it was a practical necessity: in an era long before the invention of the microphone, singing the text served the purpose of amplification.

41 Ibid; see also SM I, 30.

42 It is often incorrectly asserted that the position of the Creed after the Gospel and before the homily or sermon is an innovation of the English reform, peculiar to the Anglican Prayer Book tradition. In fact, this arrangement entered the first Book of Common Prayer (1549) by way of the Sarum Use.

43 SM I, 27-28, 30.

44 Baxter, 80.

drastically abbreviated in comparison to the Roman Rite; this was due in part to the preparation of the chalice between the Epistle and Gospel lessons. Whereas in the Roman Rite, the bread and wine were offered with separate gestures and separate, lengthy prayers, at Salisbury one action and one prayer sufficed for both. Lifting the chalice with the paten and Host stacked on top of it, the priest-celebrant prayed:

Receive, O Holy Trinity, this oblation that I, unworthy sinner, offer in your honor, and of Blessed Mary, and of all your saints; for [the remission of] my sins and offences, for the salvation of the living and the rest of all the faithful departed; in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.⁴⁵

(This same prayer, with considerable additions, appears in the Roman Rite after the separate offering prayers for the Host and chalice. The Roman Offertory had a tendency to accrue multiple prayers with more or less the same theme.)

The priest-celebrant then placed the Host on the linen corporal and slid the paten beneath the right-hand side of the linen. The oblations and the altar were censed by the celebrant, who then was censed himself. The subdeacon then presented the celebrant with an unspecified “Text” for kissing. The choir was censed, each one by rank, and presented with the “Text.”⁴⁶ If the bishop was the celebrant, two thurifers performed the censing of the choir and two “Texts” were presented for veneration, with the occasional substitution of relics of saints.⁴⁷ Meanwhile the priest-celebrant washed his hands. In the Roman Rite, Psalm 26:6-12 was recited at this point, with the ritual action (the “Lavabo”) taking its name from the first word of the psalm.⁴⁸ At Salisbury an entirely different prayer was said:

Cleanse me, Lord, from all impurity of mind and body: that being cleansed I may be able to do the holy work of the Lord.⁴⁹

45 *Suscipe, sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem quam ego indignus peccator offero in honore tuo et beatae Mariae, et omnium sanctorum tuorum, pro peccatis et offensionibus meis: pro salute vivorum et requie omnium fidelium defunctorum. In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti. Amen;* Maskell, 56 (col. Sar.); tr. author.

46 As this essentially repeats the action that took place after the Gospel during the Creed, it seems likely that the “Text” in question here was in fact the Book of Epistles — but without that specification, one cannot be certain.

47 SM I, 31-32.

48 *Lavabo inter innocentes manus meas*, “I will wash my hands among the innocent”; Psalm 26:6.

49 *Munda me Domine ab omni inquinamento mentis et corporis: ut possim mundatus implere opus sanctum Domini;* Maskell, 64 (col. Sar.); tr. author.

Bowing low at the center of the altar, the priest-celebrant then recited a prayer of self-offering shared in common with the Roman Rite (and the other English Uses.) Unique again to Sarum, the Roman prayer of invocation of the Holy Spirit was absent from this point; the priest-celebrant simply made the sign of the cross once over the gifts and once over himself, reciting the simple Trinitarian formula.

Turning to the people, the priest-celebrant made the invitation commonly known as the *Orate Fratres*, a feature of the Roman Rite that endures to today. Still, the Sarum Use (and, under its influence, the uses of Bangor and York) stood apart from Rome in an early example of what might be called gender-inclusive language:

Orate fratres et sorores. . .

Pray, brothers *and sisters*, for me: that this sacrifice which is mine and yours alike, may be acceptable to the Lord God.⁵⁰

The sheer fact that both brothers and sisters were included in the address of this text is noteworthy in itself; that it emerged within the context of an all-male community of canons and choristers is perhaps the more surprising. Did the framers of the Sarum Use have a particular consciousness of the laywomen standing in the nave beyond the *pulpitum*? One can only conjecture at the reasons behind this unique development.

To the *Orate Fratres et sorores* invitation, the other sacred ministers (deacon and subdeacon) or acolyte responded:

May the grace of the Holy Spirit illumine your heart and your lips, and may the Lord see fit to accept this sacrifice of praise from your hands, for our sins and offences.⁵¹

By contrast, the Roman response (which remains essentially unchanged to this day) was quite different:

May the Lord accept the sacrifice from your hands, to the praise and glory of his name, and also to our benefit and that of all his holy Church.⁵²

⁵⁰ *Orate fratres et sorores pro me: ut meum pariterque vestrum acceptum sit Domino Deo sacrificium; ibid., 68 (col. Sar.; compare ibid., col. Ebor.); tr. author; emphasis added.*

⁵¹ *Spiritus sancti gratia illuminet cor tuum et labia tua, et accipiat Dominus digne hoc sacrificium laudis de manibus tuis, pro peccatis et offensionibus nostris; ibid., loc. cit.; tr. author.*

⁵² *Suscipiat Dominus sacrificium de manibus tuis ad laudem et gloriam nominis sui, ad utilitatem quoque nostrum, totiusque Ecclesiae suae sanctae; ibid., 69 (col. Rom.); tr. author.*

Among the differences between the two responses, one notes the characterization of the sacrifice in the Sarum text as *sacrificium laudis*. This notion of a “sacrifice of praise” would prove influential in the sixteenth century, as the reformers of the English church sought a way to preserve some sense of eucharistic sacrifice, yet without compromising their theological commitments to the all-sufficient sacrifice of Christ on the cross.

The Canon of the Mass

Following the Offertory, the celebrant prayed a semi-private prayer over the offerings in a “low” voice; hence its name, “Secret.” Each day of the year had its own Secret as part of its proper texts, and on solemn occasions multiple Secrets were prayed, “corresponding to the [number of] Collects said before the Epistle.”⁵³ After the Secret, the deacon took the paten and handed it to the subdeacon who held it within the folds of the humeral veil (a long piece of fabric that covered the wearer’s shoulders and arms.) The deacon and subdeacon took their places on the altar steps behind the priest-celebrant.

Then began the *Sursum Corda* dialogue and the Preface, the latter of which the Sarum Missal of 1526 records eleven: Christmas, Epiphany, Ash Wednesday (used throughout all of Lent), Easter Day (used during the first forty days of Eastertide), Ascension Day, Whitsunday or Pentecost, Trinity Sunday (and all the successive Sundays until Advent), Apostles and Evangelists, Feasts of the Holy Cross, Feasts of the Blessed Virgin (with a variable portion to commemorate a number of occasions in her life), and the “Ferial” or Weekday Preface, which was also used on the Sundays of Advent:

It is truly fitting and just, equitable and salutary, for us always and everywhere to give thanks to you, holy Lord, Father almighty, everlasting God: through Christ our Lord. Through him Angels praise your majesty, Dominions adore, [and] Powers tremble. The heavens and the heavenly hosts, united with the blessed Seraphim, celebrate together in exultation. We implore you to command our voices to have entrance with them, saying

53 SM I, 34.

in humble praise....⁵⁴

Following the Preface, the *Sanctus* was sung in its entirety; that is, including the *Benedictus qui venit*.

The eucharistic prayer or “Canon of the Mass” that followed the *Sanctus* was substantially the same as that found in the Roman Missal. Between the ninth and eleventh centuries the great majority of rites in the Western church adopted the eucharistic prayer of the Church of Rome.⁵⁵ The Venerable Bede accurately reported that this prayer was still under development at the time of Gregory the Great (late sixth and early seventh centuries),⁵⁶ though not long after Bede’s time it achieved the form that it maintains more or less to this day. The praying of this text at Salisbury was set apart from Roman practice by the ceremonial that accompanied it. During the prayer, when multiple deacons were present on solemn occasions, one was responsible for fanning the eucharistic elements with a *flabellum*, an ornate fan of delicate metal filigree, rich fabric, ostrich or peacock feathers, leather or parchment.⁵⁷

54 *Vere dignum et justum est, aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper, et ubique gratias agere: Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeternae Deus: per Christum Dominum nostrum. Per quem Majestatem tuam laudant Angeli, adorant Dominationes, tremunt Potestates. Coeli, coelorumque virtutes, ac beata seraphin [sic], socia exultatione concelebrant. Cum quibus et nostras voces, ut admitti jubeas deprecamur, supplici confessione dicentes;* Maskell, 74 (cols. Sar., Bangor., Ebor.); tr. author. One notes that this ferial preface was more developed than the equivalent provided in the 1979 American Book of Common Prayer, which regrettably is nothing more than the two sentences of the protocol (introduction) and eschatol (conclusion) of a proper preface without any substantive content:

It is right, and a good and joyful thing, always and everywhere to give thanks to you, Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth. Therefore we praise you, joining our voices with Angels and Archangels and with all the company of heaven, who for ever sing this hymn to proclaim the glory of your Name....

As it appears in the Prayer Book, a rubric is inserted between the between the two sentences, indicating that “[h]ere a Proper Preface is sung or said on all Sundays, and on other occasions as appointed.” There is no provision of materials for a common preface or prefaces for weekdays; see *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church. . . According to the use of The Episcopal Church* [1979] (New York: Church Hymnal Corporation, 1979), 361-362.

55 Louis Bouyer, *Eucharist: Theology and Spirituality of the Eucharistic Prayer*, tr. Charles Underhill Quinn (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968), 360.

56 Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, eds. Judith McClure and Roger Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), II.1, 69.

57 See Wright, “Sarum Use,” 8; Stephen N. Fliegel, *Resplendent Faith: Liturgical Treasures of the Middle Ages* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2009), 27-28; Elizabeth Parker McLachlan, “Liturgical Vessels and Implements,” in Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter, eds., *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, second edition (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2005), 366-368; Herbert Norris, *Church Vestments: Their Origin & Development* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1950), 153-156; also 50, fig. 63.

In addition to heightening the sense of solemnity, this fanning served the dual purpose of cooling the celebrant and keeping away flying insects.

For the institution narrative or “consecratory” formula,

[s]ome early Sarum missals require the celebrant to actually break the Host (perhaps only partially?) at the word “broke”; others, especially the later ones, require only that he touch it at this point. In some (but not all) Sarum Missals a bow is also specified after the words “This is My Body” and before the Host is elevated, but apparently none of them call for any such gesture after the words over the chalice.⁵⁸

No genuflection was made after either consecration, the practice throughout all England being to bow from the waist, “in spite of the fact that the earliest written evidence for the practice of genuflecting after the elevation of the Host comes from the years 1200-06 in the writings of the great theologian Stephen Langton who would soon thereafter become archbishop of Canterbury.”⁵⁹

Immediately following this institution narrative, the priest-celebrant stretched his arms directly outward from his shoulders and assumed the form of a cross for the memorial or *anamnesis* portion of the prayer:⁶⁰

Wherefore also, Lord, we your servants, but also with your holy people, remembering the blessed passion of the same Christ, your Son our Lord, and also his resurrection from the dead and glorious ascension into heaven, we offer to your renowned Majesty, from the gifts of your own giving. . .⁶¹

after which a number of signs of the cross were made over the elements, in keeping with the Roman custom. The Canon then continued with the same text, gestures and postures as can be found in the contemporaneous Roman liturgy, with one exception at the very end. As with the Roman practice, the celebrant was directed to make the sign of the cross with the Host over the chalice a number of times during the doxology of the Canon (“By him, and

⁵⁸ Wright, “Sarum Use,” 10.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ SM I, 46; see also Wright, “Sarum Use,” 11.

⁶¹ *Unde et memores, Domine, nos servi tui, sed et plebs tua sancta, ejusdem Christi Filii tui Domini Dei nostri tam beatae passionis, necnon et ab inferis resurrectionis, sed et in coelos gloriosae ascensionis, offerimus praeclarae Majestati tuae de tuis donis ac datis*; Maskell, 96, 98 (col. Sar.); tr. author.

with him, and in him”), but no elevation of the Host and cup were prescribed at the end of this text in the Sarum Missals.⁶²

In England as on the Continent, reception of Holy Communion by the laity was an infrequent event during the Middle Ages. So rarely did people commune, in fact, that the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 had to legislate the annual *minimum* of receiving Communion at Easter. Actual sacramental participation in Communion on any sort of regular basis was popularly replaced by ocular or visual Communion. Controversies surrounding the nature of the Real Presence of Christ in the eucharist during the ninth and eleventh centuries led to the introduction of a novel ritual practice, the elevation of the Host after the recital of the words “This is my body.” People came to believe that in gazing upon the elevated Body of Christ, they received the full spiritual benefit of the sacrament without receiving it as food. “In terms of late medieval physics, they imagined that rays went out from the. . . circular host and were taken in by the eye in ocular communion, resulting in a communion with the Real Presence of Jesus Christ just as realistically as if they were consuming the sacred host by eating. Hence vision, seeing, became an increasingly common source of religious experience among Christians.”⁶³ Although the elevation and the understanding attached to the practice came under fire during the reforms of the sixteenth century, it seems best to understand both the action and its logic within their medieval context: for the devout, to look upon the sacrament was to experience a real participation in the eucharist.

Two distinct practices developed in the Sarum Use to accommodate the spiritual experience of ocular communion: first, in some places where the altar was visible from the nave, a dark colored cloth was raised behind the altar during the Canon so that when the Host was elevated it would be more visible against this background.⁶⁴ Second, in places where there was little or no view of the altar — such as in Salisbury Cathedral itself, where the massive *pulpitum* stood between the choir and the nave — a pantomime of the mass was performed at a more proximal altar, in view of the people:

Because the [pulpitum] screen effectively blocked the laic view of the high altar, some system was necessary to enable the laity to see some action of the mass, and especially the climactic consecration actions at the altar. For this purpose, a nave altar stood in front

62 SM I, 48; see also Wright, “Sarum Use,” 11.

63 R. Kevin Seasoltz, “Eucharistic Devotions and Reservation: Some Reflections,” *Worship* 81 (2007), 438.

64 Wright, “Sarum Use,” 8.

of the quire door, consecrated the altar of the Holy Rood, which of course stood high above. At this altar, a priest could see the high altar and would mimic the actions of the celebrant as a relay to the nave congregation. A sanctus bell would ring at the points of the elevations as another indicator of the most holy point in the mass, when all must fall to their knees.⁶⁵

Although such a solution is both theologically and practically unsatisfactory by today's standards, it must be admitted that, at the time, no small effort was being made to provide as full a participation as possible for the lay folk in attendance.

The Fraction, or Breaking of the Bread

After the end of the Canon, the deacon received the paten from the subdeacon and held it high in his right hand as the Lord's Prayer began.⁶⁶ This originally may have served as a signal that communion was approaching. The final petition of the Lord's Prayer, "Deliver us from evil," was expanded in the *embolism*, an inserted text recited by the priest-celebrant:

Deliver us, we pray you Lord, from all evils, past, present and future: and by the intercession of the blessed and glorious and ever-virgin Mother of God, Mary, and of your blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, also Andrew, with all the saints. . .⁶⁷

At this point in the prayer the celebrant took the paten from the deacon, touched it to his left and right eyes, and then made the sign of the cross with it over himself. Meanwhile, he continued the embolism:

. . . give gracious peace in our days: that being assisted by the help of your mercy, we may be both forever free from sin and secure from all disturbances. . .⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Baxter, 59.

⁶⁶ SM I, 49.

⁶⁷ *Libera nos, quaesumus Domine, ab omnibus malis, praeteritis, praesentibus et futuris: et intercedente beata et gloriosa semperque virgine Dei genitrici Maria, et beatis Apostolis tuis Petro et Paulo, atque Andrea, cum omnibus Sanctis*; Maskell, 106 (col. Sar.); tr. author.

⁶⁸ *Da propitius pacem in diebus nostris: ut ope misericordiae tuae adjuti, et a peccato simus semper liberi, et ab omni perturbatione securi*; *ibid.*, loc. cit.; tr. author.

Now the priest-celebrant bowed slightly and holding the Host over the chalice, broke it into three portions, holding two fragments between his left thumb and forefinger, and the third between his right. All the while, he finished the prayer, “Through the same Jesus Christ our Lord, who lives and reigns. . . .” With the portion in his right hand, the priest made the sign of the cross three times over the chalice and gave the greeting of peace: “The peace of the Lord be always with you.” The choir made the customary response, then began singing the *Agnus Dei* or “Lamb of God.”⁶⁹

The deacon and subdeacon stepped up to the footpace, both standing to the priest-celebrant’s right. When the singing had ended, the priest placed the third portion of the Host into the chalice and said a prayer for the “Commixture.” (At this point during weekday masses, the so-called “Prayers in Prostration” — additional psalm verses and prayers for the king, for the success of the Crusades, or for some other pressing need — were recited.)⁷⁰ A private prayer of preparation for Communion was said by the priest, who then kissed the altar and then turned and kissed the deacon, saying “Peace to you and to the church.”⁷¹ The priest-celebrant handed to the deacon the pax-brede (peace board), a small tablet or board, usually five to seven inches square, that was passed from person to person to be kissed, as a highly-stylized ritual means for transmitting the Sign of Peace. Surviving pax-bredes are often richly ornamented with ivory carvings or images worked in precious metals or painted.⁷² Occasionally a verse from Scripture making reference to peace was inscribed as well. Sometimes the paten itself was used in place of the pax-brede. A rubric in the Sarum Missal of 1526 describes the ritual action: “The deacon himself shall carry the pax to the rulers of the quire [cantors] at the step of the quire, and they shall carry the pax to the quire, each to his own side, beginning with the seniors. But on feasts and week-days, when the quire is not ruled, the pax shall be carried from the deacon to the quire by the two end members of the second rank; the rest as before.”⁷³ This practice carried over into parish life as well, with the deacon holding the pax-brede for the people to come forward and kiss “with due sensitivity to peace but also social status in the community.”⁷⁴

69 SM I, 50.

70 SM I, 58-60; see also Maskell, 110-112, note 56; Legg, 209-210.

71 *Pax tibi et ecclesiae*; Maskell, 116 (col. Sar.); tr. author.

72 See Parker McLachlan, “Liturgical Vessels and Implements,” in Heffernan and Matter, 380; also 382, fig. 18.

73 SM I, 52.

74 Gordon P. Jeanes, *Signs of God’s Promise: Thomas Cranmer’s Sacramental Theology and the Book of Common Prayer* (London: T&T Clark, 2008), 48.

After the peace, a number of private preparatory prayers for communion followed for the priest-celebrant, some of them identifiable as coming from the Gallican and Hispano-Mozarabic families of liturgical texts, because they are addressed to Jesus Christ rather than to God the Father. These prayers are for the most part absent from the Roman Missal. Then came the communion of the priest. Before receiving the host the priest “humbly” said to it:

Hail for ever, most holy flesh of Christ, before all and above all the greatest sweetness to me. May the body of our Lord Jesus Christ be to me, a sinner, the way and the life. In the name of the Father....⁷⁵

Likewise, before receiving the cup, “with great devotion” he prayed:

Hail for ever, celestial drink, before all and above all the greatest sweetness to me. May the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ profit me, a sinner, as an everlasting remedy for eternal life. Amen. In the name of the Father....⁷⁶

After receiving, the priest bowed and prayed:

I give you thanks, O Lord, Holy Father, almighty eternal God, who have refreshed me with the most holy body and blood of your Son, our Lord Jesus Christ: and I pray that this sacrament of our salvation which I, unworthy sinner, have received, may come neither to my judgment nor condemnation by my merits, but may keep my body and soul in everlasting life. Amen.⁷⁷

This prayer, like many others, was unique to Salisbury and the many places that came under the influence of its liturgical use.

⁷⁵ *Ave in aeternum sanctissima caro Christi: mihi ante omnia et super omnia summa dulcedo. Corpus Domini Nostri Jesu Christi sit mihi peccatori via et vita. In nomine Patris, etc.; Maskell, 122 (col. Sar.); tr. author.*

⁷⁶ *Ave in aeternum coelestis potus, mihi ante omnia et super omnia summa dulcedo. Corpus et sanguis Domini Nostri Jesu Christi prosint mihi peccatori ad remedium sempiternum in vitam aeternam. Amen. In nomine Patris, etc.; ibid., 124 (col. Sar.); tr. author.*

⁷⁷ *Gratias tibi ago, Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens aeternae Deus: qui me refecisti de sacratissimo corpore et sanguine Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi: et precor, ut hoc sacramentum salutis nostrae quod sumpsimus indignus peccator, non veniat mihi ad iudicium neque ad condemnationem pro meritis meis: sed ad profectum corporis et animae in vitam aeternam. Amen; ibid., 128 (col. Sar.); tr. author.*

Communion and Dismissal

No invitation to communion was made. Communion was not distributed to the other members of the choir: the ordained canons would have already celebrated their own private masses, and the non-ordained would only receive a few times per year.⁷⁸ Likewise, the lay folk in the nave only received occasionally (always on or around Easter and possibly on Pentecost; for the most devout, perhaps also on Christmas, Epiphany or All Saints' Day). Rather, the bread that had been presented at the Offertory was blessed and distributed as *eulogia* (a blessing) to the congregation, likely after the end of the mass.⁷⁹ This practice was fairly widespread in northern and western European countries, and a similar tradition is observed in many Eastern Christian churches today.

Following his own communion, the priest-celebrant immediately purified the eucharistic vessels and washed his fingertips over the chalice at the right-hand or south side of the altar. Then returning to the center of the altar, the priest-celebrant prayed the Prayer After Communion. No blessing was given, nor was the sign of the cross made by anyone but the celebrant just before leaving the altar. During Lent, however, the ancient prayers "over the people" from the Roman Missal were said. The deacon dismissed the assembly, "*Ita missa est.*" The celebrant then offered a brief private prayer of thanksgiving and made the sign of the cross over himself. While making his way out of the choir in procession, the priest-celebrant recited quietly and from memory the first fourteen verses of the Gospel of John. (In the Roman Rite, this so-called "Last Gospel" was recited at the altar before the ministers departed.)

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. . . . And the Word became flesh and lived among us, and we have seen his glory, the glory as of a father's only son, full of grace and truth (John I:I, 14).

⁷⁸ Baxter, 81.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 59; see also Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 73.

THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH PRAYER BOOKS



The process by which the English church separated itself from the jurisdiction of the Roman papacy in the sixteenth century was a complex affair, “linked primarily to [King Henry VIII’s] attempt to set up a smooth transition of power after his death by ensuring that he had a son as an undisputed legitimate heir to the English throne.”¹ Whereas the Continental Reformation exploded after Martin Luther’s presentation of the Ninety-five Theses for debate at Wittenberg in 1517, the English reform unfolded gradually, with the articulation of theological commitments lagging behind the realization of disciplinary change contingent upon more immediate political concerns. One thus looks, not for a single moment or episode to mark a clear beginning of the English reform, but for significant milestones within a double-climate of strained relations between the Crown and the Papacy on the one hand, and theological ferment among the hierarchy and in the universities on the other.

One significant moment in the process of English reform was the wedding of King Henry and Anne Boleyn in late 1532 or early 1533.² Undertaken without a papal annulment of the king’s first marriage (to Catharine of Aragon, 1509), the espousal with Boleyn occasioned the excommunication of Henry VIII by Pope Clement VII. Equally significant was the consecration of Thomas Cranmer as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1533, which was also the year of the parliamentary “Act in Restraint of Appeals” that ended clergy recourse to the bishop of Rome in judicial affairs. The “Act of Supremacy” of 1534, by which Parliament endorsed Henry’s arrogated title “Supreme Head of the Church in England,” did nothing to stem the widening breach with Rome; but then neither did the “Act Against the Papal Authority” of 1536. Other events in intervening years included the dissolution and despoliation of

1 Alister E. McGrath, *Christianity’s Dangerous Idea: The Protestant Revolution — A History from the Sixteenth Century to the Twenty-First* (New York: HarperOne, 2007), 109.

2 On the disputed date of the wedding, see Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 637–638.

the monasteries (1535-1540), the executions of Bishop John Fisher and Sir Thomas More (1535), and the publication of the “Great Bible,” an English translation undertaken by William Tyndale and Myles Coverdale (1539) — not to mention the somewhat regular divorces and remarriages of Henry VIII in his relentless pursuit of a male heir.

Throughout all of that, Christian worship in England remained relatively stable. In the main, Henry VIII was opposed to the theological ideas emerging from the Continent, and not much swayed by the reforming views of his ecclesiastical advisers. At heart, the king was a Catholic, though one unwilling to be loyal to a foreign pope who was both under the thumb of a foreign emperor (Charles V, nephew of Catharine of Aragon) and apparently out-of-touch with the regalian rights and hereditary needs of the English Crown. What resulted was a royal religious conservatism that largely restrained the English reformers from making any substantial changes in public worship, even if among themselves they were reading, marking, learning and inwardly digesting the writings of their Continental contemporaries — Martin Luther, Huldreich Zwingli, Martin Bucer and others.

Officially enacted liturgical reform began in the year 1541, with the publication of the *Portiforium*, a two-volume Breviary “according to the Use of Sarum. . . . In which the name ascribed to the false Roman pontiff is omitted, together with everything else opposed to the most Christian statute of our King.”³ The next small step in reform came in 1544, with Archbishop Cranmer’s vernacular translation and simplification of the Litany — though this early English text can barely be identified with reformed theology. It was, rather, a paring down of extant materials employed during the medieval pre-mass processions, largely from the Sarum Use, while also incorporating some Lutheran and Eastern Orthodox elements.⁴ Cranmer’s reforming impulses otherwise were held in check by the Catholic conservatism of Henry VIII; but with the death of the king and the accession of the minor Edward VI in early 1547, the door was opened for Cranmer to pursue more freely the liturgical change he desired for the English church.

³ *Portiforium, secundum usum Sarum. . . . In quo nomen Romano pontifici falso ascriptum omittitur, una cum aliis que Christianissimo nostri Regis statuto repugnant*; in Stanley Morison, *English Prayer Books: An Introduction to the Literature of Christian Public Worship*, expanded edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949), 48; tr. Unterseher.

⁴ See Gordon Jeanes’ discussion of the Litany in “Cranmer and Common Prayer,” in Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck, eds., *The Oxford Guide to The Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 23.

The First Book of Common Prayer

The immediate predecessor to the first Book of Common Prayer was the 1548 “Order of the Communion,” a compilation of vernacular materials akin to today’s Communion rites that was to be inserted within the Latin mass after the Lord’s Prayer. It consisted of a rather lengthy exhortation to be read on the previous Sunday and another exhortation to the communicants before a general confession of sin with absolution and the “Comfortable Words,” the “Prayer of Humble Access” (a preparatory prayer for priest and people carefully crafted by combining new material with lines from various collects and other prayers in the Sarum Missal), a formula for administering holy communion (with provision for the reception of the same under both species), and a blessing. Even with the novel material that formed the majority of this brief rite, “[i]t is not easy to find in *The Order of the Communion* anything inconsistent with orthodox sacramental doctrine” as it stood in Catholic England at that time.⁵ Much of the contents of this rite would be incorporated, without change but with some rearrangement, into the eucharistic liturgy of the first Prayer Book.

The compilation of the first Book of Common Prayer (1549) under Cranmer’s presidency principally employed already existing Roman texts as they were known from the Sarum Missal and the simplified Daily Office book or Breviary of the Spanish Roman Catholic Cardinal Francisco de los Angeles de Quiñones (1535), together with material from the *Simplex ac pia Deliberatio* (the 1545 Latin translation of Archbishop Hermann von Wied’s failed Kölner church order of 1543) and new elements from Cranmer’s own pen.⁶ The first Prayer Book was thus marked by existing English Catholic practice and by the reformed theology that had emerged on the European continent, both filtered through Cranmer’s masterful English prose. In its eucharistic liturgy — “The Supper of the Lorde, and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Masse”⁷ — the Book theologically represented “in one sense a synthesis of the traditional catholic doctrine of Holy Orders, as applied to

⁵ G. Constant, *The Reformation in England*, vol. II: *Introduction of the Reformation into England, Edward VI (1547-1553)*, tr. E. I. Watkin (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1942), 59.

⁶ MacCulloch, 385; see also Samuel Leuenberger, *Archbishop Cranmer’s Immortal Bequest: The Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England: An Evangelistic Liturgy*, tr. Samuel Leuenberger and Lewis J. Gorin, Jr. (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock: 2004), 4.

⁷ As in “The Booke of the Common Prayer and Administracion of the Sacramentes, and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church after the Use of the Church of England” [1549]; in *The First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI*, Everyman’s Library 448 (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1952), 212.

the clergy, with a strong reformation doctrine of Justification by Faith, as it will be applied to the Eucharist itself.”⁸

Along with the expected front material (calendar, tables of lections, etc.), this first Prayer Book contained restructured orders for two Daily Offices (combining the morning services of Vigils and Lauds into one office of “Matins,” and the evening offices of Vespers and Compline into “Evensong”); proper introits, epistles and gospels for Sundays and feasts; the eucharistic liturgy (already mentioned); baptism; confirmation, together with a catechism; rites for marriage, visitation and communion of the sick; burial; the “purification” of women after childbirth; a proper liturgy for the first day of Lent, and notes on various ceremonial issues and omitted rites. The Book therefore provided liturgical material to mark the unfolding of the Christian day, week and year, as well as every major stage of Christian development and discipleship in “an honest attempt to produce a single volume in the magnificent English prose of that era that was intended to purge the church in [England] of what were perceived to be medieval corruptions in doctrine and practice and would return to *what was thought to be a more primitive and scriptural usage*.”⁹ Nevermind that twentieth-century scholarship, in recovering much of the “more primitive and scriptural usage” of the early church, would reveal that the First Prayer Book was thoroughly a product of its time (with more than a few traces of medieval, renaissance, humanist and reformed elements): following the best lights of their day, Cranmer and his contemporaries attempted to ground the Book of Common Prayer in Scripture and what they knew of antiquity — an “honest attempt” to overcome the surmised abuses of the medieval patrimony.

Taking the Preface of the first Book of Common Prayer as a ready benchmark, one notes three major constellations of issues in the medieval liturgy to which Cranmer and his co-reformers objected: the length and distribution of biblical lessons and psalms, the almost-exclusive use of

8 J. Robert Wright, *The First Prayer Book of 1549*, The 32nd Annual Morpeth Lecture (Morpeth, NSW, Australia: The College of St John the Evangelist, 1999), 12. Although it is the case that the first Prayer Book readily lends itself to an interpretation that is both catholic and reformed, Gordon P. Jeanes convincingly argues that Cranmer’s own unique reformed sacramental theology was fully developed at the time of its publication. The fully reformed character of the second Prayer Book (1552) more clearly represents Cranmer’s own positions, which were better left unpublished for political reasons in 1549; see Jeanes, *Signs of God’s Promise: Thomas Cranmer’s Sacramental Theology and the Book of Common Prayer* (London: T&T Clark, 2008), esp. chapters 4 and 5.

9 Wright, 24; emphasis added.

Latin as the liturgical language of the church,¹⁰ and the complex regulations surrounding services.

- First, where a very primitive stratum of Christian liturgy had provided for the reading of scripture in course (rather than a lectionary arrangement of select texts), the medieval church was accused of diminishing the place of the bible in worship “by planting in uncertain stories, legends, responsories, poems, vain repetitions, commemorations and synodal writings, that commonly when any book of the Bible was begun, before three or four chapters [here meaning verses] were read out, all the rest were unread.”¹¹ Furthermore, the repetitive use of the common offices and masses for saints and martyrs meant that only a handful of psalms “have been daily said (and often repeated) and the rest utterly omitted.”¹² The Prayer Book redressed both of these issues by providing “a Calendar. . . which is plain and easy to be understood, wherein. . . the reading of holy scripture is so set forth, that all things shall be done in order, without breaking one piece thereof from another.” Moreover, “here are left out many things, whereof some be untrue, some uncertain, some vain and superstitious; and [here also] is ordained nothing to be read but the very pure word of God, the holy scriptures, or that which is evidently grounded upon the same...”¹³
- Second, “whereas S. Paul would have such language spoken to the people in the church, as they might understand and have profit by hearing the same, the service in this Church of England (these many years) has been read in Latin to the people, which they understood not; so that they have heard with their ears only, and their hearts, spirit and mind have not been edified

10 In the Sarum Use there were already two major instances of the vernacular being employed in the liturgy. One was the Bidding Prayer said as part of the “Station before the Rood Screen” during solemn processions; see above, page 49. The other — and infinitely more important — instance was the vows and consents of bride and bridegroom in the marriage rite; see Mark Searle and Kenneth W. Stevenson, eds., *Documents of the Marriage Liturgy* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press/Pueblo, 1992), 163-169.

11 *First and Second Prayer Books*, 3; spelling and punctuation have been modernized in this and all subsequent quotations.

12 *Ibid.*, 4.

13 *Ibid.*

thereby.”¹⁴ Liturgical Latin greatly compounded the problem of the abbreviated scriptural lessons, not only minimizing the word of God, but rendering it utterly unintelligible by the majority of those to whom it was addressed. So beginning with the services of the Prayer Book, all reading in church (whether of the bible or of liturgical texts) shall be “in such a language and order as is most easy and plain for the understanding, both of the readers and hearers,” namely, the English vernacular.¹⁵

- Third, with respect to the rubrics and other regulations governing the services of the church, the Preface wryly notes that “the number and hardness of the rules called the pie, and the manifold changes of the service, was the cause; yet to turn the book only was so hard and intricate a matter, that many times, *there was more business to find out what should be read, then to read it when it was found out.*”¹⁶ The complexity of the inherited medieval liturgy was such that more time and energy were expended on preparing for worship, determining the various scripture lessons and prayers to be said on a given day, than were spent actually worshipping. At the same time, though, the framers of the Prayer Book desired to maintain time-honored forms and structures, as well as good order, in public worship. Since “of necessity there must be some rules, therefore certain rules are here set forth, which as they be few in number, so they be plain and easy to be understood.”¹⁷ Excluding complex rubrics, ceremonial directives and textual cross-references eliminated the need not only for the Sarum *Pica* or *Pie*, but also the *Ordinal*, *Customary* and *Directorium*. All that now would be needed, both for liturgical text and rubric, was theoretically contained under one cover.

¹⁴ Ibid., 3.

¹⁵ Ibid. 4.

¹⁶ Ibid.; emphasis added.

¹⁷ Ibid.

Other issues and abuses that could have been named, such as the multiplication of private masses and infrequent communion of the laity (and then only under the one form or species of bread), were simply addressed *in situ*, at the most appropriate places in the course of the Prayer Book itself.

Not so much a corruption but a liability undermining national unity was the variety of local liturgical uses throughout England. Although the Sarum Use dominated, both in its direct dissemination and in the influence it had on other uses (with the possible exception of York, which maintained itself rather distinct vis-à-vis both Salisbury and Rome), the extant multiplicity of uses was perceived as a weakness for a church that was trying to establish itself in opposition to foreign ecclesiastical interference. Thus, “where heretofore there has been great diversity in saying and singing in churches within this realm: some following Salisbury use, some Herford use, some the use of Bangor, some of York, and some of Lincoln: Now from [henceforth], all the whole realm shall have *but one use*.”¹⁸ This expressed ideal of “but one use” for the liturgy in the Church of England (eventually extended to the territories of the Crown as well) was marked from the beginning with all the difficulties conceivable in such an “attempt to accommodate radically different theological and liturgical views in a single text”¹⁹ — and would repeatedly prove itself an ideal as impossible as it is noble. Nevertheless, the first Book of Common Prayer — whole and entire unto itself, at once Catholic and reformed — was authorized by Parliament in the “Act of Uniformity” of January 21, 1549, with an expected implementation on June 9 of that year, the Feast of Pentecost. “Replacing the plurality of medieval usages that included but was not limited to the use of Salisbury or Sarum (but exaggerating their minor differences), ‘but one use’ in the English vernacular was henceforth to be observed throughout the realm, and it was contained within this one volume.”²⁰

Not everywhere was the new Book well received. The so-called “Prayer Book Rebellion” or “Western Rebellion” of 1549 — one in a long series of various Cornish rebellions in Devonshire — was an expression of both ethnic and religious identity among a people who understood themselves to be very much a “nation” separate from the English. The immediate cause of the uprising was the introduction of the first Book of Common Prayer,

¹⁸ Ibid.; emphasis added.

¹⁹ Isaac Gewirtz, “Introduction: ‘Here are Left Out Many Thynges,’” in *But One Use: An Exhibition Commemorating the 450th Anniversary of the Book of Common Prayer* (New York: The Saint Mark’s Library of The General Theological Seminary of the Episcopal Church, 1999), 10.

²⁰ Wright, 5-6.

experienced as yet one more intrusion of the Crown on Cornish freedom, though the widening socio-economic gap between landed gentry and the other classes was a primary underlying factor. “The rebels recognized that the prayer-book was merely one element in a programme which affected their religious life at every level, the dissolution of the elaborate symbolic framework within which the life of their communities had been shaped for generations.”²¹

Fifteen “articles” or “demands” were drawn up by the rebels, seeking the full restoration of Catholic liturgy and piety as they knew it. The third demand, for example, read: “We will have the mass in Latin, as it was before, and celebrated by the priest without any man or woman communicating with him”; and the eighth: “We will not receive the new service, because it is but like a Christmas game. We will have our old service of matins, mass, even-song, and procession as it was before; and we the Cornishmen, whereof certain of us understand no English, utterly refuse the new English [services].” Archbishop Cranmer was understandably unimpressed by these demands. In response to the latter demand of the “ignorant men of Devonshire,” Cranmer queried, “I would gladly know the reason, why the Cornish men refuse utterly the new English, as you call it, because certain of you understand it not: and yet you will have the service in Latin, which almost none of you understand.”²² What Cranmer failed to appreciate was that the Cornish “were instinctively aware that the old Latin was the surest safeguard of orthodoxy. . . . In Cornwall the commons knew their way about the Latin Mass and understood many of its phrases.”²³ The Archbishop’s position was, of course, a matter of royal policy, and it was royal justice that disposed of the rebellion. Using an army of mostly German and Italian mercenaries, the Lord Protector Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, put down the rebel militia through a number of battles during the summer of 1549. Approximately 5,000 Cornish folk lost their lives in the uprising.²⁴

21 Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400-c. 1580*, second edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 467.

22 See Henry John Todd, *The Life of Archbishop Cranmer*, vol. II (London: C. J. G. & F. Rivington, 1831), 76-139; here at 93 (third article) and 118 (eighth article and Cranmer’s response).

23 Philip Caraman, *The Western Rising 1549: The Prayer Book Rebellion* (Tiverton, Devon, UK: Westcountry Books, 1994), 26-27.

24 Ibid., 103.

The First Prayer Book in Perspective

Comparing the first Book of Common Prayer to the Sarum books that came before it immediately highlights the lack of rubrics or ceremonial directions in the reformed Prayer Book. Some guidance was provided in the appendices of the Book, the first being “Of Ceremonies,” which notes that liturgical ceremonies “have had their beginning by the institution of man” and are subject to change by the church; therefore “some be abolished and some retained.”²⁵ The second, “Certain Notes,” deals with questions of vesture.

Continuation of the customary eucharistic vestments inherited from the Middle Ages is assumed for the Mass. . . . The bishop is always to wear a rochet, a surplice or alb, and a cope or vestment (chasuble), and he or his chaplain is to carry his pastoral staff; no mitre is mentioned. In wording that seems to have been supplied by Cranmer’s chaplain Thomas Becon, it is also provided that “kneeling, crossing, holding up of hands, knocking upon the breast, and other gestures” may be “used or left” according to individual devotional taste.²⁶

Neither the appended notes, however, nor the Book’s few internal rubrics, lend much assistance in determining the conduct of liturgy. The framers of the Prayer Book seem to have intended that a certain amount of external ceremonial knowledge would be required by those using the Book:

The most superficial examination of the rules and directions for the celebration of public worship in the Prayer-book of 1549 is sufficient to show that they certainly were never intended to form a complete code of instructions. . . . The fact is that the book is unintelligible except on the theory that it pre-supposed the existence of a well-known system, and only gave such directions as were necessary to carry out and explain the changes which had been made. . . . [O]f the two opposing theories which have been held on this subject, *i.e.* that no ancient ceremony is permissible which is not expressly authorised, and that every ancient ceremony is permissible which is not expressly

²⁵ *First and Second Prayer Books*, 286.

²⁶ Wright, 22.

condemned, the latter is the only one to which the rubrics of the Prayer-book of 1549 lend any assistance.²⁷

Thus the argument is made that because the Prayer Book's few and imprecise rubrics require some degree of external supplementation, therefore the Book's liturgy presupposes an almost unbroken continuity with the still-familiar ceremonial of the medieval church. Although some such continuity was necessary, and so to be expected, one must also take account of the many changes regarding ornaments and ceremonies that were accomplished by royal or parliamentary injunction, but not reported or recorded in the Book of Common Prayer itself. For example, processions and the ringing of bells during mass had already been forbidden in 1547;²⁸ the use of candles (except as were needed for illumination), the ashes at Lent's beginning and the palm, willow and yew branches of its end were all abolished in 1548.²⁹ Parliamentary articles in 1549, more or less concurrent with the Prayer Book, forbade candles on the altar and "condemned any priests who used any of the ceremonies of the old Mass in celebrating the communion..."³⁰ Thus the sensory appeal of liturgical worship as it had been known in the cathedral uses, and which formed much of the lay experience of late medieval worship, was dismantled by piecemeal legislation.

The advent of the Book of Common Prayer within the program of English reform constituted a major rupture with the quickly-waning medieval past. In spite of this, however, the first Prayer Book lent itself to a very Catholic interpretation, as may be noted in the criticisms levied against it by Peter Martyr Vermigli, or Martin Bucer in his *Censura*.³¹ Though the texts betray a definite move away from certain tenets of Catholic theology — for example, the omission of the term "merit" in the Collect for Purity, to emphasize the doctrine of "justification by grace through faith"³² — the *ordo* or structure of the sacramental rites, including that of the Mass, is relatively unchanged. Sixty-six of the one hundred one collects are derived from Latin originals,³³ and even the eucharistic prayer, both in its form and content, is clearly based on the Roman Canon as it was known in England (though

²⁷ Henry Offley Wakeman, *An Introduction to the History of the Church of England*, seventh edition (London: Rivingtons, 1908), 279-280.

²⁸ See Duffy, 451-452.

²⁹ Ibid., 458.

³⁰ Ibid., 467.

³¹ See E. C. Whitaker, ed., *Martin Bucer and the Book of Common Prayer*, Alcuin Club Collections 55 (Great Wakering, Essex, UK: Mayhew-McCrimmon, 1974).

³² Wright, 12-13.

³³ Ibid., 24.

shorn of its sacrificial overtones and carefully rephrased in the vernacular). The sometimes uneven theological character of the Book does not undermine its critical importance in the history of English worship or in the subsequent development of English-language liturgy across the spectrum of Christian denominations.

[H]owsoever mixed this Book's intentions may have been. . . certain of its legacies were now fixed and would remain. These may be counted as five in number: 1) prayer in the English vernacular, 2) prayer in a language both contemporary and dignified without being commonplace or sentimental, 3) prayer from one book for all the services of the church and all occasions of life, 4) prayer that could be doctrinally comprehensive without causing overmuch offense, and 5) prayer in common with both clergy and laity as members of the same one mystical body receiving [the eucharist] in both kinds.³⁴

These enduring qualities continue to mark the Prayer Book tradition into the twenty-first century. Still, the 1549 Book of Common Prayer, in which the riches of English Catholicism were wed with some of the best of reformed teaching, was not destined to be long-lived. In just a little over three years, as the Reformation in England gained momentum, a new Prayer Book would be needed.

The Prayer Book of 1552

Changes in the public practice of religion might happen over night, but history repeatedly has shown that alteration in the external forms of worship does not guarantee, and therefore cannot be equated with, the conversion of hearts; all the more so when such religious change is commonly viewed at the local level as simply a political maneuver. So while the Protestant minds of Continental Europe continued to influence the increasingly reformed thinking of English church leadership, lay folk still clung to the comfortable Catholicism they had always known — and frequently quit attending church altogether. “Evidently the population preferred to go to hell to going to the Church of England.”³⁵ It would take Parliamentary legislation in April 1552 to compel people to go to church — and fine them if they did not. Those who had absented

³⁴ Ibid., 25.

³⁵ Morison, 82.

themselves after the first Prayer Book appeared on Pentecost 1549 were in for a rude awakening upon their compulsory return in 1552, when the second Book of Common Prayer was introduced. “The book of 1552 represented a determined attempt to break once and for all with the Catholic past, and to leave nothing in the official worship of the Church of England which could provide a foothold for traditional ways of thinking about the sacred. . . . By the standards that England had known till 1552. . . it was drastic in the extreme.”³⁶

Few things from the first Prayer Book went unaltered in the second, including the title. “Whereas the 1549 title had read ‘The Booke of the Common Prayer and Administracion of Sacramentes, and other Rites and Ceremonies [of the Church: after the Use of the Church of England],’ in 1552 the words here set in brackets were omitted and the new title simply concluded ‘in the Church of England’ thus removing any indication of the responsibility to the wider church catholic of which the English church was a part.”³⁷ The Daily Offices were given a penitential introduction (including a general confession), and certain psalms now could be substituted for the Gospel Canticles that had formed the climax of these services since at least the late patristic period. The structure and prayers of the baptismal rite were greatly overhauled,³⁸ with the exorcism, anointing with chrism and giving of a white garment disappearing. Gone, too, were the sign of the cross from confirmation, and anointing and communion of the sick. The option for a funeral mass disappeared and the whole burial office was abbreviated. All in all, “[t]he differences between the two books provide a telling index of the distance which the reform had travelled in just three years from the thought world of medieval Catholicism, and therefore from the instincts of the vast majority of the people.”³⁹ Of course, the most noticeable changes were made to the mass — which was no longer to be called the “mass” at all.

“The Order for the Administracion of the Lordes Supper, or Holye Communion”⁴⁰ (no longer “commonly called the Masse”) marked not only a verbal but also a visual shift away from any associations with the medieval eucharistic liturgy:

³⁶ Duffy, 472-473.

³⁷ Wright, 27; brackets in original.

³⁸ For a detailed analysis of changes in the baptismal rites from the Sarum Manual through the first and second Prayer Books, see Jeanes, *Signs of God's Promise*, ch. 6, “The Administration of Baptism: A Commentary on the Text of the Service,” 241-288.

³⁹ Duffy, 473.

⁴⁰ As in “The Boke of Common Prayer and Administracion of the Sacramentes, and Other Rites and Ceremonies in the Church of England” [1552]; in *First and Second Prayer Books*, 377; original spelling retained.

In a dramatic visual break with tradition, the prayer-book stipulated that the communion was to be celebrated by a priest wearing neither cope nor vestment as required in 1549, but a simple surplice, like the parish clerk or the choir. The celebration was to take place not “at God’s board”, a medieval term frequently used of stone altars [the majority of which by this time had been destroyed], but at a table set in the body of the church [or quire, or chancel, if necessary], the priest standing on the north side, thereby removing every trace of association with the priest before the altar at Mass.⁴¹

The service began with the Lord’s Prayer and the Collect for Purity. Following the lead of the Swiss reformers (whose ethical theology was largely driven by the Old Testament) the Decalogue (Ten Commandments) replaced the nine-fold Kyrie, and the *Gloria in excelsis* “was moved from its ancient position following the Kyrie to the conclusion of the rite, which did add an exuberant and even eschatological note of joy at the end [of the service].”⁴² Other than these changes, the ministry of the Word remained relatively unchanged.

The second-half of the service, the Holy Communion proper, was radically altered. After the offertory sentence from Scripture, the collection was taken. Then was said the great intercession, the prayer “for the whole state of Christ’s Church *militant here in earth*”⁴³ (the words here italicized were an addition; all reference to intercession on behalf of the dead was stricken from the prayer) which had formed the first part of the Canon or eucharistic prayer in 1549. Exhortations and the general confession with absolution and comfortable words followed. Then began the eucharistic prayer, with the *Sursum Corda*, Preface and truncated *Sanctus*, then interrupted by the Prayer of Humble Access: “The Benedictus Qui venit was removed from the end of the Sanctus and the whole biblical order of Isaiah 6 came to light. If we catch the vision of God and sing the angels’ song, then, if Isaiah is to be believed, we immediately express our unworthiness. What could be more natural than the location of humble access at this point?”⁴⁴

The eucharistic prayer continued, now extremely attenuated, with an address to God the Father followed shortly by the prayer’s rightly famous

41 Duffy, 473-474.

42 Wright, 28.

43 *First and Second Prayer Books*, 382.

44 Colin Buchanan, “What did Cranmer Think he was Doing?” in idem, *An Evangelical Among the Anglican Liturgists*, Alcuin Club Collections 84 (London: SPCK, 2009), 104. The point Buchanan is making with his concluding question is highly debatable.

reference to the “full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction” made by Christ on the cross.⁴⁵ A petition or invocation for communion then followed; gone, however, was the robust *epiclesis* or invocation of “thy holy spirit and word” that appeared at this point in 1549, and gone was the request, with its two signs of the cross, “to bless and sanctify” the elements, to the end “that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved son.”⁴⁶ In its place, the new petition read:

Hear us O merciful father we beseech thee; and grant that we, receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy son our Saviour Jesus Christ’s holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood....⁴⁷

The prayer continued with the institution narrative, ending “do this as oft as ye shall drink it in remembrance of me.”⁴⁸ Strangely, no “Amen” of the people ratified the prayer, now fully become a priestly recital.

Without any intervening texts, the eucharistic prayer led directly into the distribution of communion. In 1549 the elements were administered with the words “The body [blood] of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given [shed] for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life,” betraying both an “objectivist” or Catholic doctrine of real eucharistic presence and, in the emphasis on divine gift (“given/shed for thee”), strains of Lutheran thought.⁴⁹ The formulae in the 1552 Book, however, used receptionist-memorialist language, clearly influenced by Calvinist/Reformed theology. For the ministration of the bread, only the words “Take and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith, with thanksgiving” were used; for the cup, “Drink this in remembrance that Christ’s blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.”⁵⁰ Gordon Jeanes asks of the 1552 communion formulae:

What do the words of administration teach us of Cranmer’s understanding of the institution of the sacrament? Not

45 *First and Second Prayer Books*, 389.

46 *Ibid.*, 222.

47 *Ibid.*, 389.

48 *Ibid.*

49 *Ibid.*, 225.

50 *Ibid.*, 389.

surprisingly, “This is my body. . . this is my blood” are the words not found. They are replaced by an expansion of “Do this in remembrance of me” when the communicant is bidden to remember Christ’s death to which the sacrament bears witness. The feeding on Christ is of course by faith, and in the administration of both bread and cup we find the theme of thanksgiving, echoing Jesus giving thanks at the Last Supper and responding with the Christian’s sacrifice of thanks to God. Curious is the term, “this”: “Take and eate this. . . drinke this.” The demonstrative pronoun is not expanded or explained. In the Mass the same pronoun had been the subject of “This is my body.” Now it is the object of the command to eat and drink. . . . “This” [for Cranmer] is bread and wine, mere signs, empty in themselves but pointing to a spiritual reality elsewhere. Like the angels at the tomb, they bid us not to stop here but to look elsewhere for the living Christ.⁵¹

Communion was followed by the Lord’s Prayer. In a curious move, perhaps an attempt at recycling “older material which had been composed earlier,”⁵² a portion of the eucharistic prayer that had followed the institution narrative in 1549 is appointed as one of two post-communion orations (the other being unaltered from the first Prayer Book). The *Gloria in excelsis* follows, and the service concludes with a blessing.

Hastily added to the 1552 Book, after printing had already begun (and so printed in black ink rather than red), the so-called “Black Rubric” at once established kneeling as the normative posture for receiving Communion but also denied that by kneeling the communicant intended any adoration or worship of the Sacrament:

Whereas it is ordained in the book of common prayer [*sic*], in the administration of the Lord’s Supper, that the Communicants kneeling should receive the holy Communion: which thing being well meant, for a signification of the humble and grateful acknowledging of the benefits of Christ, given unto the worthy receiver, and to avoid the profanation and disorder, which about the holy Communion might else ensue: Lest yet the same kneeling might be thought or taken otherwise, we

⁵¹ Jeanes, *Signs of God’s Promise*, 239–40.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 238.

do declare that it is not meant thereby, that any adoration is done, or ought to be done, either unto the Sacramental bread and wine there bodily received, or unto any real and essential presence there being of Christ's natural flesh and blood. For as concerning the Sacramental bread and wine, they remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored, for that were Idolatry to be abhorred by all faithful christians. And as concerning the natural body and blood of our saviour Christ, they are in heaven and not here. For it is against the truth of Christ's true natural body, to be in [more] places than in one, at one time.⁵³

Such an understanding of eucharistic communion as is stated in the Black Rubric — as also with the communion invocation in the eucharistic prayer or the formula for administering communion — effectively denies any personal Real Presence inhering under the sacramental signs of bread and wine. The new doctrinal position articulated in the Prayer Book would have been foreign, if not outright repugnant, to the sensibilities of the Catholic party in the Church of England. Clearly, the intention of all these revisions was to exclude any reading that might suggest something akin to the doctrine of transubstantiation.

Religion's Royal Pendulum

The Prayer Book of 1552 was used officially for about eight months. On July 6, 1553, King Edward VI died of tuberculosis and his elder half-sister, Mary Tudor, acceded to the throne. Almost immediately, Mary set out upon a course of complete religious reversal, intending to restore the Catholicism beloved by her father Henry VIII. "Mass and daily offices in Latin became the only legal form of worship in England from 20 December 1553. Conformity to Catholic worship and teaching was now identified with allegiance to the regime, 'the Queen's proceedings.'"⁵⁴ Only three months before, Archbishop Cranmer had been imprisoned in the Tower of London on charges of sedition. Found guilty in November, 1553, he was condemned to death; but "whatever satisfaction the Queen might gain from seeing him die immediately for treason. . . he had committed a far more serious crime: he had lead the whole realm

⁵³ *First and Second Prayer Books*, 392-393.

⁵⁴ Eamon Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 89.

into heresy. He must die for that, but only after due trial.”⁵⁵

In March, 1554, Cranmer was transferred to Bocardo Prison in Oxford; the following month, theological debates on the eucharist were conducted to provide grist for the projected heresy trial. Meanwhile, Reginald Cardinal Pole had entered England as papal legate, charged by Pope Julius III with the task of reconciling the clergy and absolving the English People from their schism. Pole fulfilled this task on November 30, 1554; some conservative Catholic bishops were subsequently returned to their sees, while others were newly appointed. Then cardinal and queen together set out to purge the English church of its Protestant element. Between 1555 and 1558 some three-hundred men and women would be burned at the stake on charges of heresy and treason.

Among them would be Thomas Cranmer, whose heresy trial began under papal jurisdiction on September 12, 1555 — nearly seventeen months after his imprisonment at Bocardo in Oxford. Roman authorities delivered a verdict of guilt on December 4, 1555; Cranmer was deprived of the See of Canterbury and sentenced to death. (Ten days later, Pole was named the seventieth Archbishop of Canterbury.)⁵⁶ Over the next four months, Cranmer entered upon a series of recantations, claiming his acceptance of the authority of Queen Mary and the supremacy of the pope, the doctrines of transubstantiation and purgatory, and asking for absolution. Cranmer requested the opportunity to make a final, public recantation from the pulpit of the University Church at Oxford, preparing the text beforehand and submitting it to royal and ecclesiastical authorities for approval. On March 21, 1556 — the day scheduled for his execution — Cranmer delivered his address; but near the end, he departed from the prepared text, denied his recantations and renounced the pope as the antichrist. Cranmer was pulled from the pulpit and taken to be burned at the stake, where he thrust his right hand — with which he had written the recantations of which he was now ashamed — into the flames, to be burnt first.⁵⁷

Although many “had been alienated by the escalating radicalisation of protestant liturgical practice under Edward,”⁵⁸ Mary’s restoration of the mass and the national reconciliation with Rome failed to provide the fertile ground that would have been necessary for the old religion once again to take root in sixteenth-century England. “Contrary to Mary’s deepest hopes. . .

⁵⁵ MacCulloch, 558.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 588.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 603-604.

⁵⁸ Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, 73.

many came to identify the Roman obedience with the stench of burning flesh, with her unpopular marriage to Philip of Spain, and, near the end of the reign, with the loss of Calais.”⁵⁹ Both the brevity of Mary’s reign, and the horrors inflicted during it, militated against any return to pre-Reformation Catholicism.

The English Prayer Book from 1559 to 1662

On November 17, 1558, Mary Tudor died. In a strange twist of fate, Archbishop Reginald Pole followed her in death on that same day, about twelve hours later.⁶⁰ This turn of events brought Mary’s Protestant half-sister Elizabeth to the throne, and with her a return to the religion of the Reformation. “Although it is difficult to tell exactly which brand of Protestantism Elizabeth favoured, it is obvious that she would not tolerate a church independent from the state — particularly a church under a Roman pontiff who regarded her as illegitimate and not a rightful heir to the English throne. Thus royal supremacy was at the very centre of both her political and religious policy.”⁶¹ This supremacy was asserted by an act of Parliament in April 1559, and with it came a new Act of Uniformity reestablishing Prayer Book worship.⁶²

The third Book of Common Prayer (1559) was in essence the second Prayer Book of Edward VI, but with certain significant alterations. The Black Rubric was omitted. The formulae for administering communion from the 1549 and 1552 Books were conjoined in a verbose conflation attempting to appease both Protestant and Catholic sensibilities simultaneously.⁶³ Deprecations against the Roman pontiff were excised from the Litany and the ordinal, and the so-called “Ornaments Rubric” was introduced, allowing for the return of candles, proper east-facing stone altars and eucharistic vestments “as were in use by authority of Parliament in the second year of

59 William P. Haugaard, “From the Reformation to the Eighteenth Century,” in Stephen Sykes, John Booty and Jonathan Knight, eds., *The Study of Anglicanism*, revised edition (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998), 8.

60 J. R. H. Moorman, *A History of the Church in England*, third edition (Harrisburg, PA: Morehouse, 1980), 197.

61 Bryan Spinks, “From Elizabeth I to Charles II,” in Hefling and Shattuck, 44.

62 Ibid., 46.

63 Not only were the resulting forms of imposing length, but also of mixed, though not entirely opposed, theologies. With the first half of the formula for each species taken from the 1549 Prayer Book, and the second half lifted from the 1552 Book, Catholic, Lutheran and Calvinist/Reformed theologies now stood together in a single set of texts.

the reign of king Edward VI.” Minor changes were also made to the daily offices and pastoral rites. Though the liturgical formulae proved sometimes unwieldy, the overall theological tenor of the book was that of a very moderate Protestantism, carefully measured in its comprehension and clearly “aimed at conciliating those of more conservative leanings” with those more positively committed to reform.⁶⁴

The accession of James I (VI of Scotland) in 1603 brought with it the Millenary Petition (so called for its 1,000 clergy signatures) “requesting a conference in order to deal with Puritan grievances including the services of the Church.”⁶⁵ The requested gathering, held at Hampton Court, London, in 1604, resulted in a number of minor alterations to the Prayer Book. The phrase “or remission of sins” was added to the term “absolution” in the morning and evening offices; thanksgivings for various situations and blessings were appended to the Litany and revised rubrics for the Office of Private baptism specified that it be performed by a “lawful minister.” The service-title “Confirmation” was expanded with the phrase “or laying on of hands upon children baptised, and able to render an account of their faith, according to the Catechism following.” And to that Catechism was added a concluding section regarding the sacraments. These alterations were approved on authority of the sovereign, and the 1604 Book of Common Prayer was issued.⁶⁶

While James I was of a broad and comprehensive mind, Parliament was increasingly composed of merchant-class Puritan Congregationalists and Presbyterians in whose opinion Anglicanism still smacked too much of Roman Catholic tradition and too little of the Bible and Calvinist ideals. On his accession in 1625, Charles I inherited from the previous reign this unresolved theological dissent and classist discomfort. The king resigned himself to ruling without Parliament, until war with Scotland — over the imposition of an “Anglican-like liturgy” — required the authorization of taxes by the assembly.⁶⁷ Opposition to the sovereign remained strong, not least because of the king’s chief ecclesiastical advisor, the moderately Catholic and centrist Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud. Civil war broke out in 1642, wreaking havoc on the nation for the next three years. During this

64 Marion J. Hatchett, “Prayer Books,” in Sykes, Booty and Knight, 138.

65 William Sydnor, *The Prayer Book Through the Ages*, revised edition (Harrisburg, PA: Morehouse, 1997), 37.

66 For textual changes in the 1604 revision of the Prayer Book, see Colin Buchanan, *The Hampton Court Conference and the 1604 Book of Common Prayer*, Alcuin/GROW Joint Liturgical Studies 68 (Norwich, Norfolk, UK: Hymns Ancient and Modern, 2009), 44-52.

67 Haugaard, “From the Reformation to the Eighteenth Century,” in Sykes, Booty and Knight, 20.

time, the Calvinist forces in Parliament deemed that new forms of church governance and worship were necessary for effecting real reform in the English nation and church. Archbishop Laud was executed in 1644, and a Commission was established to eclipse the Book of Common Prayer.

All were agreed on a rejection of the Prayer Book, but differed on what should replace it: the Presbyterians wanted a Genevan type service with fixed elements and set prayers but the Independents [Congregationalists] preferred greater freedom relying on ministerial inspiration. Inevitably the outcome was a compromise: and *The Directory for the Public Worship of God* [also called *The Westminster Directory*] took the form of a set of directions and suggestions, some of which could be converted into set prayers should the minister so choose, and allowing for considerable variation. . . . *The Directory* was authorized in England as the sole manual for public worship in January 1645....⁶⁸

As the *Directory* replaced the Prayer Book, so presbyterian governance of the church replaced the episcopacy. King Charles was beheaded in 1649; his son, Charles II was sent into exile, and a Commonwealth under the civil leadership of Oliver Cromwell as Protector replaced the English monarchy.

The execution of the king had the impact opposite of what was intended. "The soldiers may have cheered when Charles's head rolled from the block, but upon the country as a whole there settled a sense of horror, of guilt, of shame; and the consciences of many were uneasy."⁶⁹ As enforced by the heavy hand of Cromwell's Protectorate, Calvinism did little to ease that burden on the English spirit. With Cromwell's death in 1658, and the failure and resignation of his son, Richard, two years later, the way was opened for the return of the exiled king.

King Charles II was restored to the throne in May, 1660. With him came a renewed Anglican episcopal hierarchy and a new revision of the Book of Common Prayer.

Two opposing liturgical patterns of Prayer Book revision were urged at the Restoration. Charles II sponsored a conference

68 R. C. D. Jasper and G. J. Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed*, third edition (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press/Pueblo, 1990), 265.

69 Moorman, 243.

to attempt to design a Prayer Book acceptable to both Presbyterians and Anglicans, while an ad-hoc Catholic-minded group prepared a liturgy which looked something like the first 1549 Prayer Book. A few modest revisions in both directions were granted, but these and the many uncontroversial minor changes left the 1662 Prayer Book solidly in the Elizabethan tradition....⁷⁰

Thus the Preface to the 1662 Book asserted that “[o]ur general aim. . . was not to gratify this or that party in any [of] their unreasonable demands; but to do that which. . . might most tend to the preservation of Peace and Unity in the Church. . . and the cutting off occasion from those who seek. . . [to] quarrel against the Liturgy of the Church.”⁷¹ But at the time, the resulting modifications seemed little more than trifling concessions, such that neither the Presbyterians (who were generally hostile to any set form of worship) nor the Laudians (whose commitments to Catholic tradition urged reform in the direction of the first Prayer Book) could claim any great advance in shaping the revised liturgy.⁷² Still, however weakly, “the mean between the two extremes” had been struck.⁷³ Successive years, decades and even centuries would see other attempts at Prayer Book revision — and in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, alternative service books would be authorized. Yet, the 1662 Book of Common Prayer became (and remains) the standard and legally established Prayer Book in the Church of England.

Though the revisions made to the Prayer Book at the Restoration of the monarchy were “modest,” they were also theologically significant. The most outstanding changes included the re-introduction of Thomas Cranmer’s original 1549 Preface, under the title “Concerning the Services of the Church”; the use of the 1611 Authorized (“King James”) Version of the Bible (excluding the psalter) for biblical texts outside those embedded in the Communion service; the requirement that Absolution at the Daily Offices be given by a *Priest* (rather than simply a “minister”); the addition to the end of the offices of certain collects and prayers from ancient sources, including

⁷⁰ Haugaard, “From the Reformation to the Eighteenth Century,” in Sykes, Booty and Knight, 23.

⁷¹ *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church according to the use of The Church of England*, etc. [1662] (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), vi-vii.

⁷² See R. C. D. Jasper, *The Development of the Anglican Liturgy, 1662-1980* (London: SPCK, 1989), 5.

⁷³ *The Book of Common Prayer* [1662], v.

the “Prayer of Saint [John] Chrysostom”; the incorporation of rubrics in the service of Holy Communion prescribing manual acts or gestures for the priest to perform during the eucharistic prayer (now called the “Prayer of Consecration”); the reintroduction of the so-called “Black Rubric,” altered to read that no adoration is done to any “corporeal presence,” rather than to any “real and essential presence”; the addition of a rite for “The Ministration of Baptism to such as are of Riper Years,” and the elimination of the catechism from the rite for Confirmation, substituting in its place a single question amounting to a renewal and ratification of baptismal vows.⁷⁴

The appearance of the Book of Common Prayer in 1549 marked a decisive side-step away from the medieval liturgy of the Sarum Use, and each successive reform of the Book contributed to the emergence of now-familiar forms of Anglican worship. The emphasis in this process was very much upon text, as “liturgical uniformity that was also aimed at doctrinal control” shaped the development of English-language liturgy.⁷⁵ The pageantry of Bishop Richard Poore’s Salisbury faded into the past as a rational, cerebral religion came to replace the lavish sensory engagement of the medieval church. (This is by no means to suggest that beauty was banished altogether from Anglican liturgy: the development of music and architecture in the English church attest well that quite the opposite was the case.) But in the realm of religion, words alone are insufficient to convey the meaning of the range of experience in the divine-human encounter that liturgy intends to celebrate. Human persons, as incarnate realities, are body-mind-spirit unities seeking total spiritual nourishment from religious practice. In the years, decades and even centuries following the coming of the English Prayer Books, the question came to be asked: can the monumental prose of the Book of Common Prayer be wed to the ritual and ceremonial uses of the liturgy of the medieval English church — and if so, how?

74 For more detailed lists of changes, see Sydnor, 48–50.

75 Wright, 34.

THE RISE OF RITUALISM IN THE AMERICAN CHURCH



Anglican colonists settling in North America in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries brought with them the liturgies that they knew: those of the Book of Common Prayer. Evidence of Prayer Book worship in North America exists from 1579, when services were conducted by the chaplain of Sir Francis Drake in the area now known as San Francisco Bay. The first celebration of Holy Communion by Anglicans on the Atlantic side of the continent seems to have been that recorded as taking place on May 14, 1607, at the Jamestown settlement in Virginia — at an altar sheltered under sailcloth stretched out on rough-hewn wooden poles — conducted by the Rev. Robert Hunt.

As colonial congregations grew and churches were built, ceremonial would have differed relatively little from that first service. On an average Sunday morning (if it was a “Communion Sunday” and a priest — simply called a “minister” at the time — was available), Morning Prayer and the Litany were read, with the minister and the clerk leading the verses and responses from prayer desks (often the lower and middle levels of a massive “triple-decker” pulpit). Likewise, the Ante-communion (“Ministry of the Word”) was read by the minister from the desk and the sermon preached from the upper-level of the pulpit. Then, proceeding to the “north” end of the Lord’s Table, the minister led the Holy Communion with hands most likely folded throughout the prayers (manual acts or gestures apart from those few that were prescribed in the 1662 Prayer Book were generally not used). The minister wore a cassock or a preaching gown throughout the service; use of the surplice was rare, and colored stoles were unknown. Assisting ministers were unnecessary for this mostly stationary liturgy. Such ceremonial arrangements persisted more or less unabated through the Revolutionary War and the introduction of the first American Book of Common Prayer in 1789 — a Prayer Book modeled on both English and Scottish precedents.¹

¹ On the origins of the American Book of Common Prayer, see Paul Victor Marshall, *One, Catholic, and Apostolic: Samuel Seabury and the Early Episcopal Church*, with CD-Rom Appendix (New York: Church Publishing, 2004).

The Rise of Ritualism in the Nineteenth Century

At the turn of the nineteenth century, what today is commonly identified as a “High Church” approach to liturgy was virtually unknown in United States. Indeed, through most of the first half of that century, American Episcopal High Churchmen maintained the straightforward and unceremonious liturgical customs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and understood themselves to be thoroughly Protestant (though not Calvinists). The evangelical principles of the sixteenth-century Continental Reformation — the primacy of Scripture (*sola scriptura*) and justification by grace through faith (*sola gratia / sola fide*), to cite but two examples — had made their mark on English theology and were inherited by the American church. While embracing these, the High Churchmen also upheld a rational and anti-enthusiastic (non-emotional) ideal for the development of Christian character, and an elevated, catholic understanding of the nature of the church, in which apostolic succession in the ministry of bishops was accepted as both essential to that nature and of divine appointment. The great representative of this early nineteenth-century High Churchmanship was the Right Rev. John Henry Hobart (1775-1830), third Bishop of New York, whose personal motto “Evangelical Truth, Apostolic Order” was emblematic of this “synthesis” of evangelical and catholic theological commitments.² Yet American High Churchmanship and its synthesis were not sufficiently Protestant so as to maintain peace with more evangelical voices in the Episcopal Church. Internal strife would only be compounded when influences from the Oxford Movement or Tractarianism began to be felt in the United States.

Tractarianism had its beginnings in the late 1820s, in the friendship that developed among John Keble, Edward Pusey, John Henry Newman and Richard Froude, all fellows of Oriel College at Oxford.³ It emerged as a significant movement in the Church of England after Keble preached his assize sermon “National Apostasy” on July 14, 1833. Largely in reaction against perceived secularization in the church, Oxford Movement leaders endeavored to highlight and defend the continuity of the Church of England with the apostolic foundations of Christianity. In September 1833,

2 See Robert Bruce Mullin, *Episcopal Vision / American Reality: High Church Theology and Social Thought in Evangelical America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), especially chapter 3, “The Hobartian Synthesis,” 60-95.

3 Nigel Yates, *The Oxford Movement and Anglican Ritualism* (London: The Historical Association, 1983), 11.

the movement launched publication of a series of *Tracts for the Times* (from which “Tractarianism” derives its name), with John Henry Newman’s brief but pointed defense of apostolic succession in the English church, *Thoughts on the Ministerial Commission, Respectfully Addressed to the Clergy*, being first in the series. A total of ninety tracts were published between 1833 and 1841; they were widely read in England, and (in spite of sporadic dissemination)⁴ had a strong effect in the United States, both within and beyond the Episcopal Church. Indeed, “[a]lmost all the other religious communions took an interest in the question. . . . The Tracts raised Episcopal claims to a higher and more visible plane than at any time during the antebellum period, and in doing so threatened the other American denominations.”⁵ Tractarianism initially embodied much of the same synthesized theological tenor that characterized American High Churchmanship; as time progressed, however, the Tracts highlighted a disjunction between the catholicity of antiquity and the Protestant Reformation. While ostensibly suggesting that Anglicanism offered a *via media* or middle way between these two extremes, the emphases placed on eucharistic doctrine and the ministerial priesthood in the Tracts led many readers to detect unnerving signs of Roman Catholic influence — something particularly unhelpful in the setting of an American church embroiled in internal debates between its High Church and Low Church parties on the one hand, and coping with large numbers of Roman Catholic immigrants from Ireland, Italy and Germany on the other.

Nevertheless, the Oxford Movement had its adherents in the United States, and a number of American parishes were founded or deeply influenced by clergy who kept Tractarian principles in view. Notable among them were Grace Church in Newark (1837); the Church of the Advent in Boston (1844); Christ Church in New Haven (1845); Saint Mark’s and Saint Clement’s Churches,⁶ both in Philadelphia (1847 and 1856 respectively); the Church of the Ascension in Chicago (1857);⁷ the Church of the Transfiguration, and later the Church of Saint Mary the Virgin, both in New York City (1848 and 1868

4 “[T]he Tracts were far more a symbol than a source among American Episcopalians. . . . To a surprising degree, even the alleged supporters of the Tracts did not read them in any systematic way”; Mullin, 153.

5 Ibid., 166.

6 Although St. Clement’s was (as noted) founded in 1856, its association with Tractarian Ritualism dates from c. 1870; <http://www.s-clements.org/index.php?/main/parish-history-page-2/> (accessed July 24, 2010).

7 Like St. Clement’s, the Church of the Ascension was not immediately noted for Ritualist leanings; these date from 1869; http://www.ascensionchicago.org/site/epage/62367_744.htm (accessed July 24, 2010).

respectively). One seminary, Nashota House in Wisconsin (opened in 1842, chartered in 1847), was also founded along Tractarian lines and demonstrated early Ritualist influences. These various institutions not only embraced the theological positions advocated by leaders in the Oxford Movement, but also “they wanted to give [those positions] the outward forms with which tradition had long invested them. Others. . . adopted similar practices from motives merely sentimental or artistic. For one reason or another, then, as early as the ’forties ritual innovations began to appear in a growing number of parishes.”⁸

The impact of such Tractarian-influenced Ritualism (as it came to be called) varied somewhat from place to place, but a few common practical characteristics can be noted: the placement of a cross and candles on the altar; the celebrant at the altar facing eastward during eucharist; the vesting of choirs in cassock and surplice; mixing water with the wine in the chalice at the Offertory; the use of colored stoles or even the chasuble as eucharistic vestments, and anointing the sick with oil. Such ceremonial elements and uses were associated with (and sometimes directly and intentionally borrowed from) the Roman liturgy; thus, wherever they spread, a real — and at times utterly irrational — fear of Roman Catholic influence followed. When, for example, the 1868 General Convention of the Episcopal Church met in New York City, the cross and candles on the altar of the Church of the Transfiguration became a point of particular contention. One critic was alleged to have quipped of them to Horatio Potter, the local bishop, “That cross is leading the way, and those candles are lighting the way, to Rome, sir!”⁹

⁸ James Thayer Addison, *The Episcopal Church in the United States 1789-1931* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1969), 206-207.

⁹ As reported in George MacAdam, *The Little Church Around the Corner* (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1925), 53. I am grateful to the Right Rev. Andrew St John, Rector of the Church of the Transfiguration in New York City, for bringing this anecdote to my attention and making a copy of MacAdam’s book available to me.

Reasonable Ritual?

The development of Tractarian-influenced Ritualism was an English phenomenon as much as it was an American one, with its own problems and consequences for the Church of England. Ritualist literature that made its way across the Atlantic to interested persons in the Episcopal Church encouraged the growth of the movement in the United States, providing theological and historical warrants for the adoption of “Catholic” ceremonial and ornaments, as well as detailed practical advice for implementing such elements within the framework of Prayer Book liturgy. One of the most famous examples of this genre was the *Directorium Anglicanum*, edited first by the Rev. John Purchas (1858), and subsequently by the Rev. Frederick George Lee. In the original Preface, Purchas outlined a high-minded rationale for Ritualist practices:

The ends to which Ritual and Ceremonial minister may be thus classified: —

I. They are the safeguards of Sacraments — that they may “be rightly and duly administered,” and not endangered either in respect of “matter” or “form” by the chances of negligence or indevotion.

II. They are the expressions of doctrine, and witnesses to the Sacramental system of the Catholic religion.

III. They are habitual and minute acts of love to Him “Who so loved us,” for love is shown not only in “the doing of some great thing,” in the performance of some august rite in the very Presence of God, but also in an affectionate, reverent, and pious care in even the smallest details of the Service of the Sanctuary — marks of love to our Blessed Lord in the performance of Divine Service generally, and of dread and binding obligation in whatsoever concerns the essence of the Sacraments.

IV. They are securities for respect by promoting God’s glory in the eyes of men, and also in serving to put the Priest in remembrance of Him Whom he serves and Whose he is. [...]

Thus it is evident that Ritual and Ceremonial tend to the “edification” of the Church, are “apt to stir up the dull mind of man to the remembrance of his duty to God by some notable signification,” and conduce to the maintenance of a “decent order and godly discipline.”¹⁰

Despite such a noble view of the reasons for, and effects of, ceremonial in liturgical worship, English Ritualists were viewed askance by many of their fellow Anglicans, whose self-understanding was thoroughly Protestant. The Catholic Relief Act of 1829 had opened the doors of Parliament to Roman Catholics, and paved the way for the 1850 organization of Roman Catholic dioceses in England. To some Anglicans, the liturgical practices of the Ritualists (following on the heels of the high theology of the Tractarians) suggested a genuine threat of popery for the Church of England.¹¹ To others, however, the ceremonies and sentiments of the Ritualists were simply foppish. “Some enthusiasts showed the excitement you might have for a new toy: curious productions like [the] *Directorium Anglicanum*, with their elaborate prescriptions for performing and beautifying the liturgy, have the air of playing at doctors and nurses.”¹²

Similar attitudes prevailed in the United States, leading a group of American clergy to seek advice on the questions raised by Ritualism from the Right Rev. John Henry Hopkins (1792-1868), Bishop of Vermont and eighth Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church.¹³ His response to their request was published in a small volume in 1866, entitled *The Law of Ritualism*. (The original edition’s cover, stamped in gold with a depiction of a smoking thurible, raised more than one eyebrow in its day.) While Ritualists in the

10 John Purchas, “Preface,” in Frederick George Lee, ed., *Directorium Anglicanum: Being a Manual of Directions for the Right Celebration of the Holy Communion, for the Saying of Matins and Evensong, and for the Performance of Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Ancient Use of the Church of England*, second edition, revised (London: Thomas Bosworth, 1865), xiv-xv.

11 “Now we hold that a person may cease to be a Protestant without openly and formally joining the Church of Rome. . . . Let our rulers therefore beware! Something must be done, and soon”; Verner M. White, *Ritualism and New Testament Christianity* (London: James Nisbet & Company, 1867), 98. White, a Presbyterian minister, considered the advance of Ritualism to be a severe crisis for all loyal English Protestants, Anglican or not.

12 George Guiver, *Vision Upon Vision: Processes of Change and Renewal in Christian Worship* (Norwich, Norfolk, UK: Canterbury Press, 2009), 143.

13 The note of request, undated in its published form, was printed in John Henry Hopkins, *The Law of Ritualism, Examined in its Relation to the Word of God, to the Primitive Church, to the Church of England, and to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1866), iii.

American church often claimed that the customs, ornaments and usages they espoused were *adiaphora* — inconsequential or indifferent — Hopkins asserted the opposite outlook: “Men may endeavor to make light of these matters, as being things of indifference. But nothing should be esteemed of indifference which stands connected with religious worship.”¹⁴ In Hopkins’ opinion, issues surrounding the conduct of Christian liturgy deserved more attention than they recently had been given — regardless of whether or not Ritualism would prove itself appropriate for the Episcopal Church.

Hopkins advanced a defense for the introduction of ritualistic practices that drew on Hebrew/Mosaic and early Christian precedents, English and American Canon Law and Prayer Book Rubrics, and a characteristically Anglican appeal to reason and a spirit of toleration. “I am quite aware,” he wrote, “that although my line of argument will be entirely Scriptural, yet the same objection may be made to my conclusions which has been so zealously urged against the English Ritualists, namely, that they are in danger of drawing too near to the Church of Rome.”¹⁵ Above all, Hopkins was concerned with preserving the unity of the church and its biblical faith; and his final position on Ritualist practices hinged on whether or not they served that end:

Unity in the same faith, the same government, and the same Liturgy, need not, and, as it seems to me could not, be unfavorably affected by a richer ministerial dress, by two lights burning on the altar, by burning a little frankincense, or by a greater manifestation of outward reverence. And if these things are found to be attractive to many, and operate beneficially in bringing them to the House of God, and enabling them to take a pleasure in the forms of religion, why should not the Church most willingly allow instead of trying to repress them?¹⁶

Hopkins’ conclusion, personal in tone and maintaining a traditionally Protestant High Church position, was that “while on strictly Scriptural grounds I approve this Ritualism, I do it as a matter of external *order*, in nowise *essential* to our acceptance with Christ. . . . If the ceremonial law were essential to salvation, the Gentiles could not have been declared free.”¹⁷ And with respect to potential detractors, he could only claim that “[s]o long as the

¹⁴ Ibid., 83.

¹⁵ Ibid., 4-5.

¹⁶ Ibid., 94.

¹⁷ Ibid., 97; emphases original.

great doctrines of the Reformation are faithfully preached by the clergy, I can see no danger that a solemn, rich, and attractive ritual will ever lead any one to Popery.”¹⁸

Yet Hopkins’ irenic position was far from universally shared. “This book. . . so far from calming the agitation, proved to be only the opening chapter in a decade of heated controversy. Its appeal to laws and precedents in the Church of England was especially resented.”¹⁹ In January of 1867, a special meeting of the House of Bishops issued a declaration signed by twenty-four of its members condemning such appeals to English law and precedent.²⁰ By 1868, the problem of Ritualism (and its attendant specter of Roman Catholicism) demanded official attention from the General Convention of the church.

The General Convention of 1868

On October 26, 1868, the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies of the General Convention of the Episcopal Church received a majority report of its Committee on Canons. In its preamble, the report noted that the church had been able to maintain a “happy mean between too much stiffness in refusing and too much easiness in admitting variations in things once advisedly established” in its liturgy, holding that, in regard to things “indifferent and alterable. . . such changes and alterations should be made therein as to those who are in places of authority shall from time to time seem either necessary or expedient” for the sake of preserving “peace and unity in the Church, the procuring of reverence, and the exciting of piety and devotion in the worship of God.” Nevertheless, the report also observed that

the introduction, by certain of her ministers of vestments, ceremonies, practices, and ornaments of churches, not heretofore generally known in the public worship of this Church, is marring her good order and harmony, wounding the consciences of many of her true and loyal children, scandalizing and repelling many without her fold, deferring hopes of Christian unity, and imperiling portions of the faith.²¹

¹⁸ Ibid., 75-76.

¹⁹ Addison, 208.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ *Journal of the Proceedings of the Bishops, Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Assembled in a General Convention Held in the City of New York from Oct. 17th to Oct. 29th, inclusive, in the Year of Our Lord 1868* (Hartford: For the Convention, 1869), 140.

With these concerns in view, the report introduced a Resolution to the Convention: by God's grace and a "spirit of moderation" the Episcopal Church had been "adverse to all restrictions to the liberty of her children in things indifferent or unessential, so long as unity can be maintained and spiritual edification promoted. . . . It is the sense of this convention, therefore, that the enactment of any canon on the subject of ritual would be unwise and inexpedient at the present time." At the same time, the resolution went on to note that

continued maintenance of the decency and order as well as of the peace and harmony which, by God's blessing, have always characterized this Church. . . require from all ministers of this Church, celebrating Divine service. . . a conscientious and, so far as may be, steadfast adherence to such vestments, ceremonies, practices, and ornaments as, by reason of long-continued use or by authority, are recognized as properly belonging to this Church.

Therefore, "in all matters doubtful. . . reference should be made to the Ordinary [diocesan bishop], and no changes should be made against the godly counsel and judgment of the bishop."²²

A minority report from the Committee on Canons, significantly more pessimistic in tone, was also received in the House of Deputies. Noting that the thirty-fourth Article of Religion recognizes the church's right to alter its liturgical worship, the report nonetheless suggests that "an individual member [who] of his own private judgment, openly breaks the traditions and ceremonies of the Church, which, not being contrary to God's Word, have been ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly."²³ Because such individuals indeed had become a disruptive element within the Episcopal Church, legislation now was called for to stop the spread of Ritualism.

Ensuing debate resulted in a total rewording of the resolution proposed in the majority report. The amended resolution that would be passed and conveyed to the House of Bishops called for "such additional Rubrics in the Book of Common Prayer as in [the bishops'] judgment may be

²² Ibid., 140-141.

²³ Ibid., 141.

deemed necessary.”²⁴ But the Bishops were unconvinced: since the innovations (or aberrations) of Ritualism were largely the work of individual clergy, the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer — which extended to the whole American church — were not the proper place to address such concerns. The response of the House of Bishops to the resolution of the House of Deputies is telling in this regard: “this House deems it unadvisable to enter upon any alteration of the rubrics of our Book of Common Prayer by the insertion of additional matter; but that it will appoint a Committee whose duty it shall be to consider whether any additional provision for uniformity by canon or otherwise, is practicable and expedient, and to report to the next General Convention.”²⁵ A Committee on Ritual Uniformity was indeed appointed;²⁶ wrestling with the implications of its Report would come to occupy (more than any other issue) the energies and attention of the General Convention of the Episcopal Church three years later.

From Committee to Committee

The General Convention of 1871 opened with a number of agenda items demanding to be addressed. High and Low Churchmen alike wished to see the introduction of greater flexibility for shaping Sunday worship: the Prayer Book service of combined Morning Prayer, Litany, Ante-Communion and Sermon was gruelingly long and particularly unsuited for evangelistic purposes. The Hymnal was in desperate need of revision and expansion. The Nation was in its period of Reconstruction, and the church itself was still recovering from the divisive effects of the Civil War — even as it also was moving westward into new mission territories and erecting new dioceses. And there were calls from evangelicals to remove from the rite for baptism references that suggested an ontological regeneration or rebirth of the newly baptized. (This theological issue bore heavily on many consciences and threatened to divide the Episcopal Church.)

Nevertheless, the question of Ritual Uniformity took the front seat, at least in the House of Deputies. The Bishops’ Committee appointed in 1868 delivered to the House of Bishops a meaty report, both theological

²⁴ Ibid., 157.

²⁵ Ibid., 270; emphasis added.

²⁶ As appointed by Presiding Bishop Benjamin Bosworth Smith, the members of the Committee on Ritual Uniformity were Bishops Alfred Lee of Delaware; John Williams of Connecticut; William Henry Odenheimer of New Jersey; Thomas March Clark of Rhode Island and John Barrett Kerfoot of Pittsburgh in Pennsylvania.

and practical in nature. It noted at the outset that “substantial uniformity is entirely compatible with very considerable individual liberty; that non-essentials should never be unduly magnified, and, far less, raised to an equality with essentials; that many troublesome and objectionable things are ephemeral in their nature, and ‘perish in the using;’ and that under any circumstances hasty legislation is ever to be avoided.”²⁷ Still, the committee determined that “some action of the General Convention. . . is very desirable, if not, indeed, absolutely demanded” to address the issue of Ritualism. Three circumstances warranted this conviction: first was the “great and growing ‘diversities of use,’” some of which “bid fair to equal, if they do not exceed, those which, at the period of the Anglican Reformation, were regarded as an evil to be removed. . . [and which] occasion. . . even now, confusion, trouble and perplexity among our people.” Second was the belief that “various services, over and above those provided in the Book of Common Prayer. . . are publicly used in certain churches. . . . that are not in accord with the ‘doctrine, discipline and worship,’ of our own Church or are foreign to the genius and spirit of our services.” Finally, there was evidence giving “reason to believe that, in some instances, the services of the Prayer Book are unlawfully altered or mutilated, and in others are so performed as to make it difficult, to say the least, to distinguish them, except in the language employed, from those of the Church of Rome.”

The Bishops’ Committee was unanimous in recommending action on the part of the General Convention, “in the form of a Canon or Canons.”²⁸ They cited three specific areas for legislative consideration: liturgical “uses” or ceremonial, vesture and the referencing of questions to the local bishop. First, fourteen specific points of liturgical ceremonial were enumerated for prohibition: (1) the use of incense; (2) the presence of a crucifix anywhere in an Episcopal church; (3) the use of processional crosses; (4) the placement of candles “on or about the Holy Table”; (5) the elevation of the elements during the Prayer of Consecration or during the distribution of communion; (6) the mixing of water with the wine in the chalice; (7) the lavabo, or washing the priest’s hands, or the purification of vessels “in the presence of the congregation”; (8) “[b]owings, crossings, genuflections, prostrations, reverences, bowing down upon or kissing the Holy Table,” and kneeling (except as permitted in the rubrics of the Prayer Book); (9)

²⁷ *Debates of the House of Deputies in the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Held in Baltimore, MD., October, A.D. 1871* (Hartford: Church Press/M. H. Mallory, 1871), 54. All subsequent quotations within this paragraph are taken from the same page.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

private celebration of the eucharist (without any assistant whatsoever); (10) “[e]mploying or permitting any person or persons not in Holy Orders, to assist the minister in any part of the order for the administration of the Holy Communion”; (11) the use of any liturgical texts other than those in the Prayer Book or permitted by Canon; (12) introduction of the Choral service without the consent of the Vestry or against the expressed wishes of the local bishop; (13) the introduction of a “[s]urplised choir,” except under the same conditions as in number 12; (14) the arrangement of the Chancel “as to prevent the minister from officiating at the right end of the Holy Table.”²⁹ Second, with regard to eucharistic vesture, the “clerical habit” then in current use (cassock and surplice) was to be retained, with a black or white stole: while not mentioned, stoles of other colors and chasubles are clearly prohibited. Finally, recommendation was made that “some action be taken to carry out, in such manner as may secure its observance,” the principle that all questions about ritual uses be referred to the diocesan bishop.

The report ended with two brief resolutions: communication of the report to the House of Deputies and establishment of a Joint Committee with three members from each order (episcopal, clerical and lay). When the deputies received the report, they were exasperated that the Bishops had not taken more decisive action on the request expressed in the resolution of 1868. Nevertheless, they agreed to the formation of a Joint Committee, which eventually numbered fifteen (with five representatives from each order).³⁰ On Thursday, October 19, 1871, this Committee would offer its own report.

In Search of a Law of Ritual

Given the contents of the original report presented by the House of Bishops’ Committee on Ritual Uniformity near the outset of the General Convention of 1871, one might have expected from the Joint Committee a rather

²⁹ Ibid., 55, for all quotations in this paragraph.

³⁰ From its members, the House of Bishops selected the Rt. Rev. William Rollinson Whittingham of Maryland; the Rt. Rev. William Bacon Stevens of Pennsylvania; the Rt. Rev. Gregory Thurston Bedell of Ohio (Assisting); the Rt. Rev. Thomas Atkinson of North Carolina and the Rt. Rev. Arthur Cleveland Coxe of Western New York. From the Clerical Order in the House of Deputies were selected the Rev. William Cooper Mead, D.D., of the Diocese of Connecticut; the Rev. Benjamin I. Haight, D.D., LL.D., of the Diocese of New York; the Rev. Charles W. Andrews, D.D., of the Diocese of Virginia; the Rev. Horace Stringfellow, Jr., D.D., of the Diocese of Alabama; the Rev. Hiram W. Beers, D.D., of the Diocese of Wisconsin; and from the Lay Order, Mr. George E. B. Jackson, of the Diocese of Maine; Mr. Orlando Meads, LL.D., of the Diocese of Albany; Mr. William Welsh, of the Diocese of Pennsylvania; Mr. John W. Andrews, of the Diocese of Ohio; Mr. James Craighaid, of the Diocese of Tennessee.

thorough commentary on Ritualist practices. All that was offered, however, was a proposed canon:

CANON OF RITUAL

§ 1. This Church, holding fast its liberty in Christ its Head, recognizes no other law of ritual than such as it shall have itself accepted or provided; meaning thereby in no wise to prejudice or arraign the differing rites, usages, customs, or laws of other branches of the Church of Christ.

§ 2. The provisions for Ritual in this Church are:

1. The Book of Common Prayer [...]
2. The Canons of the Church of England in use in the American Provinces before the year 1789, and not subsequently superseded, altered, or repealed, by legislation, General or Diocesan, of this Church.
3. The Canonical or other regular legislative or judicial action or decisions of this Church, in its Conventions, General or Diocesan, or by its duly constituted authorities.

§ 3. For the greater uniformity and simplicity of the public worship of this Church, for the more effectual enforcement of due habits of solemn reverence in its Congregations, and out of considerate regard to the conditions under which the extension of this Church is now and hereafter to take place, it is hereby declared and provided, that in all questions arising concerning Ritual Observance, the Administration of the Law of Ritual of this Church, whether for enforcement or for restriction, appertains to the office and duty of the Ordinary, whose official written determination, whether of his own motion, or at the official demand either of a Rector or of a Vestry, shall be held to be the settlement of any question which shall at any time arise concerning Ritual: *Provided*, however, that contradictory determinations shall be subject, on Memorial or otherwise, to revision by the House of Bishops, under such rules and regulations for bringing the same before them, as said House of Bishops shall prescribe.³¹

31 Ibid., 258; emphasis original.

A resolution was appended to this canon, calling for yet another joint committee “to examine the Canons of the Church of England, of 1603,” to determine which portions were “in use” in the American church in 1789, and to what extent they since had been changed or repealed.³² (Apparently, the Joint Committee had forgotten the January 1867 declaration of the House of Bishops condemning appeals to English Canon Law on the part of the Ritualists.)³³

Debate on the proposed canon opened the following morning (Friday, October 20). Early on, the deputies repeatedly raised two concerns: over the authority the proposed canon would extend to individual bishops in relationship to their clergy, and over the proposed canon’s reference to the English Canon Law effective in the United States in 1789. Of the former, the Rev. Dr. Horace Stringfellow of Alabama believed that it sent a negative message to the faithful: “[w]henver your rector does a single thing which, in your judgment, is not right, do not stop but march at once to your Bishop and demand that he give you a written decision in reference to the question, so that, whether it be the erection of a cross in a procession, or a surpliced choir, or whatever it may be, it may settle once for all, the conduct of your rector.” Yet, as he further noted,

our Bishops are fallible men. They can possibly err, they may possibly take a wrong interpretation of the law of the Church in reference to a matter before them. The Bishop, however, decides. Does the decision of that Bishop die when the Bishop dies? Does it not stand there, not by statute, but at least will it not have the force of a judicial decision that has been rendered by a Bishop in reference to a matter now brought before him? And when the appeal comes on the part of the vestry, the decision is made by the Bishop, — it is given in writing. The rector is bound by that decision, even although every other Bishop in the Church may unite in the expression of the opinion that the decision of the Bishop interested was wrong.³⁴

Similar concern was expressed by Orland Meads of Albany: “that which before rested in the paternal prerogative of the Bishop growing out of the relation in which he stood to the clergy is transferred to a mere Canonical obligation

32 Ibid.

33 See above, page 94, note 20.

34 Ibid., 289.

... [T]he Canon makes his decision the law of the Church.”³⁵ The Rev. Dr. Daniel R. Goodwin of Pennsylvania countered that the bishop is “pastor of the church, in his diocese,” and as such has a stake in addressing questions of ritual uniformity. In cases where the need for appeal was genuinely felt, the proposed canon made provision for it.³⁶

Far more attention was focused on the nature and force of extant English Canon Law. The Rev. Dr. Hiram Beers of Wisconsin feared that “this Church must raise up a class of men addicted to historical research, who will have to apply themselves with unexampled industry before they shall have scanned that whole region to which we are referred in order to know what portions of the Canons of 1603 were so in use.”³⁷ The aforementioned Goodwin of Pennsylvania wryly commented, “We do not know what they are; we cannot determine what they are; no man in this assembly knows what they are. Are we going to vote for this then and go home and say we have voted that we are bound in conscience to obey certain laws which, for the life of us, we do not know what they are?”³⁸

Continuing the debate on the next day (Saturday, October 21), Edward McCrady attempted to clarify that to which the proposed canon was pointing:

Suppose there are rites and ceremonies used by some one and he is asked where he got them from. He must show that he got them from the Church of England, and that they were in use in this Country in 1789. If he cannot deduce them directly *from the Church of England itself*, not from some mysterious place beyond that but from that Church, and show that they were *in use in this country prior to 1789*, they are not authorized. When you go back to 1789, before any of these questions arose at all, you are on safe ground where you may confidently rest. . . . It is not enough, however, to find a thing in the Canons; it must be shown that it was in use before 1789.³⁹

Expanding on this point, John W. Andrews of Ohio offered a most helpful clarification. “[T]he only thing we deal with,” he stated, “and in fact the only

³⁵ Ibid., 294.

³⁶ Ibid., 296.

³⁷ Ibid., 291.

³⁸ Ibid., 298.

³⁹ Ibid., 330; emphases added.

thing we deal with in the whole report, is the Ritual of the Church. . . . While we talk about. . . Canons, we are dealing with nothing but Ritual.”⁴⁰ Andrews illustrated that practical utilization precedes canon, offering the example of pulpits in churches — a common enough use established in tradition, but one not canonically provided for in 1789. While pursuing such a line of thought could indefinitely extended the argument to any number of ritual variations, the proposed canon would establish a definite boundary:

Instead of a general usage, a traditional usage, usage in the large sense of the term, it is a use in the matter of Ritual in the year 1789, which can be traced back to, and originated in, and is thoroughly defined by, a written law. That is a limitation, instead of an enabling term. . . You do not refer to English Canon law as a foundation for the law of this Church, but you say that this Church in declaring what use is in force in Ritual in this Church, as one of the elements, will look at the use that passed into the national Church in 1789, and which was so solemn a use, and so serious and well-guarded a use, that it could be traced right back to its origin in written law. Is not that a safeguard?⁴¹

Andrews clearly believed that the proposed canon would settle the question of Ritualism for the Episcopal Church: “If you adopt this Canon every single particle of Romish error which any man living attempts to bring into this Church by Ritual, must absolutely, sooner or later, be exterminated. Is not that worth having, gentlemen?”⁴²

Perhaps the strongest argument in this stage of the debate, an argument against the proposed canon, was offered by the Rev. Dr. James DeKoven, Warden of Racine College in Wisconsin. Noting that passage of the proposed canon would be perceived as having settled the question, DeKoven pointed out that the House of Deputies was still unclear regarding the meaning of “Canons in use in 1789.” Few particular points of ritual use were explicated in the English Canons of 1603 (whether or not they were in use in the United States in the year in question), though

[t]hey do touch the subject of vestments, and if those Canons become law, and you cannot have any vestments but what are

40 Ibid., 334-335.

41 Ibid., 335.

42 Ibid., 336.

put down in that law, you cannot any more wear a stole; you cannot wear any black gown; you have got to wear a surplice with sleeves, and every clergyman in the United States of America has got to wear a hood. He will appear in a surplice with sleeves and a hood, and must not appear in any other vestments.

Perhaps playing off the known fears of a creeping Roman Catholicism, he immediately added, "I am told there is a kind of side reference in one of [the canons] to a statute of Queen Elizabeth which permits the alb and chasuble."⁴³

DeKoven was concerned that the legislation before the House of Deputies was representative of "that prevailing ignorance about the views of men who hold opposite Church opinions from [their] own."⁴⁴ DeKoven was himself a High Churchman with pro-Ritualist leanings, and he did not shy away from defending his own views. In a long but well-known passage, he defended the theological commitments of the Ritualists:

High Churchmen and Ritualists, if there be any such, believe that they are seeking to come nearer to God and to our Lord Jesus Christ in and through the sacraments of the Church. That is the point which makes them love certain ceremonies. It is not because they are striving to bring in erroneous doctrine. Every one of them denies that he believes in Transubstantiation; every one of them asserts that he only believes in that Catholic doctrine of the Real Presence, which, from primitive times and down through the English church and to our own day, has been held and believed, that somehow in the sacrament of the Eucharist there is the blessed presence of the Lord Jesus Christ, whom we behold by faith, not worshipping any outward symbol, but humbly and meekly coming to Him, if so be of His infinite mercy He will receive us and bless us in that blessed sacrament. . . . I desire to say that between Evangelical men and men who hold the views of the sacraments that I do, there is no chasm. They seek the Lord Jesus Christ, independently, they think, of sacraments and ordinances, and have a kind of an idea that sacraments and ordinances come between Him and them. We seek Him in and through the sacraments and

⁴³ Ibid., 342.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

ordinances; but there is this union between us, that we both alike seek Him, and if we have the same object and the same end it is only a question of time as to when and how we shall come together.⁴⁵

DeKoven's intervention marked the theological high-point in the House of Deputies' debate on the proposed Canon of Ritual. Much of the remaining debate focused on the nature and function of ecclesiastical law and the authority of bishops.

Attention to the question of the English Canons of 1603 virtually disappeared when, immediately after DeKoven's remarks, the Rev. William Cooper Mead of Connecticut proposed an amended version of the canon that struck the second point of the second subsection (regarding the English Canons), and appended to the third point the first ten prohibitions against liturgical ceremonial listed in the original report from the House of Bishops' Committee on Ritual Uniformity. Brief debate ensued, during which George A. Gordon of Alabama raised concern about legislation targeting specific groups in the church: "If there is to be cutting against the one, I want cutting against the other; but please God, I want cutting against neither. I believe the Church is broad enough and wide enough to embrace within its folds [all involved parties]."⁴⁶ Gordon's intervention was immediately succeeded by a proposed amendment by the Rev. Philander K. Cady of New York, to strike the entire text of the Canon of Ritual, replacing it with the brief statement, "In all matters of Ritual that are doubtful, reference shall be made to the Ordinary, and no changes shall be made against the godly counsel and judgment of the Bishop."⁴⁷

On Monday, October 23, the two motions put forth by Mead and Cady regarding the amendment of the proposed canon were divided. Regarding the first, S. Corning Judd of Illinois observed that "there was not one solitary Liturgy in the Primitive Church that did not go far beyond the ritual of our day,"⁴⁸ the suggestion being that such latitude should extend to the Episcopal Church in 1871. He further drew a contrast between High and Low Churchmen:

There are those who hold divers opinions, and I do not know how to refer to them very well unless I call them parties. Now

⁴⁵ Ibid., 342-343.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 345.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 347.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 373.

we are going to legislate against the Ritualists. I will say here that there are some things they do which I cannot approve; but that does not prove that I must vote for legislation against them. There are also things which our respected friends of the opposite party do and leave undone which I cannot approve of. . . and I might say that there are occasions when almost irreverence, according to my judgment, has been witnessed in our Churches on the part of those persons, or some of them. I have heard of occasions when clergymen — I might say if I should not be called to order, Bishops have gone into Church, walked deliberately into the chancel, thrown their hat and cane upon the altar and then taken a seat, and in one instance the Bishop not satisfied with that, tipped his chair back and made a mistake and fell flat upon the floor. [. . .]

If we are to legislate at all, I want to legislate so that Bishops shall not go and put their hats and canes on the altar, and I want to legislate to require them to bow to that sacred name; and if you are going to legislate at all, gentlemen, come square up to it and legislate on these matters.⁴⁹

Judd went on to examine a number of the doctrinal points usually associated with Roman Catholicism that the Ritualists were accused of holding. But could it be shown that the Ritualists in fact did hold doctrines not in keeping with the teachings of the Episcopal Church? Judd drew a parallel with the situation of those who had been “disturbed on the question of Infant Baptism, upon the effect of the word ‘regenerate’ in the office for the baptism of infants,” noting that the Bishops have made special effort to permit latitude in interpreting the theology of the rite, so as to ameliorate that situation.⁵⁰ Why wouldn’t a similar degree of tolerance be extended toward the Ritualists, whose practices were more in question than their doctrines? “Let us have no legislation upon this question,” Judd finished, “or if we must have some, then let it be something similar to the resolution which was adopted at the last Convention, and let there be diversity and flexibility, so long as the doctrines of the Church are not interfered with.”⁵¹

49 Ibid., 375; by hat and cane Judd did not mean the episcopal regalia of mitre and crozier (which were virtually unknown among Episcopalian bishops at this time), but top-hat and walking-stick — proper gentleman’s haberdashery common in the late nineteenth century.

50 Ibid., 378.

51 Ibid., 379.

The Bishops Accept, the Deputies Reject

On Tuesday, October 24, the House of Bishops informed the House of Deputies that the Bishops had passed the Canon on Ritual as proposed by the joint Committee, with one addition:

Resolved (the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies concurring), That a joint committee of three of each order be appointed to examine the Canons of the Church of England, of 1603, and report to the next General Convention what portions were in use in the American States in the year 1789, and how far the same have been modified by repeal, or alteration, or other mode, by action of this Church, in its Conventions, general or diocesan, and whether any portion requires modification or repeal.⁵²

The message from the Bishops was immediately tabled. The continuing debate in the House of Deputies, although ostensibly having to do with the amendments put forth by Mead and Cady, seems to have been colored by the Bishops' action: the question of the nature of ecclesiastical law and the applicability of the English Canons of 1603 again dominated the interventions of those who spoke. As the debate continued into the next day, Wednesday, October 25, the remarks of the deputies indicated a subtle shift with respect to the doctrinal implications of Ritualism. The language used became that of personal piety and aesthetic sensibility, not of whether or not a particular rite or ceremony is indicative of a doctrinal position. Although debate continued to focus on law and on the extent of episcopal authority, many deputies expressed concern for maintaining the peace and stability of the church.

In the evening session of that same day, the Canon of Ritual as accepted by the House of Bishops came up for a vote in the House of Deputies. The clerical and lay orders did not concur and the Canon failed.⁵³ The following morning, Thursday, October 26 (the last day of the Convention), the Bishops reported to the deputies that they had adopted this Canon:

The elevation of the elements in the Holy Communion in such manner as to expose them to the view of the people as objects

⁵² "Message No. 50 [from the House of Bishops to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies]," October 24th, 1871; *ibid.*, 384.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 490.

toward which adoration is to be made in or after the Prayer of Consecration, or in the act of administering them, or in carrying them to or from the communicants, and any gesture, posture, or act implying such adoration, and any ceremony not prescribed as part of the order of the administration of the Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion in the Book of Common Prayer, and the celebration or reception of the Holy Communion by any Bishop or Priest when no person receives with him; likewise, the use at any administration of the Holy Communion, of any hymns, prayers, collects, epistles, or gospels other than those appointed in the authorized formularies of the Church, or under Section XIV. of Canon 13., Title I, of the Digest, are hereby forbidden.⁵⁴

This action by the House of Bishops naturally required fresh debate among the deputies. The opening intervention was delivered by the Rev. Dr. James DeKoven. His would be the longest intervention in this debate, and his words would prove typical of the final irenic understanding of Ritualism in the Episcopal Church:

[Q]uestions of doctrine should not be settled by any Canon which does not bear directly upon doctrine. Our Church has always acted on this principle. It has a Canon providing that if people teach false doctrine they should be tried and suspended, or punished in accordance with that Canon; and the objection to this is that it implies that people teach false doctrine by certain ceremonies and then punishes them, when perhaps they use those ceremonies without teaching false doctrine. [. . .]⁵⁵

Of course all these Canons on ritual are based on this idea: that certain ceremonies symbolize another doctrine than that they are said to symbolize — the doctrine of Transubstantiation; and here is a very important point which I would like to have my brethren consider: What are these ceremonies? Why lights upon the Holy table; the use of incense; certain reverences, bows, prostrations, genuflections, and what not? All these things are supposed to symbolize

⁵⁴ "Message No. 71 [from the House of Bishops to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies]," October 26th, 1871; *ibid.*, 501.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 505-506.

the doctrine of Transubstantiation. I say they do not, first, historically, at whatever period these practices may be said to have been introduced in the Church of God, it is absolutely certain that they were practised long before the doctrine of Transubstantiation was ever heard of. Nobody can deny that fact. It is as historically true as any other fact of history. It is also as historically true that those symbols and those acts of ceremony are used in Churches which deny Transubstantiation. The Lutherans use them; the Greek Church uses them. [. . .]⁵⁶

Why may not this Church of ours give peace to the divided branches of Christ's Church; on this side stretching out her hands to the Protestant bodies, saying to them, "We, too, are Protestant in certain senses; we disbelieve in the supremacy of the Pope; we disbelieve in his infallibility; we disbelieve in the shutting up of Scriptures in a tongue not understood of the people; we believe in a Liturgy that can be read and known of all men; we do not believe in a compulsory celibacy; we do not believe in enforced confession; we only believe in the grand Catholic doctrines;" and then, on the other hand, to say to people, "The ceremonies of the broad world, the ceremonies that typify Christ, the ceremonies that tell of Him, the ceremonies that teach me to believe not in any material presence, but in Him who by faith I see — these, these, shall be the ceremonies of our branch of the Catholic Church of Christ."⁵⁷

Interventions following DeKoven's impassioned but even-handed remarks were relatively brief and mostly inconsequential.

The final argument was offered by the Rev. Theodore Benedict Lyman of California, whose desire for widespread freedom in the church cut both ways for the Ritualists: "I am an advocate for the largest liberty. I believe our Church should be broad and most comprehensive; but I do deplore the attempt on the part of any one body of men holding any particular set of views, to force those views, as it were, before the eyes of all that may be present at their services."⁵⁸ Lyman proposed a last-minute substitute for the Canon that the Bishops had passed and upon which they were now requesting concurrence:

⁵⁶ Ibid., 506.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 507.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 515.

Resolved, That, while this Convention deems it inexpedient to make any additional enactments in the matter of ritual, it hereby expresses its decided condemnation of all ceremonies, observances, and practices which are fitted to express a doctrine foreign to that set forth in the authorized standards of this Church.

Resolved, That, in the judgment of this House, the paternal council and advice of our Right Reverend Fathers, the Bishops of the Church, is deemed sufficient at this time to secure the suppression of all that is irregular and unseemly, and to promote greater uniformity in conducting the public worship of the Church and in the administration of the Holy Eucharist.⁵⁹

The vote on the Canon which the Bishops had passed immediately followed Lyman's remarks. It failed in the House of Deputies, the orders not concurring. Lyman's two-part resolution was "agreed to by an almost unanimous vote."⁶⁰ Concurrence was obtained from the House of Bishops,⁶¹ and the matter was closed for the General Convention of 1871.

Ritualism Beyond 1871

The resolutions concerning ritual passed on the last day of the General Convention of 1871 were sufficiently vague so as to permit nearly every imaginable ritual practice, provided that the practice in question arguably did not "express a foreign [read Roman Catholic] doctrine." Ritual uses continued to spread, and by 1874 the question of a Law of Ritualism was again before the General Convention. As in 1871, protracted debates on the topic absorbed much of the Convention's time and energy, resulting in the passage of a lengthy amendment to Title I, Canon 20, "Of the Use of the Book of Common Prayer." The amendment stated that should any bishop have "reason to believe or if complaint be made to him in writing by two or more of his Presbyters, that ceremonies or practices during the celebration of the Holy Communion, not ordained or authorized" in the Prayer book were being used within his jurisdiction, "it shall be the duty of the bishop to summon the Standing Committee as his Council of Advice, and with

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 516.

⁶¹ "Message No. 79 [from the House of Bishops to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies]," October 26th, 1871; *ibid.*, 529.

them to investigate the matter.”⁶² The amendment instructed the bishop to “admonish” the offender in writing and if that failed to produce the desired result, the Standing Committee could have the offender tried for the breach of the ordination Oath of Conformity.

Commenting on this amendment to Canon 20, James Addison noted, “[f]or thirty years this canon remained in force without producing any perceptible effect upon the steady advance of ritual. Apparently it resulted in only one trial, which ended in an admonition to the offender. In 1904 it was repealed by General Convention without one dissenting voice.”⁶³ It seems reasonable to suggest that two factors contributed this result: first, Ritualism appealed to a “niche-market.” In some parishes (and even dioceses) ritual uses were very common; in others, they were virtually non-existent. With Ritualist parishes being located mostly in major urban centers (the so-called “biretta belt” of Wisconsin, Michigan and Northern Indiana being the exception), those who found such uses distasteful had ample alternatives for ritual-free worship. Second, even where high ceremonial was not welcomed, some customs (such as placing a cross or candles on the altar) came to be accepted as rather tame, and perhaps even sensible — especially after the Prayer Book reform of 1892. By 1904, many practices had become commonplace in “high” and “low” parishes alike. On the one hand, this is a sign of the triumph of Anglican aestheticism (however refined it might be); on the other, it suggests the irresistible pull of human religiosity toward symbolic and material expressions. People naturally gravitate to religious symbols, particularly those associated with the central mysteries of a faith tradition; this holds true all the more among Christians, whose most essential beliefs center on the incarnation of Jesus Christ, God’s personal self-communication in the very material of the created order.

Near the end of his little treatise *The Law of Ritualism*, John Henry Hopkins prognosticated “as most probable that this Ritualism will grow into favor, by degrees, until it becomes the prevailing system.”⁶⁴ As with so many ideas and experiences in post-Reformation Anglicanism both past and present, in the case of Ritualism, great furor preceded gradual acceptance. In this, one cannot help but be reminded of Gamaliel’s remark concerning the apostolic church: “if this. . . is of human origin, it will fail; but if it is of God, you will not be able to overthrow it” (Acts 5:38-39).

⁶² *Debates of the House of Deputies in the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Held in New York City, October, A.D. 1874* (Hartford: M. H. Mallory, 1874), 248.

⁶³ Addison, 210.

⁶⁴ Hopkins, *The Law of Ritualism*, 94.

AN AMERICAN SARUM



The popular aphorism that “a picture is worth a thousand words” certainly holds true in the case of a photograph taken on Easter Day in 1901 (*Figure 1*). The image is of a small Episcopal chapel arranged in a first-floor room in the store of Edward Stiles in Bronxville, New York. Temporary but well-appointed, it offers a detailed setting for liturgical worship. Among copious tall lilies, one observes a room-proportional altar and lectern in a chancel enclosed with a small rail, and space for seating a small congregation (complete with kneeling cushions and hymn-board.) Standing on the altar of that chapel are a large cross and two candlesticks, signs that many of the practices and ornaments of Ritualism that were objectionable only thirty years previously now had become commonplace. Even in the makeshift chapel of a nascent Westchester congregation, some such things were considered appropriate — and perhaps even essential — at least on Easter Day.



Figure 1

Little else of the regular worship that took place in that temporary, yet hallowed, space is revealed by the picture. Morning Prayer is known to have been the principal service in that congregation on most Sundays, with Holy Communion being celebrated once monthly. Yet, the ornaments on the altar in the photo point toward a future that would quickly evolve in a definite direction. Within a decade, Christ Church would begin moving toward an Anglo-Catholic liturgy — “High Church,” as the term had come to be used. With the passing of another quarter of a century, courses would change again, and Christ Church would be on its way toward becoming an American Sarum.

Laying the Foundations

Christ Church, Bronxville, New York, began its life in the late 1890s with the informal worship meetings of area Episcopalians in the “Casino,” a social clubhouse that was part of William Van Duser Lawrence’s grand design for the still-rural village. Under the guidance of the Rev. William Epiphanius Wilson, a retired priest living in the community, the fledgling congregation of “Bronxville residents and summer people intent on worshipping together” quickly outgrew the Casino’s capacity.¹ By September 1900, the congregation had achieved mission status in the Diocese of New York, moved to a room above Edward Styles’ store, and began worshipping with an interim priest, the Rev. Dr. William W. Smith. Within a few months they would have to move again due to growth — a short move downstairs, to the chapel pictured in the 1901 Easter photograph.

The parish was chartered and incorporated under New York state law on April 27 of that year; within a month, land was purchased for a permanent church home, and yet one month later the Rev. Richard Hayward was called to be the first rector.² Hayward was a graduate of Nashota House, the only seminary in the United States founded on Tractarian principles. He would have been formed, therefore, in a High Church tradition; yet, he accepted a call to a parish in a region that was considered largely “Broad Church” — solidly Protestant Episcopal in its self-understanding, moderate in its theological commitments and liturgical tastes. Due to health issues, Hayward retired in 1904,³ but not before overseeing construction of the first church edifice on the triangular parcel of land at the intersection of Dusenberry Lane

1 David T. Andrews, *Built Upon A Rock: The First 100 Years of Christ Church* (Bronxville: Christ Church, 2004), 13.

2 *Ibid.*, 15.

3 *Ibid.*, 18.

and Gramatan Avenue (now Sagamore and Kensington Roads, respectively).⁴ Construction of that first building was swift, extending between October 1901 and March 1902. Built of exposed field-stone and rubble, the small “Arts-and-Crafts” Gothic structure could seat about 100 people. Its relatively small chancel was sufficient for a parish whose primary Sunday service was intended to be Morning Prayer.

Succeeding Hayward as rector in 1905 was the Rev. Albert Daniels Willson (1860-1920), under whose leadership the parish started moving in a markedly High-Church direction. Early in his rectorate (1907), Christ Church expanded its physical plant, building a parish house to the north of the first worship space (on the site of the present church edifice), and adding to the church’s south end a baptistery and seating for an additional 100 persons.⁵ In the space created for the baptismal font, a window depicting Jesus blessing little children (inspired by the episode described in Luke 10:13-16) was installed.⁶ About the same time, a circular window depicting the ascended Christ was placed above the altar of the church, a memorial to the first rector from his widow and their children.

The lower portion of that round window is visible in a photograph of the altar from about 1910 (*Figure 2*). Like the 1901 photo of the temporary chapel, this one appears to have been taken on Easter Day. Brass vases and terra cotta pots filled with lilies are interspersed among liturgical ornaments on the double-level gradine or retable behind the altar. In addition to the central cross, six tall candlesticks stand on the upper level, while two shorter candlesticks and seven-branched candelabra are symmetrically placed on the lower level. The altar is covered with linen, the front edge and ends of which are trimmed with a wide lace crocheted with Easter symbols (Alpha and Omega, peacocks in full display, and at the center a Pascal Lamb). A veiled chalice stands in the middle of the altar; to its left, resting on edge, a burse matching the veil.⁷ To the right is a goodly-sized, ornate altar book on a metal

4 Ibid., 15.

5 Ibid., 21.

6 A gift of Mr. and Mrs. W. Henry Brown of Pittsburgh, the window was dedicated to the memory of their fifteen-year-old daughter Margaret. On an extended visit of the family to Bronxville, the girl contracted influenza and died at the Hotel Gramatan (across Kensington Road from the church) in January, 1907. During her illness, Willson visited the girl and her family on a daily basis; see *ibid.*, 22.

7 A burse is a hinged folder or purse of fabric over board (usually cardboard, though both wood and — more recently — plastic have been used), approximately seven inches square, in which smaller linens used during the Eucharistic liturgy are preserved from dust and soil before use.

stand. On a table to the right of the altar are placed a cruet of water, a footed silver bowl, and a small ciborium.⁸ (All of these vessels will appear familiar to observant parishioners today as they continue to be used every Sunday.) An oriental-style runner, leading from the level of the communion rail up to the base of the altar, covers the center of the steps and footpace,⁹ but the wooden floor to the left and especially to the right of the carpet shows very definite



Figure 2

8 In its most basic form, a ciborium is a bowl for Hosts with a fitted lid. Usually having a foot or base, this vessel frequently appears very similar to a chalice.

9 The footpace (or *predella*) is the large platform or topmost step upon which the celebrant and other ministers stand when at the altar.

patterns of wear. On the lowest of the altar steps are two hassocks or kneeling cushions, apparently for acolytes.

Few things can be proven from a single photograph, particularly one that shows a setting devoid of human actors. What, then, can be said of the sort of liturgy that took place in this sanctuary, the chancel of the first Christ Church building, around the year 1910? A first clue is the six tall candlesticks plus two shorter ones; the lace-trimmed linens offer a second clue. While not exactly telltale signs, these items are certainly suggestive, as they were all not only considered High Church, or even Ritualistic, but were associated particularly with Anglo-Catholic liturgical tastes. Such items were commonplace in parishes that looked to the Roman church for liturgical models. The patterns of wear on the wooden floor provide another clue: they intimate, if not the comings and goings of three sacred ministers (priest-celebrant, deacon and subdeacon), then at least lateral movement across the front of the altar on the part of the celebrant. A feature of Anglo-Catholic liturgy was use of different portions of the altar at different times throughout the service. (Clergy in Broad- and Low-Church settings generally stood only at the center or at the north end of the altar during the brief period they ministered there.) On the right-hand edge of the footpace is a small patch of considerable wear, a place upon which someone regularly stepped, or to which someone returned again and again. The placement of the credence, or side table, to the right of the altar was itself considered a Ritualist use; the worn floor suggests the movement of acolytes serving the altar from there, and corresponds with the place where the celebrant would stand for the lavabo or hand-washing before the Prayer of Consecration and purification of the vessels after communion.

No written description (narrative or directive) of worship at Christ Church seems to survive from this time, nor do photos of people in the pews and ministers in the chancel or at the altar. It is impossible, therefore, to know exactly what sort of ceremonial was practiced at Christ Church in 1910, and any speculation must be tentative at best. Service records, though incomplete before 1920, indicate that well beyond 1910 the principal service on Sundays (in terms of both hour and attendance) remained Morning Prayer with a sermon; that, however, is inconclusive of ceremonial preferences in itself, given that the Holy Communion was celebrated every Sunday at an earlier hour. Nevertheless, a strong suggestion of Anglo-Catholic tendencies in liturgical practice comes from what is known of the clergy at the time. Willson, the rector, had been a parishioner of Saint Ignatius of Antioch Church in New

York City before becoming a priest.¹⁰ And like the first rector (Richard Hayward), the Rev. Charles Wellington Robinson, associate priest after 1916, was a graduate of Nashota House Seminary.¹¹ Tractarian Ritualism had been a formative influence in the lives of all these men; it seems unlikely, therefore, that it did not also shape the experience of the parish they served.

“A holy temple. . . the Lord is in it”

In October 1919, although officially on leave for health reasons, Willson attended a meeting of the vestry during which he advocated for a new church building. Suburban growth was accelerating, and Willson recognized the need for “a correctly designed church worthy of this beautiful suburb and adequate to meet the needs of its rapidly increasing population for years to come.”¹² He recommended engaging the services of Ralph Adams Cram (1863-1942), one of the architects who had designed the Church of Saint Thomas Fifth Avenue and had assumed primary responsibility for the Cathedral Church of Saint John the Divine, both in New York City. It would be over two years, however, before Willson’s advice would be followed; and he himself died in the next year, to be succeeded by his associate, Charles Robinson.

When at last the rector and vestry moved to consider a new structure, it was not Cram but his former partner Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue (1869-1924) whose creativity was sought to design a new Episcopal church for Bronxville. Goodhue was a master of the English Gothic style, and understood the challenges of working on a small scale. In early 1922, architect and parish leadership together determined their course: the wood-framed parish house that stood to the northeast of the original church would be razed and a new stone building erected in its place. But the project would be slow-going. Fundraising began in earnest only near the end of 1923. Goodhue himself died in April, 1924, and although his successor firm of Mayers, Murray and Philip would see the work through to completion, construction on the new building was delayed until the spring of 1925.¹³ “All during the construction period” liturgical life was active: “Morning Prayer was said every day but Friday and Saturday, when there were services of Evening Prayer. Holy Communion was celebrated every day but Monday. On a typical Sunday the rector held a

10 Founded in 1871, Saint Ignatius was from its beginning a parish known for its Ritualist, eventually Anglo-Catholic, liturgy.

11 Ibid., 30.

12 Vestry Minutes, October 18, 1919; as quoted in *ibid.*, 32.

13 Ibid., 52-53.

service of Holy Communion at 7:30 a.m., a Sunday school service at 9:30, followed by Morning Prayer and a Sermon at 11 a.m., and sometimes finished the day with an Evensong that included an ‘address.’”¹⁴

By the eve of the Feast of Saint Luke, October 17, 1926, this regular round of services would have a new home. The “country gothic” building of Goodhue’s firm with its rubble-filled, double-thick walls of semi-dressed New York State granite, figuratively-sculpted capitals, intricately-stenciled ceiling and cathedral-style congregational chairs were all ready for blessing and first services (the consecration being postponed until the building was free of debt).

Three years later, the rector, Dr. Robinson, remarked of the worship in his new church building,

I have to minister to people of all shades of feeling and religious conviction and training and of none. To such a constituency, exactness of definition is no argument for their vague spiritual needs and desires. They will respond, however, to the ancient cultural atmosphere and tradition of the Church’s worship. I use, you see, all these ornaments and ceremonials and ancient uses. They belong to this edifice and I let them speak their own word, as they will, to this varied constituency. I offer no explanations and defend no ecclesiastical usages. It is sufficient to create an atmosphere that this is a holy temple and that the Lord is in it.¹⁵

Precisely how “ancient” were Robinson’s ornaments and uses is open to debate. A photograph from this period shows the Rev. William Oscar Jarvis, associate from 1923 to 1930, as priest-celebrant at the altar in the new church (*Figure 3*, see next page). Six tall candlesticks and seven-branched candelabras flank the brass cross on the two-tiered retablo, while a large, page-tabbed missal (likely either an *Anglican Missal* or *American Missal*, both popular among Anglo-Catholics in the United States and in England) stands open on the lace-draped altar. The gold brocade of the priest’s heavily embellished chasuble reflects glints of light. These externals are clearly those of the Roman liturgy after the Council of Trent (1545-1563): old, certainly, but by no means ancient — though among so-called “High Church” types, the difference was not widely recognized at this time. Some years yet would have to pass before the full force

¹⁴ Ibid., 58; service records from these years substantiate this description.

¹⁵ Quoted in *ibid.*, 56.



Figure 3

of a more historically conscious liturgical use would be felt in Bronxville.

In March, 1932, Robinson was asked by the vestry to take a year's leave of absence; in October of that year, amid some unidentified controversy, he proffered his resignation.¹⁶ A bit more than six months later, on Easter Day, April 16, 1933, his successor, the Rev. Harold F. Hohly, took to the pulpit of Christ Church for the first time. From the beginning, Hohly (himself the son of an architect) saw great liturgical potential for the relatively new building in which his church community worshiped. This awareness was sharpened by his own scholarship: Hohly had served as an adjunct professor of liturgics at Philadelphia Divinity School while working at a parish in that city. His acute recognition that the building (essentially a medieval English country church of rough stone, transplanted to twentieth-century American suburbia) was at odds with the established Tractarian Ritualist-style liturgy employed therein, was not unfounded. Within a year, he had determined to rectify this situation, initiating enduring changes that would make temple and worship complimentary — rather than competing — forces.

In 1934, Hohly hired the Rev. Morton Charnleigh Stone as associate rector. Over the next twenty years, the two priests would appropriate a process of liturgical retrieval and renewal already underway in England and fueled by the latest research available to them. They set their sights on the Middle Ages, in which the indigenous English Cathedral Uses were at their height. But “Fathers Hohly and Stone were more interested in good liturgy than a slavish

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 60.

recreation of medieval English customs.”¹⁷ Rather, they sought to integrate building and Prayer Book in worship, while also meeting the pastoral needs of their people. In pursuit of such ends, they looked for inspiration to one British scholar, the Rev. Percy Dearmer, whose historical and liturgical commitments (if not always his conclusions) were closely allied to their own project.

Percy Dearmer and The English Use

Perhaps no individual had as strong an impact on Anglican pastoral liturgy in the early twentieth century as did Percy Dearmer (1867-1936), whose monumental liturgical manual *The Parson's Handbook* appeared in twelve editions between 1899 and 1932 (the last being reprinted seven times before its substantial reworking by the Rev. Cyril E. Pocknee in 1965).¹⁸ Dearmer's liturgical sensibilities, both aesthetic and historical in character, were undoubtedly influenced by his father, Thomas, who was an artist and drawing instructor, and also by his education at Christ Church College, Oxford, where he read modern history as well as theology. Dearmer was ordained a priest in 1892, and served as a curate in a number of parishes until he was appointed vicar of Saint Mary the Virgin, Primrose Hill, London, in 1901.

A lifelong Socialist by all accounts, Dearmer understood and embraced the deep connection between worship and justice, between liturgy and the renewal of society. “Dearmer. . . and others were strongly imbued with a sense of social righteousness and justice. They perceived that the Church could not preach the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man if some sections of the community were underprivileged as well as sweated and underpaid; and at the turn of [the twentieth] century there were many who were in this state.”¹⁹ In very practical terms, he believed that the media arts used in worship should both be truly beautiful and produced under just and equitable conditions. Thus, his oft-repeated condemnation of “preachers in sweated surplices and cassocks pointing to a cheap cross upon an evilly produced altar” had as much to do with the quality of such things as with the conditions under which they were made and the wages paid for their making.²⁰ To this

¹⁷ Ibid., 64.

¹⁸ Cyril E. Pocknee, *The Parson's Handbook: Practical Direction for Parsons and Others According to the Anglican Use, as Set Forth in The Book of Common Prayer on the Basis of the Twelfth Edition by Percy Dearmer, D.D.*, thirteenth, revised edition (London: Oxford University Press, 1965).

¹⁹ Ibid., xiv.

²⁰ Percy Dearmer, *The Parson's Handbook: Containing Practical Direction for Both Parsons and Others as to the Management of the Parish Church and its Services According to the Anglican Use, as Set Forth in The Book of Common Prayer*, twelfth edition (London: Humphrey Milford, 1943), 4.

end, in 1912 he played an instrumental role in founding the Warham Guild, “to show how even simple things could be well made and designed; and also to pay those who made and produced such things, craftsmen, embroiderers, and seamstresses, adequate and proper compensation for their labours.”²¹

The Parson's Handbook developed from its author's deep conviction that the liturgy of the Church of England, when celebrated in its fullness, was more than sufficient unto itself. Dearmer was deeply distressed at the state of affairs wrought by Ritualism in the English Church, which frequently had amounted to an unconsidered and often tasteless adoption of the Baroque forms of Roman Catholic liturgy and art prevalent in Continental Europe since the Council of Trent. “It was said that the rituals, and ecclesiastical millinery, of the churches within this tradition were more often determined by where on the Continent the parish priest has spent his last holiday than anything else.”²² As late as 1919, Dearmer could assert that

Anglican Romanism, if we may be allowed the quaint but true description, is only a naughty child of Protestantism, and would never have existed in a Church that had been true to its ceremonial traditions. It can never succeed, because it has no intellectual, aesthetic, or moral justification; and for this reason it has sometimes become strangely unhealthy. If the Anglican Church is destined to rise to the great opportunities of the future, this particular wave of reaction will disappear and be forgotten. It is unworthy of our self-respect.²³

Dearmer believed that there was something fundamentally flawed in the idea of Anglicans mimicking the arts, ritual and ceremonial practices of post-Reformation Roman Catholicism. The Baroque sensibilities these represented were entirely foreign and inauthentic to the English ethos. Dearmer was fully convinced that for themselves Anglicans could do better.

As in the United States, the divide between High- and Low-Church Parties in England at the end of the nineteenth century was sharp. While in the American Episcopal Church the question of a “law of ritualism” was entirely an ecclesiastical matter, in the Church of England it included a political dimension that carried civil ramifications. There, both the Church itself

21 Pcoke, xv.

22 Donald Gray, “Percy Dearmer,” in Christopher Irvine, ed., *They Shaped Our Worship: Essays on Anglican Liturgists*, Alcuin Club Collections 75 (London: SPCK, 1998), 71.

23 Percy Dearmer, *The Art of Public Worship* (London: Mowbray, 1920), 97-98.

and the Book of Common Prayer were established by law and regulated by Parliament, and it was to these that the clergy swore their Oath of Obedience at ordination. Ritualist Tractarians in England thus took refuge under the provisions of the “Ornaments Rubric” that first appeared in the third Book of Common Prayer (1559) and remained (theoretically) in-force in the Prayer Book of 1662:

[T]he chancels shall remain as they have done in times past.

And here is to be noted that the minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use such ornaments in the church as were in use by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth....²⁴

According to *The Warham Guild Handbook*, “[u]nder the term ‘ornaments’ is to be understood the furniture of the chancel, including the altar, with its cross, candlesticks, and coverings; the pulpit, font, bells, benches, and similar fittings; the vestments of the clergy and choir; and all other articles used in divine service. The ornaments referred to, whether of the church or of the ministers, are alike ordered to ‘be retained and be in use’ in the English Church at the present time.”²⁵ It was under the pretext of obeying this rubric, and lacking a carefully researched understanding of what the “ornaments” of the church actually were in 1548 and early 1549 — “the Second Year of the Reign of King Edward the Sixth” — that the Ritualists engaged in their “borrowing” from the Church of Rome.

Dearmer, however, was convinced that Anglicans lacked neither the ingenuity nor the native resources (in terms of historical precedent) necessary for an ample liturgy:

Most of the tawdry stupidity or stuffy gloom of our churches, most of the bad ceremonial — whether static, bustling, or convulsive — have been due to the decline of art in more recent days, or to the senseless imitation of those meretricious ornaments, both of the Church and of its Ministers, with which ignorant and indiscreet persons have ruined the ancient beauty

24 John E. Booty, ed., *The Book of Common Prayer 1559: The Elizabethan Prayer Book*, Folger Shakespeare Library edition (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005), 48.

25 *The Warham Guild Handbook: Historical and Descriptive Notes on ‘Ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers thereof’* (London: Warham Guild, 1932), xv.

of the Roman Catholic churches abroad. We, who have the noble standard of the Prayer Book for our guide, are saved from that barbarous degradation of Christian worship which the educated men of the Latin races despise not less than we ourselves.²⁶

Dearmer believed that there was an authentically catholic, authentically English “Use” that stood in marked contrast to the continental Roman practices being so hastily appropriated by the Ritualists of his day. “I think the layman has . . . a right to demand from us, as intelligent beings, that such ornaments not be used as party badges, and that they shall also make it clear to him that he has come into a church of his own Communion.”²⁷ For Dearmer, the Ornaments Rubric pointed beyond itself toward something authentically Anglican, namely, the liturgical customs and ceremonies as known in the English Church at the end of the Middle Ages. These were the uses that Dearmer tried to capture, while respecting the demands of the Prayer Book liturgy, in *The Parson’s Handbook*.

Dearmer’s convictions were driven not only by his historical awareness, but also by his aesthetic appreciation. “The common worship of God is an art, and may therefore be attractive or repellent, noble or abominable. . . .”²⁸ His efforts, particularly in the ongoing revisions of *The Parson’s Handbook*, reflected his desire to keep history and beauty balanced with a keen sense of propriety. “There is,” he wrote, “undoubtedly a right and a wrong way of doing everything, and therefore it is just as well to do things in the right way; for unless one has an unusually large share of instinctive grace and tact, one will otherwise be in danger of making oneself, and also the service one is conducting (which is more important), appear uncouth, or queer, or ridiculous.”²⁹ Of course, the “right way” for Anglicans, the one in which all these sensibilities were balanced, was to be found in a recovered English Use.

Leaving no stone unturned, Dearmer’s *The Parson’s Handbook* provided practical directions and recommendations for the design and layout of churches, vesting rooms and sacristies; provisions for candles on the altar and in procession; the appropriate use of incense; linens and vesture for the altar and vestments for the various services of the Prayer Book — including color schemes for eucharistic vestments throughout the liturgical year, the selection and care of sacramental vessels; and the times and appropriate conduct of

26 Dearmer, *Parson’s Handbook*, 6.

27 Dearmer, *Art of Public Worship*, 105.

28 Ibid., 7.

29 Dearmer, *Parson’s Handbook*, 38-39.

services — and detailed instruction on ceremonial for the various services of the church, including provisions for music and processions. In all of this, Dearmer attempted to strike a characteristically Anglican middle way “beyond our prejudices,” interpreting the liturgy of the Prayer Book “not from a Victorian any more than from an Elizabethan, Caroline or Hanoverian point of view, but from that of Scripture, the early Church, and the broad Anglican tradition, which began with men who were at once desirous of reform and conversant with the old ceremonial.”³⁰

Dearmer’s detractors, many of whose liturgical preferences were grounded more in a semi-Calvinist theology than in anything particularly English, considered the method and proposals of *The Parson’s Handbook* to be antiquarian at best, twee (precious and affected) at worst. “Dearmer’s approach . . . was often criticized as being needlessly fussy and archaic, earning for it the nickname, ‘The British Museum Rite’”³¹ Beyond such bald caricatures, it must be admitted that Dearmer’s language could slip at times from the practical to the “flowery” and his examples range between the romantic and the pedantic; furthermore, his scholarship was limited and not above error:

Dr. Dearmer and his associates were inclined to suppose that the Sarum use was something peculiarly English and insular; they sometimes used this argument against the post-Tridentine ceremonial which the later Anglo-Catholic movement was introducing into some of our parish churches under the description of the “full Western Use.” We now realize that there is nothing peculiar to the Provinces of Canterbury and York in the Sarum Use. A study of the rites in use in France, the Low Countries, and Germany in the last part of the Middle Ages will reveal much that has strong affinities with medieval Salisbury. We may say that the Sarum Use represents the trend of liturgical practice throughout northern Europe in the late Middle Ages. . . In fairness to the writer of *The Parson’s Handbook*, a careful reading will show that the author does not propose to restore all the complicated ceremonial of the Sarum rite, but rather a modified and adapted form that would fit the Book of Common Prayer,

30 Ibid., 35. It is, of course, highly debatable whether “the broad Anglican tradition” of which Dearmer speaks “began with men. . . desirous of reform” in the sixteenth century, or in fact with the first flourishing of Christianity in Britain through the mission of Augustine of Canterbury.

31 R. C. D. Jasper, *The Development of the Anglican Liturgy, 1662-1980* (London: SPCK, 1989), 81; see also Gray, “Percy Dearmer,” in Irvine, 73.

which has become known as the “English Use.”³²

Nevertheless, Dearmer himself and *The Parson's Handbook* did succeed in exemplifying a number of enduring characteristics that transcended the affectations and inaccuracies of his work.

Dearmer was a unique combination of a liturgical scholar deeply influenced by his Christian Socialism, who believed that the Eucharist is an extension of the Incarnation; and an aesthete who believed that art, and not least those aspects of art we employ in the liturgy, opens to us one of the doors into the Kingdom of Heaven. . . . For him, the study of liturgy was undertaken in order that we might “best serve God for his own sake.” Good liturgy may not be a panacea for filling churches, but [Dearmer] was confident that worship done well, in beautiful surroundings, with good music, can be evangelistic, and therefore it is our solemn duty to take the greatest possible care over everything we do in church.³³

Well-celebrated liturgy clearly was Dearmer's overarching concern, and he never failed to emphasize the cultivation of such attributes as would serve that end: beauty, propriety, tolerance, moderation and, above all, loyalty to the Prayer Book.³⁴ These were the qualities that gave his work widespread and lasting appeal on both sides of the Atlantic.

The English Use Comes to Bronxville

Influenced by the methodology and recommendations of Percy Dearmer's *The Parson's Handbook*, Harold Hohly and Morton Stone undertook to replace the Tractarian Ritualist ceremonial that had been known at Christ Church since at least 1920 (and quite possibly since 1910) with what they understood to be an appropriate “English Use” liturgy. Certain challenges, of course, were nearly insurmountable. While, for example, the overall aesthetic of the building practically demanded a liturgy expressed in late-medieval ceremonial, the size and layout of the chancel and sanctuary were less than commodious

32 Pocknee, x-xi. Pocknee's assertion that there was “nothing peculiar [to the English church] in the Sarum Use” is arguably an overstatement.

33 Gray, “Percy Dearmer,” in Irvine, 76.

34 Dearmer, *Parson's Handbook*, 32.

for the choreography demanded by the English Use. One practical ceremonial guide of the period noted that within the altar rail “there must be sufficient unbroken floor-space for the Priest and Deacon to pass each other in administering Communion, i.e. not less than 6 ft. . . . The steps [before the altar] should not have a rise of more than 5 in. (less is better), and their tread should not be narrower than 24 in., the top one or footpace being not less than 30 in., and preferably 36 in.”³⁵ What had been wrought in tile and stone at Bronxville was far removed from this ideal, with the single step leading from the chancel pavement to the footpace only twelve inches, and the footpace itself being hardly more than an identical step. When in 1936 Chester Price’s carved wood “Last Supper” reredos was installed behind the high altar “to eliminate the glare of the sun, which shone so brightly through the lower stained glass window that it was difficult to see what was going on at the altar,”³⁶ the original double-tiered stone gradine or retablo was removed and the altar was pushed back against the wall, thus exposing another 18 inches of footpace. Alternating dark and light stone slabs were installed as flooring, indicating where the sacred ministers were to stand when at the altar.

One of the earliest and most remarkable liturgical innovations at Bronxville was the restoration of a vigil service for Easter Eve. This ancient liturgy had suffered diminution in the late Middle Ages, and disappeared from Anglican worship altogether with the publication of the first Book of Common Prayer in 1549. Among Anglicans, it was only beginning to be recovered in England in the early twentieth century, and was barely known among American Episcopalians before the mid-century Prayer Book revisions that culminated with publication of the 1979 Book of Common Prayer. Even among Roman Catholics, the Easter Vigil was a neglected and attenuated service; prior to the introduction of a revised rite for the Vigil in 1951 under Pope Pius XII, this principal liturgy of the church’s year was usually anticipated in the morning hours of Holy Saturday, with minimal attendance.³⁷

Service records from 1934 indicate that on “Easter Even,” March 31, 1934, Father Hohly officiated Evensong at 5:30 p.m., followed by Holy Baptism — the latter rite being a theoretical centerpiece of the Vigil since at least the middle of the fourth century.³⁸ An entry for Easter Eve, April 20,

35 *A Directory of Ceremonial*, Part I, Alcuin Club Tracts XIII (London: Mowbray, 1931), 14.

36 Andrews, 84.

37 James F. White, *Roman Catholic Worship: Trent to Today*, second edition (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press/Pueblo, 2003), 112-113.

38 *Service Record Book*, Christ Church, Bronxville, May 22, 1933-April 30, 1937; here at March 30-April 4, 1934.

1935, notes again Evensong, but with the addition of the “Blessing of New Fire,” though no service times are given.³⁹ Yet one year later, April 11, 1936, the record is for “Evensong & New Fire” at 5:30 p.m., with both Hohly and Stone listed as the ministers.⁴⁰ This pattern would continue, sometimes with baptisms following, for many years to come. Eventually Evensong came to be abbreviated; the Blessing of the New Fire followed by a procession with the paschal candle (including the singing of the hymn *Inventor Rutili*),⁴¹ lessons and solemn *Te Deum* all received increased prominence.

Great care was taken in constructing these services so as not to violate the regulations expressed in the 1928 American Book of Common Prayer. In an article published a decade after these first recorded Easter Vigils at Bronxville, Stone would explain: “the Prayer Book, in addition to the regular services, provides by rubric for the use of special devotions taken from the Bible, Prayer Book, and Hymnal, at the discretion of the minister. So it is quite legitimate for any parish to compose special services from these sources for the Holy Week ceremonies.”⁴² One notes, however, that marginalia in Stone’s own copy of the Sarum Missal suggest that material for the Bronxville vigil was derived from more sources than those he listed in his article.

Hohly and Stone undertook the implementation of their adapted English Use at Christ Church by stages, working to educate parishioners and overcome objections along the way. Documentary evidence for what they did is fragmentary prior to the 1940s, making it difficult to establish precisely when, for example, the three sacred ministers — priest-celebrant, deacon and subdeacon — first appeared at the altar; or when the appareled amice and English alb replaced cassock and cotta for acolytes and other ministers; or when the lace-trimmed baroque altar linens gave way to the English fair-linen, frontal and frontlet combination still in use today. Some of the iron appointments wrought by Philadelphia blacksmith Samuel Yellin during this period were memorialized; thus, for example, it is evident that the stand for the paschal candle was given in 1939, and the thurible and incense boat in 1940. But it remains unknown precisely when the exceptionally controversial decision was made to use incense at every Sunday and festal liturgy; or when violet vesture disappeared, giving way to blue in Advent and unbleached

39 Ibid.; here at April 18-23, 1935.

40 Ibid.; here at April 8-13, 1936.

41 See Appendix I: *Inventor Rutili*, pages 153-160 below.

42 Morton C. Stone, “Prayer Book Holy Week Ceremonies,” *The Living Church* 112 (March 31, 1946), 10. I am grateful to Laura Moore, head of circulation at The Saint Mark’s Library of The General Theological Seminary in New York, for bringing this article to my attention.

sackcloth in Lent; or when the hymn “Let All Mortal Flesh Keep Silence” became a feature at the offertory of every Sunday eucharist.

By 1944 a complete customary or ceremonial guide had been drawn up by Hohly and Stone,⁴³ providing a carefully constructed, scholarly (though overly confident) explanation of the rationale behind the eucharistic liturgy as well as detailed instructions for the ministers at every stage of the service. As an indicator of the liturgical state-of-affairs at Christ Church in 1944, the customary is an invaluable document; one may safely presume, however, that the refined ceremonies it describes had been introduced in stages prior to its writing, likely through an experimental process open to trial and error. Lacking other documentation from earlier stages, one can only guess at when the gospel and offertory processions were reintroduced; or when the Blessed Sacrament hung reserved in a pyx over the altar of the Lady Chapel for the first time; or when Warham Guild vestments were brought over to Bronxville from England; or why the “Trisagion” — an Eastern Christian liturgical text — was adopted for use in place of the *Gloria in excelsis* after communion on all but feast days. The end result is largely known, but in the experimental stage of the first ten years, too much of the practical timeline and theoretical rationale seems to have gone unrecorded.

One of the most unique features appearing in the 1944 customary is the “Bidding to Communion” found after the Prayer of Humble Access and Lamb of God litany. Turning to the people with host and chalice in hand, the priest was to say, “Draw near and receive the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which were given for you, and feed on him in your hearts by faith with thanksgiving,” to which the people, making the sign of the cross, replied, “Blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.”⁴⁴ Although no “bidding to communion” was to be found in the 1928 American Book of Common Prayer or any of its predecessors, American or English, such an invitation was hardly uncommon: the *Anglican Missal* and *American Missal* (both in a genre of altar book that brought together elements from the Roman Catholic mass with the Prayer Book liturgy) made use of the Roman liturgy’s *Ecce Agnus Dei* invitation — “Behold the Lamb of God, behold him who takes away the sins of the world” — together with its response — “O Lord, I am not worthy that you should enter under my roof; but only say the word and my soul shall be healed.” If, as suggested above, one or another of the *Missals* was in use at Christ Church prior to the rectorate

⁴³ See Appendix II: The Hohly-Stone Customary, pages 161-194 below.

⁴⁴ See below, page 191.

of Hohly,⁴⁵ then some form of invitation to communion already would have been familiar to the congregation. But the particular bidding found in the customary is quite different from the presumably established Roman text. Lacking any study notes on this point from Hohly or Stone, only speculative hypotheses can be advanced in attempting to construct what may have been the influences and lines of thought behind the bidding's introduction.

In 1928, a major revision was proposed for the British Book of Common Prayer (1662), in which appeared an "Alternative Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion."⁴⁶ This alternative liturgy included the option whereby "the Minister may, instead of saying all the. . . Words of Administration to each communicant, say first in an audible voice to the whole number of them that come to receive the Holy Communion, 'Draw near and receive the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for you, and his Blood which was shed for you. Take this in remembrance that Christ died for you and feed on him in your hearts by faith with thanksgiving.'"⁴⁷ No response on the part of the people was specified for this invitation. While the 1928 Prayer Book revision was defeated in the House of Commons, its text was widely circulated among Catholic-minded Anglicans in both the United Kingdom and the United States.

Between 1933 and 1938, the Diocese of Colombo in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) developed and ultimately authorized a revised liturgy based in part on the failed 1928 British Prayer Book revision, and in part on the Divine Liturgy of Saint James (a late fourth- or early fifth-century liturgy that circulated widely in Syria and India). The Ceylon Liturgy, one of the earliest concrete examples of reform in the twentieth-century liturgical renewal, was eagerly studied by liturgiologists throughout the world. Like its parent, the 1928 British alternative communion order, this liturgy also contained an invitation to communion, "Draw near with faith, and take this Holy Sacrament to your comfort."⁴⁸ This particular text was extracted from the bidding immediately preceding the general confession in all Prayer Book eucharistic liturgies since 1549. (One also notes that the Ceylon Liturgy placed the *Benedictus qui venit*, which formed the people's response to the bidding at Bronxville, near the time

⁴⁵ See above, page 117.

⁴⁶ See *The Book of Common Prayer with the Additions and Deviations Proposed in 1928* (Norwich, Norfolk, UK: Canterbury Press, 2008), 322-344.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 336.

⁴⁸ *The Ceylon Liturgy: An Order for the Administration of the Holy Communion* (Madras, India: SPCK, 1938), 32. I am grateful to Wayne Kempton, Historiographer and Archivist for the Diocese of New York, for making the text of this liturgy available to me.

of communion: after the Lord's Prayer and Greeting of Peace, before the Prayer of Humble Access and the Lamb of God litany.⁴⁹ But this deployment of the *Benedictus qui venit* does not seem to have proved influential in constructing the text used at Christ Church.)

It seems safe to assume, then, that the "Draw near..." invitation to communion appearing in the Bronxville customary was derived from the Proposed 1928 Prayer Book revision, perhaps also with reference to the Ceylon Liturgy — both of which had been of immense interest in the period during which the customary was compiled. Further, one can conjecture that the *Benedictus qui venit* used for the people's response to the bidding was the fruit of Stone's personal interest in, and study of, early liturgical materials. In a late fourth-century church order, *The Apostolic Constitutions*, one finds the invitation to communion "The holy gifts of God to the holy people of God!" and its response "One is holy, one is Lord, Jesus Christ to the glory of God the Father: blessed are you for ever: Amen,"⁵⁰ followed immediately by three brief scriptural antiphons, the second of which was the *Benedictus qui venit*. While it is impossible to say with absolute certainty that this was the primary inspiration for the adoption of the *Benedictus qui venit* as the response to the communion bidding at Bronxville, given Stone's predilection for early and eastern liturgies, the influence of its appearance in *The Apostolic Constitutions* seems the most likely source for this otherwise local liturgical curiosity.

In Search of a Common Use

Some insight into the motives and principles behind the 1944 customary of Hohly and Stone can be gained from published papers and articles dating from that year onward. These show significant influences from the then-current European and American liturgical scholarship (primarily Anglican but also Roman Catholic), and probably are not wholly reflective of Bronxville's nascent liturgical development. Thus the assertion that Hohly and Stone "did not simply try to copy medieval customs; they also studied the liturgical style of the early Christian church and attempted to learn from it as well,"⁵¹ though substantively correct, largely describes advances in this later period. For

49 See *ibid.*, 29-32.

50 *Apostolic Constitutions* VIII, 13:11-13, in W. Jardine Grisbrooke, ed. and tr., *The Liturgical Portions of the Apostolic Constitutions: A Text for Students*, Alcuin/GROW Liturgical Studies 13-14 (Bramcote, Nottingham, UK: Grove Books, 1990), 42. Grisbrooke notes that the Greek invitation τα ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις (*ta hagia tois hagiois*) literally translates as "the holies to the holies"; *ibid.*, 43.

51 Andrews, 63.

example, Morton Stone's essay "Toward a Common Use," first delivered as an address to the Associate Alumni of The General Theological Seminary in 1946 and subsequently published in a supplement to the Seminary's *Bulletin*,⁵² actually challenges many of the claims made by Percy Dearmer for the English Use, while also introducing concepts championed in Dom Gregory Dix's monumental tome *The Shape of the Liturgy*.⁵³

In terms very reminiscent of Dearmer, Stone described the situation created by Anglo-Catholic Ritualism: "Those who follow the Roman use have done yeoman service in restoring the Eucharist to the central place intended by the Prayer Book. It is therefore regrettable that they are also responsible for importing a certain tawdriness into the appointments of worship, and all too often have been guilty of a mechanical performance of the services."⁵⁴ But he went on to say of the English Use:

As a matter of strict historical fact there was no *English* use in 1548, but rather a series of diocesan uses of which Sarum was the most wide-spread. But the modern English use, as given in the directories [such as those published by the Alcuin Club], does not follow Sarum except in part. And in fitting the medieval customs to the Prayer Book it is necessary to select and adapt just as much as in following the Roman. And even after such modifications have been made there are some provisions which are impractical and meaningless.⁵⁵

For Stone, the only course open was "a getting back to first principles, back [behind] existing uses to the causes which produced them, and the discovery of what is common to all."⁵⁶ This *ressourcement* amounted to an "appeal to the undivided church,"⁵⁷ in pursuit of "the Catholic Minimum of liturgical use" — a truly common use.⁵⁸ Though Stone's manuscript lacks footnotes or other bibliographic citations, his dependence on both Dearmer and Dix is self-evident.

52 Morton C. Stone, "Toward a Common Use," Alumni Essay to the Associate Alumni of The General Theological Seminary, New York, NY (May 21, 1946); in *The Bulletin of the General Theological Seminary*, XXXII:3, Section 2 (1946). A copy of the typewritten manuscript of this address is preserved in the Archives of Christ Church, Bronxville, NY.

53 Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (Westminster: Dacre, 1945).

54 Stone, "Toward a Common Use," 3.

55 Ibid., 8; emphasis original.

56 Ibid., 10.

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid., 11.

Ironically, the ideas with which Stone was most taken, which exemplified to him the character of such a “common use,” have been largely challenged, undermined or even disproved through ongoing scholarship. Perhaps the prime example of this was Stone’s conviction that Christian liturgy (including its ornaments and ceremonial) developed in a direct, practically linear fashion out Jewish synagogue and household worship. To illustrate this point, Stone produced a number of *tableaux vivants* performances, recreating the Last Supper and early Christian liturgies at Christ Church. Using the choir area as a stage, and with parishioners as the players, the minutely-detailed (if also historically fanciful) dramas eventually attracted the attention of *LIFE* magazine photographer Peter Stackpole in 1951.⁵⁹

While some of Stone’s assertions seem overly romantic today, one must bear in mind that he was working with the best scholarship available at the time. After 1945, academics and pastors alike, and in a number of Christian churches, were reading Dix. In spite of its serious flaws in argument and evidence,⁶⁰ the influence exerted by *The Shape of the Liturgy* upon the liturgical reforms of many Christian denominations in the second-half of the twentieth century is difficult to overestimate. It remains a monument to a critical moment in liturgical research and reform, and only in hindsight (and on the basis of still evolving research) can one recognize and name as such the

59 See “Bronxville Versus da Vinci: Suburban Businessmen Reconstruct the Last Supper and Make Some Corrections on Leonardo’s Famous Painting,” *LIFE* 30:11 (March 12, 1951), 151-152, 154.

60 “[I]f you want to understand many of the presuppositions that underlie much of modern liturgical renewal, Dix remains required reading. Just do not be too easily swayed or convinced by what you read, especially when it comes to the ‘shape’ of the eucharistic liturgy, ancient documents like the *Apostolic Tradition*, the feasts and seasons of the liturgical year, and the Protestant Reformation, the last of which surely suffers from Dix’s own self-described ‘Anglo-Papalist’ (p. xiii) bias”; Maxwell E. Johnson, review of “Dom Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, new edition with introduction by Simon Jones (London: Continuum, 2005),” in *Worship* 80 (2006), 471-472, here at 472. For more pointed critiques of various aspects of Dix’s work, see J. Neil Alexander, *Waiting for the Coming: The Liturgical Meaning of Advent, Christmas, Epiphany* (Washington, DC: Pastoral Press, 1993), 38-44; John F. Baldovin, sj, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 228 (Rome: Pontificum Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1987), 102-103; Paul F. Bradshaw, *Eucharistic Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 12-14; idem, “Gregory Dix,” in Irvine, 111-117; J. D. Crichton, *Lights in the Darkness: Forerunners of the Liturgical Movement* (Dublin: Columba, 1996), 98-102; John R. K. Fenwick and Brian D. Spinks, *Worship in Transition: The Liturgical Movement in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Continuum, 1995), 127-129; Bryan D. Spinks, “Mis-Shapen: Gregory Dix and the Four-Action Shape of the Liturgy,” *The Lutheran Quarterly* 4 (1990), 161-177; and Robert F. Taft, sj, “Historicism Revisited,” in *Beyond East and West: Problems in Liturgical Understanding*, second revised and enlarged edition (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2001), 31-49.

scholarly overconfidence of Dix and his readers in this period.

For all of Stone's unintended historical errors, "Toward a Common Use" nonetheless presented an exceptionally rich theology of the eucharistic action, grounded in the historical practice of the church. One suspects that this theological vision, more than anything else, served as the foundation for the decisions that transformed the liturgy at Christ Church. Speaking of the Great Thanksgiving or eucharistic prayer (which at the time was called the "Prayer of Consecration" in the Book of Common Prayer) Stone remarked

The key to the understanding of the rationale and original intention of this prayer lies in the Greek word "Anamnesis" inadequately translated "Memorial" or "in Remembrance," but meaning rather a "*Re*-calling", that is, calling back, in the sense of bringing something out of the past so that it is effective in the present.

In other words, while the Eucharistic Prayer from Dialogue to Doxology is a single act in which Thanksgiving and Petition are inseparably united, it hinges upon and centers in obedience to Christ's command in "doing the anamnesis of His death and resurrection". . . . In the Anglican ritual this central thought is expressed in the words of the Memorial and Oblation, which arranged in normal order reads as follows: "Having in remembrance (equals "doing the anamnesis of") his blessed passion and precious death, his mighty resurrection and glorious ascension, rendering unto thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same; we thy humble servants do celebrate and make, here before thy Divine Majesty, with these thy holy gifts, which we now *offer* unto thee, the memorial (namely "Anamnesis") thy Son hath commanded us to make."⁶¹

Stone went on to describe, first, the eucharistic offering or oblation, in terms of offering back to God the gifts of bread and wine in identification with the offering of Christ's sacrifice on the cross; and second, the doctrine of real presence in terms of this identification-in-offering, rather than in terms of "consecration." He then continued:

61 Stone, "Toward a Common Use," 14-15; emphases original.

Intimately bound up with this original and dynamic conception of the Eucharistic offering is the corporate idea of the priesthood. The Church collectively being the Body of Christ shares in His priesthood. Therefore in the Liturgy it is the whole “congregation” as the new “Laos” — Laity, People of God — that offers the Sacrifice. And as Christ is both Priest and Victim, the corporate Church in “doing the anamnesis” of His death and resurrection, offers itself, dying and rising again in union with the sacrifice of Christ. Hence the importance of the words of participation, “Here we offer and present unto thee ourselves etc.,” and hence also the significance of the offertory and communion in which the People *corporately*, not just as individuals, offer and partake of the sacrifice.⁶²

Stone’s theological perspective, coupled with his desire to articulate a “common use,” greatly enhance the assertion that “Hohly and Stone were said to have had three standards for what they did: does it reflect the pattern of the early church, does it help people to clarify the meaning of the liturgy, and does it involve lay people?”⁶³

English Use, Sarum Use or just Old-Fashioned “High Church”?

The liturgical customary set forth for Christ Church in Lent, 1944, reflecting ten years of experimentation and adaptation by Hohly and Stone, largely corresponds with the English Use as advocated by Dearmer. Certain elements, such as the singing of the *Cherubikon* at the offertory, or the *Trisagion* in place of the *Gloria in excelsis* as a post-communion hymn of praise, point toward Stone’s scholarly interest in early and Eastern Christian liturgies; but the ceremonial actions, postures and gestures described in the customary are almost entirely derived from reconstructions of the late medieval liturgy. Still, little if anything was said in the parish itself during this period about an “English Use,” much less about the “Sarum Use.” Wags and devotees alike simply said that Christ Church was “High Church,” and that reputation preceded the parish especially with newcomers. In a 1947 editorial Hohly mused “It is difficult for me to believe that the incense we use is so powerful that it permeates the very air of our Village so that the source of it is traceable by even the most sensitive and discriminating nostrils.”⁶⁴ Hohly let his feelings be known about

62 Ibid., 15; emphasis original.

63 Andrews, 64.

64 Harold F. Hohly, “Yes!” *The Spire* 2:13 (December 7, 1947), 1.

the appellation of “High Church” to the Christ Church liturgy, while also providing some insight into the aesthetic and theological principles operative in Christ Church’s worship (and therefore worth quoting at length):

Yes, we are “high” church, we believe in the saving grace of the sacraments. We believe that God, through the Church, which is the Body of Christ, does use outward and visible means to achieve inward and spiritual ends. . . . We believe that when you eliminate the supernatural from religion you get only a cold, brittle philosophy which has proved in the past and is proving now completely incapable of saving the souls of men. Yes, we are “high” church. We believe that this doctrine, this point of view is thoroughly “evangelical” and therefore grounded in Holy Scripture as any thoughtful reading of Scripture will make clear.

Yes! We are materialists. We believe that God, who is pure Spirit objectified, made manifest His Nature to us in the Creation of the Material Order. We believe that a sunset, a violet blooming in the spring is the Sacrament of God’s Beauty and His Love. We believe that Man by his very Nature is a Sacrament. . . . We believe that in the Nature of God, and in the Nature of Man the material may be, indeed must be used as a channel for the Spirit. We believe that the only way the World can be saved from Materialism, the only way Matter can be saved from degradation and mis-use is to have it offered to God, and thus consecrated to his use.

Yes! We believe that God is Beauty. We believe in the beauty of holiness and the holiness of Beauty. We believe that Man, in his worship of God must bring to God the best that he has thought and wrought in terms of Beauty. We do not believe that we can accept Beauty in Nature, have beautiful homes, have Beauty in our Art Museums, listen to Beautiful music, and then because of prejudice exclude beauty in worship.

It has been alleged that “high” churchmen are interested only in the externals of religion. What a strange statement! And how far from the facts! Even a casual study of the lives of the leaders of the Oxford Movement would disprove that. On the contrary, everything that “high” church seeks to do is an effort to deepen the life of the Spirit. The Daily Offices (see

your Prayer Book) seek to set forth to the World the Church at Prayer. The daily Eucharist is the Church at work conveying to a hungry World the Bread of Life. . . . The Sacrament of Penance, which most of us do not like, is an insistence upon the “inner” spiritual life of the individual.⁶⁵

Hohly's sense of “High Church” thus transcended the usual, narrowly Anglo-Catholic application of the term to the liturgy, harkening back to the sacramental theology and apostolic ecclesiology of American High Churchmanship in the early nineteenth century. Perhaps because of this broadened and frankly ennobling sense of both church and worship, Hohly could eschew clericalism and insist on active, corporate participation in the liturgy by his parishioners:

Worship is Work. If our Worship is to be Christian and Corporate we must all work at our Worship. When Christians gather to worship, the important consideration is not what is done or said to them; but what they do and say to God. Christian Worship can never be passive. It is true that there are times when the congregation sits and listens to an Anthem sung by the Choir. At that point they worship by listening. To a degree of course that is passive; but it is well to keep in mind that the Anthem sung by the Choir is not sung to or for the congregation; it is sung, offered as an Act of Worship to Almighty God.

If our Sunday Worship is to have any value, if it is to do us any good, if we are “to get something out of going to Church” as the saying goes then we must work at our Worship so that it may work at and in us.⁶⁶

On the basis of this corporate understanding, Hohly, as pastor, gently could chide his congregation when he felt that their participation in liturgy was lagging or “slipping a bit,”⁶⁷ providing at times direct instruction, yet couched in the language of aspiration. “I wish,” he once wrote, “we could all learn to say ‘Amen’ at the end of each of the sentences when the Sacrament is administered:

⁶⁵ Ibid., 2.

⁶⁶ Harold F. Hohly, “Worship is Work,” *The Spire* 7:19 (January 18, 1953), 1.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 1-2; see also idem, “Slipping a Bit,” *The Spire* 8:14 (December 13, 1953),

‘The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee.’ AMEN. ‘The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was shed for thee.’ AMEN. Here is something we can all do, something we can all share in.”⁶⁸ As all of this suggests, Hohly had a considerable disregard for labels. He and Stone were not attempting to produce or direct a specific sort of liturgy as if it were a show (though they never denied, and often made capital use of, the dramatic element inherent in liturgy). Rather, they were attempting to offer to God a beautiful, noble, honest and worthy act of worship, and thereby engage their parishioners in something spiritually enriching and life-transforming.

Whence, then, came the relatively widespread and long-enduring idea that Christ Church, Bronxville, was a Sarum Use parish? One can only speculate on the answer to that question. It seems that the term may have been used by Hohly and Stone outside the parish more than within it, and especially in their dealings with students from The General Theological Seminary in New York, where for many years Hohly served as a lecturer in pastoral theology.⁶⁹ Christ Church served as a model, a laboratory and an extension for Hohly’s classroom. To the hypothetical question, “What is the basis for your ceremonial here?” it seems quite likely that the short answer may have been “the Sarum Use.” Thus “[y]ears later, bishops of the church recalled traveling out to Bronxville as seminarians to study the Sarum Rite.”⁷⁰

After Hohly’s resignation in 1954, Stone remained at Christ Church for a year as priest-in-charge. During that time he wrote a series of articles for *The Spire*, the parish newsletter, in which he examined his notion of a “common use” — or “Prayer Book Use,” as he now preferred to call it. In the second article of the series, he made a passing reference to Sarum: “[The] way in which services are performed is what is called liturgically a ‘Use.’ At various times and places there have been ‘Customaries’ which explained the particular customs or ‘Use’ of a diocese. Just before the first English Prayer Book was published most of the English churches followed what was known as the ‘Sarum Use,’ namely the customs of the cathedral at Salisbury.”⁷¹ A reference to “English Use” followed two weeks later, again in an historical context and not connected with the liturgy at Christ Church.⁷² In a final installment,

68 Hohly, “Worship is Work,” 2.

69 See Powel Mills Dawley, *The Story of the General Theological Seminary: A Sesquicentennial History 1817-1967* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 370.

70 Andrews, 85. It should be noted that what evidence is to be had from this period — which is by no means abundant — indicates that neither Hohly nor Stone ever seem to have referred to the Sarum Use as a “rite.”

71 Morton C. Stone, “Prayer Book Use,” *The Spire* 9:11 (November 28, 1954), 1.

72 Morton C. Stone, “High Church,” *The Spire* 9:13 (December 12, 1954), 2.

following a brief description of the Ornaments Rubric from the 1559 Book of Common Prayer, Stone remarked

We are to follow the customs of 1548 England — largely the “Sarum Use” — except as they were modified in the first and subsequent Prayer Books, realizing that the various Prayer Books were never intended to be complete ceremonial guides, but rather registered changes from traditional use. We now know a good deal more about the “Use” of 1548 England than we used to, and when we compare it with the First Prayer Book it becomes pretty clear where the various customs now in use came from.⁷³

These few indirect statements from Stone are the only apparent references to the term “Sarum Use” in literature related to Christ Church; none of them directly apply to the liturgy at Bronxville. But given the high level of contact with seminarians from nearby General, it is certainly possible that the parish first developed its “Sarum Use” reputation (for good or ill) in circles of clergy. Although Hohly and Stone seem to have avoided such terminology among parishioners during their time at Bronxville, ensuing years would find the Sarum Use appellation becoming a hallmark of the liturgy celebrated at Christ Church.

73 Morton C. Stone, “The Anglican Standard,” *The Spire* 9:14 (December 19, 1954), 3.

CHANGES AND CHALLENGES, PAST AND FUTURE



What Harold Hohly and Morton Stone accomplished in Bronxville was motivated in no small part by scholarship emerging from the international Liturgical Movement of the first half of the twentieth century. Much of the global history of the Christian religion during this period, up through the last decades of the twentieth century, can be understood only in light of this movement and its familiar companion, the Ecumenical Movement. Advances in biblical studies and early church history during the late nineteenth century went hand-in-glove with renewed interest in the forms and functions of early Christian worship, the results of which began to emerge with some of the events and persons described in the preceding two chapters: Tractarians, Ritualists, Percy Dearmer and The Warham Guild. In many ways, however, these were but precursors. While Roman Catholic and Anglican scholars were opening the texts of early Christian church orders and medieval liturgies to critical scrutiny for the first time in centuries, clergy in both churches (as well as in other denominations) were pondering the place and purpose of worship in everyday Christian living. Dearmer's concern for quality craft at an honest wage would soon be extended beyond the pale of the liturgical arts, as pastors and laypersons alike began to recognize an integral and indispensable connection between the praise of God and the transformation of human lives (most especially those of the working poor) through the promotion of concrete social justice. The fragmentation of family life and the rise of individualism — both already well-underway by the turn of the twentieth century — also became pastorally pressing concerns. The demand for a Christian response to these challenges colluded with newly available liturgical scholarship and a rising interest in matters liturgical, giving birth to a movement that would radically reshape how Christians would worship and (more importantly) how they would understand themselves and their place in the world as those who must embody God's reign of uncompromising equality and unconditional love.

Within this developing context of liturgical scholarship and ecclesial renewal, what happened at Bronxville during the ministries of Harold Hohly and Morton Stone was unique (though relatively tame in light of what was to come) both within and beyond the Episcopal Church. In the 1940s and early 1950s, the rhetoric of liturgical renewal was necessarily strong among American Roman Catholics, but practical experimentation within the liturgy itself — officially forbidden — was rare and often of an *ad hoc* nature. Meanwhile, so-called “Low Church” Episcopalians (of a somewhat different mindset than their nineteenth-century predecessors) were mostly content with what they knew, and “High Church” Anglo-Catholics were proud that the ceremonial of their worship largely conformed to, and often qualitatively excelled, then-current Roman Catholic practices. Serious consideration of the possibilities of liturgical change was conducted mainly within academic circles, with some cross-fertilization taking place between English Anglican, American Episcopal and European and American Roman Catholic academics, especially after the First World War. Stone and Hohly brought much of this scholarship to practical embodiment in the worship of Christ Church, in a way that they believed was consistent with Anglican identity (and largely constrained by the architecture of the place). At one and the same time, they recovered things from the past and shaped something new — and often did so well-ahead of the renewal that would blossom from the Liturgical Movement later in the century.

Still, circumstances change. Parishes grow. Demographics diversify. And clergy retire or move on. Beyond their guiding hands, without their common vision, could what Hohly and Stone accomplished at Christ Church in the 1940s and early 1950s survive. . . and if so, for how long?

Defying the Distinctions, Bracing for Change

The rectorate of the Rev. Dr. George W. Barrett (1955-1963), Harold Hohly’s successor, was a period of relative liturgical stability for Christ Church. Just before leaving Bronxville to become Bishop of Rochester, New York, Barrett commented on the first impressions he had been given of worship in the parish, prior to accepting his call to the ministry of rector:

Before I came I heard much about [the services], things that were often contradictory. On the one hand I knew that Christ Church, Bronxville, had acquired no little fame in this country and even abroad for developing a type of worship that was

thoroughly loyal to the Book of Common Prayer and to the historical traditions of Anglican Christianity, worship that combined magnificence and simplicity, as well as the Catholic and Protestant elements in Christianity in a rather unique synthesis....

On the other hand I had been told that the worship of Christ Church had never been entirely understood within the parish itself. It seemed both to transcend and to defy the conventional distinctions between high and low church. To some who came here from other parishes, Christ Church appeared high, to others low. This condition still persists and to me is an illustration of the fatuous unreality of many of our terms and divisions.¹

Although a few subtle changes were deemed necessary during his years as rector, Barrett found little cause for major revision:

I have never found good reason for changing the character of our services to any marked degree. We have reserved incense for occasional use during the year. We have restricted sung processions to the times when they were truly a religious exercise rather than a convenient way for the choirs to enter and leave the church. By continuing the Gospel procession and instituting the Offertory procession we have tried to make the ceremonial action dramatize significant truth rather than becoming an end in itself. The result is that while in some ways our services may seem more elaborate than those in other parishes, in other ways they are actually far more simple.²

Barrett tried to maintain two fundamental operating principles in making decisions about worship:

One is the principle of objectivity, in which we are more concerned with offering ourselves to God than with what we are getting for ourselves from any particular act of worship, an objectivity that makes us aware that we are on trial before

1 George W. Barrett, "Rector's Reflections," *The Spire* 17:22 (April 28, 1963), 1.

2 Ibid., 2.

God more than any liturgical or ceremonial practice is on trial before us.

Another principle is that of corporateness, by which we understand that we worship together as members of a community, that we eat and drink together at a family table, rather than regarding ourselves as patrons of a spiritual notion-counter or an ecclesiastical cafeteria.³

Barrett's stated principles remain sound, a positive pastoral address to the atomization of spirituality and fragmentation of family life that still haunt churches and communities today. Maintenance of these principles at Christ Church during Barrett's tenure was eased by two realities. First, the parish community had taken ownership of its unique liturgical worship: what was introduced by Harold Hohly and Morton Stone became integral to Christ Church's self-understanding, and was more-or-less supported by parishioners. Second, the text of the liturgy — that of the 1928 American Book of Common Prayer — essentially remained stable throughout Barrett's ministry. But such would not be the case in ensuing years, when the parish had to face the challenges of mixing and matching its extant liturgical ceremonial with new words.

In 1946 the General Convention of the Episcopal Church authorized its Standing Liturgical Commission to begin consideration of the possibility of Prayer Book revision. By 1950 the first of the Commission's "Prayer Book Studies" appeared. These Studies set forth rationales for reform and experimental texts for worship, culminating in early 1971 with the publication of *Services for Trial Use*.⁴ This volume (remembered by many as "The Green Book" for its olive-colored paper cover) represented a major revision of the principal services in the Book of Common Prayer, based on the latest available scholarship — and at many points marking a radical (though academically defensible) departure from previous Anglican liturgical tradition. The proposed texts in *Services for Trial Use* took creative account of the reforms promulgated for Roman Catholics by the Second Vatican Council's "Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy" of 1963 and embodied in the revised *Roman Missal* of 1969. While the changes proposed in "The Green Book" may not have seemed quite as drastic to most Episcopalians as the renewed mass seemed to American Catholics (who were now praying in English and seeing the action at the altar — and the priest-

3 Ibid.

4 *Services for Trial Use: Authorized Alternatives to Prayer Book Services* (New York: Church Hymnal Corporation, 1971).

celebrant's face! — for the first time in centuries), the book was still contentious and took many by surprise. The Rev. Raymond T. Ferris served as rector of Christ Church from 1964 to 1971, and “may have pushed these controversial prayer book changes too quickly on a reluctant parish.”⁵ While Ferris had the unhappy job of introducing “The Green Book,” his successor would have what could have been the greater challenge of shepherding two more proposed revisions into the regular worship of parish life.

The Rev. Christopher L. Webber was called as rector in 1972. Within a year of his arrival, the next proposed Prayer Book revision, *Authorized Services 1973*, appeared for trial use.⁶ The geometric cover design of this volume, alternating teal and beige lines in a zig-zagging pattern, suggested its nickname: “The Zebra Book.” In some respects, this proposed revision was more traditional than its immediate predecessor. For example, it contained a separate rite for confirmation by the bishop, whereas the former had combined baptism and confirmation into a single continuous rite performed by the priest, following the model of many Eastern Christian churches.⁷ In other respects, particularly in the language of some of its prayers, “The Zebra Book” was more daring in its social consciousness. Webber and the parish community handled the implementation of these experimental liturgies well:

The beauty and discipline of Christ Church's liturgy continued, with gradual changes so that the services of the new Book of Common Prayer were all but totally accepted by the time the book itself was approved by the [General Convention] in 1979. The Gospel and offertory processions, which caused much stir in the church at large, were actually parts of ancient rites that Harold Hohly and Morton Stone had instituted. By carefully preserving the solemnity and mystery of its special liturgy. . . Christ Church moved forward without jettisoning the successes of its past history.⁸

5 David T. Andrews, *Built Upon A Rock: The First 100 Years of Christ Church* (Bronxville: Christ Church, 2004), 121.

6 *Authorized Services 1973* (New York: Church Hymnal Corporation, 1973).

7 The “Green Book” consolidation of baptism and confirmation into a single service administered by a priest was based on ancient Christian precedent and sound theologies of Christian initiation; alas, it was also “viewed by many bishops as a threat [to their positions] and was expunged early in the revision process”; Betty Gray, “Episcopalians Shape a New Liturgical Life,” *Christian Century* 93 (1976), 732.

8 *Ibid.*, 145-146.

In 1976 a fully revised “Proposed” Book of Common Prayer was given first authorization by the General Convention; it was ratified at the following Convention in 1979, becoming the official liturgy for the Episcopal Church in the United States.⁹ By this time, Christ Church’s parishioners had more-or-less embraced not only the fact but also the spirit of liturgical renewal, and were readily claiming the revised liturgies as their own. Thus, what made remarkable the last stages of the transition between the 1928 and 1979 Prayer Books — at Bronxville at least — was their utterly unremarkable character.

Perennially more controversial are questions surrounding the use of incense during the liturgy. Largely absent from the Sunday Eucharist since the time of George Barrett, during Webber’s years as rector the use of incense received a bit of a revival, as he reports:

When I arrived I was told that incense was still used, “but never on Sunday” — they used it for the Easter Vigil, Ascension Day and Maundy Thursday. I had been there a year or two when Epiphany fell on a Sunday, so I said we really ought to follow the wise men’s example and bring incense on that day. A few years later we added the Sunday of All Saints, because the Bible says the prayers of the saints rise like incense [Rev 8:4]. And we added one or two other occasions, and I was satisfied. I think the use of incense was much less controversial in the 1970s than it was in the ’30s and ’40s.¹⁰

Although controversial, such ceremonial modifications were nothing new: beginning during the Raymond Ferris rectorate and continuing through that of the Rev. Charles “Chad” J. Minifie (1995-2003) and into the present, a number of slight adjustments were made at the practical, “how-to” level of Christ Church’s liturgy. These alterations were frequently recorded in the often hand-written and heavily-diagramed customaries prepared by sacristan Stewart MacGregory, many of which still survive in the parish archives and Rector’s Office files.

One significant development, initiated during Webber’s rectorate, was the relocation of liturgical personnel during the Ministry or Liturgy of the Word:

⁹ *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church. . . According to the use of The Episcopal Church* [1979] (New York: Church Hymnal Corporation, 1979).

¹⁰ Christopher L. Webber, e-mail to author, August 29, 2010.

The primary change I made was to move the ante-communion to the nave. I had moved one altar and had a free-standing altar in my last parish, but couldn't see spending the money to move the altar at Christ Church — to do it with respect to the building would be almost impossible for less than many tens of thousands, in a world where so many were hungry. We put chairs choir-wise at the front of the nave on the lectern side — three in the front row for sacred ministers and 3-4 behind for acolytes — and then went to the altar at the offertory.¹¹

This arrangement was more or less successful for a number of years, though later attempts would be made at celebrating the liturgy with a temporary, freestanding altar in the choir — while also maintaining as much ceremonial as possible. The notes and customaries left by MacGregory suggest that reorienting the liturgy to face the assembly across the altar, without drastically reshaping the rest of the liturgical ceremonial, apparently posed constant choreographic challenges and appeared to many in the nave to be contrived or forced. But this was a period of great and excited experimentation throughout the church and across a number of denominations; many attempts at changing Bronxville's liturgy clearly represented popular liturgical trends during a period of widespread innovation (though some seem also to have been matters of private though informed judgment and personal preference on the part of the clergy).¹² Whatever their origins and their success (or lack thereof), all of these attempts at modification may be commended for their underlying intention to keep the entire assembly focused and engaged in the corporate activity of worship.

Retrieving the Past for the Sake of the Future

It was the sometimes conflicted fruits of these experiments, transitions and idiosyncrasies that the Rev. Michael A. Bird inherited when he became rector of Christ Church in 2004.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² For example, during Webber's years as rector it became customary for the celebrant to change outer vestments from cope to chasuble at the Offertory. While this served to highlight the transition between the two major units of the liturgy (the "Ministry of the Word" and "The Holy Communion" in the nomenclature of the 1928 Prayer Book), both pastoral liturgists and liturgical historians debate the advisability of this practice, which can seem to create an unnecessary symbolic disjunction between the two interrelated movements of one liturgical whole.

A lot had changed in the last thirty-five years or so, since the trial services leading up to the current Prayer Book had been introduced. The mix of experiments over the years resulted in a ceremonial that clearly wasn't organic. It was well-ordered in theory, but it flowed poorly in action. . . . I realized very early on that I was uncomfortable with our use of space. Seating for the altar party was on the nave floor, to the left or "liturgical north" as you face the altar. Although I was physically close to the congregation in that location, I had no visual contact and no real interaction with the community. The presider's responsibility is to gather the community and lead the celebration; but from where we were seated, I found it very hard to lead — to preside — and it was unsettling.¹³

Bird is himself the son of an Episcopal priest, intimately familiar from his own upbringing with the principles of Percy Dearmer and *The Parson's Handbook*. His education at The General Theological Seminary included liturgical study with the Right Rev. J. Neil Alexander, then Associate Professor of Liturgics and now Bishop of Atlanta. Bird thus combines in himself an acute awareness of both the historical riches that informed liturgical development at Christ Church and recent trends in liturgical scholarship. Bringing these to bear in his first experience as a parish rector, Bird engaged the unusually rich liturgical past of Christ Church with particular zeal.

Very early on, in conversation with our Sacristan Emeritus Stewart MacGregory, I was made aware of our parish's liturgical history, of materials [written] by previous rectors and other persons, of historical data and liturgical documents. There was a history of taking a principled approach to liturgy here, based loosely on the historic Sarum Use. So, I dug into the archives and did my homework. I wanted to see how worship here related to the times of greatest growth and community energy. I found that the liveliest times were when the community's liturgical expression was at its best: formal, visible, with a clear sense of purpose.¹⁴

Bird realized, on the one hand, that a bygone era could not simply be recreated: both the Prayer Book and pastoral exigencies had changed radically; further,

¹³ Michael A. Bird, interview by author, Bronxville, New York, June 23, 2009.

¹⁴ Ibid.

much of what had been considered of central importance liturgically in the 1930s and '40s has been shown since to be relatively insignificant. Still, faced with a decline in Sunday attendance in the immediate past, Bird was convinced that an engaging parish life had to find its source in a truly ennobling liturgy — one not unlike that developed by Hohly and Stone. What was needed, in Bird's opinion, was a customary for the twenty-first century.

I read the customaries written under previous rectors and actually walked through them in the space itself. I also read the papers and articles they wrote, especially those by Fathers Hohly and Stone, to get a feel for the liturgical and historical senses they were working with. After a deliberate and careful evaluation, based on my own seminary training in liturgical theology, and with the help of further conversations with MacGregory, I was able to make a first attempt at a revised customary. I wanted it very much to resemble the best of liturgical experience here in the past, yet be fully compatible with our current Book of Common Prayer, and with modern liturgical sensibilities. Symbols and ritual actions have to be as clear and as clean as possible, if they're going to engage an increasingly diverse community. We were able to achieve all that pretty quickly, but it still gets tweaked. The more we've lived with it, the more we've been able to fine-tune it.¹⁵

A truly functional customary, the present one continues to evolve. Each regular priest-celebrant in the parish is expected to learn and internalize it, but also to offer constructive experiential criticism in evaluation of it. If some aspect of the ceremonial is shown no longer to serve the purpose for which it was prescribed, it is rethought — or, if necessary, abandoned. But no change made to the customary is capricious or unilateral: historical precedents and contemporary liturgical research are weighed together with local pastoral needs and practical-logistical challenges in a consensus-building process among the clergy. The outcome has been not only a balanced and serviceable approach to the ceremonies of liturgy but also a revitalized worship-life at Christ Church — though accompanied (as one might expect) by all the challenges inherent with any liturgical alteration. Thus Bird remains optimistic, working to ground necessary changes in a purposeful theology of worship: “I think

¹⁵ Ibid.

we all understand that how we do what we do will inevitably change, but why we do what we do doesn't change. That's something that Cranmer understood from the beginning. That's just the nature of liturgy."¹⁶ And as intended, a new flourishing in parish life and new energy for mission have been the lasting results of such change.

In its present form, the major liturgical customary of Christ Church, Bronxville,¹⁷ would be considered modestly "high church," with the absence of incense at Sunday services (and a restrained use of it on feasts and during the festival seasons of Christmas and Easter) being the most apparent moderating factor. Designed for the principal Rite II eucharist on Sundays and festivals, the ceremonial embodies the liturgical ideals and expectations of the 1979 Book of Common Prayer, while making the most advantageous use of the various options provided in that Prayer Book. Movement, posture and gesture are all direct and purposeful, with nothing superfluous in either word or action detracting from the flow of the liturgy. At the same time, the customary evidences a high degree of continuity with its twentieth-century predecessors, and draws some elements directly from the medieval liturgy of the Sarum Use. When enacted, this customary is quite clearly and naturally the successor of Hohly's and Stone's achievement.

Bird's work provides not only a guide for the principal weekly celebration of the eucharist in Rite II of the 1979 American Book of Common Prayer, but also a point of ceremonial reference for other liturgies at Christ Church. Thus, although the early-morning Rite I eucharist celebrated in the Lady Chapel on Sunday and Wednesday mornings makes use only of the priest-celebrant and one assisting minister (whose role enfolds elements from the ministries of subdeacon, acolyte and lay reader), the customary nonetheless moderates the actions of the celebrant, particularly when she or he is at the altar. Likewise, Solemn Evensong, although a very different service in structure and personnel-needs, draws many of its ceremonial elements from the basic contours of the customary.

The Sunday evening eucharist, which has been described variously as informal, meditative or contemplative, and "come as you are," operates on a rather different model. Originating in the creative imagination and pastoral vision of the Rev. S. Elizabeth Searle, associate rector between 2000 and 2004, this liturgy is celebrated at the freestanding nave altar, with an agreed minimum of vesture and ceremonial, and much left to the informed discretion of the celebrant. Employing "enriching" texts from official Episcopal sources

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ See Appendix III: A Twenty-First Century Customary, pages 195-208 below.

as well as from the Prayer Books and alternative service materials of other churches in the Anglican Communion, and utilizing chants from the ecumenical community of Taizé in France, the Sunday evening eucharist has a quasi-experimental, emergent or “fresh expressions” quality that is well-received by its regular congregation, even as the service continues to evolve. Although informal, this liturgy is not casual: it maintains the dignity and purposefulness appropriate to Christian worship, while ministering to the very real pastoral needs of faithful Christians living in a now post-Christendom, pluralist and secularized culture.

Taken together, these three regularly scheduled Sunday liturgies at Christ Church, Bronxville, represent a large cross-section of American Episcopal worship. Noticeably absent, however, is the divisive acrimony that frequently attends communities with multiple liturgical styles. While parishioners have strong attitudes and opinions about the various expressions of worship at Christ Church, and not all are enthused by the admittedly rather traditional approach taken at principal liturgies, the liturgical life of Bronxville’s Episcopalians is not particularly factious. The insularity and disunity that could (and in many places do) hold apart one liturgy’s congregation from another are militated against at Bronxville by widely-embraced commitments to social justice and outreach, environmental conservation, robust pastoral presence in the Westchester area, programs of social engagement, spiritual formation and religious and theological education for all ages, and direct involvement of lay and ordained members of the parish in missionary efforts on an increasingly global scale. Each of these commitments is grounded in and informed by the experience of worshiping together as a cohesive Christian community. And that experience is itself marked by a number of further, liturgical commitments, above all to pastoral accessibility and intelligibility, to Anglican/Episcopal tradition as it finds expression in the Book of Common Prayer, and to a common local liturgical identity set within the broader context of a varied global Christian history. These same commitments motivated Harold Hohly and Morton Stone to experiment with ancient and English Use liturgical elements at Bronxville, and with much the same results.

American Sarum Today

Aside from the reputation of being a Sarum Use parish — which reputation seems to have been imputed first, and then only (perhaps) hesitantly owned — does Christ Church merit the title of an American Sarum? The key consideration here seems to be the notion of adaptability. Between the ninth

and thirteenth centuries, the Sarum Use attained an unparalleled scope of influence among the Cathedral Uses that lasted into the sixteenth-century English reform and impacted the development of the Book of Common Prayer. The Use of Salisbury Cathedral in all its magnificence was at the same time the Use of the neighboring Saint Martin's parish in all its humility. To the medieval English Church, Sarum and its Use represented precision without pretension, exuberance without fussiness, and grandeur without complication. In comparison with the Roman liturgical books of the time, the text and ceremonial arrangements of the Sarum liturgy, though intricate, were significantly less convoluted. While the Sarum Use could — and frequently did — admit all the pomp and circumstance conceivable for a festival occasion, it yet remained utterly flexible and eminently adaptable: it was the liturgy of the Cathedral's many quotidian *missae privatae* just as much as it was that of the festal conventual high mass. Nor was it ever a static thing: the *Consuetudinarium*, *Customal*, *Ordinale*, *Pica*, *Directorium* and *Missale* of Salisbury Cathedral underwent regular revisions as the liturgy there continued to develop, as an evolving liturgy for changing needs. Thus, when late nineteenth-century Anglicans were displeased with what amounted to the aping of the Roman liturgy by their own coreligionists, they found in the Sarum Use not so much the sighing ideal of a romantic past, but the raw materials from which the so-called English Use successfully could be fashioned for pastorally-oriented Prayer Book worship.

Such also has been the enduring genius of the liturgy at Christ Church, Bronxville. Harold Hohly and Morton Stone recognized the need for a fair amount of adaptation in the worship of their parish and desired to bring the best scholarship of their day to bear on the liturgy of the community they served. The same spirit and same ideals have held court ever since. Admittedly, some attempts at change have been more successful than others, and much continues to be learned and re-learned through both scholarly advance and sheer trial and error. Such is the nature of wrestling with and realizing the riches of the past in the present — the nature of a *vital* tradition that knows both change and continuity. As Percy Dearmer himself noted, “[t]he truth is that no society can be rigidly bound to the past; although loyalty to the past is as necessary in the art of public worship as in any other art, especially when the art of public worship is as noble as it is in the case of English public worship.”¹⁸ Some things never change, after all.

¹⁸ Percy Dearmer, *The Parson's Handbook: Containing Practical Direction for Both Parsons and Others as to the Management of the Parish Church and its Services According to the Anglican Use, as Set Forth in The Book of Common Prayer*, twelfth edition (London: Humphrey Milford, 1943), 28.

So “why do you adapt the Sarum Ceremonial to the Book of Common Prayer?” (When posed this other way around, the question of Stewart MacGregory’s imaginary visitor with which this book opened more accurately describes what actually happens liturgically at Christ Church.) The short answer is that “it works.” In a parish where some readily identify themselves as Protestant Episcopalians (with some placing more emphasis on “Protestant” than on “Episcopalian”), and others eagerly proclaim themselves as Anglo-Catholics (usually with more emphasis on “Catholic” than on “Anglo-”), the liturgy of Christ Church continues “to transcend and to defy the conventional distinctions between high and low church,” as George Barrett commented at the end of his rectorate.¹⁹ The “modified Sarum liturgy” of Bronxville, which throughout the preceding pages has been shown to be more “modified” than it is “Sarum,” continues to prove itself as an effective way for this faith community — in this particular time and place and space — to gather as church, to offer its praise and worship to God and to receive back the gifts of God’s loving and forgiving presence through word and sacrament in the “perpetual memory” of the dying and rising of Jesus Christ. It continues to inspire the lifting of hearts and minds to God in praise, adoration, thanksgiving, and self-offering, and it continues to overflow in effective ministries of outreach and Christian service to those in need. Through the good stewardship of many generations, the liturgy of Christ Church, Bronxville, has been able to maintain treasures both new and old,²⁰ and will persist in doing so with great integrity and perhaps even greater devotion, as an American Sarum for many generations to come.

¹⁹ Barrett, I.

²⁰ “Therefore every scribe who has been trained for the kingdom of heaven is like the master of a household who brings out of his treasure what is new and what is old” (Matt 13:52).

I

INVENTOR RUTILI



The opening rites of the Great Vigil of Easter — with the blessing of the new fire, procession and diffusion of Easter light and the Paschal Proclamation — are among the most ancient elements of this singularly important celebration of the church's year. Thanksgiving for light at the close of the day and the blessing of a lamp at sunset or nightfall (the time of evening prayers and sacrifices) stem from both pagan practices and Jewish tradition: "This obvious practical necessity was a daily occurrence among ancient Mediterranean peoples, who greeted the burning lamp with expressions of joy and gratitude."¹ Evidence of Christian adaptation of these practices in the first four centuries can be found, for example, in North Africa in Tertullian's *Liber Apologeticus* (39), at Jerusalem as recorded by Egeria in her pilgrimage diary (24.4) and in the so-called *Apostolic Tradition* (26.18), though it is impossible to say how closely the logic of each of these examples was related to that of the others.

By the Middle Ages the relatively brief *Lucernarium* or lamp-lighting ceremony of daily prayer had been preserved for the Latin (Roman) Rite of the Western Church only in its highly elaborated form at the beginning of the Paschal Vigil. Northern European churches seem to have pioneered the blessing of bonfires on this night, while the western churches of the Mediterranean basin preferred simply to light the Paschal Candle and sing its praises.² Although some popular traditions credit Saint Patrick of Armagh, the great missionary to Ireland, with originating the bonfires of this night by Christianizing the Beltane fires of the Celtic New Year's springtime celebration, such claims are unverifiable and most likely legendary. Whatever their precise origins and history, the opening rites of the Easter Eve Vigil, as they would have been known at Salisbury Cathedral in the Middle Ages, brought together

I Patrick Regan, "Paschal *Lucernarium*: Structure and Symbolism," *Worship* 82 (2008), 98.

2 See Peter G. Cobb, "The History of the Christian Year," in Cheslyn Jones, et al., eds., *The Study of Liturgy*, revised edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 463.

many different strands of tradition, lore and ritual for the community gathered to keep the night-watch of the resurrection of their Lord.

Among those strands of tradition was the singing of *Inventor Rutili*, a metrical or poetic hymn by the Spanish Christian poet Aurelius Prudentius Clemens (348 - c. 410):

Kind Leader, Maker of the glowing light,
At your command the passing hours move:
Now sun has set, dark chaos broods above:
Christ, light your faithful through the coming night!

Your courts are lit with stars unnumberéd,
And in the cloudless vault the pale moon rides;
Yet you would have us seek the fire that hides,
'Til swift we strike it from its flinty bed —

Lest we forget that in Christ's body came
The hidden hope of light to mortals sent.
By his own word he is the Rock that, rent,
Sends forth to all our race the eternal flame.³

Inventor Rutili is part of Prudentius' *Liber Cathemerinon* ("Book of Daily Things"), a collection of hymns for marking the liturgical unfolding of time throughout the day and year. Like its third-century Greek cousin *Phos Hilaron*, Prudentius' hymn seems to have been intended for singing during a *Lucernarium* or lamp-lighting ceremony in antiquity — though scholarly opinion remains divided about whether or not it was originally written for use at the beginning of daily evening prayers, or with the lamp-lighting of the Paschal Vigil particularly in view.⁴

3 "Hymn for the Lighting of the Lamps," in *The Hymns of Prudentius*, tr. R. Martin Pope (London: Aldine House/J. M. Dent, 1905), 44-57; here corrected and contemporized with reference to Maurice P. Cunningham, ed., *Aurelii Prudentii Clementis Carmina*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina I26 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1966), 23-28. Though hardly a literal translation, Pope's text was selected as the basis for the excerpts that appear in this appendix because it preserves the enclosed rhyme scheme (though not the metrical cadences) employed by Prudentius in the original text.

4 See *The Poems of Prudentius* tr. M. Clement Eagan, ccvi, The Fathers of the Church 43 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1962), 29-30, note I; also A. J. MacGregor, *Fire and Light in the Western Triduum: Their Use at Tenebrae and at the Paschal Vigil*, Alcuin Club Collections 71 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992), 485-86. Thomas Forrest Kelly comments that *Inventor Rutili* "parallels the themes of the annual dedication of the Paschal Candle"; *The Exultet in Southern Italy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 42.

The imagery throughout the hymn is exceptionally rich and lucid, suggesting a number of liturgical details with which Prudentius himself may have been familiar. The following quatrains, for example, make mention of a variety of “lamps” that may have been in use in the churches of the Iberian Peninsula in the late fourth century.

From lamps that brim with rich and fragrant oil,
Or torches dry this heaven-sent fire we feed;
Or rush-lights made from out the flowering reed
And wax, on which the bees have spent their toil —

Bright glows the light, whether the resin thick
Of torches pine, or waxen tapers burn
With melting radiance, or the hollow urn
Yields its stored sweetness to the thirsty wick.

Beneath the might of fire, in slow decay
The scented tears of glowing nectar fall;
Lower and lower droops the candle tall
And, ever dwindling, weeps itself away.

So by your gifts, great Father, hearth and hall
Are all ablaze with points of twinkling light
That vie with daylight spent; and vanquished night
Rends, as she flies away, her sable pall.

These ritual details naturally conjure images of the ceremonies of Easter Eve, and are alone quite sufficient to commend the hymn for some sort of use during the *Lucernarium* at the Pascal Vigil. Yet among the forty-one quatrains of the hymn, one finds a poetic account of the exodus of the Hebrew people from Egypt, the most important of the Old Testament narratives and prophecies proclaimed during the Vigil. Prudentius begins his telling with the revelation of God to Moses from the burning bush:⁵

Who knows not that from Heaven high first came
Our light from God, Godself the rushing fire?
For Moses did, amid that prickly briar,
See God made manifest in lambent flame.

⁵ See Exod 3:I-6.

Thus the fire of the evening lamps becomes an icon of that ancient encounter; it also serves as a reminder of the pillar of fire and cloud that led the Hebrew people's way through the Red Sea and Sinai wilderness. The hymn therefore goes on to describe the departure from Egypt, the pursuit of Pharaoh's army and the miraculous parting and crossing of the Sea of Reeds.⁶ These events are then explained in typological terms: they were understood as types, foreshadowings or even manifestations, of the presence and action of Jesus Christ among the people of the Old Testament:

What tongue, O Christ, your praises can unfold?
With might and justice, your right hand once made
The plague-struck land of Pharaoh, sore afraid,
To bend before your Minister of old.⁷

The pathless deep did, at your voice, restrain
Its surging waves until, with you for guide,
Your people passed dry shod; and then the tide
Flowed back and swept the wicked 'neath the main.

The poetry of the hymn capitalizes on typological interpretations widespread in the patristic era, declaring that the manna and quail of the wilderness wanderings and the water from the rock at Massah and Meribah were all gifts from Christ himself.⁸ Moreover, Prudentius brought these past moments into the present by explicitly connecting the challenges of this present life's journey with the Exodus event of old:

How great the love of God's own Son, that shed
Such wondrous bounty on his chosen race!
And still to us he offers, in his grace,
The mystic feast, by which our souls are fed.

Through this world's raging sea he bids us come;
Between its parted billows guides our path,
Till, worn and wearied with life's ocean-wrath,
He calls his storm-tossed saints to Heaven and home.

6 Stanzas 10-22; see Exod 13:21 — 14:31.

7 "Minister of old" is a reference to Moses, who himself was sometimes described in antiquity as a type or foreshadowing of Christ.

8 Stanzas 23-26; for the manna and quail, see Exod 16 and compare John 6:30-51; for the water from the rock, see Exod 17:1-7 and compare 1 Cor 10:1-4.

The appearance of the Exodus story and images of the eucharist and the heavenly homecoming fit nicely with the hymn's use at the Paschal Vigil, as do a number of stanzas alluding to Christ's Descent into Hell (another mystery commemorated on Holy Saturday and given a fair amount of attention in antiquity):⁹

Even the spirits of the lost, who dwell
Where Styx runs sad and black Acheron flows,
Rest on that holy night when Christ arose,
And for a while keep holiday in Hell.

No sun from ocean rising drives away
Their darkness, with its flaming rays far-hurled,
But from the cross of Christ o'er that dim world
There streams the radiance of a new-born day.

The sulphurous floods with lessened fury glow,
The aching limbs find respite from their pain,
While, in glad freedom from the binding chain,
The tortured ghosts a short-lived solace know.

Nearing its end, the hymn includes a petition that is highly suggestive, if not of the Easter Vigil itself, then of some other nocturnal vigil — such as might be kept at the shrine of a martyr throughout the night before the early morning eucharist on her or his feast day:

In holy gladness let this night be sped,
As here we gather, Lord, to watch and pray;
To you with one consent our vows we pay
And on your altar set the sacred Bread.

The remaining quatrains recapitulate some of the imagery laid out in those with which the poem began, while also relating the light of the lamps to the twinkling of the stars. The hymn then proceeds to a two-stanza oblation of the fire and lamps that perhaps suggested the later development of offering the

⁹ On the Descent into Hell as a theological theme in antiquity and for today, see Martin F. Connell, "*Descensus Christi ad Inferos*: Christ's Descent to the Dead," *Theological Studies* 62 (2001), 262-282; idem, "*Attolite Portas*, 'Open Up, You Doors!': Liturgical Narrative and Christ's Descent," *Worship* 76 (2002), 111-118.

Paschal Candle as “the evening sacrifice” in the *Exsultet*, and finally terminates in a double-stanza doxology.

From pendant chains the lamps of crystal blaze;
By fragrant oil sustained the clear flame glows
With strength undimmed, and through the darkness throws
High o’er the fretted roof a golden haze —

As though Heaven’s starry floor our wondering eyes
Beheld, where constellation-Bears do play;
Where Phosphor heralds the dawning of the day
And Hesper’s radiance floods the evening skies.

Right is the gift we offer here to you,
Father of all, as falls the dewy night;
Your own most precious gift we bring: the light
By which we see in full your bounty true.

For you are Light indeed for our dull eyes,
And on our inmost souls your rays are poured;
To you we light our lamps: receive them, Lord,
Filled with the oil of peace and sacrifice.

O hear us, Father, through your only Son,
Our Lord and Savior, by whose love bequeathed
The Paraclete upon our hearts has breathed,
With him and you through endless ages one.

Through Christ your Kingdom shall for ever be,
Your grace, might, wisdom, glory ever shine,
In majesty and power all benign
You reign forever, Godhead one in three.

While Lanfranc, thirty-fifth Archbishop of Canterbury (1070-1089), mentioned this hymn in his *Decretals* of 1070, the first surviving evidence of its use at Salisbury comes from the thirteenth century. By the early sixteenth century, the Sarum Missal would appoint only a handful of stanzas (1, 2, 3, 7 and 41) for the Easter Eve vigil, with the first quatrain being repeated as

an antiphon or refrain between the others.¹⁰ One might conjecture that the route of the procession into the cathedral had been shortened considerably, or that the introduction of the thanksgiving for the Pascal Candle, the *Exsultet*, had led to a reduplication of themes and metaphors, thus calling for the attenuation of the older hymn in favor of the newer text. No reason, however, is recorded for the abbreviation of Prudentius' text, and one must be content simply to observe the truncation as it stood.

Sadly, no portion of the hymn — and nothing of the Great Vigil upon which the entire Christian year hinges in its temporal significance — survived in the liturgies compiled during the English reforms of the sixteenth century. Prudentius' hymn similarly disappeared from most French and German missals after the Council of Trent (1545-1563), with the general suppression of local uses in favor of a standardized and universalized Roman Rite (which had never made use of *Inventor Rutili*). There is evidence, however, that the hymn continued to be used well into the eighteenth century at Sens and Péringieux and into the nineteenth century at Le Puy, all in France.¹¹ When in the mid-1930s the Easter Vigil was revived among the Episcopalians at Bronxville, the Rev. Morton Stone resurrected Prudentius' hymn for the procession with the new fire, with the choirs singing W. C. Green's translation of the sixteenth-century remnant of the hymn as it appeared in Frederick Warren's edition of the 1526 Sarum Missal. That translation continues to be employed during the Great Vigil of Easter at Christ Church to this day:

Thou leader kind, whose word called forth the radiant light,
Who by set bounds dividest night and day,
When the sun set, in gloom rose chaos on our sight:
Give back, O Christ, Thy light, Thy servants pray.

Although, with countless stars and with the silvery tint
Of lunar lamp, thou dost the heavens dye,
Yet dost thou teach us how, by sudden stroke of flint,
The rock-born seed of light to vivify.

Lest man forget the hope for man of heavenly light,
That in Christ's body lies a hidden thing;
Who willed to be called the steadfast Rock of might,
When by our little sparks our race should spring.

¹⁰ See *The Sarum Missal in English* (hereafter SM), Part I and Part II, tr. Frederick E. Warren; Alcuin Club Collections XI (London: Mowbray, 1913), 269.

¹¹ MacGregor, 280-281.

So in that room, O Lord, Thou didst thy gifts display —
To wit, the flickering tongues that flame-like fall;
Till then obscur'd and lost, new light brings back the day,
And vanquished night withdraws her riven pall.

Through whom thy honour, praise, and wisdom all divine,
Majesty, goodness, mercy, shine and blend:
And to maintain thy realm in threefold might combine,
Knitting time now with time that cannot end.¹²

12 "Thou Leader Kind," tr. W. C. Green; SM I, 269.

II

THE “HOHLY-STONE CUSTOMARY”



*The Holy Eucharist According to Anglican Use
as Celebrated at Christ Church, Bronxville, NY¹*

With an Introduction²

by

The Rev. Harold F. Hohly

and

The Rev. Morton C. Stone

Lent 1944

¹ The footnotes appearing throughout this appendix, which offer a critical commentary on the Hohly-Stone Customary, all have been added by the author of *American Sarum*. Unless otherwise noted, references in these notes to the 1928 American Book of Common Prayer (hereafter BCP) conform to the pagination of the Standard Edition, *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church According to the Use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America* (Boston: D. B. Updike/Merrymount Press, 1930); digital facsimile available at <http://justus.anglican.org/resources/bcp/1928Standard/bcp1928std.pdf> (accessed July 24, 2010).

Unless otherwise noted, biblical citations in both the text and the notes of this appendix refer to the Authorized (King James) Version of the Bible.

All emphases in the text of this appendix, whether by *italics* (indicated by underlining in the original) or by CAPITALIZATION, are as they appear in the typewritten manuscript, with the exception of the *italicized* portions of the liturgical texts incorporated into the Customary proper, beginning on page 178 below. This editorial change, introduced to facilitate ease in reading here, affects only congregational responses, which were denoted only by an asterisk (*) in the original manuscript.

² The manuscript of this Customary exists in two parts: a historical, theological and practical explanatory introduction, and a complete ceremonial guide to the Holy Eucharist, including the *ordinary* (fixed texts) of that service from the 1928 American Book of Common Prayer. Because of how the manuscript was laid out and paginated (the two portions being separately numbered, perhaps for quick and easy reference in the sacristy), past archivists in Bronxville treated it as two separate works. The notice on the title page, “with an introduction,” however, clearly indicates that the two pieces form one contiguous document.

INTRODUCTION

“Common” prayer

The Holy Eucharist is the means, instituted by our Lord, whereby the Church, as His Body, is enabled to share in His Sacrifice and partake of His Life. Obeying His command, “Do this for my memorial,”³ we offer up bread and wine, in union with His offering of Himself upon the Cross, and receive them back as His Body and Blood. Moreover, by this act of Sacrifice and Communion, we are united not only to Christ but to each other.

Therefore, the Holy Eucharist is not something done by the Priest for the People, nor a merely *individual* act of Communion, but rather a CORPORATE SERVICE in which *every* member of the congregation takes part, both in the ritual words and in the ceremonial action, each according to his particular function, laymen co-operating with clergy, even in the official ministration at the altar.

It is for this reason that *private* prayers, whether for Ministers or People, are omitted from the Prayer Book. It is the intention of the Church that we should make the words and action of the service itself our own, that we should “pray the Eucharist,” not as a private act, but as our COMMON PRAYER.

Ministers & People

In keeping with this corporate character of the Eucharist, the Prayer Book provides for a normal minimum of at least three Ministers at its celebration, in addition to the participation of the Choir and People. In Anglican tradition there are SEVEN MINISTERS,⁴ as follows:

- (1) The PRIEST (or Bishop) Celebrant, who takes the Collects, Peace, Intercession, Absolution, Eucharistic Prayer or Canon, Thanksgiving and Blessing, and administers the Bread.
- (2) The DEACON, who recites the Summary, reads the Gospel,

³ See I Cor II:24-25; Luke 22:19.

⁴ In numbering the ministers of the Eucharistic liturgy “in addition to the Choir and People” as seven, Hohly and Stone display a particular understanding of the liturgy rooted in medieval — and *not* particularly Anglican — practice. Their assertion regarding a minimum of three ministers is closer to the ideal that seems to have been envisioned in the first edition of the Prayer Book (1549), though one cannot help but wonder which two ministers (in addition to the priest-celebrant) Hohly and Stone had in mind: the office of subdeacon was suppressed among Anglicans at the time of the English reform, and the role of the deacon in early Prayer Book liturgies was minimal.

leads the Confession and administers the Chalice.

- (3) The SUBDEACON or Reader, who reads the Epistle or other New Testament Lesson, and brings the bread and wine to the altar.
- (4) The CLERK, who reads the Lesson when taken from the Old Testament, bears the Cross, and ministers at the Handwashing.
- (5) The THURIFER, who bears the Censer at the Gospel and Offertory, and where customary censens Ministers and People.
- (6, 7) The two TAPERERS, who have charge of the Sanctuary Lights, and bear the Gospel Tapers.

Priest and Deacon are clergy, the others laymen. Priest, Deacon, and Subdeacon are called the “Sacred Ministers” because they minister directly at the Altar. In the necessary absence of Deacon and Subdeacon, the Priest takes the Deacon’s part, the Clerk that of the Subdeacon. When Thurifer or Taperers are absent, both their duties and ornaments are omitted.

The PEOPLE and CHOIR recite all the Responses: the Amens to the Prayers, the Answers to the Salutations and Biddings, the Kyries after the Summary, the Benedictus after the Sancta Sanctis.⁵ They join in the Psalms or Hymns at the Introit, Gradual, Offertory, Communion and Dismissal, and in the corporate recitation of the Creed, Confession, Sanctus, Lord’s Prayer, Agnus Dei, and Trisagion or Gloria in Excelsis. Likewise they share in the common Gestures, Sitting, Standing, Kneeling, Bowing, etc. at the proper times.

Ideally, every Eucharist is supposed to be a “high” service, that is, with a full complement of Ministers, the proper parts being sung. For practical reasons celebrations are often “low,” the Priest being attended only by the Clerk, the music being omitted.⁶

⁵ *Sancta Sanctis* is the Latin term for the invitation to communion found in many Eastern Christian liturgies: τα ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις (*ta bagia tois bagiois*) — holy things for holy people. See below, page 191, for the form that the invitation took at Bronxville at the time of this Customary.

⁶ The distinction between “high” and “low” here correspond to the same distinction frequently used to describe the Roman Catholic mass prior to the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965). “High mass,” *missa solemnis*, was sung by the priest-celebrant with a full retinue of sacred ministers (priest, deacon and subdeacon), servers and choir; “low mass,” *missa lecta* or *missa privata* was recited, with a minimum of assisting ministers (often only a single server) and little or no music. What the authors *do not intend* here is the ecclesio-liturgical distinction between “high church” and “low church” that is frequently found in intra-Anglican literature.

Ritual

The Eucharist has two parts: (1) From the beginning to the Offertory, called the Synaxis, that is, Assembly; (2) From the Offertory to the end, called the Eucharist, that is, Thanksgiving. Originally the Assembly and the Thanksgiving, the latter accompanied by a Meal, were two distinct services, held separately.⁷ Sometime before the year 150 AD the Meal was dropped or postponed, and the Assembly and Thanksgiving were united to form one service.

I. THE ASSEMBLY is simply the Christian form of the Jewish synagogue service,⁸ in which our Lord “as his custom was”⁹ took part every Sabbath Day. The Jewish and Christian services, as they were at the end of the first century, may be compared as follows:

JEWISH SYNAGOGUE	CHRISTIAN ASSEMBLY
1. Lessons from the Law (first five books of O.T.), with Doxology.	1. Lessons from Old Testament (PROPHECY), ending with a Psalm (GRADUAL)
2. Lessons from Prophets.	2. Lessons from New Testament, EPISTLE and GOSPEL, the latter with doxology.
3. Sermon based on readings.	3. SERMON based on readings.
4. Prayer (Benedictions), said standing (Amida), with “Amen” responses.	4. PRAYER FOR CHURCH (Great Intercession), said standing, as Litany, led by Deacon, with “Kyrie” responses, ending with Collect by Priest.

⁷ A number of theories regarding the Jewish antecedents behind the origins of Christian liturgy are taken for granted by the authors of this introduction; but such theories are now recognized as open to dispute, largely because they are dependent on Jewish sources that significantly post-date the New Testament and sub-apostolic periods; see, for example, Paul F. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy*, second edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 23-46.

With regard to the origins of the Christian *synaxis* or assembly, the New Testament itself gives some indications that *a single service of word and eucharist* was known to the apostolic church from the very beginning. Luke 24:13-35 suggests that proclamation and preaching may have immediately preceded and shed light on the “breaking of the bread.” Acts 20:7-12 and I Cor 14:26-40 both suggest the possibility that the service of the word may have *followed* the Lord’s Supper meal in at least some communities, along the lines of the Geek *symposion*; see C. P. M. Jones, “The New Testament,” rev. C. J. A. Hickling, in Cheslyn Jones, et al., eds., *The Study of Liturgy*, revised edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 193.

⁸ While there may be some grain of truth in connecting the development of the Liturgy or Ministry of the Word with the Synagogue service, the conclusions that follow in this section, regarding the structure of the two services at the end of the first century, are almost entirely conjectural.

⁹ See Luke 4:16.

After the Assembly and Thanksgiving had been united, the Church added to the assembly: (1) The INTROIT psalm, at the entrance of the Ministers; (2) The LITANY (the present Decalogue or Summary, with Kyries and Collect) after the Introit; (3) The CREED, after the Sermon; (4) The TRISAGION or GLORIA IN EXCELSIS between Introit and Litany.¹⁰ Later the Old Testament lesson was dropped or substituted for the Epistle, and the Gradual was placed between the Epistle and the Gospel. The ANGLICAN CHURCH added the COLLECT FOR PURITY at the beginning, put the Creed after the Gospel, the Prayer for the Church after the Offertory, and the Gloria in Excelsis before the final Blessing.¹¹

10 It may be noted here, without going into great detail, that these various elements were added at different times and in different local churches. By the time they all had become widespread, some (such as the introit and the litany) were already greatly truncated from their original form.

11 As discussed in chapter 3, the Collect for Purity was already at the beginning of the service, if only as a prayer of preparation for the priest-celebrant, in the Sarum Use liturgy. Thomas Cranmer, in the first Book of Common Prayer (1549), simply made public and corporate what once was private and individual — and did so in very nearly the same location in the liturgy; see above, page 48. Also noted in chapter 3, the placement of the Creed after the Gospel and before the sermon was already known at Salisbury Cathedral (and elsewhere as well); see above, page 54. In short, neither of these developments merit the character of being Anglican innovations that the authors seem to suggest. Placement of the *Gloria in excelsis* after communion, however, was a specifically Anglican development, with the second Book of Common Prayer (1552).

II. THE THANKSGIVING was instituted by our Lord in the Upper Room on Maundy Thursday night. The order of the Institution follows the procedure at the Common Jewish Meal, as reconstructed from the New Testament and Jewish Prayer Book. The two may be taken as follows: ¹²

JEWISH MEAL	INSTITUTION
1. Greeting: "Peace be with you" with kiss.	1. (PEACE?) "Peace I leave with you." Contrast with Judas' kiss.
2. Servant with towel, laver, and ewer, washes hands and feet of guests.	2. (WASHING) "He took a towel and girded himself. Then he poureth water into the basin, and began to wash the disciples' feet."
3. Host lifts hands, saying: V. Lift up your hands in the sanctuary: R. And praise the Lord.	3. (SURSUM CORDA?) Lam 3:4I V. Let us lift up our hearts with our hands: R. Unto God in the heavens. "Let not your hearts be troubled."
4. Host takes loaf of bread.	4. (ELEVATION?) "He took bread."
5. Host, speaking for all, gives thanks over bread.	5. (EUCCHARISTIC PRAYER) "When he had given thanks."
6. Host breaks bread.	6. (FRACTION) "He brake it."
7. Host distributes bread.	7. (COMMUNION) "He gave it to them."
8. <i>No words used.</i>	8. (WORDS OF ADMINISTRATION) "This is my Body."

¹² This comparison is riddled with problems for the twenty-first century scholar. First, it is based on the apparently biblical presupposition that Jesus associated bread (and wine) with his own body and blood in the course of a "last" meal with his disciples, rather than in the context of some other meal or more public feeding event (see, for example, John 6). As has been recently shown, however, such a reading of the synoptic gospels' accounts of the "last" supper and of I Cor 11:23-25 can no longer be supported uncritically; see Paul F. Bradshaw, "Did Jesus Institute the Eucharist at the Last Supper?" in idem, *Reconstructing Early Christian Worship* (London: SPCK, 2009), 3-19. Second, the comparison presupposes that the contents of the *Siddur* or Jewish prayer book, as they have come down to the present, are more or less an accurate representative of first-century Judaic practice. In fact, however, the earliest complete *Siddur* available dates from the early ninth century CE, much too late to provide an accurate picture of first-century Palestinian Jewish worship for the comparison constructed here; see Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship*, 24. Last but by no means least, the authors presume to supply from developed Christian liturgical sources whatever they presume is missing from either the "Jewish Meal" or the "Institution" — for example, the *Sursum Corda* and *Bidding* dialogues. (One notes that the authors have inserted the comment "No record, but probable" after the Bidding. The occurrence of such a dialogue at the Last Supper seems *improbable* at best; in any case, it cannot be known, and therefore ought not to be presumed.) See Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship*, 43-46; also idem, *Eucharistic Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), for more cautious approaches.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 9. Meal follows, accompanied by discourses on religion. | 9. (agape or love feast) "Supper." Discourses in John 13-17. |
| 10. After Meal Host says:
V. Let us give thanks unto our Lord God:
R. Blessed are thou, O Lord, whom it is meet to thank (?) | 10. (BIDDING)
V. Let us give thanks unto our Lord God:
R. It is meet and right so to do.
(No record, but probable) |
| 11. Host lifts up "Cup of Blessing" mixed with wine and water. | 11. (ELEVATION?) "Likewise after supper he took the cup." |
| 12. Host, speaking for all, gives thanks over cup. | 12. (EUCCHARISTIC PRAYER) "When he had given thanks." |
| 13. Host administers cup. | 13. (COMMUNION) "He gave it to them." |
| 14. No words used. | 14. (WORDS OF ADMINISTRATION) "This is my blood." |

Our Lord had often acted thus as Host to His disciples. At the *Last Supper*, instead of administering the bread and wine *silently* as usual, He added *new* words, "This is my Body" for the bread, and "This is my Blood" for the cup; commanded the disciples to *continue* His action, no longer as a mere Grace at meals, but now as the MEMORIAL OF HIS SACRIFICE about to be completed on the Cross.

At first the disciples continued both the Thanksgiving over the bread and cup, and the Meal as well, the latter being known as the Agapé, that is, Love Feast, and the Lord's Supper. When the Meal was dropped, the separate Thanksgiving, over the bread *before* the Meal, and over the cup "*after* supper," were necessarily brought together. But instead of reciting two Thanksgivings, one after the other, they were combined into a *single* Prayer, known at first simply as THE Prayer, later in the East as the Anaphora, that is, the Offering, and in the West as the Canon of the Mass, which means, the Form for the Offering.¹³

This Prayer was cast in the form of the regular Jewish "Eucharistic" Prayer, examples of which may be found both in the Bible and in the Jewish Prayer Book. It has the following structure: (1) The THANKSGIVING, in which God is thanked for past mercies, which have a bearing on, and are the justification for (2) the PETITION, generally introduced by the words "wherefore" or "now therefore," which asks for some special benefit on the basis of the Thanksgiving, leading finally to (3) the DOXOLOGY, or "glorifying" of the Name of God. A study of all the Liturgies gives the following as the

¹³ On the contrary, there is no sense of offering or oblation in the Latin terms *Canon Missae* or *Prex Canonica* themselves; similar to the way the terms "canon" and "canonical" function in English, they suggest rather a fixed standard, a rule of prayer for the church's worship.

normal outline of the Christian Eucharistic Prayer, with which the Anglican prayer may be compared.¹⁴

14 “A study of all the Liturgies” actually yields a variety of outlines, some markedly different from the one provided on the next page, and which cannot simply and uncritically be equated with known patterns of Jewish table prayer. As given here, the outline corresponds only to one particular model or structure for the eucharistic prayer, an eastern Christian pattern known as the “West Syrian” model. The predominant (but not only) form of eucharistic praying that developed in the western church, the Roman model, has a significantly different structure, which provided the basic outline for Thomas Cranmer’s eucharistic prayer in the first Book of Common Prayer (1549). Truncated in the 1552 English Prayer Book, Cranmer’s Roman-model prayer remained relatively unchanged through the 1662 Book of Common Prayer. Partially-restored, (and bearing a slight resemblance to the West Syrian outline), the prayer appeared in the Scottish Book of Common Prayer (1637); further modified, it featured in the Scottish Communion Office (1764), from which it entered into the American Prayer Book tradition in 1789.

The West Syrian model first appeared in the Anglican liturgical tradition in the Liturgy of the Nonjurors (1718), but was largely ignored until the early twentieth century when an ancient church order, the so-called *Apostolic Tradition*, was attributed to Hippolytus of Rome and dated c. 215. The fourth chapter of the surviving Latin and Ethiopic versions of this document contains an early model for a eucharistic prayer that loosely follows the West Syrian shape, though missing the Sanctus and with abbreviated intercessory material near the end of the text. Owing especially to the scholarship of two Benedictines — Gregory Dix, *osb* (Anglican), and Bernard Botte, *osb* (Roman Catholic) — this prayer was accepted on the basis of its purported authorial attribution, provenance and antiquity, as a primary model for eucharistic prayers in the revised service books of most mainstream Christian denominations, including the 1979 American Book of Common Prayer, where it served as one major source of inspiration for “Eucharistic Prayer B” in Rite II. Recent scholarship, however, has raised and sustained serious doubts about the origins of the so-called *Apostolic Tradition*; see Paul F. Bradshaw, Maxwell E. Johnson and L. Edward Phillips, *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002), 1-6, and 37-48 (for the eucharistic prayer); also Paul F. Bradshaw, “Who Wrote the *Apostolic Tradition*? A Response to Alistair Stewart-Sykes,” *St Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly* 48:2 (2004), 195-206; idem, “The Earliest Eucharistic Prayers?” in *Reconstructing Early Christian Worship*, 38-52; Matthieu Smyth, “The Anaphora of the So-called ‘Apostolic Tradition’ and the Roman Eucharistic Prayer,” in Maxwell E. Johnson, ed., *Issues in Eucharistic Praying in East and West: Essays in Liturgical and Theological Analysis* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press/Pueblo, 2011), 71-97.

Although the prayer in the fourth chapter of the so-called *Apostolic Tradition* now poses a number of difficulties for the liturgical historian, it did serve to call attention to the West Syrian model, examples of which can be found in a number of ancient liturgies. This model continues to underlie the construction of contemporary eucharistic prayers in a variety of Christian denominations. For examples of ancient prayers based on both the West Syrian and Roman models, and discussion of their respective processes of evolution, see R. C. D. Jasper and G. J. Cumming, *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed*, third edition (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press/Pueblo, 1990), 155-167, 232-249, 277-282, 290-297, 302-314; also Byron D. Stuhlman, *A Good and Joyful Thing: The Evolution of the Eucharistic Prayer* (New York: Church Publishing, 2000), 35-36, 53-58, 59-60, 63-75, 107-152.

NORMAL EUCHARISTIC PRAYER

Dialogue

I. THANKSGIVING for:

Creation

Providence: R. Sanctus

Incarnation

Redemption

Institution

II. PETITION with:

Memorial

Oblation

Deprecation

Invocation

Participation

Intercession

III. DOXOLOGY

After the Assembly and Thanksgiving were united into one service, the church added to the Thanksgiving: (1) Psalms at the offertory and communion; (2) The LORD'S PRAYER following the Eucharistic Prayer, as the climax of the Canon; (3) The PRAYER OF HUMBLE ACCESS, after the Lord's Prayer, as an act of adoration;¹⁵ (4) The Agnus Dei during the FRACTION or breaking of bread, after the Humble Access; (5) The PRAYER OF THANKSGIVING for communion; and (6) the BLESSING. The Anglican Church added the confession with its accompanying formularies.

A study of all the Liturgies gives the following as the normal outline for the whole service, with which the Anglican Rite may be compared.

¹⁵ The "Prayer of Humble Access," as it appeared beginning with Cranmer's "Order of the Communion" (1548) was a liturgical novelty, though it incorporated bits and pieces of various collects from the Sarum Missal. Clearly, the Humble Access was meant to be a publicly recited replacement for the prayers of preparation said privately by the priest-celebrant immediately before receiving communion in the medieval liturgies. Hohly and Stone seem to be using the familiar name in this context to indicate some *similar* part of the liturgy in a pre-1549 stage of development. As they describe it here, however, it is not entirely clear if by it they mean the embolism (*Libera nos, quaesimus, Domine*) that in the Latin West came to be inserted immediately after the Lord's Prayer before the Fraction and Greeting of Peace, or one of the private prayers of preparation for the priest's communion closer to the moment of reception.

NORMAL OUTLINE OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST ¹⁶

I. THE ASSEMBLY

1. Introit
2. Trisagion or gloria
3. Litany: Kyries & Collect
4. Epistle or Lesson
5. Gradual
6. gospel with Doxology
7. Sermon
8. Creed
9. Prayer for Church:
as Litany with Kyries and Collect.

II. THE THANKSGIVING

10. Peace
11. Offertory; Incense; Washing
12. Canon: Dialogue, Thanksgiving, Petition, Doxology & Lord's
Prayer.
13. Humble Access
14. Agnus Dei & Fraction
15. Sancta & Benedictus
16. Communion & Ablutions
17. Thanks for Communion
18. Blessing

Ceremonial

Ceremonial, the outward action of the service, is the oldest part of liturgical worship, most of its elements being found in both the Old and New Testaments. Christ took ceremonial for granted, and often used or referred to its gestures.

A GESTURE is the motion or posture of the whole or any part of the body, not simply a motion of the hands. Those used in the Eucharist are as follows: SITTING, the natural position of instruction and meditation, is used at the Epistle or Lesson and Sermon. STANDING, the most ancient and universal attitude of both prayer and praise, is used by the Ministers throughout most

¹⁶ This "normal outline" is highly synthetic, and reflects a state of development rather later than that which Hohly and Stone seem to be suggesting for it.

of the service, and by the People when they join in the corporate recitation, in prayer, as at the Sanctus and Lord's Prayer, in praise, as at the Introit and Offertory. It is also a mark of respect used at the Gospel and Creed. WALKING, a necessary gesture of service, is used by the Ministers at the altar and in processions, and by the People in approaching or leaving the Communion rail. TURNING, when walking is purely utilitarian, when standing is symbolic, indicating the direction of thought. Thus the priest turns to the altar when addressing God, and to the People when addressing them, and we all turn to the Book when the Gospel is read. BOWING, meaning humility and reverence, is used by all at mention of the Holy Name, the Trinity, etc., to the Altar and the Cross, and as an act of courtesy by the Ministers in serving each other. A *profound* bow is used in worship of our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament. KNEELING means primarily penitence and adoration. So all kneel for such penitential prayers as the Confession. The People also kneel at certain other prayers, such as the Prayer for the Church which used to be said standing. A PROSTRATION is the humblest gesture, used by our Lord in Gethsemane, and by the Ministers at the Prayer of Humble Access. The Priest EXTENDS THE HANDS when praying *for* the People, and FOLDS THE HANDS when praying *with* them. The Ministers also fold the hands when unoccupied. Priest and Deacon WAVE THE HANDS¹⁷ in greeting at Salutations, in appeal at Biddings, and as a signal for all to join in what follows, as at the beginning of the Creed or Lord's Prayer. The Ministers BEAR the sacred vessels and other ornaments, and PRESENT them to each other when serving. SMITING THE BREAST in penitence, like the publican of the parable, accompanies such words as "Have mercy" and "We are not worthy." The SIGN OF THE CROSS, once the secret sign by which Christians recognized each other, now the special Christian sign given at Baptism, is made at many points in the service, especially at the Gospel, Creed, and Canon, and at the Absolution and Blessing. Like the woman who anointed our Lord, the Priest KISSES the Altar at arrival and departure and before the Peace, and the Deacon kisses the Book after reading the Gospel.

A FIGURE is the pattern formed by the relative positions of Ministers or people at a particular time — whatever may be the gestures also used. The Principal Figures are as follows: When the Priest prays *for* the People, Deacon and Subdeacon stand in LINE behind him. When the Priest prays *with* the People, Deacon and Subdeacon stand on either side ABREAST of him. When the Priest turns to address the People, Deacon and Subdeacon OPEN to right and left and turn half way with him. In PROCESSIONS the order is according to rank,

¹⁷ That is, a sweeping gesture of greeting and invitation.

the highest rank walking last, except when some special duty is performed, as when the Clerk bears the cross.

Two figures are of special interest and importance. The first is the GOSPEL PROCESSION, when with cross, lights, and incense, the Ministers proceed from the sanctuary to the lectern or chancel gate for the solemn reading of the Gospel. This is the climax of the Assembly, and is probably derived from the similar respect paid to the Law in the Jewish Synagogue, when the Book was borne from the Ark to the Pulpit, and all stood to hear the Word of God. The Second is the OFFERTORY PROCESSION, when again with cross, lights and incense, the Alms and Oblations are brought to the Altar and presented, and Oblations and Altar are censed, sometimes followed by the censing of Ministers and People. Originally the People brought their own bread and wine to Church and presented them at this time. In some Anglican Churches the Wardens bring up the Bread Box and Wine Cruet, as well as the Alms to indicate the People's share in the offering.

These Gestures and Figures were taken for granted at the reformation [*sic*] in England. Only a few Prayer Book rubrics specify them because the rubrics were intended largely to indicate changes from the former use, not to be a complete directory of ceremonial. The ceremonial given in the text of the service following is in accordance with the traditional Anglican use.

Ornaments

As the Eucharist is a Christian combination and adaptation of the Jewish services of the Synagogue and Home, the Church quite naturally continued to use the Ornaments which went with those services.

THE SYNAGOGUE, like the Church, was divided into two parts: the NAVE, and the CHANCEL OR SANCTUARY.¹⁸ The Sanctuary was a raised platform at one end, reached by steps and separated from the Nave by a SCREEN or railing. In it the principal ornament was the Ark, a cupboard for keeping the Books of the Old Testament. The Ark was hidden by a VEIL before which burned a PERPETUAL LAMP. On either side of the Ark were SEDILIA, that is, seats for the Ruler and Elders. The Nave had seats only around the walls. Most of the congregation stood or sat on the floor. In the centre of the Nave was an enclosed platform called the Bema on which stood the PULPIT for the reading of the Lessons.

IN THE HOME the service took place at the Table, around which the

¹⁸ The application of terms such as "nave" and "chancel" to the first-century synagogue is anachronistic.

guests reclined on the Triclinium, a semi-circular couch, the place for the Host being in the centre.¹⁹ The table was covered with a FAIR LINEN cloth. Before the Host was set the PATEN or plate for the bread covered with a CORPORAL or bread cloth, and the “Cup of Blessing” or CHALICE, filled with wine and water. Over the table hung SEVEN LAMPS. Near by stood the EWER or pitcher, LAVER or basin, and TOWEL, for the ceremonial washing of hands and feet.

When, in Christian use, the Meal was dropped, and the ASSEMBLY, the Service of the Synagogue, was combined with the THANKSGIVING, the Service of the Home, to form our present HOLY EUCHARIST, the ornaments of the Home were transferred to the Synagogue, now called the CHURCH.²⁰ The home Table, called both TABLE and ALTAR, was put in the place formerly occupied by the Ark. It was still covered with the FAIR LINEN, to which was later added the colored FRONTAL and FRONTLET to mark the Church Seasons. Over the Altar stood the CIBORIUM, a canopy supported by four columns, now called RIDDEL POSTS, between which hung four curtains, the Tetravela, to veil the Altar from the unbaptized. The Ciborium is still used in many Churches. The front veil is gone, except in the Eastern Church which lacks the other veils. The side veils are called RIDDELS, and the rear veil is the DOSSAL, sometimes replaced by a REREDOS of wood or stone. The SEVEN LAMPS of the Home originally hung over the Altar from the roof of the Ciborium. Where the Ciborium is lacking they are now placed in a floor standard behind the Altar, as generally in the East, or hang in a row from the ceiling before the Altar, as in many Anglican Churches.²¹ In early days two candles, called the GOSPEL CANDLES, were used at the reading of the Gospel and in Processions. When not in use they were set down to the right and left of the Altar, behind it in the East, before it in the West. In the middle ages these two candles were sometimes placed on the Altar after the Gospel, then left on all the time, whence the two additional candles on the Altar in modern Anglican use. Almost from Apostolic times it has been customary to reserve the Blessed Sacrament for the sick and absent. It is kept in a PYX, covered with a VEIL, hung over the Altar, as generally done

¹⁹ These details might have held true in Jewish homes of considerable wealth and under heavy Hellenistic or Greco-Roman influence. They would not have been true in the homes of the great majority of first-century Palestinian Jews, for whom such luxuries were simply unaffordable.

²⁰ The portrait of liturgical evolution painted here is overly simplistic, roman-ticized and Anglo-centric. It fails to take into account the diversity of liturgical forms that emerged very early and only gradually narrowed in some places into the dominant patterns and uses described in this paragraph.

²¹ One may see contemporary examples of seven hanging lamps in the Cathedral of Saint John the Divine, the Church of Saint Ignatius of Antioch and the Church of Saint Mary the Virgin, all in New York City.

in England, or placed in an AUMBRY or cupboard in the Sanctuary wall, or on the Altar.

The SEDILIA, that is, seats, for the Bishop and Priests were originally placed in the position of the Triclinium, in a semi-circle behind the Altar.²² In some Churches they remain in this position. When the Altar was set against the east wall these seats were moved to either side, as we generally find them today. The PROCESSIONAL CROSS, apparently first used about the fifth century as the standard or banner of the Church, was placed behind the Altar. Later the top was removed and put in a base on the Altar. Now we generally have two crosses, one for the Altar and another for processional use.²³ The CREDENCE or side table, to the left of the Altar in the East, to its right in the West, is used to hold the various ornaments until needed at the Altar or elsewhere. Here the CHALICE and PATEN are placed until the Offertory. With them are the PURIFICATOR, the napkin used to dry the vessels, and the CORPORALS, to spread over and under the vessels, kept in the colored BURSE or pocket. Here also are the EWER, the LAVER and TOWEL for the Handwashing, the FLAGON or Wine Cruet, and the CANISTER or Bread Box. Sometimes the Canister and Flagon are put on a table near the Church door in readiness for the Wardens to bring up at the Offertory. Incense was not used in the early Church, because it was made a test for the Christians during the persecutions.²⁴ But as soon as the

22 This semicircular seating arrangement (*synthronon*) behind the altar was derived less from the “semi-circular” arrangement of three couches (*tri-clinium*) around the dining room table than from the need for a clearly visible, centrally located place from which the bishop could preside. When western Christians adopted the basilica plan for their churches, they found that centrally located space in the semi-circular apse of the building’s end; see Robin Gibbons, *House of God: House of the People of God*, Alcuin Club Collections 82 (London: SPCK, 2006), 79-82.

23 As liturgical scholarship has influenced liturgical practice, in many places there has been a conscious move away from having a cross on the altar (or suspended from a wall or ceiling), toward using only the processional cross as the *one* cross that both journeys with the congregation in its gathering and dispersing (or leading the processions that represent those movements) and stands in its midst (or near the altar) during the liturgy itself.

24 The burning of incense was considered a sacrificial act, both in the Bible and in the non-monotheistic cultures of the Mediterranean Basin. Sometimes, when Christians were arrested for their faith during the Roman persecutions, they were given the opportunity to exonerate themselves and repudiate their faith by offering incense before the statue of the emperor, who was considered *kyrios* or lord, and a minor god. Herein was the “test”: those that would not make this incense offering disclosed their faith in Jesus Christ as the only *Kyrios*, the only Lord.

peace of the Church came, it was adopted in imitation of its biblical use²⁵ and the CENSER and BOAT became Church ornaments. The SACRING BELL, to call attention to the central action of the Canon, was adopted in the Middle Ages. The COMMUNION RAIL was also adopted at that time. Before then people received Communion standing, as they still do in the Eastern Church. The ALMS BASIN came into use in the Anglican Church after the reformation.

Vestments

All the Ministers wear AMICE, ALB, and GIRDLE, often decorated with colored APPARELS on the neck, wrists, and skirts. Over the Alb, Priest and Deacon wear the STOLE, the Priest crossing it over the breast, the Deacon wearing it over the left shoulder. The three Sacred Ministers wear the MANIPLE on the left arm. Over these vestments the Priest wears a CHASUBLE, the Deacon a DALMATIC, Subdeacon and Clerk TUNICLES. In Passiontide Dalmatic and Tunicle are omitted. The ROCHET is often used as a substitute for the Alb by the Taperers.

All these vestments, except the Maniple and Rochet, have been universally used since the time of Christ, and were worn or referred to by our Lord and the Apostles. First they were ordinary clothes, then, as styles changed, they became “clericals,” and finally they were kept for use only at the services.

The AMICE is the Headcloth or “Napkin” worn by our Lord, symbolizing the “Helmet of Salvation.”²⁶ The is ALB the “Seamless Robe” for which the soldiers cast lots at the crucifixion.²⁷ Made generally of white linen it symbolizes purity. The GIRDLE is the “Golden Girdle” worn by the “Son

25 More likely, the burning of incense was adopted gradually, partially for its perfuming qualities and partially in imitation of Roman imperial court practice. Its biblical significance (for example, Mal 1:11b; Ps 141; Rev 5:8 and 8:3-4) would have been taken for granted; see Benjamin Gordon-Taylor, “Incense,” in Christopher Irvine, ed., *The Use of Symbols in Worship*, Alcuin Liturgy Guides 4 (London: SPCK, 2007), 81-82.

26 Whether or not all of these “vestments” were used by Jesus Christ himself is highly doubtful. The symbolic meanings that the authors here ascribe to these vestments are medieval allegorical developments that tend to undermine the natural symbolic power of the vestments in themselves.

27 The association of the alb with the seamless garment of the passion was not universal in the middle ages, much less at the time this Customary was written; it takes its name from the Latin word *albus*, meaning white, and remains the garment of the newly baptized (often taking the form of a christening gown). Worn by all the ministers, it is a sign and reminder that all orders and grades of ministry (lay and ordained) flow from the universal priesthood of all the baptized.

of Man” in Revelation, signifying sacrifice. The *STOLE* is the “Towel” used by our Lord at the Footwashing, adopted first by the Deacons, whose name means Servant,²⁸ now the special mark of the Clergy, symbolizing service. The *MANIPLE*, used only in the Western Church, once the napkin for Handwashing, is now the symbol of service at the altar. The *CHASUBLE* is the “Cloak” which St. Paul left at Troas, which became the special mark of a Priest, especially at the Eucharist. The *DALMATIC* and *TUNICLE* are variations of the same garment, known in the New Testament as the “Best Robe” of the Prodigal Son, and the “Wedding Garment” mentioned by our Lord.²⁹ The *ROCHET* is a western modification of the Alb.

The continued use of these vestments is ordered by the First Prayer Book of 1549,³⁰ and in the “Ornaments Rubric” of the present English Prayer Book.³¹ The American Prayer Book only refers to them indirectly, but assumes their use, inasmuch as “this Church is far from intending to depart from the Church of England in any essential point of. . . worship.”³²

28 The commonplace association of the diaconate with “servant ministry” (unfortunately supported by, and often overemphasized in, rites of ordination) is increasingly being contested as the unfortunate by-product of the nineteenth-century German Lutheran revival of diaconal ministry in certain communities of religious women. For critical appraisals of the theological meaning of the diaconate, see John N. Collins, *Deacons and the Church: Making Connections Between Old and New* (Harrisburg, PA: Morehouse, 2003); idem, *Diakonia: Re-Interpreting the Ancient Sources* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); also Richard R. Gaillardetz, “On the Theological Integrity of the Diaconate,” in Owen F. Cummings, William T. Ditewig and Richard R. Gaillardetz, *Theology of the Diaconate: The State of The Question* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2005), 67-97; and Geraldine A. Swanson, “*Diakonia*: Service or Mission? The Post-Modern Diaconate and its Early Church Roots,” *Diakoneo* 28:1 (Winter 2006), 5-8, 16.

29 For “best robe” see Luke 15:22; for “wedding garment” see Matt 22:11-12; but note that the Dalmatic originated as a local variety of cloak characteristically worn in the Roman province of Dalmatia — hence its name.

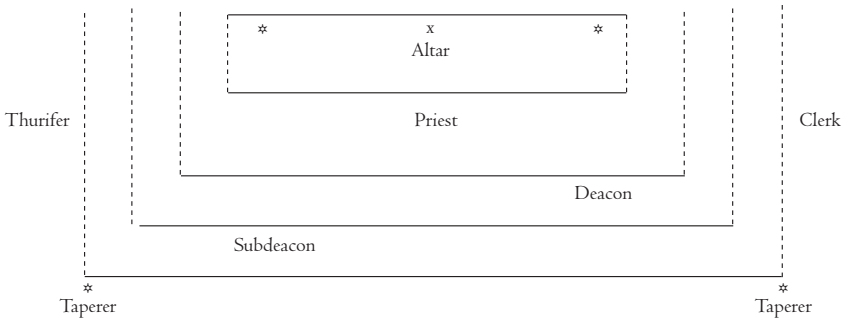
30 “In the saying or singing of Matins and Evensong, baptizing and burying, the minister, in parish churches and chapels annexed to the same, shall use a surplice. [...] And whensoever the Bishop shall celebrate the Holy Communion in the church, or execute any other public ministration, he shall have upon him, beside his rochet, a surplice or alb, and a cope or vestment [that is, chasuble and stole], and also his pectoral staff in his hand, or else born or held by his chaplain”; “Certayne Notes for the More Playne Explication and Decent Ministracion of Thinges, Contained in Thys Booke,” from “The Booke of the Common Prayer and Administracion of the Sacramentes, and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church after the Use of the Church of England” [1549]; in *The First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI*, Everyman’s Library 448 (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1952), 288; spelling and punctuation modernized.

31 On the Ornaments Rubric, which first appeared in the 1559 English Book of Common Prayer, see above, pages 82-83 and 121.

32 From the Preface to the first American Book of Common Prayer, 1789; reprinted in BCP, vi.

Stations Of The Ministers

When not performing some special duty elsewhere the Ministers have certain regular positions or “stations” in the sanctuary, as shown in the accompanying diagram.³³



Order for Processions

Entrance and Exit

Clerk with cross
Taperers with candles
Thurifer
Subdeacon
Deacon
Priest

Gospel

Clerk with cross
Taperers with candles
Thurifer with censer
Subdeacon
Deacon with Book

Offertory

Clerk with cross
Taperers with candles
Thurifer with censer
Subdeacon with oblations
Ushers with Alms

LITANY AND FESTIVAL

Verger with mace
Clerk with cross
Taperers with candles
Thurifer with censer
Subdeacon
Deacon
Priest
Choir

³³ The diagram has been re-drawn for publication here.

THE HOLY EUCHARIST

*The text of the Service*³⁴
With Explanations of the Ceremonial

NOTE:³⁵

Words said by the Ministers

Words said by the People

Ⓒ Explanations of Ceremonial

/ Bowing

+ Sign of the Cross [personal]

✝ Sign of the Cross by Priest

THE ASSEMBLY

“The Ministry of the Word”

The Preparation

INTROIT

- Ⓒ The people standing, Choir and People sing a Psalm or Hymn. The Ministers enter in order through the nave to the sanctuary, reverence the altar, and put down cross and candles. The Sacred Ministers stand abreast in the midst before the altar steps, the other Ministers go to their stations. The Introit ended, People and Ministers kneel. The priest alone standing, with hands extended, says:³⁶

COLLECT FOR PURITY

ALMIGHTY God, unto whom all hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid; Cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the

34 The “text of the service” presented here, as in the original Customary, is derived from “The Order for The Administration of the Lord’s Supper or Holy Communion” as it appeared in BCP, 67-85.

35 In the original typewritten manuscript, the “Words said by the People” were indicated with a preceding asterisk (*); the personal “Sign of the Cross” with a capital X, and the “Sign of the Cross by Priest” with a lower-case x. The forward slash (/) to indicate “Bowing” and the pilcrow or paragraph mark (Ⓒ) denoting rubrical information and “Explanations of Ceremonial” appear here as they do in the original.

36 As per the rubric in the 1928 Prayer Book, the introductory recitation of the Lord’s Prayer has been “omitted at the discretion of the Priest”; BCP, 67.

inspiration of thy Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love thee, and worthily magnify thy holy Name; through Christ our Lord. Amen.

THE LITANY

- ☩ The Priest goes up and kisses the altar. All the ministers stand. The Sacred Ministers move to the right end of the altar. The Deacon faces the People, the Subdeacon turning with him, and says:

SUMMARY OF THE LAW ³⁷

HEAR what our Lord Jesus Christ saith: Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it; Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets.

- ☩ The Sacred Ministers in line, Choir and People sing:

KYRIES

LORD have mercy upon us.

Christ have mercy upon us.

Lord have mercy upon us.

- ☩ The Priest faces the People, Deacon and Subdeacon turning with him, and waving his hands, sings:

SALUTATION & BIDDING

THE Lord be with you.

And with thy spirit.

Let us pray.

COLLECT OF THE DAY

- ☩ The Sacred Ministers in line, the Priest, with hands extended, sings

³⁷ Matt 22: 37-40. At this point in the liturgy, the 1928 Prayer Book called for the priest to “rehearse distinctly The Ten Commandments,” but allowed for “[t]he Decalogue [to] be omitted, provided it be said at least one Sunday in each month,” and that “whenever it is omitted, the Priest shall say the Summary of the Law”; BCP, 67. One notes that this Customary makes no provision for the “one Sunday in each month” recitation of the Ten Commandments. It is unclear whether or not the practice had been entirely abandoned at Bronxville in favor of the Summary by the time this Customary was adopted.

the Collect from the Proper, pages 90-269 of the Prayer Book,³⁸ the people responding: *Amen*.

The Instruction

EPISTLE OR LESSON

- Ⓒ People and Ministers are seated. The Clerk gets the book from the credence. New Testament lessons are read by the Subdeacon attended by the Clerk, Old Testament lessons by the Clerk alone, standing at the south side of the sanctuary, facing the People.

THE EPISTLE (or Lesson) is written in the --- Chapter of ---, beginning at the --- Verse. (Ⓒ From the Proper. Conclusion:) Here endeth the Epistle (or Lesson).

GRADUAL

- Ⓒ People and Ministers standing, the Choir alone sings an anthem, or Choir and People sing a Psalm or Hymn. Meanwhile, the Clerk returns the book to the credence, gets the incense boat, and meets the Thurifer with the censer at the sedilia. There the Deacon puts incense into the censer and the Priest blesses it. Then the Deacon goes to the altar for the Gospel book, the Clerk returns the boat to the credence and takes up the cross, the Taperers take up their candles, and all the Ministers, except the Priest, reverence the altar and proceed in order to the chancel grade.

GOSPEL

- Ⓒ People and Ministers standing face the book. The Deacon faces the People, the Subdeacon holds the book, the Clerk stands behind the Subdeacon, grounding the cross, the Taperers hold their candles on either side of the book, the Thurifer stands to the right of the Deacon. The Deacon signs the book and himself, the People doing likewise, as he says:

THE HOLY + GOSPEL is written in the --- Chapter of the Gospel according to Saint ---, beginning at the --- Verse.

³⁸ “Prayer Book” here refers to the large-print altar edition of *The Holy Communion* from the Book of Common Prayer, sometimes referred to as *The Altar Service*.

- ☞ The Deacon censes the book, while all sing:

GLORY be to thee, O Lord.

- ☞ The deacon reads the Gospel from the Proper. No conclusion is announced because the Gospel is eternal, but instead the Deacon kisses the book. As the Ministers return in reverse order to the sanctuary, all sing:

PRAISE be to thee, O Christ.

- ☞ Arrived in the sanctuary, cross and candles are put down, and the Ministers go to their stations. The Sacred Ministers standing abreast before the midst of the altar, the Priest waves his hands as a signal for all to join as he begins singing:

THE NICENE CREED

I BELIEVE in one God *the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, And of all things visible and invisible.*

And in one Lord / JESUS CHRIST, the only-begotten Son of God; Begotten of his Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of very God; Begotten, not made; Being of one substance with the Father; By whom all things were made: Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven, / AND WAS INCARNATE BY THE HOLY GHOST OF THE VIRGIN MARY, AND WAS MADE MAN: AND WAS CRUCIFIED ALSO FOR US UNDER PONTIUS PILATE; HE SUFFERED AND WAS BURIED: And the third day he rose again according to the Scriptures: And ascended into heaven, And sitteth on the right hand of the Father: And he shall come again, with glory, to judge both the quick and the dead; Whose kingdom shall have no end.

And I believe in the Holy Ghost, The Lord, and Giver of Life, Who proceedeth from the Father and the Son; Who with the Father and the Son together / IS WORSHIPPED AND GLORIFIED; Who spake by the Prophets: And I believe one catholic and Apostolic Church: I acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins: And I look for the Resurrection of the dead: And the Life + of the world to come. Amen.

NOTICES & SERMON

- ☞ May be omitted. People and Ministers are seated. They stand for the Invocation before the sermon, making the sign of the cross with the preacher. They also stand for the Bidding Prayer when used. Sometimes a hymn precedes the sermon.

THE THANKSGIVING
“The Offering of the Holy Sacrifice”

The Offertory

- ☞ People and Ministers standing, the Ministers at their stations, the Priest faces the People, Deacon and Subdeacon turning with him, and waving his hands in greeting, says:

PEACE

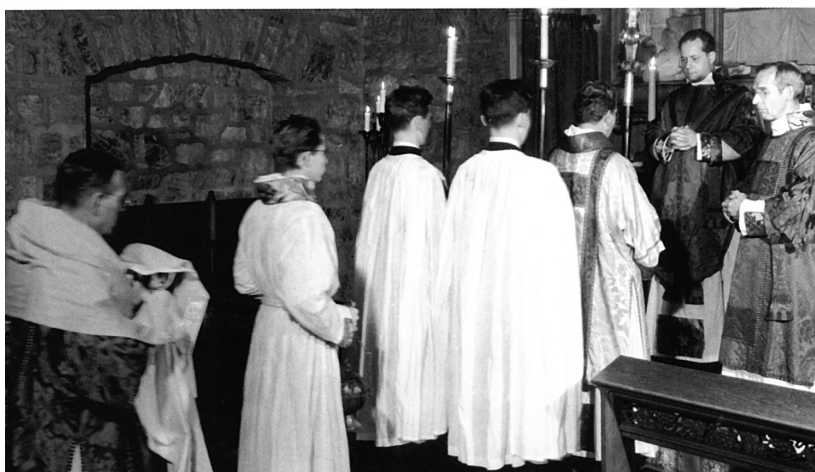
THE PEACE of the Lord be always with you.
And with thy spirit.

SENTENCE

- ☞ The Sacred Ministers in line, the Priest begins the Offertory by saying one of the Sentences.

OFFERTORY ³⁹

- ☞ Choir and People sing a Psalm or Hymn. Meanwhile, first incense is blessed before the altar, in the same manner as at the Gospel. Then the ministers, except Priest and Deacon, proceed in order to the place



³⁹ The material under this heading, including the “Cherubikon” below, represents the particular ceremonial uses of Bronxville, while incorporating the rubrics for the Offertory from BCP, 73.

where the oblations were prepared before the service.⁴⁰ The Deacon brings the burse from the credence and gives it to the Priest who spreads the corporal. The Ushers collect the alms of the People. Then the Ministers, with cross, lights, and incense, the Subdeacon bearing the oblations,⁴¹ followed by the Ushers bearing the alms, proceed in order through the nave to the sanctuary where alms and oblations are received by the Deacon and presented by the Priest on the altar as the solemn gift of the whole congregation. Now the Deacon receives the censer from the Thurifer and gives it to the Priest. The Priest, attended by Deacon and Subdeacon at his right and left, censes first the oblations with three crosses and three circles, then the altar with three swings toward the centre, three to the right, and three to the left. The Deacon receives the censer and gives it to the Thurifer to put away, and Deacon and Subdeacon return to their stations. The Clerk brings the laver, towel, and ewer to the footpace and ministers while the Priest washes his hands. During the censuring and handwashing, Choir and People sing:

40 The Preparation of the Oblations “before the service” was incorporated into Percy Dearmer’s English Use in accord with the Lincoln Judgment of 1890. In that rather famous ecclesiastical suit, Edward King, Bishop of Lincoln (1829-1910), was formally prosecuted for certain Ritualist liturgical practices, the mixing of water with wine in the chalice for consecration and administration at the communion among them. The judgment, delivered in the Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury, separated the charge regarding the “mixed chalice” into two parts. The act of mixing chalice, if performed at the Offertory, did not conform to the rubrics of the Prayer Book, and was therefore prohibited, but consecrating and administering a mixed chalice was recognized as “a primitive, continuous and all but universal practice” that could not be condemned; see Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury, *Read and Others v. the Lord Bishop of Lincoln: Judgment*, Nov. 21, 1890 (London: Macmillan, 1890), 4-13; here at 5.

In the English Use as described in *The Parson’s Handbook*, the preparation of the oblations, including mixing the cup, was to take place in a sacristy or auxiliary chapel after the Entrance Procession but before the beginning of the service proper; see Percy Dearmer, *The Parson’s Handbook: Containing Practical Direction for Both Parsons and Others as to the Management of the Parish Church and its Services According to the Anglican Use, as Set Forth in The Book of Common Prayer*, twelfth edition (London: Humphrey Milford, 1943), 308-309; also Clement O. Skilbeck, *Illustrations of the Liturgy: Being Thirteen Drawings of the Holy Communion in a Parish Church*, Alcuin Club Collections XIX (London: Mowbray, 1912), 44-45. The Hohly-Stone Customary makes no previous mention of this preparation; one assumes that at Bronxville it took place immediately before the entrance procession.

41 Later photographic evidence indicates that the subdeacon would come to use a humeral veil to carry the oblations to the altar, as described by Dearmer in *The Parson’s Handbook*, 328-329.

CHERUBIKON

*Let all mortal flesh keep silence,
and with fear and trembling stand;
Ponder nothing earthly-minded,
for with blessing in his hand,
Christ our God to earth descendeth,
our full homage to demand.*

*King of kings, yet born of Mary,
as of old on earth he stood,
Lord of Lord, in human vesture
— in the Body and the Blood —
He will give to all the faithful
his own self for heavenly food.* ⁴²

The Great Intercession

- ☩ The Priest facing the People, Deacon and Subdeacon turning with him, may ask the secret prayers of the congregation for any special purpose. Then waving his hands he says:

BIDDING

LET US pray for the whole state of Christ's Church.

- ☩ The People kneeling, the Minister standing, the Sacred Ministers in line at the midst, the Priest, with hands extended, says the following prayer, pausing at the places marked (especially...) for the secret prayers of the congregation.

42 "Let All Mortal Flesh Keep Silence," tr. Gerard Moultrie, in *The Hymnal of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*, 1940 (New York: Church Pension Fund, 1943), 197. The *Cherubikon* or "'Cherubic Hymn' was used in the fifth-century form of the Liturgy of St. James at the presentation of the sacred elements at the time of the offertory. It was also adopted for the observance of Easter Eve in later forms of the Liturgy of St. Basil, which is a standard of Greek Orthodoxy"; J. Howard Rhys and Jeffrey Wasson, "324 Let all mortal flesh keep silence," in Raymond F. Glover, ed., *The Hymnal 1982 Companion*, vol. 3A (New York: The Church Hymnal Corporation, 1994), 611. I am grateful to Christopher Wells, Director of Music and Organist at Christ Church, for making this resource available to me.

PRAYER FOR THE CHURCH

FOR ACCEPTANCE OF ALMS AND OBLATIONS

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, who by thy holy Apostle hast taught us to make prayers, and supplications, and to give thanks for all men; We humbly beseech thee most mercifully to accept our (alms and) oblations, and to receive these our prayers, which we offer unto thy Divine Majesty;

FOR THE CHURCH ⁴³

Beseeching thee to inspire continually the Universal Church (especially...) with the spirit of truth, unity, and concord: And grant that all those who do confess thy holy Name may agree in the truth of thy holy Word, and live in unity and godly love.

FOR THE STATE

We beseech thee also, so to direct and dispose the hearts of all Christian Rulers, that they may truly and impartially administer justice, to the punishment of wickedness and vice, and to the maintenance of thy true religion, and virtue.

FOR THE CLERGY

Give grace, O heavenly Father, to all Bishops (especially...) and other Ministers (especially...), that they may, both by their life and doctrine, set forth thy true and lively Word, and rightly and duly administer thy holy Sacraments.

FOR THE LAITY

And to all thy People (especially...) give thy heavenly grace; and especially to this congregation here present; that, with meek heart and due reverence, they may hear, and receive thy holy Word; truly serving thee in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life.

FOR THOSE IN ADVERSITY

And we most humbly beseech thee, of thy goodness, O Lord, to comfort and succour all those who, in this transitory life, are in trouble (especially...), sorrow (especially...), need (especially...), sickness (especially...), or any other adversity (especially...).

FOR THE DEPARTED

And we also bless thy holy Name for all thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fear (especially...); beseeching thee to grant them continual growth in thy love and service, and to give us grace so to follow their good examples, that with them we may be partakers of thy heavenly kingdom.

MEDIATION

Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate.
Amen.

⁴³ The word "especially" that appears in this and most of the subsequent paragraphs is a local addition; compare BCP, 74-75.

The Confession

- ☩ Deacon and Subdeacon move to their stations. The Deacon faces the people, the Subdeacon turning with him, and says the following bidding, waving his hands at the words “Draw near.”

INVITATION

YE who do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins, and are in love and charity with your neighbor, and intend to lead a new life, following the commandments of God, and walking from henceforth in his holy ways; Draw near with faith, and take this holy Sacrament to your comfort; and make your humble confession to Almighty God, devoutly kneeling.

- ☩ All the ministers kneel at their stations. The Deacon begins, saying:

CONFESSION

ALMIGHTY God, *Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Maker of all things, Judge of all men; We acknowledge and bewail our manifold sins and wickedness, Which we, from time to time, most grievously have committed, By thought, word, and deed, Against thy Divine Majesty, Provoking most justly thy wrath and indignation against us. We do earnestly repent, And are heartily sorry for these our misdoings; The remembrance of them is grievous unto us; The burden of them is intolerable. (☩ Smiting the breast thrice) Have MERCY upon us, Have MERCY upon us, most MERCIFUL Father; For thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, Forgive us all that is past; And grant that we may ever hereafter Serve and please thee In newness of life, To the honour and glory of thy Name; Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.*

- ☩ The Priest (or Bishop) alone standing, faces the People, and signing them with the cross, says:

ABSOLUTION

ALMIGHTY God, our heavenly Father, who of his great mercy hath promised forgiveness of sins to all those who with hearty repentance and true faith turn unto him; Have mercy upon you; pardon ☩ and deliver you from all your sins; confirm and strengthen you in all goodness; and bring you to everlasting life; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

- ☩ The Priest, standing as before, says:

COMFORTABLE WORDS

HEAR what comfortable words our Saviour Christ saith unto all who truly turn to him: Come unto me, all ye that travail and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you.⁴⁴ So God loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, to the end that all that believe in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.⁴⁵ Hear also what Saint Paul saith: This is a true saying, and worthy of all men to be received, That Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.⁴⁶ Hear also what Saint John saith: If any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and he is the Propitiation for our sins.⁴⁷

The Canon

- ☩ People and Ministers stand as the sacring bell rings. The Taperers take up their candles and go to guard the chancel gate. The Priest in the midst, facing the people, Deacon and Subdeacon turning with him, waves, lifts and joins his hands as he sings:

DIALOGUE

THE Lord be with you:

And with thy spirit.

Lift up your hearts:

We lift them up unto the Lord.

Let us give thanks unto our Lord God:

It is meet and right so to do.

- ☩ The Sacred Ministers in line, the Priest, with hands extended, sings:

THE GREAT EUCHARISTIC PRAYER

I. The Thanksgiving

PREFACE

IT IS very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty,

44 Matt 11:28.

45 John 3:16.

46 I Tim 1:15.

47 I John 2:1-2a.

Everlasting God. (¶ Proper Preface.)⁴⁸ Therefore with Angels and Archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious Name; evermore praising thee, and saying: (¶ The Sacred Ministers abreast at the midst, all bow and sing:)

SANCTUS

/ HOLY, HOLY, HOLY, Lord God of hosts, Heaven and earth are full of thy glory: Glory be to thee, O Lord Most High. Amen. (¶ The People kneeling, the Sacred Ministers again in line, the Priest, with hands extended, continues, saying :)

REDEMPTION

ALL glory be to thee, Almighty God, our heavenly Father, for that thou, of thy tender mercy, didst give thine only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the Cross for our redemption; who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world;

INSTITUTION

And did institute, and in his holy Gospel command us to continue, a perpetual memory of that his precious death and sacrifice, until his coming again: For in the night in which he was betrayed, (¶ Here the priest, in imitation of Christ, takes up the Paten, saying:) he took Bread; and when he had given thanks, (¶ He breaks the bread) he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, (¶ He lays his hand on the bread, saying:) this is my Body, which is given for you; Do this in remembrance of me. Likewise, after supper, (¶ He takes the Chalice, saying:) he took the Cup; and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this; (¶ He lays his hand on the Chalice, saying) for this is my Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you, and for many, for the remission of sins; Do this, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me.

II. The Petition

OBLATION

WHEREFORE, O Lord and heavenly Father, according to the institution of thy dearly beloved Son our Saviour / JESUS Christ, we, thy humble servants, do celebrate and make here before thy Divine Majesty, with these thy holy ✠

48 For the text of the Proper Prefaces, see BCP, 77-79.

gifts, (¶ The Deacon moves to the right of the Priest and takes the Cup. Then as the Priest elevates the Bread, the Deacon elevates the Cup, to show that the Offering of the Sacrifice is the corporate action of the whole congregation,⁴⁹ while the Priest says:) WHICH WE NOW OFFER UNTO THEE, THE MEMORIAL THY SON HATH COMMANDED US TO MAKE; (¶ Bread and cup are replaced; the Deacon returns to his step in line; the Priest spreads out his arms “in the form of a cross”⁵⁰ and continues, saying:)

MEMORIAL

Having in remembrance his blessed passion and precious death, his mighty resurrection and glorious ascension; rendering unto thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same.

INVOCATION

And we most / HUMBLY beseech thee, O merciful Father, to hear us; and, of thy almighty goodness, vouchsafe to ✠ BLESS and ✠ SANCTIFY, with thy Word and Holy Spirit, these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine; that we, receiving them according to thy Son our Saviour / JESUS Christ’s holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed ✠ BODY and ✠ BLOOD. (¶ He covers the vessels.)

INTERCESSION

And we earnestly desire thy fatherly goodness, mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; most humbly beseeching thee to grant that, by the merits and death of thy Son / JESUS Christ, and through faith in his blood, we, and all thy whole Church (¶ He pauses briefly while all call to mind those prayed for in the Great Intercession:) may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his passion.

OBLATION

And here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ✠ OURSELVES, our souls

49 The elevation coming at this point in the Eucharistic Prayer suggests the influence of Fr. Stone’s study of Eastern Christian liturgies, though he may have overestimated the antiquity and ubiquity of the practice. Originating with the Ukrainian Rite liturgy in the seventeenth century, such an elevation, related to the phrase “we offer” now features in various liturgies of Byzantine extraction. (There is no equivalent elevation at the equivalent moment of offering or oblation in the developed Western Uses of the Roman Liturgy.)

50 Aside from the universal use of a bow rather than a genuflection of the knees, this is perhaps the most direct borrowing in this Customary of a ceremonial gesture from the liturgy of the Sarum Use; see above, page 59.

and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice unto thee; humbly beseeching thee, that we, and all others who shall be partakers of this Holy Communion, may worthily receive the most precious Body and Blood of thy Son / JESUS Christ, be filled with thy grace and heavenly benediction, and made one body with him, that he may dwell in us, and we in him.

DEPRECATION

And although (☩ Bowing and smiting the breast:) / WE ARE UNWORTHY, through our manifold sins, to offer unto thee any sacrifice; yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service; not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences:

III. Doxology

THROUGH / JESUS Christ our Lord; by whom, and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto thee, (☩ He sings:) O Father Almighty, world without end. *Amen.*

☩ The People stand. Deacon and Subdeacon move abreast of the Priest, who sings:

BIDDING

AND now, as our Saviour Christ hath taught us, we are bold to say:

☩ The Priest waves his hands as a signal for all to join, as he begins singing:

LORD'S PRAYER

OUR Father, *who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, On earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, But deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.*

The Adoration

☩ Priest and Ministers kneel as the sacring bell rings. The People bow down, the Ministers prostrate themselves before the altar in adoration of the present Lord. All kneel upright, and smite the breast at the words: "We are not worthy." The Priest says:

HUMBLE ACCESS

WE DO not presume to come to this thy Table, O merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness, but in thy manifold and great mercies. We are not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under thy Table. But thou art the same Lord, whose property is always to have mercy: Grant us therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood, and that we may evermore dwell in him, and he in us. *Amen.*

- ☞ The priest alone rises, and performs first the FRACTION, breaking the Bread in symbol of the Crucifixion, then the COMMIXTURE, placing a particle of the Bread in the Chalice, symbolizing the union of the Body and Blood in the Resurrection. Then the Ministers stand. The Taperers return to the sanctuary. The Clerk closes the gate. The Priest makes his Communion. Meanwhile Choir and People sing:

AGNUS DEI

*O LAMB of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.
O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.
O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, grant us peace.*

The Communion

- ☞ The Priest takes up the Bread and Cup, and facing the People, Deacon and Subdeacon turning with him, makes the sign of the cross with the Blessed Sacrament, saying:

BIDDING TO COMMUNION ⁵¹

DRAW NEAR and receive the Body ✙ and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which were given for you, and feed on him in your hearts by faith with thanksgiving:

Blessed + is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.

- ☞ The Priest replaces the Blessed Sacrament upon the altar, and the Sacred Ministers bow profoundly. The Priest communicates the

⁵¹ Regarding the “Bidding to Communion,” see above, pages 127-129.

Deacon, then gives him the cup. Priest and Deacon now communicate the congregation, first the Ministers in the sanctuary, then the Choir and People at the altar rail. All bow profoundly before going up to receive and after returning to their seats. At the altar rail they kneel erect, resting only the hands, not the arms upon it. They make the sign of the cross before receiving each element, and say “Amen” to the words of administration. The Bread is received into the open palm of the right hand, resting upon the open left hand, both hands being carried to the mouth. The Cup is grasped firmly with both hands to guide it to the lips. Gloves, veils, and lip-stick are removed before receiving. The Priest administers the Bread, the Deacon administers the Cup, saying:

FOR THE BREAD

THE BODY of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. *Amen.*

FOR THE CUP

THE BLOOD of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. *Amen.*

The Thanksgiving For Communion

- ☩ When all have received, Bread and Cup are replaced on the altar, the Sacred Ministers bow profoundly, and the Priest veils the Blessed Sacrament with the corporal. Without turning, the Priest says:

BIDDING

LET US pray.

- ☩ The People kneeling, the Ministers standing at their stations, the Sacred Ministers in line, the Priest says:

PRAYER OF THANKSGIVING

ALMIGHTY and everliving God, we most heartily thank thee, for that thou dost vouchsafe to feed us who have duly received these holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious Body and Blood of thy Son our Saviour / JESUS Christ; and dost assure us thereby of thy favour and goodness towards

us; and that we are very members incorporate in the mystical body of thy Son, which is the blessed company of all faithful people; and are also heirs through hope of thy everlasting kingdom, by the merits of his most precious death and passion. And we humbly beseech thee, O heavenly Father, so to assist us with thy grace, that we may continue in that holy fellowship, and do all such good works as thou hast prepared for us to walk in; through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

- ☩ On ordinary days and penitential days, the People still kneeling, the Sacred Ministers abreast, the Priest waves his hands as a signal for all to join, and begins, saying:

TRISAGION

HOLY God, *Holy and Mighty, Holy and Immortal: Have mercy upon us.*

- ☩ On Festivals, the People standing, the Sacred Ministers abreast, the Priest waves his hands, and begins, singing:

GLORIA IN EXCELSIS

GLORY be to God on high, *and on earth peace, good will towards men. We praise thee, we bless thee, we / WORSHIP thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks to thee for thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty.*

O Lord, the only-begotten Son, / JESUS Christ; O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sins of the world, / RECEIVE OUR PRAYER. Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father, have mercy upon us.

For thou only art holy; thou only art the Lord; / THOU ONLY, O CHRIST, WITH THE HOLY GHOST, ART + MOST HIGH IN THE GLORY OF GOD THE FATHER. AMEN.

- ☩ The Sacred Ministers bow profoundly. Deacon and Subdeacon return to their stations. People and Ministers kneel. The Priest kisses the altar, and turning to the People, signs them with the sign of the cross, as he says:

BLESSING

THE PEACE of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of his Son / JESUS Christ our Lord; and the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the ✠ Son, and the Holy Ghost, be amongst you, and remain with you always. *Amen.*

DISMISSAL

- ☞ Choir and People standing sing a Psalm or Hymn. Meanwhile the Priest consumes what remains of the Blessed Sacrament, and ministered to by the Subdeacon with wine and water cruets, he performs the Ablutions, cleansing and drying the Chalice and Paten.⁵² The Deacon folds the corporals and puts them in the burse, and gives the Vessels to the Subdeacon to replace on the credence. The Priest washes his hands. Then all return in order to the sacristy.

⁵² This purification conforms to the Prayer Book rubric: "And if any of the consecrated Bread and Wine remain after the Communion, it shall not be carried out of the Church; but the Minister and other Communicants shall, immediately after the Blessing, reverently eat and drink the same"; BCP, 84.

III

A TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY CUSTOMARY



Customary of the Liturgy¹ *(Rite II, 10:00 a.m.)*

Christ Church
Bronxville, New York

[The Reverend Michael A. Bird, revised August, 2010]

General Rules

Deacon and Subdeacon are always lined up with the candlesticks on the altar — inside foot on the darker stone.

Whenever the Celebrant is addressing the congregation the Subdeacon and Deacon face the center (each other) on their respective steps.

If the Celebrant is voicing prayer for the people, the Deacon and Subdeacon are in line directly behind the Celebrant. If the Celebrant is voicing prayer with the people the Deacon and Subdeacon are abreast of the Celebrant at the altar.

At the Entrance

The order of procession:

Verger, (Thurifer, Boat Bearer), Clerk, Taperers, Choir, Lay assistants, Clergy assistants, Subdeacon, Deacon, Celebrant.

At the appointed time, during the sounding of a chime, the procession enters

¹ As with Appendix II, the footnotes appearing in this appendix all have been added by the author of *American Sarum*.

the church from the baptistery, proceeding down the side aisle and stopping at the first pillar. When all are in place and the chiming has finished, the Celebrant, standing near the baptistery door, leads the Collect for Purity, first saying:

This is the day that the Lord has made [alleluia].

Let us rejoice and be glad in it [alleluia].

Almighty God, to you all hearts are open, all desires known, and from you no secrets are hid: Cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of your Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love you, and worthily magnify your holy Name; through Christ our Lord. Amen.²

The Entrance (Opening) Hymn begins immediately after the Collect for Purity, during which the procession moves down the side aisle and up the center aisle of the nave. The Clerk enters the chancel and places the processional cross in its brace on the south/right wall of the sanctuary. The Taperers follow, placing their torches on the pavement on either side of the outer edge of the first altar step. Choir members reverence the altar, then enter their pews. Clergy assistants reverence the altar³ and go to the back row of the choir on the north/left side.

The Subdeacon, holding the Celebrant's missal, steps up onto the pavement and moves to north/left side, turning to facing the altar in line with the altar candle.

The Deacon enters the sanctuary, places the Gospel Book on the south/right side of the altar and returns to the pavement to face the altar in line with the altar candle.

2 In the second (contemporary language) Rite of the 1979 American Book of Common Prayer, the Collect for Purity is optional, as indicated by the immediately preceding rubric, "[t]he Celebrant may say"; see *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church. . . According to the use of The Episcopal Church* [1979]. (New York: Church Hymnal Corporation, 1979), 355. Here, the Collect for Purity has been relocated to the position it occupied in the historic Sarum Use, serving as a preparatory prayer immediately before the Entrance Procession; see above, pages 48-49.

3 Reflecting one of the peculiarities of medieval English uses, and following the practice established under Hohly and Stone, parishioners and clergy of Christ Church maintain a bow (and not a genuflection) as the normative sign of reverence for both the altar and the reserved Sacrament.

The Celebrant enters the sanctuary and stands on the pavement, facing the altar at the center.

When all three sacred ministers are in place, they bow to reverence the altar together.

Opening Acclamation

After they reverence the altar and as the opening hymn is concluding, the Deacon and Subdeacon turn to face the Celebrant (Open Position).

The Celebrant turns and, facing the people, says the Opening Acclamation.

Blessed be ✠ God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.
*And blessed be God's kingdom, now and forever. Amen.*⁴

During the seasons of Lent and Easter, another acclamation may be used.

The Confession

The Subdeacon holds the missal open for the Celebrant, who reads the "Summary of the Law" or another appropriate Scriptural sentence:

Our Lord Jesus Christ said: "‘You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind.’ This is the greatest and first commandment. And a second is like it: ‘You shall love your neighbor as yourself.’ On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets."⁵

The Deacon then bids the people to the Confession.

Let us humbly confess our sins against God and our neighbor.

The Celebrant, Deacon and Subdeacon then turn in place to face the altar in their places, kneeling if possible, or bowing. Clerk, Taperers, Lay assistants

⁴ The Opening Acclamation in the Rite II liturgy of the 1979 American Prayer Book is adapted from the opening acclamation in the Divine Liturgies of many Eastern Christian churches.

⁵ Matt 22:37-40. Other appropriate sentences include Mark 12:29-31, 1 Jn 1:8, 9 and Heb 4:14, 16; see *The Book of Common Prayer*, 351-352.

and Clergy assistants who may be standing in the chancel, whether within the altar rail or in the choir, also bow or kneel.

The Deacon leads the Confession:

Most merciful God,
we confess that we have sinned against you
in thought, word, and deed,
by what we have done,
and by what we have left undone.
We have not loved you with our whole heart;
we have not loved our neighbors as ourselves.
We are truly sorry and we humbly repent.
For the sake of your Son Jesus Christ,
have mercy on us and forgive us;
that we may delight in your will,
and walk in your ways,
to the glory of your Name. Amen.⁶

The Absolution

At the Absolution, the Celebrant walks up to the altar and turns to face the people. The Deacon and Subdeacon, and other assisting ministers, remain kneeling or bowed, facing the altar, until the end of the Absolution. The Celebrant says

Almighty God have mercy upon you, forgive ✠ you all your sins
through our Lord Jesus Christ, strengthen you in all goodness,
and by the power of the Holy Spirit keep you in eternal life.
Amen.

⁶ The text of the general confession in Rite II is derived from a formula first proposed by the Joint Liturgical Group, a British ecumenical consultation; see R. C. D. Jasper, ed., *The Daily Office* (London: SPCK, 1968), 77.

The Hymn of Praise

The *Gloria in excelsis* or other Hymn or Acclamation of Praise⁷ begins immediately after the absolution.

If incense is *not* used, the Celebrant, Deacon and Subdeacon go up to the altar (top step), facing the altar, staying in line with the candle, each placing their inside foot on the darker stone. When the three are in place the Deacon and Subdeacon bow as the Celebrant kisses the altar. All three remain abreast at the altar throughout the remainder of the Hymn.

If the altar is to be censed during the *Gloria*, the Celebrant goes up to the altar, kisses it, then turns to the thurifer and imposes incense (“charging the thurible”). The Deacon and Subdeacon remain on the pavement and face the altar while the Celebrant censes it, then (if the singing continues) go up to the altar (top step), as described above.

During the *Gloria in excelsis*, the Celebrant, Deacon and Subdeacon bow at the lines “we worship you,” “receive our prayer,” and “Jesus Christ with the Holy Spirit”. If the Celebrant makes the sign of the cross at the end of the *Gloria*, the Deacon and Subdeacon should do the same.

If another canticle is used, all bow at the mention of the Names “Father, Son and Holy Spirit.”

The Collect of the Day

At the end of the *Gloria* or other Hymn or Acclamation of Praise the Deacon and Subdeacon move to their steps facing inward in line with the altar candles (Open Position). The Celebrant turns and greets the people.

The Lord be with you.

And also with you.

Let us pray.

The Celebrant then turns eastward to begin the Collect of the Day. The Deacon and Subdeacon line up behind the Celebrant on their respective steps (Closed Position).

⁷ See *The Book of Common Prayer*, 356.

When the Collect has ended and the People have responded “*Amen*,” the sacred ministers immediately depart for their seats.

The Lessons

During the proclamation of the Lessons, the Deacon sits in the first seat on the south/right side (pulpit). The Clerk sits in the middle with the Taperer taking the third seat (closest to the altar rail), both on the south/right side. The Subdeacon sits in the middle seat on the north/left side (lectern). The Celebrant sits in the first seat on the north/left side. The Taperer is seated in the third seat on the north/left side (closest to the altar rail).

The Gospel

As the psalm is ending, the Celebrant goes to the altar, takes the Gospel Book, and stands at the center on the top step, facing the congregation. The Deacon goes to the center of the first (diaconal) step, facing eastward. The Subdeacon stands between the altar rails directly behind the Deacon while the Taperers join her/him on either side. The Celebrant presents the Gospel book to the Deacon and then blesses the Deacon with the following prayer:

The Lord be in your heart and on your lips that you may
worthily proclaim the Gospel, in the name of the Father ✠ and
of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.⁸

When the Deacon turns, the Subdeacon leads the procession to the center of the Nave. The Taperers follow just ahead of the Deacon “lighting the Gospel Book.”

If incense is used, during the psalm, the Thurifer approaches the Celebrant at the sedilia for the imposition of incense (“charging the thurible”). When the Celebrant stands, the Deacon goes up to the altar and takes the Gospel Book, then steps down to the pavement level, between the torches. The Subdeacon stands behind the Deacon as above, but outside the altar rails. The Celebrant steps up to the top altar step and, facing the Deacon, censes the Gospel Book.

⁸ A private or semi-private prayer of preparation before the proclamation of the Gospel has been a part of the Western liturgy since at least the early Middle Ages.

The Celebrant returns the thurible to the Thurifer; the Deacon, Subdeacon and Taperers turn and proceed to the nave as described above. The Thurifer removes the thurible.

The Celebrant remains standing at the altar, facing the people, for the proclamation of the Gospel.

When the procession has arrived in the nave, the Subdeacon stops and turns to face the Deacon. The Taperers face one another on either side of the Gospel Book. The Deacon gives the Gospel Book to the Subdeacon, then opens it. When all is ready, the Deacon announces the Gospel, optionally signing the book with the sign of the Cross:

The Holy Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, according to Saint N.
Glory to you, Lord Christ.

At the end of the proclamation, the Deacon concludes the reading:

The Gospel of the Lord.
Praise to you, Lord Christ.

After the Proclamation: *If the Deacon is the preacher,* the Subdeacon leads the retiring procession, carrying the Gospel Book. The Taperers lead the Subdeacon continuing into the Chancel, placing their torches on the first altar step and returning to their seats in the Sanctuary. The Deacon goes to the pulpit. The Subdeacon gives the Gospel book to the Celebrant who places it on the south/right side of the altar, both then returning to their seats.

If the Deacon is not the preacher, the Subdeacon leads the procession; the Deacon carries the Gospel book with the Taperers just before the Deacon, as described above. The Deacon places the Gospel Book on the south/right side of the altar. They all take their seats.

The Homily

If the Celebrant or a Clergy assistant is the preacher, s/he goes to the pulpit through the Lady Chapel at the conclusion of the Gospel, before the procession returns to the altar.

*The Creed*⁹

The altar party moves to the center pavement and turns to the east. If the Celebrant is the preacher, the Deacon begins the Creed after the homily is ended; otherwise the Celebrant begins the Creed. The preacher returns to his/her place through the Lady Chapel.

*The Prayers of the People*¹⁰

The Celebrant, Deacon and Subdeacon turn to face the people. The Deacon standing on the south/right-side pavement in line with the altar candle and facing the people, bids the Prayers of the People. The lector leads the Prayers of the People. The Celebrant remains facing the people for the concluding collect.

The Peace

The Subdeacon and Deacon turn to face the Celebrant (Open Position). The Celebrant greets the people saying:

The Peace of the Lord be always with you.
And also with you.

The Ministers in the chancel and choir exchange a sign of peace with one another as may be convenient; when opportune, the Clergy (or at least the Celebrant) exchanges the greeting with a representative number of the People in the nave.

Announcements usually are made at this point, for which all are seated.

⁹ See *The Book of Common Prayer*, 358-359.

¹⁰ “Prayer is offered with intercession for [t]he Universal Church, its members, and its mission; [t]he Nation and all in authority; [t]he welfare of the world; [t]he concerns of the local community; [t]hose who suffer and those in any trouble; [and] [t]he departed (with commemoration of a saint when appropriate)”; see *ibid.*, 359. At Bronxville, the text of the Prayers of the People is usually prepared locally for each occasion or liturgical season.

Holy Communion

At the Offertory Anthem the Deacon goes to the credence and takes the chalice stack and burse, then goes to the center of the altar. The Deacon spreads the corporal placing the burse off to the south/right side, flat on the altar and close to the reredos. The Deacon then places the paten on the cross on the corporal and the chalice directly behind it. The Deacon then returns to her/his seat.

At the Presentation hymn the Celebrant, Deacon and Subdeacon take their places at the altar rail for the gifts to be presented. The Celebrant takes the ciborium, the Deacon takes the flagon and the Subdeacon takes the offering. The three turn and walk up to the altar together. The Subdeacon places the offering on the north/left side of the altar. The Celebrant places the ciborium on the upper left section of the corporal. Then the Celebrant steps to the north/left side while the Deacon prepares the chalice.

The Clerk brings the water, which is poured into both the flagon and chalice. The Deacon gives the water back to the Clerk. The Deacon finishes preparing the gifts and then returns to her/his place on the first step facing the altar.

Meanwhile, the Celebrant takes the offering and blesses it, quietly saying the following prayer:

Generous God, at your table we present this money, symbol of the work you have given us to do; use it, use us, in the service of your world to the glory of your name. Amen.¹¹

¹¹ Private prayers at the Offertory give voice to sentiments not necessarily included in the Eucharistic Prayer and help to focus the attention of the Celebrant before entering into the Great Thanksgiving. During the Middle Ages, offertory prayers tended to become unduly long, such that in both duration and theme they overshadowed the eucharistic prayer or Canon of the Mass. These were wholly excluded from the first and subsequent editions of the Book of Common Prayer, including the 1979 American Prayer Book. After the Second Vatican Council, the renewed Roman Rite liturgy eliminated the lengthy medieval prayers, replacing them with brief prayers over the bread and the cup based on Jewish *Berakah* (blessing) models; these prayers have subsequently been adapted and adopted in supplemental and alternative service books in many places throughout the Anglican Communion, as have prayers for the financial offering of the People. This text is an adaptation of a prayer “at the Preparation of the Table” from *Common Worship: Services and Prayers for the Church of England*, President’s Edition (London: Church House Publishing, 2000), 551.

The Celebrant hands the offering to the Subdeacon, who places it on the north/left side of the altar, leaving it there until the altar is cleared after communion. The Subdeacon then returns to her/his place on the pavement facing the altar.

Meanwhile, the Celebrant returns to the center of the altar. The Celebrant touches the paten and chalice, or lifts both slightly off the altar, and says quietly:

Blessed are you, O Lord, God of all creation: for we have received from your abundance the bread and wine we now offer to you, which earth has given and human hands have made. You will make them be for us the bread of heaven and cup of salvation. Amen.¹²

[If incense is used, the Celebrant now imposes incense (“charges the thurible”) and censens the gifts (and altar, if the duration of the singing permits.) The Deacon and Subdeacon step down to the pavement. After censening the gifts, the Celebrant turns and, from the center of the top step, bows; then s/he censens the entire assembly, altar party and choir included, in one action. The Celebrant returns the thurible to the Thurifer who then censens the Celebrant. The Thurifer then takes a position on the pavement, in line with the north/left candlestick on the altar. From there, the Thurifer will cense the elements at their elevations during and at the end of the Eucharistic Prayer.]

The Celebrant then turns to the right and washes her/his hands with the help of the Clerk, and then returns to the center of the altar, facing eastward until the hymn is finished.

The Taperers stand at their torches from this point onward until after they have received communion. They sit in the middle seat during the administration of the sacraments.

Sursum Corda: The Celebrant turns to the people. The Deacon and Subdeacon stand in their places (on their respective steps) facing the Celebrant (Open Position). The Celebrant sings or says

¹² Following the Sarum precedent — which had only one Offertory prayer that included both bread and cup (see above, pages 54-55) — a single *Berakab*-style prayer for both elements is used in the liturgy at Christ Church.

The Lord be with you.

And also with you.

Lift up your hearts.

We lift them to the Lord.

Let us give thanks to the Lord our God.

It is right to give him thanks and praise.

When the Celebrant turns back to the altar for the Preface, the Deacon and Subdeacon step into line with the Celebrant (Closed Position). The Celebrant continues:

It is right, and a good and joyful thing, always and everywhere
to give thanks to you, Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and
earth.

“Here a Proper Preface is sung or said on all Sundays, and on other occasions
as appointed.”¹³

Therefore we praise you, joining our voices with Angels and
Archangels and with all the company of heaven, who for ever
sing this hymn to proclaim the glory of your Name:

Sanctus: The Deacon and Subdeacon step up to the altar on either side of the
Celebrant. All bow during the first lines of the *Sanctus*. The sign of the cross is
not made at the words “Blessed is he...”

Holy, Holy, Holy Lord, God of power and might,
heaven and earth are full of your glory.

Hosanna in the highest.

Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord.

Hosanna in the highest.

As the *Sanctus* ends, the Deacon and Subdeacon return to their steps, in line
with the Celebrant (Closed Position).

Eucharistic Prayer: The Deacon and Subdeacon remain in line behind the
Celebrant, bowing with the Celebrant after the elevations of the Host and
chalice. The Celebrant makes a single sign of the cross over the elements

¹³ *The Book of Common Prayer*, 361; for Proper Prefaces, see 377-382.

and imposes her or his hands at the consecratory epiclesis. The Deacon and Subdeacon may make the sign of the cross over themselves with the Celebrant at the communion epiclesis. They return to their places at the altar after the Great Amen, during the three chimes.¹⁴

The Celebrant, Deacon and Subdeacon all make a profound bow after the Host and chalice have been replaced on the altar.

The Lord's Prayer: The Deacon and Subdeacon stand in their places at the altar on either side of the Celebrant. They turn in to face the Celebrant when s/he turns to give the invitation to the Lord's Prayer. All turn to face eastward during the prayer.

Fraction Anthem: The Celebrant breaks the Host once and lifts the broken halves for all to see, after which begins the *Agnus Dei*/Fraction Anthem. During the anthem, the Clerk gives two chalices to the Deacon, followed by a chalice and the purificators, followed by the Reserve Ciborium so that the sacred vessels may be prepared by the Deacon and Celebrant at this time.

[*Note: if there is no Fraction Anthem, the vessels should be given to the Deacon after the Invitation to Communion.*]

The Invitation to Communion: The Celebrant takes the paten, and the Deacon takes the chalice, and both turn to face the people. The Subdeacon turns to face the Celebrant. Lifting a fragment of the broken Host above the paten, the Celebrant says the invitation to communion:

The Gifts of God for the People of God:
Taste and see that the Lord is good.
*Blessed are we who trust in God!*¹⁵

¹⁴ Eucharistic Prayer A is most commonly used throughout the year (see *ibid.*, 361-363); Prayer B is used during the season of Advent (367-369), and Prayer D is used, at the celebrant's discretion, for the Great Vigil of Easter (372-376).

¹⁵ The 1979 American Book of Common Prayer (page 364) adopted a loose translation of the Greek τα ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις (*ta hagia tois hagiois*) communion invitation dating from the late fourth century and found today in the Divine Liturgy of many Eastern Christian churches. At Christ Church, Bronxville, this invitation has been expanded to include the whole of Ps 34:8, partially in the bidding to communion, partially in the people's response. This psalm verse is witnessed to as a communion antiphon in a number of ancient liturgies, including that of Jerusalem (see *Mystagogical Catecheses* 5.20) and Milan (where the chant *Gustate et Videte* remains a favored communion responsory).

To Receive the Communion: The Celebrant and Deacon turn back to face the altar. The Subdeacon moves to stand in line with the altar candle on the north/left side. The other Eucharistic ministers, first closing the gate and placing the kneelers on the floor, then line up to the left of the Subdeacon. The Celebrant communicates her-/himself. The Deacon receives communion from the Celebrant at the altar. Then the Celebrant communicates all the Eucharistic ministers with the consecrated bread. The Deacon communicates the Subdeacon and then gives the chalice to her/him to communicate the other Eucharistic ministers. The Deacon then distributes the chalices to the other Eucharistic ministers, and begins to distribute Communion on the north/left side first using the Reserve Sacrament.

But if there are sufficient Clergy assistants present, the Deacon remains at the altar, observing the action of communion, ready to assist with refilling chalices if needed.

After Communion

The Eucharistic ministers should return their vessels to the credence while the Deacon and Celebrant clear the altar.

Postcommunion Prayer: With no invitation, as the people are already standing for the last verse of the communion hymn, the Celebrant and People pray together:

Eternal God, heavenly Father,
you have graciously accepted us as living members
of your Son our Savior Jesus Christ,
and you have fed us with spiritual food
in the Sacrament of his Body and Blood.
Send us now into the world in peace,
and grant us strength and courage
to love and serve you
with gladness and singleness of heart;
through Christ our Lord. Amen.¹⁶

The Blessing: The Celebrant turns to face the People for the blessing. She

¹⁶ *The Book of Common Prayer*, 365.

or he may rest the left hand on the surface of the altar. The Deacon and Subdeacon turn to face the Celebrant for the Blessing.¹⁷

The Retiring Procession: The Clerk and Taperers line up on the pavement in front of the altar. As at the entrance, the Deacon, Subdeacon and Celebrant reverence the altar at the beginning of the hymn and turn to face the people. The Clerk and Taperers turn to process out when the Celebrant gives a signal. When the choir is half out of the stalls the Subdeacon should move to stand between the altar railing. Lay and Clergy assistants follow the choir. The Subdeacon, Deacon with Gospel Book and Celebrant follow.

The Dismissal: When the hymn is finished, the Deacon turns to face the people and pronounces the dismissal.

¹⁷ Although the Rite II liturgy of the 1979 American Prayer Book does not require that the priest bless the assembly before the dismissal (see *ibid.*, 366), exercising that option is traditional at Bronxville. In practice, the text of the blessing varies according to the liturgical season; see *The Book of Occasional Services 2003: Conforming to the General Convention 2003* (New York: Church Publishing, 2003), 22-29.

BIBLIOGRAPHY



WEB-BASED AND UNPUBLISHED RESOURCES

Bird, Michael A. Interview by author. Bronxville, New York, June 23, 2009.

MacGregory, Stewart. *Explaining the Sarum Use*. Bronxville: Christ Church, undated pamphlet, c. 1995.

Service Record Book, Christ Church, Bronxville, May 22, 1933-April 30, 1937.

Wright, J. Robert. "The Sarum Use." Unpublished lecture. New York: Miller Theatre, Columbia University, January 6, 2002. <http://anglicanhistory.org/essays/wright/sarum.pdf> (accessed July 24, 2010).

PUBLISHED ARTICLES AND BOOKS

Addison, James Thayer. *The Episcopal Church in the United States 1789-1931*. Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1969.

Alexander, J. Neil. *Waiting for the Coming: The Liturgical Meaning of Advent, Christmas, Epiphany*. Washington, DC: Pastoral Press, 1993.

Andrews, David T. *Built Upon A Rock: The First 100 Years of Christ Church*. Bronxville: Christ Church, 2004.

Authorized Services 1973. New York: Church Hymnal Corporation, 1973.

Bailey, Terence. *The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church*. Toronto: Pontifical Medieval Institute, 2007.

Baldovin, John F., sj. *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*. Orientalia Christiana Analecta 228. Rome: Pontificum Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1987.

Barnwell, P. S., L. A. S. Butler and C. J. Dunn. "The Confusion of Conversion: Streanaeshalch, Strensall and Whitby and the Northumbrian Church." In Martin Carver, editor, *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, A.D. 300-1300*, 311-326. Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell, 2006.

Barrett, George W. "Rector's Reflections." *The Spire* 17:22 (April 28, 1963): 1-2.

Bartlett, Alan. *A Passionate Balance: The Anglican Tradition*. Traditions of Christian Spirituality. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2007.

Bates, J. Barrington. "Am I Blue? Some Historical Evidence for Liturgical Colors." *Studia Liturgica* 33 (2003): 75-88.

Baxter, Philip. *Sarum Use: The Ancient Customs of Salisbury*. Reading, Berkshire, UK: Spire Books, 2008.

Bede. *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. Edited by Judith McClure and Roger Collins. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Bishop, Edmund. "The Litany of the Saints in the Stowe Missal." In *Liturgica Historica: Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church*, 137-164. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918.

Blakeney, R. P. *The Book of Common Prayer in its History and Interpretation: With Special Reference to Existing Controversies*. London: James Miller, 1866.

The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church according to the use of The Church of England, etc. [1662]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church According to the Use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America [1928]. Boston: D. B. Updike/Merrymount Press, 1930.

The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church. . . According to the use of The Episcopal Church [1979]. New York: Church Hymnal Corporation, 1979.

The Book of Common Prayer with the Additions and Deviations Proposed in 1928. Norwich, Norfolk, UK: Canterbury Press, 2008.

The Book of Occasional Services 2003: Conforming to the General Convention 2003. New York: Church Publishing, 2003.

Booty, John E., editor. *The Book of Common Prayer 1559: The Elizabethan Prayer Book.* Folger Shakespeare Library edition. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005.

Bouyer, Louis. *Eucharist: Theology and Spirituality of the Eucharistic Prayer*, tr. Charles Underhill Quinn. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968.

Bradshaw, Paul F. "Did Jesus Institute the Eucharist at the Last Supper?" In *Reconstructing Early Christian Worship*, 3-19. London: SPCK, 2009.

_____. "Difficulties in Doing Liturgical Theology" *Pacifica* 11 (1998): 181-194.

_____. "The Earliest Eucharistic Prayers?" In *Reconstructing Early Christian Worship*, 38-52. London: SPCK, 2009.

_____. *Eucharistic Origins.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

_____. "Gregory Dix." In Christopher Irvine, editor, *They Shaped Our Worship: Essays on Anglican Liturgists.* Alcuin Club Collections 75, 111-117. London: SPCK, 1998.

_____. "The Origins of Easter." In Paul F. Bradshaw and Lawrence A. Hoffman, editors, *Passover and Easter: Origin and History to Modern Times.* Two Liturgical Traditions, Vol. 5, 81-97. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999.

_____. *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy*, second edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

_____. "Who Wrote the *Apostolic Tradition*? A Response to Alistair Stewart-Sykes." *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 48:2 (2004): 195-206.

Bradshaw, Paul F., Maxwell E. Johnson and L. Edward Phillips. *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary.* Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002.

Buchanan, Colin. *The Hampton Court Conference and the 1604 Book of Common Prayer*. Alcuin/GROW Joint Liturgical Studies 68. Norwich, Norfolk, UK: Hymns Ancient and Modern, 2009.

_____. "What did Cranmer Think he was Doing?" In *An Evangelical Among the Anglican Liturgists*. Alcuin Club Collections 84. London: SPCK, 2009.

Canterbury, Court of the Archbishop of. *Read and Others v. the Lord Bishop of Lincoln: Judgment*, Nov. 21, 1890. London: Macmillan, 1890.

Caraman, Philip. *The Western Rising 1549: The Prayer Book Rebellion*. Tiverton, Devon, UK: Westcountry Books, 1994.

Cavill, Paul. *Anglo-Saxon Christianity: Exploring the Earliest Roots of Christian Spirituality in England*. London: HarperCollins/Fount, 1999.

The Ceylon Liturgy: An Order for the Administration of the Holy Communion. Madras, India: SPCK, 1938.

Cobb, Peter G. "The History of the Christian Year." In Cheslyn Jones, et al., editors, *The Study of Liturgy*, revised edition, 455-472. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Collins, John N. *Deacons and the Church: Making Connections Between Old and New*. Harrisburg, PA: Morehouse, 2003.

_____. *Diakonia: Re-Interpreting the Ancient Sources*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Common Worship: Services and Prayers for the Church of England. President's Edition. London: Church House Publishing, 2000.

Connell, Martin F. "Attolite Portas, 'Open Up, You Doors!': Liturgical Narrative and Christ's Descent." *Worship* 76 (2002): 111-118.

_____. "Descensus Christi ad Inferos: Christ's Descent to the Dead." *Theological Studies* 62 (2001): 262-282.

Constant, G. *The Reformation in England, Vol. II: Introduction of the Reformation into England, Edward VI (1547-1553)*, translated by E. I. Watkin. New York: Sheed & Ward, 1942.

Crichton, J. D. *Lights in the Darkness: Forerunners of the Liturgical Movement*. Dublin: Columba, 1996.

Cunningham, Maurice P., editor. *Aurelii Prudentii Clementis Carmina*. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 126. Turnholt: Brepols, 1966.

Dallen, James. *The Reconciling Community: The Rite of Penance*. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press/Pueblo, 1991.

Dawley, Powel Mills. *The Story of the General Theological Seminary: A Sesquicentennial History 1817-1967*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969.

Dearmer, Percy. *The Art of Public Worship*. London: Mowbray, 1920.

_____. *The Parson's Handbook: Containing Practical Direction for Both Parsons and Others as to the Management of the Parish Church and its Services According to the Anglican Use, as Set Forth in The Book of Common Prayer*, twelfth edition. London: Humphrey Milford, 1943.

Debates of the House of Deputies in the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Held in Baltimore, MD., October, A.D. 1871. Hartford: Church Press/M. H. Mallory, 1871.

Debates of the House of Deputies in the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Held in New York City, October, A.D. 1874. Hartford: M. H. Mallory, 1874.

A Directory of Ceremonial, Part I. Alcuin Club Tracts XIII. London: Mowbray, 1931.

Dix, Gregory. *The Shape of the Liturgy*. Westminster: Dacre, 1945; London: Continuum, 2001.

Duffy, Eamon. *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.

_____. *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400-c.1580*, second edition. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

Ellard, Gerald, SJ. *Master Alcuin, Liturgist: A Partner of Our Piety*. Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1956.

Eusebius. *The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine*. Translated by G. A. Williamson, revised and edited by Andrew Louth. New York: Penguin, 1989.

Fenwick, John R. K., and Brian D. Spinks. *Worship in Transition: The Liturgical Movement in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Continuum, 1995.

The First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI. Everyman's Library 448. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1952.

Fliegel, Stephen N. *Resplendent Faith: Liturgical Treasures of the Middle Ages*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2009.

Freestone, W. A. *The Sacrament Reserved: A Survey of the Practice of Reserving the Eucharist, with Special Reference to the Communion of the Sick, During the First Twelve Centuries*. Alcuin Club Collections XXI. London: Mowbray, 1917.

Frere, Walter Howard, CR. *The Use of Sarum, Vol. I: The Sarum Customs as set forth in the Consuetudinary and Customary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898.

Gaillardetz, Richard R. "On the Theological Integrity of the Diaconate." In Owen F. Cummings, William T. Ditewig and Richard R. Gaillardetz, *Theology of the Diaconate: The State of The Question*, 67-97. Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2005.

Gewirtz, Isaac. "Introduction: 'Here are Left Out Many Thynges.'" In *But One Use: An Exhibition Commemorating the 450th Anniversary of the Book of Common Prayer*, 10-15. New York: The Saint Mark's Library of The General Theological Seminary of the Episcopal Church, 1999.

Gibbons, Robin. *House of God: House of the People of God*. Alcuin Club Collections 82. London: SPCK, 2006.

Gordon-Taylor, Benjamin. "Incense." In Christopher Irvine, editor, *The Use of Symbols in Worship*. Alcuin Liturgy Guides 4, 79-86. London: SPCK, 2007.

Gray, Betty. "Episcopalians Shape a New Liturgical Life." *Christian Century* 93 (1976): 731-732.

Gray, Donald. "Percy Dearmer." In Christopher Irvine, editor, *They Shaped Our Worship: Essays on Anglican Liturgists*. Alcuin Club Collections 75, 71-76. London: SPCK, 1998.

Grisbrooke, W. Jardine, editor and translator. *The Liturgical Portions of the Apostolic Constitutions: A Text for Students*. Alcuin/GROW Liturgical Studies 13-14. Bramcote, Nottingham, UK: Grove Books, 1990.

Guiver, George. *Vision Upon Vision: Processes of Change and Renewal in Christian Worship*. Norwich, Norfolk, UK: Canterbury Press, 2009.

Hatchett, Marion J. "Prayer Books." In Stephen Sykes, John Booty and Jonathan Knight, editors, *The Study of Anglicanism*, revised edition, 131-143. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998.

Haugaard, William P. "From the Reformation to the Eighteenth Century." In Stephen Sykes, John Booty and Jonathan Knight, editors, *The Study of Anglicanism*, revised edition, 3-30. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998.

Hohly, Harold F. "Slipping a Bit." *The Spire* 8:14 (December 13, 1953): 1-2.

_____. "Worship is Work." *The Spire* 7:19 (January 18, 1953): 1-2.

_____. "Yes!" *The Spire* 2:13 (December 7, 1947): 1-3.

Hope, D. M. "The Medieval Western Rites." Revised by Graham Woolfenden. In Cheslyn Jones, et al., editors, *The Study of Liturgy*, revised edition, 264-285. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Hopkins, John Henry. *The Law of Ritualism, Examined in its Relation to the Word of God, to the Primitive Church, to the Church of England, and to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States*. New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1866.

The Hymns of Prudentius. Translated by R. Martin Pope. London: Aldine House/J. M. Dent, 1905.

Jasper, R. C. D., editor. *The Daily Office*. London: SPCK, 1968.

Jasper, R. C. D. *The Development of the Anglican Liturgy, 1662-1980*. London: SPCK, 1989.

Jasper, R. C. D., and G. J. Cuming. *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed*, third edition. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press/Pueblo, 1990.

Jeanes, Gordon P. "Cranmer and Common Prayer." In Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck, editors, *The Oxford Guide to The Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey*, 21-38. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

_____. *Signs of God's Promise: Thomas Cranmer's Sacramental Theology and the Book of Common Prayer*. London: T&T Clark, 2008.

Johnson, Maxwell E. Review of "Dom Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, new edition with introduction by Simon Jones (London: Continuum, 2005)." *Worship* 80 (2006): 471-472.

Jones, C. P. M. "The New Testament." Revised by C. J. A. Hickling. In Cheslyn Jones, et al., editors, *The Study of Liturgy*, revised edition, 184-209. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Jones, William Henry. *Salisbury*. London: SPCK, 1880.

Journal of the Proceedings of the Bishops, Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Assembled in a General Convention Held in the City of New York from Oct. 17th to Oct. 29th, inclusive, in the Year of Our Lord 1868. Hartford: For the Convention, 1869.

Kavanagh, Aidan. *Elements of Rite: A Handbook of Liturgical Style*. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press/Pueblo, 1990.

_____. *On Liturgical Theology*. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press/Pueblo, 1992.

Kelly, Thomas Forrest. *The Exultet in Southern Italy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

King, Archdale A. *Liturgies of the Past*. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1959.

Kroesen, Justin E. A. *The Sepulchrum Domini through the Ages: Its Form and Function*. Liturgia Conenda IO. Leuven: Peeters, 2000.

Lee, Frederick George, editor. *Directorium Anglicanum: Being a Manual of Directions for the Right Celebration of the Holy Communion, for the Saying of Matins and Evensong, and for the Performance of Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Ancient Use of the Church of England*, second edition, revised. London: Thomas Bosworth, 1865.

Legg, J. Wickham. *The Sarum Missal: Edited from Three Early Manuscripts*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916.

Leuenberger, Samuel. *Archbishop Cranmer's Immortal Bequest: The Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England: An Evangelistic Liturgy*. Translated by Samuel Leuenberger and Lewis J. Gorin, Jr. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2004.

The Liturgy of the Church of Sarum: Together with the Kalendar of the Same Church. Translated by Charles Walker. London: J. T. Hayes, 1866.

MacAdam, George. *The Little Church Around the Corner*. New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1925.

MacCulloch, Diarmaid. *Thomas Cranmer: A Life*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.

Macgregor, A. J. *Fire and Light in the Western Triduum: Their Use at Tenebrae and at the Paschal Vigil*. Alcuin Club Collections 71. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992.

Marshall, Paul Victor. *One, Catholic, and Apostolic: Samuel Seabury and the Early Episcopal Church*, with CD-Rom Appendix. New York: Church Publishing, 2004.

Maskell, William. *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England: According to the Uses of Sarum, Bangor, York & Hereford and the Modern Roman Liturgy*, second edition. London: William Pickering, 1846.

McCall, Richard D. "‘In My Beginning is My End’: Remembering the Future Shape of Liturgy." *Anglican Theological Review* 82:1 (2000): 17-27.

McCarthy, Daniel. "Easter Principles and a Fifth-Century Lunar Cycle Used in the British Isles." *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 24 (1993): 204-224.

McGrath, Alister E. *Christianity's Dangerous Idea: The Protestant Revolution — A History from the Sixteenth Century to the Twenty-First*. New York: HarperOne, 2007.

McLachlan, Elizabeth Parker. "Liturgical Vessels and Implements." In Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter, editors, *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, second edition, 333-389. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2005.

McNeill, John T. *The Celtic Churches: A History, A.D. 200-1200*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.

Mitchell, Nathan. *Cult and Controversy: The Worship of the Eucharist Outside Mass*. New York: Pueblo, 1982.

Moorman, J. R. H. *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century*, revised edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955.

_____. *A History of the Church in England*, third edition. Harrisburg, PA: Morehouse, 1980.

Morison, Stanley. *English Prayer Books: An Introduction to the Literature of Christian Public Worship*, expanded edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949.

Mullin, Robert Bruce. *Episcopal Vision/American Reality: High Church Theology and Social Thought in Evangelical America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986.

Neill, Stephen. *A History of Christian Missions*. Penguin History of the Church. London: Penguin, 1990.

Norris, Herbert. *Church Vestments: Their Origin & Development*. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1950.

O'Loughlin, Thomas. *Celtic Theology: Humanity, World and God in Early Irish Writings*. New York: Continuum, 2005.

Ordinary and Canon of the Mass: According to the Use of the Church of Sarum. Translated by John Theodore Dodd. London: Joseph Masters, 1872.

Ostdiek, Gilbert, OFM. "Principles of Translation in the Revised Sacramentary." In Mark R. Francis, CSV, and Keith F. Pecklers, SJ, editors, *Liturgy for the New Millennium: A Commentary on the Revised Sacramentary*, 17-34. Collegeville: Liturgical Press/Pueblo, 2000.

Pfaff, Richard W. *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Pocknee, Cyril E. *The Parson's Handbook: Practical Direction for Parsons and Others According to the Anglican Use, as Set Forth in The Book of Common Prayer on the Basis of the Twelfth Edition by Percy Dearmer, D.D.*, thirteenth, revised edition. London: Oxford University Press, 1965.

The Poems of Prudentius. Translated by M. Clement Eagan, ccvi. The Fathers of the Church 43. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1962.

Regan, Patrick. "Paschal *Lucernarium*: Structure and Symbolism." *Worship* 82 (2008): 98-118.

Rhys, J. Howard, and Jeffrey Wasson. "324 Let all mortal flesh keep silence." In Raymond F. Glover, editor, *The Hymnal 1982 Companion*, Vol. 3A. (New York: The Church Hymnal Corporation, 1994), 611-612.

Richards, E. G. *Mapping Time: The Calendar and its History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Rubin, Miri. *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Rule of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, North American Congregation. Boston: Cowley, 1997.

The Sarum Missal Done into English, second, revised edition. Translated by A. Harford Pearson. London: Church Printing Company, 1884.

The Sarum Missal in English, Part I and Part II. Translated by Frederick E. Warren. Alcuin Club Collections XI. London: Mowbray, 1913.

Searle, Mark, and Kenneth W. Stevenson, editors. *Documents of the Marriage Liturgy*. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press/Pueblo, 1992.

Seasoltz, R. Kevin. "Eucharistic Devotions and Reservation: Some Reflections." *Worship* 81 (2007): 426-448.

_____. *God's Gift Giving: In Christ and Through the Spirit*. New York: Continuum, 2007.

Services for Trial Use: Authorized Alternatives to Prayer Book Services. New York: Church Hymnal Corporation, 1971.

Skilbeck, Clement O. *Illustrations of the Liturgy: Being Thirteen Drawings of the Holy Communion in a Parish Church*. Alcuin Club Collections XIX. London: Mowbray, 1912.

Smyth, Matthieu. "The Anaphora of the So-called 'Apostolic Tradition' and the Roman Eucharistic Prayer." In Maxwell E. Johnson, editor, *Issues in Eucharistic Praying in East and West: Essays in Liturgical and Theological Analysis*, 71-97. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press/Pueblo, 2011.

Spinks, Bryan D. "From Elizabeth I to Charles II." In Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck, editors, *The Oxford Guide to The Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey*, 44-55. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

_____. "Mis-Shapen: Gregory Dix and the Four-Action Shape of the Liturgy." *The Lutheran Quarterly* 4 (1990): 161-177.

Stackpole, Peter, photographer. "Bronxville Versus da Vinci: Suburban Businessmen Reconstruct the Last Supper and Make Some Corrections on Leonardo's Famous Painting." *LIFE* 30:11 (March 12, 1951): 151-152, 154.

Stone, Morton C. "The Anglican Standard." *The Spire* 9:14 (December 19, 1954): 2-3.

_____. "High Church." *The Spire* 9:13 (December 12, 1954): 2.

_____. "Prayer Book Holy Week Ceremonies." *The Living Church* 112 (March 31, 1946): 10-11.

_____. "Prayer Book Use." *The Spire* 9:11 (November 28, 1954): 1-2.

_____. "Toward a Common Use." Alumni Essay to the Associate Alumni of The General Theological Seminary, New York, NY (May 21, 1946). In *The Bulletin of the General Theological Seminary*, XXXII:3, Section 2 (1946).

Stuhlman, Byron D. *A Good and Joyful Thing: The Evolution of the Eucharistic Prayer*. New York: Church Publishing, 2000.

Swanson, Geraldine A. "Diakonia: Service or Mission? The Post-Modern Diaconate and its Early Church Roots." *Diakoneo* 28:1 (Winter 2006): 5-8, 16.

Sydnor, William. *The Prayer Book Through the Ages*, revised edition. Harrisburg, PA: Morehouse, 1997.

Taft, Robert F., sj. *Beyond East and West: Problems in Liturgical Understanding*, second revised and enlarged edition. Rome: Pontificio Instituto Orientale, 2001.

Talley, Thomas J. "The Entry into Jerusalem in Liturgical Tradition." In J. Neil Alexander, editor, *With Ever Joyful Hearts: Essays on Liturgy and Music Honoring Marion J. Hatchett*, 211-226. New York: Church Publishing, 1999.

Todd, Henry John. *The Life of Archbishop Cranmer*, Vol. II. London: C. J. G. & F. Rivington, 1831.

Vogel, Cyrille. *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*. Translated and revised by William Storey and Niels Rasmussen. Portland: Pastoral Press, 1986.

Wakeman, Henry Offley. *An Introduction to the History of the Church of England*, seventh edition. London: Rivington, 1908.

Ward, Benedicta. *A True Easter: The Synod of Whitby 664 AD*. Oxford: SLG Press/Fairacres Publications, 2007.

The Warham Guild Handbook: Historical and Descriptive Notes on 'Ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers thereof'. London: Warham Guild, 1932.

Wegman, Herman A. J. *Christian Worship in East and West: A Study Guide to Liturgical History*. Translated by Gordon W. Lathrop. New York: Pueblo, 1985.

Whitaker, E. C., editor. *Martin Bucer and the Book of Common Prayer*. Alcuin Club Collections 55. Great Wakering, Essex, UK: Mayhew-McCrimmon, 1974.

White, James F. *Roman Catholic Worship: Trent to Today*, second edition. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press/Pueblo, 2003.

White, Verner M. *Ritualism and New Testament Christianity*. London: James Nisbet & Company, 1867.

Wordsworth, Christopher, editor. *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1901.

Wright, J. Robert. "Communion of the Non-Baptized: Is the Water of Life Necessary for the Bread of Life?" *The Anglican* 35:1 (2006): 2-3.

_____. *A Companion to Bede: A Reader's Commentary on The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008.

_____. *The First Prayer Book of 1549*. The 32nd Annual Morpeth Lecture. Morpeth, NSW , Australia: The College of St John the Evangelist, 1999.

Yates, Nigel. *The Oxford Movement and Anglican Ritualism*. London: The Historical Association, 1983.

INDEX



A

Abgar IX, King, 11
 Act in Restraint of Appeals, 65
 Act of Supremacy, 65
 Act of Uniformity, 71, 82
 Addison, James Thayer, 90n, 94n, 110
adiaphora, 93
Agnus Dei, 62, 163, 169-170, 191, 206
 Alcuin of York, 49
 Aldhelm, 31
 Alexander, J. Neil, 4In, 13In, 146
 Alexandria, 11, 24
 altar, 28n, 30, 33-35, 37, 40-41, 47-57, 60-64, 74, 77, 87, 90, 93, 105, 110-115, 117, 119, 121-122, 125-127, 142, 145-146, 148, 157, 163, 171-174, 176-183, 190-193, 195, 197-208
 Ambrosian Rite, 8, 15
anamnesis, 59, 132-33 (see also remembrance)
 Andrews, John W., 98n, 101-102
 Anglican Communion, 1, 6, 8, 149, 203n
 Anglo-Catholic, 112, 115, 116n, 117, 123, 130, 135, 140, 151
 Anglo-Saxon, 12, 26, 28
 Anicetus, Pope, 23, 27
 Ante-Communion, 87, 96, 145
 apse, 33, 147n
Apostolic Tradition, 13In, 153, 168n
 Augustine of Canterbury, 14-19, 21, 123n
 Augustine of Hippo, 51
 Authorized Version Bible, 85, 16In

B

Bangor, 8, 56, 71
Bangor Antiphonary, 28
 baptism, 7, 13-14, 19, 21-22, 68, 76, 83, 86, 96, 105, 125-126, 143, 171
 Barrett, George W., 140-142, 144, 151
 Baxter, Philip, 6n, 9n, 10, 28n, 31, 33n, 36n, 38n, 39n, 40n, 41n, 43n, 47n, 50n, 51n, 52n, 53n, 54n, 61n, 64n
 Becket, Thomas, 34-35
 Becon, Thomas, 73
 Bede, Venerable, 11-15, 18, 20-22, 24-28, 58
 Beers, Hiram W., 98n, 101
 Beneventan Rite, 15
 Bingham, Robert, 36
 Bird, Michael A., 145-148, 195
 Black Rubric, 79-80, 82, 86
 Bocado Prison, 81
 Boleyn, Anne, 65
Book of Deer, 28
 Bradshaw, Paul F., 2, 3n, 23n, 13In, 164n, 166n, 168n
 British Museum Rite, 123
 Britons, 11-14
 Bronxville, New York, 1-3, 5, 10, 45, 111-112, 113n, 116, 118, 124-129, 130n, 131n, 136-137, 139-140, 144-145, 146n, 148-151, 159, 161, 163n, 179n, 182n, 195, 198n, 202n, 206n
 Bucer, Martin, 66, 74
 burse, 113, 174, 183, 194, 203

C

Cady, Philander K., 104, 106
 Calvinist, 78, 82n, 83-84, 88, 123
 candle(s), 28n, 33, 50, 74, 82, 90, 97, 110, 122, 155, 173, 177-178, 180-181, 187, 196, 199, 202, 204, 207; *Paschal Candle*, 126, 153, 154n, 158-159
 canon(s) [clergy], 32, 34-37, 40-42, 43n, 47, 49, 52, 56, 64
 canon law, 7, 93, 95-110
Canon Missae, 167n (see also *canon of the mass*)
 canon of the mass, 21, 46, 53, 57-61, 77, 162, 167, 169, 171, 175, 187, 203n (see also *Canon Missae* and *Roman Canon*)
 cassock, 87, 90, 98, 119, 126
 catechumenate, 14
 Catharine of Arragon, 65-66
cathedra, 33-34
 Catholic Relief Act, 92
 Celtic, 12-13, 25-28, 32, 153
 ceremonial, 1-3, 6-7, 30, 37-38, 47-48, 58, 68, 70, 73-74, 86-87, 90-93, 97, 104, 110, 115, 117, 120-121, 123-125, 127, 131, 133, 136-137, 140-142, 144-148, 150-151, 161-162, 170, 172-173, 178, 182n, 189n
 Ceylon Liturgy, 128-129
 chancel, 77, 98, 105, 111, 113, 115, 121, 124-125, 172, 180, 187, 197, 201-202
 chaplain, 31, 73, 87, 176n
 Charles I, King, 83-84
 Charles II, King, 84
 Charles V, Emperor, 66
 chasuble, 52, 73, 90, 98, 103, 117, 145n, 175-176
Cherubikon, 133, 182n, 184
 choir/quire, 33-34, 37, 40-42, 47-49, 51-52, 54-55, 60-62, 64, 77, 90, 98, 100, 121, 131, 135, 141, 145, 159, 162-163, 178-180, 182-183, 191-192, 194-197, 202, 204, 208
 ciborium, 114, 173, 203, 206
 civil war, 34, 83, 96

Clarendon Palace, 32, 36
 Clemens, Aurelius Prudentius, see *Prudentius*
 Clement VIII, Pope, 65
 Collect for Purity, 46n, 48, 74, 77, 165, 178, 196
 Colman, 27
computus, 24-25
 confirmation, 68, 76, 83, 86, 143
 Constantine, Emperor, 16
 Constitutions of Clarendon, 35
Consuetudinarium, 35, 37, 150
 continuity, 2-3, 32, 74, 88, 148, 150
 cope, 73, 77, 145n, 176n
 Cornwall, 28n, 31, 72
 Cram, Ralph Adams, 116
 Cranmer, Thomas, 62n, 65-68, 72-73, 78-81, 85, 148, 165n, 168n, 169n
 Creed, 53-54, 55n, 163, 165, 171, 181, 202
 Cromwell, Oliver, 84
Customal, 37-38, 150
 customary, 2, 70, 127-129, 133, 145n, 147-148, 161, 163n, 175n, 178n, 179n, 183n, 195

D

Daily Office(s), 18, 38, 47, 67-68, 76, 80, 83, 85, 134
 de Bohun, Jocelin, 34, 37
 de Bridport, Giles, 36
 de Derham, Elias, 35-36
 de Quiñones, Francisco de los Angeles, 67
 de York, William, 36
 Dearmer, Percy, 119-124, 130, 133, 139, 146, 150, 183n
 DeKoven, James, 102-104, 107-108
 Devon(shire), 28n, 31, 71-72
 Dionysius Exiguus, 24
Directorium, 37-38, 70, 150
Directorium Anglicanum, 91-92
Directory for the Public Worship of God, 84
 Dix, Gregory, 9-10, 130-132, 168n
Domesday Book, 6, 33

E

Eanflaed, Queen, 25, 27
 Easter, 13-14, 22-28, 39-40, 42, 53, 57,
 60, 64, 111-113, 116, 125, 148, 155, 184n,
 197; Easter Vigil, 125-126, 144, 153, 157,
 158-159 (see also *Paschal Vigil*)
 Easter Candle, see *candle*
 Ecumenical Movement, 139
 Edward the Confessor, King, 31
 Edward VI, King, 66, 80-83, 121
 Eleutherius, Pope, 11
 Elizabeth I, Queen, 82, 103
 English Use(s), 38, 56, 119-126, 130, 133,
 136, 149-150, 183n, 196n
 epiclesis, 78, 206
 Ethelbert, King, 14-16
 eucharist, 6-7, 18-23, 34, 42-43, 45, 47,
 50n, 53, 57, 60, 68, 75, 81, 90, 98, 103,
 109, 124, 127, 130, 135, 144, 148-149,
 157, 161-164, 170, 172-173, 176, 178
 Eucharistic Prayer, 58, 74, 77-80, 86, 132,
 162, 166-169, 187, 189n, 203n, 204-205,
 206n (see also *Prayer of Consecration*)
 Eusebius, 23, 27
 Evensong, 68, 117, 125-126, 148, 176n

F

feretrum, 41
 Ferris, Raymond T., 143-144
 Fisher, John, 66
 footpace, 62, 114-115, 125, 183
 fraction, 61, 166, 169, 170, 191, 206
 Froude, Richard, 88

G

Gallican, 13, 15, 28, 63
 Gallican Rite, 12, 18, 28, 51, 63
 Gaul, 11-12, 15-16, 25
 General Convention, 90, 94-98, 106, 109-
 110, 142-144
 General Theological Seminary, 130, 136-
 137, 146
 genuflection, 50, 59, 97, 107, 189n, 196n

Germanus of Auxerre (*Antissiodorum*),
 13-14
Gloria in excelsis, 51-52, 77, 79, 127, 133,
 163, 165, 170, 193, 199
 Good Friday, 40, 42
 Goodhue, Bertram Grosvenor, 116-117
 Goodwin, Daniel R., 101
 Gordon, George A., 104
Graduale, 37
 Gregory I (the Great), Pope, 14-21, 27, 58

H

Hayward, Richard, 112-113, 116
 Henry I, King, 33-34
 Henry II, King, 34-35
 Henry III, King, 36
 Henry VIII, King, 65-66
 Hereford, 8
 Herman, 31-32
 Hilda, 25
 Hippolytus, 168
 Hispano-Mozarabic Rite, 7, 28, 63
 Hobart, John Henry, 88
 Hohly, Harold F., 1-2, 118, 124-129, 133-
 137, 139-140, 142-143, 147-150, 161,
 162n, 169n, 170n, 196n
 Holy Communion, 45, 60, 67, 77, 79, 86-
 87, 98, 106-107, 109, 112, 115-117, 128,
 145n, 176n, 178n, 180n, 190, 203
 Holy Week, 41, 126,
 Hopkins, John Henry, 92-94, 110
 humeral veil, 57, 183n
 Hunt, Robert, 87

I

image(s), 14-15, 62, 111, 155, 157
 incense, 30, 40, 51, 93, 97, 107, 122, 126,
 133, 141, 144, 148, 170, 172, 174, 175n,
 180, 182, 183, 199, 200, 204
 inculturation, 12, 15, 18
Institutio, 34, 35, 37
Inventor Rutili, 42, 126, 153-160

J

James I/VII, King, 83
 Jamestown, 87
 Jarvis, William Oscar, 117
 Jeanes, Gordon, 62n, 66n, 68n, 76n, 78, 79n
 John I, Pope, 24
 John, Gospel of, 41, 64, 156n, 166n, 167, 187
 Johnson, Maxwell E., 7n, 131n, 168n
 Judd, S. Corning, 104-105
 Julius III, Pope, 81

K

kalendar, 38-39
 Kavanagh, Aidan, 7
 Keble, John, 88
 King James Version Bible, see Authorized Version Bible
 kneeling, 73, 79, 97, 111, 115, 163, 171, 184, 186, 188, 192, 193, 197-198
 Kyrie, 37

L

Lanfranc, 41-42, 158
 Last Supper, 9, 79, 125, 131, 166n, 167
 Lateran Council, Fourth, 160
 Laud, William, 83-84
Law of Ritualism, The, 92-94, 110
 Lawrence, William Van Duzer, 112
 Lee, Frederick George, 91, 92n
 Lincoln, 8, 71, 813n
 litany, 15, 66, 82-83, 87, 96, 127, 129, 164-165, 170, 177, 179
 Liturgical Movement, 139-140
 Longspee, William, 6
 Lord's Prayer, 49, 61, 67, 77, 79, 129, 163, 169, 171, 178n, 190, 206
 Lucernarium, 153-155
 Lucius, King, 11
 Lupus of Troyes (Tricassium), 13
 Luther, Martin, 65-66
 Lutheran, 66, 78, 82n, 108, 176n
 Lyman, Theodore Benedict, 108-109

M

MacGregory, Stewart, iii, 1n, 2, 144-147, 151
Magna Carta, 6, 35
 Mary, (Blessed Virgin), 32, 40, 50, 53-55, 61, 181, 184
 Mary (Tudor), Queen, 80-82
 marriage, 7, 65, 68, 69n, 82
 Maskell, William, 47, 48n, 50n, 55n, 58n, 59n, 61n, 62n, 63n
 Matins, 30, 38, 49, 68, 72, 176n
 Maud, Empress, 34
 Maundy Thursday, 40-41, 144, 166
 McCrady, Edward, 101
 Mead, William Cooper, 98n, 104, 106
 Meads, Orland, 98n, 100
 Mellitus, 16, 21-22
 Millenary Petition, 83
 Minifie, Charles "Chad" J., 144
missa privata, 47-48, 163n (see also private mass)
 mitre, 73, 105n
 moon, 24-25, 27, 154
 Moore, Laura, 126n
 More, Thomas, 66
 Mullin, R. Bruce, 88n, 89n

N

Nashota House, 90, 112, 116
 nave, 33, 40, 52, 54, 56, 60-61, 64, 145-148, 172, 178, 183, 196, 201-202
 New York (City), New York, 6, 88-90, 115-116, 173n
 Newman, John Henry, 88-89
 Nicaea, First Council of, 24

O

ocular communion, 60
 Old Sarum, 31-35
Order of the Communion, 67
Ordinal, 37, 70
ordo, 48, 74
 Origen, 11

ornaments, 74, 91, 93-95, 111-113, 117, 121-122, 131, 163, 171-175
 Ornaments Rubric, 82, 121, 137, 176
 Osmund, Saint, 32-34
 Oswy, King, 25-27
 Oxford, 81, 88, 119
 Oxford Movement, 88-90, 134 (see also Tractarian)

P

Palm Sunday, 25, 41, 74
Parson's Handbook, The, 119-120, 122-124, 146, 183n
 Paschal Candle, see candle
 Paschal Vigil, 42, 153-154, 157 (see also Easter)
 Passover, 23, 27
 pax-brede, 62
 Pelagianism, 13
 Philadelphia Divinity School, 118
Pica, 37, 70, 150
 Pict(s)/(-ish), 11, 13
Pie, see *Pica*
 Pius XII, Pope, 125
 Pocknee, Cyril E., 119, 124n
 Pole, Reginald, 81-82
 Polycarp, 23, 27
 Poore, Herbert, 35
 Poore, Richard, 35-37, 86
Portiforium, 38, 66
 Potter, Horatio, 90
 Prayer Book Rebellion, 71-72
 Prayer of Consecration, 86, 97, 107, 115, 132 (see also Eucharistic Prayer)
 Prayer of Humble Access, 67, 77, 127, 129, 169-171, 191
 prebend, 32, 34-36
predella, 114 (see also footpace)
 Presbyterian(s), 28, 83-85, 92n
 Price, Chester, 125
 private mass, 47-48, 50, 64, 71
 procession, 15, 30, 38, 40-42, 48-49, 53-54, 64, 66, 69n, 72, 74, 100, 122-123, 126-127, 141, 143, 153, 159, 171-174, 177, 183n, 195-196, 200-201; Rogation

Procession, 14
Processionale, 38
 Protestant, 24, 46n, 75, 81-83, 88-89, 92-93, 108, 112, 120, 131n, 141, 151
 Prudentius, 154-156, 159
 psalter, 85
 pulpit, 52n, 81, 87, 102, 118, 121, 172, 200-201
pulpitum, 52-53, 56, 60
 Purchas, John, 91, 92n
 Pusey, Edward, 88
 pyx, 33, 41, 127, 173

Q

Quartodeciman, 23-24, 27
 quire, see choir/quire

R

Ramsbury, 31
 Reformation, 2, 10, 24, 28, 30, 65, 68, 75, 82, 88-89, 94, 97, 110, 131n, 172, 175
Regularis Concordia, 49
 relic(s), 13, 16-17, 41, 50, 55
 remembrance, 9, 78-79, 91, 92, 128, 132, 186, 188, 189 (see also *anamnesis*)
 reredos, 125, 173, 203
 Restoration, 84-85
 Robinson, Charles Wellington, 116-118
 Rogation Procession, see Procession
 Roger of Caen, 33-34
 Roman Canon, 21, 74
 Rome, 7-8, 14-15, 18, 23-24, 27, 38-39, 56, 58, 65, 71, 81, 90, 92n, 93, 97, 121, 168n
 rood, 40, 49, 52, 61, 69n

S

sacrifice,
 Saeberht, King, 21-22
Sanctus, 58, 61, 77, 163, 168n, 169, 171, 188, 205
 Sarisburg, 6, 31-36
 Sarum Missal, 8n, 29, 41n, 45, 46-48, 53n, 57, 59-60, 62, 67, 126, 158-159, 169n

Sarum Use, I-2, 6, 8-II, 28, 30-31, 34-39, 45-64, 66, 69n, 71, 86, 123-124, 133, 136-137, 146, 148-150, 165n, 189n, 196n, 198n
 Saxon, 13, 21, 31-32
 Searle, S. Elizabeth, 148
 Seasoltz, R. Kevin, 4n, 60n
 sepulcher, 42
 Sequence, 52-53
Sequencer, 37
 Seymour, Edward, 72
 Sherborne, 31-32
 Smith, William W., 112
 Saint Martin's Parish, 35, 150
 Stackpole, Peter, 51
 Standing Liturgical Commission, 142
 Stephen, King, 34
 Stiles, Edward, 111
 stole, 87, 90, 98, 103, 175-176
 Stone, Morton Charnleigh, 45, 118, 124, 126-133, 136-137, 139, 140, 142-143, 147-150, 159, 161, 162n, 169n, 170n, 189n, 196n
Stowe Missal, 28
 Streanaeshalch, 25
 Stringfellow, Horace, 98n, 100
 surplice, 73, 77, 87, 90, 98, 100, 103, 119, 176n
 Syria(n), 12, 28, 128, 168n

T

Tertullian, 11, 153
The Shape of the Liturgy, 9, 10n, 130-131
 Theodosius, Emperor, 16
 Toon, Peter, 2n
 Tractarian(ism), 88-92, 112, 116, 118, 121, 124, 139 (see also Oxford Movement)
Tracts for the Times, 89
 transubstantiation, 80-81, 103, 107-108
 Trisagion, 127, 133, 163, 165, 170, 193
 trope, 51
Troper, 37

V

vestry, 98-100, 116, 118
 Victor I, Pope, 23
 von Wied, Hermann, 67

W

Walter, Hubert, 35
 Ward, Benedicta, 26, 27n, 28
 Warham Guild, 120-121, 127, 139
 Webber, Christopher L., 143-144, 145n
 Westchester County, 6, 11, 149
 Western Rebellion, see Prayer Book Rebellion
Westminster Directory, see *Directory for the Public Worship of God*
 Whitby, 26, 28
 Wilfrid, 27
 Wilson, Epiphanius, 112
 William the Conqueror, King, 31-33
 Willson, Albert Daniels, 113, 115-116
 Wiltshire, 6, 31
 Wright, J. Robert, 9n, 11n, 13n, 14n, 15n, 20n, 22n, 25n, 28n, 39n, 46n, 49n, 50n, 51n, 53n, 58n, 59n, 60n, 64n, 68n, 71n, 73n, 74n, 76n, 77n, 86n

Y

Yellin, Samuel, 126
 York, 8, 49, 56, 71, 123, 136

Z

Zwingli, Huldreich, 66

The history of Anglican Christian worship spans more than fifteen-hundred years, and touches the life of each parish in the Episcopal Church and the Anglican Communion. This book narrates how one American parish has owned that history, intentionally incorporating the riches of the medieval Sarum Use into its weekly worship while remaining faithful to the catholic and reformed tradition of the Book of Common Prayer. After nearly 100 years of such worship, Christ Church, Bronxville, New York, has become in its own right an American Sarum.



“What I hope this book illustrates is the great hope and joy to be found in knowing and owning the liturgical tradition of one parish, in adapting it pastorally and sensitively to the modern context, and in carefully and creatively educating around it so that it may be passed on as a living tradition to the next generation.” —THE REV. MICHAEL A. BIRD, RECTOR (FROM THE FOREWORD)



The Reverend Cody C. Unterseher is Priest Associate and sometime Theologian in Residence at Christ Church, Bronxville. He holds a Master of Arts degree in Liturgical Studies from Saint John's School of Theology in Collegeville, Minnesota and a Master of Sacred Theology degree in Anglican Studies from The General Theological Seminary in New York. Father Unterseher is currently pursuing a Ph.D. in Liturgical Studies at the University of Notre Dame in Indiana.

