ABSTRACT

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The Catholic Apostolic Eucharist

by Kenneth William Stevenson

The thesis is a detailed study of the eucharistic liturgy of the Catholic Apostolic Church, and has three parts - Introduction, Commentary, and Assessment.

The Introduction begins with an examination of previous works on the Catholic Apostolic Church by writers who were not members of it, and of the liturgical and historical works of those who were officials of it. Then follow a history of the Church, with particular reference to the evolution of its ministry: a history of the development of its eucharistic worship, based on the early documents of the Church and the successive editions of its service-books: and a description of the setting of the rite, including the architecture of the church buildings, and the function and vesture of the ministers.

The Commentary explains the three chief parts of the rite: the Ordinary, the Seasonal Forms, and the Occasional Forms. For each of these three an introduction deals with terminology and related general questions, and the commentary proper follows. In the latter, every component of the rite is examined as to its date, its development through successive editions, its liturgical sources and parallels, its content, and its accompanying ceremonial.

The Assessment reviews the rite as whole in its different aspects: first as a liturgy, explaining its special features, language, sources, method of composition, and performance. Next is reviewed the doctrine the rite

expresses or implies, both that which is common to most liturgies and that which is peculiar to the Catholic Apostolic Church. Then the rite is set in the context of the liturgical developments and liturgical scholarship of the last three centuries. Finally, the most important characteristics of the rite are summarised, and it is concluded that the Catholic Apostolic Liturgy is one of the most interesting of recent times.

THE CATHOLIC APOSTOLIC EUCHARIST

by

KENNETH WILLIAM STEVENSON

FOREWORD

Many people deserve my thanks for their encouragement and co-operation in the compilation this thesis.

First, my thanks are due to the Revd. John H.Davies, of Southampton University, for his supervision of my work, as well as his wisdom and friendship. I would also like to express my gratitude to Canon Harold Wilson, and members of his staff at the Theological College, Salisbury, in particular the Revd. Dr. Gianfranco Tellini and the Revd. John Gunstone, who all gave me stimulus in this work during my time at College. And I also thank Canon Graham Sansbury, who took me on as his Curate, and allowed me adequate time to complete this thesis in my Deacon's year.

Then I would like to thank several persons and bodies for informative correspondence and access to documents; my father, Dr. F.R. Stevenson, Edinburgh University, for access to the family papers and for the Drawings illustrating the Liturgy, included in this work; Mr. Norman Priddle, Librarian, Gordon Square, London, for his help in tracking down papers and books and lending me documents; Mr. James Pattie, sometime Caretaker, Catholic Apostolic Church, Edinburgh, for permitting me to have many valuable books from the Library under his care when it was disbanded; Mr. George Hamp, Caretaker, Apostles' Chapel, Albury, for allowing me access to books and papers; Pastor Albrecht Weber, Cappeln, West Germany, and Herr R. Geering, Zurich, Switzerland, for information concerning the German and Swiss congregations respectively; the British Museum, London, for access to several foreign editions of the Liturgy; and to many others whom it would take too long to enumerate.

I must also express my thanks to both my parents for their encouragement in the past four years, and for their generosity in financing the purchase

of many of the books I have consulted and used. But by far the largest measure of thanks is due to my wife, who, before and after marriage and childbirth, gave me that quiet support (and tolerance) which enabled the following pages to emerge.

Finally, I have to thank my forebears, and their colleagues, in their association with the Church which produced and used a wonderful Liturgy; and for their transmission of this vast but still too little appreciated heritage, in which I was nurtured, to which I owe much more than I can tell, and about which what follows is intended to serve as a modest but convinced elucidation.

Kenneth Stevenson

All Saints' Day, 1974
Grantham.

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B/III	Seasonal Forms: Sources/Characteristics
B/IV	Seasonal Forms: Lectionary
B/V	Seasonal Forms: Anthem-Sources
C/I	Occasional Forms: Evolution
C/II	Occasional Forms: Distribution
C/III	Occasional Forms: Sources/Characteristics
C/IV	Occasional Forms: Lectionary
C/V	Occasional Forms: Anthem-Sources
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PART I

INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1 : Introduction to material

(a) Previous Work

Several works have been written on the history and life of theCatholic Apostolic Church by those not associated with this Church. They divide into two genres; books, and articles or sections of large works.

1. Books

The Revd. E. Miller, The History and Doctrines of Irvingism[1]. This is the standard nineteenth century book. As the Preface shows, one of the main reasons for tackling the subject was Miller's anxiety over the number of Church of England Clergy joining the Catholic Apostolic Church. The first volume is an account of the development of the new Church, and the second is a full-scale assessment of its claims. Miller is an avowed Tractarian, and this colours his interpretation of much of his material; he shows interest in the Church's Liturgy, but many of his analyses should be treated with caution.[2]

The Revd. P.E. Shaw, The Catholic Apostolic Church: A Historical Study[3]. Shaw is an American Presbyterian, and he indicates in his Preface that he was led to his subject by a study of the Oxford Movement in the Church of England. He writes in a more moderated vein than Miller[4], and covers more ground, both in his account of the history of the Church, and in his assessment of its claims. He deals briefly with the Liturgy, and is aware of its evolution from informal beginnings. He also includes some material on the American and Canadian congregations.

1. Miller was Vicar of Butler's Marston, and formerly Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford; his work appeared in 1878.
2. Miller has the habit of launching into length rhetorical passages, e.g. Vol.I pp.201ff, an analogy with Agesilaus' recall to Sparta of the Apostles' return to Albury.
3. A Doctoral thesis at Edinburgh University 1935 and published in 1946.
4. He accuses Miller of writing with "the purpose of proving an Anglo-Catholic thesis" (p.1).

R.A. Davenport, Albury Apostles[5]. This book was written by an Anglican layman, who read widely in the sources and pamphlets of the history of the Church, and also went as far as to appreciate first-hand the worship available to him. It is a useful work, complementary to Shaw, and deliberately sympathetic[6].

The Revd. H.C. Whitley, The Blinded Eagle[7]. Written by one who was brought up in the Catholic Apostolic Church, this book concentrates entirely on Irving's role, both before and after its formation. There is a very short section dealing with the Liturgy, although this evolved long after Irving's death[8]. The Revd. C.G. Strachan, The Pentecostal Theology of Edward Irving[9]. There is virtually no mention of the Catholic Apostolic Church in it, which Strachan deliberately says requires another work altogether.[10]

2. Articles

Only a selection can be given here. The Revd. Horton Davies, Worship and Theology in England; from Newman to Martineau 1850 - 1900[11]. Davies sets the liturgical development of the new Church within the context of the work of the Church Service Society in Scotland and the Oxford Movement in England, and also attempts to indicate where it might have influenced other countries.

5. A private study, published in 1970, but written sometime during the 1950's, as it assumes that certain congregations in England were still being ministered to by priests.
6. Davenport tells of his attending a Eucharist in one of the congregations, and of his invitation to receive Communion (p.361).
7. A Doctoral thesis at Edinburgh University, 1954, and published in 1955.
8. pp. 72-80.
9. A Doctoral thesis at Edinburgh University, 1972, and published in 1973.
10. pp. 200-201.
11. pp. 153-163.

P.F. Anson, Fashions in Church Furnishings; 1840-1940.[12] Anson displays some knowledge of the sources of the Liturgy, which he describes from the point of view of its outward clothing. There are, however, certain inaccuracies, which a thorough reading of some of the sources he mentions would have rectified[13].

The Revd. D. Tripp, The Ecumenical Aspect of the Catholic Apostolic Liturgy, in Scottish Journal of Theology.[14] Tripp makes a brief investigation of the Liturgy of the Eucharist, and indicates the origin of some of the prayers. In assessing theLiturgy, he concludes that it does not imply any doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice; we would, however, contend that the Catholic Apostolics themselves were clear in their own minds that such a doctrine was explicit in their form of worship[15]. In his assessment of the Church, Tripp looks on it as a Movement, influencing other Churches in minor ways, rather than as a Church existing in its own right.

The Revd. C.M. Davies, Unorthodox London.[16] This is taken from a collection of eyewitness-accounts of services held in churches regarded by the writer as 'unorthodox'. He describes a Sunday morning spent in the Central Church, Gordon Square, London. The narratives shows an appreciation of the combination of different Christian traditions in the framework and setting of the Liturgy.

12. pp.107-114.
13. He mentions the 'Rubrics' under different titles (e.g. with analogy to the Roman Sacred Congregation of Rites, p.113); and then says that consecrated oils were kept in the Tabernacle (p.110), whereas they were supposed to be kept in a special place in the Sacristy (Rub.E. p.117); he also identifies minister's 'helps' (coadjutors) with 'acolytes' (servers), (p.112); several other errors can be found.
14. S.J.T. Vol. 22 (1969) pp.437-454.
15. pp.447, where he notices the 'omission' (in source use) of any 'overt doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice'; discussion of the relevant sections in the Rite in Parts 2 and 3 of this study will deal with this question properly.
16. pp.146-155.

The Revd. Professor E. Molland, Christendom.[17] Here is a chapter dealing with the Catholic Apostolic Church, sketching its historical development and offering a brief outline of its worship. There are minor inaccuracies[18], but Molland offers the analysis that the new Church contains both apocalyptic and catholic features.

There has been no systematic work on the Catholic Apostolic Liturgy of the Eucharist. The quantity of the material dealing with it is either obscure or scanty. This study sets out to fill this gap.

(b) The Nature of the evidence

The Catholic Apostolic Church was small, and never set out to publicise itself widely. Internal evidence for the Liturgy of the Eucharist is restricted to books, tracts, and short lectures, written by members, usually anonymously.

Books

The Order for the Daily Services of the Church and for the Administration of the Sacraments as the same are to be conducted at Albury (1842). This was the first official book used in Albury by the Church when it adopted a more traditional liturgical form. Copies of it are usually found with numerous annotations incorporating the developments of later books[19].

17. pp. 131-136.
18. e.g. Speaking in tongues was not 'residual' after the death of the last apostle in 1901 (p.136), as the MSS of utterances recorded in Churches demonstrate.
19. The 'Greenock Book' described by Whitley (Blinded Eagle, p.79) is one of the many annotated copies; the corrections and additions in the text reflect the Liturgy of 1847.

The Offices and Liturgy of the Church (1843). This book is the substance of the 1842 Albury one, adapted for the use of local congregations. The title indicates a more general scope for the book[20].

The Liturgy and Other Divine Offices of the Church (1847 and later years). This is the title adopted for the service-book in 1847; it appeared in many editions, and in several languages - in England there were no less than seven editions, between 1847 and 1880[21]. This shows how important the development of the Rite is to the history of the Church.

(J.B. Cardale), Readings upon the Liturgy and Other Divine Offices of the Church. This work is frequently mentioned in books about the Church, and much-praised, even by detractors[22]. The book originally comprised a series of lectures on the principal services of the new Church; it gives a statement of the theology of the Church, and also reveals a wide range of reading, patristic and liturgical. Cardale was the chief Apostle, and is widely recognised as the dominant figure behind the composition of the Liturgy.

General Rubrics. These come in four editions. The first three were framed for use in England, and differ only in that they appear at different stages in the evolution of the Liturgy - 1852, 1862 and 1878. Every aspect of worship is dealt with, down to the most minor points. However, flexibility is shown in the directions given, which reflect the

20. The 'Offices' come first, and the Communion and Baptism come at the end; perhaps this was meant to correspond with 'Offices and Liturgy'.
21. The editions were, 1847, 1851, 1853, 1856, 1863, 1869 and 1880; there were also important editions in Scotland in ca. 1850, ca. 1854, and 1861.
22. e.g. Miller, I, p.112.

different requirements of the varying surroundings of worship, temporary and permanent (i.e. hired halls, as well as proper buildings). More important, it bears out a warning, traditionally ascribed to a senior Minister, against turning the Liturgy into a Law[23]. The fourth edition differs from the first three; it was for use in Scotland, came out in 1900, and has a somewhat different lay-out to the English editions, although there are very real divergences. There may have been a Scottish edition prior to 1900[24], but so far nothing has been recovered.

Regulations. This book came out together with the third English edition of the Rubrics. Every aspect of the internal discipline of the Church is fully dealt with, even down to the way official letters should be written[25]. The work shows how highly organised the Church was.

(C.W. Boase), The Elijah Ministry. Boase was a senior Minister in Scotland, and an early convert to the new Church. The book was published in two parts. The first sets out the claims of the new Church and its Ministers, and it interprets the work of the new Church from the prophecy of Malachi of the return of Elijah - a first-fruits of the final return of the Lord to his people[26]. It also deals with the history of the whole Church, from the time of Christ to the nineteenth century, and it cites, among other things, the Oxford Movement as a manifestation of the time. The second part was published posthumously, from manuscripts left uncompleted by the author; it deals chronologically with the events leading up to the formation of the new Church, and its development down to 1852[27].

23. Correspondence with Pastor Albrecht Weber; this warning also reflects the writer's experience.
24. The appearance of early Scottish editions of the Liturgy would substantiate this theory; there are indications of 'Scottish Rubrics' in 1857, when some of the English Rubrics (presumably sections of the 1852 edition of Rubrics) replaced the Scottish ones; but the form of the Scottish (whether in altar-books or whether published as a separate book) is unclear, (Lindsay-Grant, p.42).
25. e.g.'Forms of Letters proper to be signed by a Candidate for the Laying-on of Hands' p.81.
26. Malachi 4:5.
27. The second part ends: 'the result, as to the attaining to true knowledge concerning God's purpose in the Church,is stated in more methodical order in the following pages'; those 'pages' were never written.

(The Revd. R. Norton), The Restoration of Apostles and Prophets. Norton was a Clergyman of the Church of England who was drawn to the Ministry of the new Church. This book is based on an earlier letter to his Diocesan Bishop explaining his reasons for leaving the Church of England[28]. The work is not chronological (as is 'The Elijah Ministry'), but it is useful nonetheless.

(F.V. Woodhouse), A Narrative of Events Woodhouse was the last living Apostle of the Church. His book was published in two parts. The first deals with the period from 1820's to 1847, and the second from 1847-1885. The style is more akin to Norton than to Boase, which makes it difficult to trace events to a definite date[29].

(P. Brewster), The Tabernacle and the Church. Brewster was Angel of the Church in Liverpool, and, like Boase, a memberof the 'first generation' of adherents to the new Church. His work is a simplified 'catechism' of Cardale's 'Readings', and it deals with the main services of the Church, together with a simultaneous explanation of their typological relation to the Tabernacle-worship in the Old Testament. It covers the same material as the 'Readings', but in much less depth, and in a form more palatable to members of congregations[30].

(T. Carlyle), The Mosaic Tabernacle Carlyle was one of the Apostles of the Church. As the title suggests, this is a detailed exposition of the Tabernacle, its furniture and use - in its relation to the worship of

28. Norton was Vicar of Holbeach, but left the Church of England in 1854.
29. The 'Narrative' contains a great deal of reflective and interpretative material; it is not an historical work.
30. Brewster expresses his intention that the book b e for 'popular use' (p.x.).

the Church. It works out in more detail the typological section of Cardale's 'Readings'[31].

J. Årsbo, Komme Dit Rige (= Thy Kingdom Come). Årsbo was a member of one of the Copenhagen congregations. His five-volume work[32] is an illustrated history of the Church up to 1877, and covers the ground at greater length than any other source, particularly in relation to the history of local congregations and their Ministers. There is, however, little material on the Liturgy.

Tracts

The Order for Communion. This is a lithographed letter sent round to chief ministers in 1838, giving an outline for the Eucharistic Liturgy[33]. It is the earliest official document relating to public worship issued in the Church, and it is the pivot of much of our discussion on the early evolution of the Eucharist.

The 'Albury Paper' is a manuscript of uncertain date, found at Albury, and now in the Library, Central Church, London. It contains orders for Morning and Evening Prayer, and part of a Communion Service. This latter is left uncompleted. For reasons which we will explain later, we put the date somewhere between 1838 and 1842[34].

The 'Albury Notes' are a few manuscript notes which are still at Albury. They seem to comment upon changes proposed for the 1847 edition of the

31. Originally published in German in 1857 after Carlyle's death; it was subsequently translated into English and published in 1860.
32. Årsbo had projected a complete history, but died leaving his work unfinished.
33. Reproduced in Shaw, pp. 106-108.
34. It can be dated to this period because the manuscript shows content very similar to the prayers of 1842, but in the same order as the 1838 Order.

Liturgy, and therefore can be dated to about that year[35]. The importance of this evidence is that it tells us something (if only a mere scrap) of what must have been very lengthy deliberations concerning what should and what should not be included in the Liturgy.

(H. Drummond), Rationale of the Liturgy and Services of the Church.[36] This small work was published at the time when the new Church was adopting a more formal and traditional Liturgy. It sets out to explain this move, in the new prayers, vestments and ceremonial, which were coming into use. The interesting fact is that he uses Tabernacle-Worship typology (and not 'Catholic Tradition') as the measuring-stick for these innovations. Drummond was an Apostle in the Church.

(H. Drummond) Principles of Ecclesiastical Building and Ornaments. Here, Drummond takes discussion of liturgical externals further by setting out some principles to govern the aesthetic aspect of worship[37]. He was aware of developments within the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church at the time, and mentions Pugin on several occasions[38]. The book has many illustrations. Drummond's recommendations were very influential in his own Church, although not all his ideas came to fruition.

(A. Willis), Notes on the Liturgy. This small work is a very simplified version of Cardale's 'Readings', clearly written for congregational use[39].

35. These are private notes, still at Albury.
36. Published in 1843.
37. Published in 1851, and reviewed in 'The Ecclesiologist' in the same year (pp. 273-275).
38. pp. 20 (quotation regarding candlesticks), and 33 (quotation regarding Dalmatics). Pugin rebuilt Drummond's home at Albury Park in 1847.
39. Published in 1915; Willis was a priest at Bridgnorth.

The Revd. W. Bramley-Moore, A Tabular View of the Liturgy of the Holy Eucharist (as set in order by the Apostles) with some of its Collateral Illustrations. This remarkable chart sets out in great detail all the typological material possible in application to the Eucharist. There are seven columns. The fourth deals with the Eucharist, stage by stage, and the remainder apply those stages to material in the Old Testament (for typology) and the New Testament (for Dominical Words)[40].

C.E. Lewis Heath, a Lecture to the Young Men of the Central Church on the Evolution of the Apostles' Liturgy[41]. This short paper traces the history of the rite from its early stages. It includes some discussion of the 1838 Order for Communion, and lists many of the editions of the Liturgy, including some of the translations into other languages.

C.B. Heath, Two Lectures on the Development of the Liturgy and the Origin of its Prayers[42]. At the outset of the first of these papers, the writer mentions his debt to C.E. Lewis Heath's Lecture, but he shows more knowledge of the early editions of the Liturgy, and also of some of the Anglican and Oriental sources.

H.B. Copinger, A Bibliography[43]. This compilation is printed privately, and is based on a set of manuscripts left uncompleted by a member. It is the only work of its kind, and, in spite of inaccuracies, offers a very full collection of pamphlets, sermons and teachings by members of the Church.

40. Published in 1891; Bramley-Moore, an ex-Anglican clergyman, was an Angel at the Central Church in London.
41. Delivered as a lecture, 23/11/1898, and since printed privately. Heath was a priest first at the Paddington Church, and then in Melbourne.
42. Delivered as lectures in 1950, and since printed privately. Heath, a nephew of the foregoing, was a priest at the Southwark Church.
43. Typed from private manuscripts made from 1908, and printed privately in 1970. Copinger was the son of Professor Walter Copinger, an Angel at Manchester.

(G. Lindsay-Grant), 'Note-book No. XI' This is a large note-book, written in various hands, and from various sources, giving a history of the Church, from its earliest days; much of it is concerned with minor details not contained in the other works[44].

Apart from the numerous privately published works, which include sermons and other teachings, there is also a category of sources which can loosely be termed 'Private'. The main items include correspondence with scholars on matters which have arisen during the writing of this thesis, papers and manuscripts in the possession of the writer's family[45], and 'oral tradition', based on interviews with friends or members of the writer's family who were members of the Catholic Apostolic Church.

44. Lindsay-Grant was an Under-Deacon at the Southwark Church; his own contributions to this strange compilation were later insertions; the sources used are listed at the front, and usually given in the text.
45. The writer's great-grandfather, Frederik Bertelsen, a senior Angel in various Churches in Denmark; and the writer's grandfather, William Stevenson, Angel in various Churches in Scotland.

Chapter 2 : A Short History of the Ministry of the Catholic Apostolic Church

A Short History of the Ministry of the Catholic Apostolic Church

A study of the Liturgy will be greatly facilitated by first looking at the history of the Church. This we will now do, with particular reference to its Ministry, which was complex, and evolved very slowly. We divide our survey into four periods. (a) Early Developments: 1820's-1833, including the background, and the call of the first ministers. (b) Formation: 1834-1839, the growth of the group as a Church, together with the 'Testimonies'. (c) Organization: 1840-1859 the evolution of liturgical worship along traditional lines and the hierarchy. (d) Zenith and Decline: 1860-1971 the death of senior ministers and the closure of congregations.

(a) Early Developments: 1820's-1833

Two main features are formative on this period. First, during the 1820's Henry Drummond, a wealthy banker and M.P., held a series of meetings in his house in Albury Park, near Guildford, for the study of subjects relating to the Second Coming of Christ and the 'gifts of the Spirit'[1]. In the list of names of ministers and laymen attending these meetings, the Revd. Edward Irving, Minister of Regent Square (Scottish) Church, London, figures very prominently[2]. Secondly, from 1827, 'manifestations of the Spirit' began to occur in Scotland; one example is the case of Isabella and Mary Campbell, who saw visions of a 'Day of the Lord' and spoke prophecies - precisely the topics under discussion at Albury. Isabella's sick-bed visions were given an official report at Albury.

1. Shaw, pp.14ff, Boase pp.745ff, Miller, I pp. 30ff, Lindsay-Grant, pp6ff, and Arsbo, II, passim; the narrative here given is reconstructed from these sources.
2. Of 70 papers given in all, Irving gave a total of 11 - more than anyone else; for a list, v. Boase, pp.748-750.

In April of 1830, there was an instance of healing, in Port Glasgow, of Margaret McDonald, at the command of her brother, James; he soon afterwards spoke in tongues, some of which were interpreted by his brother, George. Several of the Albury group came north for an investigation, led by J.B. Cardale, a London solicitor. At the same time, Irving's Church became a centre for those interested in the gifts of the Spirit, and in April of 1831, Irving started daily prayer-meetings for the exercise of these gifts, but instructed such 'gifted' persons to refrain from spontaneous utterances during public worship on Sundays; he obviously had an eye on possible reactions from authorities in his own Church and the London press. On 25th August, E.O. Taplin, a schoolmaster, made a prophecy, and afterwards, Irving was placed in a very difficult position; during a Sunday service there was a scene when a 'gifted' woman rushed out of Church in a vain attempt to stifle what she felt bound to say, only to yell the words out so that the gathered faithful heard her nonetheless! Irving decided to remove his former injunction, and permit such utterances. The storm in the press which followed gave Irving's Church a degree of publicity which none of his associates wanted. In May of 1832, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland saw that he was deprived of both his living and his ordination, together with a few companions similarly charged; although the main pretext was Irving's (alleged) faulty teaching on the Incarnation (i.e. that Christ took upon him Man's fallen nature), his notoriety for eccentric public worship was without a doubt a contributory factor. A large number of Irving's congregation stayed by him, and, after a period of meeting in the open air, they met in a Chapel in Newman Street[3]. About the same time, the

3. His followers included two Elders (A.Horn, D.MacKenzie), two Deacons (J. Henderson, D.Ker), and 768 Communicants, with their families; Boase, p.793.

Revd. J.L. Miller, an Independent Minister, presided over a flock in a Chapel at Bishopsgate, in whose numbers there were several who were 'gifted'. Miller was a friend of Irving, and also preached about the second Coming and the gifts of the Spirit.

In August of 1832, Drummond spoke at a prayer-meeting in London calling Cardale an Apostle, and exhorting him to convey the Holy Ghost by the laying-on of hands. In October, Drummond was called to be an 'Angel', but was instructed to await ordination. The next step was the revelation that a 'four-fold' ministry would be restored to the Church, consisting of Apostle, Prophet, Evangelist and Pastor. In December, Irving instructed two of his flock to act as 'helps' to his Elders, and to act under them - an interesting development in the Presbyterian system. Shortly before Christmas, Cardale was told in prophecy to go to Albury and ordain a young man, Caird, as Evangelist; Caird was already engaged in work among the poor, and was a friend of Cardale's. Accounts of services at Newman Street at this time point to an atmosphere of heightened expectation; Cardale's sister prophesied at a service about a company of 'first-fruits' for the 'harvest'[4]. On Christmas Day, Cardale was called upon to ordain Drummond as 'Angel of the Church' in Albury; there was a strong desire in the gathering on this occasion that there should be a celebration of the Lord's Supper, but this Drummond refrained from doing - there had, in any case, been a Communion in Newman Street at the beginning of November, conducted by Irving.

4. v. 'Exposition and Sermon by The Revd. Edward Irving, A.M., at his Chapel, Newman Street, Oxford Street, on Sunday Evening, Dec. 23rd 1832', esp. p.4, where Miss Cardale's 'manifestation' (as it is called in the account) is printed in full.

In January of 1833, Drummond was declared an Apostle at a prayer-meeting in London. About this time, Cardale dictated a letter concerning the Ministry of the'Golden Candlestick', distinguishing the 'Church Universal' and the 'Church Particular'; the Angel of the Church Universal was Jesus Christ, and the Angel of the Particular Church was an ordained minister of the Church with the title of Angel. Furthermore, the candlestick was the type of the local congregation, ruled by the Angel and six Elders (the seven lamps), seven Deacons (the branches), serving the congregation (the shaft)[5]. The office of 'Angel' was understood to be episcopal in rank, and the Eldership was declared to be priestly. Accordingly, Irving's Elders and Deacons were instructed to prepare for ordination by an Apostle. Furthermore, each Minister was supposed to have a 'help', a coadjutor[6].

The beginnings of a new Ministry can be seen here. Already, Cardale is the key-figure, although Irving is still the 'chaplain' of the new Church, as the head of the congregation in Newman Street. The role of Apostle is associated with the Universal Church, and has authority over Particular Churches; Cardale is therefore set over Irving. Furthermore, the distinction is made between the Apostleship as a Ministry to which one is called, and all other Ministries, to which one is called and subsequently ordained by an Apostle.

(b) Formation: 1834-1839

In 1834, Cardale ordained Taplin as a Prophet, and Irving as an Angel; on this latter occasion, Cardale was directed by word of prophecy to

5. This candlestick typology is probably derived from Exod. 25:31ff, and Rev. 1:12.
6. Miller derives these from I Cor. 12:28 (II, p.54); they were equal in rank to the Minister concerned and acted in his absence.

celebrate the Lord's Supper. This was the first time it was to take place in the context of the new Church. On 12th April, three Evangelists and six Elders (with their Helps) were called by Taplin; Cardale ordained the Evangelists on the 13th and the Elders on the 14th, and on the 20th he ordained the seven Deacons of Newman Street. The congregation there now fulfilled the 'Golden Candlestick'; it had an Angel, Six Elders and Seven Deacons. In the next two years, ordinations were performed by Cardale up and down the country, usually in a congregation led by a clergyman who was committed to the new Church, its interests and authority; among many examples are those at Bishopsgate (where Miller was ordained Angel, and one of his flock ordained Elder), and at Edinburgh (where the Revd. Dr. W. Tait, of Trinity Church, was ordained Angel)[7]. Taplin always accompanied Cardale (and Drummond, if he also went), and 'called' the ministers, prior to their ordination. The Ministry now consists of Apostle, Angel, Elder, Evangelist, Prophet, and Deacon; there is no complete 'order of precedence', although the roles of Apostle and Angel appear as the principal ones.

In September of this year, Irving left London for his last journey - to his native Scotland. His health was failing, and he had clashed with Cardale over the exercise of spiritual gifts[8]. He was undoubtedly the 'John the Baptist' figure of the new Church; he helped it on its way, and then gave way to others in the leadership. He was able to visit various congregations on his way North, and he died of consumption in Glasgow, on the 7th December[9].

7. Tait had got himself into trouble with the Church of Scotland authorities for permitting 'manifestations' to be uttered at prayer-meetings and at public worship.
8. Taplin had uttered a word of prophecy, which brought Irving and Taplin into confrontation with Cardale (Miller, I.pp. 141-142).
9. Strachan, The Pentecostal Theology of Edward Irving , p.201.

In November of this year, four more Apostles were called, all of whom had been serving as Angel or Elder in a congregation. It was soon revealed (possibly in accordance with I Corinthians 12) that the Angel was to act as the authority over the exercise of spiritual gifts, thus establishing superiority over the ministry of prophet. Under-Deacons and Deaconesses were also initiated - as an extension of the Diaconate. Furthermore, the hours of six a.m. and five p.m. were set aside for daily worship, and interpreted as antitypical of the Tabernacle Worship of the Old Testament.

In late November, the six Apostles took presidency of a Council in London, although they continued to act in the ministries they had served in local congregations prior to their respective calls; this marks the beginning of the Apostles acting as a body. Cardale had already taken over the Newman Street congregation on an interim basis after Irving's departure, but soon ordained Christopher Heath (one of the Elders) to succeed Irving as Angel.

In January of 1835, Tithes were instituted as the Universal obligation of all the people[10]; a distinction was made, however, between Tithes, which are of obligation, and Free-will Offerings, which are optional, and for specific purposes. Two Apostles, each with a Prophet, went out from London on separate missions to found congregations and ordain ministers - one to Norfolk and the East, the other to the South and West. The number of congregations in London grew from five to seven, to fulfil a word of prophecy designating the seven Churches as a 'Council of Zion'.

10. This was based on II Chr. 31:5.

To fulfil another word of prophecy, six more Apostles were called - to make up the number of twelve; like the other Apostles, they were each already serving in congregations as Angel or Elder.

A meeting of a Council of Ministers from all over the country took place in London on 7th July, 1833. During the course of much subsequent deliberation on discipline, administration and future work, it was directed on the following day that the Council should meet as the new 'Council of Zion', on Tuesday 14th - a Council of the Universal Church. However, this was going to be hindered by the absence of the Revd. David Dow; he was the last-called Apostle, but he had declined to accept the office (he later served as an Elder in the Edinburgh congregation). After an unsuccessful attempt to persuade him to change his mind, the Council met on 14th; two men (Dr Thompson and D. MacKenzie) were selected as candidates and a word of prophecy indicated that MacKenzie was to fill the vacant office[11]. At the conclusion of the meeting, the Angels of the seven Churches in London laid their hands on the twelve Apostles, as an act of 'separation' to their office; this was nothing to do with their individual calls to their office, but rather an act of recognition by the Particular Churches, whom the Angels at this point represented[12]. Immediately after this, the Apostles went to Albury for a year's seclusion, for study and prayer, in order to discern future plans; and to aid them in this, they took seven Prophets.

11. The parallel with the choice of Matthias (Ac 1:23-26) is obvious; MacKenzie had been one of Irving's two loyal Elders (v.s.n.3).
12. cf. Paul and Barnabas, Ac 13:2,3.

The Apostles were now as follows[13]

1. Cardale, John Bate	called at prayer-meeting in London, 31/10/32
2. Drummond, Henry	called at prayer-meeting in Albury, 25/9/33
3. King-Church, Henry	called at Council in London, 3/4/34
4. Perceval, Spencer	called at service in Newman Street, 4/4/34
5. Armstrong, the Revd. Nicolas	called at prayer-meeting in Irving's house, 1834
6. Woodhouse, Francis Valentine	called at Council in London, 1834
7. Dalton, the Revd. Henry	called at prayer-meeting in Birmingham, 1835
8. Carlyle, Thomas	called at prayer-meeting in Edinburgh, 1835
9. Tudor, John	called at service in London, 1835
10. Sitwell, Frank	called at service in Lowick, 20/5/35
11. Dow, the Revd. William	called at Council in London, 1835(?)
12. MacKenzie, Duncan	called at Council in London, 14/7/35

During their time of seclusion, words of prophecy indicated that the Apostles should prepare a 'Testimony'. This would comment on the state of Christendom, and set forth their claims as the new leaders of the Universal Church in Christendom, 'in the absence of Jesus Christ'. To this particular task, Spencer Perceval was assigned -an appropriate move, as he was the son of the late Prime Minister. On Christmas Day of this year, the Testimony was read in the Council in London, and was subsequently presented to the King and Privy Councillers by Drummond.

The year's seclusion also produced two other important developments in the Church. The first was in the sphere of Ministry, for it appears that at

13. The dates given for the respective calls of each Apostle are not certain: Arsbo and Boase differ; the remaining sources follow one or the other.

this stage the hierarchy was finally worked out, in theory at least.

The Ministries of Evangelist and Pastor were distinguished from one another; in spite of the early revelation of 'fourfold' Ministry, they had hitherto been regarded as one. More important, the 'fourfold' Ministry was to be worked out on each of the three traditional 'orders' of the Church (Episcopal, Presbyteral, Diaconal); and in this connection we must use the terminology of the Church in speaking of three 'orders' (Angel, Priest, Deacon) and four 'borders' (Apostle, Prophet, Evangelist, Pastor)[14]. Further, the work of the Angel of the Church was identified with that of the Angel-Pastor[15]. Then, Evangelistic work was to be placed in the hands of sixty Evangelists, in five bands, each led by an Angel-Evangelist. Finally, each Apostle was to have an Angel of the three other 'borders' to be 'with him', and to act as head of his border of Ministry in the areas for which the Apostle was responsible.

Thus, the hierarchy of the Universal Church was to be as follows:

Angel: Jesus Christ

Apostles	Angel-Prophets	Angel-Evangelists	Angel-Pastors

Each Apostle has a 'Prophet-with-the-Apostle', an 'Evangelist-with-the-Apostle', and a 'Pastor-with-the-Apostle'; and there were also to be other Angel-Prophets and Angel-Evangelists associated with the work of the Universal Church, working under an Apostle.

14. The Church's terminology of 'order' and 'border' dates from a later time; but it clarifies the two different kinds of Ministry at this point.
15. In practice, however, a man appointed Angel of the Church had been an Elder and not a Pastor while a Priest.

The hierarchy of the Particular Church was to be as follows:

		Angel: Angel-Pastor		(Bishop)
Elders	Prophets	Evangelists	Pastors	(Priest)
Deacons of 7	Deacons	Deacon-Evangelists	Deacons	(Deacon)

Here we see the three orders and four borders, fully worked out, although Deacons with prophetic and pastoral gifts were not given special titles. The Angel is equivalent to Bishop, and has a Coadjutor, also in episcopal orders.

Also at this time, each of the four-fold Ministries had a 'Pillar' appointed, to act as Universal head of each border; thus Cardale was Pillar of Apostles, Taplin was Pillar of Prophets, Caird was Pillar of Evangelists, and Thompson was Pillar of Pastors[16].

The second development was in the sphere of missionary work. When, after the seclusion, the Council met again in London in June, 1836, Drummond declared that Christendom was to be divided into twelve Tribes[17], representing the Tribes of Israel, and that each Apostle was to be responsible for one Tribe.

The Tribes assigned and their typological relationships were as follows:

1. Cardale	England	Judah
2. Drummond	Scotland, Protestant Switzerland	Benjamin
3. King-Church	Denmark, Holland, Belgium	Issacher

16. Thompson was one of the two selected to fill the gap left by D. Dow in the Apostleship, at the Council in 1835.
17. cf. Rev 7:4ff.

4. Perceval	Italy	Manasseh
5. Armstrong	Ireland, Greece	Zebulon
6. Woodhouse	South Germany, Austria	Reuben
7. Dalton	France, Roman Catholic Switzerland	Asher
8. Carlyle	North Germany, Prussia	Simeon
9. Tudor	Poland	Ephraim
10. Sitwell	Spain, Portugal	Naphtali
11. Dow	Russia	Dan
12. MacKenzie	Norway, Sweden	Gad

The Apostles were then directed to go to their Tribes to do three things: first, to 'spy out the land' - to find out as much as possible about the religious, cultural and political nature of the country; second, to 'dig for gold' - to discern the hidden truths in the land which would be of value to the work of the Church (e.g. theological and liturgical); and third, to 'seek for gates of entrance' - to find out where there were people who would be receptive to the claims of the new Church[18]. The Apostles were, however, to go as private individuals, and were to have in mind the preparation of a 'Catholic Testimony', which, unlike the previous one, was to be presented to all the spiritual and temporal rulers in Christendom.

In the meantime, evangelistic work progressed, and at the end of 1836, there were no less than thirty-six congregations in the British Isles.

In 1837, the Catholic Testimony was being prepared, and the foreign labours of the Apostles continued. By 1838, it was completed and a copy of it was given to the leaders of Church and State as planned: nothing is said of the reaction by these leaders, except that they rejected it - and it is reported that the Czar gave the Ministers responsible for Russia 24

18. Miller, I, pp.186-187.

hours to leave the country! In this same year, the 'Order for the Communion' (an outline guide) was sent round to all Angels of Churches. At the end of this year, the Apostles met in Albury at Christmas, and returned to their respective Tribes at the beginning of 1839. But a crisis of authority was developing between the Apostles and the Angels of the Churches, first in the question of who had the final authority, and secondly with regard to the Ministry of the Prophets. The Apostles accordingly met once more in Albury on June 24th 1840 - nearly five years after the separation. In August, after much deliberation, a letter was sent round to the Angels of the Churches, which asserted Apostolic authority over the Angel-Prophets and the Angels of the Churches themselves and they cited Ephesians 4:11 and I Corinthians 12:28 to back up their case[19]. Whatever went on behind the scenes is unclear; but two unsettling events cast a cloud over matters - MacKenzie withdrew altogether from the Church, and the Council of Zion meetings in London were (temporarily) terminated.

This period sees the Apostolic College complete. Cardale is the dominant Minister; he is the only Apostle called from the status of lay-man - all the other Apostles were Angels or Elders in Particular Churches prior to their call. The crisis, however, reflects tension between the Ministry of the Universal Church, and the Particular Churches. The Apostles were engrossed in planning a world-wide scheme of evangelistic work, while the Angels of local congregations were no doubt distracted by more parochial concerns. But the letter composed at Albury in 1840 shows that the mechanisms of the hierarchy were not only elaborated in name (as in 1836), but now also defined in function.

19. The tension between Apostle and Prophet/Angel of Church had already been experienced in the clash between Cardale and Taplin/Irving (v.s.n.8)

(c) Organization: 1840-1860

It is at this point that Miller makes an ingenious distinction between the two 'camps' in the new Church, which might explain the 'crisis'; he suggests that there were two groups, which may loosely be termed 'Non-Conformist' (members dating their allegiance from the early 'charismatic' days of Irving), and 'Prayer Book' (members of a newer generation, dating their allegiance after the assertion of Apostolic authority)[20]. Miller is probably projecting into early Catholic Apostolic history 'Churchmanship' parties which properly belonged to the Church of England at the time he was writing (1878). However, there is evidence of much discussion concerning the adoption of a traditional Liturgy, which goes on during 1840 and 1841, and in 1842, an officially printed service-book did appear for use at Albury, which was subsequently circulated to ministers in the local congregations. The reception which the Liturgy received speaks for itself - in 1843 the Albury book was adapted for local use, and published. Furthermore, with this liturgical development went a spirit of consolidation, for in this year several of the smaller congregations were closed, in order to concentrate Ministers on larger Churches where the newly-organised worship might be performed in the fullest possible way. During these years, the Apostles remained in England , and we hear no more reports of disquiet, although there are indications that morale was low. In 1844, some of the Apostles went abroad, to continue their work, whilst four (almost certainly including Cardale and Drummond) remained at Albury. Once more they assembled there during January, 1846. Dalton appears not to have attended; at this time he remained at his work in the Church of England. No hostility is indicated, even by detractors such as Miller; but Dalton's Tribe (France and Roman Catholic Switzerland) was not very

20. Miller, I, pp.220ff.

receptive to the new Church's claims. At this meeting, a Book of Occasional Services, including Orders for Confirmation, Ordination and Consecration, was agreed on; it was probably prepared by Cardale. Difficulties in evangelism are reported, and in this year, the congregation in Westminster was closed, not to reopen until 1865.

In 1847, however, the Council in London was resumed; no comment is made in any of the sources, but there is a tradition that the final reconciliation of the Angels and the Apostles was brought about when the Angel of the Central Church in London adjourned the Sunday Eucharist after hearing Matthew 5:20-26 as the Gospel for the Day, and proceeded to Albury immediately, in order to meet Cardale. Whether or not this is true (it is certainly redolent of the writer's experience of Catholic Apostolic piety)[21], the fact remains that between 1840 and 1847, the Council did not meet in London, in spite of the fact that in this period the principal liturgical developments took place, and were adopted in all local congregations. What kept Apostles and Angels apart was a failure to work together properly. At any rate, the Apostles eventually won the day; they had asserted themselves in 1840, and now at last they could chair the Council in London once more.

In this year also, the second edition of the Liturgy was issued, and adopted all over the country. The principal innovation in the organization of the Church was the practice of 'sealing' - the laying on of Apostles' hands of adult members of the Church, and anointing with Chrism[22]. This was distinct from admission to Communion, which took the form of a blessing by the Angel of the Church at an earlier age. 'Sealing' was associated

21. This tradition is an 'oral' one, told to the writer by several members of the Church.
22. A Form of blessing the Chrism was also printed this year; it took place at Albury only, on the Monday after Pentecost; for 'sealing' cf. Rev.7:3ff.

with both the gifts of the Spirit and the Coming Kingdom - the hall-mark of the new Church's special teachings. It is, therefore, another instance of the importance of the office of Apostleship.

The next two years saw an increase in evangelistic work. The Apostles and the Angels were now working together effectively, and the process of initiation into the new Church now meant that far more was 'offered' to the potential adherent than was possible in the 1830's. In 1850, Reservation was introduced into Churches, together with the 'Proposition of the Sacrament', and fuller provision was made for the four-fold ministry in the Daily Offices - a timely development, as there was little provision in the Eucharist. Probably occasioned by these changes, a third edition of the Liturgy appeared in 1851.

It was also in this year that the new Church first got its name - purely by accident. In reply to a census enquiry at one of the congregations in London, a Minister is reported to have said that members were part of 'the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church'[23]. Thus was born the title 'Catholic Apostolic' - although the popular name 'Irvingite' was more commonly used by outsiders, and persists to this day.

In 1852, the liturgical evolution went one step further, with the introduction of Lights and Incense. Work persisted in all countries at different paces, and at Christmas in 1853 the new Central Church in Gordon Square, London, was consecrated, to replace the former place of worship in Newman Street. This was a considerable boost to morale everywhere - the new building certainly attracted public notice[24]. Two years later, in

23. Miller, II, pp.395-397.
24. The Church in Gordon Square featured in the 'Illustrated London News', on February 18th, 1854, (Arsbo, IV, Plate 9, opp. p.208).

1855, three of the Apostles died; MacKenzie, Dow and Carlyle. MacKenzie had withdrawn in 1840, and nothing more was heard of him. Dow had a difficult task in Russia, the Tribe assigned to him; in spite of the hostile reception from officials when the Catholic Testimony was presented, he was able to found congregations among the larger German-speaking communities there to which some native Russians also belonged. Carlyle, on the other hand, had a much more productive time in Germany, where many people welcomed the new Church, including Professor Thiersch, of Marburg, and about this time inroads were made into the Wendish-speaking people in the Cottbus - which shows the extent of the work in that Tribe.

We do not know exactly when proper arrangements were made for the care of Tribes after their Apostle died, but sometime after 1855 (but before 1859) Woodhouse took charge over North Germany and Prussia. However, the question of coadjutors for the Apostles was becoming an issue. Cardale tells us that the question of Apostles' 'helps' had been discussed as far back as 1838, and that agreement in principle was reached in 1852 that the Apostle could properly have a Coadjutor, who could perform Apostolic duties in the Tribe during the life-time of his principal; but there was no question of succeeding him as Apostle. This privilege was first used in 1859, when Woodhouse appointed Bohm, an Angel-Evangelist in Germany, to be Apostles' Coadjutor for North Germany and Prussia[25]. It was a very important step-forward - it relieved Woodhouse of a heavy burden, (as Germany was a large and growing Tribe), and it also appointed a man who knew the country well.

At home, a controversy of an external nature came about as a result of articles on 'Irvingism' which appeared in the 'Old Church Porch', a

25. 'Notes of a Ministry on the Office of Coadjutor, and particularly on the Office of Coadjutor to an Apostle, delivered on Tuesday, August 1st 1865', passim; Bohm's appointment is referred to on p.9.

popular magazine. Miller discusses it at great length, and the press appear to have made much of it. Cardale wrote an official (but anonymous) reply. It hurt the new Church greatly, although it had no effect on the fervour of its adherents, as this was a period of great growth - probably a reason for the articles in the first place. The new building in Gordon Square, (in the heart of a fashionable part of London), and the secessions among clergy of the Church of England were probably contributory factors; Anglicans may have felt threatened by the teaching and the worship of the new body[26].

Meanwhile, Perceval died in 1859, not having had much success in the strongly Catholic country of Italy. In this year, Dalton resumed his work as a full-time member of the Apostolic College. It was becoming clear that the new Church was going on, in spite of the deaths among the ranks of her senior Ministers.

This period marks considerable consolidation and growth. The Liturgy has emerged in a very full form. The Apostolic College has become the ultimate authority in the Church. Congregations have grown at home and abroad. Members persisted in their faith in the Second Coming, and were probably renewed in this faith by the liturgical developments, especially in the eschatological practice of 'sealing'. Further, the adoption, in principle, of the office of Apostles' Coadjutor meant that pressure was removed from the Apostles themselves in performing all the Apostolic acts.

26. Miller felt so threatened by the new Church that at one point he even cites the Gorham Judgment as the cause of new converts, through the intermediary of Tractarianism (I, p.277); although many clergy from other Churches did join the new Church's Ministry, there were many who were sealed, but who were instructed to remain where they were; Copinger's 'Bibliography' lists several of them.

(d) Zenith and Decline: 1860-1971

In 1860, Drummond died, leaving to the Church his considerable means, and some devoted congregations in Scotland, as well as more numerous ones in Switzerland. Accordingly, the Apostles met in Albury and the vacant Tribes were shared among them.

In spite of the arrangements concerning the office of Apostles' Coadjutor, and the appointment of Bøhm, there was feeling in Germany that the Apostles should have successors - and thus ensure complete continuity. In 1860, H. Geyer, an Angel-Prophet from Berlin, declared at a meeting in Albury that two further Apostles were called, Bøhm for Germany, and Caird for France. Although Bøhm was already a Coadjutor(and Caird was later to be one also), Beyer baffled his hearers completely! At a later visit to Königsberg with Woodhouse, but without his knowledge, Geyer called Rotochatsky (an Elder) to be an Apostle. Further, Geyer succeeded in winning over Schwartz, the Angel of Hamburg, to his views; Schwartz proceeded to acknowledge Rotochatsky as an Apostle - but Rotochatsky soon recanted.

A Schism was made. Woodhouse excommunicated Schwartz and Geyer, and thus was born the 'New Apostolic Church'. This off-shoot took away some members of congregations in Germany; it later concentrated its evangelistic work among German communities in America and elsewhere. It soon adjusted much of its inherited teaching and worship, and differed on the interpretation of the office of Apostle. Unsuccessful overtures to heal the schism were made in 1884 and 1938. The parent would have nothing to do with its offspring[27].

27. Shaw, pp.98ff: Shaw gives 1860 as the date of the Schism; an early hand in Lindsay-Grant indicates 1862, although a later hand suggests that feeling in Germany concerning the appointment of Apostles' successors had been voiced from 1860.

The following years saw further deaths in the Apostolic College. Tudor died in 1861, Sitwell in 1864 and King-Church in 1865. Accordingly, more Coadjutors were called and appointed. The complete list of them is as follows[28]:

Bøhm, Charles	1859	North Germany, Prussia
Leslie, John	1865	England
Hewett, Sir George	1865	Denmark, Holland, Belgium
Caird, William Rennie	1865	Scotland, Protestant Switzerland
Symes, Langford R	1879	France, Roman Catholic Switzerland
Flewker, William	1870	Italy
Von Pochammer, Max	1873	South Germany, Austria
Geering, Emil Ludwig	1875	Scotland, Protestant Switzerland
Capadose, Dr Isaac	1875	Denmark, Holland, Belgium
Diestel, Frederick	1879	Russia
Hooper, Edmund Lewis	1880	Ireland
Heath, Edward	1886	England

No difficulty, however, accrued to appointing successors to the 'Pillars' of Ministries, except, of course, that there could be no successor to Cardale as Pillar of Apostles; Prophets, Evangelists and Pastors 'with' the Apostles were similarly re-appointed[29]. Dalton died in 1867, so that congregations all over the world were in the hands of the three remaining Apostles (Cardale, Armstrong and Woodhouse), together with the Coadjutors appointed by this time. The attachment of Coadjutors and Ministers 'with' Apostles was not rigidly used. A Coadjutor would normally be sent to a particular country, together with three Ministers 'with' him; if there

28. Correspondence with Pastor Albrecht Weber. Although all the Apostles were British, five of the twelve Coadjutors were foreign; they were all originally Angel-Evangelists.

29. Miller, I, pp.298ff.

were insufficient Angel-Prophets, Angel-Evangelists, or Angel-Pastors, then another Angel would be delegated to fill the gap. From 1875, the Coadjutors carried out all the routine Apostolic work in Tribes[30].

The appointment of new men had a profound effect on the life of the Church, and we may assume that it was deliberate. Thus, when in 1876 Christopher Heath, Angel of the Central Church, London died, his successor, Henry Hume, was only thirty-six, a very young man for this very responsible job. The biggest blow, which left an irreplaceable gap, came when Cardale died in 1877. His influence was certainly the greatest exerted by anyone in the formation and running of the new Church; he was the first to be called Apostle, in 1832; he was the one who took over the Newman Street congregation after Irving's departure in 1834; he convoked a meeting of the Apostles in 1840 to deal with the 'crisis'; and he was probably the one who dealt with the German Schism in 1860, if only indirectly. He was also the key-figure behind the formation of the Church's Liturgy and no additions to it were made after his death.

Armstrong followed Cardale in 1879, leaving responsibility for all the congregations in the hands of Woodhouse. From 1890, the Coadjutors were so hard pressed, that they could not perform all Apostolic acts themselves. Senior Angels in pairs were chosen to visit the Tribes to Seal members of congregations and ordain priests, as Apostolic Delegates; they were not, however, permitted to consecrate Angels.[31] When Woodhouse eventually died in 1901, the two remaining Coadjutors, Heath and Capadose, sent a letter round to all congregations indicating that since the last member

30. Denmark was visited in 1877; Capadose was Apostles' Coadjutor, and had Nash (Prophet-with-the-Apostle), Thomsen (Evangelist-with-the-Apostle), and Heath (acting as Pastor-with-the-Apostle); Heath was at this time an Angel-Evangelist, and not yet Apostles' Coadjutor (Årsbo, V.p.101).

31. Lindsay-Grant, p.56; the restriction of consecrations to the Coadjutors is from a Teaching given by E. Heath in the Edinburgh Church, November, 1895.

of the Apostolic College had died, the 'Full Services' (i.e. the Sunday form of the Eucharist, the Proposition at Morning and Evening Prayer, and the use of Incense) were to be discontinued. Furthermore, they advised members that a time of silence had begun; no new members from outside already-existing families were to be admitted, save in exceptional circumstances. Since then, no Sealings or Ordinations have taken place, and congregations have gradually closed after the deaths of their Ministers[32].

In every congregation, members were given due warning of the necessity of joining in full Communion with another local Church, as soon as services could not be maintained on a weekly basis. In England, members were recommended to join the Church of England; in Scotland, either the Episcopal Church or the (Presbyterian) Church of Scotland; on the Continent, one or other of the Reformed or Lutheran Churches. The same respect for authority which the Church learnt with difficulty in the 1840's it diligently obeyed in the 1900's. In Great Britain, the last active Priests were J. Stewart, who died in Edinburgh in 1958, and Dr. L. Davson, who died in London in 1971.

Thus the history of the Ministry of the Church can be seen in its four stages - background, formation, rise and decline. The account here given is only a sketch and a great deal is uncertain. But the overall picture is nonetheless clear. Just as members in the early period joined the new Church from various denominations, so in the period of decline their successors returned to those Churches, strangely confident that this all was indeed 'The Lord's Work'[33].

32. Shaw, p.243.
33. This was the term used by members when speaking of the history of their Church; e.g. Årsbo, where the sub-title of 'Komme Dit Rige' is 'Vidensbyrd og Livsbilleder Fra Herrens Vaerk i Kirken, 1830-1880' - where the phrase 'Herrens Vaerk' means 'The Lord's Work'.

Chapter 3 : The History of the Evolution of the Rite

The History of the Evolution of the Rite

In 1880 appeared what was to be the final edition of the 'Liturgy and Other Divine Offices of the Church'. But as with the history of the Church, later elaboration was preceded by much earlier groping. The history of the Liturgy falls into five main stages. (a) Early Period: 1832-1838, the emergence of the hierarchy, and some moves on the road towards a traditional liturgical consciousness. (b) Beginnings of the Liturgy: 1839-1846, the compilation and use of the first service-book, and the anticipation of further developments. (c) Flowering of the Liturgy and the Ceremonial: 1847-1855, the rise in symbolism in the outward vesture of the Rite. (d) Later additions: 1856-1880, a few minor innovations. (e) A Post-Script: 1880-1970, the last years.

(a) Early Period: 1832-1838

The earliest evidence we have for the Eucharistic worship of the new Church is an account of a service held in Newman Street in November 1832. This was a few months after Cardale's call to the Apostleship, but before the ordination of any Ministers. The service is conducted by Irving, and is divided into two parts. First, there is a Ministry of the Word, with Exposition of a passage of Isaiah, and a Sermon on a few verses from the Fourth Gospel; the Sermon is interspersed with a few 'manifestations' from a woman. This first part of the service Irving concludes with a benediction, after which 'several persons withdrew'. The Ministry of the Sacrament begins with a reading from Paul (I Corinthians 11:23-27), with a few hortatory remarks of his own and two further 'manifestations'; a metrical version of Psalm 24 is sung, and Irving proceeds to read the Pauline Institution narrative, in traditional Presbyterian fashion, the administration following each section of the Institution. Further

'manifestations' follow, and the service ends with an exhortation, some singing, and a prayer. Cardale's role is somewhat ambivalent; he speaks on one occasion, immediately after Irving states his intention to read the Institution; what Cardale says amounts to an encouragement to all present to receive Communion[1].

Certainly the account does not tell us very much. But we do see that the Word and the Sacrament are divided, that Irving presides over 'manifestations', and repeats the substance of such utterances, and also that Cardale's position is one of authority, even though this has yet to be worked out in relation to Irving, and the growing new Church.

The next date is Christmas Day, 1832, On this occasion, Drummond is ordained Angel in Albury by Cardale, but hesitates to celebrate the Communion, in spite of a feeling in the gathering that such a service should take place[2]. We have here a witness to the new Church's groping for self-understanding; what took place in Newman Street two months earlier could not yet be repeated in Albury after the first ordination.

But on Palm Sunday in 1833, after Irving's ordination as Angel at Newman Street, Cardale himself celebrates the Sacrament. The service begins with Cardale calling on the Deacons to go and prepare the bread and the wine - the bread to be unleavened. After the Deacons returned with the newly-baked cake of bread, and the wine, Cardale asks Irving for his permission to celebrate the Communion in Irving's congregation; the roles have been reversed from the previous November. Irving gives

1. 'Exposition, Sermon and Sacramental Address, by the Revd.Edward Irving, A.M., at his Chapel, Newman Street, Oxford Street, November 4, 1832; together with the Manifestations on that occasion'; the account of the Lord's supper is given on pp. 6-9.
2. Miller, I pp.114-115.

his permission, and Cardale consecrates the elements, administers to Irving, and instructs him ask his Elders to administer to the congregation[3]. Although this is based on a different kind of account from the previous Communion, we can see clearly a liturgical form based on the hierarchy, in Cardale's relationship with Irving, whom he has now ordained. We can also see a primitive kind of 'offertory' with the bread and the wine. This latter could be based on a relic of old Scottish Reformed usage, but we suggest Cardale's liturgical knowledge as a more likely explanation[4], a theory more immediately acceptable in view of the (unusual) use of unleavened bread.

Cardale celebrated the Communion at a subsequent ordination in Newman Street, and a word of prophecy directed that Irving should celebrate the Communion himself in his congregation every fourth Lord's Day; nothing is said on the order of the service, but we may assume that it took a form similar to the last one conducted by Cardale[5].

In 1834, words of prophecy directed that the hours of six a.m. and five p.m. be set aside for daily worship, understood to be anti-typical of the Tabernacle Worship of the Old Testament. These two hours survive as the time for Morning and Evening Prayer. This typological approach tallies with the Church's arrangements of its hierarchy at this time. In 1835, a weekly celebration was begun at Albury during the year's seclusion of the Apostles there. Local congregations still maintained the monthly service, until June 24th, 1836, when they were instructed to start a weekly Communion[6]. The early room-chapel layout at Albury probably dates from this time (Plan A).

3. Boase, p.796 Miller,I, pp.115-119. The use of unleavened bread, doubtlessbased on I.Cor.5:7, is a most unusual feature, considering that its use at the time would be restricted to the Roman Church.
4. From correspondence with Dr.Louden, of Greyfriars' Kirk, Edinburgh, it does not seem either probable or certain that such an 'offertory' was the practice in Irving's congregation; no mention of it is made in the service held there in November 1832.
5. Miller, I. pp.135-137, Shaw, p.77, Boase, p.797.
6. Boase, p.820.

Two years later, in 1838, a very important step was taken in the liturgical worship of the Church. The Apostles, in the name of Thompson as signatory, sent round to all Angels of Churches a lithographed 'Order of the Communion Service', with a letter of explanation and recommendation. There was no compulsion or obligation. Sources allude to frequent requests to the Apostles for guidance over the conduct of divine worship; this may have resulted from increased membership, lack of spontaneity at all acts of worship, and growth in the Apostles' authority. Albury was taking on its role as the pace-setter for liturgical development; we know that about this time altars were set up in local Churches, and marked out as sacred following the example of Albury in this regard[7].

Here is the text of the letter, and the Order[8].

"Albury, February 17th, 1838"

My Dear Brother,

The Apostles have deemed it expedient at the present time, to use the order of the communion service hereinafter stated. But in transmitting to you this order for your help and guidance in the performance of this service I desire to guard you, and through you the flock committed to your charge, against supposing that the true and perfect order either in this, or in any other of the services can be finally set in the Churches, until all the tribes, whom they equally concern, are gathered as one body unto the standard of the Lord. For it is then only, that the perfect light, coming up from the fulness which resides in the whole body, and not in any part thereof - can be truly said to be brought to to Apostles of the Lord for judgement.

Inattention to this important truth has been a frequent cause of stumbling to the weak and ignorant of the flock, for, looking only to the changes that take place in the Church, and not at the same time considering the condition of the Body and increase of light, which together have called for these changes, they have stumbled thereby.

I would also have you to bear upon your mind, that neither on this, nor any similar occasion, are such forms of Service to be regarded by you as a formula of rules and regulations to be followed out in all their details, strictly to the letter:- lest, however good and suitable in themselves, they should thus prove instrumental in bringing the Church into bondage - but the rather to be used by you as a direction and help in the performance of the services devolving upon you - that so with all

7. Boase, p.832
8. The text is taken from Shaw, pp.104-106.

the Angels, being duly instructed in the same things, you may reverently bear upon your hearts and intelligently observe in the Spirit thereof the same good order throughout all the Churches.

Order for the Communion Service

I The Angel calls on the Deacons to bring up the elements - The Deacons present them to the Elders, and the Elders (including the Angel if an Apostle be present but not otherwise) to place them on the Table.

II The Confession of unworthiness.

III The Absolution or Blessing.

IV Prayer to consist of the following particulars (kneeling)

1. The Lord's Prayer.
2. Beseech the Lord to accept these Gifts at our hands, and ourselves in that act.
3. Beseech Him to have regard to the faith and prayer of the Church, and make the bread and wine to be to us the body and blood.
4. Remember before Him the whole Church.
   (a) Ministers in the Universal Church.
   (b) Particular Churches, and especially ministers and people present.
   (c) Bishops, Priests and Deacons and the Baptized.
   (d) Those who have departed in the faith, praying for our common perfection at the coming of the Lord.

V Act of Consecration of the Bread.

1. Angel takes the bread saying - The Lord Jesus in the same night in which he was betrayed took bread and blessed.
2. The blessing which should be commemorative of His mercies in Creation and redemption and specially that the Lord Jesus is not only our sacrifice for sin, but our heavenly bread - And should include a petition that God would bless the Bread, and by the Holy Ghost make it to us the flesh of Jesus Christ.
3. With this conclusion in which the people ought to join so soon as the Angel thinks he can introduce it. 'Holy Holy Holy Lord God of Sab aoth Heaven and Earth are full of the majesty of thy Glory'.
4. He blessed and brake and said Take eat this is my body etc.

VI The Communion in the Bread.

1. The Angel communicate himself and the other Ministers.
2. The Angel give the vessels containing the Bread to the Elders, and the Elders to the Deacons that the Bread may be borne forth to the people.

VII Act of Consecration of the Cup.

1. Angel take the cup saying likewise after supper He took the Cup and gave thanks.

2. The Blessing of the cup which should specially commemorate the blessings in the atonement through the blood and giving of the Holy Ghost - and should include a petition for a blessing on the cup - and that it may by the Holy Ghost be made to us the blood of Christ.

3. With this conclusion in which the people should join so soon as the Angel thinks he can introduce it 'glory to God in the highest - and on Earth peace - Goodwill towards men'.

4. He gave it to them and said - This cup is the New Testament and ..... This do ye as often as ye drink it in remembrance of me.

VIII The Communion of the Cup, in the same form as the bread.

IX A Song of Praise taken from the Psalms with the Gloria Patri.

X The Blessing.

Where an Apostle is present he will conduct the whole service, except that the Angel will communicate the Deacons. The Deacons in communicating the people should give once to each of the communicants present; and the Elements remaining and not needed for the sick, should be consumed immediately after the service, for which purpose the Ministers may call up whom they please; the Ministers remaining until the same be consumed".

Three initial points need to be made. First, the relationship between Apostle and Angel reflects what was ideally worked out between the Universal Church and the Particular Church in 1836 after the year's seclusion; the Apostle is set over the Angel, but the Angel is the local authority. Secondly, there are allusions to elements in congregations anxious about changes in worship which were taking place. Thirdly, guidance is only offered in outline; the Angel is left to make up the words himself.

We must now look at each section in some detail.

Section I recalls the celebration of Communion after Irving's ordination as Angel - the Angel calls on the Deacons to bring the bread and wine to the Table. There is, however, a small complication; the Deacons hand the bread and wine to the Elders, who then present them to the Angel. This is a neat expression of the hierarchy of the Particular Church: Deacon, Elder, Angel.

Sections II and III are the opening of the 'Ministry of the Sacrament', if we bear the earlier Communion services in mind. The Confession starts this section, and in this position is comparable with traditional Reformed practice; but there may also be Anglican influence at work here - the Book of Common Prayer Communion Confession is recited after the bread and wine are placed on the Table. The Absolution is termed alternatively as a Blessing - a curious feature.

Section IV begins with the Lord's Prayer, which survives in another freak position in the later Liturgy. The following sub-sections (2,3) cover some of the material of the (later) Prayer of Oblation before Consecration and parts of the Commemoration of the Living and Departed in the later Liturgy, and the directions echo some of the later prayers[9]. The doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice has its emphasis on the oblation of the gifts before Consecration and the people in this offering; there is no Oblation after Consecration, although the structure of the Rite would hardly make such a distinction (worked out later) at all clear. Sub-section 3 recalls the language and content of the introductory part of the Book of Common Prayer Consecration Prayer. Sub-section 4 covers some of the material later to be included in the Commemorations in the Liturgy; in a,b and c, the order is exactly the same in all future versions, the Ministers of the Universal Church taking precedence over those of Particular Churches, and the ecumenical scope of the Church is manifested in the prayers appointed for Bishops, Clergy, and all Baptized Christians. In (d) we see perhaps the most interesting of all material; although it contains no explicit 'Prayer for the Departed', there is an implicit connection between the Church Militant and the Church Expectant -

9. e.g. 'accept these gifts at our hands, and ourselves in that act', and 'have regard to the faith and prayers of the Church' (cf. Prayer of Oblation before Consecration); 'and make the bread and wine to be to us the body and blood' (cf. Consecration Prayers).

unity in Christ. The concluding eschatological material echoes the corresponding passage in the 1549 Prayer Book Communion, but Catholic Apostolic emphasis in this direction would have ensured the inclusion of this material regardless of any source-use[10].

Sections V - VII form a definite pattern: Consecration and Communion of Bread, Consecration and Communion of Wine. In taking the bread and blessing it, and similarly with the Cup (V1 and 4, VII 1 and 4), the Angel recites the Institution Narrative, and into it inserts (V 2 and VII 2) commemorations of creation and redemption, which are complementary to each other as far as content goes, but do suggest a theological 'separatism' which occurs in the later developed Liturgy in respect of Trinitarian Prayer. These separate 'Thanksgivings' are an interesting liturgical primitivism; they are not found elsewhere at the time, and are quite distinct from the separate Consecrations of Bread and Wine in Reformed tradition[11]. The use of liturgical hymns at the end of each is unparalleled - although the position of the Sanctus may possibly be comparable with Lutheran practice[12].

Sections IX and X bring the service to a swift conclusion. The Song of Praise corresponds with the Te Deum in the later Liturgy.

The concluding direction that the Apostle should celebrate if present is a further pointer to the hierarchy's importance in the Church; but this particular practice does not survive into the Church's subsequent practice.

10. Similar formulae to 1549 were already in use in the Scottish 1764 Rite, Grisbrooke, p.345.
11. Although the Reformed tradition is apparent in the two Consecrations in the November 1832 Communion, it is the use of the term 'Thanksgiving' which sets another trend, and is probably derived from liturgical antiquity.
12. Suss quotes Brunner in giving the traditional Lutheran explanation of the inseparable link between Consecration and Communion, 'Eucharisties D'Orient et D'Occident', I, p.154 (v. also n.5, for further references).

The Order of 1838 shows a great deal in outline, but there is still a long way to go. The Catholic Apostolic Church has broken away from the style of worship of the tradition of Irving's original Church. It has begun to combine primitive and foreign elements in its worship with some that are strikingly original.

(b) Beginnings of the Liturgy: 1839-1846

We now enter a few years of obscurity in the development of the Liturgy. We know that there was much discussion about the introduction of a more traditional form of service before the issue of the 1842 Albury book. This is where the 'Albury Paper' comes to our rescue; we can easily date it between the 1838 Order and the 1842 book because it manifests the liturgical growth of the former but not the complexity of the latter.

The 'Albury Paper' is a manuscript containing Morning and Evening Prayer, and part of the Communion service. The first two are complete in themselves, but the Communion is not. There is no service of the 'Word' so what we have is part of a 'Eucharistic Liturgy', in the strictest sense of the word[13]. The fascinating aspect of this work is that the prayers appear in the same order as the 1838 service, Section IV, 2-4 (Confession, Absolution, Lord's Prayer, Oblation of elements, Intercession) and they resemble almost exactly the content of the corresponding parts of the 1842 Rite[14]. We must now look at this Paper in more detail.

The opening direction that the bread and wine be placed on the altar 'in the usual manner' probably refers to the 1838 ceremonial; Deacons carry them in, hand to Elders, Elders hand to Angel. The Confession and

13. The lay-out of the services seems to imply that this 'Eucharistic Liturgy' would beheld after Morning or Evening Prayer.
14. In order to see these correspondences clearly, we include the order contained in the 'Albury Paper' in Chart A/I.

Absolution, which follow, come in two forms, an earlier (crossed out), and a later (inserted); both sets are of similar length and structure, but the interesting point to note is that it is the earlier set which resembles more closely that contained in the 1842 Rite. Nothing need be said about the Lord's Prayer, but the offering of the elements and the Intercessions appear in a very much longer form than the directions in 1838 could envisage, although the structural correspondences are exact. The Oblation prayer asks that God will accept the bread and wine offered to him, and the people as a living sacrifice in that offering; then comes a section which asks God for ratification of the acts to be performed by the consecrating minister - probably corresponding with the second part of 1838 Order, Section IV 3 ('make the bread and wine to be to us the body and blood'). At this point we have a very long series of intercessions, the first three of which correspond with the directions in the 1838 Order, Section IV 4, a, b and c (Ministers of Universal Church, Particular Churches, Bishops and all Baptized); after this there follows a wide variety of topics for Intercession - the low estate of the Church, Civil Rulers, the Nations, Plenty, the suffering, and the dying. There is now a shift ('And now, O heavenly Father') and the Departed are commemorated, first in general terms (coresponding with 1838, Section 4 IV d), then in the categories of those before Christ the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Church down the ages, and those associated with the new Church; this section ends with a prayer for the hastening of the end, and the manuscript finishes. At several points, provision is made for prayer for particular persons.

The fact that the service breaks off in mid-course poses the question, what was the manuscript used for? There are two strong possibilities. First, it could have been a private liturgical project, never used in any

form at public worship. Alternatively, it could have been a copy of a service that was used, but left incomplete because another form came into use; the earlier Confession and Absolution appear in the 1842 book, so that we need not presuppose a single line of liturgical development. We favour the latter view; the prayers are too well laid out, and the rubrics are too carefully written, for this document to stem from a purely academic work. Another question which can be asked is, how would the service continue? Of course there can be no proper answer; but if we assume that the remainder of the Rite followed the same method as the part which we have, i.e. the order as in 1838, but the wording of 1842, then a possible outline for the remainder of the service would be as follows: one or two Thanksgivings, two 'Acts of Consecration', the distribution of Communion, a Psalm, and the Blessing, and into this would come the Sanctus and the Gloria at some stage[15].

For the period 1840-1842, sources allude to much discussion of Liturgy, and the 'Albury Paper' is clearly exemplary of this trend[16]. However, three further factors would encourage more moves in this direction. First, the 'dig for gold' abroad would have produced a mound of liturgical store for reference and use; and it certainly established a policy for future liturgical work. Secondly, congregations at home were growing, and had by this time thrown off the yoke of parent Churches from which Ministers and members had come; the claims of the restored Apostolate far overshadowed any feeling that a traditional Liturgy would smack of popery. Third, a new Chapel was built at Albury in 1840 (Plan B).[17]

It is, therefore, into an atmosphere very different from that of 1838 that the 1842 Albury book was introduced. The Holy Communion Service,

15. Chart A/I.
16. Boase, pp.834-835.
17. Arsbo, I. p.1

as it is called, assumes its final shape; comparison with all further services demonstrates that all further developments are insertions into the 1842 shape, however enriching they were[18]. Furthermore, the outward clothing of the Rite takes a 'Catholic' slant; alb, surplice, stole, chasuble and cope come into use at Albury. Finally, provision is made for the Administration of Communion after the Afternoon Service; this is directed specifically for those unable to attend the full Celebration in the morning, and is, in effect, a 'Liturgy of the Presanctified', but the elements remain on the altar, veiled (there is no 'Reservation' as yet). We must now look at this Rite more closely.

The service is in two parts - corresponding to 'Word' and 'Sacrament'. It is conducted by two Apostles, standing at North and South ends of the altar. This appears to be an Anglican-based adaptation of the Swedish Lutheran 'concelebration'. For few, if any, Churches other than Anglican used the 'North/South End' in the Communion service; and the way the service is shared equally by two officiating Ministers (even in the two Consecration Prayers) reflects that strange tradition which grew in Sweden during the period of 'Lutheran Orthodoxy' and which survives to this day. But it is more than this; it seems to be an authentic emulation of the primitive concelebration, for we have evidence that a few years later the Apostles adjusted this practice slightly, and resolved that when they all appeared at Albury as an Apostolic College, 'the consecration should be by two Apostles'[19], but that only one Apostle should

18. Chart A/I sketches the Communion Service from 1832 to 1842; Chart A/II gives a detailed analysis of the componentparts of the Liturgy in every edition from 1842 to 1880.
19. Lindsay-Grant, p.33; the date for this later decision is 1846.

officiate on other occasions. This strongly suggests a 'collegiate' Liturgy- an 'Apostolic Concelebration'[20].

Further possible Lutheran influence can be seen in the fact that the Confession is said by one of the officiating Apostles (and not by all) and that the congregation stands for the Epistle as well as the Gospel[21]. The service takes the form described following; in order to avoid complications, we use names for prayers in some cases not in use until 1847 and after, but this does not compromise the understanding or the substance of the prayers as they appear at this stage.

Invocation

Confession)
) 'Albury Paper' (earlier version)
Absolution)

Collect (seasonal, not weekly)

Epistle

Gospel

Creed (Nicene)

Offertory Sentences)
) for tithes and offerings only read by
Offertory Prayer) Angel of the Church

20. Correspondence with Dr Prenter, formerly of Århus University, has thrown little light on possible reasons for the Swedish custom; Prenter thinks that the second celebrant may be a survival of the Mediaeval Deacon, although the tradition seems strongest from the period of 'Lutheran Orthodoxy', when many pastors did not believe they could give Communion to themselves, hence the two celebrants in Sweden, and the surprising practice in Denmark of pastors going to a neighbouring parish to Communicate as laymen. As regards Roman source, at the time of Cardale's studies concelebration was limited to a few special occasions (Honoré, Maison-Dieu, No.35, pp.56-71); in the recent revival of concelebration in the Roman Church, priests are encouraged to share out different paragraphs of the Eucharistic Prayer, but they must all recite the Institution Narrative together (M.R. Paul VI pp.60-62). The structures of the Catholic Apostolic 'anaphoral' section and the Roman Eucharistic Prayer are so different as to make comparison in this connection inconclusive.

21. Yelverton, The Swedish Rite , pp. 14,18.

Anthem; bread and wine taken to altar (= Greater Introit')

Bidding for prayer for sacrifice (= 'Orate Fratres')

Prayer of Oblation before Consecration (= 'Albury Paper')

Dialogue and Preface (provision for 'Proper' Prefaces, extempore)

Sanctus

Consecration of Bread

Consecration of Wine

Prayer of Oblation after Consecration (= 'Albury Paper'; provision for 'Proper' insertions, extempore)

Commemoration of the Living (= 'Albury Paper')

Ministers of Universal Church

Ministers of Particular Churches : Angel

Ministers of Particular Churches : others

Bishops, Priest, Deacons and all Christians

Low Estate of the Church

Civil Rulers

Nations

Conversion of world

Plenty

Suffering

Dying

Commemoration of the Departed: (= 'Albury Paper')

General

Particular : Before Christ

Particular : Blessed Virgin Mary

Particular : Church down the ages

Particular : Catholic Apostolic

Prayer for hastening of the end: (= 'Albury Paper')

Communion: two Apostles to each other; other Ministers; Congregation

Te Deum or Gloria

Blessing

The 1842 book represents quite a stepforward from any previous form of worship. Resemblance with the 'Albury Paper' of an earlier year is very marked, although the structure of the Ritehas altered completely. The 'Word' is accommodated in a 'synaxis', carefully arranged. A distinction is made between the offering of alms and the offering of the bread and wine. At this point, the 'Albury Paper' provides the source for the rest of the service, except that entirely new material is introduced in the Preface, the two Consecrations, and the Oblation of the consecrated elements. Thus we have here a liturgical advance - a full 'anaphoral section', and we also have a doctrinal one - an obvious distinction between the oblation of bread and wine on the altar, and the oblation of the consecrated elements prior to the intercession and communion. The posture of Ministers is important; the two Apostles kneel for most of the prayers, except the Consecrations and the Blessing - this survives into later worship. Finally, on the musical side of things, a Choir sings the Greater Introit Anthem, the Sanctus, the Te Deum or Gloria after Communion, and Amen after each prayer; all these innovations survive.

In the same year, this form of service was introduced at the London Churches, and by the beginning of the following year in many other congregations[22]. Obviously, it had to be adapted from 'concelebration' by two Apostles to celebration by the Angel. Accordingly, the 'Offices and Liturgy of the Church' was issued in 1843, for the use of congregations all over the country. It must have been a colourful and impressive move when introduced in local Churches; it was certainly the biggest liturgical change made at any one point in the history of the new Church. To help the new form of service on its way, Drummond's 'Rationale' was published, offering typological explanations for the definite 'Catholic' direction which was now being taken in the Liturgy[23].

22. Boase, p.835
23. Drummond, 'Rationale', pp.xiii-xvii, for his treatment of the Eucharist.

In the next few years, the Apostles laboured further abroad, except Cardale, who remained at Albury. Among the matters agreed upon by the Apostles at their meeting in 1846 was the Book of Occasional Services, which included forms for Confirmation by the Angel, Ordination of Priests and Consecration of Angels[24]. A few rubrics, (more detailed than the sort of directions issued in the 1843 Liturgy) were included in this latest compilation. But the whole Liturgy, Eucharist included, had yet more elaborations to undergo, and sources allude to further study with a view to the introduction of another edition[25]. This period shows that the new Church has a traditional Liturgy, carefully worked out, no longer relying on the gift of extempore prayer, and involving increasing formality of presentation. The 'Albury Paper' is an interesting essay in this direction. The service-books of 1842 and 1843 go even further. The new Church is adopting an increasingly 'Catholic' Liturgy.

(c) The Flowering of the Liturgy and the Ceremonial: 1847-1855

In 1847, a second edition of the service-book was issued for general use, and it was at this stage that the title 'Liturgy and Other Divine Offices of the Church' was introduced. The entire work was probably the fruit of Cardale's labours at Albury in the years prior to its publication. We can conclude from the 'Albury Notes' that there was much discussion concerning what should and what should not be included in the evolving Rite.

The first point that attracts the reader's attention is that the service is termed 'The Celebration of the Eucharist and the Administration of Communion' - the 'God-ward' and the 'Man-ward' aspects are given equal

24. Woodhouse, pp.104ff, Boase, p.837.
25. Boase, p.837, Lindsay-Grant, p.33-34, Miller, I, pp.239-241.

expression. Secondly, there are two Orders, one for use on Sundays by the Angel in his Church, and another (slightly shorter) for use on all other occasions, whether celebrated by Angel or Priest[26]. Thirdly, copious rubrics appear in altar-editions, with full directions for posture and position in the sanctuary; the Celebrant is assisted by Epistoler and Gospeller, and the people receive Communion kneeling at the entrance to the choir[27]. Fourthly, much fuller use is made of the liturgical year, with the provision of 'Seasonal Forms' and 'Occasional Forms'.

The order is as follows:

Invocation

Confession (1842 abbreviated)

Absolution (1842 abbreviated)

Versicles and Responses (new)

Prayer of Approach (new)

Kyrie (new)

Gloria (removed from end of service, as 1842)

Salutation (new)

Collect (as 1842)

Epistle; forms given for introduction and conclusion (new)

Anthem after Epistle (new)

Gospel: forms given for introduction, conclusion and responses (new)

Homily (new)

Creed

Offertory Sentences

Offertory Prayer

26. The differences are in the Commemorations of the Living and Departed, which cover the same material, but in a much truncated form; the Angel is seen as the focus of intercession in the Particular Church, hence the fuller form on Sundays.

27. From 1845, the people came up to the front pew to receive Communion, according to a note made by Hume (Angel, Central Church, London,) in C.E. Lewis Heath's Lecture (p.9).

Greater Introit Anthem

'Orate Frates'; new response

Prayer of Oblation before Consecration (1842, with two lengthy omissions)

Salutation (new)

Dialogue

Preface: Proper Prefaces included; (new) (no longer extempore, as 1842)

Sanctus: followed by Benedictus: (new)

Lord's Prayer

Consecration Prayers

Prayer of Oblation after Consecration: one addition: Propers included (no longer extempore, as 1842)

Commemoration of Living: Amen after each section (new)

Ministers of Universal Church: omissions

Ministers of Particular Churches (Angels): omissions

Ministers of Particular Churches (others): omissions

Bishops, Clergy and all Baptized: omission

Low Estate

Penitents: new

Those Oppressed: new

Civil Rulers : omission

The Nations

Children: new

Conversion of heretics: omission

Plenty: omission

Suffering: omissions

Dying : omissions

Commemoration of Departed: Amen after each section: new

General

Before Christ

Blessed Virgin Mary

Church down the ages; change

Catholic Apostolics

V and R: new

Prayer for hastening of the end

Invitation to Communion: new

Prayer to the Father: new

Agnus Dei: new

Prayer to Son: new

Prayer to Holy Spirit: new

Sancta Sanctis: new

The Peace: new

The Communion: formula given: new

Post-Communion Prayers: Common: new

Proper: new

Te Deum

Blessing

The service is basically the substance of the 1842 Rite, but with small omissions and changes in the prayers, and with the introduction of new features. The ceremonial has changed. The three Ministers (Celebrant, Epistoler and Gospeller) begin the service outside the sanctuary, and enter it at the Gloria. The Epistle and Gospel are read from lecterns provided for that purpose on either side of the choir. Only at the Greater Introit does the Celebrant go to the altar, and the two Assistants stand on either side, at the foot of the steps to the altar.[28]

28. A rubric explicitly forbids the Epistoler and Gospeller to stand at the altar with the Celebrant; this was probably framed with an eye on Roman practice (Fortescue, pp.84ff).

The Commemorations of the Living and Departed may be taken by two priests. Complicated directions are given about the preparation of vessels before the Communion; the consecrated elements are consumed immediately after the Communion, if there is to be no Administration of Communion after the Afternoon Service.

Into the basic shape of the 1842 book there are introduced many minor but important elements - new prayers, omissions of repetitive sections, fuller ceremonial. And to aid us in our consideration of this stage in the Liturgy we have the 'Albury Notes'. They do not tell us much, and appear to be in Cardale's hand[29]. The Versicles and Responses at the beginning of the Rite are from the Roman Missal, and are mentioned by Durandus of Mende[30]. Certain private prayers of the Celebrant and the Deacon in the Greek Rite before the Gospel appear to have been considered but rejected. The new response to the 'Orate Fratres' is adapted from Durandus. The addition of the Benedictus after the Sanctus is described as 'the whole of the Sanctus'. Provision for Assistants to recite the intercessions is referred to as a Greek tradition (the use of the Deacon in Litanies?). The Agnus Dei and following prayers are noted for their Roman and Greek sources. The first Common Post-Communion Prayer is Roman, but 'in Church of England language'. And finally, there are notes on the week-day Eucharist.

These notes are little gems of information; some of them we can discern from the pages of Cardale's 'Readings', others come from further liturgical investigations. But the most important evidence is the note concerning the prayers before the Gospel in the Greek Rite[31] for here we have concrete

29. They are written on the back of a letter addressed to Cardale, and tally with his signature in books belonging to him which are still at Albury.
30. These and the remaining references in the 'Albury Notes' are all dealt with in Chapter 6.
31. These prayers are to be found in Brightman, pp.371-372.

witness to the fact that an ancient liturgical tradition, of some distinguished vintage, has obviously been considered by the Apostles for inclusion in their new Liturgy, but has been rejected. The 1847 book does show many omissions of small sections which did appear in 1842; but we have no example of this sort of thing elsewhere. We may conclude that such prayers before the Gospel would have 'cluttered' the early part of the service, and this may well have been the reason behind rejecting this item. If only more of these notes had survived!

The next development comes from Scotland, where, initially, special editions of the Liturgy were issued. There are two difficulties; first, we are not certain as to their precise date, and second, no evidence is given for the reason for special requirements in Scotland. In answer to the problem of dating, we can safely identify the first Scottish edition sometime between 1847 and 1851 - midpoint between the two English editions. C.B. Heath mentions 1848 and 1849 as dates for two separate Scottish editions[32]. The 'Queen Dowager' is mentioned in the Commemoration of the Living, and she died in 1849. But theLindsay-Grant Notebook gives 1850 as the date for one Scottish edition[33]. We suggest that it was probably prepared in 1848/9, and published in 1850. As regards the reason for Scotland as a special case, the personality of Drummond is probably the answer; we know already that he was interested in liturgical matters, as witness his 'Rationale' of 1843, and his 'Principles' of 1851. He possibly had a conviction that Scotland was a separate Tribe from England, and therefore deserved a different Liturgy.

When we come to look at the Scottish edition of 1850, we notice four points of difference from England asregards the Eucharist.

32. C.B. Heath, Lecture, p.6.
33. Lindsay-Grant, p.36.

First, weekly Collects, from the Book of Common Prayer, are appointed to be used immediately after the 'Seasonal' Collect[34]. Secondly, there is a single Consecration Prayer, for both bread and wine, instead of the separate English ones. Thirdly, the two forms for the Eucharist (Sunday and weekday) are not printed separately; the differences are given in marginal notes. Fourthly, the rubrics given in altar-editions are more detailed, probably showing a more 'advanced' liturgical growth - the terms 'Gospeller' and 'Epistoler' are dropped in favour of 'Deacon' and 'Sub-Deacon'.

We now return south of the border to England, where in 1850 Reservation and 'Proposition of the Sacrament' were introduced in all Churches and spread in all the Tribes[35]. This is an important step forward; from 1842, the Afternoon Communion (corresponding to a 'Liturgy of the Presanctified) had been available to those unable to attend the Morning Celebration. Now provision is made for Communion of the Sick from the already-consecrated elements, and the tradition of offering special intercessions before the Sacrament at the Daily Offices is begun. Thus Reservation is both functional (Communion) and also cultic ('devotions').

In 1851, a third edition of the Liturgy was published in England. Apart from bringing the services into line with the new practices in connection with Reservation, the principal innovations are that the Eucharist is now printed at the beginning of the service book. This impresses C.B. Heath sufficiently to draw from him a comparison with the order as set out in the Book of Common Prayer, where the Communion service comes after the

34. This feature also appears in the German and French Editions of 1850, and the Swiss-German of 1852; ✓ Chart D.
35. Miller, I, pp.257ff., Shaw, p.109, Boase, p.838. 'Proposition' took place at Morning and Evening Prayer in congregations ruled by an Angel; the Reserved Sacrament was removed from the Tabernacle and placed on the altar, and special Intercessions were offered.

Daily Offices and the Propria - Heath thinks these are subsidiary and should rightly be printed after the Eucharist[36]. Secondly, special Benedictions are to be given immediately before the Pax, by the Angel or the Apostle, when he visits a congregation under his charge. This is an ancient tradition, adapted and brought into line with the Church's hierarchy[37]. Thirdly, the word 'Holy' is inserted into the Nicene Creed before 'Catholic and Apostolic Church'. Fourthly, there is an Order for Daily Communion after Morning Prayer, from the Tabernacle, on days when the Eucharist is not celebrated[38].

In 1852, Lights and Incense were introduced, once more after careful communication among Ministers[39]. Two points are note-worthy. First, there is no recorded use of Incense at the time in any Anglican place of worship - and this was at a time when legal and public controversy were growing in liturgical matters within the Church of England[40]. Second, in their use of both Lights and Incense, the new Church ignored the traditions of Western and Eastern Christendom, and sought to give both a new meaning, along biblical lines. Lights were introduced as follows: two oil lamps on either side of the altar (symbolising the foundation of the Church upon Apostles and Prophets), and seven lamps, hanging from the ceiling, outside the altar-rails (symbolising the ministry of the sevenfold Eldership in the Particular Church - the Angel and Six Elders). The lamps on either side of the altar were lit at all services; the seven lamps were lit at

36. C.B. Heath, Lecture, p.5.
37. cf. the 1838 direction that the Apostle should invariably celebrate if present.
38. The Order is quite similar to the Sunday Afternoon Communion; the introduction of Reservation probably set the precedent for this innovation.
39. Miller, I, pp.265ff, Boase, p.840, Lindsay-Grant, p.38; there are indications that many Ministers wished to introduce them long before; Drummond refers to Incense in the 1843 'Rationale' (pp.viii-ix), and alludes to the use of both Lights and Incense in 1851 in 'Principles' (pp.20-26).
40. For a full list of prosecutions, and the dates, v. The Prayer Book Dictionary , pp.715-717.

Morning and Evening Prayer, but the central lamp was also lit immediately after the Concluding Prayer before Communion in the Eucharist, as a sign that the Reserved Sacrament was in the Tabernacle (it thus did duty as a 'sanctuary lamp' as well). Incense was used only during intercessions; it was burnt in a thurible during the Commemorations of the Living and the Departed in the Eucharist, and during the Proposition of the Sacrament in Morning and Evening Prayer; the altar was never 'censed'. Two anthems were issued in connection with the use of Incense, the first to be sung immediately after the Prayer of Oblation after Consecration in the Eucharist, and the second at the Proposition of the Sacrament in the Daily Offices[41]. Thus in both Lights and Incense, the complexities of baroque ceremonial are avoided; a fresh approach produces a simple and more direct liturgical form.

In the same year, the first edition of the Book of Rubrics was published. Hitherto, altar-editions of service-books were provided with directions. But by this time all the services had grown in complexity to such a degree that this move was certainly a welcome step. The directions given refer to the 1851 edition of the Liturgy, together with the innovations of 1852[42]. Acolytes appear to have come into general use during services; they were employed in lighting lamps, handling the thurible and boat, and other general matters, but they did not take a prominent part in the services.

In 1853, a further edition of the Liturgy was published. In it were printed the two Incense Anthems issued in the previous year. There were also minor adjustments and abbreviations in the Prayer of Oblation before

41. C.E.Lewis Heath, Lecture, p.7, C.B.Heath, Lecture, p.4, Shaw, pp.109,213; C.E.Lewis Heath refers to a Committee of Angels which was set up to deal with the introduction of these new items, and the suggestion that Incense could be burnt either with charcoal or with a spirit-lamp; this latter custom does not survive into subsequent practice.
42. e.g. the use of lights, p.10.

Consecration, the Preface, and the Commemorations of the Living and Departed.

Scotland comes to the foreground once more in the years 1854-1855 when a second edition of the Liturgy was published. It is not mentioned in any of the books or Lectures, but it is obviously Scottish from its peculiarities, and it clearly dates from these years as it shows the developments of the English book of 1853, but not those of 1856. We suggest 1854 as the more probable date, because there had not been a Scottish book since 1850. The weekly Collects and the Single Consecration Prayer persist, and all the new features of the English books of 1851 and 1853 are to be found.

In 1854, Incense was introduced at the Greater Introit, to be offered while the bread and wine were placed on the altar; the Mixed Chalice was also adopted in this year[43]. In 1855, people were required to sit for the Epistle, and the Gospel-Book was required to be placed leaning against the North side of the Tabernacle on the altar - a concise expression of Word and Sacrament[44].

This period saw a great amount of development in liturgical matters. The 1842 Rite was pruned in 1847 and 1851, and added to in minor points in both those years. Reservation, and Lights and Incense are all introduced. And the services are becoming increasingly formalised. Further, we have evidence in the 'Albury Notes' of deliberations by the Apostles concerning possible inclusions in the developing Liturgy, and the peculiar Scottish editions show us that the worship of the Church was not intended to be monochrome.

43. Lindsay-Grant, p.40.
44. Lindsay-Grant, p.41.

(d) Later additions: 1856-1880

In 1856, another edition of the Liturgy was published in England. There are no changes in the Eucharist, except that the form of Absolution given was no longer described as 'appropriate' - obviously the early extemporising was now lost completely. No more developments occurred until 1861, when a third Scottish edition appears, this time with the date printed. It is more or less identical with the English 1856 book, except that the weekly Collects are maintained; the single Consecration prayer has been dropped in favour of the English form, with its two prayers. We can probably account for this move in the direction of English use by the fact that Drummond had died in 1860, and there was, perhaps, no one in the Apostolic College to keep Scottish peculiarities alive. Other changes from the 1856 English book include the use of the Athanasian Creed on all major festivals, the addition of the clauses in the Commemorations of the Living, and the provision of a second alternative Common Post-Communion Prayer. These latter three developments may already have been introduced in England.

In 1862, a second edition of the Book of Rubrics appeared. It is a slightly longer set of rules than the first edition of 1852. As far as the Eucharist is concerned, the two main changes are that it takes account of the introduction of incense at the Greater Introit (in 1854), and that there is now a special sanctuary-lamp to hang before the Tabernacle, which is to be lit when the Sacrament is in the Tabernacle[45]. This second change is very important; it was probably made in orderto avoid confusion in the earlier use of the central lamp of the seven - whose primary association was the Ministerial 'presence' of the Angel, rather than the Sacramental 'presence' of the consecrated elements.

45. 1862 Rubrics, pp.9,11.

The English edition of the Liturgy which came out in 1863 confirms the developments noted in the Scottish 1861 book, and makes a minor change in one of the Commemorations of the Living.

In 1868, the use of Holy Water was approved and introduced, after some years of discussion. Accordingly, stoops were placed at each entrance to Churches, and members signed themselves on the forehead only on entering and leaving. A form for blessing water was issued[46]. In 1869, another English edition of the Liturgy was published, with no new elements in the Eucharist: a few minor offices were added, and the form for blessing water was included. The Scottish variation, however, was brought to an end in 1870, when the Angels of Churches in Scotland asked permission from Albury to use the English service-book[47].

No further developments took place in the Rite, although this was the period when most Church-building was done, at home and abroad. Cardale's death in 1877 brought the Liturgy to a halt - no additions were made after this date, as none of the remaining Apostles regarded themselves as competent to do so[48], their reluctance probably stemming as much from Cardale's genius in liturgical matters as from the fact that he was the Pillar of the Apostles. However, Cardale's Coadjutor, Leslie, was responsible for issuing the third edition of the Book of Rubrics in 1878[49], which standardised all innovations since the Rubrics of 1862. In the final edition of the Liturgy, which was published in 1880, no changes appear except a major typographical one - all the Seasonal Forms were printed after the Eucharist, so that the text of the 'Common' parts of the Eucharist could be read without interruption. Leslie's accurate

46. Miller, I, p.300, Shaw, p.109, Lindsay-Grant, p.48
47. Lindsay-Grant, p. 49, C.B.Heath, Lecture, pp.6-7.
48. C.B. Heath, Lecture, p.6.
49. Correspondence with Pastor Albrecht Weber, Germany.

mind, discernible in the 1878 Rubrics, was no doubt behind this final liturgical project. Since this date, there have been several reprints, but no changes have been allowed in the text of any of the services as reached by the time of Cardale's death.

By 1880, therefore, the accumulation of liturgical paraphernalia reaches its peak. In this period, the English edition emerges as the 'editio typica' - Scotland's idiosyncrasies disappear. In all the innovations, full use was made of the teaching value of each new item - beauty without instruction was shunned. Whatever assessment is made of the slow and cautious evolution from the Church's earliest days to this point of fullest development, the changes made and the steps taken from the eccentricities of Newman Street to the grandeur of Gordon Square certainly deserve to be described as liturgically outstanding (Plan C).

(e) A Post-Script: 1880-1970

After Woodhouse's death in 1901, the 'Full Services' were suppressed, as they were not deemed suitable for a Church which was no longer led by Apostles. This meant that the 'Sunday' form of the Eucharist (for use by the Angel) together with the full offices of Morning and Evening Prayer (with the Proposition of the Sacrament) were not held in any Church; and together with these reductions went the use of Incense[50].

Penitential services were held, in addition to the normal Eucharists and Offices, to mourn the loss of the Apostleship, and Lindsay-Grant's 'Note-Book' mentions that the Absolution was not given at such services, as no one on earth was 'competent'[51]. However, the regular services of Eucharist and the Daily Offices were maintained as often as they had been

50. Lindsay-Grant, p.60.
51. Lindsay-Grant, p.61.

before Woodhouse's death, but in the shorter versions originally intended for weekday use.

In 1905, a special clause, based on a prayer from the 'Three Seasons' (an 'Embertide' Form), was appointed to be used at every Eucharist in the Prayer of Oblation after Consecration, to show that the Church was now without its fullest degree of Ministry[52]. After that date, services were reduced as Ministers and other members died. At the last Eucharist held in the Church, on Christmas Day in Paddington, 1970, Under-Deacons were employed to administer the chalice, when the aged priest, Davson, celebrated the old familiar service. It was quite a contrast from former years of glory - ironically, contrary to the letter of the rubrics[53], but superbly appropriate for the occasion.

52. Lindsay-Grant, p.62.
53. Only Deacons, Priests, and Angels may administer Communion; others (whether Under-Deacons or Acolytes) may only hold the vessels for Communion while the Celebrant administers (Rub.E. p.22).

Chapter 4 : The Liturgical Setting

The Liturgical Setting

Some explanation must now be given of the Church building, the Ministers and their Vestments, and the Forenoon Service. All these contribute to an appreciation of the setting of the Eucharist.

(a) Building

The Churches built by the Catholic Apostolics after the evolution of the Rite were adapted from Western tradition. Buildings were divided into (i) Sanctuary, (ii) Upper Choir, (iii) Lower Choir, (iv) Nave, (v) Baptistery, (vi) Side-Chapel and (vii) Ancillary Buildings (Plan C).

(i) The Sanctuary was placed at the east end of the building, and was of similar proportion to those Anglican Churches of the Gothic Revival period where a formal ceremonial was required. It was to be raised above the level of the Upper Choir by one or more steps. In the centre of the east wall stood a stone altar, set upon a dais, with one or more steps; a super-altar was permitted, and usually extended the whole length of the altar-table. In the earlier days (1853, at Gordon Square) there was a tendency to build small altars, not of the same proportion as those being built at the time for AnglicanChurches (1863, St.Peter's Vauxhall)[1]. This tendency may have been intended to emphasise the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist but it did not last; in most of the later buildings (1867, at Edinburgh, and 1894, at Paddington[2]) the altars were larger. Frontals were not allowed; for the Eucharist alone, a linen cloth was placed on the altar, often fringed with lace at the front. On the altar, in the middle, stood a Tabernacle, usually of wood, often richly painted, and always

1. Lickfold, The Catholic Apostolic Church, Gordon Square London, p.29 (plate VIII), (Gordon Square); Clarke,Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century, p.154 (plate XXIII).
2. Beyer, The Seven Churches in London, p.5 (Paddington); 'Newsletter' No.3, cover-illustration (Edinburgh).

large enough to contain vessels for the reservation of the Sacrament in both kinds; they were, therefore, much larger than those in Roman or Anglican Churches of the time and Drummond provides some Illustrations[3]. The Book of Gospels was placed on the altar, leaning against the north side of the Tabernacle[4].

On either side of the altar stood two oil lamps, rising from the floor, and large enough to be prominent, but not to surpass in height the top of the Tabernacle[5]. On the south side of the sanctuary was placed the sedilia, either set in the wall (as at Camberwell), or as three separate chairs (as at Edinburgh); Mediaeval rather than Post-Tridentine tradition was followed - the celebrant sat in the eastern-most seat, as was the case in the Ecclesiological Society buildings in Anglicanism at the time[6]. A Sanctuary lamp hung before the altar, usually of silver; it was lit only when the Reserved Sacrament was in the Tabernacle. Altar-rails were set on the step at the access to the sanctuary, usually made of brass or wood. Seats were placed on the north and south sides of the sanctuary, for Apostolic Ministers, when conducting visitations.

(ii) The Upper Choir was that division of the Church in which Angels and Priests were accommodated; it was to be at least as wide as the Sanctuary, if not wider still, for Churches where there were many Ministers. The stalls faced north and south. In congregations where the 'Full Intercession' was used, seven lamps hungfrom the ceiling, obscuring neither the sanctuary-lamp nor the tabernacle; these lamps symbolised the

3. Drummond, Principles, pp.18-19; Anson suggests Pugin influence,pp.108-109.
4. The Book of Gospels was so placed only on the principal altar of the Church and was removed for the reading of the Gospel only, Rub.E.pp.7, 165, Rub.S. pp.4,11.
5. Drummond quotes Pugin in connection with two candles on the altar in the Middle Ages, and Boquillot for candles beside the altar in France; he also provides illustrations, Principles, p.20.
6. Fortescue, pp.4,5; Dearmer prescribes the Mediaeval arrangement, The Parson's Hand-Book, p.360.

ministry of the sevenfold Eldership (the 'Golden Candlestick') - the rule in the Particular Church of the Angel and the Six Elders[7]. At the far end on the north side stood the Angel's throne, facing south, and set apart from the Priests' stalls; it was usually more richly carved than the other stalls, and in a few instances canopied[8]. Directly opposite, on the south side, stood the Table of Prothesis, which was a wooden table, oblong in shape, often on a platform, and, like the altar, covered with a linen cloth for the Eucharist; it is clearly related to both the Oriental Prothesis and the Western Credence[9]. A piscina was to be placed near at hand.

On either side, in double (or more) rows, were the Priests' stalls, occupied in order or seniority, the most senior sitting nearest the Sanctuary[10]; the Angel's Coadjutor and other Angels, permanently or temporarily residing in the congregation, would sit in the east-most stalls. At the west end stood the Epistle and Gospel Lecterns, one on each side; they were of brass, stone, or wood and their connection with Western use is obvious[11].

(iii) The Lower Choir was placed one or more steps below the Upper Choir, and accommodated the Deacons of the Church. Their stalls squared off

7. Drummond suggests the use of the 'corona lucis' (Principles, pp.23-24), but this was very rare indeed; The 'Full Intercession' was used in Churches ruled by an Angel and served by six Elders and Priests of the other three borders of Ministry; it thus usually applied to large city congregations (v. Rub. S. p.35). These lamps were only lit at the Intercession in Morning and Evening Prayer (Rub. S.p.24): Fortescue mentions five or more lamps before the Sanctissimum (p.6, n.4); the Catholic Apostolics clearly observed the normal Roman custom of one lamp before the Tabernacle, but adapted the Roman proliferation of Sanctuary-Lamps to this new symbolism.
8. The throne was not to be very far from the other stalls; this is a significant difference from the Roman custom of seating the Bishop within the Sanctuary, opposite the sedilia (Fortescue, p.8).
9. Cardale discusses the early Mediaeval 'Secretarium', (R.L.I. p.132).
10. Seniority was determined by Ordination and service in the Particular Church, Rub.S; p.3.
11. Fortescue mentions a lectern for the readings at High Mass (p.108,n.3), but the connection here is with Mediaeval tradition, revived in many Anglican Churches by Dearmer, The Parson's Hand-Book, p.162.

the Upper Choir; two sections (one on either side) faced north and south respectively, and the other two sections (one on either side) were 'returned'. Seats were occupied according to seniority; the 'Deacons of the Seven' sat in the 'returned' stalls. This position is the obvious one for Deacons;it is probably connected with the Oriental use of the Deacon, whose normal position is between the Celebrant and the congregation. On the south side was placed a Lectern for reading the lessons at the Choir Offices; such Lecterns were usually eagle-shaped, although sometimes saddle-backed; Western origin is apparent[12].

Somewhere nearby was placed the singing-choir - the precise location varied according to the size of the congregation and the position of the organ, but care was taken that it should lead the congregation in the singing of the Anthems, Psalms and Hymns[13]. A pulpit was placed on the north side, and although connected with the Lower Choir, varied in precise position according to the acoustics of the building.

(iv) The Nave was placed one or more steps below the Deacons' stalls; here the congregation was accommodated. Care was taken that the people should be able to see as much as possible; no 'screens' were ever used, although they were permitted, provided they did not obstruct vision[14]. Near each entrance to the Church (including the Sacristy-entrance) were placed a box for the collection of tithes and other offerings, and a stoup (usually of stone) for Holy Water, placed in a glass receptacle. Under-Deacons and Door-keepers were always in attendance before and during services, to assist visitors coming to the Church, and also to look after members of the congregation requiring help; Under-Deacons sat in specially-assigned seats, among the congregation.

12. Fortescue, p.9.
13. Choirs were discouraged from singing music which was not congregational, Rub. S. p.41.
14. Reg. pp. 23-24.

(v) The Baptistery was (ideally) positioned as a separate part of the building, and entered by a passage from the Nave; if this was not possible, it was railed or screened off from the Nave. This is comparable with the Ecclesiological Society's enthusiasm for Fonts placed near the main entrance to the Church[15].

(vi) A Side-Chapel was provided in larger Churches for weekday Eucharists. It was usually placed in a south aisle, adjacent to the High Altar. The Rubrics encourage provision for several side-altars, but in practice there was never more than one[16]. The furniture consisted of Altar, Tabernacle, two oil-lamps, one sanctuary lamp, altar-rails, and Table of Prothesis - the minimum required for a Eucharist.

(vii) Ancillary Buildings took the form of vestries for the Angel, the Priests, the Deacons, the Under-Deacons, the singing-choir, and a Ladies' Room. Next to the Angel's Vestry was placed a small room where the remains of the Reserved Sacrament were consumed after the Forenoon Service; here also the Sacrament was reserved after the Eucharist on the Thursday before Easter for the Good Friday Communion, and the holy oil was kept for the Anointing of the Sick.[17] A Council-room was also included, for meetings of the Ministers and the congregation (e.g. Prayer meetings). Vestries were normally amply fitted out with vestments, and the Council-Room invariably contained a full Library.

Such was the layout of the Church Building. Some points can be deduced from the way it was arranged. First, the plan follows Western tradition,

15. Davies, Architectural Setting of Baptism, p.105.
16. Only in Gordon Square was there more than one Chapel, and this extra Chapel was commonly called the 'English Chapel'; it was reserved for the use of the Apostles when in London, and was, legally, nothing to do with the Gordon Square congregation, Lickfold, op.cit, p.40.
17. Rub. E.p.122, Rub. S.p.58.

in that each part of the hierarchy has its own proper place in the building. It is also plainly related to the general church-building activity in the Church of England at the time, with its conscious theorizing about church design; and, like it, follows generally the Gothic Revival in its architectural style. Second, the derivation from Western tradition is never acknowledged in the sources where explanation is made (if at all) by reference to Tabernacle typology. In addition to the idiosyncratic role of typology in the Church in general, a subsidiary reason for this rationale could have been the fear that the new order was an excuse for 'Romish' practices, at least as far as outsiders were concerned. Thirdly, there are original elements, which express the special aspects of the Church's hierarchy. Apostolic Ministers are seated in the sanctuary; this is clearly the only place for them as they have no position in the Particular Church, although it can be paralleled with the Roman practice of seating the Bishop within the sanctuary, whether or not he is Celebrant[18]. The relationship between the Angel's throne and the Table of Prothesis is somewhat obscure; but both the early Albury plans have a table placed before the seat occupied by the Angel (Plans A and B). The Deacons' stalls occupy the obvious position for them; they are the elected and ordained representatives of the congregation, so they sit between the Priests and the People. Finally, full participation in worship is architecturally encouraged - hence the open space in the buildings, an extreme example of which is the Church in Edinburgh.

In conclusion, therefore, the architectural arrangements are an admirable adaptation of Western tradition to a new arrangement of Ministers and a new liturgical theory and practice.

18. Fortescue, pp.149ff(in the presence of Bishop), pp. 163ff (Pontifical High Mass).

(b) The Ministers and their Vestments

All Ministers were employed in some way in the services of the Church. The Angel invariably celebrated the Eucharist in his Cathedral Church on Sundays, unless illness hindered him, when he sat in the congregation - he did not preside in choir. He did, however, preside within the sanctuary, when he visited a dependency, which was ruled either by a subordinate Angel, or a Priest[19].

When celebrating in his own Church, the Angel was always (where possible) assisted by Deacon and Sub-Deacon, who were preferably Priests, but could be Deacons (in case of shortage of Priests): Ministers acting thus were usually called Assistants[20]. In addition, other Priests and Deacons helped, when required, in the Administration of Communion: they were called Sub-Assistants[21]. In addition to these Ministers, there were also Under-Deacons, Door-keepers, Singers and Acolytes.

The Vestments used in the services were numerous[22] (Drawing G).

The Cassock was worn by all Ministers, single-breasted in style as in the Roman Church at the time. Angels (unless serving in Particular Churches as Priests[23]) wore the purple Cassock, also following Roman practice; all other Ministers wore black Cassocks. Both the Cassock and the Mozette were lined and piped as follows: Angels; Prophets, blue; Evangelists, red; Angels of the Church, purple; all others, white.

19. Rub.E.p.47, Rub.S.p.43; cf the Roman custom of the Bishop presiding at Mass.
20. The terminology varies; sometimes the two are called Deacon and Sub-Deacon (as in some Scottish books), sometimes Gospeller and Epistoler but most common are the names 'Senior Assistant' and 'Junior Assistant'; the parallel with the Roman Deacon and Sub-Deacon and with theAnglican Gospeller and Epistoler is clear.
21. This is the term used in the Scottish Rubrics (p.9), and will be used in this study to avoid confusion with the Senior/Junior Assistants.
22. The regulations are to be found in Rub. E.pp.148-153.
23. They were allowed to wear the purple Cassock in the presence of the Apostle, Rub. E.p.155, Rub.S.p.121.

Priests; Elders, purple; Prophets, blue; Evangelists, red; Pastors, white; all others, nil[24]. Although the scheme is new, the origin of the practice of lining and piping seems to be Roman.

When attending any service in a non-officiating capacity, Angels and Priests wore over the Cassock a Rochet and Mozette, or a Surplice.

The Rochet was worn in the Roman style as a short alb, buttoned at the neck, reaching to the knee, and with tight sleeves. Angels were allowed to wear the Rochet edged at the hem and cuffs with lace, or else of a finer quality of linen.

The Mozette was worn as a simple cape, matching the Cassock, and buttoned down the front. Angels and Elders wore the Mozette reaching to the elbows; all others wore it covering the shoulders only.

The surplice was always of the fullest cut, reaching well below the knee, and with large sleeves.[25]

Deacons, singers and acolytes attending services always wore the 'Linen Dalmatic'; this was a shortened Surplice, reaching to just below the knees, and with short sleeves. The nomenclature was based on the early Dalmatic, as it emerged in Dalmatia, but its actual origin is in the Roman Surplice (or Italian 'Cotta') of the last century, which resembles the Catholic Apostolic garment much more closely than the cumbersome full-length Dalmatics depicted in the early mosaics.

24. Rub. E. pp.149-150; v.i, on the colours of vestments applied to the four-fold Ministry.
25. The Surplice was only worn in England, Scotland, Ireland and Sweden, as far as the writer knows; the reason may be Anglican/Swedish Lutheran influence.

For the Eucharist, and for certain other services, Angels and Priests did not wear these Vestments, which we may term for convenience 'choir habit' (though it was never so called). Over the Cassock was worn the Alb. This was laid down to be of the Benedictine style, reaching to the ground, and unornamented with lace; the prescription 'Benedictine' probably reflects the liturgical reforms originating from Solesmes and spreading through the Roman Church during the period[26]. Albs were worn without amices, and always girded.

Over Rochet, Surplice, Linen Dalmatic, or Alb, Angels, Priests and Deacons wore the Stole, according to the service, and to their participating function.

The styles of the Stole varied, as follows:

- fastened at the front with a cord: worn by Angels over Rochet or Alb;
  worn by Priests over Rochet.
- without fastening: worn by Angels and Priests over Surplice (hanging free).
  worn by Priests over Alb (crossed at waist, secured under girdle).

Angels serving as Priests wore the Stole straight over the Alb, but secured under the girdle; this symbolised the authority under which these Angels served.

- secured with a hook/hooks: worn by Deacons on left shoulder over the Linen Dalmatic, the Stole being secured by the hook(s) to the Cassock or Linen Dalmatic.

This method of wearing the Diaconal Stole suggests Oriental usage; but the Roman practice of wearing it like a sash (tied under right arm) was adopted in many German congregations[27].

26. Drummond makes this recommendation; he applauds the practice of the English Benedictines (Principles, p.29); this is obviously the source for the presciption in the Rubrics. Drummond condemns the use of lace and apparels as decorations to Albs.
27. Correspondence with Pastor Albrecht Weber.

Over the Alb and Stole the Celebrant wore the Chasuble. This was of the style commonly called 'Gothic Revival', viz. reaching to the elbows at the sides, and to below the knees at front and back. There was a tendency towards the end of the century to make them of a fuller shape. But in Scandinavia, Lutheran retention of the Latin shape was respected in many congregations[28]. There was always a cross on the back, often embroidered in simple appliqué work, with an orphrey, occasionally with a Y-cross[29], but never with a crucifix, nor with any very elaborate ornamentation. There was usually a simple 'pillar' orphrey at the front. Drummond gives an illustration of a Chasuble in his 'Principles'[30]. There was some standardisation of style, both in cut and in ornamentation; to take but one example, the Chasubles used at Paddington and Edinburgh were very similar indeed.

The two Assistants wore the Stole according to their order; an Angel who was to read the Gospel therefore wore the Stole hanging straight, and not over the left shoulder as in the Western tradition. On Sundays and feasts the Assistants also wore the 'Eucharistic Dalmatic', that is to say, the Dalmatic of the traditional Western style, made to match the Chasuble. The design was also 'Gothic Revival', with two 'clavi', and with proper sleeves. As with the Chasubles, later examples tended to be fuller. Drummond gives an illustration of an ancient Dalmatic, but its shape appears to be much larger than those generally used in the Church[32].

The Cope was worn at the Daily Offices by the Angel, but was not often worn at the Eucharist. The only occasions when it would be worn were when

28. Correspondence with Dr F.R.Stevenson.
29. Anson's illustration is therefore untypical, p.113.
30. Principles, p.30.
31. This can be paralleled with the practice in many Anglican Churches where Dalmatics are used; Priests wear their Stoles over both shoulders, and do not 'act' as Deacons.
32. Principles, p.32.

an Apostolic Minister was present in the sanctuary but not celebrating, and when the Angel was visiting a dependent congregation. Copes were semicircular in shape, with an orphrey and morse; they were never shaped at the neck, nor did they have 'hoods'[33]. Drummond's illustration in 'Principles' thus exemplifies the style adopted in most congregations[34].

The Colour of Vestments worn at the Eucharist was always white, except on Good Friday, Easter Eve, and Days of Humiliation, when black or dark purple was allowed[35]. Also, vestments used on Sundays could be distinguished from those used on weekdays by gold-coloured ornamentation in the crosses, edgings and other applique work[36]. Copes were either white or purple, depending on the service; purple was associated with rule, and not penitence. We mentioned earlier that the lining and piping of Cassocks distinguished the border of Ministry of the wearer. At other services, particularly at the Daily Offices, each border of Ministry had a colour associated with it, which was represented in the Stoles worn. Gold or purple went with the Angel and the Elders, blue with Prophets, red with Evangelists, and white with Pastors. The only time when four-fold Ministry colours would appear at the Eucharist was when an Apostolic Minister or an Angel was present in the sanctuary (but not celebrating) on a Visitation;[36] here the Apostle would wear a gold-coloured Stole, a Prophet-with-the-Apostle a blue Stole, an Evangelist-with-the-Apostle a red Stole, and a Pastor-with-the-Apostle a white Stole; any other Apostolic Minister, or an Angel visiting a dependent congregation, would wear a purple Stole.

33. Anson's illustration is therefore inaccurate, p.111.
34. Principles, p.31.
35. Prescribed in Rub. E.p.155; but not obligatory on Days of Humiliation in Rub. S.p.122. The rationale of white is clearly from Drummond, (Principles p.29).
36. The Apostolic Visitation would take several days, and would normally involve Sealing and Ordination at which theApostle would officiate with his Ministers, and also celebrate; these special services would, however, take place on weekdays.

The fourfold Ministry was represented in the way in which Ministers were employed. The choice of Assistants was carefully determined; Elders and Evangelists were preferred for the role of Senior Assistant (Gospeller) and Prophets and Pastors for that of Junior Assistant (Epistoler). Similarly with regard to the duties given to the Sub-Assistants, Elders and Evangelists were to be used in the administration of the bread, while the Prophets and Pastors in the administration of the cup[37].

To sum up, the vestments of the Ministers were as follows:

(1) Celebrant: Alb, Stole, Chasuble.

(2) Assistants: Alb, Stole, Dalmatic[38].

(3) Sub-Assistants: Alb, Stole (if Priests); Linen Dlmatic, Stole (if Deacons).

(4) Homilist: Rochet, Mozette, Stole (if Angel or Priest[39]); Linen Dalmatic, Stole (if Deacon).

(5) Non-officiating Angels and Priests: Rochet, Mozette.

(6) Officiating Deacons: Linen Dalmatic, Stole.

(7) Non-officiatingDeacons, Officiating Singers and Acolytes[40]: Linen Dalmatic.

(8) Under-Deacons: Cassock only: they donned the Linen Dalmatic if their duties took them to the Sanctuary.

(9) Apostolic Minister(s)/Visiting Angel: Rochet, Stole, Cope.

37. Rub.E.p.3, Rub.S.p.17.
38. If one of the Assistants was a Deacon, he wouldwear Linen Dalmatic and Stole, and the other Assistant would not wear a Dalmatic over his Alb and Stole, Rub.E.p.151. However, in Scotland, a Deacon who was an Assistant would wear Linen Dalmatic with Stole, over which he would wear the other ('Eucharistic') Dalmatic, Rub.S.p.8; cf.Assistant Deacon at Pontifical High Mass, Fortescue, p.165.
39. In case of shortage of Ministers, the Homilist, if also a Sub-Assistant, would retire to the Sacristy after the Homily to replace the Rochet, Mozette, and Stole, with Alb and Stole (correspondence with Dr. F.R. Stevenson).
40. In Germany, Acolytes wore a short 'tippet' over the Linen Dalmatic, as in many Roman Catholic Churches (correspondence with Dr. F.R. Stevenson).

These vestments show the same adaptative use of traditional Western material already noted in the case of the liturgical architecture. Generally speaking, however, the usage of the Church of Rome is followed more closely than any other, save in the case of the Surplice and the Linen Dalmatic - although even here a Roman connection is suggested. Baroque features are to be seen only in the cord-fastened Stole and the lace Rochet; Gothic Revival influence is much more prominent in the cut of Stoles, Dalmatics, Casubles, and Copes, although our examples are very much simpler than those used in the Roman and Anglican Churches of the time.

The adherence to white as the proper liturgical colour for the Eucharist reflects a cautious attitude to the Liturgical Year, which will be seen more closely later. In the other services of the Church, different colours were used for the Stoles employed, but these colours varied not with the season, but according to the Ministry of the wearer - an entirely novel feature[41].

(c) Preparations before the Eucharist and the Forenoon Service

The Eucharist was not the only Sunday Liturgical Service. In all large congregations, in addition to Morning andEvening Prayer, two further Offices (Forenoon and Afternoon Service), were appointed to be said, daily if possible, and certainly on Sundays and Feasts. It was after the Forenoon Service that the Eucharist was normally celebrated, at any rate invariably on occasions when the Eucharist was celebrated in the more solemn form, i.e. with Ministers and music[42].

41. Drummond, Principles, p.29.
42. i.e. at the high altar, when most of the Ministers of the Church were present in choir.

The personnel employed varied according to congregation; but care was taken, where possible, that the Ministers officiating at Forenoon would not also officiate at the Eucharist. This ensured an equal division of duties, as well as not too lengthy a pause between the two services.

Before the Forenoon Service, and on days when the Eucharist was not celebrated with this preliminary Office (i.e. a 'plain' celebration), the Altar and Table of Prothesis were covered with their respective linen cloths[43]. On the Table of Prothesis were placed the Patens and Chalices[44] required for the Communion, the Vessels for the Reserved Sacrament, with their covers, a Vessel containing water for mixing the Chalices, a (larger) Vessel containing water for rinsing the Vessels after the Communion, and Maniples, for the use of any Minister giving Communion from the Chalice; these latter were regarded as towels rather than vestments - an interesting primitivism[45]. All these Vessels and Maniples were then covered with a large napkin. Inside the Sanctuary, a censer-stand was placed on the south side, and the Incense-boat and spoon were put in a convenient place.

The Forenoon Service then followed, at 10 a.m. It was conducted in the Lower Choir, although the Angel presided from his throne in the Upper Choir. All the Ministers sat in their normal places, except that the two who conducted the service knelt at the steps between the Lower and Upper Choir. The service took the following form:

43. These and the following prescriptions are found in Rub.E.pp.8ff, and Rub.S.pp.8ff.
44. Drummond gives illustrations of Chalices and Cruets, Principles, pp.34-36.
45. The Maniple came in threeforms; first, the normal Western style, but with linen appendages buttoned in under the middle-join, with which the Chalice was wiped; second, the same style as the former, but larger, and made of stouter linen rather than silk or brocade, and with the same linen appendages; and third, made entirely of linen, the Chalice being wiped with the two ends.

- Invocation
- General Confession
- Absolution (by Angel)
- Peace (by Angel)
- Prayer of Dedication
- Versicles and Responses (Anglican)
- Old Testament Lection (read from Lectern inLower Choir)
- Psalms
- Apostles' Creed
- Lesser Litany
- Lord's Prayer
- Versicles and Responses (Anglican)
- Benediction (by Angel)[46]

After Forenoon Service, the senior Minister present then went up to the Altar and removed the Vessels containing the Reserved Sacrament from the Tabernacle, and, preceded by a Deacon (bearing a torch lit from the Sanctuary Lamp), went to the Sacristy, where the consecrated elements were consumed, and the Vessels rinsed[47].

At this point, Ministers about to officiate at the Eucharist retired to the Sacristy to don the necessary vestments, and to prepare themselves. Meanwhile, Deacons were appointed to bring in from the Sacristy and place on the Table of Prothesis the bread and wine to be used at the Eucharist; these were contained in large Patens and Flagons[48]. Another Deacon lit the two lamps on either side of the Altar. The preparations were

46. There were other Prayers and Responses before the Benediction on occasions when the Eucharist did not follow.
47. Rub. E, pp.4, and 38-39, Rub. S. p.9.
48. Ciboria are mentioned in the rubrics in some of the Scottish editions of the Liturgy, but it is not known if these were ever used.

then complete. On days when the Forenoon Service was not held, similar preparations were performed at the Side-Altar, but by Under-Deacons or Acolytes[49].

The Forenoon Service has strong Anglican affinities, and in basic structure is Western. There are two unusual features - the Peace and the Prayer of Dedication, these are analogous to the Peace and a section of the Prayer of Oblation before Consecration, in the Eucharist. An unexpected aspect of the service is the placing of the Old Testament Lection after the Versicles and Responses, where the Anglican and Roman pattern would normally have a Psalm or Canticle.

The purpose of the Forenoon Service, however, is clearly that of Anglican Morning Prayer and the Roman Office of Terce - a choir Office in preparation for the Eucharist[50]. But it was not regarded as a mere adjunct to the Eucharist; congregations were strongly encouraged to attend it, and be present in Church before it began.

49. Rub. S.p.22.
50. Even in the most 'advanced' of the Anglican Churches of the time, Morning Prayer was said prior to the Sung Eucharist (Russell, Saint Alban the Martyr, Holborn, pp.39,43).

PART II

COMMENTARY

Chapter 5 : Introduction to the Eucharist

(a) Terminology

There is no system discernible in the writings of the Catholic Apostolic Church in the terminology used about different parts of the Liturgy. This is mainly because so little has been written on the services. There are, however, four main classes of terminology.

First, there is the obvious lay-out of the service-book, where sections of different services, and important prayers within those sections, are often titled but not always consistently; thus, the Anthem after the Epistle is almost universally used; but the Benedictions before Communion are referred to in the text of the Eucharist as 'Benedictions by the Apostle', whereas the Seasonal Forms (which appoint variants for special occasions) term them 'Apostolical Benedictions'.

Second, Cardale himself uses certain names in 'Readings'; these normally correspond to traditional liturgical usage (e.g. the 'Kyrie Eleison')[1], but he uses his own when dealing with a component part of the Eucharist peculiar to this Rite (e.g. 'Prayer of Oblation after Consecration')[2].

Third, there was a tendency among choir-masters to use traditional Western titles in the privately printed settings of the service in use in the congregations (e.g. 'Sursum corda').

Fourth, Bramley-Moore offers his own terminology in his 'Tabular View'; by the nature of his work, the titles used have to be succinct. Bramley-Moore was a most erudite writer, and, next to Cardale, was probably the most prolific scholar of the Church. He has his own terms; e.g. the 'Versicles and Responses'[3] after the Absolution are referred to as 'Suffrages'.

1.R.L.I. p.45
2.R.L.I. p.170
3.cf. Willis, pp.9-10

In our Commentary, we use a mixture of Cardale's and Bramley-Moore's terminology, since neither offers a series of terms which is easily understood by non-members of the Church. We include in the Commentary a brief discussion of the titles used by the various writers where this is relevant.

(b) Cardale's definition of 'Liturgy'

There are two main definitions of 'Liturgy' in common use among liturgiologists. The first is applied in general to all services of a Church. The second is applied exclusively to the Eucharist. Cardale applauds the latter, affirming it to be the 'practice of the Catholic Church', and in order to establish this latter thesis, lays down that the term is 'improperly applied to Offices of Common Prayer unconnected with the Holy Eucharist'. He then goes on to state that it is his conviction, in the light of his own studies, and of prophecy, that there is an intrinsic connection between the Eucharist and the Daily Offices of Morning and Evening Prayer, corresponding to the daily morning and evening sacrifices under the Law; the term 'Liturgy' must, therefore, be applied exclusively to the three main services of the Church - the Eucharist, and Morning and Evening Prayer[4]. This explains the title of the service-book -'... other Divine Offices ....' refer to all remaining services of worship. The study of Morning and Evening Prayer is outside the scope of this work, and the traditional restrictive use of 'Liturgy' seems more convenient for this study. In order to avoid confusion, we therefore revert to using the word 'Liturgy' applied to the Eucharist, except when a wider context is obvious.

4. R.L.I. p.2

(c) Structure

We must now say something about the shape of our Liturgy, in view of Cardale's discussion of the subject. He distinguishes between the essential and the non-essential parts of a Eucharistic Rite[5]. This leads him to recognise the traditional Eastern and Western Missa Catechumenorum and Missa Fidelium, citing the Fourth Council of Carthage (381) in its 84th Canon regarding the expulsion of Jews, Pagans and Heretics from the second part of the Eucharist.

Cardale sees the first part as preparatory, and divided into three sections:

1. From the Invocation to the Kyrie Eleison
2. From the Gloria in excelsis to the Homily
3. From the Creed to the Offertory

The second part is the substance of the Rite, which divides into five sections:

1. The Oblation of the Holy Gifts
2. The Solemn Thanksgiving
3. The Consecration
4. The Oblation after Consecration and subsequent Intercession
5. The Holy Communion[6].

These distinctions show that a structural understanding of the Rite illuminates the service as a whole, and that the service was worked out on these lines, right from the days of the 1842 Albury book. The shape of the Rite is Roman, although it is much amplified by other elements, which are introduced from other sources, as well as from idiosyncratic aspects of the Church.

5. Among the latter he includes the Confession.
6. R.L.I. pp.35ff.

(d) Title

The title of the service emerged in its present form in 1847; the previous two service-books (1842Alb and 1843) used one very similar to that of the Book of Common Prayer. It is set out typographically, in the text, the 'Administration of the Communion' prefixes the Pre-Communion Sentences. Although the word 'Eucharist' was used in Anglican circles at this time[7], the nearest equivalent of the 1847 title is to be found in the Non-Jurors' Liturgy of 1734: 'The Holy Liturgy, or the Form of Offering the Sacrifice, and of Administering the Sacrament, of the Eucharist'[8]. If Cardale based his title on this, it is notable that he seems to omit the word 'sacrifice' at this stage (we shall discuss his understanding of the doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice later). Nonetheless, he sees the service in two distinct but related aspects, the Eucharist offered to God, and the Communion administered to the people - aspects more elaborately worked out in Bramley-Moore's 'Tabular View'[9].

The prescriptions in the title 'on the Lord's Day and by the Angel only' are new features altogether, which Cardale discusses briefly. The Lord's Day is the Sabbath Day of rest, and the weekly commemoration of the Resurrection. The Angel celebrates because he represents the completeness of the unity of a Particular Church, ruled by him, and served by Priests of all four borders of Ministry, whereas smaller congregations have their unity symbolised in one Priest[10]. This is Cardale's reasoning, based on Old Testament typology and a traditional association of Sunday in the Patristic tradition, as well as his own interpretation of the function of the Ministry in the Liturgy.

7. e.g.Tract 27, 'Bp.Cosin's doctrine of the Eucharist'; Tract 63,'The antiquity of the existing Liturgies', and Tract 64, 'Bp.Bull on the Ancient Liturgies'.
8. v. Grisbrooke, p.297.
9. For a modern defence of this distinction,cf.(Protestant Episcopal Church in U.S.A.) 'Prayer Book Studies XVII', pp.18-19. A very similar title was introduced into the Scottish Liturgy in 1912.
10. R.L.I. pp.21-25.

In this thesis, we use the Sunday Order for the Commentary, but note in passing differences between the Sunday and weekday Orders, which, as far as the text of the Rite is concerned, are mainly confined to the Commemorations of the Living and Departed; the other differences are mainly in style of presentation. These differences do not, therefore, warrant separate treatment in the Commentary, except under the category of Ceremonial.

(e) Method in Commentary

Each item is examined from eight different points of view. Because they are interrelated, two or more are on occasion drawn together for convenience's sake.

i. Previous Editions (= Prev.Ed.) The date of the first appearance of each item is normally given. In the case of a part which undergoes adaptation after its first appearance, the date of the first appearance is assumed to be the first edition of the service-book (1842Alb.) unless otherwise stated, and the date of the subsequent adaptations and final form is given thereafter. Sometimes the evolution is complex (e.g. Commemorations of the Living and Departed), sometimes straightforward (e.g. Prayers before Communion).

ii. Sources These are normally extensive, and occasionally acknowledged by Cardale in 'Readings'. However, Cardale is never consistent in the way he makes this acknowledgement, sometimes to the exasperation of the reader. The sources which do appear in 'Readings' are mainly those which were easily available to Cardale at the time but which through passage of time have become both dated and inaccessible to students of our present generation[11]; thus, we use Brightman rather than Renaudot in dealing with

11. These sources include Bona, Martène, Rock, Renaudot and Gavanti.

the principal Oriental Rites. We do not attempt to offer sources which would have required an archaeological dig in a Mediterranean monastery on the part of Cardale and his colleagues, but we do suggest many different sources from the various liturgical traditions of Christendom, Roman, Oriental, Anglican and Biblical. The list is not meant to be exhaustive.

It sets out to prove one of the main contentions of this thesis - a multi-sourced Liturgy. When dealing with Biblical sources, common-place references are omitted.

iii. Parallels This section is more composite than others, as it is intended to include three different genres. First, parallels from the other services of the Catholic Apostolic Church. Second, 'subsidiary' sources, which are usually secondary or corroborative parallels from other Churches. Third, occasional instances where our Liturgy has been a direct or indirect influence on a later Liturgy of another Church.

iv. Position The importance of a part of any Liturgy is determined as often by its position as by its content. We attempt in this section to show Cardale's work in a rationale (either self-confessed or suggested by the writer) for the position of a component part which may differ from the corresponding position of the source. Sometimes this is only subsidiary to the context; on the other hand, it often throws a direct light on Cardale's understanding of liturgical history and the intention of his Rite, (e.g. the Preface qua Thanksgiving).

v. Content Different prayers can mean different things, according to the situation, and the time concerned. It is therefore at this point that we

attempt, often with a quotation from Cardale, to explain what the parts of the Liturgy are intended to mean. This forms a convenient preparation for the more detailed work later on, in Ch. 11-14.

vi. Ceremonial A Liturgy may be well written, but the way it is presented can often be more important still. Two main features concern us here. First, there is the history of the development of the Rite, where the various editions of the Rubrics are compared among themselves, and also with the Rubrics in early altar-editions. Often the differences are slight, and sometimes there is evidence in the direction of increasing complexity. Second, there is abundant evidence of flexibility in the way the Rite is presented, not only in the Rubrics themselves (e.g. complement of Ministers), but also in the Rite itself (e.g. the way week-day Eucharists could be conducted); one of the reasons why we emphasise this is because of today's trends in liturgical revision. The Ceremonial is largely functional, and symbolic only in matters of reverence to God (e.g. turning East) or in the hierarchy of the Church (e.g. Benediction by the Apostle).

vii. Title The name given to a part of a Liturgy often reflects how the compiler or writer understands that part. The Catholic Apostolics did not have one single set of terms for the Eucharist. We have already given our reasons for steering a middle course between Cardale's/Bramley-Moore's titles, and traditional liturgical terminology.

viii. Special Note: (= Sp.N.) This explains any matter of importance not covered by i) to vii).

We now turn to the Commentary. The primary text is the 1880 edition of the Service-book; earlier editions, English and Scottish, are also used, but discussion of foreign editions is kept to a minimum.

Chapter 6 : Commentary on the Eucharist

The Eucharist

Preparatory : Section 1

The Invocation

Prev.Ed: first appearance in 1842Alb.

Source: Roman; begins the private prayers at preparation of the celebrant and his assistants. Jungmann (I, pp.296ff)notes that the earliest appearance of the Invocation is 14th c., only in isolated places, and not always in the same position.

Parallels: The Invocation is a very important part of nearly every Office of the Church, as witness its appearance in the following; the beginning of Morning and Evening Prayer (Longer and Shorter Forms), Forenoon and Afternoon Service, the Blessing of the Chrism, Baptism, Reception into the Church of such as have been privately Baptized, Solemnization of Marraige (at the giving of the ring), Admitting to the Ministry of Under-Deacon, Receiving a Deaconess, Receiving one of the Seven Deacons of a Church, Receiving a Deacon (not being one the Seven Deacons), Ordination of Priests, Receiving one of the Six Elders of a Church, Receiving a Priest not being one of the Six Elders of a Church, Consecration of an Angel, Inducting an Angel, Laying the First-Stone of a Church (twice), Consecration of a Church (Font, Altar,Tabernacle, Vestments, Vessels, Table of Prothesis), Consecrating the Altar etc., when Building cannot be consecrated, Consecrating a Tablet-altar, Administering Holy Baptism in Private Houses, Benediction of a Chamber-Lodging, Benediction of a Ship. The overall proliferation of such Invocations in these services shows a certain emphatic consciousness on the part of the Church of Trinitarian Theology -- a factor which comes

over in other ways in the Eucharist.

Position: conforms not only to Western tradition but also to the Daily Offices of Morning and Evening Prayer, the Forenoon and Afternoon Services, and the Order for Private Baptism.

Content: Cardale emphasises the importance of beginning the service with the Invocation; for him it professes before men that what is about to be done is in the Name of God, placing the congregation in the hands of God, and recognising him to be the author of the worship about to be offered (R.L.I. p.42).

Cerem: All non-officiating ministers having taken their place before the service, the procession begins in the following order: Deacons, the Homilist (if a Deacon), the Sub-Assistant Priests, the Homilist (if Priest or an Angel), the two Assistants, and the Celebrant. The procession enters the Church; the Deacons go to their places at the foot of the Lower Choir; the Sub-Assistants form up in lines before the steps of the Upper Choir; Sub-Assistants parting right and left, turning and facing the altar, and the two Assistants passing through the gap left by them and likewise parting right (Senior) and left (Junior); the Celebrant passes through, proceeding to the access to the sanctuary, with the Assistants following him one pace behind, and the Sub-Assistants, likewise behind them (Rub.E. pp.4-5, Rub.S. pp.9-10).

The origin of this may be the custom of the Minister leading his Elders to the Holy Table for the Communion Service in the Church of Scotland (v.s. Ch.3); its adoption could have been due to the number of Presbyterians among the ministers of the Churches in Scotland. The position of the ministers (outside the sanctuary) is new but their standing together is clearly Roman in origin (Martinucci, II p.[illegible] 'diacono dextrorsum'). All remain turned East for the Invocation, an

unparalleled observance which suggests that the Invocation was regarded as similar to the Gloria Patri. Bowing is restricted to occasions when the Sacrament is on the altar or in the Tabernacle. The Celebrant intones the Invocation, as he does the rest of the service, unless otherwise stated (e.g. readings from Scripture). This rule, however, may be disregarded with the permission of the Angel, in congregations which meet in small room and the like, and 'where intoning might be devoid of solemnity' (Rub.S. pp.128-9). For the Entry of Ministers, v. Drawings A and B.

The Confession

Prev. Ed: final form in 1847, when the form from 1842Alb was slightly abridged.

Sources: 'wonderful communion'; a strange phrase in reference to the Sacrament rather than the Saints, cf.Collect for Corpus Christi ('sub Sacramento mirabili'), M.R.

'divine mystery', cf. opening prayer said silently by the priest in Jas. (Brightman p.31); Cardale refers to this very prayer (R.L.I. p.37).

'The Body ....Son', cf. the two similar phrases from the Second Post-Communion Prayer (B.C.P.).

'They ....them', cf. last part of Prayer of Humble Access (B.C.P.), and penultimate para. of the Eucharistic Prayer of Scot. 1764, 'and made ... Him' (Grisbrooke, p.344). Both our Liturgy and Scot 1764 use phrase from the Prayer of Humble Access (v.i. Prayer to the Father).

'repent .... ashes', cf. Job42:5-6, which Cardale quotes in connection with meaning of the prayer (R.L.I. p.43).

'We .... three', cf. 3-fold 'mea culpa' from Opening Confession in MR

'in .... against us', a direct borrowing from the Confession in B.C.P.

'and ... sanctuary', perhaps from Lev. 19:8.

'most ..... sins', cf. Confession, B.C.P. ('Have mercy .... past').

'by ... Spirit', the first of many invocations of the Holy Spirit, immediately suggestive of Oriental origin, where such prayers abound; cf. τοῦ ... παράκλητον (Brightman (p.31); and the Swedish Högmässa, whose opening Confession contains a similar invocation when a Skriftemål has not preceded the service, cf. 'och give ... nåde' (The Swedish Mass p.4).

'uncleanness ... flesh', cf. Gal.5:19.

for 'and given .... us', cf. Mt 6: 14.

'and .... Lord', cf. Confession B.C.P. ('and grant ... Name'), with 'and please' omitted after 'serve'.

Most of the phrases which appear in the Confession in the 1842Alb and 1843 editions, but which were excluded from 1847 onwards, are Biblical in origin: (a) 'We have come short .... doings', (Rom. 3:23); 'and impute .... iniquities', (IIS am 19:19), 'search ..... hearts' (Jer. 17:10), (d) 'and put away ..... wickedness' (I Cor. 5:7), and (e) 'Deliver ..... uncharitableness' (Litany, 3rd Deprecation, B.C.P.).

Parallels: Our Confession has many longer counterparts in the other Offices of the Church. First of all, at every Daily Office, a lengthy Exhortation is prescribed after the Invocation (about half as long again as that in B.C.P. Morning/Evening Prayer) and a long Confession, most of which is straight from the corresponding one in B.C.P. Daily Offices. Secondly, under 'Additional Prayers etc. ...' there appears a long Confession (approximately three times as long as that for the Eucharist) for use on certain occasions, probably at Prayer Meetings (Lit. pp.121f). Thirdly, on All Saints' Day, there is a very long Exhortation (about twice as long as that of the Offices) and equally long Confessions, appointed to be used at Morning and Evening Prayer. Fourthly, at both the Ordination of Priests and at the Consecration of an Angel, the Apostle celebrating the Eucharist is directed to use a long Exhortation, prior to a special

Confession, different in each case, relating to the unworthiness of man and the divine purpose in the ordained ministry. Fifthly, there is a similar special Confession at the Consecration of Churches. All these examples show a self-effacing approach in Liturgical worship.

Content: Cardale asserts that the Confession in the Eucharist is not an 'enumeration of acts of sin, but the expression of that holy awe which Job felt when God had spoken to him in the whirlwind', whereupon he quotes Job. 40:44 and 42:5,6. He distinguishes between the Confession at the Offices and at the Eucharist: this distinction is liturgically manifest in the B.C.P. Daily Offices, where Confession of sin at the Offices is given much more prominence than at the Communion (the Confessions are both approximately the same length, but the Exhortation and Absolution at the Offices are both considerably longer); and also in the Roman Church, in the distinction between the Sacrament of Penance and the Confession at Mass, the former of which alone can absolve the penitent from mortal sin.

Our Confession is in length and content similar to that in B.C.P., its three special features being (a) an emphasis on unworthiness, (b) an expression of the ultimate purpose of the Confession, viz. reception of Holy Communion, and (c) the invocation of the Holy Spirit. Its most important asset, however, seems to be in (b), which comes across better in this position than in the B.C.P. Rite on the one hand (the Exhortation, 'Draw .... Sacrament', B.C.P.) and in the Swedish Rite on the other (the Thanksgiving Prayer after declaration of forgiveness 'Bered oss genom ... lekamens och Blods Sakrament', The Swedish Mass. p.6). Moreover, both C.S.I. and the Paul VI Mass begin the Eucharist with a brief Exhortation to the assembled faithful, which explain that the purpose of the service is the celebration of the Eucharist (C.S.I. p.7 and M.R. Paul VI pp.386, 487-9).

Cerem: All kneel, while the Celebrant offers the prayer alone. (Rub.E.p.5, Rub. S. p.10). In likening the Celebration to the ceremonies on the great Day of Atonement (R.L.I. p.334) and in treating of the concept of mediation and priesthood (R.L.I. p.73), Cardale points out that the Eucharist is to be celebrated by one person only; there are many Communions but only one Eucharist - this is why one person must offer the Confession, on behalf of the whole congregation. The assertion regarding one Celebrant throws an interesting light on the concelebration practice adopted in Albury, laid down in the 1842 book, and subsequently maintained on certain occasions in the presence of the full Apostolic College. Perhaps on these occasions the 'collegiate' nature and the Apostolic Ministry was thought to require a greater emphasis, so that two persons (Apostles) celebrated the same Eucharist.

In the Swedish and Norwegian Rites, the opening Confession is offered by the Celebrant alone, kneeling before the altar. Cardale may be adapting this Scandinavian Lutheran practice and giving it a new significance.

The Absolution

Prev. Ed: final form in 1847; the two phrases excluded in 1847 are evocative of a "Biblical" penitence, with a distinct Evangelical flavour; 'through the Blood of Jesus Christ' may have been omitted because of the corresponding omission of 'the precious Blood of thy dear Son' in the Confession.

Sources: a free composition; 'sacrifice and propitiation', cf. Rom 3:25, Heb. 9:26, unparalleled in Liturgical Absolution, but possibly derived from O.T. typology.

'for... world', cf Consecration Prayer in B.C.P.

'vouchsafe....Spirit', material to correspond with invocation of the Holy Spirit in Confession.

Parallels: v.s. Confession, where in each case an Absolution follows a special Confession, and as short as the one here.

Content: Cardale describes this Absolution as 'short but emphatic' (R.L.I. p.45). Up to 1861, individual Celebrants were at liberty to extemporise (v.s. Ch.3) From the 1842Alb edition, the Absolution is so called, has a form which presupposes a priesthood given the power to absolve sins, and uses the word absolve. From the edition of 1847, there is a Form for Solemn Absolution of Penitents In Private, but care is taken that no one should feel forced to make Confession in this way, nor use it too frequently (Rub.E.pp.28-31).

Cerem: The Celebrant rises and turns to the people to pronounce the Absolution, holding the service-book in his hands and without raising his arms in blessing. The two Assistants do not move, but remain kneeling, facing the altar (Rub.E. p.5, Rub. S.p.10). The Apostle, when present but not celebrating, does not pronounce the Absolution, (Rub.E. pp.53-54, Rub.S. pp.45-46). This shows the relationship between the Angel over his flock, and the Angel with the Apostle.

The Peace

Prev Ed: In 1842Alb and 1843, the Peace is part of the Absolution, the Amen only then being said in response.

Sources: The Tridentine Rite prescribes the Bishop alone to pronounce the Pax when celebrating Low or Solemn Mass, providing that in the former the Gloria has been said (Martinucci,IV p.33, V p.96); this special salutation is said instead of the normal Dominus Vobiscum before the Collect.

Parallels: Numerous for an episcopal Peace following Absolution: Morning (Lit. p.50) and Evening Prayer (ibid p.68), Forenoon (ibid. p.80) and Afternoon Service (ibid. p.95), All Saints' Day (ibid. p.268), (at

Morning and Evening Prayer), Ordination of Priests (ibid. p.411), Consecration of an Angel (ibid p.445), Consecration of a Church (ibid p.483); in each of the above cases, the Peace is to be pronounced by an Angel, and in order to cover occasions when an Angel may not be present, it is printed in brackets.

Position: In spite of the obvious Western (and Eastern) precedent for the source of this Peace, its position is novel. Its use is confined to the Angel because it is his right to pronounce the Peace over his flock, just as it is his right alone to celebrate the Sunday Eucharist (R.L.I. p.464). In other words, what is here prescribed constitutes a use of Western tradition in source; but it has a new position, most easily seen in the case of its parallels, especially in the Daily Offices (q.v.s. Parallels), and it also has a new theological meaning - the relationship between the Angel and his flock.

Content: Cardale writes on the Peace in relation to the Daily Offices, but equally well applied to the Eucharist in view of their parallel structure at this point: 'The invocation of mercy and forgiveness completes the act of Absolution; and the response of the people expresses not only their humble trust, but their devout assurance of faith, in that which hath been pronounced. But, although complete, yet when the Angel is the minister pronouncing it, he adds an invocation of the blessing of peace upon the flock committed to his pastoral rule and care, to which also the congregation respond'(R.L.I. p.464). (However, an Apostle visiting but not celebrating should pronounce the Peace.) Cardale must have seen in the term 'peace' something of a theological mysterium which called for continual liturgical mention, as can be seen not only in the form the Benediction takes in the Eucharist but also in the Apostolical Beneditions before Communion introduced into the Liturgy from 1851.

We suggest its origin stems from early, more charismatic forms of worship in which the Church grew up.

Cerem: The Angel remains turned towards the people in pronouncing the Peace (Rub. E. p.5, Rub. S. p.10). If, however, the Apostle is present, on an Apostolical Vistitation (and therefore not celebrating) , the Angel kneels down, while the Apostle pronounces the Peace, standing in his place on the north side of the sanctuary. (Rub. E. p.53), (Rub.S.p.45). This is a convenient liturgical representation of the relationship between Angel and Apostle.

Sp.N.: In the Shorter Office, the Peace is written in brackets, allowing for an episcopal celebrant (whether the Angel of the Church, his coadjutor, the Angel Evangelist of the District, or a visiting Angel), but only when celebrating 'solemnly' (i.e. with music and complement of ministers), and for a specific reason (Rub. E. p.21, Rub.S. p.19). This once more shows the importance attached to the pronouncement of the Peace; in the case of the Angel-Evangelist of the District, such a celebration would probably be as laid out under the Occasional Forms (q.v.i. Ch.10).

The Suffrages

Prev.Ed: first form in 1847 edition.

Sources: The first two are clearly from M.R., (cf. Jungmann, I. p.273); Cardale does not acknowledge the source (R.L.I. p.45), but he is selective, and all are Biblical in origin; (Ps. 85:7, Ps. 102.1, Ps.124:8); one more example of adaptative use of Roman source.

Parallel: cf. similar choice of material, Eug.Ber. pp.238-239.

Position: the same as Roman, i.e. between 'Confiteor' and 'Kyrie'.

Content: Cardale writes that they 'implore, but express confidence in, the salvation of God' (R.L.I. p.45), the latter part of which statement

probably led him to avoid the Roman 'Deus tu conversus' (Ps. 84:6) in M.R. as the opening Suffrage.

Title: The term 'Suffrages' is from Bramley-Moore. Cardale and Willis term them the 'Versicles and Responses'; B-M is obviously using a more specific nomenclature, in line with Cardale's interpretation of the Versicles as Suffrages.

Prayer of Approach

Prev. Ed.: first and final form in 1847.

Sources: Cardale acknowledges the source of this prayer, and we therefore suggest that it held some importance in his mind. He quotes Cardinal Bona (Rer. Lit. I ii ii 8) as ascribing this 'Prayer of the Veil' to the Maronites, and Renaudot (Lit. Or. ii 46, 142) as proving it to have belonged to the Syrian Jacobites. He also alludes to the corresponding Roman prayer, 'aufer a nobis' (MR) which he says is 'but a short and imperfect abstract' of the 'Prayer of the Veil' (R.L.I. p.45). He gives the texts of the prayers in an Appendix; first the Prayer from the Liturgy of the Syrian Jacobites (Renaudot: Lit. Or. ii 1), second the corresponding prayer from Bona's Latin translation from the Syrian Missal (Maronite Uniate), and then suggests that the two are derived from the same original, and he ascribes greater antiquity to the Renaudot version on the grounds of being direct from Syrian M.S.S.; thirdly, he gives the text of the Roman prayer (R.L.I. p.203). If the two Latin translations, and the Greek one from Jas. (Brightman, p.48) are compared together with Heb. 10:19-20, then the reason for Cardale's desire for the most ancient text becomes clear - he wants to uncover a truly 'apostolic' prayer; in this quest he was not alone, for both Neale (P.L. p.50) and Field (The Apostolic Liturgy and the Epistle to the Hebrews, pp.478ff) make similar claims on the Liturgy of the late New Testament era.

'by....all', cf. Heb.10: 19-20, Jas. ὁ θεὸς ..... τοῦ χριστοῦ σου, (Brightman, p.48); the 'flesh' of the Greek in all probability corresponds to the 'blood' of Heb: 10:19 and of Cardale's version; it is noticeably absent from Renaudot and Bona. This may mean that Cardale constructed his version independently of Jas. or that he saw it in another source (e.g. Assemanni), but decided to quote the Biblical original text.

'grant.....grace', cf. Jas., ἀξιωθέντες ..... πνεύματα (Brightman pp.48-9) from the corresponding prayer.

'that....conscience', cf. Jas., ἀλλοίωτον ἡμῶν ..... εὐσέβειαν (Brightman p.49) Syr.Jac., ut suspensis...cogitationibus (from the corresponding prayer in Renaudot quoted by Cardale, Lit.Or. ii 1); Mar., 'lotis....sordidis' (from the corresponding prayer in Bona quoted by Cardale. Rer. Lit. 1 ii ii 8).

'may offer..... righteousness', cf. Jas. ἵνα ..... αἰνέσεως (Brightman, p.49).

'and duly..... Name', Anglican Post-Communion Prayer, 'who have..... mysteries' (B.C.P.) and Confession before Communion, 'to the honour..... Name' (B.C.P.).

Parallels: For similar source-use, but with the Oriental position, cf C.S.I. p.14, Orchard, p.122 and B.C.O. p.117; Orchard and B.C.O. are probably the intermediary sources for C.S.I.

Position: The Roman rather than the Oriental position is adopted for this Prayer; Jungmann states that the Roman version ('aufer a nobis') is consequential to the 'Confiteor' after the V. and R., which he describes as 'transitional' (I. pp.309ff). Field argues strongly for the Oriental position, ascribing the Pro-Anaphoral Prayer of the Veil in Jas. to mere duplication and adaptation of the earlier Anaphoral one (op.cit. p.493). Cardale, however, adheres to theRoman position, (even though he relies more on the Oriental sources) which, we suggest, makes

more sense (a) if there has been a Confession (in this case much more emphasised than the Roman, through being audible, and for the whole congregation) and (b) if it is to be consistent with the Eucharistic allusions in this Preparatory part of our Liturgy.

Content: The run of this prayer is as Oriental as its position is Western; Cardale does not use the Roman, Maronite or Syrian Jacobite alternatives, which obscure the imagery of the 'veil'. Furthermore, he fashions it in Collect-form. As a 'Prayer of Approach', presupposing the Confession and Absolution and explaining the purpose of the Eucharist (to offer a sacrifice), it is a remarkable compilation, especially in view of the sources; it is probably one of Cardale's best pieces of writing.

Cerem: Celebrant kneels for this Prayer, as he does for nearly all supplicatory prayer in our Liturgy (Rub. E. p.5, Rub. S. p.10).

Title: Neither Cardale nor Willis give this Prayer a name; we therefore employ one which expresses its meaning.

Kyrie Eleison

Prev.Ed: first and final form in edition of 1847.

Sources: Cardale here follows traditional Roman and Anglican practice in inserting the Kyrie as a truncated penitential Litany, rather than an intercessory one, as in the Orient. But the precise form here is six-fold, rather than nine-fold. Cardale traces very briefly the development of the Kyrie Eleison (R.L.I. pp.45-46).

Parallels: the Kyrie comes in this same form in the Daily Offices of Morning and Evening Prayer, and Forenoon and Afternoon Service (Lit. pp. 54, 72, 81 and 96 respectively.) The new Roman Rite has the Kyrie in six-fold form also (M.R.Paul VI p.386).

Position: Roman, as Cardale notes (R.L.I. p.45).

Content: Cardale intends the Kyrie to be penitential, noting that it conforms with the spirit of the Preparatory part of the service, of humility (R.L.I. p.46).

Cerem: Celebrant and Assistants remain kneeling outside the sanctuary (Rub.E. p.5, Rub.S. p.10).

Title: Cardale, Willis and Bramley-Moore all call this item the 'Kyrie Eleison', Cardale and Willis using it as an alternative to 'Lord, have mercy upon us' (R.L.I. pp.45-6, Willis p.10).

Preparatory : Section 2

Gloria in Excelsis

Prev.Ed: final form in 1842Alb; final position in 1847 edition; 1842Alb and 1843 prescribed in at the end of the service.

Sources: Word for word from B.C.P. without the extra Trinitarian material in Scot. 1764 (Grisbrooke, p.348).

Position: Roman. Cardale briefly summarises the Roman and Byzantine Liturgies intheir opening sections, and notes that the 'Gloria' is more fitting to be sung as an 'Introit' at the beginning of the Eucharist after Absolution, because it is a hymn of praise mingled with penitence, which, he suggests, renders the Anglican position (from 1552 onwards) unsuitable (R.L.I. pp.148-50).

Content: The Gloria as Introit is a novel feature; N.B.no hymn has been sung during the entry of the ministers. On Easter Day there is a 'Roman' type Introit, but it comes not at the beginning of the service, but immediately before the Gloria. Jungmann (I. p.346) mentions no occasion when the Gloria was regarded as an Introit in the West, and his tracing of its history makes it clear that, as far as the West is concerned, Cardale's interpretation of the Gloria is freak (Jungmann I. pp.32off). It has come to be regarded as an Introit in recent Anglican revision, C. of E. Alternative Services, Second Series, Holy Communion, p.1, and Third Series, Holy Communion, pp.2 and 7, and recommended for this use in 'The Presentation of the Eucharist', p.9.

Cerem: All rise; after intoning (or precenting, depending on how it is sung) the first phrase, the Celebrant, with the two Assistants on either side of him, moves into the sanctuary to the foot of the altar-steps (Rub. E.p.5, Rub.S. p.10). Cardale explains that since the Gloria is

regarded as the Introit, the ministers only at this point enter the sanctuary, and that since the Word of God has yet to be proclaimed, the Celebrant has no need to go up to the altar (R.L.I. pp.46-47). The position of the three ministers at this point is thus the same as at the beginning of Solemn Mass in the Roman Rite.

Title: Cardale, Willis, and Bramley-Moore all term the Gloria by the alternative title 'Lesser Introit', which corresponds with Cardale's interpretation as well as with the 'Greater Introit' later in our Liturgy (R.L.I. p.46). For the post 1847 position and title 'Lesser Introit', cf. 1842Alb and 1843 position at end of Liturgy.

Sp.N: Not sung on Christmas Eve or Good Friday, and only obligatory in the Shorter Office on Festivals. Unlike the Anthems (after Epistle, Greater Introit, Incense and Communion) it need not always be sung (Rub.E.20, Rub.S. p.19).

Hallelujah after Gloria

Prev.Ed: First and final form in 1851.

Sources: Oriental and Western Liturgies passim.

Parellels: Appointed on special occasions after the Anthem after Epistle.

Position: unparalleled in West; it is appointed to be sung after the 'Peace' preceding the Lections in Jas., according to Neale (P.L. p.36), and MacDonald (Ante-Nicene Library, XXIV p.15), but not according to Brightman, who more accurately prescribes it to be sung after the Epistle (Brightman p.36). However, these minor textual points do not affect Cardale's work. The most likely explanation is that he is adapting the Hallelujah at the end of the Greater Entry Anthem in Chrys., and placing it after his Lesser Introit. Roman influence is apparent in his prescription of this Hallelujah only on certain occasions. And in referring to the Gloria by the further title of 'Angelic Hymn' (R.L.I. p.151) he not

only sees a connection between it and the Greater Entry in Chrys (normally the 'Cherubikon' - i.e. the hymn of the Cherubim) but also sees the Hallelujah as a fitting conclusion on special occasions. Durant cites Amalarius (lib. 3. de Eccl. Off. cap.13): 'Post Graduale cantatur Alleluia, laetitiae canticum post luctum poenitentiae, decantatum ab Angelis' (Duranto, De Ritibus, Lib. II, Cap.XX). If this is a subsidiary source, Cardale appears to have rationalised on the Mediaeval mind - i.e. Hallelujah after Gradual becomes Hallelujah after Gloria.

Salutation

Prev.Ed: first form in edition of 1847.

Sources/Position/Content: Cardale quotes two sources for its use, Florus Magister (on the unity of the Celebrant and people in glorifying God), and Amalarius (on the Salutation being used when the Celebrant is proceding to some new action)- R.L.I. p.52, nn, cf. also Jungmann I, pp.361ff. There are only two Salutations in our Rite whereas there are four in the Roman; this would enhance its significance.

Parallels: Cardale prescribes the Salutation in numerous parts of other services but does not follow the Roman Rite in prescribing it before the Gospel, the Offertory and the Post-Communion; it is, however, appointed to be said before the Preface (Lit. p.8), before the Supplications at Morning andEvening Prayer (Lit. pp.52,70), before the 'Kyrie' at Forenoon and Afternoon Service (Lit. pp.80,96), and before the Exhortation at Holy Baptism (Lit. p.344). This apparent economy in the Eucharist is probably because new actions are introduced by other means (e.g. different ministers), and in the other Offices, because of the proliferation of the Peace.

Cerem: Celebrant turns to congregation, the two Assistants facing inwards (Rub.E. p.5, Rub.S. p.10). This is not the case in Roman Solemn Mass,

where the Celebrant turns to the congregation, but the Deacon and Sub-Deacon do not move from their respective steps behind him (Martinucci, I, pp.149-150, 186); Cardale's ceremonial is like that recommended by Percy Dearmer for the Deacon, in which connection Dearmer quotes a rubric from the Mediaeval Sarum Missal; ita quod quoties sacerdos ad populum se convertit, diaconus similiter se convertat (Parson's Hand-Book, p.358); Dearmer interprets this as turning a little to the south. Cardale may not have known this usage, in which case his ceremonial is original.

Title: so-termed by Cardale, Willis and Bramley-Moore.

Collect

N.B. For each individual Collect, v.i. Ch. 8 and 10.

Prev.Ed: introduced in 1842A1b edition.

Sources/Position: Cardale demonstrates the structure of the opening part of the Oriental and Roman Rites, and shows that our Liturgy should follow the Roman pattern in the 'introduction of prayer' at this point. He then gives a brief history of the development of the Collect in the Roman Rite; the relatively small number before the time of Ambrose and the composition of many of the present ones by him (Gavant. P.i.tit.ix), the decrease in number at the Fourth African Council in 407, the increase under Gelasius, including some of his own composition, and the subsequent reform under Gregory (Durandus, Ration, lib.xiv.s.15). Liturgical scholarship since the time of Cardale would dispute the origins of the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries, but few would quarrel with Cardale's reasonable hypothesis that the early practice of the Western Church was to have fewer Collects than later emerged, the factor which leads him to appoint 'seasonal' rather than 'weekly' Collects. (R.L.I. pp.52-54). Cardale's conservatism with regard to the liturgical year was probably a contributory factor.

Parallels: TheCollect is prescribed in the Daily Offices of Morning and

Evening Prayer, and Forenoon and Afternoon Services (Lit. pp.57, 74, 83, 97) at each point between the Versicles and Responses and the Prayers.

Content: For each Collect v.i. Ch.8 and 10. Cardale comes to an emphatically 'public' interpretation of the Collect as peculiarly prayers 'super populum', offered on behalf of the whole flock of God (R.L.I. p.53). We need not get immersed in the controversy over the precise meaning of 'orationes super populum' (Jungmann, II, pp.427ff, versus Baumstarck, Liturgie Comparée, p.30); by the (much-debated) phrase 'super populum' Cardale means that the Collect is a focal point of prayer which concerns the congregation, and not a thanksgiving, or a litany, or an intercessary prayer such as he has mentioned in other Liturgies at this point of the service (v.R.L.I. p.52).

Cerem: All kneel with the Celebrant, after he has turned towards the altar, Rub.E. p.5, Rub.S. p.10). When more than one Collect is used, the Trinitarian doxology is left until the conclusion of the final one. (Rub.E. p.5, Rub.S. p.10). This is in accord with the direction of the Tridentine Missal (M.R.).

Title: Cardale discusses the Collect qua Collect (R.L.I. p.53) and both Willis and Bramley-Moore follow him.

Weekly Collects - a Note

As was pointed out in Ch.3, a notable variant of all Scottish Editions (1850, 1854 and 1861) is the provision of weekly Collects in the season after Pentecost, to be used after the 'seasonal collect': these are all drawn from B.C.P. This practice ceased in 1870, when the Scottish edition was discontinued, and the English edition introduced. Weekly Collects also appear in some early German, French and Swiss - German editions, but only survive in the Swiss-German books. v. Chart D.

Epistle

N.B. Lectionary dealt with in Ch. 8 and 10, with the Seasonal and Occasional Forms.

Prev.Ed: Epistle introduced for first time in 1842Alb edition, though Scriptural Readings, of whatever degree of regularity, must have found their place in the Eucharistic (and other) worship of the Church prior to this date.

Sources/Parallels/Position: Cardale mentions lections from the Epistles in both East and West and quotes Bona and Martène on the survival of O.T. Lections on certain days in the Roman Rite (R.L.I. p.72 + nn).

Cerem: After the Collect, the three Ministers rise, and, at the bidding of the Celebrant, the Junior Assistant (standing at the Celebrant's left - viz. liturgical north) moves down to the Epistle lectern at the far end of the Upper Choir, on the south side, where the Epistle-Book is already placed; the congregation resume their seats; the Celebrant and Senior Assistant remain turned to the altar while the Epistle is read (Rub.E. p.6, Rub.S. p.10). However, early ceremonial suggests that the Epistle and Gospel were not always read from Lecterns; the rubrics in Scottish 1850 and Scottish 1854 do not mention Lecterns - 1850 does not even specify any place for the Readings to be taken from, but 1854 does direct that they be read 'about half-way down the choir'. Drummond does not mention these Lecterns anywhere in his 'Principles'. So we may assume initial Scottish independence in this respect. The size of buildings may have been a contributory factor, but Lecterns later became universal. Cardale recommends them.

As regards the movement of ministers, the rubrics in the 1847 edition direct that the Epistoler and Gospeller proceed to the Lecterns together, at the bidding of the Celebrant, after the Collect. This is the ceremonial

described by Cardale, as it is contemporary with the relevant section of his 'Readings' (R.L.I. p.70). The Books of Rubrics of 1852 and 1862 describe the later ceremonial described above - each minister proceeding to his Lectern separately. Whatever the precise movements of the Ministers, the origin of the ceremonial seems to be a primitivism derived from Cardale's reading of Bona and the other liturgical writings available to him, - the old Western ceremonial outlined by Jungmann (I. pp. 409ff), and noted by him to have become very infrequent by the later Middle Ages (p.418).

In the Shorter Office, however, the directions point to a very simple ceremonial; the Celebrant if assisted by only one minister, is directed to read both the Epistle and the Gospel himself, whether the assistant be a Deacon or not, and from within the sanctuary, at the south and north sides respectively (R.L.I. p.74, Rub.E. p.21, Rub.S. p.22)

Announcement and Conclusion, and Response at end, of Epistle

(a) Announcement

Prev.Ed: prescribed in Rubrics in Liturgy of 1847, Scottish 1850, and the three Books of Rubrics (1852, 1862 and 1878).

Source: adaptation of Anglican (B.C.P.) as neither Roman nor various Oriental Rites specify chapter and verse.

(b) Conclusion

Prev.Ed: v.s. 'Announcement'.

Source: word for word Anglican (B.C.P.)

(c) Response

Prev.Ed: final form in 1842Alb.

Sources: Cardale quotes St. Augustine on Ps.132 with reference to this

Response being made by monks, although he realises the uncertainty as to which Reading it followed (Choir Office Chapter or Mass Lection). However, he states that it is 'an observance of considerable antiquity in the Western Church' (R.L.I. p.74). Jungmann attests this, and states that the 'Deo gratias' was anciently said at the conclusion of all readings, in Mass and Office alike (I., pp.402ff).

Parallels: This formula is not employed after the lessons at the Daily Offices, but it is said at the conclusion of the Lesson (O.T.) before the betrothal at Marriage (Lit. p.371), the Lesson (O.T.) at the beginning of the Service of Presentation and Dedication for the Holy Ministry (Lit. p.381), the Lesson (N.T.) at the beginning of the Order for Admitting to the Office of Deacon, (Lit. p.392), the Lesson (N.T.) at the beginning of the Order for Ordaining Priests (Lit. p.404), the Lesson (N.T.) at the beginning of the Order for presenting Priests to the Episcopate (Lit.p.431) the Lesson (O.T.) at the beginning of the Order for the Consecration of an Angel (Lit. p.437), the Lesson (N.T.) at the beginning of the Order and Manner of Inducting an ordained Angel into the Charge of a Particular Church (Lit. p.453), the Lesson (O.T.) at the beginning of the Manner of Laying the First-Stone in the Foundation of a Church (Lit. p.468).

Position: Traditional Western; v.s. Sources.

Content: When we compare the Parallels, we can see that this Response is restricted to occasional use, and always in thecontext of the Eucharist (each of the special services enumerated above is preparatory to a Solemn Celebration of the Eucharist). That it is not extended to the Daily Offices makes the distinction an original one.

Anthem after the Epistle

N.B. For each Anthem, v.i. Ch. 8 and 10.

Prev.Ed: First appearance in 1847.

Sources/Position: Cardale mentions the Gradual of the Roman Rite and the 'Prokeimenon' of the Greek Rite. (R.L.I. p.75, where he cites Goar Rit. in s. Minist. N.37; Bona, Rer. Lit ii. vi.4; and Martène De Ant.Rit. i. iv. iv.7); source is traditional.

Title: Always referred to as Anthem after the Epistle and not even in the music books given the traditional Roman name. This may be because all such Anthems were original compositions, not taken over from the Roman Rite, and therefore privately printed.

Cerem: During this Anthem, the titles and other offerings are removed by the Deacons from the boxes at the entrances to the Church and placed in bags, in preparation for the Offertory. No reason is given for the choice of this particular point in the Eucharist; the reason is probably its practical convenience (Rub.E. p.8.n., Rub.S. pp. 10-11).

Sp.N; Neither this nor any of the other Anthems (Greater Introit, Incense and Communion) are to be said at a celebration without music, unlike the Gradual etc., in the Roman Rite, where the Celebrant reads them at Low Mass.

Hallelujah after Anthem after Epistle

N.B. v. Ch.8 and 10 for treatment of prescriptions of Hallelujah.

Prev.Ed: first and final appearance in 1851.

Source: Cardale mentions the Alleluia in the Roman Gradual and Greek 'Prokeimenon' (R.L.I. p.75).

Gospel

N.B. Lectionary dealt with in Ch. 8 and 10 with Seasonal and Occasional Forms.

Prev.Ed: Gospel introduced as liturgical feature in 1842Alb edition.

Sources/Position: traditional Eastern and Western.

Cerem: Towards the close of the Anthem after the Epistle, the Celebrant moves from the bottom of the footpace to the altar and removes the Book of Gospels from its position (i.e. against the north side of the Tabernacle), hands it to the Senior Assistant, who comes forward from his place to receive it, and moves down the Upper Choir to the Lectern on the North Side, for the reading of the Gospel; all remain in their places, the Celebrant moves to the south side of the altar, the Junior Assistant remains at the Epistle Lectern, and both turn towards the Senior Assistant (Rub.E. p.6, Rub.S. p.11).

The origin of this ceremonial seems to be another instance of adaptative use of primitive Western tradition. Cardale mentions the ancient Roman practice of the Sub-Deacon carrying the Book of Gospels at the beginning of Solemn Mass, and placing it on the south side of the altar, for which he gives documentary evidence (R.L.I. p.50). This may have provided him with the idea for the later usage of leaning the Gospel-Book against the Tabernacle, which is not mentioned until the Book of Rubrics of 1852 (ibid. p.5) but which may have been introduced after the practice of Reservation was begun in 1850.

The absence of the processional lights and incense of the Roman Rite accords with Cardale's independence of mind. (A simpler form of the old procession with the Gospel-Book at the Introit has been revived in the recent revision of the Roman Rite (M.R.Paul VI pp.48-49).)

Announcement, Conclusion of and Response to Gospel

(a) Announcement

Prev.Ed: first appearance in Rubrics of 1847 Liturgy and passim thereafter.

Source: adaptation of corresponding part in Tridentine Rite, together with the Anglican announcement of chapter and verse.

Parallels: all Eucharistic Rites have a formal announcement of the Gospel.

(b) Conclusion

Prev.Ed; first appearance in Rubrics of 1847 Liturgy, and passim thereafter.

Parallel: this is an unusual feature of traditional Liturgy, but a form has appeared in recent C. of E. revision (Alternative Services, Holy Communion, Third Series, p.8).

Source: an original item, probably inserted because Cardale wanted it to correspond with the Epistle.

(c)Response

Prev.Ed: first and final form in 1842Alb.

Sources: Cardale does not mention sources, but states that the dignity and solemnity of the Gospel, already heightened by the Anthem and Hallelujah (if appointed), is consummated by the affirmation of this Response by the whole congregation assembled (R.L.I. p.75). Jungmann mentions the forms given here in connection with a Carolingian writer and its lateruse in the Mass (I p.44); Walker also mentions this in the Mediaeval Sarum Mass (The Liturgy of the Church of Sarum, p.48).

Parallels: cf. corresponding Responses in M.R.,and Scot.1764 (Grisbrooke, p.338).

Position: No parallel can be found for its present position, viz. after the Gospel. Cardale may have regarded with suspicion the Mediaeval Western emphasis more in the direction of the announcing of the text of

Gospel, with the accompanying incensations, than the reading of the actual words.

Benediction of the Homilist

Prev.Ed: Cardale does not mention this item; it was not introduced until 1851.

Sources: 'The....Ghost', cf Roman blessing of Deacon before Gospel (M.R.) consisting of the invocation of the Trinity, but Cardale has transposed the positions of the two parts, probably because the Roman version also has the previous Deacon's prayers ('munda cor...suum' and 'iube....benedicere'), without which the authentic Roman form would be a trifle abrupt. Moreover the term 'blessing' is Cardale's (logical) interpretation of his Roman original.

'be....Thee', cf. 'be amongst....you' in Final Blessing B.C.P.

'The Lord....gospel', word for word Roman version except that 'in labiis tuis' is translated 'with thy lips' (a development), and 'evangelium suum' by 'his holy Gospel', also an original element, although very likely to be an echo from the 'munda cor' prayer cited above, 'ut sanctum evangelium'.

Position: Cardale has adapted the blessing of the Deacon at Roman Solemn Mass, and has transposed it to apply to the Homily. This is an original interpretation, although the use of the word 'homily' is probably derived from Roman usage. v.i. Homily.

Content: The Blessing incorporates the elements explicit in the Roman form, but in a different way; the authority of Priest over Deacon is transposed into Angel over Priest, which would appear to be the more logical form, since most Deacons at High Mass were, from the late Middle Ages, already priested. However, it also emphasises the preaching aspect in our Liturgy, connecting it directly with the Gospel for the Day (v.i. Homily).

Cerem: At the conclusion of the Gospel, all turn East for the response, the two Assistants (the former with the Gospel-Book) return to the sanctuary, walking side by side, but allowing sufficient space between them for the Homilist to come from his seat and to walk to the sanctuary with them. At the access to the sanctuary the Homilist kneels, the Senior Assistant hands the Gospel Book to the Celebrant, and both Assistants stand within the sanctuary with the Celebrant, but turning inwards; the Celebrant, still holding the Gospel-Book, pronounces the Benediction; the Homilist goes to the Gospel-Lectern, the Celebrant replaces the Gospel-Book on the altar, leaning it against the Tabernacle, and the three Ministers take their seats at the Sedilia.

But (1) if the Apostle is present and not celebrating, the Celebrant, on being handed the Gospel-Book by the Senior Assistant, goes with the Homilist to the place where the Apostle is standing, hands him the Gospel-Book, while he gives the Homilist the Blessing; he returns the Gospel-Book to the Celebrant, who replaces it on the altar and goes to his place at the sedilia, and the Homilist goes to the Gospel-Lectern to deliver the Homily (Rub.E. p.53). In Scotland, the Apostle comes from his place in the sanctuary to the altar-rail to give the Blessing, while the Celebrant stands at the altar, and the two Assistants stand in the sanctuary to the south, facing north-wards; after giving the Blessing, the Apostle returns the Gospel-Book to the Celebrant, who with the two Assistants goes to the sedilia, the Apostle returning to his place on the north side of the sanctuary (Rub.S. p.46). These foregoing rules also apply in the case of an Angel visiting a Dependent Church (Rub.E. p.47, Rub.S. p.43). (2) If the Homilist be an Angel (and not serving as a Priest) he does not receive the Celebrant's Blessing (except if (1) applies and an Apostle or Angel is on Visitation), but bows to him and

proceeds to the Gospel-Lectern. (3) If the Celebrant is a Priest, he does not give the Blessing to a fellow-priest; the Homilist bows to him and goes to the Gospel-Lectern; but this does not apply if an Apostle or Angel is on Visitation, as (1) above. (4) If the Angel is the Homilist (as would normally be the case on Festivals), he proceeds immediately with Homily, delivering it from the altar, unless the acoustics of the building should make this unsuitable (Rub.E. pp.7-8, Rub.S. pp.11-12).

In the editions of 1847, Scottish 1850 and 1854, and in the Bk of Rubrics of 1852 (p.5) the place laid down for the delivery of the Homily is the 'place where the Epistle is read'. However, in the Book of Rubrics of 1862, and thereafter, the Gospel-Lectern is prescribed, possible through emphasis on the Evangelical nature of the Homily.

The origin of this ceremonial seems to be a combination of Roman, Oriental and Anglican elements. Jungmann mentions that Chrysostom followed the practice of his time in preaching from the ambo where the Gospel was read (I. p.468). That the Apostle/Angel formally visiting a congregation under him should give the Blessing to the Homilist shows the relationship between the Angel of the Church and the Apostle of the Tribe. That the Angel should preach from the sanctuary accords with the primitive custom of the Bishop remaining in his cathedra if he preached the Homily (Jungmann, I. p.459), and also with Cardale's theory that the Celebrant should 'abide within the sanctuary' bidding subordinate ministers (Junior and Senior Assistants, and Homilist, if other than himself) to fulfil their respective liturgical functions (R.L.I. p.75).

The rule that a Celebrant should not bless a fellow-priest as Homilist accords with the rules of the Missal of Paul VI for a concelebrant priest reading the Gospel, where it is laid down that he should not receive the blessing of the principal concelebrant unless he be a bishop. (Ritus servandus in concelebratione, N.86).

The position of the ministers at the Sedilia is Roman (Martinucci, I.p.187), although the Mediaeval rather than Tridentine usage is followed, with the Celebrant in the east-most seat.

The Homily

Prev.Ed: first appearance in edition of 1847.

Sources: Roman; e.g. Jungmann (I. p.456), also Anglican but in set form, cf. B.C.P.

Parallels/Position: Roman and Oriental, according to Jungmann (I. p.14); for modern restoration in Anglican revisions, cf. Buchanan, (Modern Anglican Liturgies, passim).

Content: In length, not more than ten minutes, in subject, always on the Lections for the day, beginning with the Invocation, and concluding with an Ascription of Praise (Rub.E. p.8, Rub.S. pp.11-12). This justifies the position, and the title, in being on the Lections set (Jungmann, I. p.456 where cf. also n.1, for citation from Durandus on the 'sermon' being after the symbolum, which served as a subject for exposition).

Cerem: For the Invocation and concluding Ascription of Praise, all turn East (Rub. E. p.8, Rub.S. p.12).

Sp.Note: The Homily is directed to be given on all Lord's Days, in all editions from 1847, the year of differentiation of Full and Shorter Office. However, in German editions of 1850 and 1859, as well as in the Danish and Flemish editions of 1861, the Homily must also be given on week-days on the following occasions: 24th December, Christmas Day, 2nd February, and the Thursday and Saturday before Easter. These rules do not appear in the later editions, which in all languages refer in the Shorter Office to the Homily 'as directed'.

Preparatory : Section 3

Creed

Prev.Ed: N.B. (a) use of Athanasian Creed on All SS. Day from 1842 Alb, and on all Feasts from Scottish 1861 (v.i. Ch 7 and 8) and (b) the word 'Holy' inserted before 'Catholic and Apostolic Church' in edition of 1847, giving up the (then) Anglican usage in favour of the traditional Catholic one (R.L.I. pp.61, 201-204).

Sources: Cardale explains the evolution of the Nicene Creed in its present form, and the inclusion of the filioque clause in the Third Council of Toledo in A.D. 589 (R.L.I. pp. 84ff).

Parallels: Neither the Nicene nor the Athanasian Creed were used in any service of the Church other than the Eucharist.

Position: traditionalWestern (Jungmann,I. pp.461ff).

Content: for a full-scale theological commentary on the Nicene Creed, v. R.L.I. pp.86-125.

Cerem: The Homilist (if not the Celebrant) returns to his seat; all turn East, and the Celebrant and Assistants move from the Sedilia to the foot of the altar-steps; the Creed begins. 'All bow at the Name of Jesus, and at the Incarnation'(Rub.E. p.8, Rub.S. p.12). The former reverence suggests Scriptural origin (Phil. 2:10), the latter, recognition of traditional focus of Catholic devotion in the Creed, hence Cardale's expression, 'meditation upon the stupendous mystery of the Incarnation' (Rub.E. p.8 n,1).

Sp.Note: The Nicene Creed is directed only to be 'used' (i.e. either said or sung) at the Shorter Office when the Gloria has been sung. This reflects on two points; first, correspondence between the Gloria and Creed, which is not the case in the Roman Rite, and second, the fact that the Creed can be said on occasions when the Gloria is sung.

Athanasian Creed

Prev.Ed: First appearance in 1842A1b for All Saints' Day, and then in 1861 Scottish (and all subsequent English editions), printed separately and directed to be used on Christmas Day, Easter and Pentecost; this is also the case in the Flemish and Danish editions of 1861, although in the latter it is optional on the feasts other than All Saints' Day. This probably reflects the early stage of the early foreign editions.

Sources: Anglican, although 1842A1b and 1843 use a parallel Latin text, which in two cases differs from the Anglican version and which (as it happens) render a more faithful translation of the Latin: (i) '.... the Son of God, is God and Man; HE IS GOD' (= Deus est: instead of 'GOD...'); and (ii) 'begotten before the worlds: and HE IS MAN' (= Homo est: instead of 'MAN....'). In explaining the use of the Latin text, C.B.Heath suggests that it was for the use of those who could understand Latin, and in order that all would realise that the Apostles did not hold themselves responsible for the English translation, 'which in some particulars is not an exact one, and in some respects misleading' (Lecture p.4). It is not altogether clear to what Heath is here referring, although we allow that the practical theological considerations in the use of the Athanasian Creed among ordinary congregations are great. However, it is clear from Cardale's exposition of the Athanasian Creed that he is fully aware of its complex history and theology; he accepts Waterland's theory of authorship, and that it was originally composed in Latin (R.L.II pp. 215-229). As to the difficulty of the Latin, Waterland does include in an Appendix a (more or less) critical text (Critical History of the Athanasian Creed pp.197ff). Waterland was writing in 1723, and we may assume that Cardale was familiar with his work while making his translation.

Position: unparalleled, since it never appears in any other Eucharistic

Rite, but nonetheless consistent, since it takes the place of the Nicene form on certain occasions.

Content: For a discussion of Trinitarian doctrine in our Liturgy, v.i. Ch 12.

Title: Because Cardale accepts Waterland's authorship theory, and no doubt following Anglican precedent, this item is always printed in the service-books as 'commonly called the Creed of St. Athanasius', and nearly always referred to as 'Athanasian Creed' by the Church, following Cardale (R.L. II, p.215).

Offertory Sentences

Prev.Ed: First appearance in 1842Alb edition.

Sources: v. Prov 3:9, Mal 3:10, and Heb.13:16, for which cf Brewster (p.206). The verses are set out as biddings, and although the choice of texts (except the last) differs, the origin seems to be Anglican in function and in rationale. No Western or Eastern Liturgy contains such biddings for offerings. The first sentence is a warrant for offerings in general, the second a bidding for tithes, and the third for special offerings.

Position: Coming directly after the Creed, the Sentences correspond exactly with Anglican usage.

Content: Cardale takes pains to distinguish between (i) the Offertory, of the Tithes and Offerings, and (ii) the Oblation, of the bread and wine. With regard to the former, in quoting Pope Innocent III (Gavant. in Comm. P.i. tit.xii) he refers to it as still in the Preparatory part of the Liturgy, being a response in deed (the Creed being the response in word) to the Lections from Scripture; furthermore, he distinguishes between the tithes (which are of obligation) and other offerings (which are free-will and spontaneous). With regard to the latter, he repudiates

the traditional Roman identification of Offertory with the bread and wine, only estimating the Anglican practice as the correct one, even though it does so to the exclusion of the Oblation of the bread and wine (R.L.I. pp.76,126). Apart from obvious borrowing from Anglican sources, the interpretation of this part of our Liturgy is entirely original.

Cerem: Celebrant turns to people and reads the Sentences; meanwhile, the Deacons of the Seven come up to the access to the Upper Choir with the Tithes and Offerings, in bags, and placed on alms dishes. At the access to the Upper Choir, one or more of the Elders receives them, and takes them to the Table of Prothesis. After the Sentences have been said, the Celebrant goes to the Table of Prothesis (the two Assistants accompanying him as far as the altar-rails) and there receives the dishes from the Elders), himself placing them upon the Table. The chief Deacon, or other Deacon appointed, follows the Elders with the Incense-boat, and himself places it on the Table (Rub.E. pp.8-9, Rub.S. pp.12-13). This ceremonial seems to be a reconstructive adaptation (giving full expression to the hierarchy of the Church) of Anglican and primitive practice; in connection with this latter, Cardale quotes Merati on the peoples' oblations, asserting that as far as the 12th C, the people would bring their offerings of food as well as money up to the Deacons' Table (the 'Secretarium', or [illegible], Baronii Annal. A.D.44 c.68,69). Furthermore, Cardale quotes Apostolic Canons 3,4, and 5 (cf. Hammond, Definitions of Faith and Canons of Discipline, p.177), in forbidding the offering of anything but 'the ears of new corn or grapes, and also oil for the candlestick, and incense for the time of the holy oblation'. Furthermore, he criticises Anglican contravention of these directions, which lay down the alms to be placed on the Holy Table. For the Prothesis outside the Orient cf. Non.Jur. 1734, Grisbrooke p.305. The use here of the Deacon in receiving the gifts was included in Scot 1764,

though without the use of the Prothesis, in spite of Rat. (Grisbrooke,p.341 cf. p.322). Cardale's primitivism is here well-founded; the procession with the dishes is symbolic (Deacons to Elders, Elders to Celebrant), whereas the carrying up of the Incense-boat is functional, being preparatory for the (later) offering of incense.

Title: various names are used, the most concise being that of Bramley-Moore ('Offertory Invitation'), but we use here the common Anglican term, because of familiarity, and to avoid confusion with derivatives of 'invitation' used elsewhere.

Sp.N: Tithes are only offered on the Lord's Day; the second sentence is therefore omitted on all occasions when tithes are not offered, and printed in brackets in the Shorter Office.

The Offertory Prayer

Prev.Ed: first and final form in 1842Alb.

Sources: original, and, like the Prayer of Access, cast in Collect-form; cf. Ps8:1 and Ps 47:2.

Parallels: cf. prayer over alms in Non-Jur 1734 (Grisbrooke,pp.305-6).

Position: cf for position (but not source-material) corresponding prayer in Scot.1764 (Grisbrooke p.341), but cf. also corresponding prayer in Non-Jur 1734 noted above (Parallels) which refers only to the offerings, and not the bread and wine, unlike Non-Jur 1718 (Grisbrooke pp.286, 305-6).

Content: A concise affirmation of God's supremacy over all creation; the willingness of the faithful in offering; their petitions for the use of the offerings. The prayer is less rambling than that in Non-Jur. 1734, although approximately the same material is covered.

Cerem: Celebrant returns to altar-rails, and there kneels down, with the Assistants on either side of him, the Elder(s) returning to his (their) place(s); the Deacon who carried the Incense-boat kneels at the west-side

of the Table of Prothesis, the other Deacons kneeling at the access to the Upper Choir (Rub.E. pp.8-9 Rub.S. pp.12-13).

Title: Cardale does not use a title, Willis calls it 'Prayer of Offertory' (Willis,p.21)and Bramley-Moore uses the term we employ here.

Sp.N: When tithes are not offered, the following passages are omitted, and are bracketed in the Shorter Office; (i) 'tithes and', (ii) 'in obedience to Thy commandment': this does justice to the previous prescriptions concerning offering, and to the similar omission in the Offertory Sentences.

Eucharistic Office : Section 1

The Greater Introit

Prev.Ed: first and final form in 1842Alb.

Sources: v. Ps43:3-4, Ps 116:17-18; cf also Greater Introit in Oriental Liturgies (Brightman, passim). The passage from Ps43 in the Preparatory Rites of the Tridentine Mass is probably an indirect source.

Position: Once more, Cardale appears to have composed something on Roman and Oriental lines, using the former for content, the latter for position; most Oriental Liturgies have a common (not a proper) Anthem for this part of the Liturgy (cf. Brightman, pp. 122 and 318).

Content: Instead of adopting the rather fanciful but rich formulas of the Eastern Liturgies, which would have been quite within his power, Cardale prefers to take a few verses from two Psalms, thus following the pattern which he later sets in nearly all the Proper Anthems; this Anthem was composed for the 1842Alb edition, whereas the later Proper Anthems appear from 1847 onwards. The first section (Ps.43:3-4) concerns entry, going to the altar of God, and the second (Ps.116:17-18) offering sacrifice, the purpose of going to the altar. The content is quite in accord with the liturgical action.

Cerem: Before the Anthem starts, all rise; the Celebrant ascends the altar-steps(for the first time, apart from the ceremonies connected with the Gospel book), the Assistants move to their places on either side at the foot of the altar-steps and the Deacon at the Table of Prothesis pours a small quantity of water (not to exceed one fifth of the total) into the vessels containing wine, in such a way as all may see. He then distributes the vessels (flagons, chalices, patens, and vessels for the Reserved Sacrament) among the Deacons, who come up to the Table of Prothesis for that purpose. The Anthem commences at this point.

The same Deacon, carrying the paten (usually a very large one) containing the bread, leads his fellow-deacons to the foot of the altar-steps, where all stand in a row. The vessels are handed over as follows: (i) the Deacon with the large paten hands it to the Senior Assistant, who hands it to the Celebrant, who places it on the altar, on the left-hand side, near the middle; (ii) the Deacons with vessels containing wine (usually flagons) hand them (one by one) to the Junior Assistant, who hands them (one by one) to the Celebrant, who places them on the altar, on the right-hand side, near the middle; (iii) the Deacons with the vessels for Reservation hand them to the Junior Assistant (wine) and Senior Assistant (bread), who hand them to the Celebrant, who places the vessel for the bread on the left-hand side, beyond the large paten, and the vessel for the wine on the right-hand side, beyond the flagons; (iv) the Deacons then bring up any other (empty) chalices and patens to be used in the administration and these are handed to the Assistants (chalices to the Junior, patens to the Senior), which are in turn placed on the altar, patens on the left, chalices on the right, beyond the vessels already on the altar.

The Deacons now retire to their stalls, except the one who brought up the Incense-boat, and one other; they are now to assist in the offering of Incense. (An Acolyte may be used in the place of this second Deacon). The former Deacon brings up the censer (brought to him by an Acolyte) and the other Deacon the Incense-Boat; they present them to the Celebrant, who places Incense on the Coals. After this has been done, the two move a little backwards, to places behind the two Assistants. When required, the censer is to be swung, but only in order to keep the coals burning. (Rub.E. pp.9-10, Rub.S. pp.13-14). During the offering of the bread, the Celebrant is to say silently a form of the corresponding prayers in

the Ambrosian Rite: 'Receive, O most merciful Father, this holy bread (or this chalice), that it may become the Body (or Blood) of Thine only-begotten Son, in the Name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost' (Martène, De Antiq. Rit. i. iv. xii. iii, and Bona, ii. ix. 2).

The ceremonial here prescribed is complex, but functional. The key is the point at which the Anthem starts. Everything prior to this is preparatory, since it is only after the water has been mixed with the wine that the Eucharistic Office starts. The mixed chalice was introduced in 1854. For such mixing in the face of the congregation (but not with the Anthem following), cf. the Deacon's part in Non-Jur. 1734 (Grisbrooke, p.306). Cardale notes that the 'mixed chalice' was a primitive practice of both Eastern and Western Christendom, the revival of which was being attempted among certain Anglican quarters at the time (v. Prayer Book Dictionary, pp.470-1, 716).

The Deacons, not the Elders (as was the case in offering the Tithes and Offerings), present the bread and wine before the Celebrant. Cardale speaks of the Western and Eastern customs, emphasising where in his opinion they fall short of primitive practice. The Credence in the West and the Prothesis in the East he identifies with his Table of Prothesis (R.L.I. pp. 136ff). That the elements should be assigned to different sides of the altar is not without precedent; in all the Oriental Rites (with the exception of a few of the more Latinised Uniate) the bread and wine are placed side by side, the chalice on the right, the paten on the left (v. Lisel, Eastern Catholic Liturgies, passim). This Cardale notes, and (with Bona) suggests that it was the primitive Roman practice also (R.L.I. p.139). He may also be following Church of Scotland practice.

The 'Greater Entrance' has already been seen in embryo in the early Eucharists of the Church (v.s. Ch.3). However, two things show the

further development. First, the offering of Incense first appears at the Intercession at both the Eucharist and the Daily Offices in 1852; it was introduced at the Greater Introit in 1854, and prescriptions to this effect appear in the Rubrics of the Scottish Edition of that year, and also in the Book of Rubrics of 1862 (p.9).

Secondly, as regards the ministers themselves, in the Rubrics of the 1847 edition, the Scottish 1850 and 1854 editions, and in the Book of Rubrics of 1852 (p.7), the two Assistants go from their places in the sanctuary to the Table of Prothesis, and take the vessels (Senior, bread, Junior, wine) to the Celebrant at the altar.

Possibly the later development resulted from more elaborate ceremonial which was slowly being adopted by the Church at the time, and also greater numbers in the congregation requiring more vessels to be used in the administration of Communion. What is interesting about the later ceremonial is that the presbyterate and diaconate act corporately in the Liturgy, represented by the Six Elders and the Deacons of the Seven. For the Ceremonial at this point v. Drawing C.

Title: Cardale refers to this item as the 'anthem of Introit' (R.L.I.p.136), Willis as the 'Great Introit' (Willis, p.37) as does Bramley-Moore. We rename it 'Greater Introit', to correspond with the alternative title of the Gloria in excelsis as the 'Lesser Introit'. This latter title (Lesser Introit) was often used in the service of the Church (e.g. in the Music books).

Sp.N: Incense is optional at the Shorter Office, depending on the degree of solemnity in which the service is celebrated. The same applies to the singing of the Greater Introit, and to the complexity of the ceremonial at this point of the service. (Rub.E. pp.20-21, Rub.S. pp.19-20). A Scottish peculiarity is that the Incense boat is not to be brought up to

the Table of Prothesis on week-days, but simply to be used as required; this probably means that the placing of the Incense-boat on the Table of Prothesis had a symbolic rather than purely functional association, which we suggest is connected with offering Incense, in the same way that the tithes and other offerings were made. However, we can offer no more than a conjecture, as there is no liturgical provision for such an offering (over and above the Anthem); Cardale is silent on this item - he is writing in 1848, before the introduction of Incense in 1852. At any rate, here is yet one more distinction between the Lord's Day celebration and the week-day one, regardless of the degree of solemnity of either.

The 'Orate Fratres'

Prev.Ed: first form in 1842Alb, with response 'Amen': final form, with full response, 1847 edition.

Sources: Adaptation of Roman feature; Jungmann surveys the origins and development of the 'Orate Fratres' and shows how indefinite are the early prescriptions with regard to the response (II pp. 182ff). No parallels can be found for Cardale's adjustment of the Tridentine formula to "our sacrifice": this may be simply an overtranslation of 'ut meum ac vestrum', but is much more likely to be an intentional guarding against Roman sacerdotalism, since he describes the bread and wine as 'the common sacrifice' (R.L.I. p.142). Cardale's 'our' obviously shows an attempt to relate the sacrificial character of the Eucharist to the participation of the people, a factor which was certainly never in the original 'Orate Fratres', since it was only addressed to those ministering in the sanctuary. This adaptation is therefore both courageous and well-founded.

'through....Christ', a Christological phrase not found in any of Jungmann's examples (II, pp.82ff).

'The Lord....spirit', cf. 'et cum spiritu tuo' what we have here appears to be an emphatic overtranslation.

'The Lord.....sacrifice', an affirmative to the bidding.

'and give.....blessing', a reference to the Holy Eucharist; it is doubtful what else it could refer to in the circumstances.

Parallels: In the Good Friday Liturgy of the Presanctified, the same formula in the response is employed as in the Eucharist of 1842Alb. and 1843, viz. The 'Amen'. For a similarly curtailed 'Orate Fratres', cf Schwartz's Mass at 1524 (Maxwell, The Liturgical Portions of the Genevan Service Book, p.26); for a less successful adaptation, cf Steph.III, (Grisbrooke, p.234). The evolution of the 1842Alb form into theGood Friday Presanctified Liturgy version on the one hand, and the 1847 Eucharistic version on the other, appears to point to a more settled liturgical understanding of the Eucharistic sacrifice in 1847. TheRoman Mass of Paul VI translates 'meum ac vestrum' as 'our' in the vernacular English version (Order of Mass, p.30), which echoes Cardale's composition.

Position: Roman. The tithes and offerings are still on the Table of Prothesis, thebread and wine have been removed from thence to the altar, and a completely new part of the service begun; there can therefore be no doubt as to the application of this adapted Mediaevalism, viz. the bread and wine of the Eucharist.

Content: Cardale accepts the doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice in broad terms, but not in his understanding of the Roman form; in directing the'common sacrifice' to be offeredhe advocates a congregational liturgy (at the time impossible in the Roman Church) where the people not only

verbally respond but have their own representatives participating in the preparations for the sacrifice. (R.L.I. pp.163-4).

Cerem: Celebrant turns to people, and, after response, once more turns to the altar. The two Assistants remain at their places at the foot of the altar-steps, on either side. (Rub.E. p.10, Rub.S. p.14).

Title: Cardale and Bramley-Moore call this item an 'invitation' (R.L.I. p.42), Willis, 'Brethren, pray' (p.39). We employ the traditional liturgical title, 'Orate Fratres'.

Prayer of Oblation before Consecration

Prev.Ed: first form, 1842Alb; final form not until 1853, when three small (repetitious) parts were excluded.

Source: Oriental, ultimately, although offertory prayers of a private nature had entered the Western Rite by the 8th C (Jungmann, I. pp.90-97). The Oriental Liturgies are rich in lengthy Prayers at this point, usually with the three themes of (i) offering of gifts, (ii) self-abasement of Celebrant and people, (iii) invocation of the Holy Spirit, often with repetition of (ii), e.g. in Jas., (Brightman, pp.44ff). But Cardale inserts into this a further theme - that of 'self-oblation', which is Anglican in origin, but at the end of the B.C.P.Communion Rite, Cardale once more shows a considerable degree of freedom in adaptation, and even more originality. Because of the direct participation of the whole assembly in our Liturgy (at this point in the common sacrifice), this fusion of traditions appears to work.

Almighty...Father, cf. General Confession at Anglican Daily Offices.

'we offer....Thee', cf Prayer of Oblation, 'And here.....Thee' (B.C.P.).

'This bread....cup', cf. 'Clem' corresponding prayer: τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο (Brightman, p.20).

'in token...Thee', original variation on I.Chr.29:11 and probably based on τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν, Chrys, and σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν, Mk. (Brightman, pp.386, 133); I.Chr 29:11f is also an "Offertory sentence" in Scot. 1764 (Grisbrooke, p.341).

'We are.....service', cf Prayer of Oblation (B.C.P.), where Cardale seems to have altered as follows: (i) 'be' (subjunctive) into 'are' (indicative) - a syntactical alteration - and (ii) 'bounden' is omitted before 'duty'.

'who desire.....most bound', free composition, but 'bound' here either the reason for 'bounden' being omitted above, or else suggestive to him of this section.

'And here.....bodies', cf Prayer of Oblation, B.C.P.

'engaging....abhorrest', free composition, similar in length to above 'who desire....bound', and once more explanatory of section immediately preceding it.

'O God...us', free composition, but strongly reminiscent of corresponding prayer, Jas: μὴ ἀποστρέψῃς.....καὶ σωμάτων(Brightman pp.46-7).

'Send down....fire', for similar invocations at this point in corresponding prayers of Jas. (Brightman p.47) Chrys. (ibid p.319); and for 'flesh....in us' cf Gal 5:24, and 'consuming fire' cf Mk. καὶ καθάρισον..... διὰ παντός (Brightman, pp.122-3).

'a living....service' cf Prayer of Oblation (B.C.P.).

'And now....grace' free composition; for 'means of grace' cf. General Thanksgiving (B.C.P.).

'Thy heavenly grace', cf Prayer for Church Militant, (B.C.P.).

'have respect....Church', Roman Canon, 'supra quae...digneris'.

'impute....sin', cf.s. Confession in our Liturgy.

'Thy...Thee' cf opening prayer of priest in Jas. σὺ εἶ... (Brightman, p.31).

'but confirm....do', a most curious section, only paralleled in corresponding prayer in Jas., κύριε....καὶ ἐγαθῆς (Brightman pp.47-48) and Bas. σὲ δυσωπῶ....αἷμα (ibid p.318), for a similar though probably independent variation of the same type of prayer, cf Non-Jur 1718, (Grisbrooke, p.286).

'confirm and ratify....do', cf Steph. I and II, for corresponding prayer (Grisbrooke, pp. 226,239), though probably also independent. Cardale is adapting the 'Cushapa' genre of liturgical prayer, and, as in the case of the "Orate Fratres' he moulds in into something more congregational.

'Hear us...Father', cf. Prayer of Consecration (B.C.P.).

Parallels: Four main families of liturgies employ this kind of prayer, and in this position. First, the Oriental Liturgies (Byzantine, Alexandrian, West Syrian and East Syrian). Secondly, the much shorter 'Super Oblata' of the Western Missals. Thirdly, the adapted forms of the esoteric Anglican Liturgies of the 17th and 18th Centuries. Fourthly, four important Rites of the liturgical movement of the past two centuries; (i) the Liturgy of Eugène Bersier, who uses material from this prayer both in his Offertory Prayer ('Père tout-puissant..... raisonable service', Eug.Ber. pp.225-226), and in the prayer for the efficacity of the Celebration ('O Eternel....ta volonté', Eug.Ber.p.226), in both of which instances common material suggests very strongly that Bersier used our Liturgy as source; (ii) Orchard's 'Divine Service' (p.128) and the subsequent F.C.B.C.P. (pp.113-4) both combine the people's oblation with the offering of the bread and wine, often with parallel language. (iii) The Book of Common Order of the C of S (1940), where a very much curtailed form of the present prayer appears in a similar position (B.C.O. p.117); and (iv) The short passage, I.Chr. 29:11 f has been adopted as the Offertory Prayer in recent C of E revision

(Alternative Services, Third Series, p.17), and therefore parallels our prayer in both position and content.

Position: Apart from the material from the Prayer of Oblation (B.C.P.) all sources and parallels are the same in position.

Content: Three main elements within this prayer are as important for their content as they are in derivation. First, there is the self-oblation of the people, which comes straight from B.C.P., but unlike B.C.P. is pre-Communion. Second, there is the deprecation of the people and the Celebrant, which in our Liturgy is derived from a collation of Oriental elements, and adapted, in Cardale's original way, to bring the congregation more explicitly into the sphere of the liturgical action. But the third, the offering of the bread and the wine, is the element in this prayer which is theologically the most interesting.

We will now look more closely at the content of this prayer. First, Cardale notes at the beginning of his treatment of the Eucharistic Office Proper, that in the Byzantine Rite, there are no less than three offerings. The first is in the Preparation, 'at which time a mystic ceremony is gone through, and the immolation of the victim is set forth by piercing the host, and by other actions': and this Cardale admits is condemned by 'many ritualists' as anticipating the Eucharistic offering proper. The second is that with which we now are dealing, where the holy gifts are offered on the altar. The third is after the consecration, and is the oblation of the sacramental Body and Blood of the Lord. This three-fold offering is noted by Hammond, (Liturgies Eastern and Western p.XXXII). It is clear that Cardale adopts the second and third of these offerings for his Liturgy. The offering of the bread and wine, therefore, stems from ancient practice, when the Eucharistic elements were separated from the rest of the peoples' offerings. (R.L.I. p.137).

What happens in our Liturgy is that the Celebrant (i) offers them to God as part of His creation, (ii) offers them as a token of the faithful's dependence upon God, (iii) offers them by identifying the people with the gifts, (iv) offers them in self-oblation of the people to live a new life in the sacrament, (v) offers them in the name of the prayers of the whole Church (i.e. historically and geographically universal), (vi) offers them in humility in contemplation of the sacrament about to be celebrated, and at the unworthiness of the people and their Celebrant. The aspects which stand out as the most significant are (iii)and (vi); in (iii), the association of the people with their gifts is perhaps Cardale's main piece of originality in the prayer, since it appears to be a corollary of the self-oblation of the people and the offering of the people's bread and wine; in (vi) Cardale has adapted the Oriental priestly deprecation prayers, which retain fully the Oriental confidence in the efficacity of the sacrament, but avoid the repetitive nature of Oriental prayers, and make acceptance of the gifts and subsequent consecration explicitly an act of God. (R.L.I. pp. 136-145).

As to the whole prayer, Cardale bases his ideas on the Byzantine Liturgy (R.L.I. pp.143ff), where he quotes Goar (in Lit.Chrys. N.115,134), affirming that the two oblations before and after the Consecration, are derived from primitive practice, which the Roman Rite has subsequently lost. Although current liturgiology may dispute this (e.g. Dom Ambrose Verheul, Q.L.P.1971,p.21), Cardale's prayer is an interesting freak, and shows a constructive adaptation in liturgical history.

Cerem: Celebrant and all kneel (Rub.E. p.10, Rub.S. p.14). This is in line with the Celebrant's posture elsewhere in our Liturgy.

Title: Cardale calls this item 'Prayer of Oblation of the Gifts', but both Willis (p.41) and Bramley-Moore use the title we employ, in order to clarify the structure of the Rite, and to point forward to the second Prayer, the Prayer of Oblation after Consecration.

The Eucharistic Office : Sections 2 to 4 - a Note

Here follow two long sections, which make up what might be called Cardale's 'Anaphora', for want of a better word. It is not the place at this point to try to deal with each individual item, but we wish to offer an explanation for the structure of these sections, and to argue for the unity of this 'Anaphora', on the basis of the particular sections which Cardale chooses to employ, and of our subsequent discussion of them.

Each component has a part to play. The Salutation, Sursum Corda, Preface (including Proper) and Sanctus and Benedictus together constitute the element of Thanksgiving, hence the title Eucharistic Prayer, used by Cardale. The Lord's Prayer introduces the Consecration as a Preparation for what follows. The Consecration Prayers are the mid-point of the Rite, and together make up the Act of Consecration. The Prayer of Oblation after Consecration is the Oblation of the consecrated bread and wine. The Incense Anthem links the offering of the sacrifice with the offering of Intercession, and is, therefore, like the Lord's Prayer, a preparatory element. Finally, the Commemorations of theLiving and Departed form the Intercession.

What made Cardale compose in this way? If we consider the evolution of the 'Anaphora', we discover that, with the exception of the Incense Anthem, and a few sections and adjustments within the Commemorations of the Living and Departed, it all dates from the 1842Alb. book (even though there was a somewhat different alignment of material in the 'Albury Paper', as Chapter 3 has shown). Furthermore, in the 1842Alb. Rite, there is only one 'Amen' in the entire section from the Preface through Consecrations, Oblation and Commemorations - and this comes at the end of the Concluding Prayer before Communion. Although many more 'Amens'

were inserted in 1847, this is a further argument in favour of the whole section being regarded as a liturgical unity.

We suggest that Cardale's titulation in the service-book and his wide liturgical study form the two answers to the question. Cardale wanted to compose an 'Anaphora' which brought together, under separate headings, six aspects in the numerous Eucharistic Prayers known to him, and which he saw to be distinct; Thanksgiving, Preparation, Consecration, Oblation, Offering of Incense, and Intercession.

In spite of its undoubted length, the whole composition is coherent, and it moves purposefully. Both these attributes are due as much to its clear structure as to the composer's use of liturgical sources.

Eucharistic Office : Section 2

The Salutation and Sursum Corda

Prev.Ed: final form in 1847 with inclusion of Salutation.

Sources/Position: For Salutation, cf. Roman and other Western Rites, Oriental Liturgies of the Alexandrian family, and Anglican Liturgies of the Non-Juror Family, Non-Jur. 1718 (Grisbrooke, p.286) and Scot.1764 (ibid. p.341). For Sursum Corda, cf. all Western and Eastern Liturgies (as R.L.I. p.145).

Content: Cardale writes: 'The congregation then rise, and the celebrant exclaims the words used in this part of the service from the remotest period, and to be found in every Liturgy both of the East and of the West, ἄνω σχῶμεν τὰς καρδίας — Sursum Corda - Lift up your hearts, words which in all ages of the Church, like the spirit-stirring note of the trumpet, have drawn out the affections of believers, and prepare them for the act of praise and blessing to which they invite' (R.L.I. p.145).

Cerem: Celebrant turns to the people, and the Assistants turn inwards; after the Salutation all rise. (Rub.E. p.10 Rub.S. p.14). Cardale has already noted (v.s. Salutation before Collect) the function of the 'Dominus Vobiscum', and here seems to heighten its effect in prescribing the congregation to rise after it. For the Assistants turning inwards, cf. Dearmer (The Parson's Hand-Book, p.370).

Title: Cardale does not use a title, Willis uses Salutation, but not Sursum Corda, (p.43) and Bramley-Moore uses both Salutation and Sursum Corda.

The Preface or Great Thanksgiving

Prev.Ed: first form in 1842Alb, final in 1853 (cf Prayer of Oblation after Consecration in this respect); all changes are abbreviations (not expansions), and of a minor sort, except 'Thou openest.....plenteousness' (for which cf Ps. 145:16).

Sources: 'It....God':- cf B.C.P. Preface, with 'eternal' substituted for 'everlasting', and 'Holy' omitted before 'Father'.

'who...One Lord':- Cardale regards the Anglican Preface as 'curtailed' without this section, which he claims is derived from Chrys; for which cf. σὺ καὶ ὁ μονογενης .....τὸ ἅγιον (Brightman, p.384). Furthermore, because he regards the Roman Common Preface as too curtailed for the Sunday assembly, and because (implicitly) he is referring to the Shorter Office which concludes at this point, it is appropriate that the first paragraph should end in this way.

'For....therein; cf. Chrys, ἐν παντὶ.....σου (Brightman p.384); cf also Bas, κύριε.....δρωμένης (P.E. p.232). For the opening of a narrative of the economy of salvation, it is an obvious beginning.

'Thou hast.....being', cf Chrys, σὺ....παρήγαγες (Brightmanp.384), and 'Clem', ἀλλὰ καθυποτάξας.....πεπαίνοντος (Brightman p.17).

'By....preserved', cf. Ps31:23, 37:28; cf. also 'Clem', σὺ γὰρ.... ....τὰ ὅλα ἀξιοῖς (Brightman, p.15).

'and by...sustained; cf. Gen. 27:37, although the idea (God's sovereignty) is probably better compared with Neh. 9:31.

'Thou...goodness', for 'preserved' v.s., and 'presence' v.O.T.passim for the idea of worship; cf Chrys. εὐχαριστοῦμέν... καταξιώσαν (P.E.p.224), for 'satisfied' cf. Ps65:4, a clear parallel in meaning and language; for 'replenished' cf Gen. 1:28, 9:1.

'For....thanks', cf.Chrys, ὑπὲρ.....γεγενημένων (Brightman, pp.384-5).

'But...ever', cf. Easter Preface (B.C.P.); Chrys. καὶ τὴν... μέλλουσαν (Brightman, p.384), 'Clem', χρονῷ... ἐπηγγείλω (Brightman, p.17) and Jas., παραβάντα... ἐγκατέλιπες (Brightman, p.51).

'Thou.....Christ', cf. Exod, 30:12, Mk.10:45; unparalleled in the Oriental Liturgies.

'who.....salvation', (pre-existence of the Son), cf. 'Clem', ὃ τὰ..... .....ζῶσαν (Brightman, p.15).

'We....Lord', This Christological section includes material usually placed in the anamnesis section of most Liturgies, Oriental and Occidental. For this reason, and because the various Proper Prefaces are inserted in the chronology of events at the appropriate points, no source or parallel can be given. For 'we bless Thee', cf. General Thanksgiving (B.C.P.) similar in genre and content; for 'precious sufferings and death', cf. Scot. 1764, Consecration Prayer, 'and....again' (Grisbrooke. p.343); For 'glorious ascension', cf. Scot. 1764, anamnesis, (Grisbrooke, p.343); for 'ascension....hand', cf. Jas., καὶ..... καθέδρας (Brightman, pp.52-3).

'We....Son', This pneumatological section is not usually found in the 'preface' of Oriental or Occidental Eucharistic Prayers, and no source or parallel can be found, save for a few linguistic, as ff:-

'for the bessed...mysteries', cf. Scot. 1764, Post-Communion Prayer, (Grisbrooke; pp.347-8); for 'for...glory', cf General Thanksgiving, (B.C.P.).

'Thee...praise', cf. similar phrases in Gloria excelsis (B.C.P.)

'We....Name', cf. similar phrases in Common Preface (B.C.P.)

'The Name....Ghost', unparalleled; example of Trinitarianism, already noted elsewhere in our Liturgy, but probably derived from Invocation of Trinity in Eucharist quoted in Justin, Ap.II, p.97 ed.Col 1786 (R.L.I.p.146)

'joining....Thee':- for 'angels and archangels', cf Chrys. (Brightman p.384). Mk.(Brightman pp.131-2), Jas. (Brightman p.50) and Anglican (B.C.P.); for

'hosts of heaven' cf. 'Clem', ἀναρίθμητοι στρατιαί (Brightman, p.18). 'Cherubin....throne', cf. Chrys. (Brightman p.385), Mk.(Brightman pp.131-2), Jas. (Brightman, p.50). Cardale goes into the suitability of Cherubim and Seraphim, and quotes the catalogue of celestial potentates at IThess 4:16, Col.1:16, Rom 8:38, Eph 1:21, and IPet 3:22 (R.L.I. pp.150-1). At any rate, he adheres to Oriental tradition in framing the end of his Preface in this way; however, whereas Jas. (Brightman p.50) 'Clem' (Brightman p.18) have θρόνοι among the company in heaven, Cardale transposes it to 'before Thy Throne'.

Parallels: apart from the source use noted above, parallels are limited to three cases where liturgists have followed Cardale's arrangement. First, Eugène Bersier; this is a minor case, and without direct linguistic echoes, but still a parallel for structure (Eug.Ber. pp.227-8). Secondly, the 'Euchologion' of the Church Service Society where we can discern parallel of structure, content and language; the opening paragraph deals with the creation of man (Cardale assumes this aspect of salvation-history), but the remainder is almost word for word from our Liturgy (Euchologion, pp.53-54). Thirdly, in the Book of Common Order of 1940; the Preface is a much abbreviated version of the original in our Liturgy, although it makes provision for Proper Prefaces; it deals with creation and redemption very briefly, and then goes straight to a paragroph to lead up to the Sanctus, beginning 'Thee mighty God', (B.C.O. p.118).

Content: Cardale clearly regards the 'Solemn Thanksgiving' as separate from the rest of the liturgical action which follows, hence the Christological and Pneumatological sections which come somewhat as a surprise, even though Anaphoras of the Alexandrian type do contain Christological material before the Sanctus. This Solemn Thanksgiving covers the material contained in the Oriental Anaphoras, but the differences, which are original features, are as follows:

First, Cardale does not regard the pre-Christian section of the economy of salvation to be of as great importance as do the compilers of the Anaphoras of the Antiochene and Byzantine group. Second, he is much more sensitive (perhaps hypersensitive) to Trinitarian theology than are the Oriental Anaphoras; e.g. two explicit invocations of the Trinity. Third, he is very conscious of structure, as follows: Para.1 - Introduction, Trinity, Para.2 - Theological section, Creation; Para.3 - Theological section, sending of the Son; Para.4 - Christological section; Para.5 - Pneumatological and Ecclesiological section; para.6 - Theological section, Trinity. Fourth, there is (without parallel) the ecclesiological material, perhaps leading directly from the pneumatological; cf Armen, 'ipsum ecclesiam.....' (P.E. p.321) which is in a different position and which does mention the Church and Sacraments. Fifth, and, liturgically, by far the most important, Cardale recognises that part of the Eucharist which is specifically 'Eucharistic', hence the name he applies to this item, 'Solemn Thanksgiving'; in this connection, he quotes Justin Martyr (Ap.ii.p.97.Ed.Col. (1786) and Cabasilas (c.27, quoted in Lit. Chrys. No.24). Moreover he states categorically that the Eucharistic section must precede and be entirely separate from the Act of Consecration (R.L. II, pp.152-3). Cardale cannot be expected to probe back further than the 4th century in the way of actual liturgies as we know them now, but here is a clear case of successful use of Patristic documentation. Much has been written on the 'Eucharistic Prayer', and this has produced much fruit in recent liturgical revisions. But whereas modern Eucharistic Prayers tend to lead directly into the Fraction and the Communion, Cardale wants the best of both worlds, and prescribes an Act of Consecration, a Prayer of Oblation, and an elaborate Commemoration of the Living and Departed after his 'Solemn Thanksgiving' - and all this long before the Administration of Communion.

What results? First of all, from the sources cited, Cardale draws on four main items; (i) 'Clem', which he himself mentions in connection with the length in which it covers the material (R.L.I. p.146); (ii) Chrys., which he acknowledges thus: 'in many of the expressions, in the subsequent clauses, it (the Preface) follows the ideas, and sometimes the expressions ascribed to St. Chrysostom' (R.L.I. p.147); (iii) echoes (no more) have been noted from the Anglican General Thanksgiving, which confirms the 'eucharistic' aspect of this item of our Rite; and (iv) his own ideas.

Secondly, in separating the Thanksgiving from the Oblation, Cardale shows his awareness of the general concept of anamnesis qua blessing. It might be thought that his 'Thanksgiving' and his 'Oblation' would be duplicated in the material covered, since they correspond to the Preface and Anamnesis sections of the Roman Rite. This does not happen at all. Revisions of the present tend to put everything together in the Eucharistic Prayer, but Cardale's desire for a full 'Anaphora' means that all the 'blessings' are placed in the Thanksgiving, and that the oblatory material is central in the Prayer of Oblation after Consecration, and any 'anamnetic' ideas (the cross, resurrection, ascension, parousia) are secondary. Although our Rite differs radically from present revisions, Cardale's understanding of the Thanksgiving, and his handling of it in relation to what follows it, comes very close indeed to an assertion made by Ligier as follows: 'le thème de la célébration divine et celui de l'anamnèse du salut, loin d'être séparés en deux mouvements distincts de part et d'autre du Sanctus, y sont des d'abord juxtaposés et comme indissolublement unis' (Eucharisties d'Orient et d'Occident, II p.145).

Cerem: Celebrant turns to altar, as to Assistants; at 'One God' at the end of the first paragraph, all bow (Cardale, R.L.I.p.147) and Rub.E. p.10 - no mention in Rub.S.

Title: Cardale calls this item 'Solemn Thanksgiving'; Willis terms it 'Preface or Thanksgiving', and Bramley-Moore uses the title 'Preface, or Great Thanksgiving', both of which we employ, 'Preface' being a title of convenience, and Great Thanksgiving expressing its content.

Sp.N.: In the Shorter Office, all the material from 'For Thou didst create' (para.2) to 'of Thy dear Son' (para.5) is omitted, but the Proper Preface is still introduced, between the two remaining paras, as prescribed.

The Proper Preface

Prev.Ed: first appearance in 1847, and subsequent, according to introduction of Forms; v.i. Ch. 8 and 10 on each item; in 1842Alb and 1843, provision is made for extempore commemoration of season.

Sources: cf. B.C.P. although more numerous, and therefore following Roman Rite; however unlike the Roman prefaces, Cardale's insertions occur in the Full Office at the appropriate point in the chronology of events for which thanks are given, an original feature, and consistent with his interpretation of the Preface noted above; none of the Oriental Rites offer a Proper Preface.

Parallels: The C. of E. Alternative Services (Second Series) H.C. has the beginnings of such a use of Proper parts of the pre-Sanctus section of the Thanksgiving, and (apparently) for the same reason, namely to hold the Eucharistic Prayer together (q.v. pp.7-8). In the Shorter Office, the Proper portions come between the first and the final paragraphs of the Great Thanksgiving at the Full Office.

Content: v.i. Ch 7-10.

Title: As in the case of the Proper of Oblation, no title is used, except the prescript 'In the Preface'; for convenience, we use the Anglican title.

The Sanctus and Benedictus

Prev.Ed: Final form in 1847 edition with inclusion of Benedictus and Hosannas.

Sources/Position: Western and Eastern Liturgies all contain the Sanctus at this point, and it is probably as a result of Cardale's further Oriental reading manifested elsewhere by 1847 (i.e. considerable enrichment of our Liturgy at this date) that the Hosannas are inserted. But the wording is from the Te Deum in Anglican translation, hence 'Lord God of Sab͡aoth' (B.C.P.), probably because from 1842Alb the Te Deum was sung at the end of the service (until 1847 alternative to the Gloria in excelsis) and Cardale was loth to prescribe two different forms of the Sanctus in the same service. 'Sab͡aoth' also appears thus in Non-Jur. 1734 (Grisbrooke, p.309) and Rat. (Grisbrooke,p.323).

Content: Cardale suggests that the first Hosanna is addressed to God in Trinity, and the second to God 'visible in flesh', because the Benedictus was first sung when Jesus entered Jerusalem before His passion (R.L.I. p.152). This is an interesting example of the theological interpretation, which would also warrant the addition of the Benedictus in 1847.

Cerem: All join in singing (saying) this hymn (R.L.I. p.152).

Title: Cardale (R.L.I. p.152),Willis (p.47) and Bramley-Moore all use the title 'Ter-Sanctus', but none speak of the Benedictus as a separate part; we here use the traditional Western terminology.

Eucharistic Office : Section 3

Lord's Prayer

Prev.Ed: Final form in 1842Alb.

Source: B.C.P.

Position/Parallels: This is somewhat mysterious. Cardale defends it rigorously, by emphasising the Eucharistic nature of the material (especially the 'daily bread'), even furnishing the reader with quotations from the Fathers (e.g. Cyprian, in Orat.13). Furthermore, he asserts that the prayer should refer not to an act of worship which has been offered, but one which is going to be offered - because 'thy Kingdom come' should refer to the Eucharist (R.L.I. p.154). On this Eschatological interpretation of the(Liturgical Centrality of the Lord's Prayer cf. introductory V. & R. to Lord's Prayer, Office de Taizé, p.16, and passim; cf. also optional introductions to Lord's Prayer Nos. 2 and 6 in new Roman Liturgia Horarum (The Divine Office, Vol. I, p.543*).

As regards liturgical use in the Eucharist, there are three parallels for this position. The first is in Tay, where the Lord's Prayer is placed between the Preface and the Consecration (which also has a 'preconsecrational' Epiclesis), although the Oriental Hymn [illegible] comes immediately before the Consecration (Grisbrooke, p.193). The second is the placing of the Prayer of Humble Access between the Preface and the Prayer of Consecration in B.C.P., here, the prayer is a parallel for position and meaning, i.e. of preparation for the great act of Consecration. The third concerns possible use by other liturgists; (i) the Euchologion places the Lord's Prayer between the Eucharistic Prayer and Invocation and the Communion, with the note, 'this use probably

apostolic', i.e. noting the unusual position, and (probably) convinced by Cardale: (ii) Eugène Bersier places the Lord's Prayer in its traditional place, but inserts a preparation prayer (of a 'Cushapa'/'Apologia' kind) between Preface and Consecration; this may be an independent parallel but he may have felt the need for such a preparatory prayer in this position. (iii) in the Book of Common Order of 1940, the Lord's Prayer is placed between the (equivalent) Preface/Sanctus/Consecration and the Fraction/Action (B.C.O. pp.118-120).

Cardale's position for the Lord's Prayer is thus not without precedent.

Cerem: All kneel; Celebrant is directed to say the prayer alone, in a low voice, 'deliberately, and in a subdued tone' (Rub.E. p.10, Rub.S. p.14). This is in line with Cardale's remarks on the prayer noted above cf. 'loud voice' in Tay. (Grisbrooke, p.193). The Lord's Prayer is always said by the Officiant only at the Daily Offices of Morning and Evening Prayer, and at the Forenoon and Afternoon Service (Lit. pp.59,76,82,97). No reason is offered, although in the case of the Eucharist, it is in accordance with Cardale's thoughts about the prayer at this point. The Lord's Prayer by Celebrant at the beginning of B.C.P. Communion may be a contributory factor.

The Consecration Prayers

Prev.Ed: Final form in 1842Alb; Scottish editions 1850 and 1854 (but not 1861) as well as German 1850 (but not 1859), use a single prayer, combining the first paragraphs to refer to both bread and wine, and continuing with the words 'In like manner also....' after the first 'Amen'. N.B. German 1850 follows Scottish 1850 in this, as also weekly Collects.

Sources: 'Look upon us', unparalleled in this position, probably because of Oriental emphasis on epiclesis, and Western emphasis on Institution

Narrative; cf. Mk., ἐπίφανον...ταῦτα in prayer before Anaphora (Brightman, p.124); cf Jas, also prayer before Anaphora καὶ ὁ Θεὸς... ...ἀληθείαν (Brightman, pp.47-48); cf also Roman Canon, following anamnesis, 'Supra quae.....digneris'.

'bless and sanctify' cf. Mk., ἐυλόγησον (Brightman, p.134), Jas., ἐυλόγησον καὶ ἁγίασον (Brightman, p.54), Chrys. καὶ ἁγίασον (Brightman, p.387) cf also Tay., 'blesse and sanctify' (Grisbrooke,p.193), as also 1549 Rite (F.P.B.K.E. p.203). 'In...Ghost', unparalleled inthis position; three factors suggest a reason. First, Cardale's Trinitarianism, already noted in his liturgical compositions. Secondly, parallels in the other services of the Church where blessings are given (v.s. Invocation, Parallels). Thirdly, the east Syrian Anaphoras, in particular, that of Addai and Mari, where the emphasis is placed on the Fraction and Commixture (Brightman refers to it as Consignation, p.289); the Celebrant breaks the bread, and signs each element individually with the other while an Invocation of the Trinity is recited (Brightman, pp.290-1), and these may be compared with the two Consecration Prayers in our Rite. Even if Botte's insistance that this Anaphora originally had an Institution Narrative is correct, (L'Ordinaire de la Messe , p.16, n.2), the Consignation has always been a central part of the East Syrian Liturgy, ever since the time of Narsai (Symposium Syriacum, 1972 , Gemayel, 'Fraction, Consignation, Commixtion, dans la liturgie syro-maronite;p.178) and this 'centrality' would further support at least an indirect link between our Rite and the Liturgy of Addai and Mari. Further support for this theory lies in the fact that in our Rite the Celebrant at this point makes the sign of the cross over the elements, and this is one of the very few cases where such a direction is given in the Rubrics (Rub.E. pp.10-11, Rub.S. pp.14-15).

'and we...Christ', for this Epiclesis, cf Tay., for which N.B. 'O Heavenly

Father', (Grisbrooke, p.193); cf. also Roman Canon,'hane igitur..numerari' (M.R.); 'send down....Spirit', cf. Non-Jur. 1718, Non-Jur. 1734 (Grisbrooke, pp.289,311) and 'Clem', καταπέμψης....πνεῦμα (Brightman, p.21); 'unto us', cf. 1549 Rite (F.P.B.K.E. p.203), and Scot. 1637 (Grisbrooke, p.177) both of which are Preconsecrational.

'Who...me', N.B. 'broken', not 'given'; Cardale here follows Oriental rather than Western tradition; κλώμενον Mk. and Jas. (Brightman pp.132, 52); 'frangitur' is inscribed into the Latin version of Chrys. (P.E. p.227); cf. Roman and Ambrosian, 'hoc est enim corpus meum', (P.E. pp.433,450), and cf also Tay., Non-Jur. 1734, Rat. (Grisbrooke, pp.195, 310, 324). Such an Orientalism would support the theory that Cardale's Consecration contains the Fraction. The remainder of the Institution Narrative is traditional.

Parallels: For the Invocation, cf. B.C.O. p.118, where a different position is used (before the 'Warrant'); for the Epiclesis, of also B.C.O.p.119; for a similar position, F.C.B.C.P. p.116, N.B. 'unto us' as also recent C. of E. revision (Alternative Services, Third Series, p.21); for 'broken', cf also B.C.O. p.120, at the 'Action'. The use of two-fold Consecration Prayers seems to be a survival from the early Eucharists of the Church before the full Liturgy developed. It may be derived from Church of Scotland practice at the time (Burnet, The Holy Communion in the Reformed Church of Scotland, p.283). But it is most likely of all to be a conscious 'primitivism' on the part of Cardale, in the direction of an 'apostolic' N.T. Liturgy, as he himself indicates (R.L.I. p.157). Certain revisions of recent years have also opted for separate prayers over bread and cup, although more of the 'berakah' type than our 'Act of Consecration', among them are the Anglican Church of Chile (Buchanan, Modern Anglican Liturgies, p.243), and Australia 1966 (Buchanan

p.316); the Australia 1973 order marks a return to a single 'Eucharistic' Prayer, with separate 'Words of Institution', but each preceded by a separate 'berakah' (p.15).

Position: A possible indirect source for this is Tay., which has three of the peculiarities of our Liturgy at this point: (a) position of Lord's Prayer (b) Preconsecrational Epiclesis, and (c) the use of 'broken' (Grisbrooke, pp.193ff).

Content: Cardale explains himself at some length (R.L.I. pp.157-70). He expounds the Biblical narrative (i) pointing out that there were two thanksgivings at the Last Supper (Scriptural warrant for two Consecrations), (ii) affirming that there is a difference between blessing God for past glories and blessing creatures to a holy use (this being a distinction, presumably, between the Solemn Thanksgiving and the Consecration), and (iii) asserting that in order to effect the Consecration, the Celebrant must follow Jesus Christ in word and action at the Last Supper (this, perhaps, being a reason for 'broken', over the bread).

The result is yet another conflation of Oriental, Roman and Anglican and original elements. As in the Roman Rite, an act of consecration is explicit; but Cardale's pneumatology comes over in the form of a pre-consecrational Epiclesis, much like the 'consecration epicleses' of the new Eucharistic Prayers of the Roman Rite (M.R. Paul VI pp. 457, 461, 468). As regards the Eucharistic Presence, Cardale rejects both Transubstantiation and Consubstantiation, in favour of a Patristic belief in the Real Presence; he asserts that the bread and wine are 'really and effectually His Body and Blood' (R.L.I. p.166). As far as he is concerned, this is precisely what his Consecration Prayers say.

These two consecration prayers, therefore, can be paralleled in general intention with the central portion of the Roman Canon; by this we mean that the Institution narrative fulfils in the old Roman Rite what these two prayers do for Cardale's Rite. But what is most curious is that in following what seems to be Patristic tradition in the 'Solemn Thanksgiving' and East Syrian tradition in the mechanics of the Consecration/Consignation, he reverts to Roman tradition in the Oblation Prayer and Oriental tradition in the Commemoration of the Living and the Departed which follow. The mixture is difficult to disentangle, but what Cardale is trying to do and say emerges nonetheless. He writes as follows: 'And this is a Sacrament, the outward and visible sign, of an inward and spiritual thing present, and conferred upon the faithful by means thereof. Destroy the outward sign or figure, and the Sacrament is gone.....The words of blessing and consecration, therefore, imply that we have upon the altar, under the outward form or veil of the substances of bread and wine, the Body and Blood of Christ really but spiritually present; and where His Body and His Blood are present, there He is present Himself' (R.L.I. pp. 167-9).

Cerem: Celebrant stands; he first unveils the vessels. At the words 'this bread' he is to point to the Paten (cf. Non. Jur. 1734, Grisbrooke p.311) containing bread, and at the words 'we bless' he makesthe sign of the cross (with the palm of his hand, not, as in the Roman Rite, with three fingers; Martinucci, I, p.2) over the paten first, and then over any other vessels containing bread. At the words 'took bread' he takes the bread in his hands, and at the words 'brake it', he breaks the bread. In saying the words 'This do ye...me' he elevates the paten with both hands, and then places it directly in front of him, in a line between himself and the Tabernacle. Afterwards, he places his hand on each of the other vessels (if any) containing bread, repeating secretly, but distinctly,

the words 'This is....me', while hs hand remains on each vessel respectively. Then in proceeding to consecrate the Cup, he unveils all the vessels containing wine; if the wine has not been brought up in a chalice, but in one or more flagons, he pours a small quantity of wine from one flagon into a chalice, and, replacing the flagon on his right, he replaces the chalice towards the front of the altar. He then goes through the same procedure with the chalices and flagons as already done in the case of the patens; at the words 'this cup' he is to point to the chalice (Cf. Non.Jur. 1734, Grisbrooke, p.311) at the words 'bless', he is to sign them, at the words 'took the cup' he is to take the chalice into his hands, and at the words 'This do ye...me' he is to elevate it as he did with the paten, and then replace it behind the paten, in a line between himself and the Tabernacle. He also says silently the words of Consecration over the other chalices and flagons containing wine, and when he has finished, he replaces the veils on all the vessels. (Rub.E. pp.10-11, Rub.S. pp.14-15).

Points of peculiarity are (i) the sign of the cross, which in the service-book is restricted to the Eucharist (at this point only), blessing oil (Lit. p.252), and consecrating altars, and furnishing for worship (Lit. pp. 475ff); (ii) the individual consecrations over all the vessels, a further example of the theological 'separatism' already noted in the twofold Consecration prayers; and (iii) the placing (only at this point) of the paten and chalice in what appears to be the Roman position because there is 'one Eucharist', as Cardale states (R.L.I. p.140); the reason for this would appear to be because the Prayer of Oblation of the Consecrated gifts and the lengthy Commemoration of the Living and the Departed are yet to follow, both of which have specific focus on the consecrated elements. For the Ceremonial, v. Drawing D.

Title: Cardale, Willis, and Bramley-Moore all refer to this item as 'The Consecration', (R.L.I. p.152, Willis, p.50); we rename it 'Consecration Prayers' to make clear that there are two prayers.

Eucharistic Office : Section 4

Prayer of Oblation after Consecration

Prev.Ed: Very minor adaptation in para. 2 in 1853 edition, when reached final form.

Sources: 'we....servants', cf. anamnesis, in Roman Canon, 'nos servi tui' (M.R.), cf also 'we Thy humble servants' in anamnesis of 1549 Liturgy (F.P.B.K.E.p.203), Scot 1637, Scot 1764 (Grisbrooke, pp. 178,343).

'calling to mind', cf. anamnesis,Roman Canon, 'memores' (M.R.); cf. also 'Clem', Jas, Chrys,μεμνημένοι in anamnesis (Brightman, pp. 20,52, 386).

N.B. Cardale does not use 'having in remembrance', of Scot. 1637 and 1764 (Grisbrooke, pp. 178, 343).

'Sacrifice...Son', cf. 1549 Liturgy, 'sufficient sacrifice 'F.P.B.K.E.p.283).

'showing....death', cf. Mk,τὸν θάνατον.....καταγγέλοντες (Brightman p.133) cf. also Jas,τὸν θάνατον.....καταγγέλλομεν (Brightman, p.52)

'rejoicing....hand', cf. Mk, for similar material but ὁμολογοῦντες confessing rather than 'rejoicing' (Brightman, p.133) cf. also Jas, for similar material, (Brightman, p.52) as also 'Clem' and Chrys. (Brightman, p.20, 386); in our Liturgy, 'presence' is clearly meant to cover both Ascension (ἀναβάσεως) and Session (καθέδρα) ; cf. also Ambrosian anamnesis (P.E. p.450).

'and....again', cf. Mk,τὴν δευτέραν ἀπεκδεχόμενοι (Brightman p.133); cf. also Jas. 'Clem', Chrys,(Brightman, pp. 52, 20, 386); there is no eschatological section in Roman Canon; this latter aspect only enters Anglican Liturgy in the following instances which could be regarded as sources! Tay, Whist, Ben, Non.Jur. 1718,Non.Jur, 1734, and Rat (Grisbrooke,pp. 195, 257, 268, 289, 310 and 325).

'do....sacrifice', for 'present', cf. Mk προσφέρωμεν (Brightman p.133); notable for its distinct teaching about the relationship between the Eucharist and the eternal sacrifice of Christ, v.i. Content; for 'reasonable', cf. 1549 Liturgy, 'reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice' (F.P.B.K.E. p.203); for 'unbloody', cf Oriental Liturgies, passim, especially Jas, τὴν φοβερὰν ..... ἀναίμακτον (Brightman, p.53).

'which....Church' cf. 'Clem', τὴν διάταξιν αὐτοῦ πληροῦμεν and κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ διάταξιν (Brightman, p.20), but our version may be an independent composition.

'the holy.....salvation', cf. Roman Canon, 'panem....perpetuae'

'whereupon....heaven', cf. Roman Canon, 'supplices....majestatis tuae', clearly the source, although Cardale has made a compression; but cf. also 'Clem', καὶ .... σου (Brightman, p.20)

'Have respect.....world', cf. 1549 Liturgy, 'who made.....world', (F.P.B.K.E. p.203); for 'have respect', cf Roman Canon, 'respicere digneris'.

'and grant.....eternal life', cf. 1549 Liturgy, 'most humbly.....hys passyon' (F.P.B.K.E. pp. 203-4); cf also Mk, ἵνα ..... πνεύματι (Brightman, p.134), 'Clem', ἵνα ..... παντοκράτωρ (Brightman, p.21); cf. also Whist, 'that....life' (Grisbrooke, p.259), Non-Jur.1718, 'that they....everlasting life' (Grisbrooke, p.290) Non-Jur 1734, 'that they.....Lord Almighty' (Grisbrooke, p.311) and Rat, 'that they..... everlasting' (Grisbrooke, p.325).

'which....prayers', cf. Jas, καὶ μὴ ..... ἱκετεύσει σε (Brightman p.53); this paragraph is meant to express the particular prayers for the Church, to lead into the 'Proper of Oblation', for which v. i. Proper of Oblation, and Ch. 7 and 8.

Parallels: This prayer is another example of Cardale's use of many sources; its title and general arrangement is followed in Orchard (p.131) and F.C.B.C.P. (pp.116-7). The strictly 'anamnetic' material (the cross, the resurrection, the ascension, the parousia) all appear in the recent Anglican revisions in an anamnesis section.

Position: This is titled 'Prayer of Oblation after Consecration', but because of the 'anamnetic' and sacrificial material occupies a traditional place, considering its Roman and Oriental sources.

Content: Cardale's adaptative hand is at work; there are in this prayer four main influences. First, Oriental, with short 'anamnetic' section, which includes eschatological material, as well as the expression 'unbloody sacrifice'. Second, Roman, for the 'bread.....salvation', the material dealing with the celestial altar, and the 'hanc igitur' adaptation. Third, Anglican, in the restrained treatment of the Eucharistic sacrifice, stressing the 'once and for all' aspect of the sacrifice, though without limiting it to the sacrifice of Calvary. Fourth, original material, the collation of these elements in a prayer separate from the Consecration (he does not begin 'wherefore' as do the Anglican sources/parallels), and in the intercessory section at the end, intended as a bridge between the Oblation and Commemorations of the Living and Departed which follow.

But in spite of this, the prayer is remarkably coherent. It expresses three main aspects of the Eucharist basic to Cardale's position. First, the Eucharist is a sacrifice, neither a repetition of Calvary, nor recollected in a memorial, but a continuation of the eternal sacrifice. In this connection, Cardale writes as follows; 'And therefore, our sacrifice....is a repetition of the act of Christ in instituting the sacrament, a repetition....of His express command. It is a 'reasonable

sacrifice' for it is worthy of the Church filled with the Holy Ghost to offer, being no less than the Body and Blood of Christ present by the self-same Spirit. It is an 'unbloody sacrifice', for the Body and Blood of Christ are present spiritually, and not after the manner of material flesh and blood. But being really present, the oblation which we offer is 'the holy bread of everlasting life and cup of eternal salvation' (R.L.I. pp. 172-3). The principle argument for the sacrifice of the Eucharist is the command of Christ, and in so fulfilling that command, the Church can only offer, since it is the command of Jesus Christ that is obeyed, and since the sacrifice is eternal, having superseded the offerings under the the Jewish Law. Cardale is determined to steer a middle course between Protestant memorialism and receptionism, and Roman sacrificialism and transubstantiation. The outcome is a noble effort in this direction, not only when the 19th century background is considered, but also in its implicit conscious desire to use the best of both traditions.

Second, the Eucharist is a uniting of the Church in heaven and in earth. Here can be discerned a triple progression; at the Greater Introit the bread and wine are offered on behalf of the congregation present, in this second Oblation Prayer, the Body of Christ in its cosmic form, i.e. on heaven and earth, is united together through the Eucharist; finally, at the Post-Communion, a prayer is made that the communicants may grow up in the Communion of the Body of Christ, the emphasis reverting to the gathered congregation on the occasion of the celebration. Cardale writes: 'Thus knit together and compacted in one body with all the saints of God on earth and in heaven, through one sacrifice, and in the communion of one Eucharist, we rejoice in the bonds of the brotherly covenant' (R.L.I. p.174).

Thirdly, the intercessory nature of the offering of the sacrifice consummates the uniting of the Church in heaven and earth; prayer must

accompany sacrifice (Brewster, p.231); when the sacrifice is offered it is done ~~by~~ pleading the Sacrifice of Christ (Cardale's words R.L.I. p.173); the corollary of this is that 'we proceed to ask (God's covenanted mercies) not for ourselves, but for the Church, and for ourselves only as members of the Church' (R.L.I. p.174). Thus Cardale explains why the Intercession comes at this stage in the Liturgy.

These three main characteristics of the prayer express the sacrificial, eternal and intercessory nature of the Eucharist. Cardale's synthesis is an interesting one, even if it is lengthy and complex. The sacrifice is represented and shown forth (R.L.I. p.173), it is not recollected, nor repeated. Cardale's doctrine is, therefore, one of 'memorial-sacrifice'.

Cerem: Celebrant remains standing, unlike his posture during the previous Prayer of Oblation. Towards the end of the prayer, the Deacon in charge of the censer, and the Deacon (or Acolyte) with the Incense-boat and spoon, come forward once more to the two Assistants, who rise and turn, the Senior receiving the censer, the Junior, the boat and spoon (Rub.E. p.11). In Scotland, however, this does not happen until the Incense Anthem is begun (Rub. S. p.15). The English rubrics seem to accord better with the direction of the Rite, since the Intercession does not start at the Commemorations, but has already begun at the conclusion of the Prayer of Oblation. It is interesting that whereas the normal position of the Celebrant is on his knees, and inthis case is standing, the Celebrant in Tay. is directed to kneel for the Prayer of Oblation. (Grisbrooke p.195).

Title: All writings refer to this item as the 'Prayer of Oblation after Consecration'. It is called 'Prayer of Oblation' in Tay., which perhaps caused Cardale to so print the title at this point, and would accord with similarities between the two Rites elsewhere noted (Grisbrooke, p.195).

Proper of Oblation

Prev.Ed: first form in 1847, although extempore insertions are prescribed at this point in 1842Alb and 1843 (cf. Proper Preface).

Source: The 'Hanc Igitur' of the Roman Canon, although Cardale's adaptation goes much further. Jungmann shows that the 'Hanc Igitur' was intended, like our Proper of Oblation, to give liturgical expression to the intentions of the Mass (II, pp. 179ff). As will be seenin the various Propers of Oblation, especially in the Occasional Forms, Cardale's compositions show the Intercessory function of the Eucharist; they also give the pastoral aspect, as the week-day Eucharists were frequently offered for the various intentions provided in the Occasional Forms.

Position: without parallel: The Roman 'hanc igitur' precedes the Consecration.

Content: N.B. (i) the 'intention' comes after Consecration, so that it can head the long series of Commemorations: and (ii) the genesis of a set form from what was in the early days extempore - a further parallel with the early Roman 'hanc igitur'.

Title: As in the case of the Proper Preface, there is no title used in any of the writings, but simply the formula, 'in the Prayer of Oblation after Consecration'. We therefore use, for convenience, the title 'Proper of Oblation'.

Incense Anthem

Prev.Ed: First issued in 1852, with the introduction of Lights and Incense; first appearance in 1853 edition, but optional until 1869.

Source: Line (1): cf Mal. 1:11; cf. also Shaw, (p.214).

line (2): original composition, very probably derived from Mk. prayer of incense, Θυμίαμα . . . . σοῦ (Brightman, P.123).

line (3): cf Lev. 16:13b cf also Miller, (II, p.266) and Shaw (p.214).

line (4): cf. Ps28:3; Shaw traces the first part of this line to Ps 80:1, which is hard to follow; more likely an original composition (O.T. has only look down of God), possibly based on Deut 26:15.

Parallels: As with the Greater Introit Anthem, Cardale uses Roman method (snatches from Psalms and other OT material) to compose what is, in principle, an Oriental liturgical hymn/prayer; thus cf. Tridentine Rite, incense prayer, 'dirigitur....in peccatis', Mk incense prayer Δέσποτα . . . . σοῦ ὁ (Brightman pp.115-6), and Jas, ὁ Θεὸς . . . τῶν αἰώνων (Brightman p.32), ὁ Θεὸς . . . . τῶν αἰώνων (Brightman pp.41-42) Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι . . . . . τῶν αἰώνων (Brightman pp.64-5); possibly the occurrences in Jas convinced Cardale of the needto give liturgical expression to the use of Incense; but the Anthem-usage is original.

Position: without parallel; a similar Anthem was composed for the offering of Incense at the Intercession at Morning and Evening Prayer (Lit. pp. 60,77), at the same date as this Anthem.

Content: Since the composition is post-1848 Cardale is silent about this Anthem, as indeed about Incense in general. However, Shaw, the Presbyterian, is clearly captivated by the composition, and writes as follows: 'The beautiful structure....., filled with Biblical allusions, brings out the spiritual possibilities of that service' (p.214). The

rationale seems to be thus; the Eucharist is an offering, and one of prayer and intercessions; at this point, its main intention is prayer for God's peace. Because of the apocalyptic feel of this composition, we suggest that it is at least in part derived from words of prophecy.

Cerem: Celebrant turns, takes in the spoon a sufficient quantity of incense and sprinkles it into the censer, hands the Deacon the spoon with a further quantity of incense, and then takes the censer from the Senior Assistant; the two Assistants and the Deacons (or the Deacon and Acolyte) retire to the places occupied by them prior to this point. The Celebrant then waves the censer not less than three times before the altar; he returns it to the Deacon to whom he had charged the spoon, who rises to receive it, and places it on a stand or tray to the right of the Celebrant; the incense-boat is replaced on the Table of Prothesis, unless retained by the other Deacon (or Acolyte); the Deacon charged with the censer, places the spoon securely by the side of the censer, retires and kneels near enough to attend to it (Rub.E. pp.11-12, Rub.S. p.15).

Cardale's use of Incense is one of offering in tercession, and is therefore much more akin to O.T. assocations than with any practice in the Eastern and Western Churches. Dix does suggest that the text Mal. 1:11 may have been used in connection with very early Christian worship (The Shape of the Liturgy, pp.427-8), but most scholars are of the opinion that the traditional Eastern and Western association of Incense is with ceremonial fumigation (Beresford-Cooke, The Sign of the Cross in Western Liturgies, pp.24-25; Atchley, History of the Use of Incense, passim).

The material in the Anthem brings out this 'offering' most clearly. It has little in common with the Incense Prayers in Jas. and Mk., and less still with the private prayers of the Celebrant in the later Mediaeval

Western books, which are in the Tridentine Missal. The nearest parallel is in Cyr., where Incense is offered by the Celebrant at the altar, during the Anaphora, when the Intercessions begin (Renaudot, Lit. Or., I.p.39), and a similar usage obtains in the Maronite Anaphora of Peter the Apostle (P.E. p.411). In these two Rites, we have an obvious link between Incense and intercession. It could be a survival of something very ancient. Certainly Cardale shares this rationale, and in his desire for it to be made explicit, he avoids the fussy directions of the Tridentine Rite, in favour of something simpler, more Biblical, and original.

Brewster explains why the Celebrant swings the censer before the altar at this point in the service, and why the censer was only swung by the Deacon at the Greater Introit. 'It is intended to show that the sacrifice is not yet perfected (at the Greater Introit), and that the things offered are mere bread and wine, waiting for the descent of the Holy Ghost; whereas after Consecration.....the Celebrant himself takes the censer and waves it before the Lord' (Brewster, p.211). In other words, Incense is a symbol of intercession, which accompanies a sacrifice. At the Greater Introit, the offering of Incense is a preliminary one. At the Commemorations, it is made before the Consecrated elements (i.e. 'before the Lord') in token of the great act of intercession which begins at this point. For this Ceremonial, v. Drawing E.

The Commemoration of the Living and the Departed : an Introductory Note

Cardale now lets himself go; there follows a series of full and lengthy intercessions for the living and the departed. Before dealing with each item, we give a short résumé of the scheme.

(a) Living (1) Ministers of the Universal Church

(2) Ministers of Particular Churches - Angels

(3) Ministers of Particular Churches - Priests and other Ministers, and People

(4) Ministers of Particular Churches - Other Churches

(5) Low Estate of the Church

(6) Penitents

(7) Those possessed

(8) Civil Rulers

(9) Nations

(10) Children

(11) Conversion of the world

(12) Plenty

(13) Suffering

(14) Dying

(b) Departed (1) General

(2) Particular - Before Christ

(3) Particular - Blessed Virgin Mary

(4) Particular - the faithful in the Christian era up to the present

(5) Particular - Catholic Apostolics

The structure is clear, and the order, as will be seen, not without precedent; for the content, cf. the Prayers in the Liturgy of the Presanctified, Good Friday. The titles appear to be derived directly from the 'Commemoratio pro vivis/defunctorum' in the Roman Canon.

Cerem: The Commemorations are taken either by the Celebrant or by two Elders, specially chosen for this duty. This is one of the few occasions when the fourfold Ministry is used in the various duties assigned in the Eucharist. But it also reflects some influence in the traditional use of two Ministers in the singing of the Litany, a practice common to both Anglican and Roman Churches in Cardale's day (Jebb, On the Choral Service of the Church, pp. 436-9, and Atchley, The Peoples' Prayers, pp. 29-33).

Sp.N: It is in the Commemorations of the Living and the Departed that the greatest ritual difference exists between the Full and the Shorter Offices of the Eucharist; this dates from 1847, when provision for the latter was first made. The individual clauses consist of much abbreviated versions of the Commemorations in the Full Office, covering the same material, but prefaced simply by 'We pray for....'

Commemoration of the Living : a note

Prev.Ed: Final form in 1853, with compressions, after the insertions of 1847 and 1851 into the original of 1842 Alb.

Sources: Cardale follows the structure, in principle, of Anaphoras of the Antiochene and Byzantine type, but with the order of the 1549 Prayer Book (i.e. with the Church prayers first); it includes a much wider selection than any Western or Reformation Rite. He draws, in the main, from Anglican and Oriental sources, but with an exceptionally large element of original material.

Parallels: cf Anglican Liturgies of the 17th and 18th centuries (Grisbrooke, passim).

Content: Cardale defends the length of both Commemorations, asserting that, like the Solemn Thanksgiving, the Sunday Liturgy is appropriately enriched by a full Intercession (R.L.I. pp.176ff).

Cerem: Ministers in sanctuary kneel; Celebrant begins Commemorations; if, however, two Elders are chosen for this, they come forward and kneel behind the two Assistants; they eitherrecite the petitions in turn, or one recites those for the Living and the other for the Departed (Rub.E.pp. 12-13, Rub.S. pp.15-16).

Title: Always so called, from the edition of 1847, where the title is printed.

(1) Ministers of the Universal Church

Prev.Ed: compressions in 1853, removing stilted parts, thus enabling the sense and language to have greater ease of expression and comprehension; 'Coadjutors' do not appear until 1880.

Sources: 'Remember....earth'; for 'remember', cf. Oriental Litugies passim, μνήσθητι κύριε (Brightman, p.126, once; 130; six times), Jas (ibid. pp.55f;17 times); cf also Bas. (P.E.p.238:11 times); and Roman Canon, 'memento'; since Cardale only uses 'remember'twice, and unlike the Oriental examples, varies the beginning of each paragraph, he may be following the Roman precedent, but with adaptation. For 'Church.... earth', cf. B.C.P, but this applies only to the Commemoration of the Living, and does not take on the Protestant polemic often criticised in the Anglican form (cf. Annotated B.C.P. p.379).

'We...apostles': for 'we pray....upon', cf. 'enrich...grace', of the Royal Family, and 'send down....grace', of the Clergy (B.C.P.). 'Thou..... apostles', an original composition, for the hierarchy of the Church.

'We.....Christ': cf. Eph. 4:11-12 ('for....Christ'): for 'Thy Christ', cf. 'Clem' passim, τοῦ χριστοῦ σου (Brightman pp.20ff; six times between anamnesis and end of Anaphora); cf. also Jas (ibid p.54).

Parallels: Intercession at Morning and Evening Prayer (Lit. pp. 55,73) for similar prayer for Ministers of the Universal Church. The parallel with the Roman Canon (v.s. Sources) is clear, although it is more likely that Cardale had in mind the Oriental sources, particularly as they are very full, whereas the Roman ones are not only displaced but over-brief (Willis, Essays in Early Roman Liturgy, pp. 119ff). Furthermore, because of the distinction between Ministers of the Universal and Particular Churches, indirect sources can be found in the 'memento vivorum' of the Oriental Liturgies; of Mk καὶ δέησθε ... ποιμένων σου (Brightman p.126) Jas, προσφέρομέν σοι δέσποτα (ibid p.54) and 'Clem' ἐπι ... ἀληθείας (ibid. p.21).

Position: In placing the Ministers of the U. Church at the beginning, Cardale gives liturgical expression to the Church's government (R.L.I.p.176).

Content: The first sentence ('Remember....earth') corresponds with the first sentence in the Commemoration of the Departed, in referring not to the particular petition which it begins, but the whole series of Commemorations, the former for those of the Living, the latter for those of the Departed.

The prayers express the origins of the Church; the Apostles are called, not ordained; the coadjutors, prophets, evangelists and pastors who labour with them are ordained by them, and chosen for this special office in the Ministry of the U. Church. Such ministers are not only Angels of the Prophet, Evangelist and Pastor border of Ministry who are 'with them', but Ministers of the presbyteral and diaconal order whose work is in the Universal Church, external to the Particular Churches. Such Ministers wouldinclude those working in areas where there was no local fixed congregation, as well as those working at Albury, in the administration of the Church. But whoever and wherever they may be, the central figure

is Christ, by whom Apostles are called and in whose name the Apostles ordain all other Angels, and Priests and Deacons (R.L.I. p.176).

Sp.N: In Rub.E. p.12 appear the following prescriptions: 'After the Commemoration of the Ministers of the Universal Church, and at the close of the same prayer or suffrage, it is fitting that the Angel-Evangelist of the district should be especially commemorated. In this service (i.e. the Eucharist on the Lord's Day, in the Full Form), prayers and thanksgivings for private persons should not be introduced. Such prayers may be introduced in the celebration of the Eucharist on a weekday, after the Commemoration of all in adversity; but private persons (and especially those lately deceased) may be commemorated in secret in the Eucharist on the Lord's Day'. A similar direction appears in Rub.S. p.25. Three points should be noted here; (i) the relationship between the Angel of the Church and the Angel-Evangelist of the District; (ii) the provision for free prayer in an already-developed Liturgy; and (iii) the pastoral nature of the weekday Eucharist.

(2) Ministers of Particular Churches : Angels

Prev.Ed: abbreviations in 1853, removing repetitions and making better syntax.

Sources: original composition; for 'fear and love' cf. Prayer for Church Militant, 'unity and godly love' (B.C.P.); for 'Thy good Spirit', cf Prayer for all sorts and conditionsofmen , (B.C.P.); for 'protect...enemy', cf 'Clem', τοῦ διαβόλου ..... ῥυσθῶμεν (Brightman, p.21).

Parallels: cf. similar prayer at Daily Offices, (Lit. pp. 55,73).

Content: Cardale writes: 'We then commemorate...the Angels; first as for those to whom the Apostles have committed the chief rule and charge over

the churches....; and next, as for spiritual ministers whose special duty it is to foster and guide the exercise of spiritual gifts, in all their various classes ... and to cast out the devil ...' (R.L.I. p.176). This is a perfect summary of the nature of the Angel's office as link between the Universal and the Particular Churches, and as the focus of unity in the local congregation, with particular emphasis on theexercise of spiritual gifts. Both the Rubrics and the Regulations make it explicit that no meeting or service for the exercise of spiritual gifts is to take place in the absence of the Angel, and that no person is to 'speak' in any service of the Church without the permission of the Angel; with regard to the latter, it is laid down that 'in giving or refusing such sanction, the Angel acts judicially. He must withhold his sanction from any whose gifts would not in his judgement edify and comfort his people, or may not be suitable for services of worship; but he must not from any other motive refuse his sanction to faithful and godly persons'. (Rub.E. pp.50-1, Reg. pp. 25-27); v.i. The Communion.

(3) Ministers of Particular Churches : Priests, other Ministers and People

Prev.Ed: Abbreviations and omission in 1853; the omission is that of a passage which Cardale echoes, 'Angels, to whom, by Thine Apostles, Thou hast given in charge Thy Churches' (R.L.I. p.176); the later form is a better piece of writing.

Sources: an original composition; for 'Give grace...unto all', cf. Prayer for Church Militant (B.C.P.); 'elders....angels', expressive of government of Church; 'and....charge', cf. Prayer for Clergy, 'and unto ...charge, (B.C.P.); 'come behind', cf. Confession in 1842Alb, 'we have come short of Thy holy will in all our doings'; 'waiting...Christ', cf. other eschatological passages.

Parallels: cf similar prayer in Daily Offices (Lit. pp.55,73).

Content: Cardale writes; '...a prayer for those in the priesthood who fulfil the functions of the fourfold ministry, under the charge...of the several angels; also for all those serving in the deaconship or suborindate ministries, not omitting the deaconesses; and, lastly, for all the people gathered under angels'. (R.L.I. p.177). Note authority of Angel in the prayer as well as in the passage from Cardale.

(4) Ministers of Particular Churches : Other Churches

Prev.Ed: first form in 1842Alb; slight omissions in 1853.

Sources: 'Remember...Thee,' v.s. Ministers of Universal Church, Sources; 'of....Church', an obvious way of praying for Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Anglican and Lutheran Bishops; this may be an echo from the Prayer for all sorts and conditions of men,'more especially...Catholic Church'(B.C.P.); 'uphold...clergy', N.B. 'clergy' is never used of any of the Ministers of the Catholic Apostolic Church; 'people...charge', cf. Prayer for Clergy, 'and to....charge' (B.C.P.); 'And....perfection', cf Embertide Collect, (B.C.P.), and also Prayer for all sorts and conditions of men, 'that all... of life' (B.C.P.); 'especially...neighbourhood', an original composition.

Parallels: cf. prayer in this position, following that for other Ministers, at Daily Offices (Lit. pp.55,73).

Content: Discussion of the place, appropriateness and content of this prayer leads Cardale into a long treatise on the Apostle andthe Early Church, and the relationship between the restored Apostolic College and the other Churches (in this latter connection, he quotes ITim3:15). With deep humility, but without compromising his claims, Cardale notesthat 'we remember....with earnest affection and longing desires...those in

chief authority over the provincial and diocesan Churches of the Christian world...' (R.L.I. p.177). In the Regulations applying to the work of the Angel-Evangelists and their Ministers, comes the following passage: 'All persons therein (i.e. the district assigned to the A-Ev), who are not as yet received into the fellowship of the Apostles, with the exception of those who are in chief authority in Church or State, are the objects of his ordinary mission'. (Reg. p.128). Furthermore, it is laid down that 'in the Prayer commemorating the Bishops and Clergy, the word 'diocese' should not be used in any land in which the Church is not both established by law and under Episcopal form of Church Government' (Rub.E. p.12). In those days, this would apply to England, Wales, Ireland, Denmark, (including Iceland), Norway, Sweden, Finland, Russia and Greece; but no such prescription appears in the Scottish Rubrics, and all editions of the Scottish service-book speak of the 'Bishops of the Catholic Church' only at this point. In the Quebec edition of 1854, which wasfor use in Canada, appear the following prescriptions: 'Here may be added any special Prayer for the Bishops and Clergy, or other recognised Ministers in the Province, State, or District'; similar directions appear in the Danish and Flemish editions of 1861. This reflects a missionary situation, yet also a determination to recognise and pray for the Churches of the countries concerned.

(5) The Low Estate of the Church

Prev.Ed: abbreviation in 1853; one of the omissions in 1847 is Ps132:16, which is already in the Common Communion Anthem, q.v.i.

Sources: original composition; for 'O....people'; cf. Is49:8, Ezek 36:19, 46:18; 'heal...among them', cf. Jas. [illegible] (Brightman pp.55-6), similar material,

and possible source; 'and cleanse...infidelity', cf. Exod 29:36, Lev 16:19, Ezek 45:18; 'will-worship', a curious expression, cf. Col. 2:23: 'O God ...them', a new composition, very rhetorical in tone; 'we die...die', cf. Gelasian Easter Vigil Collect, 'Deus incommutabilis virtus', Schmidt, (Hebdomada Sancta, p.363); for 'send....gospel', cf Jnl:16, Rom 15:29; for 'and....peace', cf. Prayer for Church, 'and grant....love(B.C.P.)

Content: Cardale makes a point of explaining that while it is right and proper to pray for the Catholic Church, it is also fitting that a prayer should be introduced (N.B. rubrics in Liturgy) for the Church in all its divisions, schisms, and short-comings. That this prayer should begin in this way, and continue with prayers for the restored Apostolate may seem surprising, but it stems from honesty on the part of the Apostles, in their unique claims. The final section on 'unity and peace' is almost like a punch-line; the Apostolate, in Cardale's eyes, has the function and potential, not realised, of uniting the whole Church, as did the first twelve Apostles. It is important to realise that this and the following two prayers are only used in the Rite because they have to be, as they 'ought not to be the ordinary and normal prayers of the Church'; this is why they are printed inset in all the service-books, from 1842Alb (R.L.I. pp.182-3). This does not imply any devaluation in Cardale's eschatology, because he contends that the Church need not be full of the divisions and schisms, if it had accepted the restored Apostolate. Thus, he does not undermine responsibility on the part of man - this prayer is no vague apocalyptic hope, it is a hard-headed factual petition.

(6) Penitents

Prev.Ed: first and final form in 1847.

Sources: for the whole prayer, cf. Jas and Mk, μνήσθητι...πεπλανημένων (Brightman, pp.55, 130); cf also 'Clem', ἐπ... ...παραπτώματα ἡμῶν (Brightman, p.22); of these, the last is probably the source, as it refers directly to penitents, and not also to those suffering from bodily sickness; our prayer, however, is a complete remodelling of the primitive original; 'uphold...Spirit', cf Ps 51:12.

Parallels: cf. Non-Jur 1734, where, probably following the Pseudo-Clementine original (like Cardale), prayers are appointed to be introduced when appropriate, for (a) Catechumens, (b) Penitents, and (c) those possessed (Grisbrooke, p. 312); cf. also Rat. for similar prayers for Catechumens and Penitents (ibid. p. 326). Cardale may be using both of these as secondary sources, but he is almost certainly sure to have had recourse to the original; on Catechumens, v.i. Children.

Position: In both Jas and 'Clem', the petitions for penitents and those possessed follow that for the suffering; Cardale changes this, affirming that the former category should not normally be in the service of the Church.

(7) Those possessed

Prev. Ed: first and final form in edition of 1847.

Sources: for the whole prayer, cf. Mk. ταὺς ... ἰάσαι (Brightman, p.126), Jas, μνήσθητι . . . . . σωτηρίας (ibid. p.55); once more, the prayer appears to be a complete remodelling of the Oriental original; 'disappoint....power', cf. s. (2) Ministers of Particular Churches.

Parallels/Position: v.s. Prayer for Penitents.

Sp.N: Both the foregoing prayers, raise questions about background and content. First, we suggest that they originate not just from Cardale's study of Oriental Liturgies but also from direct experience in the Church of persons fitting these categories. In the same way that the divisions of the Church have been commended to God, so prayer is made for penitents who have not yet made full contrition (and therefore distinct from the Early Church 'penitents') and those possessed with evil spirits (as opposed to those with good spirits). Both these categories were experienced in the Church from its inception; penitents were probably those who left the Church, having been among the early adherents, and possessed people were those who believed in "spiritual gifts", but who refused to exercise them under the authority of the Angel.

Second, we suggest that both these prayers show Cardale's attitude to the natural order of creation; they are not included along with other prayers for the suffering, because Christ gave to his Church the potential to overcome evil spirits (including division), but not the power to transorm the natural order. This is why these last three prayers are 'introduced' into the Liturgy, 'since the occasions which call for them ought to be exceptional' (R.L.I. p.182). Cardale writes, more generally, 'for those who have again tasted the bitterness of sin, we implore true contrition, and restoration to that grace of salvation from which, by their own act, they had fallen; and for those vexed or possessed by evil spirits, we pray, on the ground of that redemption which had been wrought for them, that all such may be delivered from their power'. (R.L.I. pp.183-4).

(8) Civil Rulers

Prev.Ed: omission of 'Christian' before 'Kings and rulers' in 1847, and slight amplification and additions of Royal Family by name in Scottish 1850, N.B. mention of Parliament in Scottish in 1861; the 1850 variants may be due to Drummond's influence, but not those of 1861, since he died in 1860.

Sources: An original composition, based on several sources. For 'We pray for', cf Prayer for whole state of Church (B.C.P.), where, as in this series of Commemorations, each section begins differently, for the sake of variety, unlike the repeated μνήσθητι κύριε in Jas, and ἔτι παρακαλοῦμέν σε in 'Clem'; 'For Kings.....governors', cf. exact phrase in B.C.P. 'For judges....honesty', cf corr. prayer, B.C.P. and Mk, τὸν βασιλέα... κατακόσμησον (Brightman, p.126; the only Oriental 'state prayer'); 'Especially....Family', cf. B.C.P., Prayer for Queen's Majesty; 'Give wisdom....government', cf. Prayer for Parliament, (B.C.P.).

Parallels: cf. Prayers for Sovereign and Parliament in Morning and Evening Prayer (Lit. pp.56,74).

Position: In both Mk (v.s.) and B.C.P. Communion, prayers for Sovereign follow those for Church. However, in the latter more specific prayers for the Churches follow those for the Royal Family and State, and in Morning and Evening Prayer in the same source, the State Prayers come before the Prayers for Clergy and People (B.C.P.); Cardale's order, therefore, seems deliberate. The precedents appear to be Tay., where, however, the Intercessions follow the Communion (Grisbrooke pp. 197f), Non-Jur.1718, (where a deliberate transportation of order from B.C.P. source is apparent; ibid. p.290), and Non-Jur, 1734, (where a more elaborate 'Orientalising' scheme follows the 1718 structure; ibid. pp. 311ff).

Content: Cardale defends the specific 'Christian' direction of the prayer on the grounds that since no King or ruler can fulfil his duty without the

grace of Christ, the Christian King 'is therefore the type of the earthly ruler' (R.L.I. p.184). Non-Jur 1734 goes no further than 'the King', but Non-Jur 1718 follows the B.C.P. source more exactly, in 'Christian Kings'. Cardale is following a B.C.P. precedent, as did his liturgical predecessors in the Non-Juring tradition of the previous century. In speaking more generally of the prayer, however, he writes that 'all creation longs for the time when the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our God and of His Christ'(R.L.I. p.185). He regards this and the following two prayers in a group; (i) Christian rulers, (ii) Christian nations, (iii) Christian parents, (R.L.I. p. 184).

Sp.Note: In the Quebec edition of 1854 appears the following direction: 'Here shall follow prayers for the consituted authorities of the Country, State, or Province': similar directions appear in the Danish and Flemish editions of 1861.

(9) Nations

Prev.Ed: Final form in 1863 (a comparatively late date, if other parts of the Rite are taken into account); but this also involves development alonga more pacific line, e.g. the last section 'and peace' was omitted from 1853 (though not Scottish 1854) to Scottish 1861, possibly from repetition in concluding section of Prayer for the Low Estate of the Church, but it was inserted again in 1863; this is an interesting (if obscure) development, unlike any other.

Sources: in general, cf. corr. prayer in 'Clem', [illegible] (Brightman, p.21) and Prayer in time of War, (B.C.P.) but Cardale's composition is more involved, and seems to be an original composition.

Parallels; none in other services of the Church.

Position: as a corollary to the State prayers, the order is logical; Cardale, in discussing prayers for the world, mentions their suitability 'in peace or in war', hence the order here taken.

Content: None of the sources, direct or indirect, is as involved as Cardale's prayer, and none of the Oriental Liturgies imply as great a degree of participation in the affairs of State as is here depicted, In this respect, Drummond, as a wealthy banker, and Perceval' background as M.P. as well as Prime Minister's son, may be significant. Cardale writes that Christian nations are prayed for because when their cause is not a righteous one, they so far cease to be Christian (R.L.I. p.184). This once more shows the attitude of the Church to the natural order, as well as complete confidence in God's will. As an original prayer, it is remarkably coherent, showing Cardale at his best, with a good balance of petition, and result of petition prayed for.

(10) Children

Prev.Ed: First appearance in 1847.

Sources: cf 'Clem', τῶν νηπίων ... ἡλικίας ἀγάγοι (Brightman p.11): Cardale elaborates, quoting the prayer ('adorn the Doctrine of God', a curious phrase). We suggest that two reasons resulted in the insertion of this prayer, first, the source quoted, at the stage when other Oriental-embellishments came in (1847); and second, Cardale saw that Catechumens appear in the Oriental Liturgies along with penitents and those possessed, but chose to place the prayer for Catechumens qua children inthis position because of the special nature of the three prayers 'introduced' earlier, (i.e. for the Low Estate, for Penitents, and for those Possessed).

Parallel: for 'adorn....God', cf. Bidding Prayer in American Prayer Book, p.47.

Position: Cardale writes: 'it is the Christian parent who can alone bring up his child to God, and lead him in the way to eternal peace and happiness (R.L.I. p.184). Because of Cardale's analysis of this and the two preceding prayers (Christian Kings, nations and parents), the position seems logical, though unparalleled.

Content: N.B. (i) Oriental origin, at a time when Orientalisms were being introduced into the Liturgy, (ii) by 1847, the younger generation of the Church in the 1830's would be in the position of bringing up families in the young new Church; and (iii) the Victorian family life which comes through in the emphasis on parental instruction.

(11) Conversion of the World

Prev.Ed: Final form in Scottish 1861, with addition of the vital phrase, 'gather Thine elect'.

Sources: 'all.....earth', cf Ps98: 3;'turn....faith', cf Prayer for Conversion of Jews, Good Friday (B.C.P.).

Parallels: cf. Good Friday Prayer, similar to content (Lit. p.204), as also Anglican version.

Position: Cardale explains that, having prayed for the peace of the world, for protection against war and for family life, the next petition should be for the spread of the Gospel. (R.L.I. p.185).

Content: Cardale keeps to the general content of his Anglican original by extending it to include all who have not heard the Word of God, and by giving the evangelism envisaged a definite theological basis, 'gather Thine elect'. Once more, the prayer is brief, and concise.

(12) Plenty

Prev.Ed: omission of obscure opening passage ('Remember Thine everlasting covenant with all flesh, while the earth remaineth; and...') in 1847.

Sources: For 'Vouchsafe...in' cf Mk, [illegible] (Brightman, p.127); cf also Jas. [illegible] (ibid. p.56); cf. also 'Clem', [illegible] (ibid. p.22); 'preserve.....pestilence', cf 5th Deprecation in Litany (B.C.P.).

Parallels: cf also Non-Jur 1734, 'Father, we offer unto thee for the good....to all flesh', and Rat, 'Remember, O Lord.....temperate weather .....gracious bounty' (Grisbrooke, pp.312, 327), both of which are also based on Oriental sources.

Position: Cardale adopts the pseudo-Clementine position, in placing this prayer towards the end of the Commemoration of the Living.

Content: Cardale is brief in his treatment of this prayer; the natural order is created both good and evil, so that while God has created summer and winter, seedtime and harvest, he still visits the earth with judgments, and diseases, from which the prayer asks for deliverance (R.L.I. p.185).

(13) The Suffering

Prev.Ed. Omission of a repetitive opening section ('O Thou, who hearkenest from heaven the sighings and groanings of Thy creatures, who pitiest our sorrows, and hatest nothing that Thou hast made') in edition of 1847; cf. Prayer for Plenty.

Sources: For 'Comfort....adversity', cf corr. part of Prayer for Church Militant. 'And we.....adversity' (B.C.P.); 'Grant...Jesus', cf. Jam

5:14-15, which Cardale acknowledges, asserting that the anointing is suitable for the Elder, and the laying on of hands for the Evangelist (R.L.I. p.181); this does not consitute a departure from the Scriptural formula, since 'elder' in N.T. is clearly a translation of 'πρεσβυτήρ', and it is into the whole of this that Cardale inserts the priestly four-fold ministry, of which the 'Elder' is but one part. (For the Office of Anointing the Sick, v. Lit. pp.520ff, and for the rules as to its administration, v. Reg. pp.31ff).

Position: follows order in B.C.P. Prayer for Church Militant, where the suffering come near the end (B.C.P.); Cardale, however, inserts the dying before going on to the Departed.

Content: The prayer is succinct but didactic in so far as it points to the Anointing and Laying on of hands of the sick not as an optional extra, but as a ministry directly connected with the ordinary life of the Church, through its ordained ministry. Here, the suffering are under thecharge of Pastors, but the anointing is administered by the Elders, and the laying on of hands by the Evangelists. Cardale furthermore gives Scriptural warrant to this ministry e.g. Mt 10:1, Mk 6:13 and Mk 16:15-18 (R.L.I. pp. 186-7).

(14) The dying

Prev.Ed: N.B. insertion in 1847 and omission in 1853 of repetitive concluding passage, 'To Thee, O Lord, we commit them, and pray Thee to have mercy upon them, and toreceive them to Thy rest'.

Sources: new composition; cf Mk ἡμῶν δὲ τὰ τέλη ... τῶν ἁγίων σου (Brightman, p.129).

Parallels: All the Anaphoras of the Antiochese family go straight from the Memento Vivorum to the Memento Defunctorum et Sanctis; but for the

insertion of the dying, cf. Anglican Litany, third Obsecration, 'in the hour of death' (B.C.P.); cf also Shorter Litany II, 'for a holy and happy death' (B.C.P. Scot. p.63).

Position: v.s. Parallels; Cardale defends his order, which is logical (dying after sick but before departed), even if thesubject-matter itself is unusual.

Content: Cardale defends the appropriateness of the prayer, by emphasising the importance of God's help in the hour of death, when the devil is most likely to tempt with fears concerning the future. Furthermore, without denying the certainty of future life, he recalls the Pauline view that death is the sign of man's sin, since God's will for man is eternal life (R.L.I. pp. 187-8).

Commemoration of the Departed : a note

Prev.Ed: As with Commemoration of the Living, Shorter Forms provided in 1847; final form by 1853, with compressions.

Sources/Position: Following structure in Mk and Jas.; but not Chrys (cf. Brightman, pp.129ff and 56ff). Cardale includes this section following on the much longer Commemoration of the Living; this is also the order adopted in the Anglican liturgies of the 17th and 18th cc. (cf. Grisbrooke, passim).

Content: In praying for the Departed, Cardale embraces an important element of Catholic tradition; if one excludes Roman and Eastern Rites, only Liturgies of the Non-Juring family (i.e. the Scottish Liturgy and its derivatives) maintained this tradition; but both our Rite and the Non-Juring ones avoid any invocation of the saints for prayer. This development took place at a very early date in our Rite, and finds expression in the Order of 1838, and much more fully in the services for

All Saints' Day as early as 1842Alb. Cardale's understanding of 'saint', however, covers all the faithful departed; in this connection, he affirms no less than five times (R.L.I. pp.191, 368, 507, 524, 526) that there is but one mediator between God and Man, Jesus Christ, obviously (implicitly)refuting the Roman and Eastern practices of dividing the departed into the categories of saints and others. Cardale probably came to an appreciation of this aspect of Christian devotion through his eschatology and his reading of the Fathers, but because of his insistence on saint-hood in all the faithful departed, we suggest that his eschatology was the more formative factor on this theology.

He gives four reasons for commemorating the departed (i) acknowledgement of reverence for their memories; (ii) thanks to God for the benefits conferred on men through their gifts; (iii) stirring up to follow these examples; and (iv) prayer that, while all creation awaits the final consummation, God may keep them in rest and peace, not because of doubt, but because of the assurance that this is the mind and will of God. (R.L.I. p.189).

Cerem: Immediately before the Commemoration of the Departed, the Deacon in charge of the censer is directed to pour the incense in the spoon (placed by or on the stand) into the censer (Rub.E. p.12, Rub.S. p.15). (The Book of Rubrics of 1852 does not specify when the additional quantity of incense should be added (p.9), although the Book of 1862 suggests the pause between the Commemorations as 'convenient' (p.10).)

The Commemoration of the Departed

(1) General

Prev. Ed: Two omissions (both repetivie) in 1853.

Sources: Original composition; for 'And...faith', cf Mk, [illegible] (Brightman p.129) and Scot. 1764, 'And we also..... labours' (Grisbrooke p.345); 'We.....them', cf Scot. 1764, 'And we yield..... generations' (ibid p.345); 'through.....gospel', cf Scot. 1764, 'most humbly.....commandments' (ibid p.345); 'And we .....resurrection', cf. Scot.1764, 'that at.....the world' (ibid p.345).

Parallels/Position: Neither Jas, Chrys. nor 'Clem' contain a general section like this, probably because the reading of the Diptychs of the Departed would naturally lead into a further particular commemoration of the departed; but cf. 1549 Rite (F.P.B.K.E. p.203), Scot. 1637 (Grisbrooke; p.171), and Anglican Liturgies of 17th and 18th cc. (ibid. passim).

Content: Cardale is drawing on Oriental and Anglican 'Orientalising' material. The prayer says precisely what Cardale wants to say; the opening sentence specify who the people prayed for are, and the following sentences do the four things which were quoted above (v.s. Commemoration of the Departed; a note) in defence of this item in our Liturgy. But the prayer is also remarkably theocentric, in that it does not dwell on the torments of the departed, nor on the future death of the congregation (as cf Mk in this respect), but is positive, and rich in both ecclesiology and eschatology. Cardale takes care to avoid the implicit and explicit distinctions in his sources between 'defunctorum' and 'sanctorum'.

(2) Particular : Before Christ

Prev.Ed: 'Thy' becomes 'The' in 1853.

Sources: for 'The....prophets', cf Jas, [illegible] (Brightman, p.57) and Chrys. [illegible] (ibid. p.387); cf also1549 Rite, 'and in the.....Prophets' (F.P.B.K.E. p.203); 'Thy.....remember', cf Jas, [illegible] (Brightman p.57).

Parallels: cf Anglican Liturgies of the 17th and 18th cc. (Grisbrooke, passim).

Position: A chronology is followed; after the General introduction, those before Christ begin the particular enumeration. (R.L.I. p.189).

(3) Particular : Blessed Virgin Mary

Prev.Ed: First form in 1842Alb.

Sources: cf Chrys, [illegible] (Brightman p.388). Cardale explains his evangelical form (Lk.1:28, 42, 43, 45), by dissenting from the Roman and Oriental material, which imply that Mary can intercede for the faithful, but he does give scriptual warrant to her position in the scheme of redemption, and thus explains why he adapts the Byzantine original at this point (R.L.I. pp.190-1).

Parallels/Position: v.s.2, Sources and Parallels; most of the Anglican counterparts begin the list with Mary, but Cardale follows a definite chronology.

(4) Particular : the faithful in the Christian era up to the present

Prev.Ed: compression in 1853.

Sources: an original composition, based on similar material in [illegible] (Brightman p.56) and Chrys. (ibid. pp.388ff) v.i. Content.

Parallels: v.s. (2), Sources and Parallels.

(5) Particular : Catholic Apostolics

Prev.Ed: first form in 1842Alb.

Sources: an original composition, hardly suprising in view of the idiosyncratic material here dealt with.

(6) Final Commendation

Prev.Ed: first form of Versicle and Response added in 1847.

Sources: 'All....thee', original; 'May...Amen', Cardale ascribes to Roman origin (R.L.I. p.192); Jungmann states that this Versicle and Response first appeared in 13th c. (II pp.447n.61).

Position: the V. and R. is unparalleled; Jungmann explains that its normal position is at the end of Requiem Masses and ordinary Offices (II pp.446-7); but it seems remarkably well-suited to its present position.

Content on (2)-(6)

Cardale succinctly formulates an adaptation of Oriental and (some) Anglican material, and add his own original features. Section (2) deals with the men of faith in the O.T. period; Section (3) gives a remarkably prominent place to the Blessed Virgin in the Liturgy, didactic in tone, biblical in origin; Section (4) deals first with the four-fold ministry depicted in the early Church, a revival of which Cardale believes he and his followers to have effected, then with the ministers and people down the ages of the Christian era; and Section (5) deals with the people, ministers and faithful alike, associated with the Catholic Apostolic Church, giving no precedence whatever (the full enumeration takes place on All Saints Day). The whole comes across with a remarkably positive view of the function of

this group in 'these last times' (= awaiting the Second Coming), in that it firmly establishes their role as founded on the out-pouring of the Holy Ghost and upon a revival of the Apostolic ministry of the N.T.

The catalogue is chronological, and enumerates the principle figures, and groups of figures, in the whole scheme of salvation history. Unlike the Oriental sources, there is a definite scheme, and it fits entirely with Cardale's purpose. The general resurrection is the joyful note on which the Commemoration ends - the final triumph towards which the Church looks.

Provision for free prayer in the Commemorations: A Note

Special petitions aloud are permissible at the end of the Commemorations for the Ministers of the U. Church, the Particular Churches (2 and 3), and for Civil Rulers. Special petitions aloud or in secret are permissible at the end of the Commemorations for the Suffering, the Dying, and the section dealing with departed Catholic Apostolics. There appears to be no particular rationale for this, except that prayers made aloud are usually for prominent people / officers (e.g. theAngel of the Church under which a dependency is set), whereas provision for secret prayers is in more personal cases (e.g. persons dying). This is an adaptation of Roman practice (silent or vocal, intention for the living, M.R.). Similar adaptations are to be found in Non-Jur. 1734 (of the departed and the sick, Grisbrooke, pp.311,312), where silence is kept while priest and people remember whom they wish; and also in Rat., where in the case of the sick, the names are mentioned, but in the case of departed, priest and people remember silently (ibid. pp.326-7). Cardale thus appears to be falling in line with both these sources; the Roman usage is probably the original source for Non-Jur., Rat. and Cardale.

Concluding Prayer before Communion

Prev.Ed: first form in 1842Alb; N.B. 'Amen' until 1847 said only after this prayer from as far back as the Preface.

Sources: original composition; for 'right-hand', cf Mk14:62, Lk.22:69; 'Him....send', cf. Jas., ἐπισυναγωγὴ [illegible] (Brightman, p.57), 'at...Him', cf. I Thess. 4:17; 'Under....glory', cf. IICor.3:12ff; 'and....glory', cf. Col.1:22, Jas., χωρὶς [illegible] (Brightman,p.57) and Aquinas, 'Jesu quem velatum' (v.7 of 'Adoro te devote').

Parallels: an abbreviated version, in a concluding Collect at the end of the deacon's Litany in the Indian Anglican Liturgy, covering the same ground, and probably using Cardale as source (B.C.P., India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, p.359).

Position: The parallel quoted concludes the corresponding section of the Liturgy in question (i.e. the Intercession), and in this sense is similar in functionto the 'Collects' which conclude the Litanies of Eastern and Western Churches; for its doxology, alone, cf. Chrys (Brightman, p.363). Cardale's prayer fulfills this function well; it has a lot in common with such a 'Litany-Collect'. But it also links the Commemorations with the Communion, as its title clearly implies. The Commemoration of the Departed starts with the faithful in the Jewish Dispensation, and leads through the Christian era to the Second Coming, the foretaste of which is the participation in Holy Communion. Three further factors support this 'link' theory; first, the 'Amen' said only after this prayer until 1847; second, the doxological character of the concluding portion; and third, the fact that the Celebrant must always offer this prayer, even when he has been assisted in the Commemorations by Elders.

Content: On the basis of Cardale's eschatology, this prayer echoes the millenarianism of the Church, which lasted right through its history. The

first sentence is a direct prayer for the Second Coming, with brief mention of the people; direct because there is no other prayer of this sort in the entire Service-book, beginning 'hasten'. The second sentence begins with a Eucharistic reference ('under the veil') and an ecclesiological one ('with all Thy Church'). The third sentence is a doxology, to conclude both the prayer, the Commemorations, and indeed the whole 'Anaphoral' section. As an example of Cardale's originality, this prayer shows his penchant for rich symbolism, as well as Eucharistic and eschatological material.

Cerem: When Elders offer the Commemorations, the Celebrant is directed to preface this prayer as follows: 'Hear Thou, O God, all these our prayers and intercessions, and hasten etc.' (Rub.E. p.13, Rub.S.p.16).

The Eucharistic Office : Section 5

The Pre-Communion Sentences

Prev.Ed: first and final form in 1847.

Sources: cf. I Cor.5:7-8; for liturgical usage, cf 1549 Rite, 'Christ our Paschall lambe....with the Lorde' (F.P.B.K.E. p.204), and Non-Jur. 1718 (Grisbrooke, p.291).

Parallel: cf Easter Anthems (B.C.P.).

Position: In both the liturgical sources, this invitation is given after the Consecration, and before the Confession, a position very similar to Cardale's, in view of the 'preparatory' nature of the prayers following.

Content: This Invitation, like the Offertory Sentences, is intended to 'invite' the congregation to Communion, after the lengthy Anaphoral section. (R.L.I. p.193). The direct scriptural derivation (unlike the liturgical sources) makes it comparable also with the Offertory Sentences.

Cerem: After a short pause, all rise, and a hymn may now be sung; the Deacons (or Deacon and Acolyte) remove the censer, its stand, and the incense-boat to the sacristy. The Celebrant proceeds to prepare the vessels for the administration of Communion; first of all, he places the vessels for reservation in the Tabernacle; next, he restores the paten and the chalice used during the Consecration to the left and right hand sides of the centre of the altar respectively; he then unveils all the vessels to be used, and breaks the wafer-bread into as great a quantity and into as many patens as may be necessary for the Communion; thereafter he pours from the flagon(s) sufficient wine into a sufficient number of chalice(s). As soon as the Sacrament is in the Tabernacle, the Deacon responsible for the censer, having returned from the sacristy, is directed to light the lamp hanging before the altar, from the lamp on the Gospel

side of the altar. The Celebrant turns to the people, (all standing) and says the Invitation (R.L.I. p.193, Rub.E. 13, Rub.S. p.16). The Scottish Rubrics direct the Celebrant and Assistant to assume maniples at this point (Rub.S. p.16).

The Book of Rubrics of 1852 prescribes the Deacon to light the 'centre lamp' (p.2). This corresponds with the 'dual purpose' of the centre of the seven lamps in Drummond's 'Principles' (Principles, pp.22ff); however, the Book of Rubrics of 1862 makes clear that it is the lamp hanging before the altar (rather than any of the seven lamps) which is to be lit (p.11).

The lighting of the lamp is symbolic of the presence in the Reserved Sacrament in the Tabernacle, but the remaining ceremonial at this point is functional. The hymn is probably a break for the congregation as well as a means of enabling the vessels to be prepared for the Communion. The removal of the censer marks the conclusion of the intercessory part of the Liturgy. The preparation of the elements is also functional, the breaking of the wafers having no connection with the Oriental and Occidental 'symbolic' Fraction, which has already taken place in the Consecration. This is explained by the interpretation of the Consecration Fraction given by Cardale, and by the absence of any symbolic interpretation in dealing with this part of the Liturgy.

Sp.N: The bold type in which this section of the Eucharist begins is worth noting, since no other part of our Liturgy is so signified in the service-book. Bramley-Moore points out that whereas the 'Anaphoral' section is God-Ward in character, the Administration of Communion is manward; we suggest that the reason behind printing the title so emphatically is to bring out the contrast between the two parts of the Liturgy (cf. s. Ch. 5, d), on the Title).

The Prayer to the Father

Prev.Ed: first form in 1847 edition.

Sources: For 'We....us', cf Prayer of Humble Access (B.C.P.), but with 'Jesus Christ' omitted, probably to avoid repeition; 'Thus...judgement' cf I.Cor. 11:27-32; 'and...Christ', cf Chrys. τοῖς πλέουσι...εὐλογητὸς εἶ (Brightman, p.392). 'Thy Christ', an Oriental idiom, v.s. Commemoration of the Living (1) Ministers of the U Church.

Parallels: cf Prayer of Humble Access, 1549 Rite and derivations; cf also Prayer of Inclination, Chrys (Brightman, p.392). Jas (ibid.pp.60-1), (ibid. p.137), and 'Clem' (ibid. p.24). The B.C.P. parallel is the outstanding one.

Position: Coming almost immediately before Communion, Cardale's accords with both Oriental and Anglican parallels.

Content: This prayer hardly needs explaining; it contains an example of theological 'separatism' in its Anglican original (Bodies clean...His Body, souls washed...His...Blood); Cardale uses the prayer as the first of three addressed to the Persons of the Trinity. The final passage, added to theAnglican original emphasises(i) the unworthiness of the communicants and (ii) their participation in the Body of Christ. As to (i), this has already occurred in the Confession and in the Oblation before Consecration. But (ii) is a new feature, and one which appears in most of the Post-Communion Prayers, Common and Proper. Once more, Cardale is not content with merely copying an existing liturgy; he has to adapt.

As regards the relationship of this prayer with those following, he points out (R.L.I. pp.193-4) that before Communion, the Father Son and Spirit must all be invoked, hence the title, which is Bramley-Moore's. This is the most explicit Trinitarian 'separatism' in the entire service-book.

Cerem: All kneel. (Rub.E. p.13, Rub.S. p.16), cf. presciptions in (B.C.P.).

Agnus Dei

Prev.Ed: first and final form in 1847 edition.

Sources: cf Roman Rite and Litany (B.C.P.) where Cardale rearranges according to Eucharistic formula, and omits 'O' of the vocative in each section; he mentions the hymn as an ancient one (R.L.I. p.194).

Parallels: cf B.C.O. p.121 where our form without the vocative is used, probably employing Cardale as source. None of the 17th and 18th c. Anglican Rites use the Agnus Dei (v. Grisbrooke, passim).

Position: Cardale uses the Agnus Dei in the same place as in the Roman Rite, before the Communion, with the difference that in the latter, silent devotions are said by the Celebrant. However, in our Liturgy, not only are the corresponding devotions said aloud, but the Pax concludes them (In the old Roman Ritethe Agnus Dei follows the Pax). In the 1549 Rite, however, the Prayer of Humble Access comes immediately before the Communion, during which 'the Clerkes shall syng' the Agnus Dei (F.P.B.K.E. p.206). Cardale seems to be following the Roman order, but with adaptations.

Content: Cardale interprets this prayer as the first part of the prayer to the Son (R.L.I. p.194): this is a new interpretation, but it certainly heightens the focus on Eucharistic devotion.

The Prayer to the Son

Prev.Ed: first and final form in 1847.

Source: acknowledged by Cardale; almost word for word a translation of the prayer in Chrys, [illegible] (Brightman, pp.392-3);

Cardale attributes it to Bas, (R.L.I. pp.194-5), and it is found in a shortened form in Brightman's 9th c.text (Brightman, p.341).

Parallels: cf. Non-Jur. 1734 and Rat (Grisbrooke, pp.313, 330), both of which include such a prayer at this point, but neither of which show signs of being used by Cardale.

Position: Addressed to the Son, and therefore in this position; this is an adaptation from the source (R.L.I. pp.194-5).

Content: Cardale praises the doctrine of the 'real presence' (his words) explicit in this prayer, and repugnant to 'the notion of transubstantiation' (R.L.I. pp.194).

Cerem: All remain kneeling, except for the Celebrant, who stands, (Rub.E.p.13, Rub.S. p.16). This apparently curious direction is to be explained by the character of the prayer, it is not penitential but an invocation. This is corroborated by the description of this and the following as 'Invocatory Prayers' in the Rubrics (Rub.E. p.13).

Title: Employed to illuminate Cardale's interpretation of theRite.

Prayer to the Holy Ghost

Prev.Ed: first and final form in 1847.

Source: acknowledged by Cardale, 'principally taken from' the prayer said by the Deacon towards the end of the Eyzantine Office of Preparation Βασιλεῦ ... Ἅγιος ἡμῶν (Brightman, p.353); adaptation at 'Thou... ever' to a more Eucharistic content, and the imagery of σκήνωσον (cf. ='tabernacle in us', Neale, P.L. p.173) has been changed.

Position: quite different from the source, where it is said by the deacon in the Preparation Office before entering the choir, and again before entering the sanctuary; in its present position, it completes the arrangement of Trinitarian Invocation.

Content: Cardale writes: 'We pray Him, therefore, thus to sanctify us, and to dwell in us as His temple, and that for ever' (R.L.I. pp.195-6). As a prayer, it demonstrates Cardale's ability in adaptation, especially in the way material is changed to suit a different context.

Sancta Sanctis

Prev.Ed: first and final form in 1847.

Sources: All Oriental Liturgies contain this dialogue between priest and people immediately before Communion τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις Jas (Brightman, p.62) Mk (ibid. p.138), Chrys (ibid p.393),'Clem' (ibid p.24); Jungmann asserts that it also appeared in the Mozarabic Rite (II pp.317n33), with which Porter makes cautious agreement (The Gallican Rite, p.43); but Cardale is probably following Oriental sources, adding 'in whom are we', to give the conclusion a direct application to the Communicants.

Parallels: cf Whist, Hen, Non-Nur 1734, and Rat. (Grisbrooke, pp.258, 269-70, 313 and 330); all follow Oriental sources, but without Cardale's adaptation, cf. also Orchard (p.134: No response).

Position: Cardale follows the Oriental position, immediately before Communion, after the prayers of inclination.

Content: Cardale interprets this item as a dialogue between the Celebrant and the Communicants. (R.L.I. p.196). It forms a suitable climax to the two preceding prayers.

Cerem: Celebrant stretches his hands over the consecrated elements, and holds them thus until the congregational response has been made (Rub.E. p.13, Rub.S. p.16); this is the only time when the Celebrant holds out his arms in this way, the posture appears to be functional (guarding the elements), not symbolic (attitude of prayer).

Title: Cardale, Willis and Bramley-Moore all refer to this item by the opening words; we employ the traditional technical term.

The Peace Before Communion

Prev.Ed: first and final form in 1847.

Sources: Roman; cf 'Pax....tuo' (M.R.) 'Clem', ʕ ʕʕʕ

the second Pax in the Tridentine Rite, but employs an adaptation of the word-formula of the first Pax as his primary source; second, although he follows the Byzantine Rite in not having the elaborate exchanges of the Peace at this point, he must have been aware that in the Byzantine Rite (and in all the other Oriental Rites) this has by now already taken place, in the time-honoured position, just as the Mass of the Faithful begins.

Content: Cardale, followed by Willis and both English and Scottish Rubrics, refers to this as the 'Benediction of Peace'. We suggest that this interpretation gives rise to the introduction, three years later (1851), of the Benedictions before Communion. Cardale writes thus of the Peace; 'The Celebrant, gathering up the full blessing which Almighty God hath it in his power to bestow, and which his people are waiting to receive, turns round, and, with an earnestness of love only to be produced by the Holy Ghost Himself, shedding abroad both in his heart and in the hearts of those before him, making them one in the bonds of peace, invokes upon all present that peace which passes all understanding. 'The Peace of our Lord Jesus', which whosoever receives, his heart cannot be troubled, neither can he be afraid' (R.L.I. pp.196-7). Such devotional fervour as this shows the interpretation of the pre-Communion preparation prayers to which the Peace is the climax, and also manifests the meaning of the three special invocations, to the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, more particularly the Holy Spirit, whose ministry is to be exercised presently.

Cerem: Celebrant turns to congregation (Rub.E. p.13, Rub.S. p.16), as at previous Salutations. The Roman ceremonial is avoided, following the consistent line Cardale takes on this matter.

Title: Bramley-Moore; no doubt to distinguish it from the Peace after the Absolution.

The Benediction before Communion : a Note

In 1851, Benedictions before Communion appear in the service-book. Cardale does not allude to this item in the section of 'Readings' related to the Eucharist, but makes passing reference when dealing with Morning and Evening Prayer, written in 1851 (R.L. II. p.405).

There are two different kinds; first is the 'Apostolical Benediction' (so-called in the Seasonal Forms), which appear on the major festivals, and a Common form for ordinary occasions (as here printed in the Eucharist), both for use when the Apostle is present, either as Celebrant (and performing an Apostolic function within the Eucharist, e.g. Ordination) or presiding in the sanctuary (e.g. at the beginning of an Apostolic Visitation); second is the invariable form for use by the Angel when visiting a dependency, and presiding from the sanctuary. It is strange that the Benedictions which are printed in the course of the Eucharist are not printed instead under the Occasional Forms, under Visitation (q.v.i.) since all the principal Seasonal Forms (i.e. Collects, Anthems, Prefaces, and Propers of Oblation) were removed from the text of the Eucharist in 1880 and printed in a separate section to facilitate reading. We suggest that the reason for not so doing in the case of the Benedictions was that they are Common Forms which are important to the content of the Rite and should be kept in the text to acquaint congregations with them, since they witnessed them infrequently.

Cardale interprets The Peace as a Benediction, and we have already shown our reasons for believing that it was this interpretation which led to the introduction of these Benedictions. However, there is ancient precedent: Jungmann discusses Pontifical Blessings which appeared in the ancient Western Rites through Oriental influence (II. p.295); Porter says that 'the blessing of the people in preparation for Communion was normal in all

Western Rites, as also in Egypt and the East, up to the end of the 4th Century; Gaul and Spain retained it after Rome dropped it' (The Gallican Rite, p.43). Whether or not Rome originally had it, which we doubt, it is interesting to note that these Blessings were restricted to the use of Bishops (e.g. Council of Agde, Canons XLIV, XLVII), as this accords with Cardale's similar restriction to the Apostle and the Angel. Moreover, Cardale had the evidence for this before him: Martène writes of the Lyons Rite, 'antequam dicatur Pax Domini, solemnis datur ab archiepiscopo super populum cum tribus orationibus benedictio', and he also says that this was the custom of the Churches at Turin, Paris and Arles (I, Cap.IV, Art.IX, vi). Martène also gives a sample of one such 'Benedictio', although it could hardly be claimed to be made 'cum tribus orationibus', which, as far as Cardale's adaptation is concerned, is the crucial phrase (I Cap.IV, Art XII Ordo I). For all Cardale's compositions (with the exception of the form used by the Angel) are in three paragraphs, devoted to each Person of the Trinity; there is one (later) Apostolical Benediction, in the Seasonal Forms, which appears in four paragraphs, but here the first three are assigned toeach Person of the Trinity, and the fourth refers to all three Persons together. Further, Cardale's compositions, differ from the Mediaeval ones in that they are heavily Biblical in the sources employed.

As regardsthe differences, there are three points to be made. First, Cardale restricts not only who gives the Benediction, but also the occasions on which it can be given; this restriction is far greater than would be expected, in view of the complex nature of the Seasonal Forms, considering that most of the Mediaeval counterparts appear at nearly every Mass (Deshusses, Le Sacramentaire Grégorien, pp576 - 598). Second, as regards the form, Cardale undoubtedly follows Martène's 'Cum

tribus orationibus' with great diligence, tying it in with his predilection for Trinitarian theology; in spite of this evidence from Martene, and Porter's assertion that the ancient Blessings were 'in three clauses' (The Gallican Rite, p.43), there is no evidence that they were divided among the Trinity in the way Cardale divides them. Third, Cardale departs from the structure of these ancient Benedictions, which all have 'Amen' as the congregational response to each little paragraph, - in our Rite there is only one 'Amen', and it comes at the end. Thus what we have is an adaptation of an ancient usage, with innovations in regard to its frequency, its content, and its structure.

What made Cardale introduce this item? We suggest three main reasons: (i) an obvious desire to revive an important Mediaeval custom; (ii) a move to exalt the position of the Apostleship as found expressed in the Eucharist; and (iii) an intention to exalt the occasions when such Benedictions were given - a psychological by-product among members of congregations who would only witness them very rarely indeed.

It is topical that the ancient Mediaeval Benedictions should form the liturgical source for Cardale when the compilers of the 'Neo-Gallican' Missals a century earlier did the same, although they follow more closely the Mediaeval originals. Both the ancient and the more recent French compositions have borne fruit in the new Pontifical Blessings which appear at the end of the Mass in the recent revision of the Roman Rite (M.R. Paul VI pp.495 ff). E-E Moeller has completed Bruylant's exhaustive work on them, which, to date, contains all the extant texts of the Mediaeval and 'Neo-Gallican' Benedictions, together with a comparison of sources and material of the new Roman compositions; his 'Etude' (mentioned in Q.L.P. 1971, p.333) has not yet appeared (v. Corpus Benedictionum Pontificalium, by E.E. Moeller, O.S.B., Corpus Christianorum, series latina, CLXII;

v. also Q.L.P., 1971, pp.317-325). Cardale's work is in parallel with both 'Neo-Gallican' and new Roman compositions, but is, of course, independent.

Benedictions before Communion

Prev.Ed: first and final form in 1851.

Sources: (i) by Apostle: for liturgical, v.s. Note; an original composition, displaying Trinitarian 'separatism' noted elsewhere, particularly in the three preceding prayers. For 'blessing....strength', cf Rev.5:13, 'grace .....benediction', cf. Post-Communion, 'filled....benediction' (B.C.P.); 'Head....Church' cf. Col. 1:18; 'who....candlesticks', of Rev. 2:1; 'The...Comforter', cf. Te Deum, (B.C.P.).

(ii) by Angel: Aaronic, (Num. 6:24-6); cf also adapted form at end of Commination Service (B.C.P.). The reason for this may be association of the ministry of Angel (Bishop) with the High Priestly (Aaronic) Ministry; the analogy of Bishops and Aaron was popular in the Mediaeval Pontificals, and dates from the 5th century (Echlin, The Story of Anglican Ministry, pp.6 and 10).

Parallels: In the service-book, the only parallel, apart from those for special occasions, is in the Office of the Communion of the Sick (Lit. pp.18-9), where the Priest may, in cases of severe sickness, give such a Benediction in the same position; the exact form is in three brief clauses, for each Person of the Trinity. For the Aaronic form, cf. Benediction No.10 (Per annum I) in Missal of Paul VI, where the fourth paragraph does appear.

Position: v.s. Note.

Content: Because of the interpretation of the The Peace, we suggest that these Benedictions were considered as supplementary to it, thus doing justice to position in our Liturgy, and also in the ancient origin discussed above.

Cerem: Celebrant (if Apostle) turns to congregation. (Rub.E. pp.53, Rub.S. p.47); if the Apostle is not Celebrant, the Celebrant kneels at the foot of the altar-steps, while the Apostle pronounces the Benediction from his place in the sanctuary; the same arrangement obtains in the case of the Angel visiting a dependency. (Rub.E. pp.53, 47, Rub.S. pp.46, 53). For this ceremonial, cf. the Blessing at Solemn Mass coram episcopo, where the Celebrant, Deacon and Sub-Deacon stand at their respective steps, but do not kneel (Martinucci, V, p.160).

Title: None of the writers mention this item; probably either because Cardale writes before its introduction and is silent about it, or because it was considered supplementary to The Peace.

Sp.N: TheBenedictions are also to be given in the Shorter Office, on the appropriate occasions.

The Communion : Words of Administration

Prev.Ed: first and final form in 1847.

Sources: Anglican cf.B.C.P.Cardale abbreviates the Anglican form, and asserts that it 'can bear no other interpretation than that the elements have been made the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, by the act of God in consecration' (R.L.I. p.198). He obviously wished to avoid a memorialist interpretation, of which the full B.C.P. formula is patient. The abbreviated form goes even further than the older Anglican formula in use until 1559 which did not include the second clause, (Annotated B.C.P. p.392). For the 'Amen' said by the recipient, Cardale quotes Cyril Hier. Catech, xxiii, Mystag. v.21; this has been the custom of Scot since 1637 (Annotated B.C.P.p.392), and occurs in all the Anglican Liturgies of the 17th and 18th cc. with the exception of Steph. II and III (Geisler, passim); all this evidence would convince Cardale of the antiquity and also of the pastoral benefit of the custom.

Parallels: Every liturgy has some formula for administration of Communion, and in the case of Churches in which Communion is administered in both kinds, separately, the parallels are the Anglican Liturgies. The 'Amen' appears in C. of E. Alternative Services, Second Series, H.C.(p.10), and has been restored in Roman Rite - in the Missal of Paul VI.

Content: As has been shown above (Sources) the short form is for doctrinal reasons, not for abbreviation because of the number of communicants, a factor familiar in present day Anglican Worship. (Alternative services, First Series; H.C. p.33).

Cerem: Celebrant kneels and receives in both kinds; he then administers to the two Assistants in both kinds; if two Patens are used, he gives the two Chalices to the Junior to hold, while, assisted by the Senior, he proceeds to administer the bread to the other ministers, thereafter, assisted by the Junior (the Senior holding the Patens) administering the Chalice to them. The other ministers come up to the access to the sanctuary in the following order; (i) Sub-Assistants and the Homilist, whether Priest or Deacon; (ii) Angels and Priests in choir, but not assisting; (iii) Deacons of the Seven; (iv) other Deacons. After the Deacons have received Communion, the Celebrant delivers the Paten which he has used in the Consecration to the Senior Assistant, and the Chalice to the Junior; he then distributes the other vessels to be used among the Sub-Assistants, Elders and Evangelists being preferred for the bread, and Prophets and Pastors for the cup. In larger congregations, the ratio of ministers employed in assisting was usually two with the Chalice to one with the Paten; this is recommended in the Rubrics. If a Flagon is used, one of the Sub-Assistants is given this to hold. The Celebrant then goes to his seat in the sanctuary (or if the subsequent administration to the congregation takes place in the Lower Choir, he presides from his throne).

The Deacons then bring up the Acolytes and Choristers, and thereafter the congregation, row by row (Rub.E. pp.13-15, Rub.S. pp.16-17). For this Ceremonial v. Drawing F.

However, when the Apostle visits the Particular Church, after the Assistants have received Communion, they go to the lower part of the sanctuary, and turn inwards, while the Celebrant administers at the altar to the Apostle and the Ministers with him, in the order Prophet, Evangelist, Pastor, and any other Apostolic Minister who may be there . The administration to the other ministers follows in the pattern outlined above (Rub.E. pp.53-54, Rub.S. p.46). When the Angel visits a dependency, the administration follows approximately the same order as on Apostolic Visitations (Rub.E. p.48, Rub.S. p.43).

As to the place of Communion, the Rubrics envisage the possibility of the Deacons receiving in the Lower Choir as well as the congregation; however, this was to be determined by the architecture of the building (Rub.E. p.15, Rub.S. p.17); in most cases, it took place at the access to the sanctuary. All Ministers employed in the administration of the Chalice assume maniples for the purpose, taking care to wipe the Chalice (i.e. with the maniple) after each person has received Communion (Rub.E. p.15, Rub.S. p.17).

As to the order of ministers, Cardale notes that the 8th Canon of the Council of Nice directs that Communion be given to clergy in order of rank, priests always before deacons (Martène, De Ant. Rit. i iv x 3, and Bona Rer. Lit. ii xvii 8) and that the 19th Canon of the Council of Laodicea directs that only priests receive Communion in the sanctuary (R.T.I. p.197). Cardale's form appears to be an elaboration of the ancient order, without the sacerdotalist restrictions with regard to the place of Communion of the congregation; this depends on the architecture of the building rather than ecclesiastical rank.

In smaller congregations, Deacons would normally assist in the Communion, in the absence of Priests, and Under-Deacons were employed in bringing the congregation forward to the place of Communion, in the absence of Deacons. Cardale discusses the citation from Cyril of Jerusalem, that the bread be received in the hand, the right palm supported by the left, and infers from Cyril's silence on the matter that the Chalice was not to be received into the hands of Communicants; in fact the invariable practice was to receive the Chalice in the hands.

N.B. The Celebrant himself does not administer to the Congregation (unless the shortage of ministers requires it). A similar practice in the Church of Scotland was and still is, that the Minister hands the elements to the Elders, who then proceed to deliver the bread and wine to the congregation.

It was during this part of the service that the exercise of spiritual gifts took place (R.L.I p.202). Although it was part of the Liturgy, in the sense that such utterances were expected (especially by Ministers and members of the congregation who showed such gifts at prayer-meetings) no rubrics 'direct' that people should so 'speak', either in tongues, or in interpretation, or in prophecy. The Church was careful not to 'rubricate' the workings of the Spirit. The only reference there is refers to the singing of appropriate hymns intermittently during the Communion, to inspire the exercise of spiritual gifts (R.L.I. p.202). Further, when 'speaking' did occur, it was always regarded as under the control of the Celebrant, which may be one reason why he did not normally take part in the administration of Communion to the congregation. His 'presiding' role was definite; and he could (and would) motion towards some to keep quiet, and to others to come with words of interpretation if the need arose. A scribe always sat nearby, to record such utterances, and these records were sent to Albury, where a careful study was made, especially at high

festivals, to determine what the Spirit was saying to the Church; thus, if a common theme ran through the 'words' spoken in many congregations in the world, the Apostles would note this, and take such action as they saw fit. Records of utterances were to be seen by the Angel only. They are not available for inspection today.

For a Church which started its life in highly 'charismatic' beginnings, this might seem to 'fade out' the work of the Spirit, in an increasingly hierarchical structure. This is not how the Ministers of the Church saw things at all. The early days of Irving were seen as a time of 'groping', before the full purpose of the Lord was revealed; and after the emergence of the Ministry and Liturgy, the new Church was regarded as having attained a degree of maturity. Furthermore, Ministers and members of the congregation looked to the Administration of Communion as the devotional 'peak' of the service; the writer's own experience of worship contains several recollections (in the latter days of the Church) of utterances in the Spirit. When one attended a Eucharist, utterances never seemed 'incidental' at this point, but always 'engendered' by the whole cumulative effect of the Liturgy up to the moment of Communion.

The Book of Rubrics of 1852 lays down a curious custom, which doesnot appear in any subsequent books, namely that after the vessels containing the consecrated elements are taken to the place of administration (i.e. whether at altar-rails or at the access to the Upper Choir), the two lamps on either side of the altar should be extinguished (p.10). Nothing like this is mentioned by Drummond in his 'Principles', and we suggest that since it is not described in the Rubrics in the Scottish edition of 1854 or in the Book of Rubrics of 1862 it was soon discontinued; the practice certainly stretches symbolism beyond the appropriate.

Communion Anthem : Common Form

Prev.Ed: first and final form in 1847.

Sources: v Ps 132:13-16.

Parallels: cf Roman Communion Chant and Oriental [illegible].

Position: Jungmann traces the history of the Communion Chant in the Western and Eastern Liturgy, asserting that of the three such Chants in the Western Rite (Gradual, Offertory and Communion)this is 'without doubt' the oldest, but, unlike the Introit, soon shed its Biblical bent in favour of responsaries, later to be regarded as the thanksgiving 'post cibum salutarem' (II pp. 391ff). This latter is Cardale's interpretation of the purpose of the Chant.

Content: As will be seen in the case of the Communion Anthems for Seasonal and Occasional Forms, there is a strong apocalyptic feel in the language and imagery, derived from the selection of the Biblical sources. This is one of the ways in which the Eucharist comes across as the most important thing which the Church can do, in awaiting the Second Coming.

Cerem: If there is to be an Afternoon Communion, all the vessels containing the Sacrament are replaced on the altar (having been received from the Assistants and Sub-Assistants) by the Celebrant and covered with a large napkin. If, however, there is no Afternoon Communion, the remainder of the elements is at this point reverently consumed by the Assistants and Sub-Assistants within the sanctuary; they then hand the vessels to the Deacons at the Table of Prothesis; the Celebrant stands at the altar, facing southwards. Whether or not there be an Afternoon Communion, all empty vessels and maniples are handed to the Deacons, who place the maniples on the Table of Prothesis, and rinse the vessels from a jug placed on the Table before the service, and after this place the vessels on the Table, veiled. The Sub-Assistants meanwhile resume their places. After the Deacons have

completed the rinsing and veiling, they return to their places. Celebrant and Assistants resume their places, facing the altar, and the Anthem is sung (Rub.E. pp.15-16, Rub.S. pp.17-18).

Once more, Cardale adapts ancient practice to the hierarchy of the Church. Jungmann traces the development of theablutions, and outlines the earliest recorded practice to have been that the clerics administering from the vessels consumed the remainder of the elements (II pp.406ff). Cardale's Afternoon Communion complicates matters slightly. But the fact that it is the Deacons who perform the ablutions shows their 'diaconal' function within the Liturgy, already seen in the case of the Greater Introit. What is here described is a combination of the Western ablutions, and Cardale's own originality. The directions are complex, but they are self-explanatory.

Title: 'Anthem' is used, in line with the other 'Chants' in the Liturgy.

Sp.N: As in the case of other sung parts of the service, and in particular the Anthem after the Epistle, this Anthem is used at the Shorter Office only when it can be sung; unlike the Roman Communion Chant, which is read by the Celebrant at Low Masses, this Anthem is omitted when it cannot be sung.

Post-Communion Prayers

Prev.Ed: First appearance of (i) and (iii) in 1847, and (ii) in Scottish 1861.

Sources: (i) Word for word translation of Thomas Aquinas' Post-Communion Collect for Corpus Christi Day; the reason for choosing this source would appear to be its eschatology, pointing to the same theological features noted above in the case of the Communion Anthem in general, and enumerated,

with citations from Aquinas, by Dom Bernard Capelle, in discussing the Collect, Secret and Post-Communion for Corpus Christi (Travaux Liturgigues, III, pp.242ff).

(ii) An original composition, with an echo from the Post-Communion prayer in C. of E. 'continue...fellowship' (B.C.P.), and its adaptation in Scot. 1764, 'holy Communion and fellowship' (Grisbrooke, p.348); 'Flesh' (rather than 'Body') is the word used more often in the Additional Post-Communion Prayers (q.v.i.).

(iii) An adapted abbreviated version of Second Post-Communion in B.C.P. omitting 'who...mysteries','and dost....us', (supplying 'assuring us'), 'which...people', and 'by...Son'.

Parallels/Position: Jungmann describes the development of the Post-Communion Prayer, and quotes Augustine calling it the 'gratiarum actio (II. pp.419ff). All Liturgies have some form of such thanksgiving, but it is interesting that Cardale sees the point of having a wealth of Additional Post-Communions for Seasonal and Occasional Use,and also three Common Forms.

Content: (i) concentrates on the fruits of Communion, and the Communion as an anticipation of the fulness of divine glory. (ii) concentrates on thanksgiving for Communion, and for subsequent growth in the Church, the Body of Christ, awaiting the final Resurrection (viz. after the Second Coming). (iii) omits those parts of the B.C.P. source which are repetitive, and also those sections which do not suit Cardale's apparent intention to concentrate on the transcendental aspect of the Eucharist; it expresses the same theological points as (ii), although the eschatological material is less explicit ('glory of theresurrection' over against 'heirs through hope of Thine everlasting Kingdom').

Carem: All kneel, including the Celebrant. With regard to concluding doxologies, the same rule applies as in the case of the Collect for the Day, i.e. doxology after last Prayer (Rub.E. p.16, Rub.S. p.18).

Additional Post-Communion Prayers

Prev.Ed: first appearance in 1847; as will be seen in Ch 8 and 10, Prayers appear according to date of introduction of whole Form.

Sources: In principle, Roman, in as much as they are 'proper' rather than as 'additional'.

Content: v.i. Ch. 8 and 10 for enumeration of sources and theological content of each Prayer; thepredominant theme is eschatological.

Te Deum

Prev.Ed: first appear nce in 1842Alb, where, until 1847, Gloria in excelsis may be used instead; present use dates from 1847.

Sources: as in Anglican Morning Prayer word for word (B.C.P.).

Parallels: cf C. of E. Gloria in excelsis (B.C.P.); two factors may explain the present arrangement; first, conservatism from the 1842Alb Rite, and secondly, correspondence with the Roman 'Solemn Te Deum', e.g. at Consecration of a Bishop.

Content: Cardale describes the Te Deum as 'an appropriate act of Thanks-giving' (R.L.I. p.202); as an act of praise, it certainly tallies in length with the rest of the service, making the thanksgiving section a lengthy outpouring of praise.

Cerem: All stand to sing the Te Deum (Rub. E. p.16, Rub.S. p.18); always sung and usually sung to Anglican Chant, even in German and Danish congregation.

Sp.N: In Shorter Office only sung on Lord's Day, and when specially appointed.

Gloria Patri

Prev.Ed: first and final form in 1847.

Sources: Anglican.

Position: original; because it is a separate entity from the Te Deum, it appears to be a concluding act of praise on the part of the congregation, affirming faith in the Triune God in whose Name they are about to be blessed. It does not occur at the end of the Te Deum in any source.

Sp.N: There is a pause between the Te Deum and the Gloria Patri, to show that the two are separate (i.e. that the Gloria is not being sung as if after a Psalm or other Canticle). When the Te Deum is not sung, the Gloria is sung on its own. (Rub.E. p.16, Rub.S. p.18). At the Shorter Office, it is only sung when other parts of the service are sung, i.e. the other Anthems, as a minimum.

Final Benediction

Prev.Ed: first form in 1847.

Sources: Blessing in B.C.P. Communion.

Parallels: Every service in Cardale's book contains a Concluding Blessing of some sort, doubtless following Anglican custom, although he also appoints one for the end of the Daily Offices (Lit. pp.62, 79).

Position: From the point of view of balance, it is not surprising that there should be a Blessing both here and before Communion on the occasions specified.

Content: There is no overlap in the material content of their Benediction and the ones appointed for use before the Communion. Cardale writes that at this point, the people are 'dismissed with a final benediction pronounced by the Celebrant' (R.L.I. p.202).

Cerem: All kneel, except the Celebrant, who turns and pronounces the Benediction; if there are notices to be given out, he either stands at the access to the sanctuary, with the two Assistants, facing the congregation, or goes with the Assistants and sits at the Sedilia. A Deacon appointed then gives out the notices. These would involve special meeting and services during the coming week(s) and anything that needed to be drawn to the attention of the congregation (e.g. times for seeing the Senior Ministers). A Deacon was chosen for this task in accordance with the Deacons' liturgical function, sitting at the head of the congregation. (The Missal of Paul VI also directs notices to be read out at this point. The Celebrant leads the procession of ministers from the Church to the Vestries, the ministers going in the reverse order in which they entered. Officiating Deacons come out of their stalls and stand in a line in front of them; if the Celebrant leaves the Church by the Upper Choir, the Deacons follow the Sub-Assistants (Rub.E. p.16, Rub.S. p.18). This order seems to be Cardale's own. At any rate, the procession is functional, rather than symbolic.

Title: All blessings are called 'Benedictions' in the Liturgy. In discussing the Proposition of the Sacrament at Morning and Evening Prayer, Cardale shows not only how this new Rite differs from Roman Exposition and Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, but also uses the term benediction in speaking of the Apostolic Benediction before Communion. Bramley-Moore terms this item 'The Final Peace and Benediction from the altar'.

Sp.N: At the Shorter Office on week-days, the first part of the Benediction is omitted, so that it begins at the words 'The Blessing...'.

A Note on the Creed

A form of this Note appears after the Creed in the 1842Alb and 1843 editions as follows: 'The above Creed is set forth in the form used in the Churches of the West. And this has been done the more readily, because, without doubt, it expresses the Catholic and Orthodox faith, held not only in the West, but substantially also in the East. And it is not intended, by using it in this form, to pronounce either upon the fact, or upon the propriety, of the addition, or of the omission, (as has been contradictorily alleged), of the disputed words related to the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity.' From 1847, the final form appears, at the end of the Eucharist, in its less dogmatic form.

It appears that this Note points to three things. First, the division of Christendom. Second, the fact that the addition of the 'filioque' clause was only incidental in the history of the development of the Nicene Creed, (i.e. not intentionally altering Trinitarian doctrine). Third, the relationship between the Church of the Restored Apostolate and the other Churches, where the 'competent authority' would probably be a 'Catholic' and 'Ecumenical' Conference of the leaders of all the Churches in Christendom, presided over by Cardale and the Restored Apostolate.

Chapter 7 : Introduction to Seasonal Forms

(a) The Liturgical Year

The sequence of the liturgical year as directed in the service-book (and explained, within its limitations, by Cardale[1]), shows a conservatism which concentrates on essentials. While traditional terminology is kept (e.g. Quadragesima, Sundays after Pentecost), no special ceremonies traditionally used in East and West are adopted, with the sole exceptions of the Thursday before Easter and Good Friday. This is explained by Cardale, in connection with his discussion of the Western Palm Sunday ceremonies: '....whether it be good and right to introduce into the religious exercises of the day dramatic representations of the events celebrated, as is done by means of processions and bearing of palms, is a different question. The rites of religion ought to be, or rather must be, symbolical and significant; but the dramatic representation of an historical event, and of the actions of those who took part in it, if it be allowable for the purpose of renewing the memory of the event, and of awakening appropriate feelings by living action, is, at all events, not an appropriate part of the worship of the sanctuary'[2]. This dictum explains his conservatism; on the Thursday before Easter and on Good Friday, the processions appointed are 'symbolical and significant' - all the ministers take part, and not just the convenient number required for the action concerned, but there are no lights or incense.

Furthermore, whereas traditional 'seasons' are adopted, they are not fully recognised in the Eucharist, apart from a conservative selection of 'Proper' material; white vestments are used all the year round, except for black on Good Friday and Easter Eve, but this is optional; Sundays after Pentecost are so-called, but the Collect for Pentecost season takes precedence even over that of Advent. These features, although original, can be explained by two underlying principles; first, the Sunday Eucharist,

1. R.L.I. pp.53-71, R.L.II. pp.20-234.
2. R.L.II. p.48

in whatever season, is to celebrate the whole of man's redemption, not just one part of it (v.s. Ch 6, Cardale on Preface qua Thanksgiving); an example of this is in the repetition between the Proper Preface and Proper of Oblation. Second, the lesser feasts are subordinate to Sunday Eucharist, and except if they fall on Sunday, are celebrated with the Shorter Office, an example of this is in the Proper Preface in the Shorter Office, where the full thanksgiving is abbreviated considerably.

In the choice of what may be called 'Propria de Sanctis', Cardale shows an even greater conservatism. From the traditional provisions in both East and West, Christological feasts are the only ones selected, with the exception of All Angels and All Saints; added to these are the Feast of the Separation of the Apostles, commemorating the restored Apostleship, and the Forms for the Monday and Tuesday after Pentecost. The reason for this reductionism is obvious, and stems from the premises for the commemoration of All Saints' Day: if November 1st commemorates all the saints, living and departed, then there seems little point in ascribing to certain days particular persons who are included implicitly[4] in the Liturgy.

The Seasonal Forms have in evolution the same time-scheme as the Eucharist, the general principles are established in 1842Alb, and the most important additions in the next 10 years. This feature attracts comment in the writings of the Church[5].

3. The only exception is in the German Edition of 1850, where certain feasts from the B.C.P. as well as that of the Transfiguration, are used. They do not, however, appear in the German Edition of 1859, so that we may assume that it was deemed an unsuccessful experiment; v. Chart D.
4. if not also explicitly: v.i. Ch 8. All Saints' Day.
5. C.E. Lewis Heath, Lecture, p.6; C.B.Heath, Lecture, p.3.

(b) Evolution

The main structure of the liturgical year was arrived at by an early date (1842): the Seasonal Forms themselves grew over the years, continually. The only evidence we have for the appearance of each Form is in the service-books themselves, but there are a few occasions when a Form appears either documented in a writing of the Church, or inserted into a copy of the service-book at a time prior to its first appearance in a later edition.

As to the evolution in more detail, in 1842Alb, the seasons of Advent, Christmas, Christmas to before Easter, Passion week, Easter, Easter to Pentecost, and Pentecost to Advent are all commemorated by Collects, and to each Sunday, including Christmas Day and All Saints' Day, are assigned Epistle and Gospel-Readings (v.Chart B/IV), usually based on Anglican usage. In 1847, much development takes place, not only with provision of more Collects, but Anthems after the Epistle, Proper Prefaces, Propers of Oblation, Communion Anthems, and Additional Post-Communion Prayers for all Sundays, Seasons and Feasts which the Church adopted, with the exception of the Separation of Apostles, All Angels andthe Three Seasons which came in later. In 1851, the year in which the Benedictions before Communion were introduced into the Eucharist, 'Proper' Apostolical Benedictions were provided for the Feasts of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, and their Octaves. In 1853, the Feast of All Angels received recognition, and in 1854, that of the Separation of the Apostles. In 1858, the Forms for the Three Seasons were issued, and the last addition to the Seasonal Forms took place between 1869 and 1880[6] - the Apostolical Benediction for the Feast of All Saints and its Octave.

6. for dating, v.i. Ch.8.

Thus, the evolution of the Seasonal Forms is less complex than the Eucharist, but the distribution of the Forms and the provision of Collects is not without interest. Cardale adhered to the principle of keeping a small number of Collects (v.s. Ch.6 : The Collect). He does the same with Anthems, so that every Collect has its corresponding Anthem after Epistle. In the Prefaces and Propers of Oblation, however, there is no similar correspondence, and Apostolical Benedictions are only provided for the major Feasts of the Church. There is, however, a near-correspondence in the provisions for Communion Anthem and Additional Post-Communion Prayer. (v. Chart B/II).

The Seasonal Forms, therefore, are fairly conservative, but they are also complex, in that they manifest the kind of individuality already noted in the Eucharist. The guide-line seems to be a sort of Roman primitivism, based on B.C.P. practice, but going yet further in reductionism, hence the non-observance of Lent; to back this up, Cardale quotes John Cassian as saying that the primitive Apostolic Church was so perfect as not to require the observance of the season of Lent[7]. But whereas the Roman Propria varies each Sunday (except in Proper Prefaces), Cardale is determined to vary the Propria according to the Season, and in this connection he keeps a balance between ferial season and feast by his economy in both. What is remarkable is that the Feast of All Saints gained recognition right from the start (1842Alb); in other words, the basic scheme was already laid by that date, later developments in individual parts were merely embellishments (i.e. Anthems etc. in 1847), and completely new Forms were conservative (e.g. All Angels' Day in 1853).

7. R.L.I. p.57

(c) Component Parts

As with the Eucharist, terminology is either esoteric, non-existent, or traditional. Furthermore, because Cardale's Scheme is an adoptative use of traditional material, with many original elements, a brief explanation of each component part of the Seasonal Forms is called for; and we will also look at them in order to get an idea of their general sources, prescriptions and evolution (v. Charts B/I - V).

(i) Special Introit This is our own term, and is intended to cover those occasions where a special Anthem is appointed to be sung or said either in addition to or instead of the Gloria. These four occasions are Christmas Eve, Good Friday and Easter Eve, when the Anthem replaces the Gloria, and Easter Day, when the Anthem precedes it. The term Introit accords with Cardale's interpretation of the Gloria noted in the Eucharist.

With the exception of one (Good Friday), all reach final form in the year of introduction, 1847. There is no pattern, except in the case of Christmas Eve and Good Friday, where traditional Western devotions (Rorate Coeli, Popule Meus) are adapted, and given new positions. On Easter Eve, it is simply a case of a penitential Psalm taking the place of the Gloria.

(ii) Hallelujah after Gloria This is our own term, as a means of distinguishing this part from the later Hallelujah, after Anthem after Epistle. It is appointed for Christmas Day and Octave, Circumcision and Octave, Presentation and Octave, Thursday before Easter, Easter Day and Octave, Ascension Day and Octave, Pentecost and Octave, the Separation of Apostles, All Angels, All Saints' Day and Octave, and the Three Seasons before Pentecost only.

In selection of occasions, all Feasts with Octaves have this item, together with three other important occasions, which either cannot have Octaves (Thursday before Easter), or do not have them in Cardale's system (Separation of Apostles and All Angels). Once again, there is no method comparable with Roman practice, which would certainly not countenance the custom on Maundy Thursday.

(iii) Collect This is the title given in the service-books and used by Cardale. It is the width of provision of Collects which considerably complicates the Seasonal Forms. They also appear as Additional Collects (e.g. Advent Ad. Collect follows Pentecost-Christmas Season Collect), and in one case there is a Second Ad. Collect (i.e. on Christmas Eve, when the order is Pentecost-Christmas Season Collect, followed by that for Advent, followed by that for the day). This will be dealt with in the Commentary in each case; the service-book always makes this sort of complication abundantly clear.

The Collects are predominantly B.C.P., as outlined by Cardale[8]; of the 18 used, 11 are directly from B.C.P., 2 only in part, and the remaining 4 are mainly original compositions. These latter are for occasions common only to Cardale's system (Monday after Pentecost, Separation of Apostles, and Three Seasons), and in them two factors are to be noted: first, they are longer than B.C.P. (except the Circumcision to Passion-week seasonal, which is B.C.P. Epiphany VI, and may have been chosen by Cardale as a standard length); second, three out of four contain references to the Second Coming (the one remaining is that for Christmas Eve, which is from the Roman Missal). Further, Cardale's original Collects date from post-1847, except for Pentecost (1842Alb) and Easter Eve (1847); this means that although from 1847 onwards additions to the Eucharist are in

8. R.L.I. pp.52-70

an antiquarian direction (e.g. Benedictions before Communion, 1851), Cardale was still composing completely original material. Only three are addressed to the Son.

(iv) Epistle This varies on each occasion when there is a Form provided; they are predominately B.C.P.

(v) Anthem after the Epistle This is the term used in the service-book, and by Cardale; it is self-explanatory, and easily distinguishable from the other 'Proper' Anthems (e.g. Communion). They vary with the Collect, both in feast (e.g. Christmas), and, roughly speaking, in season (e.g. Pentecost-Christmas, where, however, there is an Anthem for Advent). The Anthem is only used when it can be sung.

With the exception of Good Friday, all are directly Biblical in sources; of the 22 appointed, all but 6 date from 1847, the year of the introduction of this item; of the remainder, two appear in 1853 as alternatives to earlier ones, all the others appear in the year of the introduction of the Form in question. No pattern is discernible, except the predominance of apocalyptic material from Isaiah and Psalms (only four instances of Gospel-material); the length is fairly uniform. In composing these Anthems, Cardale employs a traditional item, but in an original way. They are remarkable compilations.

(vi) Hallelujah after Anthem after Epistle These are appointed in the same way as the Hallelujah after Gloria.

(vii) Special Hymn This is our own title. There are only two occasions when Hymns are specifically directed, and both the Hymns in question are traditional: Adeste Fideles on Christmas Day, and Veni Creator on Pentecost.

(viii) Gospel This varies on each occasion when there is a Form provided; they are preominantly B.C.P.

(ix) Proper Preface This is our own terminology, and derives from Cardale's desire that special thanksgivings should be included in the Preface; for convenience, we use the (obvious) Western term at this point.

The Proper Preface was introduced formally in 1847. Of the 11 appointed, all are original; only three cases involve borrowings from Anglican or Roman material, and these occasions are Christological Feasts which are common coin to Cardale and the Rites in question. All Prefaces are standard in length (except Tuesday after Pentecost, which is from a late date, and consists of an additional paragraph to the Pentecost Preface); no pattern can be established, except that there is a predominance of material from the Epistles, probably the obvious source for the doctrinal features relevant to the particular occasion commemorated. But Cardale's adaptation of the length of the Proper Preface changes its traditional character, probably thanks to his emphatic grasp of the Preface as a 'Eucharistic Prayer'. Thus the saturation of these Prefaces with Christological material in the form of extended prose rather than relative clauses constitutes a new form, fitting into a new structure. The fact that from 1842-1847 the Seasonal commemorations in the Preface were extempore very likely conditioned their content to scriptural material.

(x) Proper of Oblation This is our terminology. The item seems to be derived from the ancient Western 'Hanc Igitur', which was variable at many Masses, and was intended (as here) to focus on the intention of the day/occasion, Cardale does, however, insert seasonal material as well (v.s. Ch.6 : Proper of Oblation). The Proper of Oblation and the Apostolical Benediction are the two most interesting idiosyncrasies of the SeasonalForms.

The Propers of Oblation were introduced in 1847. Of the 15 appointed, only 4 can be derived even in part from non-Biblical sources, of which 3 are B.C.P. Prefaces, and one, an echo from the Liturgy (All Saints' Day). There is no standard length, although on occasions common only to Cardale's arrangement, and which date from after 1847, (e.g. Tuesday after Pentecost), undue length is a noticeable feature. In only 6 is there an initial reference to the 'sacrifice of praise', i.e. the Eucharist (Advent, Christmas, Easter Eve, Separation of the Apostles, All Angels, and All Saints), but no conclusion can be drawn from this. In spite of uneven length, two patterns do emerge; first, the Biblical material, even more than that of the Preface, is derived predominantly from the Epistles; second, the prayer is precatory, notcommemorative (as the Preface), and therefore there is always a specifically precatory section at the end, often also Biblical in content. As with the Prefaces, extempore forms between 1842 and 1847 may have conditioned content to Biblical material.

(xi) Special Commemoration of Departed This is our terminology. On two occasions, both of them original Forms, a special insertion in the Commemoration of the Departed is provided; these are on Monday after Pentecost, and the Separation of Apostles.

(xii) Apostolical Benediction This is Cardale's term; in the Eucharist in the service-book, it is called 'Benediction before Communion', because there is a Common Benediction for use by the Angel in certain circumstances in addition to that by the Apostle. Here, however, the more technical term is used, which is self-explanatory. The item is derived in principle from ancient Western usage.

Apostolical Benedictions were introduced in 1851, and were appointed for use on Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, and, at a later date, on All Saints'.

Two patterns emerge; first, both the Common Form (i.e. that printed in the text of the Liturgy), and those appointed for Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost have a threefold arrangement, one paragraph for each Person of the Trinity, (the much later Benediction for All Saints' Day has a fourth paragraph, for all three Persons of the Trinity together); second, the sources are not only Biblical, but are predominantly from hortatory material in the Epistles, a veritable 'Apostolic' source, and thus doubly appropriate.

(xiii) Communion Anthem This is Cardale's terminology, and is self-explanatory. Provision corresponds with that for Additional Post-Communion Prayer, and, like the Anthem after the Epistle, this item is omitted when not sung.

Of the 13 appointed, all but two were introduced in 1847, the remainder being introduced in the same year as the Form concerned. On the whole, the method of source-use is simpler than the Anthem after the Epistle, except in the notable case of the Thursday before Easter, although here the flow of language hardly reflects the tortuousness of Biblical source. In all cases, the sources are apocalyptic, or derived from the Gospels or Epistles.

(xiv) Additional Post-Communion Prayer This is Cardale's term, and also self-explanatory, being equivalent to the Western 'Post-Communio'. These invariably follow one of the 'Common' Post-Communion Prayers in the Eucharist. The duplication is, therefore, similar to that of the Collects.

Of the 13 appointed, all but two were introduced in 1847, the remainder being introduced in the same year as the Form concerned. Of the 13 appointed, four are addressed to the Son, and all except two are new compositions; of these two, one is based on the corresponding Roman Post-

Communion Prayer (Christmas Eve), and the other contains a short section from B.C.P., but only an echo (Thursday before Easter). Furthermore, 6 contain direct references to the Second Coming, a feature common in our Liturgy, and noted in the case of Collects of Cardale's own composition. Two features are apparent, first, the predominance of Epistle-material in the Biblical sources, and second, a lack of method, resulting from accumulationism in the Liturgy, with regard to the choice of occasions for which such Prayers are appointed.

(xv) Special Post-Communion Anthem This is our own term, and is self-explanatory, and easily distinct from the Communion Anthem. The provision consists of a special Anthem to be used instead of the Te Deum on the Thursday before Easter and All Saints' Day. In each case, O.T. cultic material is the source.

Not every Form can have each of these 15 possible component parts. This introduction is intended to show the extreme complexity of the Seasonal Forms (e.g. Collects), and how they contribute to the overall flexibility of the Rite (e.g. Anthems only to be sung).

(d) Method and Scope

A different method is adopted for dealing with both Seasonal and Occasional Forms than was used in the Eucharist. Each Form appears in the order in which it comes in the service-book, which is chronological with the Liturgical Year. There is, however, one difference, namely that the Lectionary for the Eucharist, which in the service-book appears with the Lectionary for Offices and the Table of Psalms, is inserted into our Commentary of the Seasonal Forms; however, a Table with the Lectionary, and the notes of sources, appears in Chart B/IV, so that it may be viewed apart from the Seasonal Forms.

Along with each Form comes the date of its introduction, in an English edition of the service-book; sometimes an earlier date follows, in brackets, and this comes either from a foreign edition or other evidence for the dated introduction. After this, sources and parallels are offered, and in cases of doubt or special interest, peculiarities are noted, and, on occasion, quotations from Cardale are given. The Seasonal Forms are much less complex as regards the Commentary than the Eucharist. Ceremonial directions are included and discussed where necessary.

Because this study intends to deal with the Eucharist as celebrated in the Catholic Apostolic congregations, three items have had to be left out, as they are 'special cases'. The first two are the full Forms for the Monday after Pentecost, for the consecration of the Chrism[9]; and for the Tuesday after Pentecost, for the commemoration of the Twelve Tribes[10]; both of these were celebrated in Albury only, but they do have abbreviated Forms for use in the various congregations, and these are dealt with in the Commentary. Third, there is the Order in Celebrating the Eucharist in the Assembly of the Seven Churches in London[11]; although this also contains a Form for the use of other congregations on occasions of the Assembly[12], we will not deal with either of these in the Commentary, since this Order is so complex, and rich in symbolism and typology, that it would require a separate study. However, for the sake of continuity, we do include the Holy Week services connected with the Eucharist (i.e. the Eucharist on the Thursday before Easter, and the Order for the Holy Sacrament on Good Friday), since they concern more directly the Eucharist as celebrated in the ordinary congregations.

9. Lit. pp.251-2
10. Lit. pp.255-6; only involves the longer Proper of Oblation and the Apostolical Benediction.
11. Lit. pp.280-291.
12. Lit. pp.291-292.

As with the Eucharist, the references in the Commentary are not exhaustive, but point to the main sources, and to features underlying the composition of the Rite, which will be taken up more synthetically in Part III.

Chapter 8 : Commentary on Seasonal Forms

Three Seasons : 1863 (1858)

In 1858, this Form was issued for observance before each of the three main feasts (Christmas, Easter and Pentecost), as a period of preparation, in intercession for candidates for the holy ministry, as follows: (a) From 16th - 25th December; (b) From Wednesday in 5th week of Quadragesima, until the Wednesday before Easter; and (c) From the day after Ascension until the Friday before Pentecost. Most of the special prayers take place in the daily Offices, but on the last day of each season, there is a Form for a special celebration of the Eucharist. The source seems to be the Western Embertides.

The following is an extract from a letter sent from the College of Apostles to the Angels on the introduction of this Form: 'The Apostles, taking into consideration the frequent words of the Holy Ghost calling for servants to serve the Lord, and the great need there is for an increased number of ministers, resolve that they will set apart certain days previous to each of the three Feasts of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, for the purpose of especially beseeching Almighty God that he will prepare and send forth faithful and able men for the Preaching of the Gospel and for the perfecting of the saints. And particularly such Prophets and other ministers as may be associated with the Apostles in their work in the Universal Church', and here C.E. Lewis Heath gives the directions as to the form (Lecture, p.8).

Ordinations were not, however, restricted to these 'Seasons', and no person was allowed to be presented for ordination unless called to the Office (of whatever order) by the Holy Ghost through the prophet; and for this, the Service of Presentation and Dedication for the Holy Ministry was used (Reg pp.38ff, and 75). Lindsay-Grant states that special material was introduced in 1901 in the Season before Easter. No details are given

but Woodhouse had died on 3rd February, and all ordinations had ceased; thus the original purpose of the Form was no longer relevant. In 1913, a 'word' in Berlin directed that the Form would soon be brought to a close, and this was in fact decided upon in the following year, when a Conference at Albury (probably of Ministers of the Universal Church) discontinued all use of the Three Seasons in all Churches (Linsday Grant, pp. 60 and 67). Clearly, Cardale is adapting the practice of the ancient Church of Rome, adopted later by the other countries of the West, of holding 'Quattuor Tempora', as seasons for Intercession for Ordinations. Willis goes to some length to show the history of these 'Tempora', pointing out that they were originally related to the agricultural year, and that, being first three in number, the Lent Embertide was a later addition (Willis, Essays in Early Roman Liturgy pp. 51-97). Cardale, however, shows no penchant for adaptation of the agricultural year, indeed there is no 'Harvest Festival' as such; from the Lent, Pentecost (N.B. following Pentecost) September and December Embertides of the Ancient Roman Rite he makes 'Three Seasons', each coming before the Festival concerned, spreading the Forms over the other Offices of the service-book, with one Form for the Eucharist, and without any restriction on the time of Ordinations.

Collect: 1863 (1858); for 'O...Christ', cf Eph 4:11, Mt20:1, Eph4:13; possibly one of Cardale's best compositions for its succinctness, clarity, and use of scriptural imagery.

Epistle: 1851; Is6:1-8; used in Form in Particular Churches during Apostolic Councils, q.v.i. Ch.10; content also suitable for vocations.

Anthem after Epistle: 1863 (1858) v Ps123:3,4, 126:4-6; conforms to penitential and precatory nature of the Seasons.

Gospel: 1863 (1858): Mt9:35-end: again, suitable content for vocations.

Proper of Oblation: 1863 (1858): for 'Especially....saints', cf Prayer for Low Estate, and Prayer for All sorts and conditions of men, (B.C.P.) cf also Acl3:2, Eph4:12, 13: for 'send....gospel', cf Rom 15:29; Lkl:17; I Pet 2:12, Eph4:13; a neat adaptation of scriptural material to accommodate the hierarchy of the Church; first, Priests are prayed for in the Particular Churches under Angels; secondly, Angel-Prophets, Angel-Evangelists, and Angel-Pastors, in the Universal Church, under Apostles. The final section shows the purpose of the Restored Apostleship (preparation for the Second Coming), and a common apocalyptic theme (divinely instituted peace).

Communion Anthem: 1863 (1858): v Psl02:13-16.

Additional Post-Communion Prayer:1851: also used in Form for Imploring Blessing upon Labours of Evangelists, (Ch.10); and in the Form of the Tuesday after Pentecost (1875). This prayer was also appointed for use at Pentecost, in the same position, from 1906, according to written amendments in a copy of the Liturgy, and in Lindsay-Grant (p.63); this shows further liturgical expression of the cessation of ordinations after the death of Woodhouse.

Advent

With respectful contempt for the Western practice of making Advent a mournful season, Cardale asserts that the purpose of this season is to prepare for the Second Coming, which is an event which the whole world should await with joy (R.L.I. p.22).

Collect: 1842Alb (both):(i) for the week, v.i. Pentecost; (ii) for the Season, cf. Advent III (B.C.P.); Cardale acknowledges this source, states that it is suitable because eschatological, and he gives the term 'friends' a restrictive interpretation i.e. Apostles (R.L.I. p.56, II p.22). N.B.addressed to the Son (cf. Thursday before Easter, Pent. Tuesday).

Epistles: Advent I Rom 13:8 (1842Alb), cf. B.C.P.

Advent II Rom 15:4-13 (1842Alb), cf. B.C.P.

Advent III I Cor.4:1-5 (1842Alb), cf. B.C.P.

Advent IV Phil.4:4-7 (1842Alb), cf. B.C.P.

Anthem after Epistle: 1847; v. Is45:8, 16:1, 10:32; Cardale notes that the first part (Is45:8) is appointed in the Breviarium Romanum for use throughout Advent and the second part (Is16:1, 10:32) for use as the Introit for Advent III (R.L.I. p.59).

Gospels: Advent I Mt 21:1-13 (1842Alb), cf. B.C.P.

Advent II Lk 21:25-33 (1842Alb), cf. B.C.P.

Advent III Mt 11:2-10 (1842Alb), cf. B.C.P.

Advent IV Jn 1:19-28 (1842Alb), cf. B.C.P.

Proper Preface: 1847; cf Is35:10, Rev 3:10, II Cor 5:4; neither B.C.P. nor M.R. provide a Proper Preface for Advent, although recent revisions have ratified this in both cases (Alternative Services, Third Series, H.C. p.26, and M.R. Paul VI pp.393-4).

Proper of Oblation: 1847; cf Heb 13:15, Tit 2:11, 13, 14, Jam 5:20, II Pet 3:14; structure is discernible, even if the material is repetitive; of the forms for Advent in general, Cardale writes that they express 'faith in the work of Christ wrought at his first coming and hope in His salvation when He shall come again and gatherHis servants unto Himself and enter upon His kingdom, combined with prayers for preparation and grace to endure....' (R.L.I. p.23).

Communion Anthem: 1847; cf Prov 9:1,5, Rev 19:7, Lk 14:15; an interesting composition, as it sets the Wisdom Literature in a Christological and Eucharistic context; and the entire Anthem is pregnant with eschatological material.

Additional Post-Communion Prayer: 1847: for the opening section, cf. Prayer of Consecration in B.C.P. for the remainder, cf. Lk 21:28.

Christmas Eve : 1847

Special Introit: 1847: Roman 'Rorate Coeli' in A.V. English; not acknowledged by Cardale, who points to origins in Isaiah (R.L.II. p.25).

Collect: 1847: cf. Collect for Day, 'Deus qui nos redemptionis (MR), once more not acknowledged by Cardale.

Epistle: 1847: Tit 2:11-14: cf. first Mass of Christmas (M.R.).

Anthem after Epistle: 1847: cf Ho 6:3, Is 2:3, Is 59:20; considering Cardale's interpretation of Advent (and the Christmas Form) it is not surprising that here should be found such a compression of O.T. prophecy.

Gospel: 1847: Jn 3:13-19; original, but related to the purpose of the Incarnation.

Proper Preface: v.s. Advent.

Additional Post-Communion Prayer: 1847: cf Post-Communion for this day, 'Da nobis....' (M.R.), but here adapted and rearranged, and unacknowledged as to source.

Special Note: the whole Form shows an interesting adaptation of Roman elements with original features; N.B. use of first Mass of Christmas Epistle here on Christmas Eve, but the possible 'anticipation' of Christmas which this might engender is avoided by the apocalyptic 'Rorate Coeli' at the beginning; furthermore, the fact that this Hymn replaces the Gloria in excelsis would emphasise the latter as the 'Angelic Hymn', used on Christmas Day itself, as well as in the freak position as Anthem after the Creed in Evening Prayer for Christmas Eve (Lit. p.164).

Christmas Day : 1842Alb

Collect: 1842Alb: Cardale notes that it is taken 'principally' from B.C.P., and resembles that appointed in the Gregorian Sacramentary (R.L.II.p. 59nn). In fact, the B.C.P. Collect is a translation of the Collect in Lauds in the Mozarabic Breviary, which is probably an adaptation of the (older) Gregorian Collect for the Third Mass of Christmas (cf. Annotated B.C.P. p.240, and M.R.).

Epistle: 1842Alb: Heb 1:1-12: cf.B.C.P. and M.R. (also Third Mass).

Anthem after Epistle: 1847: v. Is 44:23, Ps 111:9; Cardale notes that it is taken primarily from Isaiah 44 (R.L.I. p.59): as a composition it coheres well, and focuses on the Incarnation as the sign of the beginning of the new covenant.

Special Hymn: 1847: traditional 'Adeste Fideles'; the only of two hymns appointed for specific liturgical use. Cardale describes it as 'literally translated' from the Latin, and prescribes the use of the Latin tune, for which his translation is adapted (R.L.I. p.59 and II. p.27). No other hymns were authorised until 1862, when the first edition of the Hymn-book was issued, a complete revision of which was authorised and issued in 1870, when better tunes were included giving 'adequate expression to the words without diverting the attention from the words to the music' (Lindsay-Grant pp.46 and 49).

Gospel: 1842Alb: Jn1:1-14: cf. B.C.P. and M.R.

Proper Preface: 1847: for 'who....Mary', cf. Christmas Preface, 'unto.... Lord', (B.C.P.); cf. also Is9:6, Lk2:11; for 'through...invisible', cf. Christmas Preface, 'quia per...rapiamur', (M.R.); Cardale adheres to the Roman order, but adapts in the latter section.

Proper of Oblation: 1847: cf. Heb 13:15, Lk1:80, IPet1:21, Eph4:13, N.B. quasi-penitential note on which this item ends, as if Cardale is determined to point beyond celebration of the Incarnation, in order to look forward to the Second Coming (v.i. Additional Post-Communion Prayer).

Apostolical Benediction: 1851: for 'who....darkness', cf. Gen 1:18; 'hath ...light', cf. IITim1:10; 'Almighty...Christ', cf. Christmas Preface, 'nova mentis....rapiamur'; 'in....infirmities', cf. Heb7:3, Heb2:17, Heb4:15; 'The Holy...Comforter', cf Te Deum, B.C.P.; 'The Lord....life', cf. Nicene Creed, (B.C.P.: N.B. insertion of 'the' from Creed in Liturgy); 'quickened...glory', cf. Col.2:13, II Cor.3:18. This compilation shows the same compression of Biblical (and liturgical) material already noted in the Common Apostolical Benediction.

Communion Anthem: 1847: v. Lk2:29-32 (Nunc Dimittis); appointed until after the Presentation, and is a new use of this Canticle; it has appeared in this position in recent years in experimental worship in Anglican Churches.

Additional Post-Communion Prayer: 1847: cf Phil.2:6, Heb.12:10; N.B. eschatological material, but referring directly to the new final resurrection life, rather than the parousia, which would be more usual for Cardale.

Octaves : Special Note

Cardale states that Octaves are enjoined under the Law (in anti-type), and used inthe Early Church; he quotes Durandus (Ration. lib. vii c.1) and compresses Durandus' lengthy argumentation into two reasons: (i) full celebration of the event and (ii) anticipation of its future consummation. (R.L.I. p. 60). We suggest that this underlies Cardale's whole understanding of 'anamnesis' in the Liturgy - the desire for inclusiveness

Cardale is writing in 1847; however, the term 'Octave' does not enter the Liturgy until 1869, all prescriptions previous to then being in the form of 'the Sunday after', probably B.C.P. in source. However, even so, the distribution of such 'Octaves' was a gradual process, and their emergence will be noted for date in each case.

Within the Octave of Christmas : 1853

The Christmas Form used throughout, except that 'Adeste Fideles' is not used, even at a sung celebration of the Eucharist; the Apostolical Benediction is (of course) only used in the presence of an Apostolic Minister.

The Day of the Circumcision: 1842Alb

Cardale defends the Circumcision on the grounds that it was Christ's submission to the Law, circumcision itself being a type of Baptism (R.L.I. pp. 127-33).

Collect: 1842Alb: word for word B.C.P. although unacknowledged.

Epistle: 1842Alb: Col.2:8-17; original, but related to circumision.

Anthem after Epistle: 1847: v. Is.9:2, Ps.97:1; the Isaiah text fits the context, and the Psalm adjunct continues the theme of light (R.L.I. p.62).

Gospel: 1842Alb: Lk.2:15-21; cf B.C.P. and M.R.

Proper of Oblation: 1847: cf I.Pet.2:13, Is.42:21, Gal. 4:5, Rom.2:29. Cardale writes: 'the Collect and Prayer of Oblation (= Proper of Oblation) and Post-Communion Prayer commemorate the obedience of the Saviour to this rite, and the blessings flowing to it from His obedience; and we implore on our behalf that we may receive the true circumcision of the Spirit, and may bring forth the fruits of His righteousness' (R.L.I. p.33).

Communion Anthem: v.s. Christmas Day

Additional Post-Communion Prayer: cf. Ac.15:24, Rom.3:24, II Cor.9:10; a neat and original collation.

Within the Octave of Circumcision: 1869

Provision is not made for any extension of the Circumcision celebration, either in Octave or Sunday after, until 1869, when the Liturgy prescribes an Octave (cf. also Lindsay-Grant, p.48).N.B. provision for Sunday following if it be the Octave-Day.

After the Octave of Circumcision until the Sunday before Easter: 1853

In all editions until Scottish 1861, the Sundays after Circumcision are reckoned 'after Christmas'; neither usage has precedent - the latter one was probably deemed the more convenient. Similarly, the Sundays in Quadragesima were reckoned Quadragesima Sunday, and 1st, 2nd etc. Sundays 'after' Quadragesima until 1851.

Collect: 1847: cf. Epiphany VI (B.C.P.): the choice seems to have two reasons; first, it appears in the Anglican original at an appropriate time (interim between Christmas and Easter), and secondly, the eschatological material (N.B. apocalyptic theme of 'purity'). The length becomes standard for Cardale's original compositions.

Epistles: 1842Alb: (except Quad.II)

Second Sunday after Circumcision	:	Rom.12:1-15: cf. Epiph.I, B.C.P.
Third	"	"	"	: Rom.12:6-16: cf. Epiph.II, B.C.P.
Fourth	"	"	"	: Rom.12:16-end: cf. Epiph.III, B.C.P.
Fifth	"	"	"	: Rom.13:1-7: cf.Epiph.IV, B.C.P.
Sixth	"	"	"	: Col.3:12-17: cf. Epiph.V, B.C.P.
Seventh	"	"	"	: IJn.3:1-8: cf. Epiph.VI, B.C.P.

Septuagesima : I.Cor.9:24-end: cf. B.C.P.

Sexagesima: I.Cor.11:19-31: cf. B.C.P.

Quinquagesima: I.Cor.13: cf. B.C.P.

Quadragesima I: II.Cor.6:1-10: cf. Lent.I, B.C.P.

" II: II.Pet.1:1-16: original, though with material corresponding to I.Thes.4:1-8 (B.C.P.), which was the Epistle until 1853: cf. Gospel.

" III: Eph.5:1-14: cf. Lent.III, B.C.P.

" IV: Gal.4:21-end: cf. Lent.IV, B.C.P.

" V: Heb.9:11-15: cf. Lent.V,B.C.P.

Anthem after Epistle: v.s. Circumcision; the spreading of this Anthem throughout the Season prolongs the celebration of the Incarnation, and also denies any form of Lent.

Gospels: 1842Alb (except Quad.II).

Second Sunday after Circumcision: Lk.2:41-end: cf. Epiph.I B.C.P.

Third " " " : Jn.2:1-11: cf. Epiph.II, B.C.P.

Fourth " " " : Mt.8:1-13: cf. Epiph.III, B.C.P.

Fifth " " " : Mt.8:23-end: cf. Epiph.Iv, B.C.P.

Sixth " " " : Mt.13:24-30: cf.Epiph.V,B.C.P.

Seventh " " " : Mt.24:23-31: cf.Epiph VI, B.C.P.

Septuagesima: Mt.20:1-16: cf. B.C.P.

Sexagesima: Lk.8:4-15: cf. B.C.P.

Quinquagesima: Lk.18:31-end: cf. B.C.P.

Quadragesima I: Mt.4:1-11: cf. Lent.I, B.C.P.

" II: Mt.17:1-9: cf. Lent.II, M.R.:until 1853, the Anglican Lection (Lk.22:39-end) had been used, but 'ancient tradition' (= Roman usage) on the Transfiguration Narrative caused the change (Lindsday-Grant p.38).

" III: Lk.11:14-28: cf. Lent.III, B.C.P.

Quadragesima IV: Jn.6:1-14: cf. Lent.IV, B.C.P.

" V: Lk.4:13-22: original, but material marks beginning of Galilee Ministry, thus establishing the chronology of temptation (Quad.I), Galilee Ministry (Quad.V), Jerusalem (Sunday before Easter); there is no hint of 'Passiontide'.

Lectionary: Special Note

Basically Anglican, all readings dating from 1842Alb, except those for Quad.II, which are altered in 1853 to fit in with ancient precedent; the Epistle Reading may have been introduced through 'Apostolic' authority. These two are the only alterations to the Lectionary, except for the Gospel of the Thursday before Easter, also altered in 1853.

Presentation in the Temple : 1847

Cardale traces the history of the observance of this day, and defends it as (among other things) the day on which Our Lady fulfilled the Law (R.L.II.pp.33-44). Although the Roman observance of this day at the time of Cardale was that of the Purification of Our Lady (M.R.), the revision of the Roman Rite has reverted to the more ancient title (M.R. Paul VI p. 522).

Collect: 1847: cf. Collects in B.C.P. and M.R., which Cardale notes in reference to his adaptation (R.L.II. p.44).

Epistle: 1847: Mal.3:1-5: cf. B.C.P., M.R.

Anthem After Epistle: 1847: v. Lk.1:45, Hag.2:7, Jn.1:14; this composition, extraordinary in source-use, 'puts into the mouth of the Church a song of triumphal hope in anticipation of that second coming in glory, when the Son shall be revealed in the glory of the kingdom' (R.L.II.p.44)

Gospel: 1847: Lk.2:22-40; c.f. B.C.P., M.R.

Proper of Oblation: 1847: cf. Lk.2:25, Rom.8:23, Col.1:12: for 'they.... saints', cf. Confession in Eucharist.

Communion Anthem; 1847: v.s. Christmas Day.

Additional Post-Communion Prayer: 1847: cf. Lk.2:26, Rom.9:9, Rev.20:6, re-echoing the petition of the Proper of Oblation (R.L.II. p.44).

Within the Octave of Presentation : 1869

No provision for use of any part of Form on succeeding days until 1869, when the Octave was instituted (as cf. Circumcision and All Saints' Day). N.B. (i) Collect of Season takes precedence on Sunday only and not said on week-days, and (ii) direction that Sunday after, if the Octave Day, is not to be observed as such.

Sunday before Easter : 1842Alb

Collect: 1842Alb: cf. Good Friday Collec t No. 1 (B.C.P.); Cardale accepts a form of Passion-tide, but confines it to one week before Easter, and therefore not in the full traditional way. It is often referred to as 'Passion-week' in the writings of the Church.

Epistle: 1842Alb: Phil.2:5-11: cf. B.C.P.

Anthem after Epistle: 1847: v. Ps.8:1-5: not found in any of the old service-books of Western or Eastern Churches, but Cardale affirms that it expresses in asuitable way the acceptance of praise by Jesus Christ when the Phariseesmurmur ed against the Hosannas with which the people of Jerusalem acclaimed him(Mt.21:15-17: R.L.II. p.49).

Gospel: 1842Alb: Mt.21:1-17; cf. Advent I, material that of Palm Gospel (M.R. but only Mt.21:1-9).

Proper Preface: 1847: cf. I Pet.3:18, Is.53:5, I Pet.2:24.

Communion Anthem: 1847: v. Rom.6:4, Mt. 21:9; Cardale notes that the 'apolutikon' in the Byzantine Horologion uses the same material (R.L.II.p.49 cf. Horologion, pp.726).

Passion-week Epistles and Gospels from 1842Alb - 1847

In the fully-printed copies of the Liturgy of 1843, Epistles and Gospels appear for the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday before Easter, none of which bear any resemblance to Anglican or older Roman systems. It is not clear exactly when these Lections were discontinued. The earliest-recoverable Table of Lections dealing with both Offices and Eucharist dates from 1851, when these special Readings do not occur, nor do they appear in the 1847 or Scottish 1850 editions. We suggest,therefore, that they were discontinued in 1847.

- Monday Epistle: Is.63; passion theme in Trito-Isaiah.

  Monday Gospel: Mt.21:18-24; continues Sunday narrative.

- Tuesday Epistle: Is.50:5-end; passion theme in Deutero-Isaiah.

  Tuesday Gospel: Mt.21:33-end; continues Monday narrative.

- Wednesday Epistle: Heb.9:16-end; nature of Christ's sacrifice compared with those of the Law.

  Wednesday Gospel: Mt. 26:1-16; annointing at Bethany.

This is an original collation of Passion-theme texts, exemplifying Cardale's understanding of the week before Easter, in connection with which cf. the recent Joint Liturgical Group, Holy Week Services, pp.20ff.

Thursday before Easter : 1842Alb

Cardale emphasises the importance of the annual commemoration of the Last Supper in the Eucharistic celebration, directing that as many as possible should attend, and noting that on this day the ancient Church absolved penitents (R.L.II. p.50: cf. Tyrer, Historical Survey of Holy Week,

pp. 86-92.) The Eucharist on this day must be held after Afternoon Service, usually at 5 p.m. (Rub.E. p.58,Rub.S. p.47).

Collect: 1847:(the previous edition (1842Alb, followed by 1843) prescribes the Collect for the Sunday before Easter.) cf. Aquinas Collect for Corpus Christi, which Cardale adapts ('in Thy last Supper'), and translates fully the meaning of 'ut redemptionis tuae fructum in nobis jugiter sentiamus', although somewhat in an over-translation, 'that we may continually receive the full fruition' (cf. 'perceive within ourselves', B.C.P. Scot 1929, p. 324). For 'a perpetual...again', cf. Prayer of Consecration, B.C.P. Cardale does not employ any equivalent to the Roman feast other than today's celebration; this Collect shows his usual adaptative hand, and his rendering of the Latin is of a very high standard. N.B. addressed to Son (c.f. Advent, Pentecost Tuesday).

Epistle: 1842Alb: I Cor.11:17-end; cf. B.C.P., and M.R. (where I Cor.11:17-20).

Anthem after Epistle: 1847: v. Ps.103:1-5; source not mentioned by Cardale, nor content; Considering the Oriental origin of the Communion Anthem of the Sunday before Easter, the Anthem after Epistle of Good Friday, the special V. and R. in the Forenoon Service of Easter Eve (R.L.I. pp. 135-6), this compilation we suggest is drawn from the First Antiphon (Common) in Chrys, where these verses are used, albeit in adapted form (Brightman p.364).

Gospel: 1853: Jn.13; cf. M.R; from 1842Alb until 1851 editions, Lk.23:39-end prescribed (for which cf. Ik.23:1-end, B.C.P.) N.B. (i) Passion narrative of older editions inappropriate in view of Last Supper commemoration prevalent throughout this Form; (ii) this is the third of the three sole alterations in the Lectionary, and together with the others (v.s. Quadragesima II), occurs in 1853.

Proper Preface: v.s. Sunday before Easter.

Proper of Oblation: 1847: cf. Corpus Christi Collect, 'qui..... reliquisti' (M.R.); cf. also Heb.4:14, Heb.8:3, Ps.19:14; an original composition.

Communion Anthem: 1847: v. Lk.22:15-16, Jn.14:27a, 12:27a, 14:27c; Cardale acknowledges the book and chapter of the Johannine material but not the precise verse-source; however, he does stress that the words are taken from what Jesus said at the Last Supper, thereby implicitly commending their suitability in this position and on this occasion (R.L.II. p.50). This is the most complex Anthem as regards source, and because it coheres well, linguistically, we suggest that it is derived from words of prophecy, at any rate from the charismatic ministry.

Additional Post-Communion Prayer: 1847: for 'who...herbs', cf. Exod 12:8, Num.9:11; 'who...Lamb', cf. Easter Preface, B.C.P.; 'in....Name', cf. Confession in B.C.P. Communion. Cardale justifies the reference to the bitter herbs (an original feature) by asserting that these were the type of the sufferings of Christ. N.B. sorrow of this prayer, and the consequential absence of eschatolcgical material (R.L.II. pp.50-51).

Special Anthem I: 1847: Ps.2. Cardale omits any discussion of the suitability of this Psalm in this position, and writes as if to prescribe the 'Song of Moses' both here and after the Passion Reading (R.L.II. pp.64-65). However, the material in the Psalm appointed here is suitable for the occasion, since it concentrates on the two main ideas of the Thursday before Easter in this Form, (both in the Eucharist and in the ensuing Passion commemoration); the eternal nature of the ministry of the Messiah, set over against the sin of man.

During this Anthem, all ministers in the Upper Choir leave their seats and stand in front of them. The Deacons appointed go to the Sanctuary; and some of them go to the Table of Prothesis, and stand facing inwards, those at the Table first taking up the vessels etc., from it. Deacons not assisting leave their seats and stand in front of them. The Celebrant hands the vessel(s) containing consecrated wine to the Assistant(s) and himself takes the vessel containing consecrated bread. He goes to the Sacristy followed by the Assistants; then the Homilist (if a Priest), and the Sub-Assistants; then all the ministers in the Upper Choir, the Homilist (if a Deacon), then the Deacons with the vessels, etc., followed by the other Deacons. When the Celebrant has left the Church, the Deacons appointed extinguish the three lamps, removing the white covering from the Altar; they may then cover it with a purple or black cloth. They also remove the censer-stand and all cloths etc., from the Table of Prothesis, and follow to the Sacristy. All return in the same order. The Celebrant and Assistants go to their places at the Altar, all others to their seats. A Deacon places the book for the Reading appointed upon the Gospel Lectern. After the 'Gloria Patri' the Celebrant goes to that Lectern, and the Assistants to the south side at the Epistle Lectern, standing facing the Gospel Lectern, the Senior Assistant being on the right (Rub.E. p.58, Rub.S. pp.47-8).

Special Reading: 1847:Jn.14, 15, 16, 17: continues narrative from Gospel of Day, and probably partly caused adoption of Jn.13 as Gospel in 1853; the correspondence here seems to be with the 'mandatum' for which cf. Schmidt's fully-documented history (Hebdomada Sancta II, pp.763ff). Of the Rites cited for his synopsis (op.cit. pp.763-4) and examination (op.cit. pp.765ff)the oldest, the Romano-Germanic Pontifical of the 10th C. has Jn.13:1-15 as the Gospel of the Day, and, in the middle of the various Antiphons and Responaries in the 'mandatum' which follows the Mass, directs

Jn.13:16-17:26 to be read, continuing the narrative from where it had been left at the end of the liturgical Gospel. Moreover, as Schmidt's synopsis shows, this is the only example from the Mediaeval books of the long narrative from the Johannine Passion being read on this occasion; he was clearly attracted by it, and proposed it in 1953 at the Liturgical Congress at Lugano, for use during Exposition of the Sacrament after Mass on this day (op.cit.p.776). Cardale's usage combines two things; (i) a Passion Reading which he regards as unsuitable for the Eucharist itself, (ii) the traditional Western 'mandatum', during which the foot-washing takes place, in the Tridentine Rite, after the Mass (Holy Week Book p.163), and therefore in the same position as the Reading in our Liturgy. As regards Schmidt's proposal at Lugano, there is no question of Cardale's Reading being used as a devotion to the Reserved Sacrament, which in any case is in the Sacristy at this point. The source for content is obviously the Romano-Germanic Pontifical, and for position, the old Roman 'mandatum'; the outcome is an interesting production. During the Reading, the congregation may stand or sit. (Rub.E. p.58, Rub.S. p.48).

Special Anthem II: 1847: v. Exod. 15:1-18: called 'The Song of Moses' by Cardale, who ascribes its appropriateness to the traditional association with Moses' thanksgiving for the Passover (the type of the Eucharist), and the 'hymn' (Mt. 26:30, Mk. 14:26) sung by Jesus and the disciples before they went out to the Mount of Olives (R.L.II. p.65). Celebrant and Assistants go to the Altar for this Anthem (Rub.E. p.58, Rub.S. p.48). The erstwhile Anglican, W.H.B. Proby, who became an Elder in the Islington Church, notes that this Canticle forms in the Sarum Breviary, and also in the Roman, a part of Lauds for this day, and is also to be found in the Byzantine Lauds for Sunday and Monday of this week (The Canticles of the Old Testament, pp.4-5); Cardale mentions none of these sources.

Special Note on Ceremonies

Cardale once more shows his originality in adapting traditional observances to his own penchant for typology and liturgical antiquarianism. The Eucharist is celebrated in the evening, a liturgical observance of ancient precedent (first known in the West in Africa: Tyrer, op. cit. pp.112-5), and the consecrated elements are carried 'in solemn procession' simultaneously with the stripping of the Altar and the Table of Prothesis. The place for deposit of the Sacrament is the Sacristy, not the 'Altar of Repose' (i.e. a Side-altar, in this case: cf. Martinucci, II pp.185-198). The ceremonial seems to be a functional simplification of the corresponding Roman ceremonies, although the procession involving all Ministers (Angel to Deacons), with the corresponding one for bringing in the Sacrament on the following day, is the only one described in the Rubrics.

Looking at the shape of these concluding ceremonies, the correspondence with the Roman Rite seems to be as follows: Ps.2 instead of Pangue Lingua; Jn.14, 15, 16, 17 instead of 'mandatum'; and Exod. 15:1-18 instead of 'watch' at the Altar of Repose. The evolution is not complex, since the ceremonial outlined appears in the Books of Rubrics of both 1852 (pp.38-39), and 1862 (pp.36-37). The black cloth, a curious custom, appears in the Scottish Rubrics only, and is optional.

Good Friday : 1842Alb-1847

Cardale defends the Liturgy of the Presanctified (R.L.II.p.51-64) investigating the evidence as far as it was available to him, from the Gregorian Sacramentary (R.L.II.p.51) to Leo Allatus (R.L.II.p.53) and he also describes in detail the Byzantine Rite in this connection (R.L.I. pp.400-1), where he connects this observance with the Daily Communion after Morning Prayer, itself a form of the Liturgy of the Presanctified, (Lit.p.63),

As regards evolution, the 1842Alb and 1843 books simply provide an Epistle and Gospel (the same ones as later), but nothing is given by way of a full Form; this, together with the Epistles and Gospels supplied in those books for each day in Holy Week, suggests that there was a Daily Celebration until 1847, since there is no evidence for 'Ante-Communion'.

The title of the Liturgy shows Cardale's originality again, and in surveying Roman and Byzantine observances of this day, points to similarities and dissimilarities with his own; the singing of the Reproaches, the Reading of the Passion, and the Communion (R.L.II. pp.66-68). (We will show below the correspondence between the Roman 'Orationes Solemnes' and the Prayers of Intercession). For this service, the Ministers in the sanctuary are the same as for Sunday, except that the Chasuble, Dalmatics, and Stoles worn may be either black or dark purple (Rub.E. p.155, Rub.S. p.49).

Invocation to Prayer of Approach: 1847

A shortened version of the introduction in the Eucharist; the confession is unnecessary since the Eucharist is notabout to be celebrated and a previous confession has already been offered at the beginning of the Forenoon Service (R.L.II.p.73).

Special Introit: 1847-1853

Cardale attacks the title 'Reproaches' traditionally given to this Anthem; 'and surely, on all such occasions the purpose and intent in our minds should be to extract from them (The Jews) a lesson for ourselves' (R.L.II. p.74). Cardale's version differs from the Roman on three counts (i) the Trisagion is not in Greek and English; (ii) the addition is made of 'miserable sinners' as in the Litany (Lit. p.88), and doubtless Anglican in origin. The name Antiphon is inaccurate, strictly speaking, but may be derived from Cardale's usage, outlined in R.L.II. p.74, and in the

directions in the text, where the congregation take up the refrain each time; (iii) the position is different - the Roman Improperia came during the veneration of the Cross: Cardale adapts it for use as the Introit, as it occupies the same position as would the Gloria at a full Eucharist.

At the time of writing (1852), the edition in use prescribes the Trisagion only after the first three of the quatrains; after this date Cardale made further alterations, the refrain being changed to a repetition of the first two lines of the first quatrain ('O...me') after the remaining quatrains, on the grounds that it is a more fitting acclamation of the people (R.L.II. p.76). However, in 1853, and all subsequent editions, the Roman formulais adopted, the Trisagion being sung after every quatrain. In spite of the earlier complication, Cardale's arrangement is simpler than the Roman one, and is better suited to congregational participation.

Collect: v.s. Sunday before Easter; in 1842Alb and 1843, this same Collect is used all through the week (including Easter Eve) but in 1847, special Collects appear for the Thursday before Easter and Easter Eve. This development throws light on the nature of Holy Week; the Collect embodies the theme of the passion, but is replaced on the two occasions when a more specific commemoration is made which rises above that theme.

Epistle: 1842Alb; Heb.10:1-25; cf. B.C.P.

Anthem after the Epistle: 1847: Cardale ascribes this to the 'dismission' Anthem in Byzantine Mattins for this day, except the last two lines, which are from the 'Kontakion' for Good Friday (R.L.II. p.77: cf. Horologion. p.732); cf. also Gal. 3:13.

Gospel: 1842Alb; Jn.19:1-37; cf. B.C.P., the Johannine narrative continued, chapters 13-19 read in the Eucharist on the previous day and in the Liturgy of this day, with the exception of ch. 18.

Ps.51: 1847: unparalleled, although content suitable for occasion; part of it survives in the Roman Rite of Asperges (M.R.). The Psalm is sung kneeling, during which the Angel, and Assistants, followed by the other Priests and Deacons, go to the Sacristy and convey the holy Sacrament (deposited there on the previous day), together with the other vessels required for Communion, into the Church, returning in solemn procession in the same order. The Angel goes to the altar, places the Sacrament and vessels thereon, in the same manner as after the Consecration on the Lord's Day, so arranging that this act shall be complete at the end of the Gloria after the Psalm. (Rub.E. p.61, Rub.S. p.51). This ceremony dates from 1847, and is described in the Rubrics of 1852 (pp.40-41), and 1862 (pp.38-40). The origin seems to be Roman, where a procession is made to the altar of Repose, and the Sacrament taken to the high altar (Martinucci I pp.271-2). But Cardale's directions involve more formality in that they require all the ministers to take part in the procession (not just the Celebrant and Assistants, as in the Roman Rite), and this is an original feature. Furthermore, the fact that the Angel leads is another indication of Cardale's idiosyncrasy, already noted in the case of the entrance of ministers at the beginning of the Eucharist.

'Orate Fratres':1847:Cardale attaches significance to the fact that there is no Response (as in the Eucharist), simply an Amen, whichin fact is the Response used in the Eucharist of 1842Alb and 1843 books. Cardale writes: 'this response seems more suitable to the act now about to be fulfilled, which is not that of consecrating the Holy Eucharist, but of presenting before God the Sacrament already consecrated' (R.L.II. p.77). This is interesting on two counts; first, it throws further light on the doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice, where the preconsecrated gifts are presented to God once more, because, although they had been so presented the previous evening (when they were about to be consecrated), the offering is being

repeated; secondly, the Tridentine Roman Rite (Holy Week Book, p.230), unlike the revision under Pius XII (Holy Week Manual p.176) prescribes the Orate Fratres without any response, and this may well be Cardale's source. Although Tyrer is silent on Mediaeval examples of the Orate Fratres, Schmidt gives three examples of its use on Good Friday (the Roman Missal of the 13th C, the Pontifical of the Roman Curia of the 13th C. and the Lateran Missal of c.1230, op.cit. pp. 803, 804 and 608), and one example of its not being used, i.e. when it would be used at an ordinary Mass, the Pontifical of William Durandus, c. 1293-5 (op.cit. p.805); but unfortunately it is not clear whether the Response is made or not, and it is a pity that Schmidt does not deal with this small, but not uninteresting point, in his exhaustive survey. Schmidt has, however, indicated in correspondence with the writer that no doctrinal speculations should be made on the absence of response in the Mediaeval books unless it is made explicit by commentators - which clearly it is not. This does not, of course, compromise Cardale's position on the matter.

There is thus a double instance of 'Baumstarck's Law' both in our Rite and in the Western Rite. In Cardale's Liturgy, the older formula for the 'Orate Fratres' survives on Good Friday, and is given a new meaning, in terms of the Eucharistic sacrifice. In the Western Rite, the older form (in the pre-Pius XII form, if not also in its Mediaeval predecessors) survives on Good Friday by accident.

Lord's Prayer: 1847: Since what follows is the equivalent of the 'Orationes Solemnes' of the Roman Rite, and since Cardale chooses to place them in the pre-Communion position (rather than in the ancient position, before the Offertory), we suggest that this is an example of antiquarianism and consistency; antiquarian in that special prayers are composed for this occasion, along the lines of the 'Orationes Solemnes'; consistent in that

the prayers are offered in a position parallel with the Commemorations in the Eucharist, viz. while the consecrated gifts are on the altar, and before the Communion. It is, however, curious to note that in the Roman Rite, the Lord's Prayer follows immediately on the Orate Fratres, although we assumethat this parallelism of position is coincidental (R.L.II. p.77).

The Prayers: 1847

(1) 'Almighty and everlasting God': 1847. on reoffering of consecrated gifts, v.s. Invitatory (Orate Fratres); 'even...salvation', cf. Eucharist, Prayer of Oblation after Consecration, for same wording; 'we...cross', cf. Consecration Prayer, 'who....again' (B.C.P.); cf. also Rom.6:9, Heb.7:25; 'casting....cross' - an indirect reference to the Veneration of the Cross, to which Cardale alludes, R.L.II. pp.53n, 66-7; 'have....behalf', cf. again Prayer of Oblation after Consecration, and B.C.P. Confession, ('And ...offences'). N.B. (i) Most of this prayer is contained in that offered by the Angel at the Proposition of the Sacrament at Morning and Evening Prayer, before the Intercession in both these Offices; since the Proposition and the prayer datefrom 1851, here is direct influence from the (original) Good Friday prayer (cf. Lit. pp. 52,70); (ii) source-material from the Prayer of Oblation after Consecration and B.C.P. as well as Biblical references; and (iii) intercessory language, to introduce the prayers following.

(2) 'O Almighty God, who hast purchased': 1847: cf. Ember Week Prayer I, B.C.P. (Almighty.....Son'), Ac.20:28, Dt. 14:2, Ps.119:15, Eph.4:13, Trinity XVIII Collect, B.C.P. ('withstand....devil'), Eph.5:27. N.B. apocalyptic themes of the holy people, purity, peace and (in general) eschatology; Cardale describes this prayer as for 'the whole congregation of the faithful - the collective body of all who believe - the Church militant upon earth' (R.L.II. p.78).

(3) 'O Almighty God, unto whom': 1847. cf. IK6:23-24, Rev. 4:8, B.C.P. Prayer for Clergy and People ('pour....blessing'), Eph. 4:11 (cf. also Prayer for Ministers of Universal Church, in Eucharist, Ch 6). Cardale points out the fourfold ministry typified by the Cherubim (for which v. R.L.II.pp.49ff) and the divine nature of the call of Apostleship (R.L.II. pp.78-9). This prayer contains a high degree of original material.

(4) 'O eternal God, in whose presence': 1847: cf. Is.6:2, Ps.104:4, cf. also Eucharist, Commemoration of Living, (2) and (3), forsimilar material. N.B. This prayer expresses the underlying authority of apostles in all the Churches as claimed by them and comes immediately after the prayer for all the people. Cardale interprets the seraphim as typical of the office of Angel (R.L.I. pp.177ff). He ascribes this also to the Bishops of the Churches as received from the first Apostles, but their ministry is only fulfilled when themselves ministered to by Apostles, as now by Cardale and his colleagues (R.L.II. p.80). Once again, the relationship between the new Church and the Churches at large can be seen in liturgical form; the one accepts the other, even prays for it, but nevertheless claims authority over it.

(5) 'O God, who hast provided for the service': 1847: cf. Rom.12:13, Ember Week Prayer II, B.C.P. ('who...Church'), cf. also Eucharist, Commemoration of Living (3).
N.B. amidst the rich Biblical imagery, three features emerge; (i) the orders of Priest and Deacon are divinely ordained; (ii) they serve the altar, in the conduct of worship; and (iii) they care for the needs of the people, in a way more immediate than the Angel.

(6) 'O Almighty and most merciful Father': 1847: cf. Daily Office Confession, ('Almighty....Father'). Ember Week Prayer I B.C.P. (who..Son') I Pet.5:9, Rom.15:13; cf. also Eucharist, Commemoration of Living (3) for similar material relating to the congregations. N.B. references to the gifts of the spirit refer to what is termed 'the exercise of spiritual gifts'. But the fact that this item is given a separate prayer altogether is significant (in the Eucharist it is appended to the prayer for priesthood and diaconate); unlike (2) above (which is addressed to God on behalf of all the faithful), it is for those in the congregations gathered under the restored Apostleship.

(7) 'O most merciful Father, who hast ordained': 1847; cf. I Tim.6:14, Mk.13:27 Holy Week Book, p.220 ('auge....aggregentur'), Rom.10:10.

Cardale describes this prayer as for 'candidates for Baptism' (R.L.II. p.80). In the Eucharist, no provision is made for intercession for Catechumens, but rather for the education of children; it seems clear from the Roman source used here, that Cardale is indulging in antiquarianism, and is adapting his source to refer to the unbelieving non-baptised, whereas the Roman prayer deals with the believing non-baptised, no doubt dating from a very ancient time; there is, however, a service for the 'Dedication of Catechumens', which dates from 1851 (Lit. pp. 335-341).

(8) 'O Almighty God, who didst call out Thy Church': 1847: cf. Prayer for all Sorts and Conditions of Men B.C.P. ('all...Christians'),Gal.5:20, Rom.12:5, Jn.10:30, Holy Week Book, p.221 ('respice...unitatem'); cf. also Eucharist, Commemoration of Living (2) for similar material. Cardale does not describe this as a prayer for unity, but more specifically links it with the Prayer for the Low Estate of the Church, in the

Eucharist, Commemoration of Living 5), as follows: '....a prayer that God would have mercy upon the Church in her present divided condition; that those who profess Christianity may be made one in Christ; and that those who have forsaken the Church may be restored to the fold' (R.L.II. p.80). This is one of the most remarkable (and perhaps the most beautiful) of Cardale's compositions, in that it points to unity as a mystery of God, and to disunity as a condition of the Church for which all parts thereof should be penitent; contrast the bombastic prayer in the Roman Rite on this occasion (Holy Week Book p.221) which survived the Pius XII revision (Holy Week Manual p.130), but which was completely remodelled at the order of Pope John XXIII, along with the prayers for the conversion of Jews and unbelievers. For 1847, therefore, the kind of thinking in our Rite was well ahead of its time.

(9) 'O merciful Father, the comfort of those who are in sorrow': 1847: cf. Holy Week Book p.221 ('Omnipotens....clamentium'), Holy Week Book p.221 ('infirmantibus sanitatem'), Ps. 9:9; cf. also Ch.6, Eucharist Commemoration of Living, 3) for similar material. Cardale cleverly adapts the bidding and the Collect from the Roman original.

(10) 'O God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob': 1847: cf. Gen.32:9, Good Friday Collect III, ('have....Israelites'), Jn.17:24, B.C.P. Good Friday Collect I ('given...cross'); N.B. mode of editing B.C.P. material, and the apocalytpic theme of the remnant.

(11) 'O God and Father of all the families of the earth' 1847: cf. I Tim.2:4, Holy Week Book p.222 ('suscipe...cultura'), Holy Week Book p.222 ('convertantur...nostrum'):
N.B. editing of Roman material.

Collect: 'Receive, we beseech Thee': 1847: a new composition: cf.Eucharist, Prayer of Oblation after Consecration, for similar material; N.B. (i) Cardale appreciates the relationship between Collect and Prayer, hence the headings given; (ii) this Collect emphasises the Intercessory aspect of the Liturgy on this occasion; in Morning and Evening Prayer, the Proposition of the Sacrament, with its subsequent Intercessions, is quite distinct from the Administration of Communion from the Tabernacle after Morning and Evening Prayer. It appears that here, in 1847, Cardale has developed the Liturgy of the Presanctified with the Prayers from two distinct originals in 1842Alb - the Administration of Communion on Sunday Afternoon, and the Commemoration of the Living in the Eucharist. And the Proposition of the Sacrament at Morning and Evening Prayer, which is outside the scope of this work, is yet a further development (1851). The Rubrics direct that the opening Prayer (1) and the Collect are to be offered by the Celebrant, and the intervening Prayers by two Priests (preferably Elders), alternately, as suggested in the Eucharist at the Commemorations of the Living and Departed (Rub.E. p.61 Rub.S. p.51).

The Prayers: A Note

Eucharist	Good Friday	Roman Good Friday
1. Ministers of U.Church	All God's People	All God's People
2. Angels	Ministers of U.Ch.	Pope
3. Priests, Deacons and People	Angels & Bishops	Bishop
4. Bishops	Priests & Deacons	All Orders
5. Low Esate	People	Emperor
6. Penitents	Non-Baptised	Catechumens
7. Possessed	Unity	Suffering
8. Kings & Rulers	Suffering	Schismatics
9. Peace	Jews	Jews
10. Children	Pagans	Pagans
11. Spread of Gospel		
12. Good Weather		
13. Suffering		
14. Dying		

As can be seen, Cardale relies for both topical and linguistic sources on the Commemoration of the Living in the Eucharist for 2-5 (in our Commentary, Prayers 3-6), and on the Roman 'Orationes Solemnes' for 1,6-10 (Prayers 2, 7-11). The order and interpolations are self-explanatory from the table above. The important adaptation is the inversion from Roman Suffering and Schismatics, to Cardale's Unity and Suffering; it is thus clear that Cardale does not view the division of Christendom as a schism from the truth (and therefore under the category of suffering) as in the old Roman Rite, but rather as a condition of the Church, a sin shared by all.

Remainder of the Liturgy

'We do not presume': v. Eucharist, Prayer to the Father.

'Lamb of God' v. Eucharist, Prayer to the Son.

When the Sacrament is brought from the Sacristy, it is arranged on the altar as after the Consecration in the Eucharist, i.e. with the chalice in the centre, behind the paten, and with the remaining vessels on either side. The vessels are prepared for the Communion immediately after the Collect, as directed in the service, and the Communion follows after the 'Lamb of God'. The subsequent direction that each communicant should leave the Church after he has received Communion is a novel feature, with pastoral and dramatic import; pastoral in that it does what the direction says - each person should meditate on the Passion; dramatic in that it brings the Liturgy to a close in a vacuum, drawing a marked contrast with the Eucharist on the previous evening and the Eucharist on the following days.

Provision is made for Churches where a Eucharist on the Thursday is not possible; in such cases, a Priest from the Mother Church (or some central Church) may convey to such a dependency on Good Friday a sufficient portion

of the Sacrament consecrated on the previous evening. (Rub.E. p.62, Rub.S. p.51). This shows that the Good Friday Liturgy was regarded as of primary importance to the Holy Week worship of the Church.

The Good Friday Liturgy : A Note

We have already described the origin of the different parts of this complex Rite, and the quasi-accidental way in which these parts either point to earlier usage or influence later practice. Because of this, we suggest that for Cardale the Liturgy for this day was very important indeed, both pastorally and liturgically, and that for its richness and complexity of source-use, it is a most remarkable compilation. As with the Eucharist, the Liturgy for this day exemplifies the characteristic features of structure, length and originality. Antiquarians have long been interested in the way in which the 'Orationes Solemnes'have been preserved in the Roman Rite on this day (Baumstarck, Liturgie Comparée, p.30). But Cardale is not esoteric in his use of the sources, andshows a very discriminating mind in the way he composes liturgical material. In the Liturgy for this day are combined liturgical scholarship (the Improperia, and the Liturgy of the Presanctified), as well as pastoral considerations (simplicity of content, amidst richness of imagery), which combine to make an intelligible and liturgically sound composition. Cardale may reject the dramatic representations of the traditional Holy Week, but he certainly sees the week as a unity, especially from the Thursday to Easter Day, with each service playing an important part in the celebration of the central acts of the economy of salvation.

Easter Eve : 1847

In prescribing the celebration of the Holy Eucharist on this occasion, Cardale departs from primitive practice, which always observed both this and the preceding day as 'aliturgical'. However, in Cardale's time, the Easter Vigil Celebrations were anticipated right into the early morning of Holy Saturday. (Tyrer, op.cit. pp.133-140, 143-174). We suggest three reasons; (i) Cardale may associate this day with Christmas Eve (the Form for which relies heavily on the Roman first Mass of Christmas) and might see both days as preparatory to the great celebrations of the morrow, (ii) Cardale may understand the Easter Vigil as an anticipation of the morrow, thus warranting a celebration of the Eucharist in his own Liturgy; and (iii) (the reason which Cardale himself puts forward) Holy Saturday is the 'anniversary of the day when the Lord was laid in the tomb and His Spirit was in 'Hades' (R.L.II. p.136); this latter is the theological reasoning, and it would be the one most intelligible to his readers.

Special Introit: 1847: Ps.42:1, 2, 9, 14, 15; Cardale appears slightly confused, since he refers to the 'last five verses of the forty-second psalm' - clearly not the selection of verses used here; but he explains his choice of Psalm by pointing to its suitability in being sung in 'the absence of the psalmist of the sanctuary' (R.L.II. p.136). The penitential nature of Ps.42 certainly makes it more suitable for Easter Eve than the Gloria which it replaces.

Collect: 1847: cf. Easter Eve Collect, B.C.P. and Epiphany VI, B.C.P. cf. also I Cor. 15:42; length is symptomatic of Cardale's compositions; N.B. eschatological material limited in scope to that of the B.C.P.Collect, viz. the general resurrection; this Collect used from 1847 - before this date the Collect for Sunday before Easter used, as throughout the week.

Epistle: 1842Alb: I Pet.3:17-end: cf. B.C.P.

Anthem after Epistle: 1847 (i) v. Rev. 14:13, I Cor.15:55: (ii) 1853: v. Ps.130:1, 5-8. At the time of writing (1852), Cardale was unacquainted with the alternative form; he says that the 1847 version 'combines those words in the fourteenth chapter of the Revelation which speak of the blessedness of the dead from hence-forth, and their rest from their labours, with with thewords of triumph in the fifteenth chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians' (R.L.II. pp.136-7). The alternative (1853) version hardly parallels the former in sense, but it is suitable for the occasion by virtue of its penitential nature.

Gospel: 1842Alb: Mt.27:57-end: cf. B.C.P.

Proper Preface: 1847: cf. Josh.2:10, Zech.14:11, Ps.16:10, Col. 2:15: 'by...hell', cf. Apostles' Creed, B.C.P.; cf. also Ps.68:18, Eph.4:8, Ezek.3:19, Ac2:24. The references are all relevant, if repetitive, but the aim seems to coincide with much else of Cardale's work for this season, the typological connection between the Exodus and the work of Christ.

Proper of Oblation: 1847: cf. Heb.13:15, Ac.2:24, Heb.13:20, N.B. eschatological material.

Communion Anthem: 1847: cf. Ps.30:4,5b, Ps.16:9-10; Cardale acknowledges the sources, this anthem contains 'the assurance that the soul of Christ should not be left in hell, neither should his flesh see corruption' (RLII p.137); Ps.30:5b seems especially appropriate for the occasion.

Additional Post-Communion Prayer: 1847: for 'Grant....sacrament', cf other Ad. P.C. Prayers: cf also Rev.3:10; cf. also Advent Proper of Oblation. Cardale notes the Revelation source, and the typological association with the Church in Philadelphia, whose nature is such that it will be preserved (R.L.II. p.137). A prayer to be noted for its clarity and beauty.

Easter Eve : A Note : on this day, as on Good Friday, Chasubles, Dalmatics and Stoles may be black or dark purple; no incense is to be used, (Rub.E. p.155, Rub.S. p.52) probably as an expression of humility, the same reason for the general discontinuance on the death of the last Apostle in 1901.

Easter Day : 1842Alb

Cardale expounds the main features of the nature of the commemoration of Easter Day (R.L.II. pp.137-142).

Special Introit: 1847: cf. Lk.24:34, Rom.6:9a, Rev.1:18; used in conjunction with Gloria (not, as Christmas Eve, Good Friday and Easter Eve, in place of it), and at all services on this day as Introit (R.L.II. p.142).

Collect: 1842Alb: cf. B.C.P. Cardale observes that it is a paraphrase of the Roman Collect (R.L. I.p.67; cf. M.R. cf. also Annotated B.C.P. pp.289-290).

Epistle: 1842Alb: Col.3:1-7; cf. B.C.P. cf. also First Mass of Easter, Holy Week Book, p.311, where only Col.3:1-4, this is the most ancient Western Epistle Reading, as Schmidt's 'conspectus' shows, (op.cit. p.675).

Anthem after Epistle: 1847: Ps.139:1, 7, 17, 18; cf. Roman Easter Day Introit, Holy Week Book p.316; Cardale notes that 'it comes as an expression of quiet peace in the midst of the more tumultuous triumph of joy which is the characteristic of the other special parts of this day's service', and he acknowledges the Roman source (R.L.I. p.67).

Gospel: 1842Alb: Jn.20:1-10; cf. B.C.P. this is not an ancient Western Reading, but appears in a tenth century Byzantine book, in the form of Jn.20:1-17; cf. the Codex Jerusalem Patriarchate, Hagios Stauro[illegible],

(Bertonière, The Historical Development of the Easter Vigil and Related Services in the Greek Church, Chart A4).

Athanasian Creed: v. Eucharist Ch. 6 for full discussion.

Proper Preface: 1847: cf. Heb.13:20, Rom.5:1,2; 'and....glory', cf. General Thanksgiving, B.C.P.

Proper of Oblation: 1847; 'we....Christ', cf. Easter Preface, B.C.P. cf. also Eph.1:19,20.

Apostolical Benediction: 1851: cf. Rom.8:11, Eph.2:1, Ps. 119:40, Rom.8:15, Jn.11:25, II Tim.1:10, Gal.4:6, I Cor.12:8, 'the.....Son', cf. Nicene Creed, B.C.P.; cf. also Jn.6:63, Rom.5:5, Rom.5:2; as in the other Benedictions, a remarkable saturation of Biblical material.

Communion Anthem: 1847: v. I Cor.10:16, I Cor.5:7; cf. also Easter Anthems, B.C.P.

Additional Post-Communion Prayer: 1847: cf. Roman Easter Post-Communion, ('spiritum....infunde'), M.R. cf. also Col.3:5, Jn.11:24.

Easter Monday

On this day, the Eucharist is celebrated by the Angel in commemoration of all members of the Church temporarily or permanently residing in lands where the Church had no congregations gathered under the restored Apostleship; accordingly, after the Creed, the chief Deacon reads out a list of the names of such persons, which is subsequently placed on the altar after the bread and wine, at the Greater Introit (Rub.E.p.63, Rub.S. pp.52-3). The earliest evidence for this custom is in 1852, where the Book of Rubrics (p.42) direct it; it also occurs in 1862 (pp.40-41) but with the differences that (i) the Celebrant 'exhorts' the people to pray for the persons concerned before the list is read out, and (ii) the list is placed on the altar immediately after having been read.

This practice is a strange one, and without precedent. Cardale appears to be adapting the ancient custom of reading 'diptychs' of the Living, to fit a domestic problem which in 1852 would have been more acute than towards the end of the century, since at this comparatively early stage, there were not many established congregations abroad.

With regard to the ceremonial, although the early editions of the Rubrics (1852 and 1862) differ from the later one (1878, which corresponds exactly with the All Saints' Day reading of list of departed and accompanying ceremonial), the two differences can be dealt with as follows:
(i) the 'exhortation' by the Celebrant explains the purpose of the service, which by 1878 was probably unnecessary, considering that it would have been (at least) 26 years since the first holding of such a Eucharist.
(ii) the placing of the list of names on the altar immediately after having been read may suggest that in the early period the register of names of the living was not considered as important as the register of names of the departed (from 1852, the All Saints Day list is 'offered with the bread and wine').

Three liturgical reasons appear to warrant this practice. First, the fixing of Easter Monday as a Red Letter Day, with a Proper, in B.C.P. (although Cardale does not supply a Special Form). Second, the increasing use of the Eucharist in a 'votive' form, from 1847, the date of the emergence of the Occasional Forms. Third, the commemoration of Easter as the Feast of the Resurrection, and by implication of the living, as opposed to All Saints' Day, when the emphasis is more on the departed. We furthermore suggest the pastoral reason that the practice is more important than the occasion, and that it was felt desirable to commemorate absent friends cut off from the new fellowship on the day after a Festival when as many as possible of the Churches (from Mother Church in large city to small country dependency), would hold the Eucharist, according to the availability of ministers.

Within the Octave of Easter: 1853

N.B. Special Introit not used after Easter Day.

Sunday after Easter: 1842Alb-1847

Collect: v.s. Easter Day.

Epistle: 1842Alb; I Jn.5:4-12; cf. B.C.P.; cf. also M.R. where I Jn.5:4-10.

Gospel: 1842Alb: Jn20:19-28; cf. B.C.P.; cf. also M.R. where Jn.20:19-31.

N.B. Other parts of Form, except Special Introit, as Easter Day.

After the Octave of Easter until Ascension Day

Collect: v.s. Easter Day.

Epistles: 1842Alb: Easter II : I Pet.2:19-end; cf. B.C.P. cf. M.R. I Pet. 2:21-25.

Easter III : I Pet.2:11-17; cf. B.C.P. cf. M.R. I Pet. 2:11-19.

Easter IV : Jam.1:17-21; cf. B.C.P. cf. M.R.

Easter V : Jam. 1:22-end; cf. B.C.P. cf M.R.

Anthem after Epistle: v. Eucharist for Common Form Ch 6; N.B. Resurrection content, and Roman Easter Day origin.

Gospels: 1842Alb: Easter II : Jn.10:11-16; cf. B.C.P. cf. M.R.

Easter III : Jn.16:16-22; cf. B.C.P. cf. M.R.

Easter IV : Jn.16:5-15; cf. B.C.P. cf. M.R.

Easter V : Jn.16:23-end; cf. B.C.P. cf. M.R.

Ascension Day : 1842Alb - 1847

Cardale summarises the theology of the Exaltation of Christ (R.L.II. pp.143-7).

Collect: 1847: cf. B.C.P. Cardale ascribes it to M.R. of which ours is a compressed form (R.L.II. p.147). It is curious that from 1842Alb-1847,

the Easter season Collect was used (for want of another).

Epistle: 1842Alb: Ac.1:1-11; cf. B.C.P. and M.R.

Anthem after Epistle: (i) 1847: v. Ps.24:7-10; cf. B.C.P. Evensong on this day; (ii) 1853: Ps.110:1-4. At the time of writing (1852), Cardale was unacquainted with the alternative, ascribing the source of the first to the second part of Psalm 24 (R.L.II. p.147). The second deals with the same exaltation material. This is the only occasion, apart from Easter Eve, when an alternative is supplied, and both date from 1853.

Gospel: 1842Alb: Mk.16:14-end; cf. B.C.P. and M.R.

Proper Preface: 1847: adaptation of B.C.P. and M.R. Prefaces (R.L.II.p.147): 'for...apostles', cf. M.R. ('qui...apparuit'), and B.C.P. ('who..... apostles'); cf. also Ac.1:3; 'and....heaven', cf. M.R. ('et...caelum'), and B.C.P. ('and....heaven'); cf. also Ac.1:11, Heb.9:28.

Proper of Oblation: 1847: 'glorious ascension', cf. anamnesis in 1549, F.P.B.K.E. p.203, Scot. 1764 (Grisbrooke p.343); cf. also Ac.1:11, I.Cor.12:12, I Tim.6:14. Cardale writes that this celebrates 'the Ascension of the Lord, referring to His Coming again, and beseeching God in the meantime to comfort with His gifts and confirm us unto the day of His appearing' (R.L.II. p.147).

Communion Anthem: 1847: cf. Jn.14:2a,3-4; 14:18,16:22. Cardale does not discuss, except to say that it is suitable; it is hardly surprising that he should select material with a strong futurist eschatological slant.

Additional Post-Communion Prayers: (i) 1847; cf. Jn.14:18, (ii) 1853: cf. II Thess.1:5. Both prayers deal with the same material, dwelling on the fruits of Communion and the hope of the Second Coming.

Friday and Saturday after Ascension : 1853

v.s. Ascension Day.

The Sunday after Ascension and until the Eve of Pentecost : 1842Alb-1847

Collect: 1847: cf. B.C.P. Cardale notes the sources (R.L.II. p.68).

Epistle: 1842Alb: I Pet.4:7-11; cf. B.C.P. and M.R.

Anthem after Epistle: v.s. Ascension Day.

Gospel: 1842Alb: Jn.15:26-16:4; cf. B.C.P. and M.R.

Proper Preface and Proper of Oblation: v.s. Ascension Day.

The Eve of Pentecost : 1847

Called 'Day before Pentecost' until 1856; Cardale sets out his reasons for observing this as a day of penitence on the part of the whole Church in its failure to acknowledge the gifts of the Spirit, and the imminence of the Second Coming; for these reasons, the day is aliturgical, like Good Friday (R.L.II. pp.147-180). cf. M.R., where Vigil of Pentecost anticipates the Feast itself. (There is no restriction with regard to the Administration of Communion from the Reserved Sacrament after Morning Prayer). For the full Forenoon Service, and its special penitential Readings and Collects, cf. Lit. pp.233-240.

The Day of Pentecost : 1842Alb - 1847

For a full discussion on Pentecost, v. R.L.II. pp.147-180. N.B. use of 'Pentecost' from 1847, Anglican 'Whitsunday' having been used until then in 1842Alb and 1843 books.

Special Introit: 1847: v.i. Veni Creator.

Collect: 1842Alb: 'and...Son', cf. All Saints' Day Collect, B.C.P. 'grant....glory', cf. Communion Confession, B.C.P. cf. also I Thess.3:12, I Cor.13:13, I Cor.1:7; 'that...joy', cf. Prayer for Church, 1549 Rite

(F.P.B.K.E. p.203). Because this Collect is appointed to be used on every occasion until Christmas Day, and in view of its antiquity (1842Alb), it is not surprising that Cardale chose to compose independently of the B.C.P. Collect for Whitsunday; moreover, this Collect embodies the two main theological assumptions of the Church, spiritual gifts and the imminent Second Coming.

Epistle: 1842Alb: Eph.4:4-16; unparalleled, but suitable, in view of its application not to spiritual gifts in general, but to the whole ordained ministry of the Church.

Anthem after Epistle: 1847: v. Is.61:10; Cardale gives the source, and states that this chapter from Isaiah is the Reading for Forenoon Service (R.L.I. p.69).

Special Hymn: 1847: Cardale mentions the antiquity of the Veni Creator, quoting both Daniel (Thesaur. Hymn 213) and Merati (vo.i. p.71) in connection with authorship problem (R.L.I. pp.70-71, R.L.II. p.185). It is appointed as the Sequence in the Roman Rite (M.R.): 1847 calls the first the 'Old versions', and the second 'another'. 1 According to 'Hymns for the use of the Churches', the former (No.16) is the version of Bishop John Cosin (1627), the latter (No.17) is the version of Cardale himself (initialled 'C': 1845), and a third version (No.186) is included, being that of Littledale (1852). Probably Cosin's is the most successful; but for Cardale's own translations, cf. 'Adeste Fideles', Christmas Day. In restricting such hymns to special occasions, Cardale follows Roman precedent, which includes Sequences on Easter Sunday, Pentecost and Corpus Christi only.

Gospel: 1842Alb: Jn.14:15-end; cf. B.C.P. and M.R.

Athanasian Creed: v. Eucharist, Ch 6.

Proper Preface: 1847: cf. Gal.4:5, Ac.2:3, I Cor.12:4, Jn. 16:13, Jn.14:26. Lk.1:14. Pneumatological gifts and the eschatological hope dominatethe final section; the 'seal' refers to the practice of Sealing adopted in 1847.

Proper of Oblation: 1847: cf. Mt.23:19 (here referring to Epiclesis in Eucharist); cf. also I Pet.2:5: N.B. apocalyptic themes of purification and peace.

Apostolical Benediction: 1851: cf. Ac.2:2,3: 'vouchsafe...love', cf.'Veni Creator'; cf. also Lk.3:16; 'The...Son', cf. Apostolical Benediction, Easter Day; N.B. once again theme of peace.

Communion Anthem: 1847: v. Jn.6:63, Rom.14:17. Cardale does not mention this, but the sense explains its appropriateness for the occasion.

Additional Post-Communion Prayer: 1847: cf. Heb.10:1.

Within the Octave of Pentecost : 1853

N.B. Veni Creator not sung; cf. similar restriction on Adeste Fideles on Christmas Day, and Special Introit on Easter Day.

Monday after Pentecost : 1863

According to C.B. Heath, this Form was introduced into the edition of 1856, (Lecture, p.6) but there is no sign of this, either in the full Form for use in Albury at the Consecration of the Chrism, or in the Form for use in Particular Churches on the same day. The first appearance is in 1863; but we suggest that a Form for Albury was in use from 1847, the date of the beginning of the practice of Sealing. Cardale borrows some material from the Maundy Thursday Roman Mass of the Chrism (Holy Week Book pp.323-335) but sets his Form on the day after Pentecost, the Day of celebration of the gifts to which the Sealing ultimately points. In any

case, in view of the already-existing rites of Passion Week in his service-book, to appoint this Form on the Thursday before Easter would have been unworkable. It also helps to fix Pentecost, rather than Easter, as the nub of the Catholic Apostolic liturgical Year.

Collect: 1863: cf. Ps.45:7, Heb.1:9, Rom.15:13.

Epistle: 1863: I Jn.2:20-end; unparalleled, but appropriate in content.

Anthem after Epistle: 1863: v. Ps.45:6-8.

Gospel: 1863: Jn.7:37-39.

Proper of Oblation: 1863: cf. I Jn.2:20, Ps.132:16, Gal. 5:22.

Commemoration of the Departed: 1863, alters sense of already-existing section in Eucharist to refer to those sealed as well as those unsealed.

Communion Anthem: 1851: v. Ps.133; used also for Apostolic Councils,(v.i.Ch.10 also appropriate for this occasion.

Tuesday after Pentecost : 1880 (1875)

The first edition in which this is printed is 1880, but it is found inserted into the (English) edition of 1869 and French edition of 1873, and printed in the French Edition of Part II of the Liturgy in 1875. Ørsbo mentions that it was first introduced into the Mother-Church in Copenhagen in 1875. (V, p.66). We suggest that it was in use in Albury long before 1875, and was issued in a shorter version (as in the case of the Form for the previous Day) for use in Particular Churches in order to focus on the unity between Albury, the centre of the Universal Church, and the other Congregations gathered under the Apostles. The reason for the choice of this Day seems to be the same as the choice of the previous day for the Chrism Eucharist - the season of Pentecost is the focal point of the liturgical year of our Rite. An indirect support for these two special

days may be that Monday and Tuesday after Whitsunday are Red Letter Days with Collect Epistle and Gospel in B.C.P.

Collect: 1880 (1875): cf. Lk.6:13, Ac.9:15, Gal.12:7, I Tim.1:11; 'who..... coming', cf. Eucharist; Commemoration of Departed (5); cf. also Eph.4:12, II Cor.11:2, Rev.7:15; this Collect contains the main theories of the Church, concentrating on Paul as the link between the first 'eye-witness' Apostles and the restored Apostles. N.B. addressed to the Son (cf. Advent, Thursday before Easter).

Epistle: 1880 (1875); Eph.2:13-end; the material is eminently suited for the occasion, dwelling on the Church, its foundation and purpose.

Anthem after Epistle: 1880 (1875): v. Is.26:1-4; the 'Urbs Fortitudinis' Canticle refers to the Church as set in order by Cardale and his colleagues.

Gospel: 1880 (1875): Jn.10:10-16; less theological and more pastoral than Epistle, but related to occasion.

Proper Preface: 1880 (1875): cf. Heb.12:23, I Cor.8:1, I Cor.3:16.

Proper of Oblation: 1880 (1875): expresses the intention of the occasion clearly and succinctly. N.B. (i) a 'votive' celebration of the Eucharist regarded as important to the life of the Church; (ii) the authority of the Apostles given liturgical expression.

Communion Anthem: 1880 (1875): v. Ps. 122:3-9; suited to occasion, especially in view of Cardale's identification of Jerusalem with the spiritual Jerusalem of the Church he was instrumental in setting up.

Additional Post-Communion Prayer: 1351; also used in Form for Imporing Blessing upon Labours of Evangelists (occasional Forms, Ch.10).

Sundays after Pentecost : 1842Alb

Roman usage in reckoning after Pentecost, from the beginning; of reconing 'After Circumcision' and 'In Quadragesima' developed in 1861 and 1851.

Collect: v.s. Pentecost.

Epistles: Pentecost I Rev.4: cf B.C.P. (Trin.)
" II I Jn.4:7-end; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.I).
" III I Jn.13-end; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.II).
" IV I Pet.5:5-11; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.III).
" V Rom.8:18-23; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.IV).
" VI I Pet.3:8-16; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.V).
" VII Rom.6:3-11; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.VI).
" VIII Rom.6:19-end; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.VII).
" IX Rom.9:12-17; cf. B.C.P. (Trin. VIII).
" X I Cor.10:1-13; cf. B.C.P. (Trin. IX).
" XI I Cor.12:1-11; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.X).
" XII I Cor.15:1-11; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.XI).
" XIII II Cor.3:4-9: cf. B.C.P. (Trin.XII).
" XIV Gal. 3:16-22; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.XIII).
" XV Gal. 5:16-24; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.XIV).
" XVI Gal.16: cf. B.C.P. (Trin.XV).
" XVII Eph.3:13-end; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.XVI).
" XVIII Eph.4:1-6; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.XVII).
" XIX I Cor.1:4-8; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.XVIII).
" XX Eph.4:17-end; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.XIX).
" XXI Eph.5:15-21; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.XX).
" XXII Eph.6:10-20; cf. B.C.P. (Trin. XXI).
" XXIII Phil.1:3-4; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.XXII).
" XXIV Phil.3:17-end; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.XXIII).
" XXV Col.1:3-12; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.XXIV).
" XXVI/XXVII as Circumcision 4/5; but Circumcision 5 if there is Pentecost XXVI only.

Sunday before Advent: Jer.23:5-8; cf. B.C.P.

Anthem after Epistle: v.s. Ch 6, Common Form.

Gospels: Pentecost I Jn.3:1-18; cf. B.C.P. (Trin).
" II Lk.16:19-end; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.I).
" III Lk.14:16-24; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.II).
" IV Lk.15:1-10; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.III).
" V Lk.6:36-42; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.IV).
" VI Lk.5:1-11; cf. (Trin.V).
" VII Mt.5:20-26; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.VI).
" VIII Mk.8:1-9; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.VII).
" IX Mt.7:15-21; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.VIII).
" X Lk.16:1-9; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.IX).
" XI Lk.19:41-end; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.X).
" XII Lk.18:9-14; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.XI).
" XIII Mk.7:31-end; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.XII).
" XIV Lk.10:23-37; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.XIII).
" XV Lk.17:11-19; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.XIV).
" XVI Mt.6:24-end; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.XV).
" XVII Lk.7:11-17; cf B.C.P. (Trin.XVI).
" XVIII Lk.14:1-11; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.XVII).
" XIX Mt.22:34-end; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.XVIII).
" XX Mt.9:1-8; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.XIX).

Pentecost XXI Mt.22:1-14; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.XX).
" XXII Jn.4:46-end; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.XXI).
" XXIII Mt.18:21-end; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.XXII).
" XXIV Mt.22:15-22; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.XXIII).
" XXV Mt.9:18-26; cf. B.C.P. (Trin.XXIV).
" XXVI/XXVII as Circumcision IV/V; but Circumcision V if there is Pentecost XXVI only.
Sunday before Advent Jn.6:5-14; cf. B.C.P.

The Lectionary: A Note

Basically Anglican, but with three differences; (i) Sundays reckon after Pentecost, not Trinity, as using the (more ancient) Roman method; (ii) in spite of using the Roman reckoning, the Readings for Pent.I are those from B.C.P. for Trinity Sunday, and not from the (older) Proper of Pentecost I in M.R. (iii) curious directions for surplus Sundays after Pentecost, that Circumcision V be used for Pentecost XXVI; cf. B.C.P. directions.

The 14th Day of July: being the Anniversary of the Separation of the Apostles : AD1835: 1853

For an account of the events of 14/vii/1835, v.s. Ch.2. It is difficult to fix a definite date for the Introduction of this Form, which first appears in the edition of 1853, on which neither C.B. not C.E. Lewis Heath say anything in their respective Lectures. According to Lindsay-Grant, the Form was 'introduced' in 1852 (p.38) and, in another hand, the Form was first 'included in the Liturgy and the observance first held in particular Churches' in 1853 (p.39). This probably meant that it was first used in Albury in 1852, and issued for the first time in the edition of 1853.

Collect: 1853: cf. Mk.1:15, Ac.2:24, II Cor.11:2; an original composition, summing up the claims of the Church, in the context of the events of 14/vii/1835, with the emphasis on the apostleship rather than spiritual gifts (cf. Monday after Pentecost, Collect).

Epistle: 1853: I Cor.4:1-5; the stewards of the mysteries (I Cor.4:1) are the apostles and their obedience to the injunction refraining from judgement (I Cor.4:5) is manifested in their attitude to the Churches of the time.

Anthem after Epistle: 1853; v. Ps.19:1,4; Is.52:9-10; exchatological hope, and its claims on the task of the Church.

Gospel: 1853:Mt.28:16-end; the authority given to the first apostles is assumed in the case of the restored apostles.

Proper Preface: 1853: cf. Eph.4:13, Ac.13:2.

Proper of Oblation: 1853: cf. Heb.13:15, Neh.5:19, Ps.28:9, Mt.28:18-20, Eph.4:12, I Tim.3:7, Ps.1:6; a very rich composition, expressing clearly the claims and eschatological hope of the new Church.

Commemoration of the Departed: 1853: cf. Rev.14:13, Ac.13:2, Eph.4:11, cf. Eucharist,Commemoration of Departed, (2) and (4), this is an expanded version of (4) which it replaces.

Communion Anthem: 1853: v. Is.1:26; Is.60:17-18, N.B. themes of restoration of apostleship and subsequent Kingdom.

Additional Post-Communion Prayer: 1853: cf. Jn.4:16, Ezek.44:5, I Pet.5:8.

Special Note: N.B. the surprising caution with which the event commemorated is mentioned; the Anthems are Scriptural, the Collect is directed to the believers, the Preface includes a brief mention, leaving the fullest and most explicit coverage to the Commemoration of the Departed and the Proper of Oblation. The Commemoration of the Departed varies only on this occasion and on the Monday after Pentecost (commemorating persons sealed). This was probably deliberate, since the Feast itself celebrates an event not yet 20 years old, and, as the Commemoration

of the Departed shows and admits, the events towards which the Separation ultimately points had only just begun to show signs of fruition, viz. in the numbers of Christians accepting the restored apostleship.

Commemoration of All Angels : 1853

Cardale deals briefly with the origin of the feast, and the nature and function of angels. In treating of the former, he investigates the origins of the feast of Michaelmas, quoting the Roman Breviary and Durandus (Ration. Div.Off.lib.vii) and he concludes that St. Michael is an intrusion, based on apparitions. In discussing the latter, he bases his arguments on scripture. The conclusion is reached that the Church did of old commemorate the Angels only, hence the title given here (R.L.II. pp. 185-201); but this intended primitivism does not stand up to more recent researches (v. Schmidt, Introductio in Liturgiam Occidentalem, pp.620-1).

The Form first appears in the edition of 1853, as is observed by C.B. Heath (Lecture pp.5-6). C.E. Lewis Heath (Lecture p.7) and Lindsay-Grant (p.39).

Collect: 1853: cf. B.C.P. and M.R. both sources are mentioned by Cardale, who further states that the former is an amplication of the latter, which is the Gregorian original, (R.L.II. p.201).

Epistle: 1853: Rev. 12:7-12; cf. B.C.P. (R.L.II. p.201).

Anthem after Epistle: 1853: v. Ps.103:19-22; no mention of sources, although reference to them as 'special' is made (R.L.II.p.202); N.B. introduced in same year as alternative Anthems after Epistle on Easter Eve and Ascension Day, possibly as a move to increase the number of Anthems based purely on the Psalms.

Gospel: 1853: Mt.18:1-10; cf. B.C.P. and M.R. (R.L.II.p.201).

Proper Preface: 1853: cf. Ps.8:5, Ac.2:33, Eph.1:21, II Thess.1:11, Ps.103:20; Christ's relationship to the angels is the key to this section.

Proper of Oblation: 1853: cf. Heb.13:15, I Tim.5:21; Mt.18:10, Ps.34:7, Mk.1:13, Heb.1:14; Cardale writes that this composition is 'expressive of our remembrance and thankfulness for the ministries of the blessed angels, both in heaven and among men' (R.L.II.p.202).

Communion Anthem: 1853: v. Rev.5:11-12.

All Saints' Day: 1842Alb-1847, 1880

It is strange that the celebration of this feast, together with the use of the Athanasian Creed, is directed in 1842Alb, and that until Scottish 1861, this Creed is printed with the Form for All Saints' Day, and not after the Eucharist. Cardale briefly surveys the history of this day in both Eastern and Western Churches, but rejects the later addition of All Soul's Day, regarding it as symptomatic of the Church's 'having fallen into the condition of mortality' (R.L.II.pp.202-4); 'It is a duty' to commemorate All Saints, 'first because their faith and holiness are both examples and encouragements to us.....secondly, because the virtues of the saints are acceptable to God only as they are wrought in Christ, and are the fruits of that perfect faith and perfect holiness which are His alone, who is the Author .....of our salvation....and, thirdly....because God would have us to be truly grateful towards those from whom we have received benefits' (R.L.II. pp.204-5). Cardale goes on to deal with the importance of the day, from the commemorative as well as the eschatological angles, and it is the latter, coupled possibly with the antiquity of this feast in the Calendar of our Rite (1842Alb), which we suggest persuaded Cardale that it should be equipped with special prayers and thanksgivings, in which the Eucharist plays a prominent part (R.L.II. pp.205-213).

Collect: 1842Alb: cf. B.C.P.

Epistle: 1842Alb; I Thess.4:13-5:10; the narrative of the sealing of the elect (Rev.7:2-12) appointedin B.C.P. and M.R. is celebrated in our Rite on the Tuesday after Pentecost and would therefore be inappropriate here; besides, Cardale does give this day a definite exchatological slant, which makes this Epistle Reading highly appropriate, although without parallel.

Anthem after Epistle: 1847: v. Rev.20:6, Dan.12:3; suitable for occasion, especially if Cardale's remarks (R.L. II.pp.202-213) are taken into account.

Gospel: 1842Alb: Mt.25:31-end: eschatological material replaces the traditional Sermon on the Mount (Mt. 5:1-12).

Athanasian Creed: 1842Alb: at the time of writing (1852), it was not yet printed after the Eucharist, but only in the Form for All Saints' Day; Cardale therefore gives a brief history of the Creed at this point in 'Readings', with a remarkable exposition of Patristic Trinitarian theology (R.L.II. pp.215-229) v. Eucharist, Athanasian Creed, Ch.6.

After Athanasian Creed

After the Creed, the chief Deacon reads out from an official list the names of the Departed in the following order; Apostles, Ministers of the Universal Church, Archdeacons, Angels of Churches, Ministers of Particular Churches, members of the congregation who died in the preceding year. During the Greater Introit, after the bread and wine have been placed in the altar, the Deacon brings up and presents to the Celebrant (on this occasion invariably the Angel) the list of names so read, together with the register of all faithful departed members of the congregation, and the Celebrant lays this register on the altar. In the Commemoration of the Departed(on this occasion taken from the Full Office) those whose names have been read, and all whose names are contained in the register,

are specially referred to at the appropriate point. The list is subsequently forwarded to the Pastor-with-the-Apostle. (Rub.E. pp.66-7, Rub.S. pp.55-6).

The date of the first apperance of this ceremony is unknown, and Cardale makes no mention of it, nor do the rubrics in any of the service-books. However, both the Books of Rubrics of 1852 (p.44) and 1862 (p.43) describe precisely this ceremonial, and we suggest that, in view of the early date of the All Saints' Day service (1842) and the Commemoration of the Departed in the Eucharist (1838), the practice of reading out the list of names dates from 1842Alb, certainly 1847, whether or not accompanied by the offering of the register on the altar.

In finding a source for this custom, the allusions to the Monday after Easter Eucharist in the Rubrics of 1852 and 1862)clinch the matter; Cardale is adapting the practice of the ancient Church in reading 'diptychs' of the Living and the Departed. Dix discusses this at some length, demythologising the term diptych when speaking of Western practice, and tracing Gallican and Mozarabic traditions to Oriental origin (Shape of the Liturgy pp.507-9). Pinell observes that in the non-Roman Western Rites the reading of the diptychs takes place before the Eucharistic Prayer (whether before or after the Offertory), whereas the diptychs occupy a position in the Preface section of the Mass as contained in the Leonine Sacramentary (De Liturgia Occidentali, p.77). However in the Eastern Liturgies, the diptychs take on an intercessory form, and are no longer biddings, as they appear to have been of old (Brightman, pp.501ff, 503ff).

Cardale's adaptation first of all involves this practice on three counts; (i) the Deacon reads the list (cf Brightman, pp.124, 203, 485, 488, 528, 535); (ii) the register is a list, not a series of petitions (cf. Brightman p.129); and (iii) the position is that of the ancient Church,

'ante actionem' (Pinell, op.cit. p.78). Secondly, it is in the context of offering that Cardale sets the ceremony, by placing the register on the altar after the bread and wine (not on the Table of Prothesis with the Tithes and Offerings), so that the register is given an honour equal to that of the book of Gospels on this particular occasion (cf. Cardale on ancient restrictions with regard to what may or may not be placed on the altar, R.L.I. p.131). Thirdly, in prescribing the register to be referred to in the Commemoration of the Departed, Cardale neatly includes it in the Eucharist in the very position where the diptychs settle in most of the ancient liturgies, viz. in the Anaphora/Canon.

Without confusion, Cardale manages to give the register a threefold use, in being read, being offered, and being prayed for - precisely the three uses which the diptychs of old, however gradually, came to have. Nevertheless, in directing the diptychs to be split up, with the Living commemorated on the Monday after Easter, and the Departed on this occasion, Cardale is taking an original and unprecedented line; the rationale (as we suggest in the case of the Monday after Easter) seems to be commemoration of Living in the Easter season, and commemoration of Departed on the occasion of the celebration of all the Departed. Although there is a parallelism, the All Saints' Day usage is obviously much more important, since the Living commemorated on the Monday after Easter are only those cut off from the ministration of the new Church, whereas the All Saints' Day commemoration covers all the faithful Departed, in particular those who belonged to the new Church.

Proper Preface: 1847: 'And...just', cf. Prayer for Church Militant, B.C.P. cf. also Ac.24:15, Heb.12:23, Heb.12:1, Heb.12:22, Heb.4:1, Heb.12:1, II Pet.1:11, Heb.12:22, 23. This compilation sets out Cardale's wide interpretation of sainthood. Whereas on the Tuesday after Pentecost the emphasis is on those who had accepted the ministry of the Restored

Apostleship, on this day, it is the unity of all believers, down through the ages, up to the present time; this includes both those accepting the Apostles of the new Church and those who do not, either wilfully or through not knowing them, and all this is done in thecontext of the ultimate hope, the general resurrection and the eternal Kingdom of Christ on earth.

Proper of Oblation: 1847: 'especially.....children', cf Eucharist, Concluding Prayer before Communion; cf. also Rom.8:23, Rom.8:21, I Cor.12:13, I Tim.4:8. This composition emphasises more clearly than the Preface the eschatological hope, and, being precatory (unlike the Preface, which is commemorative), it echoes the petition in the Concluding Prayer before Communion, for the speedy accomplishment of the divine purpose.

Commemoration of the Departed: 1853 (1852): the direction that Full Office Commemoration of Departed be used first appears in edition of 1853, and in the Rubrics of 1852 (p.44); this is the only occasion on which this occurred; the reason seems to be that the fullest commemoration of the Departed must be made, especially in view of the ceremonies associated with the register of names.

Apostolical Benediction: 1875: the only new item in the 1880 edition; it is the same as that contained in the Albury Form for the Tuesday after Pentecost (not dealt with in this work), the earliest appearance for which we can trace to 1875, two years before Cardale's death. It was probably used on All Saints' Day at Albury from 1875, and in general use soon after. N.B. the fourth paragraph at the end; all the other Apostolical Benedictions (Common, Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost) have three, and the addition of this fourth may be another indication of later date (the others date from 1851). cf. Eph.3:15, Ps.16:11, Eph.5:25, [illegible]; II Pet.3:10, II Pet.3:14, I Cor.12:13, Rev.14:5, Col.1:18, Rom.8:29, II Cor.3:18, Rom.15:12, cf. also other Apostolical Benedictions.

Communion Anthem: 1847: v. Ps.149:1, 2, 5, 4: inverted order of last two verses fits run of language.

Additional Post-Communion Prayer: 1847: for 'O God...holiness', cf. Collect, opening; Heb.11:13, II Tim.4:18, Heb.12:23. This prayer is important on two counts; first, this is the only occasion on which the word 'Table' is used of the Eucharist; secondly, no other compilation better expresses the relationship between the new Church and the Coming Kingdom. Cardale and his colleagues were rejected by the Churches as they were, before any liturgical activity had been begun. This rejection colours the new Church's understanding of its mission, and its future. But in spite of this rejection, Cardale and his colleagues point beyond themselves to the final Kingdom, through the Eucharist itself.

Special Readings: 1842Alb; Cardale explains the significance of these readings, concluding thus: 'When, therefore, under these circumstances, we are celebrating the day of All Saints, and are specially engaged in commemorating those that have gone before us, commending to the mercy of God the present condition of His Church, and looking forward to the judgments which are coming, to the deliverance promised, and to the glory which shall follow, we bring to a close the great Service of the day, namely the celebration of the Eucharist, by reading these Epistles addressed to the whole Church, descriptive of the whole Church, and portraying its complete history until the second Advent of the Lord' (R.L.II. pp.229-234). These Epistles are also appointed to be read at the monthly Assembly of the Seven Churches in London (Lit. pp.280ff) in the Eucharist.

Special Anthem: 1842Alb: v. Dt.32:1-9, 36, 40, 43; Rev.15:3b-4; Cardale writes; 'From this Song (i.e. the Song of Moses) those portions are extracted which speak the praises of the Lord, and which, in application to the Church, predict their spiritual weakness and ultimate deliverance'

(R.L.II.p.234). In a purely scriptural collation, without adaptation, Cardale manifests the eschatology of the Church, which sees the misery of the world and the Churches, and yet envisages them in terms of the divine purpose, and the mighty acts of God.

All Saints' Day: A Note

This feast holds a position of obvious importance to the Church, in view of the full provision of the Form, and includes an Apostolical Benediction, which is only accorded to the most principal feasts. Furthermore, in the adaptation of the diptychs, Cardale shows his originality, and his Biblical understanding of sainthood, which is set in an eschatological context. This Feast therefore ranks in equal importance with Christmas, Easter and Pentecost.

Within the Octave of All Saints' Day : 1853

From 1847 to 1853, the 'Sunday after' is mentioned for the use of the Form, as in the case of the other Feasts given Octaves in 1853 (Circumcision, and Presentation). Probably for the benefit of those unable to attend the All Saints' Day Eucharist on a week-day, the full service (with reading and offering of register, and Seven Epistles) is appointed to take place on the Sunday in the Octave (Rub.E. p.67 Rub.S.p.56) - a further witness to the importance of this Feast.

Chapter 9 : Introduction to Occasional Forms

(a) Evolution

The presence of 'Forms for Occasional Use' in the 1847 edition of the Liturgy is a significant factor in the history and doctrinal development of the Eucharist of the Church. But unlike the Seasonal Forms, the historical development is relatively simple, once the dating of the first two Scottish editions is accepted (v. Chart C/I).

In the 1847 book, the following Occasional Forms appear: In Time of Sickness; In Times of Scarcity and Apprehended Famine; In Times of War, or Danger from Enemies, Foreign or Domestic; and In Times of Rejoicing for any special Mer y or Deliverance. Each Form was issued in its final version, unlike some of the Seasonal Forms; furthermore, the circumstances surrounding them are social, not ecclesiastical, since they relate to situations in which the whole of Europe, in a turbulent state in the 1840's, might have been immersed. There is no direct documentary information available on the issuing of these Forms, except that the Apostles agreed on 'Occasional Services' in 1846 (v.s. Ch.3), probably about the time when the 1847 edition of the Liturgy was under discussion.

The writer has in his possession a book of 'Occasional Services' autographed by one Jane Lindsay in 1847. There is no printed date, but it is safe to conclude that this was the book discussed and agreed on by the Apostles at their meeting in 1846, but that unlike the 1847 Liturgy, it was for limited circulation, and printed as a separate book.

In addition to those which appear in the 1847 book, it contains five more Forms: On behalf of a Particular Church (by the Angel); For Unity at a Time of Declension or Falling Away; For a Young Person about to engage in any Occupation in Life; In Making Special Commemoration of a Sick Person; In Commemorating a Person lately Deceased. We can conclude that the

character of the Occasional Form is also ecclesiastical and pastoral. This may suggest why they appear in a book which seems to be for a limited circulation (the'Occasional Services') at first. But they all appear in the Scottish Edition of the Liturgy in 1850, when the arrangement of material in the service book is somewhat improved.

In the (English) edition of 1851, six more Forms appear: At an Apostolic Council, by the Apostle; By the Apostle for the Tribe committed to his Charge: At the Commencement of an Apostolical Visitation of a Church; for imporing the Blessing of Almighty God upon the Labours of Evangelists; On behalf of a Woman after Child-bearing. These Forms continue the trend of the Scottish 1850 book, but with much more emphasis on the ecclesiastical side. Thiscollection of Forms is the largest of all unit additions to the Liturgy in 1851 dealt with in this work, as the addenda to the Eucharist and Seasonal Forms are but slight (v. Chart E).

In 1853, the Form for use In Timesof any Apprehended Public Calamity was included in the edition of that year. This was probably issued with a view to dealing with any public ill not covered by the Forms of 1847.

In 1880, the Form for use in Particular Churches on occasions of Councils made its first appearance in the English Liturgy[1]. It was probably introduced with a view to linking Particular Churches to the Apostolic Councils at a time when the 'first generation' of the Church was giving way to younger men.

These dates tie down the introduction of Forms to particular years as a 'terminus a quo', but, as will be seen in the case of individual items, there is further evidence that some of the Forms were issued at Albury

1. On its dating from the Swedish Edition cf. 1878, v.i. Ch.10, Special Note.

prior to the date of their first appearance in the Liturgy. Further, ad hoc prayers and Forms were issued throughout the history of the Church, but were not printed with the Liturgy after Cardale's death in 1877.

Thus can be seen the relatively simple development of the Occasional Forms. Their effect on the understanding of the Eucharist is great, in so far as they emphasise the intercessory and sacrifical aspects of the service. What is of paramount importance is that they developed as early as 1847, and neared completion in 1851. They appear to emerge from three sources: (i) insertion of a particular 'intention' in free prayer at the end of the Prayer of Oblation after Consecration in the 1842Alb and 1847 books[2]; (ii) a natural extension of the idea of 'Propers' also developed in the Seasonal Forms; and (iii) (less direct) the Votive Masses of the Roman Missal.

The early period, therefore, is once again seen to be the formative era, as the later period receives approximately the same proportion of innovation in the Occasional Forms as the Eucharist, the Seasonal Forms, and the outward manifestations of worship in general.

The component parts of the Occasional Forms are the same as the Seasonal Forms, except that there are no Special Hymns, Proper Prefaces or Apostolical Benedictions. This is logical; the Occasional Forms do not deal with special times of the year (thus dispensing with Special Introits and Anthems); they are primarily intercessory, and do not celebrate 'events' (thus dispensing with Proper Prefaces); and they do not rank in equal importance with the four main Feasts of the liturgical year (thus dispensing withthe Apostolical Benedictions).

2. N.B. unlike the Seasonal Forms, all Occasionals have a Proper of Oblation, in line with their 'votive' character.

(b) Component Parts v. Charts C/II and III

(i) Hallelujah after Gloria: Appointed for four occasions: Apostolic Council by Apostle; In Particular Churches on occasions of Councils (only if otherwise appointed); At the Commencement of an Apostolical Visitation of a Church; and On Days of Rejoicing for any Special Mercy or Deliverance. In selecting occasions, Cardale seems to use the same individual criteria noted on the Seasonal Forms, and in this case they appear to be reckoned on the basis of Apostolic functions and festivity. However, if any of these Occasional Forms were used at a time when the Hallelujah was appointed for another reason (e.g. the Octave of a Feast: v.s. Ch.7) it was still sung, except at the Commemoration of a Person lately deceased.

(ii) Collect: Unlike the Seasonal Forms, these are basically original compositions, or free adaptations. Of the three from B.C.P., one is a collation of two sources (In Time of War, or Danger from Enemies, Foreign or Domestic). Cardale's own compositions all typify the greater length than B.C.P. already noted in the Seasonal Forms. When we consider that the Occasional Forms relate to subjects not dealt with in the potential sources of M.R. and B.C.P., the proportion of original compositions is low; e.g. Cardale could easily have composed a long Collect for the Form At an Apostolic Council by the Apostle, telling of the Restored Apostolate (as cf. other compositions), but prefers a simple Roman source. Unlike four Collects in the Seasonal Forms, none are addressed to the Son.

(iii) Epistle: Except in one case, all are original choices, suitable for each occasion.

(iv) Anthem after Epistle: The predominance of Psalm material and less complex verse-collations is in distinct contrast to the Seasonal Forms. Of the remainder, one (In Commemoration of a Person lately Deceased) is from a recognised source; the other two (For Unity, at a Time of Declension, or Falling Away; for Imporing the Blessing of Almighty God upon the Labours of Evangelists) are derived from O.T. prophetic literature. The same overall tendency towards apocalyptic themes prevails.

(v) Hallelujah after Anthem after Epistle: In the Seasonal Forms this item is appointed on all occasions when it is also directed after Gloria in excelsis. This is also the case here, in the Form of Apostolic Council by the Apostle; in Particular Churches on occasions of Councils (only if otherwise appointed); On Days of Rejoicing for any Special Mercy or Deliverance. But it is not mentioned at all in the Form At the Commencement of an Apostolical Visitation of a Church. There does not appear to be a discernible reason for this seeming omission; it is the only case where there is no correspondence between prescriptions regarding the two Hallelujahs, as in all the other Forms, Seasonal or Occasional, they always appear together, if appointed at all.

(vi) Gospel: All original, suitable for occasions; both the Epistles and Gospels show much greater originality than the Seasonal Forms, which rely heavily on B.C.P.

(vii) Proper of Oblation: In comparing these compositions with the Propers of Oblation in the Seasonal Forms, the following points emerge. (i) A greater degree of use of liturgical sources (8/16 in Occ. as cf 6/15 in Seas); (ii) rhetorical style is greater, to the extent that we single out 5 where this is particularly strong; (iii) length is more standardised than in Seasonal Forms, where later compositions (e.g. Monday and Tuesday after

Pentecost) are longer; (iv) unusual originality of material in two cases (For a Young Person about to engage in any Occupation in Life; In Commemorating a Person lately Deceased); (v) of the three main features of content noted in the case of Seasonals (pneumatological, sacrificial, eschatological), the same proportions prevail, except that there is a slightly lesser degree of sacrificial material (5/16 in Occ. as cf 8/15 in Seas.), which, in view of the 'votive' character of the Occasionals, may seem surprising; (vi) none of these features can be correlated to date of composition, except that 1847 compositions lack pneumatological and eschatological material, which is not the case in the Seasonal Forms; (vii) there is the same predominance of Epistle material in source-use noted in the Seasonal Forms.

(viii) Commemoration of Living: Special insertions in Form imploring Blessing on Evangelists.

(ix) Communion Anthem: All are based on Psalm material, and through their simple verse-collations, contrast with the Seasonal Forms (cf also Anthem after Epistle), only three of which (out of seventeen) are based on Psalm material, and most of which are highly complex in verse-collation.

(x) Additional Post-Communion Prayer: Approximately the same proportion of source and length obtain as compared with the Seasonal Forms. However, there are three features which contrast with the Seasonal Forms; (i) one (In Times of War, or Danger from Enemies, Foreign or Domestic) contains no reference to the Eucharist, for which Roman source may be the reason, and another (Commemoration of a Person lately Deceased) contains only an implicit reference to the Eucharist; (ii) none of them contain any eschatological material (for which cf. Seasonal Forms (where 7/13) - one would have expected them to contain such material in view of the nature of some of the topics (e.g. War Calamity, Departed Person); and (iii) a

higher proportion (4/7 as opposed 4/13) are addressed to the Son.

(c) Method and Scope

The same system is adopted as in the Seasonal Forms; we take each component part of each Form as it appears in theservice-book, giving date, suggesting sources and discussing use (sometimes based on other material); sometimes this latter throws light on possible date earlier than first appearance in a particular edition of the Liturgy. In spite of the fact that none of these Forms involve such interesting liturgical sources as in some of the Seasonal Forms, they remain among Cardale's best work, as we will try to show, and they embody the pastoral, hierarchical, and world consciousness of the Church.

Chapter 10 : Commentary on Occasional Forms

On the occasion of Apostolic Council, by the Apostle: 1851

Collect: 1851: v. Collect for Votive Mass of Holy Spirit, 'Deus cui cor', (M.R.); the translation is from Collect for purity, B.C.P. being derived through 1549 Rite (F.P.B.K.E. p.194) from the Mediaeval Sarum Use (Walker, Liturgy of the Church of Sarum p.38); but the basic source here is probably Roman.

Epistle: 1851: Is.6:1-8 or Rev.4; the former appropriate for occasion, since Apostleship is the one office requiring call without ordination in the new Church; in the latter (also dating from 1851, unlike other alternatives, which were added later), the 'four and twenty elders' are regarded as typical of the two sets of Apostles; v.s. Ch.8, Three Seasons, where this Epistle is also used.

Anthem after Epistle: 1851 Ps.122:3-9, or Ps.122 in entirety; this latter is an unusual direction, and may be indicative of a desire, noted in Easter Eve and Ascension Day, to include alternative Anthems drawn from Psalms.

Gospel: 1851: Jn.17:11-23; from the 'High Priestly' Prayer, concerning unity and therefore suitable for the occasion.

Proper of Oblation: 1851: cf. Jn.16:13, Job.32:8, Eph.1:18, II Thess.3:5, Ps.45:3, Job.40:11, Ps.31:20; for 'let all flesh....three' cf. [illegible] Jas. Brightman p.41; cf. also I Cor.14:29, Lk.1:6, (II Cor.4:6, Mic.7:8), Ps.143:10, Ps.119:4; for 'that...Name' cf. similar phrase in Communion General Confession, B.C.P.; cf. also Eph.4:12. N.B. (i) this prayer consists of the same kind of scriptural and original material noted in other examples; here, petition upon petition calls for guidance in the ensuing Council: (ii) there are mutable parts in it, referring either to the personnel assembling (Churches generally, or certain ministers), or the circumstances requiring such a council (e.g. dissension or crisis);

(iii) the order is that prophets speak first, then apostles make ordinances; this reflects the history of the evolution of the ministry of the Church, as well as its later working: and (iv) the intensity of desire of revelation of the divine will is related to the functions of apostleship iteself, and exemplifies the extreme rhetorical nature of this prayer.

Communion Anthem: 1851: Ps.133, orPs.47: Ps.133 also used in this position in the Form for Monday after Pentecost; we suggest that there was a special setting of Ps.133, hence its being printed in full, and that the alternative was taken from the Psalter, and Ps.47:9 would be taken to refer to the Council itself.

Additional Post-Communion Prayer: 1851: cf. Lk.24:30-31, Col.2:23, Rom.5:5, I Cor.12:6; for 'life-giving', cf. Nicene Creed, B.C.P.
N.B. (i) the phrase 'in...Body' refers to the doctrine of the Church as the Body of Christ - the act of Communion has been spoken of ('make.... bread'), and the fruits are now made explicit - the partakers form the Body of Christ; (ii) the operation of the Holy Spirit is identified implicitly with the gift of faith (cf. II Tim.2:13) and (iii) the syntax of the end of the prayer takes an unusual turn, with the doxology constituting a sentence on its own, rather than growing out of the last sentence by way of relative clause.

Special Hymn: 1851 (here); cf. Special Hymn, (the same hymn), Pentecost, Ch.8; the position here is unparalleled, and makes this Form comparable with other occasions on which there is a special Anthem. Hymn at this point - the Thursday before Easter and All Saints' Day. However, since the Te Deum was only sung on the Lord's Day (and on Feasts when specially appointed), Cardale may have decided to end the Eucharist with another appropriate hymn, whose theme runs through the entire Form for this occasion.

In Particular Churches on occasion of Apostolic Councils: 1880 (1878)

Collect: 1863 (1858); v.s. Ch.8, Three Seasons; it is strange that the 'Collect for purity', in the previous Form, so familiar with many from its B.C.P. usage, is not used here also.

Epistle/Anthem after Epistle/Gospel: 1851: v.s. Apostolic Council by Apostle; N.B. No Hallelujah after Anthem after Epistle.

Proper of Oblation: 1880 (1878): an abridged version of that contained in previous Form, for which v. sources; N.B. no alternative passages for varying personnel/circumstances of Council. (Similarly arranged Propers of Oblation appear for use on Tuesday after Pentecost, where there is a long version for use in Albury only (Lit. p.255) and an abbridged version for use in Particular Churches.)

Communion Anthem: 1851: as previous Form, but no alternative Ps.47, probably because of interpretation of Ps.47:9 as referring to Apostolic Council.

Additional Post-Communion Prayer: 1851: v.s.previous Form.

Special Note. The first noted occurrence of this Form is in the Swedish edition of 1878; no additions were printed in the Liturgy after Cardale's death (1877), so that this Form must have been sanctioned at the latest in 1877. The 'terminus a quo' is the French edition of 1873 (Pt.I) and 1875 (Pt.II), in which this Form does not appear. As regards content, this Form is made up of an assortment of earlier items, mostly from the previous Form, the only new feature being the Proper of Oblation, itself an abbreviation of the original. As regards use, this Form is appointed to be employed by Angels of Churches, and, at the discretion of the Angel, in smaller congregations, i.e. dependencies, run by Elders or other Priests (Rub.E. p.72, Rub.S. p.57).

By an Apostle for the Tribe committed to His Charge : 1851

Proper of Oblation: 1851: (i) cf. Eph.4:12, II Cor.2:8, I Pet. 1:22, Col.1:4, B.C.P. Prayer for Church Militant ('thy heavenly grace'), Ac.6:7, I Pet.1:15. (ii) cf. I Cor.14:12, Tit.2:2, B.C.P. Prayer for Clergy and People ('pour down'), I Tim.4:12, Gal.2:20, Rev.14:4, Lk.21:28; cf. also Eucharist, Post-Communion Prayer c), Ch.6. These two versions hardly deal with the same kind of material; (i) is a straightforward compression of the first few paras. of the Commemoration of the Living in the Eucharist, and probably appears here because the Shorter Office would be used, (i.e. a weekday); (ii) a prayer in what seems a more depressed situation than (i), and in this connection cf. different degrees of success in evangelism throughout the history of the Church (North Germany and Italy); it may well be that (ii) was composed with the barren Tribes in mind. (N.B. call to sacrifical living at the end).

Special Note: This Form was probably first used in Albury, and then used in other Churches, depending on where the Apostles concerned were in residence.

At the Commencement of an Apostolical Visitation of a Church : 1851

Epistle: 1851: Rev.1:10-end; the messages to the seven Churches in Asia interpreted typologically to refer to the whole of Christendom, hence the choice here.

Anthem after Epistle: 1851: v. Ps.103:1-5; v.i. Communion Anthem, In Times of Sickness and Anthem after Epistle, On Days of Rejoicing; both are 1847, each with a different selection of verses.

Gospel: 1851: Mt.24:42-end; from an 'eschatological discourse', setting forth the message of the Church to the world.

Proper of Oblation: 1851: an adaptation of that contained in previous Form, with the additions (i) I Tim.6:2,18 and I Thes.5:13, and (ii) the

provisions for Visitation in London (v.i. Special Note); because of the similarity between this and the previous Proper of Oblation, it would be interesting to know which was composed first.

Special Note on Seven Churches in London

If in any city or town there was more than one congregation, the older one was designated the 'Mother Church', and all others were called 'Horns' or 'Helpships', according to whether or not their complement of ministers involved the fourfold ministry of Priests (Rub.E. pp.41,43). However, very early in the history of the Church, words of prophecy designated seven Churches in London, independent of each other, each a 'Mother Church', for dependencies (Seven Churches in London, p.4). Because of this special association, and because of the later monthly 'Assembly of the Seven Churches in London' (a complex Liturgy, outside the scope of this work), Apostolic Visitations in London went to one Church in turn, although the presence of the other six were acknowledged in the Proper of Oblation (hence the alternative forms) and also in the use of special Commemorations.

Apostolical Visitations: A Note

Apostolical Visitation was by the Apostle (or his Coadjutor) accompanied by the Prophet, Evangelist, and Pastor with him. It began with the solemn Celebration of the Eucharist, using the above Form, at which the Angel of the Church and Angel-Evangelist of the District, together with all other Angels, and all Priests and Deacons, were to present themselves, and be available throughout the time of visitation for consultation with the Apostle. Accounts and Registers were inspected, for which a special procedure was directed (Reg.p.96). But the most important function of the Visitations was those duties reserved to the Apostle.

Thus, when Cardale visited Denmark in 1873, with Robert Nash (Prophet),

Dr. Isaac Capadose (Evangelist), and Sir George Hewitt (serving as Pastor), he began his Visitation of the whole of Denmark with the Eucharist in Copenhagen on 30th July, continuing with the ordination of Priests on 4th August, and the sealing of 105 persons on 10th August (Årsbo V p.57). Similarly, when in 1877, Dr. Isaac Capadose, as Apostles' Coadjutor (blessed in this office at Albury, 29/vii/1876 Årsbo V p.99) visited Denmark with Robert Nash (Prophet), J.O. Thomsen (Evangelist), and Edward Heath (serving as Pastor), he began with the Eucharist on 5th April in Copenhagen, carried out the Induction of the Angel of the Mother Church, Copenhagen on 7th April, gave a Pastoral Teaching to the Congregation on 9th April, consecrated three Angels (one of whom was Frederik Christian Bertelsen, the writer's great-grandfather) on the 10th, ordained two Priests on 12th, sealed 15 persons on 13th, blessed three Deacons (after ordination by Angel) on 15th, and installed G. Wieder as Angel's Coadjutor on 17th; he thereafter moved to visit smaller congregations elsewhere, performing similar functions (Årsbo, V, pp.101-103).

Special Note on four succeeding Forms: the distinction is made here between a celebration of the Eucharist on a special occasion, and one on ordinary weekdays, at which the Angel of the Church and the Angel-Evangelist are at liberty to use parts of the Special Forms. This ensures flexibility for different occasions and circumstances.

On behalf of a Particular Church: 1847

Proper of Oblation: 1847: (i) cf. Col.2:2, B.C.P. Prayer of Oblation ('thy whole Church'), Mt.23:32, I Cor.2:16, II Thess.1:11; (ii) an adapted version of that contained in the Form for an Apostolic Council, thus throwing light on the latter's possible pre-1851 dating, since this item would, presumably, be composed initially for Apostolic use.

For Unity, in a Time of Declension, or Falling Away : 1847

Collect: 1847; cf. Eph.4:13, I Cor.12:8, B.C.P. Prayer for Clergy and People ('pour upon'), Ps.56:8, II Tim.2:26, II Cor.1:21, Ju.21; deals with categories of the Form; N.B. pneumatology.

Epistle: 1847; Gal.6:1-8; not found elsewhere, but suitable material.

Anthem after Epistle: 1847; v. Ezek.34:16a, 12b.

Gospel: 1847: Lk.15:3-10; cf. Pent.IV; continues theme of Form and Anthem after Epistle in particular.

Proper of Oblation: 1847; cf. Is.29:9, Lk.22:32, Mt. 24:12, Ps.119:10, II Pet.2:15, Jas.5:19, Ps.51:12, Eph.4:17, II Pet.1:12; N.B. pneumatology once more.

Communion Anthem: 1847: v. Ps.130:3,4,7,8.

Additional Post-Communion Prayer: 1847; cf. Corpus Christi Collect, 'sub.... mirabili', M.R.;Col.2:2, Eph.4:3, B.C.P. Communion Absolution ('confirm and strengthen'), Is.55:7, I Pet.2:25; N.B. curious expression 'secret working of Thy Holy Spirit'.

Special Note This Form is appointed to be used only when expressly sanctioned by the Apostle (Rub.E.p.72, Rub.S. p.57). Exactly the same Form appears under the heading 'Service of the Holy Eucharist administered unto a reviving of heart' in an early individual printed paper in the writer's possession, inserted into a copy of the 1843 edition, and is likely to be 1847, in view of the dating of other such printed Forms in this edition (v.i. In Time of Scarcity and Apprehended Famine); we suggest that the 'crisis' of 1840-7 may have played a part in the issuing of this Form.

For Imploring the Blessing of Almighty God upon the Labours of Evangelists : 1851

Collect: 1851; cf. Is.2:2, Ps.43:3, Ps.119:35, II Tim.3:16, II Cor.7:1, II Pet.3:14, Eph.5:27; cf. also Good Friday, Prayer (2), Ch.8.

Epistle: 1851: Hag.2:1-9; this continues from the Reading at the Forenoon Service immediately preceding; the theme is suitable for the occasion.

Anthem after Epistle: 1851; v. Is.52:7, and 32:20; the bearers of good tidings are identified with the Angel-Evangelists and the Priest-Evangelists working under them.

Gospel: 1851: Lk.10:1-24; from Missionary Discourse, and therefore fitting the context.

Proper of Oblation: 1851: cf. Is.43:1, Heb.13:15, II Pet.1:16, Jn.17:24, Eph.4:12; N.B. pneumatology, and direct references to the work of the Church; the 'word of witness' = the message of the Church, the 'testimony' = the 'Testimony'; N.B. curious language, 'remove the veil'; the meaning of this prayer is clear, setting out boldly the claims of the Church.

Special Commemoration of the Universal Church: 1851; in 1880 appears the reference to the 'coadjutor having charge', probably because of the deaths of the several apostles (v.s. Eucharist, Commemoration of Living (1) re. dating of similar insertion referring to Coadjutors). In 1869, the 'evanglists with (the Apostle) 'were mentioned. The 'Five Evangelists' in London were five Angel-Evangelists whose evangelistic work corresponded to the pastoral oversight of the Seven Angels of the Churches; each had a district, and the 'five' stood over and above the five Evangelists for England. The text of the prayer contains a catalogue of the modes of evangelistic ministry.

Special Commemoration of Ministers of Particular Churches: 1851: cf. Lk.19:44; N.B. (i) provision for lands where Established Church is non-episcopal; (ii) pneumatology; (iii) humility with which claims of the Church are stated over against the leaders of the other Churches; (iv) apart from the Monday after Pentecost and the Separation of the Apostles (both in the Commemoration of the Departed) this is the only occasion when special insertions are prescribed for the Commemorations of the Living and Departed.

Communion Anthem: 1851; v. Ps.68:9-12; a vivid O.T. image of the evangelisation of the people.

Additional Post-Communion Prayer: 1851; cf. I Cor. 15:43, II Cor.12:9; N.B. (i) mention of both success and failure in evangelism; and (ii) this prayer occupies same position in both the Form for the Three Seasons (1858) and for Tuesday after Pentecost (1875).

Special Note: This Form for the Forenoon and Eucharist is to be used only by order of the Apostle on special occasions, and neither it nor the following Form is to be used at regular intervals, nor used in their entirety, without the sanction of the Apostle. However, the Forms in the Eucharist may be used on special occasions by the Angel-Evangelist. The Collect (in this case used as an Additional Collect), and either of the additions to the Prayer of Oblation (= Proper of Oblation), and those to the Prayers of Commemoration, and the Additional Post-Communion Prayer, may be introduced on any weekday by the Angel of the Church, or by the Angel-Evangelist of the district. On every occasion of the celebration of the Eucharist by the Angel-Evangelist, or one of those serving under him, a receptacle should be placed to receive offerings for the Evangelist Work, not being the usual receptacle for offerings for that purpose, that they may be presented in the Eucharist on the Lord's Day (Rub.E.p.73, Rub.S.p.57).

N.B. (i) In prescribing the Form also for Forenoon Service, Cardale presupposes a celebration of the Eucharist where several Ministers are present and with a certain degree of solemnity. Apart from Days of Humiliation and Rejoicing, this is the only Occasional Form with provision for its own Forenoon Service; (ii) As regards the prescriptions for offerings for Evangelistic Work, we see the interdependent nature of the ministries of Angel of the Church and Angel-Evangelist of the district.

For Beseeching the Lord to Raise up Evangelists : 1851

Epistle: 1851: Rom.10:11-17; contains exhortation for 'a preacher' - the evangelist.

Gospel: 1851: Mt.9:35-38; call for labourers for harvest, once more referring to Evangelist.

Proper of Oblation: 1851, cf Eucharist, Commemoration of Living (5), Ch.6, for similar material; cf. also Is.60:2, Exod.18:21, Mt.20:4, Is.61:1-2, IK.8:39, Ps.90:16; for 'let.....Kingdon', v.s. previous Form, the only difference being 'hasten' for 'bring near'; this is one of the longest of the Propers of Oblation; for its layout, (petition for ministers, preaching, eschatological material), cf. that appointed for Three Seasons.

Special Note. This is the first such Form for candidates for a particular ministry, and shows the desire for more and more evangelistic work; it was soon to be followed in 1858 by the introduction of the Three Seasons Form, which is concerned with all the kinds of ordained ministry in the Church.

In Times of Any Apprehended Public Calamity: 1853

Collect: 1847; appears first 'On Days of Rejoicing'.

Epistle: 1853: Jam.1:2-7; exhortation to patience.

Anthem after Epistle: 1853: v. Ps.34:17-19,22; affirmation of trust.

Gospel: 1853: Mt.21:18-22; exhortation to faith.

Proper of Oblation: 1853; cf.Ps.78:56, B.C.P. Morning Prayer Collect ('being defended'), II Chron.6:31: N.B.(i) proliferation of penitential material, unexpectedly original (i.e. not immediately Biblical); (ii) rhetorical language; and (iii) concluding pneumatological section.

Communion Anthem: 1853; v. Ps.145:18-21; repeats theme of Anthem after Epistle.

Special Note. Forms for Days of Humiliation and Rejoicing may only be used when specifically appointed by the Apostles (i.e. in cases of international calamity/rejoicing) or the Apostle in charge of the Tribe (i.e. in the case of a national calamity/rejoicing). The Angel, may, however, request permission from the Apostle, through the Pastor-with-the-Apostle, to use any of these Forms (i.e. in the case of local calamity/rejoicing); furthermore, should it be impossible to obtain this permission in time, the Angel may, at his own discretion, use any of these Forms, duly notifying the Apostle, through the Pastor-with-the-Apostle (Rub.E. pp.74-75, Rub.S. pp.58-59). As in the case of the Form of Unity, Apostolic control is exerted. Dark-purple or black Chasubles, Dalmatics, and Stoles are allowed on these occasions (Rub.E. p.156, Rub.S. silent on this).

In Times of Sickness : 1847

Collect: 1847: v. corresponding Collect from Votive Mass in M.R. 'pro vitanda mortalitate' ('Deus, qui non mortem'), which Cardale here edits; cf. also Ezek. 33:11, Collect, Epiph.I, B.C.P. for 'we....heart'.

Epistle: 1847; II Sam.24:10-25; plague averted from Israel.

Anthem after Epistle: 1847; v. Ps.90:7-8, 13-14; call for deliverance, referring to sickness.

Proper of Oblation: 1847; v. Prayer 'in time of Plague', B.C.P. which Cardale appears to edit; cf. also Lev. 9:7-24, II Sam. 24:25, Exod. 12:12-13, Heb.13:15. N.B. O.T. material.

Communion Anthem: 1847; cf. Ps.103:2-5;

In Times of Scarcity and Apprehended Famine : 1847

Collect: v.s. previous Form.

Epistle: 1847: Gen.8:15-22; flood typologically identified with famine.

Gospel: 1847: Mk.8:1-9; feeding of four thousand, identified with feeding of hungry; cf. Pent.VIII.

Proper of Oblation: 1847; cf. Gen.8:22, Heb.13:15, Ps.38:1; N.B. rhetorical style.

Communion Anthem: 1847; v. Ps.33:18-19, 21-22; prayer for mercy.

Additional Post-Communion Prayer: 1847; cf. Gal.4:5, Mt.6:31-33; N.B. (i) O.T. confidence in creation; (ii) N.T. confidence in Eucharistic life; one of Cardale's best compositions, for balance, fluency, succinctness and content.

Special Note. The writer has in his possession an earlyprinted Form (among others) entitld 'Services for Fast-Day on Account of Famine' inserted into an 1843 edition of the Liturgy; the Form contains provision

for Forenoon Service as well as the Eucharist (cf. Form for Imporing Blessing upon Evangelists, and On Days of Humiliation). Attached to this is a piece of M.SS. which reads: 'Probably for 24th March 1847 on account of the Irish Famine on 17 ? 1847. There was a National Thanksgiving for relief from this famine. The Apostle, Mr. Dro. (= Drummond) preached sermons on both these occasions'. This throws interesting light on the origin of this Form; the place where it was found, together with the 1847 edition, was the Edinburgh Church, so we may assume that Mr.Drummond was in Edinburgh at this time, in his Tribe.

In Times of War, or Danger from Enemies, Foreign or Domestic : 1847

Collect: 1847: cf. Prayer for Thanksgiving for Peace (B.C.P.) and Collect, Epiph. III (B.C.P.), which Cardale fuses together to form a neat compilation, avoiding the length noted in his original compositions.

Epistle: 1847: Jam.4:1-10; condemnation of war, call to humility, both of which themes are prevalent in this Form.

Anthem after Epistle: 1847; v. Ps.59:1, Ps.60:11-12; plea for deliverance.

Gospel: 1847: Mt.14:22-33; calming of storm, applied to wars in this case.

Proper of Oblation: 1847; cf. Eucharist, Commemoration of Living (3) Ch.6, for similar material; cf. also Ps.56:2; Obsecrations, Litany, B.C.P.; Ps.41:2, Ps.121:7; Prayer for Peace, B.C.P.; Heb.13:20; Prayer for Church Militant, B.C.P. ('spirit.....concord'); Jer.50:22; N.B. (i) strange expressions 'in Thy Holy fear'; (ii) war regarded as a necessity, and therefore God's will, even in the Christian virtue of 'duty'; however, the Christian ethics of war (as presupposed here) go no further than a defensive victory.

Communion Anthem: 1847: v. Ps.33:16-18,22; deprecation of man's power, affirmation of trust in God's power.

Additional Post-Communion Prayer: 1847; cf. Post-Communion in Votive Mass 'in tempore belli', M.R. which Cardale here edits in the same way as in the Collect in the Form in Times of Sickness; N.B. only Additional Post - Communion Prayer without specific mention of Communion and fruits thereof, probably because of Roman source.

On Days of Rejoicing for any Special Mercy or Deliverance : 1847

Collect: 1847; cf Collect, Trinity XII, B.C.P.; it is curious that this Collect is prescribed for use also in the Form on Days of Rejoicing, although not inappropriate; one might have expected Cardale to have composed a special Collect on both occasions, but perhaps he thought it preferable to use one, which would embody the theology of intercession and the will of God, a healthy safeguard against the misuse of these 'votive' Forms.

Epistle: 1847: Phil.4:4-8; cf also Ch.8, Epistle for Advent IV, but N.B. added verse; appropriate content obvious.

Anthem after Epistle: 1847; (i) v. Ps.103:1,3-4; (ii) v. Ps.46:1,9-11; (iii) v. Ps. 118:17-19; all these reflect the needs of the occasions for which compiled.

Gospel: 1847: Mt.7:7-11.

Proper of Oblation: 1847; cf. B.C.P. Thanksgiving for Peace ('offer...us'), Heb.12:15; (i) Lk.1:71, Ezek.9:1, Ps.51:12; (ii) B.C.P. Thanksgiving from Plague II ('that...dwellings'), which Cardale appears to edit; (iii) Gen. 41:31; concluding Ps.119:1-2; B.C.P. Thanksgiving from Plague I ('we.... thee'), Rom.12:1.

Communion Anthem: 1847; cf. Ps.34:3-4, 7-8; exultant thanksgiving.

A Young Person about to Engage in any Occupation in Life : 1847

Proper of Oblation: 1847: cf. Lit.p.50 ('we...glory') from Prayer of Dedication after Absolution at M. and E.P.; cf. also B.C.P. Prayer of Chrysostom ('as....them'), Scot 1764, Bridbrooke p.347 ('persevere .....resolutions'), Ps.116:18; N.B. (i) as in the previous Form, the O.T. ideas of paying vows and self-oblation are given Eucharistic meaning in the Proper of Oblation; (ii) the only occasion when a particular person present is prayed for in this place, except in the case of Sealing and conferring Orders.

Special Note. This Form is to be used when specially requested, after the Angel's sanction has been given (Rub.E.p.74, Rub.S. p.58). The person concerned usually had his place among the front seats in the congregation on this occasion.

On behalf of a Woman after Childbearing : 1851

Proper of Oblation: 1851; cf. Heb.12:15; cf. General Thanksgiving, B.C.P. ('thanks...men'); Churching of Women, B.C.P. ('vouchsafed.....childbirth'); cf. also Ps22:22, 50:14; Collect, Epiph.I, B.C.P. ('and....same'); Churching, B.C.P. ('that.....come'); N.B. reference to private prayers in childbirth are set alongside thanks in the congregation (for which cf. previous Form for similar emphasis).

Special Note. This Form is to be used when specially requested, after the Angel's sanction has been given, and preferably as soon after childbirth as possible (Rub.E. p.74, Rub.S. p.58).

In Making Special Commemoration of a Sick Person : 1847

Proper of Oblation: 1847; cf. Collect from Votive Mass 'pro infirmis', M.R. which Cardale appears to edit; cf. also Jam. 5:14, II Thess.2:16, Ps.22:22, Is.63:9; cf. also Collect from Votive Mass 'pro informo qui proximus est morti', M.R. ('sed....perduci'); for sources of bracketed portion, v.s. Eucharist, Commemoration cf. Living 14) Ch.6, where same material.

Additional Post-Communion Prayer: 1847: cf. Post-Communion, M.R.Votive Mass 'pro infirmo qui proximus est morti', which Cardale appears to edit; N.B. Cardale uses 'grace of this sacrament' rather than 'per huius virtutem sacramentu', thus committing himself to an oblatory doctrine of the Eucharist, but avoiding a mechanical interpretation.

Special Note. This Form may be used, in the discretion of the Angel, when a minister of the Church, or a lay person in whom the congregation may feel peculiar interest, is 'seriously ill' (Rub.E. p.73) or 'sick' (Rub.S. p.58).

In Commemorating a Person lately Deceased : 1847

Collect: 1847: cf. Trinity VI Collect, B.C.P. ('O God...understanding'); (Phil.4:7,) IITim.1:12, I.Cor.15:53-54; a neat and concise composition, expressing clearly a theology of the departed which avoids the doctrine of purgatory (for which v.i. Special Note), but allows for intercession for the departed from an eschatological perspective. It is also on the 'eschaton' that the Church's understanding of the All Saints' Day Liturgy and the Commemoration of the Departed in the Eucharist are based.

Epistle: 1847; I.Thess.4:13-18; cf. equivalent in votive M.R.

Anthem after Epistle: 1847; v. Job.19:24-27; cf. also Funeral Service Anthems, B.C.P.

Gospel: 1847: Jn.5:24-29; not found elsewhere but nonetheless appropriate; the dominant themes are the Christian hope through faith inChrist and the 'eschaton'.

Proper of Oblation: 1847; cf. Ps.49:15. 1 Cor.15:54, Phil.3:11; cf. also previous Form ('world of sorrows'); N.B. (i) rhetorical language, 'Lord ....forgotten', and (ii) (predictable) eschatological material at end.

Communion Anthem: 1851 (i) v. Ps.112:4,6,7, 9b; (ii) v. Ps.17:1-2, 8, 15; the former is an objective, the latter, a subjective hymn of the promises to the man who trusts in God; both are appropriate for the occasion, N.B. both Anthems composed by 1851 - neither these Anthems nor the Additional Post-Communion Prayer appear in the 1847 Book of Occasional Services whereas all the others which appear in 1851 also appear in 1847, whether in the Liturgy, or in the Book of Occasional Services.

Additional Post-Communion Prayer: 1851; cf. I.Cor.12:13; an original composition in which the Church Militant's role and the state of the Church Expectant are given equal emphasis; N.B. explicit reference to Baptism ('bond...Ghost') and the implicit allusion to the Eucharist ('accept....service'). Surprisingly, there is no direct eschatological material, although this aspect is not denied in the prayer (and certainly not denied in the Form as a whole). The expression 'energy of Thy divine life' isclear but nonetheless strange (cf. Proper of Oblation, Easter Day). Since this prayer expresses Cardale's doctrine of the Church, in composition, operation, and destiny; it is perhaps one of his finest compositions, regardless of its linguistic merits.

N.B. this item, like the Communion Anthem, appears first not until 1851.

Special Note. The Rubrics lay down that this Form may be used either as soon after the decease as can conveniently be arranged, or on the day of the burial, or, if more convenient, on any subsequent day. The full

service thus provided should be used only once in the same Church in the case of each individual deceased, but the addition to the Prayer of Oblation may (for sufficient cause, to be allowed by the Angel) be used more than once. In exercising their discretion in this behalf, Angels are to take heed that they give no room for superstitious observances in respect of the departed. It is not fitting that the full office should be used in the case of children or very young persons. Such may be mentioned by name in the Commemoration of the Departed at an ordinary celebration of the Eucharist. The Angel of the Church is at liberty to request the Angel of another Church to commemorate a person who has died in the neighbourhood of that church, in case it may be more convenient to the family of the deceased person to attend the service there. Under such circumstances, the deceased person may, in the discretion of the Angel, be commemorated in both churches (Rub.E. pp.73-4, Rub.S. p.58). Dark purple or black Chasubles, Dalmatics, and Stoles may be used on these occasions. Non-officiating ministers in choir wear cassock and mozette only, if Angels or Priests and cassock only, if Deacons (Rub.E.p.156, Rub.S. p.122). The Scottish Rubrics imply that the custom of wearing such dark-coloured Vestments is not as widespread as the English Rubrics presuppose.

The Burial Office was never part of the Liturgy used in England or France, because of the laws restricting legal burial; this was not the case in Scotland, Canada, Germany, and in other countries, where there were no such laws and where an adaptation of the B.C.P. Office was used (cf. Oxford Dictionary of Christian Church, p.208b, for Burial Laws). However, even in these latter countries, no provision was made for the Burial to take place during the Commemoration Eucharist.

In the above prescriptions, it is important to note the care which is taken to avoid the 'cult of the departed'. Cardale's must have been the only Church in 1847 in Britain to commemorate the departed in the Eucharist in this way, with the exception of the Roman and Orthodox Communions; and this explains the defensive tone of the Rubrics. It is unclear why the Form should be deemed unsuitable in the case of children, although the tone of the Form perhaps assumes adulthood and experience in the life of the Church on the part of the deceased person. Unlike the Roman practice, there is only one Form, to be used not more than once; contrast the numerous forms,'Missae Defunctorum',in M.R. All commemorations of the Departed other than of a single person who has died recently properly belong to the All Saints' Day Liturgy. The dominant theme of the entire Form is positive, and full of hope.

PART III

ASSESSMENT

Chapter 11 : Liturgical Assessment

The purpose of this chapter is to look at the Rite from a specifically liturgical point of view, both in its theory and its practice. We will, therefore, examine it from various angles - its language, its source-use, its methods of composition, and, finally, its performance.

(a) Language

Language is a feature of liturgical studies which in recent years has been coming under closer scrutiny[1]. In discussing this aspect of self-expression in worship, it is interesting to note the development of the early Catholic Apostolic Rite; the pristine forms had flexibility and spontaneity as their starting-point, and any fixed elements were fitted into this framework, whereas the latter forms contained a very fixed structure as the starting-point, and any spontaneous elements were fitted into that framework. After the adoption of a service-book, the pruning of lengthy portions of the Confession between 1842 and 1847, and the Prayer of Oblation before Consecration between 1842 and 1851 are of linguistic import to the Rite, since they occur at the same stage at which other elements are inserted into the Liturgy of an entirely new kind[2].

(1) The language is lengthy: this strikes the twentieth century reader more than it would have someone at the time of composition, and this length can be regarded as a nineteenth century characteristic. First, there is straight repetition of similar or identical themes, but in different parts of the Rite (e.g. Proper Preface/Proper of Oblation; Creed/Common Preface). Secondly, there is inclusiveness, the desire for which is

1. cf. Hermann Schmidt, 'Language and its Function in Worship', Studia Liturgica, Vol. 8, No.1. pp.1-25, Jean Calloud, 'Sémio-linguistique et texte liturgique', Maison-Dieu, 114, pp.36-58.
2. i.e. the older forms of some of the prayers were abbreviated at the time when new compositions inspired by more primitive sources were inserted elsewhere in the Rite; v. Chart A/II.

expressed by Cordale in 'Readings'[3], and which we may apply in general to the Sunday Eucharist, and in particular to the Preface and the Commemoration of the Living and the Departed. Thirdly, there are doublets, either a hang-over from Tudor English ('provoking...us', in Confession), or direct from Biblical material ('repent...ashes', also in Confession), or specifically liturgical ('bread...salvation', Prayer of Oblation after Consecration). Fourthly, there are examples of passages with a marked rhetorical style, which do not interrupt the run of the English, but call attention to the content of the passage in question ('O Lord...will-worship', in Prayer for Low Estate).

(2) The language is symbolic, often heavily so. In this connection, there are several categories. First, the symbols are apocalyptic, either pointing to a present life of purity and peace ('Send down....fire': Prayer of Oblation before Consecration), or to the Coming Kingdom ('we may.....kingdom': Additional Post-Communion, All Saints). Second, the symbols are derived from specifically O.T. themes, either direct (e.g. sacrificial, 'that....righteousness': Prayer of Approach at Introit), or typological (e.g. the Law, 'who....Christ', Additional Post-Communion, Pentecost). Third, the symbols are derived from specifically N.T.themes, either related to the Church ('The Body of Thy Christ', Commemoration of Living (1)), or to discipleship ('follow....goeth', Proper of Oblation (i), Form By Apostle for Tribe). Fourth, the symbols are idiosyncratic, and usually related to specific doctrinal emphases (e.g. 'energy...life', Additional Post-Communion, Commemoration of Deceased Person).

3. '...this (short form for Preface) may be convenient for daily use.... But on the first day of the week, in the great assembly of the saints, it is fitting that our ascription of praise and glory in this sacrifice of Eucharist should overflow'. R.L.I. p.146 '...And let none feel surprised that, on such an occasion (i.e. Sunday Eucharist) the prayers and intercessions should be of considerable length..... let us rejoice that full scope should be given to.....the Church.... and the world'. R.L.I. p.175.

(3) The language expresses the intention of the different parts of the Rite. First, there is a definite sense of proportion in the way the Rite is set out, and also in the way different component parts are placed, either in the Eucharist itself (e.g. the long Preface, building up to the Consecration as an 'Act'), or in the Forms (e.g. the standard length of Collect, especially those of Cardale's composition); this means that the Rite has an aesthetic shape, as well as a liturgical one. Second, the Rite sets out to express certain assumptions, some of which are common to all Christian bodies employing a service-book (e.g. the Eucharist itself), and some of which are common only to the Catholic Apostolic Church (e.g. the position of the ordained ministry, hierarchical - Commemorations of Living - as well as representative - 'And now....speak and do', in Prayer of Oblation before Consec.); but because the Rite was composed in toto, such specific assumptions cannot be said to have been 'inserted' into an older framework, so that, in assessing the Rite, the usual and the unusual must be seen together, however much the latter may attract more of our attention[4].

From these three considerations can be drawn out the following qualities in the language of our Rite; it is rich, in that it tends to say more rather than less; it is esoteric, in that it does not address itself immediately to the unconverted, but rather to full initiates; and it is catholic, in that it draws on the wealth of tradition inChristian Liturgy open to a Church such as that of the Catholic Apostolics.

4. Whereas older Rites, with special doctrinal slants, 'emerged' (e.g. the Nestorian Anaphorae), the Catholic Apostolics already had developed their doctrinal and ecclesiological emphases and claims before any Rite which we know of fully was ever issued.

(b) Source-use

(i) The Eucharist: There are five main features discernible in the composition of this part of the Rite; Roman, Anglican, Oriental, Biblical, and Original.

(1) Roman The basic shape of the Rite is Roman and Roman sources pervade it, with the notable exception of the Commemorations of the Living and the Departed. There are four different uses; first, there is direct borrowing (e.g. Invocation, Peace and the Final Commendation at the end of the Commemoration of Departed), where a 'Cranmerian' translation is offered by Cardale; this does not preclude adaptation (e.g. the Peace, as used at other Offices). Second, there is adaptative borrowing, where recognisably Roman elements are conflated with others, either in the traditional place (e.g. 'Orate Fratres', Prayer of Oblation after Consecration), or given a new meaning (Hallelujah after Gloria, Benediction of Homilist). Third, there is position-use, where a component part original in composition and/or context occupies a position which is traditional Roman (e.g. Collects, and the Anthems after Epistle and Communion). Fourth, there is use of ancient Roman customs, extinct in the Roman Rite in Cardale's time (e.g. Benediction before Communion, which is more specifically 'Gallican', and the use of a hymn as 'confractorium', although not the Agnus Dei itself[5]).

(2) Anglican: The language of the Rite is basically 'Cranmerian', over and above all idiosyncrasies and source-use. Beneath this surface, however, are four main uses of Anglican material; first, there is translation-use, where an element from another Rite (itself a source) is employed in its 'translation', either from an entirely different service (e.g. use of Kyrie Eleison from B.C.P. Litany) or in the same position (e.g. material in

5. 'Gallican' is here used in its widest sense. As regards the Agnus Dei, the point here is that Cardale uses it as a liturgical item in the same way as the Tridentine Roman Mass, (i.e. part of the Rite itself), rather than as an item which is sung while an action is taking place, (i.e. the original use of the Agnus Dei, which is here covered by a Hymn).

Commemoration of Departed dealing with Patriarchs, Martyrs etc., from 1549 Rite). Second, there is direct borrowing (e.g. Gloria in excelsis, Prayer to the Father), but here to a lesser extent than in use of Roman elements, and in relatively subsidiary parts of the Rite. Third, there is adaptative borrowing (e.g. Offertory Sentences, Commemoration of Living,4) Ministers of Particular Churches); again, these are on the whole minor parts of the Liturgy. Fourth, there is adaptative use of Anglican Liturgies other than 1662, from those of the 'Non-Juring' family, usually in an 'Orientalising' direction (e.g. Prayer of Oblation before Consecration, and the Preface), occasionally for idiosyncrasy (e.g. position of Lord's Prayer, in Jeremy Taylor's Liturgy), but never in a way which is inauthentic (e.g. Catechumens in Thomas Rattray's Liturgy, which Cardale uses as a Prayer for Children - an authentic aspect of the Church's life).

(3) Oriental These pervade the Rite, but do not determine the shape of its different parts in the same way as the Roman sources. First, Oriental features seem to be present recurrently on two specific themes; Intercession (there are more examples of source-use in Commemorations of Living and Departed than anywhere else in the entire Rite), and the Holy Spirit, either in connection with the Church and Sacraments (Consecration Epiclesis), or with penitence (Confession, Prayer of Oblation before Consecration). Secondly, there is straight borrowing, which is less frequent than use of Roman material, and slightly less than Anglican (e.g. Prayers to Father, Son and Spirit before Communion, and the Sancta Sanctis). Third, there is adaptative borrowing, which is much greater in degree than the former, and is found throughout the Rite, including those categories noted above (e.g. in the Preface). Fourth, Cardale shows no preference for one Oriental Rite over against another, although he uses mostly the principal Eastern Liturgies, whereas the Anglican 'Non-Juring' Rites all show predominant dependence on the Liturgy of the 8th Book of

Apostolic Constitutions, thus falling into line with the theories of their time concerning its authorship and antiquity.

(4) Biblical Any Christian Rite which purports to be established on a Scriptural basis will use the Bible as source material; and this is certainly true of our Rite, although specific Biblical quotations are fewer in the Eucharist than in the Forms. Four features are noticeable about the use of this material in the Eucharist; first, such use can be straight borrowing (e.g. Offertory Sentences, Anthems, Pre-Communion Sentences). Second, it can be indirect (e.g. Confession, Prayer of Approach at Introit). Third, it can be used in an esoteric way, to warrant ministerial (e.g. Ministers of the Universal Church) or theological (e.g. eschatological material in Concluding Prayer before Communion) idiosyncrasies of the Church. Fourth, in framing the content of the Rite, Cardale does not have recourse to Scripture exclusively on those occasions when he appears to lack liturgical precedent for what he seeks to express, since there are examples of his finding and expressing scriptural origins for traditional liturgical material (e.g. lengthy discussion on the Prayer of Approach at Introit)[6].

(5) Original The whole Rite is original, however synthetic the source-use may be. Three conclusions can be drawn on the original material: first, it can result from an idiosyncrasy of the Church, either in hierarchy (e.g. Apostles, Coadjutors etc.), or in the life of the Church (e.g. healing), or in eschatology (e.g. dying). Second, it can result from straight composition of material to fit into a traditional framework, either in parts of a prayer (e.g. Confession), or in thewhole of a prayer (e.g. Absolution), where source-use, if any, is mere echo. In looking at both these features, it will be seen how inevitable is the intrusion of Biblical material, for different reasons; in the first, the idiosyncrasies

6. R.L.I. pp.45 and 203.

of the Church are all intended to be Scripture-based; in the second, the background and piety of the Catholic Apostolic Church was Scriptural. Third, there are examples of completely new elements, based either on adaptation (e.g. the Offertory Prayer, separate from the Greater Introit), or on special interpretation (e.g. the Gloria as Introit); both these come across as means of clarifying the direction and shape of the Rite.

The Rite is therefore Roman in its overall shape and structure; Anglican in its language and comprehensiveness; Oriental in certain defined themes; Biblical in a great deal of new and old but adapted material; and liturgically erudite in its original features. But the Rite is a unity, and at every point where source is used, it has a function in the Rite and a meaning in the Church; for this reason, the underlying factor in the Eucharist is the adaptation and moulding of different sources to make one whole[7].

(ii) Seasonal Forms

Six elements, some minor, some major, affect the end-product of the Seasonal Forms.

(1) Roman This is on a scale similar to that found in the Eucharist. The Christmas Eve Collect and Additional Post-Communion Prayer are both direct translations from the Roman Missal, as is the Collect for the Thursday before Easter, but more in the way of a paraphrase. There are Roman elements in the Proper of Oblation for the Thursday before Easter, but, as in the case of the Proper Prefaces for Christmas Day, Easter and Ascension, these are mixed with other elements. Next, however, the special Rites at the end of the Eucharist on the Thursday before Easter and the

7. The liturgical comparison heremay be made between Cranmer and Cardale, since they are both central figures to the genesis of the Rites in question, and their books bear the marks of liturgical adaptation (e.g. use of Roman, Calvinist and Lutheran material in B.C.P.)

Liturgy for Good Friday both show the Roman Rite as the base, but with originalities; the former has considerable simplification, involving certain ancient Roman elements, the latter shows an ingenious rationale for the position and structure of the Intercession. Finally, there are isolated examples of borrowing from the Lectionary, in the Christmas Day Epistle, the Gospel for Quadragesima II (changed in 1853 from the corresponding one in B.C.P.), and the Gospel for the Thursday before Easter. This shows another interesting example of source-use; all three have a definite rationale.

(2) Anglican This is strongest of all in the Collects and Lectionary. All the remaining Collects, except those for Monday and Tuesday after Pentecost, the Separation of the Apostles, and the Three Seasons are B.C.P., three of them mixed with other sources (2 Roman, 1 Biblical). Only one Proper Preface (Ascension Day) shows direct source-use, but this is mixed with other elements, as in the case of the Proper of Oblation for the Thursday before Easter, Easter and Ascension Days. The Additional Post-Communion Prayer for the Thursday before Easter yields one echo of B.C.P. material. The Lectionary is basically Anglican; apart from the three Roman examples noted, all the Readings are from B.C.P., with the following exceptions; Christmas Day Gospel (N.B. Roman Epistle on this occasion), Circumcision Epistle, Quadragesima IV Epistle (N.B. Corresponding Roman Gospel on this occasion), Quadragesima V Gospel (N.B. no 'Passion-tide'), Pentecost Epistle, Epistles and Gospels for Monday and Tuesday after Pentecost, Separation of Apostles, All Saints Day and the Three Seasons. These all seem to be governed by two criteria; a desire to put a new or an ancient interpretation on the occasion concerned, or to lay down Readings for occasions common only to the Catholic Apostolic Church. The proportion is greatest in the Collects and Lectionary, other usages being echoes rather than extended borrowing.

(3) Oriental This appears in two Anthems. The first is the Anthem after the Epistle on Good Friday, which, although based on Gal.3:13, is modelled on two anthems from the Byzantine Horologion for that day. The second is the Communion Anthem for the Sunday before Easter; where Cardale notes similarity of material in an anthem for this same day in the Byzantine Horologion,but he goes more directly to the Scriptural source. These are interesting examples of different types of source-use, no rationale for which can be noted.

(4) Biblical As is to be expected, this is strongest in original compositions, although, as has been seen to be the case in the Eucharist, by no means confined to them. Among the Collects, those for the Monday and Tuesday after Pentecost, the Separation of Apostles, and the Three Seasons, are naturally original in material and content, but those for Easter Eve and Pentecost show free adaptation with Anglican source-use. Of the eleven Prefaces, only three are mixed with other elements (all with Roman, and one with Anglican also); the remainder are exclusively Biblical. A similar proportion is discernible in the case of the Propers of Oblation, where in four out of fifteen there are mixtures with other sources (three Anglican, one of which has additional Roman, and one from the Eucharist), the remainder being Biblical. All the Apostolical Benedictions are heavily Biblical in their source and material. Of the fourteen Additional Post-Communion Prayers, all except two are wholly Biblical in source, and of these two, one is direct Roman, the other is mixed with some Anglican material. Finally, with the exception of the Good Friday Anthem after the Epistle, and (less so) the Sunday before Easter Communion Anthem, all Anthems are exclusively Biblical in source, some simple (e.g. Communion Anthem on Tuesday after Pentecost), some tortuous (e.g. Communion Anthem on Thursday before Easter). The Biblical source-use, therefore, may either be straight borrowing (eg. Anthems), adaptative with original

material (e.g. Proper of Oblation and Additional Post-Communion), or adaptative with other liturgical material (e.g. Collects) - in that order of predominance.

(5) Original Among the Collects, those for the Thursday before Easter (showing Cardale's skill in adaptation, translation and paraphrase), the Tuesday after Pentecost and the Separation of Apostles (showing Cardale's originality of expression) are among the most significant. The Proper Prefaces for Christmas (succinctness), and for Pentecost and All Saints' Day (length and form), the Propers of Oblation for the Thursday before Easter and Easter Day (succinctness) and for Separation of Apostles and All Saints' Day (length and form) - these are all to be regarded as among Cardale's better compositions. Among the Additional Post-Communion Prayers, those for Advent, the Thursday before Easter, Ascension Day, Pentecost and All Saints' Day, deserve to be commended for their style (clear structure), suitability for occasion (seasonal material), Eucharistic content (thanksgiving and prayer for fruits, related to occasion), as well as idiosyncratic material (eschatology). Of the four Apostolical Benedictions, the one for Easter seems particularly fine, both in language, form and content.

(6) There is one example of a part of the Rite of the Eucharist influencing a part of the Seasonal Forms; this is in the Proper of Oblation on All Saints' Day.

These six factors determine the content of the Seasonal Forms. Some of the influences are very minor (e.g. from the Eucharist and Oriental sources), and some are important (e.g. Roman, affecting content rather than form); but the most significant features are the Anglican influences, which determine the basic form of the liturgical year (allowing for idiosyncrasies), the Lectionary and Collects; and the Biblical material,

which assists Cardale in his work of adaptation, and furnishes him with ample material for providing for the occasions (e.g. Tuesday after Pentecost) and material common only to our Rite (e.g. Proper of Oblation). Finally, there is the original material, among which are examples of Cardale's best work, in adaptation as well as in entirely original compositions, which display his art of clarity, structure, and theological knowledge.

(iii) Occasional Forms

In examining the Occasional Forms, the same six elements occur as in the Seasonal Forms, but in slightly different proportions.

(1) Roman The Collect for the Form In Times of Scarcity or Sickness is a direct translation of the Collect in the corresponding Votive Mass. Similarly, there is the use (with the Anglican translation) of the Collect in the Form for Apostolic Council, and the Epistle in the Form for Commemorating a Deceased Person is from one of the Requiem Masses. The Proper of Oblation in the Form for a Sick Person has material (mixed with other elements) from the Proper Preface of the corresponding Votive Mass; similarly, there is material in the Additional Post-Communion Prayers in the Forms for use in Time of War and for a Sick Person which comes from the prayers in the corresponding Votive Mass. These influences, numerically, do not amount to much, but are nonetheless important, because of the character of the Occasional Forms, which is either ecclesiastical (e.g. Apostolic Council), or pastoral (e.g. Sick Person).

(2) Anglican The Collects in the Form of Apostolic Council (but in the Roman position), Calamity/Rejoicing(an interesting collation of two different Collects), and In Times of War are all basically B.C.P. There is indirect influence in the Anthem after the Epistle in the Form for Commemorating a Deceased Person, which is taken from the Anthems at the

start of the B.C.P. Funeral service. The Gospel in the Form for use in Times of Scarcity is in the Sunday Lectionary both of B.C.P. and our Rite. Further indirect influence is to be detected in the Propers of Oblation in the Forms for Apostolic Council, Sickness, War and Rejoicing, but here mixed with other elements. Finally, direct Anglican influence can be seen in the Form for Woman after Childbirth, which is largely taken from the B.C.P. Churching Office. Anglican influence, therefore, is much weaker here than in the Seasonal Forms.

(3) Oriental In the Proper of Oblation in the Form for an Apostolic Council an Oriental source is detected.

(4) Biblical Because of the comparatively small degree of Roman and Anglican influence, and the esoteric nature of the Occasional Forms, this is the dominant source-use. The remaining four Collects are all Biblical in source, as are all the Propers of Oblation (except in the Form for Woman after Childbirth); only five out of seventeen are mixed with other elements, the remainder being original. All the Additional Post-Communion Prayers are Biblical in source, except in the Form in Times of War (Roman). All Epistles (except Commemoration of Deceased Person, Roman) and Gospels (except Scarcity, Anglican) are original in selection and suitable for the occasions concerned, particularly in view of the presuppositions of Biblical interpretation of the new Church. The Anthems are all Biblical, exclusively drawn from the Psalms. Biblical material, therefore, appears to be used when other liturgical sources are lacking, as well as in conjunction with them.

(5) Original The Proper of Oblation in the Form for a Young Person expresses all the aspirations of the word 'vocation' as applied to unordained work in the Church. The Proper of Oblation in the Form for Commemorating a Deceased Person expresses exactly the same theology of death contained in the Commemoration of the Departed in the Eucharist.

but it is phrased in a particular and a pastoral manner, referring to the death of the person concerned. Among theAdditional Post-Communion Prayers we number as particularly fine those in the Forms for Apostolic Council, which gives scriptural and Eucharistic warrant for the divine illumination prayed for in this case, and inthe Form for Commemorating a Deceased Person, which places death in an eschatological perspective, but does not undermine the responsiblities derived from 'life in the Spirit' in the Church on earth.

(6) Eucharist There is a small instance of influence on the part of the Eucharist, in the Proper of Oblation in the Form for a Young Person; this is a very minor instance, and no more than a mild linguistic echo.

The Occasional Forms, therefore, are affected only in very minor ways by the Eucharist Rite, and by Oriental features; the structure is basically Roman, derived from Votive Masses, but with comparatively few direct borrowings; some of the content is Anglican, as issome of the form; but the majority of the material is Biblical in source, and original in composition. The Seasonal and Occasional Forms are therefore different in their source-use and content; the former contain some of Cardale's best liturgical adaptations, the latter contain some of his best original compositions.

(c) Methods of Composition

We will now examine the Rite from three interrelated stand-points (liturgical conventions, adaptations, and originalities),and try to see how these may apply to its overall shape and to individual parts.

(i) Liturgical conventions

(1) The language is of Communion (where it is not also Biblical) that this can be reckoned as a 'convention'. This can apply to prayers taken direct

from B.C.P. (e.g. Collects, either piecemeal as on All Saints' Day, or translated, as on Christmas Eve), prayers containing mere echoes (e.g. Confession), or fresh compositions, which are unmistakably identifiable as being couched in 'Cranmerian' English (e.g. Offertory Prayer).

(2) More technically, prayers are addressed to the Father, unless there is a specific reason given (Prayers before Communion, with Oriental influence), or implied (e.g. Collect for Thursday before Easter). One of the fruits of the more 'rationalising' work of recent liturgical revision has tended towards a uniformity in this respect, although not without a certain aridity of result; we suggest that Cardale was aware of this basic principle, restricting prayer to (or for) the Spirit for specifically 'epicletic' purposes, and to the Son for prayer of a greater degree of devotional intensity, (e.g. Additional Post-Communion Prayers)[8].

(3) There are certain common factors with other basic Rites: first, the almost universal Creed, Gloria, Sanctus and Agnus, as well as the Lord's Prayer; second, the basic shape of the Rite, which is Western, but also, to a lesser extent, Eastern, as Cardale points out in his discussion on the subject; and thirdly, the shape of individual subsections or sequences (Confession/Absolution, Commemoration of Living/Departed).

(4) The structure of prayers is often conventional: e.g. 'Collect'-structure (but N.B. greater length preferred), and Additional Post-Communions, with fruits of communion linked with the occasion concerned[9].

8. For the prayers addressed to the San. v. Charts B./III (Collects and Additional Post-Communion Prayers) and C/III (Additional Post-Communion Prayers). The two factors which Jungmann notes in the early growth of Trinitarian prayers - devotional and Trinitarian/Christological consciousness - probably have parallel here (The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer, pp.127-263).
9. Cardale's preferred length is the 'Cosin' rather than the 'Cranmer' in Collects (e.g. Epiphany VI in B.C.P.); similarly, the PC prayers have a definite form, sometimes addressed to the Son, nearly always with reference to the fruits of Communion, and frequently with eschatological ending.

All these are definite liturgical conventions, which Cardale adopts from the wealth of Christian tradition available to him.

(ii) Liturgical adaptation

Cardale uses sources in a straightforward way: but he also adapts them, and in so doing gives them a new meaning, without necessarily obscuring the tradition used. There appear to be four principal ways in which this is done.

(1) Hierarchical: in both the Peace (after Absolution) and in the Benediction before Communion, ancient traditions are employed not merely as liturgical primitivisms, but also in order to give point to the ministry of the Church; in the former, by the stipulation that only the Angel may pronounce the Peace, and in the latter, by the fact that it is only used when an Apostle or an Angel visits a congregation under him. When these two are compared, they point to therelationship between the Ministry of the Universal and Particular Church.

(2) Structural: Cardale's entire liturgical output is vast in totality, and length in individual parts; but it never lacks purpose, because of the importance obviously attached to structure. In the Commemoration of the Living and the Departed, he appears to fit into a defined framework material drawn from Anglican, Oriental, Biblical and individual sources; here, however, the dominant source is Oriental, but unlike his predecessors in 'Orientalising' Rites of the previous centures, he avoids two pitfalls - Oriental 'rambling' (e.g. lack of overall coherence), and 'unreal primitivisms', where Oriental material is used even when it is not strictly applicable to the situation in hand (e.g. those possessed, and children)[10]. Other examples of the same structural adaptation are in the Pre-Communion Prayers to the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, which are

10. v.s. (b)(i)2, for comparison with Rattray's Liturgy.

Anglican/Biblical, Roman/Oriental, and Oriental, respectively, and where an obvious wealth of material from different sources (not all of which are related to this part of the Rite) is given a completely new arrangement. Similarly, the Good Friday Prayers manifest a fusion of material, from the Commemoration of the Living in the Eucharist as well as Anglican and Roman sources, once more in a clear framework.

(3) Theological: the particular theological emphases of the Church not only affect the selection of material (e.g. Collects for Advent and for Christmas-Sunday-before-Easter season), but also the way in which material is arranged or reshaped. For instance, the theology of the eschaton affects the theology expressed in the Commemoration of the Departed, where three things are held together, Jewish history, Christian history and Christian history (supposedly) about to come to its completion, and this latter aspect dominates much of the Form for All Saints' Day.

(4) Devotional: the penitential devotions of the Rite are of the same liturgical genre as the 'Cushapa' of the Syrian Rites, the 'apologia' of the Mediaeval Western usage, and the penitential prayers of the Reformation tradition. This affects Cardale's own penitential prayers, particularly in the Confession at the beginning of the Rite, the penitential conclusion to the Prayer of Oblation before Consecration, and the pre-Communion Prayers. These three focal points show widely differing source-uses; they avoid the verbosity of the Syrian prayers, in that they have a rationale, and do not consist in accumulated priestly devotions of a private nature; and eschew the over-penitential aspect of the Reformation tradition; the prayers point to the sin of man, but not for one moment do they question the efficacy of the Sacrament.

(iii) Liturgical originality

Cardale borrows and adapts; but he also makes original contributions to the ongoing process of liturgical work, which appear to stem from four main considerations.

(1) Liturgical rationalising: unlike the Commemoration of the Living and Departed, and other instances of use of an already-existing structure, Cardale can do the reverse - he can fit existing material into a new structure, and in so doing produces an 'original' rather than an 'adaptative' work. The two best examples of this are in the Eucharist. First, at the Offertory/Greater Entrance, Cardale rationalises the Reformation emphasis on almsgiving and the traditional Eastern and Western offering of bread and wine. One would expect, perhaps, in the light of the Liturgical Movement of this century, that the offering of alms and bread and wine might take place together. But it is clear that he is impressed by the apparent abuse of either or both in different Rites, and is determined to emphasise both as integral parts of the Rite, the Offertory as a response to the Ministry of the Word in deed, and the Greater Introit as constituting the beginning of the Eucharistic Office proper. Second, in the structure of the 'Anaphora', we see obvious wealth of knowledge of the various Rites, and a depth of understanding of the different traditional features in each. This gives rise to an entirely new arrangement of the 'Anaphora' into five sections, thanksgiving, preparation, consecration, oblation, and intercession, combining Oriental 'inclusiveness' without its lack of coherence (e.g. Anaphora of Addai and Mari), together with Western 'structure' without its brevity (e.g. Roman Canon).

(2) Ecclesiological/Theological idiosyncrasy: Cardale has to fit into his liturgical framework aspects of the faith and practice of the new Church not shared in the same way by other Christian bodies at the time. The ecclesiology of the Church manifests a belief in the call of the second

twelve Apostles, and this finds expression particularly in the Commemoration of the Living, the Good Friday Prayers, and in the Collects for the Tuesday after Pentecost and the Separation of the Apostles. The theological emphasis, par excellence, is that of the Second Coming, perhaps most vividly portrayed in the Concluding Prayer before Communion, and in many of the Additional Post-Communion Prayers.

(3) Liturgical idiosyncrasy: This can be in the position of an item, e.g. the Lord's Prayer, where, in spite of minimal precedent, the outcome is original in interpretation. It can also be in the arrangement of an aspect of a Eucharistic Rite put into a new context, e.g. self-oblation of the people with the offering of bread and wine in the Prayer of Oblation before Consecration. Again, it can be in an entirely new arrangement, which is self-explanatory in the context, though without precedent, e.g. the Veni Creator at the end of the Form for Apostolic Councils. Another idiosyncrasy is the introduction of a completely new part of the Rite, giving it a structure, and keeping to it (e.g. the Proper of Oblation).

We have now shown that Cardale's liturgical output consists of liturgical conventions, and originalities. We suggest that there is no single method of composition. Nor do we set Cardale on a pedestal of omniscience in matters liturgical, however much his knowledge and output is to be admired. Any Liturgy is affected, and indeed limited, by the sources used and the people using it. But there are discernible four different methods which are affected by a number of factors over and above those which have been outlined hitherto.

First, different parts of the same Form can come from the same source, e.g. Collect and Additional Post-Communion for Christmas Eve, (Roman). Second, different primary sources can be used in different parts to the corresponding items, e.g. structure and sources in the Commemoration of the

Living and Departed, and the Good Friday Prayers (Oriental and Roman). Third, compositions are affected by the availability of material tomeet Cardale's intentions, e.g. obvious predominance of Biblical material in areas lacking liturgical precedent. Fourth, and most important of all, the Rite emerged after a considerable period of growth and much of the consequent additions are determined by the running of the Church (hierarchy and unordained),as much as by a desire for liturgical enrichment (use of Incense).

We must expand on the last two points. On the question of the availability of material, no one will ever know completely how Cardale set about framing this Liturgy, so that in pointing to sources and influences, we must also bear in mind the possibility of Cardale rejecting a liturgical source, as indeed he makes clear in his treatment of the 'Offertory' and the traditional Holy Week ceremonial, and as is clear by the 'Albury Notes' of the 1847 book; by 'availability' we therefore mean as much liturgical material of which there is reasonable evidence in his compositions and writings, without precluding other sources of which he was no doubt aware but which he opted not to use. Cardale is too much of an artist to cram all his goods into the shopwindow of the Liturgy.

On the question of the 'living development' of the Rite, again, no one will ever know exactly how this emerged, but the two factors noted above, the running of the Church, and the liturgical enrichment, are worth looking at more closely. In our Rite is seen a desire to give authentic expression to every order of life in the Church as a worshipping community from Apostle to Doorkeeper; in the Church as an administrative community, in Councils; in the Church as a 'charismatic' community, in prayers for and exercise of spiritual gifts; and in the Church as a pastoral community, in

prayer for the different conditions and necessities of the congregation. And this 'authenticity' includes both the desire to recognise the 'on-going' aspect of these forces of Christian life, seen particularly in the Commemoration of the Living and Departed; and the desire to provide for special needs, in occasional services. As regards liturgical enrichment, both Cardale's writings, and the implications of the Rubrics, make it abundantly clear that the richness of the Liturgy(e.g. the Apostolical Benedictions introduced in 1851) must be real and not contrived, that they must represent something which already exists in the Church and needs liturgical expression (the Apostolic Visitation to a Congregation).

The Eucharist, then, is seen to be conventional in shape, but its component parts are more subject to adaptation. Originalities are confined to where traditional elements are placed and how the doctrinal and pastoral ideas of the Church are expressed. The same can be said of the Seasonal and Occasional Forms; the shape is traditional, but the component parts are adaptative, where liturgical sources are used, and original, where liturgical sources are not available or not appropriate.

(d) Performance

Four factors govern the performance of the Rite, two of which are general, two of which are specific.

The first is a general one, as well as theologically founded: the Rite is theocentric. The Catholic Apostolics were very conscious of this aspect of worship, to the extent that Bramley-Moore outlines the 'direction' taken by the main sections of the Eucharist ('God-ward', 'man-ward'[11]). Their worship, therefore, is seen to be theocentric in particular emphases. First, the Church is typified by the Tabernacle in the Wilderness, thus making the focus of worship an offering to God, any

11. Bramley-Moore, 'Tabular View', Col.IV.

dramatic re-enactment (e.g. Holy Week ceremonial) being regarded as not appropriate for the 'sanctuary'[12]. It could be argued that the pre-Tractarian Anglican background might have given rise to this, but three considerations rule this out; the separateness of the Church in 1835, the development of O.T. typology before the cult developed, and the revival of ceremonial in Anglicanism not taking place until a later phase of the Oxford Movement[13]. Second, there is an 'east-ward' focus of all worship of the Church (except in the specifically 'man-ward' parts, e.g. Readings from Scripture), even to the extent that the eastward position is used during the Invocation at the start of the Eucharist, and the beginning and end of the Homily. A consequence of this is the rather statically eastward focus of the whole congregation towards the sanctuary; this, coupled with the eschatological hope, would give rise to an atmosphere of expectancy - every act of worship intensely 'waits upon God'.

The second factor is a general one, and governs the production of the service: flexibility. The Rite is flexible on two special counts; the different ways of presenting the service, and the specific liturgical options in the letter of the Rite. Thus the spirit of our Liturgy seems to be that rubrics fit rite, including building, ministers, congregation, as well as occasion. This is very much in line with the saying attributed to Ludwig Thiersch, cautioning the German and Swiss congregations against interpreting the Rubrics too rigidly, andthereby turning the Liturgy into a Law[14]. We may compare this with the search for such 'comprehensive' worship today[15]. In our Rite it is not a

12. R.L.II.p.48; the word 'sanctuary'betrays the presupposition that the sanctuary is where the worship takes place, the 'nave' beingfor the accommodation of the people.
13. For the first two reasons (separateness of Church and O.T. typology), v.s.Ch.3; for the third (Tractarian influences in Anglican Church), v. list of charges against 'ritualists', Prayer Book Dictionary, p.xv15-7.
14. From correspondence with Pastor Albrecht Weber, Germany.
15. To take one example, the almost diametrically-opposed liturgical intentions as regards performance which are to be seen in the Missals of Pius V and Paul VI where the former stipulates everything, and classifies different kinds of Masses, whereas the latter removes these divisions, and gives much initiative to local situations, both in personnel available and

question of the Rubrics being defied in certain specific situations but rather the spirit of the Rubrics being properly applied by adaptation to circumstances (e.g. the Rubric concerning intoning where 'devoid of solemnity')[16]. We therefore have two pictures of the Eucharist, in a great variety of circumstances; one being offered in the brisk and dignified mileu of the Church in Paddington, with a full complement of ministers, music and ceremonial; another in the slow and simple worship of the Corn Exchange in Berwick-upon-Tweed, led by a visiting Celebrant, clad in simple vestments, assisted by a rustic congregation, enjoying a hearty sing[17]. Flexibility is thus seen as a pastoral desideratum.

The third factor is theological and specific; the performance of the Rite is defined by the Church's hierarchy. This is related to its flexibility, in that different Churches would require a different presentation according to the complement of ministers; but it goes much deeper, both in the understanding of the Eucharist, and the role of the ordained ministry, of the Particular and Universal Church. In the Eucharist, the corporateness of the congregation and the authority of the hierarchy are shown in the fact that the Sunday Eucharist is to be celebrated by the Angel of the Church, or, in his absence, the Coadjutor. In the Ministry of the Particular Church, the style of celebration depended upon the number of ministers available, usually proportionate to the size of the congregation; thus provision is made in the Rubrics for congregations without two Priest Assistants for their places to be taken by Deacons at the altar, without Deacons for their places to be taken by Under-Deacons at the Greater Introit, and so on, down to the smallest detail. Similarly, if a Priest were Celebrant, and another were Homilist, the fact that no

regional culture; our Rite is much nearer Paul VI in its flexibility to buildings, congregations, and ministers.

16. Rub.S. p.128.

17. These are both eyewitness sketches, the Paddington one from Mr.Norman Priddle, that of Berwick-upon-Tweed from Dr.F.R. Stevenson (the writer's father).

Benediction is given before the Homily shows the local ministry affecting the Rite. In the Ministry of the Universal Church, the style of celebration is affected by the presence of Apostolic Ministers (either the Apostle himself, or his Coadjutor, or another Minister delegated); such Ministers preside from special seats in the sanctuary, and the Absolution, Benediction of the Homilist, and Benediction before Communion are pronounced by the Apostle. In the event of another Minister of the Universal Church visiting a congregation (e.g. an Angel-Prophet, or an Angel-Evangelist) he would normally sit in a stall in the choir and could be employed as Homilist; similarly, the Angel-Evangelist of the District, in celebrating the Eucharist on a week-day, is at liberty to use the Occasional Form provided. The hierarchy, therefore, determines the mode of celebration of the Eucharist, intrinsically, by the Angel as Celebrant, internally, by the complement of Ministers of the Particular Church, and externally, by the Ministers of the Universal Church.

The fourth factor is specific and historical; the presentation of the Rite is determined by nineteenth century aesthetics.

(1) Architecture: Drummond's 'Principles' make explicit the adoption of the Gothic Revival style, both in architecture of the building and in the fittings and vestments, which at the time were coming slowly into vogue in both Roman and Anglican Communions[18]. The main buildings in Britain are (in chronological order): Gordon Square, London, (1853), by Brandon; Mansfield Place, Edinburgh (1867), by Anderson; Birmingham (1876), by Chatwin; and Paddington, London, (1894) by Pearson - all excellent

18. 'As each class has a style of building peculiar to itself, and each building a different style of ornaments for each part, so there is a style of buildings peculiar to the house of God, and a different degree and style of ornament in the chancel, the choir, and the nave' (Drummond, 'Principles' p.1); he then goes on to lay down the styles and proportions for Church architecture and fittings, in which he quotes Pugin Hoffstadt, and Romée.

examples of the period, both in design and fittings. In addition, there were numerous other buildings, by less known architects (e.g. Belcher, at Southwark (1876), and also Copenhagen (1871)), in cities and towns up and down the country[19]. The boost supplied by Drummond's 'Principles' is further manifested by the fact that he had Albury Park rebuilt by Pugin in 1847, built the Chapel at Albury himself in 1850, and had some fittings made by local craftsman, the Tabernacle made from Lebanon cedar, the two lamps beside the altar made of olive from the Mount of Olives[20].

(2) Music: Catholic Apostolics never embraced hymns with quite the same degree of fervour as other Churches of the time; apart from those appointed for special occasions they were restricted in the Eucharist to the period between the Concluding Prayer before Communion and the Pre-Communion Sentence (while the bread was being broken and elements prepared) and to the time during the administration of Communion, but here with pauses for the exercise of spiritual gifts. But the hymns and their tunes all reflect some of the tendencies of the hymnologists of the nineteenth century, especially in the number of translations from ancient sources, most of them set to tunes composed at the time[21]. The sung parts of the Rite included the Kyrie, Gloria, Creed, the Anthems, the Sanctus, Benedictus, Agnus, together with the people's Responses; these varied considerably from place to place, according to the choir, and the musical tradition of the congregation. The Anthems were normally sung either to Anglican Chant, Gregorian Tone, or to special settings. The Gregorian Tones were used for the Psalms (except in a few places, which

19. The information on these buildings and architects is taken from various M.S.S. books.
20. This information is from the Caretaker at Albury, Mr. George Hamp.
21. v. Hymns for the use of the Churches 1870, Index at back, with information on sources. v. also Hymn Tunes, 1872, by E.H. Turpin, who was Organist and Choirmaster at the Central Church, Gordon Square, London.

employed Anglican Chant)[22], and were normally congregational, hence the pointing in the service-book.

(3) Vestments and Fittings: Drummond's 'Principles' deal with the question of liturgical dress and the external fittings of worship; his work makes brief explanation of the traditions associated with them, and their design and use in worship. Anson is right in likening their vestments and furnishings (e.g. the alb without lace, and the Tabernacles) to the avant-garde liturgical work of the time in the Roman and Anglican Churches[23]. However, there are elements which are both baroque (e.g. the lace on altar-cloths and on the hem and sleeves of Angels' rochets) and idiosyncratic (e.g. the tendency to avoid the Y-cross on the Chasuble, and the fuctional use of the maniple).

(4) Ceremonial: this is dealt with last because it is affected by all previous considerations; theocentricity (facing east), flexibility (different use of ministers), hierarchy (position of Apostles when visiting), and the three specifically nineteenth century factors of architecture, music, vestments and fittings. The ceremonial is a mixture of symbolic (e.g. the Angel leading the procession to the sanctuary) and functional (e.g. the Senior Assistant going to Gospel Lectern), but because it is set within a nineteenth century aesthetic framework, it must be viewed in that light. What the ceremonial is trying to elucidate is the Liturgy of the Catholic Apostolic Church, and no other Rite of the time. The way inwhich this is elucidated is done either through direct borrowing (three ministers at the altar), or through revival of early Mediaeval usage (seven Deacons), or through idiosyncrasy (Greater Introit

22. The Church in Southwark never sang the Gregorian tones, as one of the first Angels preferred Anglican Chant: on the other hand, the mother Church in Copenhagen used Anglican Chant for the Te Deum. (This information from Dr. F.R.Stevenson, Edinburgh).
23. v. Anson, Fashions inChurch Furnishings; 1840-1940 , pp.107-114.

ceremonial); but there is never present the idea of a ceremony which is 'contrived' or inserted into the Rite to no purpose[24]. The starting-point is the optimum method of carrying out the Rite in the situation, according to ministers, congregation, and building, the maximum being performed in a large setting, the minimum, in a small one.

From these considerations, we can see the extreme intricacy in the details of our Rite. The language is heavy and repetitious, but at the same time dignified and fluent. The source-use is complex, and unevenly spread. The methods of composition demonstrate a desire to write for the new Church, rather than dig into the past for the past's sake. Finally, the performance of the Rite shows strong 'Romantic' tendencies, in its values of beauty and order. All in all, this makes for an intricately composed Liturgy, requiring an intricate performance.

24. This is one more fruit of a Rite which develops quickly and has prescriptions for performance contemporaneous with its growth; in older and more established Liturgies, rubrics and formulae tend to stabilise the Rite in question centuries after it has been written (e.g. B.C.P. 1662).

Chapter 12 : Doctrinal Assessment

Cardale's 'Readings' are regarded as the embodiment of Catholic Apostolic teaching, and the fact that they are based on the service-book of the Church presupposes a lex orandi/lex credendi relationship. Thus, when we seek, as we do in this Chapter, to draw out from the Liturgy certain doctrinal features, we know that we are dealing with worship and teaching at the same time.

First, we shall deal with matters of general theology: Revelation and Ministry, Christology, Pneumatology and Ecclesiology. In the rest of the chapter, we will deal with aspects of doctrine which are especially related to the Eucharist; Eschatology, Typology, Sacrifice and Presence. In all these sections, we will see a basically traditional Christian Theology, but with certain particular emphases.

(a) General Theology

(1) Revelation and Ministry

In our Rite, Revelation and Ministry are seen to take place in the Bible as it stands, in the Bible as interpreted (especially in typology), and in the ongoing work of the Spirit in the Church, through ministry. Presupposing, therefore, a view of the Bible which is conditioned by the times, we must deal with the typology and the magisterium of the Church as regards Revelation.

(i) Typology: Typology is a time-honoured method of Biblical interpretation, which flourished particularly in the Patristic age. In untying the knot of complex interpretation of the Catholic Apostolic typology, there is also the question of the purpose of God in history, viewed in expectation of the Second Coming - this is, as it were, the 'starting-point'. Where for the Fathers, typology was a way of throwing light on the centrality of Christ, as seen in the Gospels, for the new Church this is applied further to

the whole of history[1]. Roughly speaking, typology can be used 'historically', 'ministerially', and 'ecclesiastically'.

'Historical Typology': most examples of this are to be contained in the Seasonal Forms. The Circumcisiun is interpreted as Christ's obedience to the law, not only in the Collect, but much more explicitly in the Proper of Oblation. The betrayal of Christ to suffering on the Thursday before Easter is typified by the bitter herbs of the Passover. Christ's resurrection is typified (traditionally) in the passing through the Red Sea (Easter Eve). The Feast of Pentecost is the most explicit of all: the celebration of the shadows of the Law are turned into the realities of the Body of Christ.

'Ministerial Typology' is both general and specific. By general, we mean traditional associations of the Christian Community as the 'Israel of God'. This is to be seen broadly applied to the Tribes (Tuesday after Pentecost, Proper Preface), as well as in the references to the 'elect', in the Prayer for the Conversion of world (Commemoration of the Living(11)). By specific we mean the application of typology to the orders within the Church. There is only one explicit example of this, in the Good Friday prayers; here the ministry of cherubim is seen to typify the fourfold ministry, and the divine nature of the call to Apostleship; and the ministry of seraphim is seen to typify the office of the Angel.

'Ecclesiastical Typology' applies to the architecture of the Church, and to the participation of ministers in it. The best exposé of this is in Thomas Carlyle's 'Mosaic Tabernacle', where the whole process is worked out in considerable detail[2]. The Regulations supply a shortened version

1. Among the more extreme examples of Biblical and Historical Typology in the Catholic Apostolic writings is Archibald Henderson's 'The Analytical Arrangement of the Book of the Revelation', which deals with Christian History in the light of the Book of Revelation; but it is always in history as it has been, and does not view history in a deterministic manner, although it stresses the imminent Coming of the Lord.
2. Carlyle's starting-poing is the worship of the Church, but in his work, he sets outthe ecclesiology of the new Church, and from this establishes the basic furniture of the building, basing it on the Tabernacle of Moses; v. Preface, pp.1-6 for this intent.

of this applied specifically to the ordinary worship of the Church[3]. None of this appears in the Liturgy, but it is implicit in the directions for carrying out the worship; this latter aspect is worked out thoroughly by Bramley-Moore in his 'Tabular View'[4]. There are, however, references to the 'sanctuary', applied to the Church as a whole, in different parts of the Liturgy (e.g. Confession, Offertory Prayer and Prayer for the Low Estate).

(ii) Organisation and Ministry: The ministries within the Church are founded and worked through the power of the Holy Spirit. The Bible, as a deposit of faith, contains the seed of the way in which the hierarchy is worked out, the 'fourfold' being supported by the Epistle to the Ephesians, the 'threefold' by the traditions of the Eastern and Western Churches. Taking another formula from Ephesians, the Church is 'governed' by the Holy Spirit through the ministry of Apostles and Prophets; time and again Cardale refers to certain decisions regarding the Church as the will of God revealed 'in the light of prophecy'[5]. In directing the work of the Church, the 'charismatic' and the 'priestly' ministries are thus seen enshrined in the work of prophet and apostle. The work of the Church is both 'established' and 'ongoing'; it is important to keep both these aspects in perspective, since they are distinct in the Liturgy, although recognised to be complementary. We will now examine both in more detail.

The 'established' aspect of the Order is seen especially in the Commemoration of the Living. The best examples are in the first Commemoration, and in the fifth (Prayer for the Low Estate), the former being an

3. v. pp.119-127.
4. Tabular View, Col.I.
5. The two formulae in Ephesians are 4:11ff and 2:20; for the refs. to 'light of prophecy', v. R.L.I. pp.44 (Confession not properly part of main Eucharistic Rite), 202 (Afternoon Communion), 262 (Prophetic ministry in general), 435 (Angel at Morning Prayer).

affirmation of what is, and the latter, a prayer of penitence for what should be. Other examples are in the Proper Preface on the Monday after Pentecost; the Collect, Proper Preface, and Proper of Oblation on the Tuesday after Pentecost; and the Collect, Proper Preface, Proper of Oblation and Special Commemoration of the Departed for the Separation of the Apostles; all these point to the restoration of Apostles as the revelation of God's will for the Church in preparation for the Second Coming.

The 'ongoing' aspect of the Order is expressed in different ways, through the four orders and three orders of ministry. This is best found in the Proper of Oblation for the Three Seasons, where the distinction and complementary nature of the Particular and Universal Churches are brought out. Apostles have the task of ruling the Church in the Lord's absence; the rhetorical Proper of Oblation in the Form for Apostolic Councils is the best example of insistent prayer for the revelation of the divine will and this is heightened considerably at the end of the Form in the Additional Post-Communion Prayer and the subsequent singing of the Veni Creator. Prophets are seen as directly responsible to the Apostolic authority, whether Angel-Prophets to the Apostle (Proper of Oblation in the Form for use in Particular Church Councils), or Priest-Prophets to the Angel of the Church (implicitly in the gifts of the Spirit, in the Commemoration of the Living(2)). Evangelists are associated both with the Apostles as Angel-Evangelists and the Angel of the Church as Priest-Evangelists (Proper of Oblation and Proper Commemoration of Ministers of the Universal Church in Form for Evangelistic Work, and in the Proper of Oblation in the Form for Raising Up Evangelists). Mention is also made of the ministry of Evangelist associated with the laying-on of hands of the sick (Commemoration of the Living(13)). Finally, Pastors are prayed for as those both 'with' the Apostles (Ministers of Universal Church in

Commemoration of Living(1)). as Angels of Churches, and as Priest-Pastors (Commemoration of Living(2)). When we compare these citations, we can see two distinct but complementary ways in which the Church continues its work of revelation; first, there is the life of the Universal and Particular Churches as it is enshrined in ordinary intercessory prayer (Commemoration of Living); second, there are particular instances where gaps in the system (Three Seasons), the management (Apostolic Councils), and the mission (Forms for Evangelists) are prayed for in the context of special Forms over and above the ordinary Sunday Eucharist.

There is, however, one part of the 'ongoing' ministry which deserves special mention, especially in the lightof the Pentecostal Movement today. We have seen how the Church came into being, with a 'prophetic' background which took upon itself a more 'priestly' role. It never lost sight of this 'prophetic' ministry, for this ministry points to what the Church should be, in terms of unity and mission; and it also continued in the life of the Church right to the end of its sacramental worshipping history, albeit limited by the deaths of Angel-and Priest-Prophets. What we have before us is the letter of the Liturgy, which, given a superficial comparison with earlier days, seems a far cry from Edward Irving's fiery rhetoric. But one of the aims of the Liturgy is to 'enable' and to 'foster' what would today be called, (and strictly speaking, inaccurately called)[6], the 'charismatic' ministry. The Rubrics dealing with the Administration of Communion make this clear - all that goes on at this point in the service must help people to speak prophecies, or in tongues, with interpretation; this is the relationship between 'priestly' and 'prophetic' meeting together at the climax of sacramental worship.

These two special emphases, therefore, permeate the understanding of Revelation in the Church. The typological approach to the Bible is what

6. v. John V. Taylor, C.M.S. Newsletter, June 1972, for exegesis of 'charisma' in the Pauline Epistles, in connection with the Pentecostal Movement.

George Every would describe as 'a spiritual interpretation of the Bible'[7], where the Bible is not seen as a series of laid-out historical propositions, but a revelation of God's will for man and his purpose in history, in the Spirit's illumination, at no point offered with a pretension to complete understanding. This is different approach to Typology from the contemporary one, which sees the O.T. types as supplying the myths of the N.T. But it is basically the same system, in spite of different presuppositions and conclusions. The magisterium of the Church is founded both on Scripture and Tradition, and is also typologically expressed. Apostleship is a manifestation of Episcopacy, but of a kind which requires direct call from Christ, not ordination by others - this difference is crucial, since it supplies the key both to the claims to Apostleship and the subsequent running of the Church. From this starting-point there radiate different kinds of ministries, at different levels. In the contemporary search for authentic ministry in the Church, and the union of the various separated bodies, the same process is seen to continue. This places the Catholic Apostolic Church in a prophetic light, in that they saw the need for a 'unifying' ministry - one which would do full justice to Scripture and Tradition, and would at the same time unshackle the historical Church from past divisions.

(2) Christology

P.E. Shaw affirms the essentially 'personal' nature of Christ (rather than impersonal) as seen in the teaching of the Catholic Apostolic Church, both in the Ministry of Christ, and in his Second Coming[8]. Because the various themes of Christology are interrelated, we will deal with them piecemeal, and will attempt to draw some conclusions from its Incarnational Theology, with regard to views on the Church and Society.

7. Correspondence with George Every.
8. Shaw, p.239.

(i) The Son is pre-existent: The most explicit examples of this are to be found in the Common Preface in the Eucharist, and in the Proper Preface for Christmas Day. The emphasis is, not unnaturally, towards the Father's will, and his sending of the Son into the world. There is no peculiarity here, but the Son's pre-existence nevertheless is the 'chronological' starting-point.

(ii) The Son is Incarnate: The best examples here are the Collect for Christmas Eve, which deals with the Incarnation, life now, and the life hereafter, and the Additional Post-Communion Prayer for Christmas Day, which gives a clear paraphrase of an 'incarnational' kind to the Canticle of Philippians, where Christ is born 'under the form and in the true nature of man'. Both divine and human aspects receive equal emphasis, but in this, and in all other aspects, the purpose of God in history and his will for man dominate.

(iii) The Son lives a life of self-sacrifice, dies a sacrificial death, and is exalted: The Christmas Day Proper of Oblation surprisingly does not deal much with the Nativity, but sees the glorification of Christ by the Father in contrast to the humble state of the Church, and looks forward to the Second Coming. The Preface for the Sunday before Easter likewise points ahead to the vindication of Christ, couched as it is in paradoxical imagery. The Proper of Oblation for the Thursday before Easter contains cultic material on the Eucharist as a 'heavenly Rite', as well as priestly in speaking of Christ as the 'High priest in the heavens'; thus the eternity of the sacrifice of the cross is seen in terms of the Church's Eucharist and the session at the Father's right-hand. However, the eternity of the sacrifice is looked at from a slightly different angle in the Good Friday Prayers, where intercession is the natural focal-point, Christ interceding on high, the Church interceding on earth. The atonement is further expressed in Biblical imagery by the 'ransom'-motif in the second Good Friday Prayer; and in the Proper Preface on Easter Eve, the 'Christus Victor' image is used, showing Christ as the cosmic conqueror, bringing his people immortality. Perhaps the most interesting of all is the Collect for the Monday after Pentecost, where the anointing of

the Spirit (connected with the Chrism consecrated on that day) is the sign of Christ's exaltation to the Father's right-hand - a Lucan theological feature[9].

(iv) The Resurrection gives new life to believers: In the (brief) Proper of Oblation on Easter Day, there is prayer for the 'active energy of His life' in the faithful; and the Apostolical Benediction speaks in Biblical language of quickening 'from the death of sin unto the life of righteousness'. Both these refer to a transformation of ordinary life. A more interesting example is in the Collect for use in Particular Churcheson occasions of Solemn Council, which points twice to Christ, his Body as the Church, and imitation of him as the focus of mature manhood. These are the principal examples. But it must be borne in mind that, given the strong pneumatology of the Church, most liturgical formulae for 'new life' are related to the work of the Spirit.

(v) The new creation awaits consummation at the Second Coming: The Concluding Prayer before Communion is the example, par excellence, of Catholic Apostolic Eschatology, applied to its own self-understanding as a Church, as well as to the Eucharist. There is a strong eschatological flavour to the whole of the Advent Form. The Collect for use between Christmas and Passion Week is likewise fixed on the Second Coming and the life of purity and peace. Both the Collect and the Additional Post-Communion Prayer for Easter Eve pray for a hastening of the end; the Collect and Proper Preface for Pentecost, taking another slant, set the work of the Spirit as a preparation for the Second Coming, the Preface ending on a note of quasi-realised eschatology.

(vi) In the absence of Christ, the Church lives by the power of the Spirit, awaiting the fulfilment of Christ: In assessing this aspect, we must take care to understand the Church on its own terms, and here we

9. cf. Caird, 'St Luke' (Pelican Gospel Commentaries) for the work of the Spirit in Christology, p.36.

reject Tripp's undocumented (and speculative) attack on this, as over-emphasising the divine to the point of distortion of the human[10]. The main passages for consideration are of three kinds.

The first category contains those which deal with the work of the devil in the world, over against the eschatological perspective, preparation for the Coming Kingdom. Such examples are to be found in the Commemoration of the Living (1), echoed in the corresponding Good Friday Prayer; and in the Collect, Proper of Oblation, and Additional Post-Communion Prayer for the Separation of Apostles, where the Collect uses the 'chaste virgin' image of the Church, the Proper of Oblation prays for deliverance from the 'snares of the Antichrist', and the Post-Communion, 'from the powers of the adversary'.

The second category contains those three cases where prayer is 'introduced' into the Eucharist, because the Church should naturally be able to deal with the problems therein outlined; one prays for unity in the Church (Low Estate), another for penitents and a third prays for those possessed by evil spirits. According to the Catholic Apostolic Church none of these problems need exist, because of its claims to the unification of the Church, reconciliation of all its members, and the correct exercise of spiritual gifts. This necessarily implies a certain attitude to the material order. The power of the Spirit, now (supposedly) renewed in the Church, is able to unite, reconcile, and cast out: this is Biblical, and implies no monophysitism, since the whole material order, under God already, awaits his imminent and final intervention.

10. Tripp, S.J.T. (1969) Vol.22, p.453, n.4; Tripp, in our view, is correct in seeing the essential link between a Church's self-understanding and its Christology, but he does not give the necessary documentation in his vague attack on the Church's attitude to society, nor on Irving's early Christology; nor, in discussing the latter, does he note that it was on a supposedly unsound Christology (unsound, because it even mentioned the humanity of Christ) that Irving was expelled from the Church of Scotland Ministry.

The third category takes up the last point, since it deals with intercessory prayer for the world. There are examples in the Commemoration of the Living, and in the Occasional Forms; the former prays for ordinary life (world government, peace, family life, and harvest) and the latter deals with specific questions (world peace, scarcity and sickness). In all, there is a confident, hopeful and acquiescent faith in the existing state of things; confident because God is in control, hopeful because all awaits imminent change, and acquiescent because the Church is unable to bring about the Kingdom in the Lord's absence. Although we concede a manifest emphasis on the 'other-worldly', we affirm the orthodoxy of the Catholic Apostolics on the Incarnation in the personal and imminent return of Christ - a faith which at no point undermines personal responsibility - and Shaw is quite right in asserting both these emphases as 'corrective'[11].

From these six main aspects, we can see the Christology of the Church. The pre-existent eternal Son is the starting-point, from which an incarnational theology is arrived at, with equal stress on divine and human natures, but from the beginning an anticipation of future suffering, vindication and Second Coming. Christ's life leads to his sacrificial death, understood with full atonement imagery, and this forms the basis for the Resurrection life. But Christ's work remains incomplete, and awaits fulfilment, and it is the expectation of this which determines the Christological emphases of Christ's person (imminently coming) and the preparation for which determines the Christological emphases of the Church's work (12 Apostles).

(3) Pneumatology

The Catholic Apostolic Church was virtually founded on teaching about the Holy Spirit, and the Liturgy expresses its pneumatology.

11. Shaw, p.239.

(i) The Holy Spirit is the source of the Church's being and life: Examples of this abound. In the Eucharist, the Preface gives thanks to God the Father for creation, the Son for atonement, and the Holy Ghost, for the life, purpose and sacraments of the Church. The Prayers for the Low Estate and for Penitents both mention the Holy Spirit, the former as the life of the Church, the latter as the means of renewal of life. The Seasonal Forms contain similar material: in the Additional Post-Communion Prayer for the Three Seasons, the Holy Spirit is spoken of as the means of the renewal of the total membership of the Church. The Apostolical Benediction for Easter Day, in its final paragraph, declares the gifts of the Spirit are to all baptised and are the means of subsequent spiritual life. On the Day of Pentecost, the Collect rejoices in the confidence of the work of the Spirit in the Church, forming it, uniting it, bestowing on it gifts, and preparing it for the parousia; and this is made explicit in the Veni Creator, sung on this day between Epistle and Gospel, and in even greater exuberance in the Proper Preface and Proper of Oblation. A similar theme occurs in the Additional Post-Communion Prayer. On the Monday after Pentecost, the Proper of Oblation refers to the Spirit coming continually upon the Church, in particular in the context of sealing; this concurs with the theme of the day. The Apostolical Benediction for All Saints' Day speaks of the Spirit as the one who will conform the believer to the image of Christ. Finally, the Spirit unites all those baptised, and fills them with the energy of divine life (Additional Post-Communion Prayer in the Form for Commemorating a Deceased Person).

(ii) The Holy Spirit is intimately associated with the worship of the Church, in particular, with the Sacraments: the chief example of this is in the Common Preface, which speaks of the Church and the Sacraments as the work of the Spirit. In the Confession, the Spirit is prayed to as

he who will cleanse worshippers from uncleanness and sin. In the Prayer of Oblation before Consecration, the Spirit is once more prayed to for a cleansing from sin, this time in connection with the offering of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. Most important of all, however, is the epiclesis in each Consecration Prayer; immediately after the blessing of each element, prayer is made to the Father to send the Holy Spirit to consecrate. Finally in the prayers to each of the Trinity before Communion, that addressed to the Holy Spirit prays for sacramental sanctification by the Spirit through Communion.

(iii) The Holy Spirit is the source of the manifestation of spiritual gifts among the faithful, who are under the authority of the ministers: Both the Prayers for the Ministers of Particular Churches in the Commemoration of the Living mention the gifts of the Spirit as part of the ordinary life of the Church, but under the authority of the ministers, supremely under the Angel himself. In the Commemoration of the Departed, thanks are given to God for the lives of departed Catholic Apostolics who have shared in the revival of spiritual gifts inthe Church. The remaining examples are to be found in the Form for Pentecost; the Collect speaks of spiritual gifts; the Proper Preface refers to the inspiration of the fourfold ministry; and the Apostolical Benediction,in a burst of rhetorical zeal, makes remembrance of the tongues of fire of Pentecost, and vouchsafes to the faithful the manifestation of these gifts, thus giving the Blessing a more Sacramental application; this is appropriate in view of the gifts to be exercised duringthe ensuing Communion.

(iv) Prayer is made to the Holy Spirit for specific intentions in the life of the Church: Vocations to the ministry are central to the Three Seasons Form (Proper of Oblation), strength to persevere until the parousia dominate the Advent Form (Proper of Oblation), and circumcision of the Spirit is sought in the Form for January 1st (Collect and Proper of Oblation).

Similarly, the Form for the Tuesday after Pentecost prays for the sanctification in the Spirit of the Twelve Tribes (Collect). The Occasional Forms contain similar material: thus in the Form for Apostolic Council, the Collect is concerned with prayer for the inspiration of the Holy Spirit and the Form for Unity in a Time of Declension holds the Spirit as the one who will unite and renew what is divided and decaying (Collect, Proper of Oblation, and Additional Post-Communion Prayer).

(v) The Holy Spirit is the means of direct revelation of the divine will to the Church: The Apostolical Benediction for Christmas Day refers to the Spirit as he who reveals the glory of God openly to his people. Similarly, the Apostolical Benediction for Easter Day speaks of the Spirit who will reveal God to the believer. And in the Form for Apostolic Council, the Proper of Oblation prays for guidance in decisions concerning the Church, and the Additional Post-Communion Prayer gives this a Eucharistic reference, as well as a Biblical one.

(vi) It was through the Holy Spirit that Christ was able to fulfil the Father's will: The Apostolical Benedictions for Christmas and Easter mention the Spirit's life-giving power as manifested in Christ (Incarnation at Christmas, Resurrection at Easter) in parallel with that manifestation in the life of the faithful. In the Proper Preface on Easter Eve, the Spirit enables Christ to enter (and conquer) Hell, and the Apostolical Benediction on Easter Day speaks of the power of the Spirit in raising Christ from the dead.

All this amounts to a very prominent doctrine of the Spirit in the worship of the Church, to such an extent that we suggest that for the Catholic Apostolics, 'life in the Spirit' takes the place of 'life in Christ', as characterised, for example, in Methodism[12]. The Spirit is the dynamism

12. cf. the 17 hymns to the Holy Spirit in Wesley's Hymn-book ('A Collection of Hymns for the use of the people called Methodists by Rev. John Wesley') and the 112 to Christ; hymns are not always the most authentic vehicle of theology, but the Catholic Apostolics set as much store by their Liturgy as do Methodists by their hymnody.

which calls the Church to be, which marks its life, ordinary, sacramental, 'charismatic', and pastoral, and is the hallmark of the Father's will, in the person and work of Christ, and inthe ongoing process of Revelation.

(4) Ecclesiology

The Catholic Apostolic Church saw itself to be called by God through the Spirit, both in its composition and future vocation. Furthermore, its relationship with already-existing Churches, although somewhat strained in the early stages, never implied any negative attitude, and this comes out clearly in the Liturgy.

(i) the vocation: In the Commemoration of Living (2), there is explicit reference to the exercise of spiritual gifts. In the Prayer for the Low Estate, the revival of Apostles is related to their task in uniting the Church. Similarly, the final paragraph of the Commemoration of the Departed gives thanks for those who 'in these last times' have rejoiced in the renewed Church, thus putting the vocation of the Catholic Apostolic Church at a specific point in the whole of Salvation-History.

More specific references are to be found in the Seasonal and Occasional Forms. On the Tuesday after Pentecost and the Separation of the Apostles, the dominant theme is the restoration of the Apostleship in preparation for the parousia. The purpose of the new Church is to announce this news to people of all nations, so that the Coming Lord may be recognised by the people he died to save. A different slant is given in the Additional Post-Communion Prayer for All Saints' Day, where the position of the Church is mentioned as 'Pilgrim' on earth, awaiting the 'general assembly' of all saints in the Kingdom. In the Form for use by an Apostle for the Tribe committed to him the second Proper of Oblation prays for the accomplishment of the purpose of the new Church, and in the Form of Unity, prayer is made

for a reviving of heart of the new Church, because of its divine mission in the world.

(ii) Composition - hierarchy: The Catholic Apostolic Church took authority very seriously, which is hardly surprising in view of the fact that its magisterium was exercised by a College of Twelve Apostles. In the Commemoration of the Living in the Eucharist, a hierarchical structure is presupposed, beginning with Apostles, and other Ministers of the Universal Church, then with Angels of the Church, and Ministers of Particular Churches under them. But two categories of minister are not mentioned; the first are those whose function is wholly liturgical (e.g. acolytes), and the second, those whose function is legal (e.g.Secretaries); the rationale behind this appears to be that these are not essential to the pastoral running of the Church, and that their position, in spite of precedent in Church history, is not founded upon Scripture, and requires no special Ordination. Similar emphases occur in the Collect for the Three Seasons, (where, on the basis of a fourfold ministry, prayer is made for vocations to the Sacred Ministry), and in the Proper of Oblation in the Form for Apostolic Council (where decisions concerning the running of the Church are made principally by the Apostles and Prophets).

(iii) Relationships with other Churches: In spite of its courteous attitude to the historic Churches of Christendom, the Catholic Apostolic Church never watered down its claims of divine mission and destiny. And this ambivalence comes across clearly in the Liturgy, in three particular passages.

The first is in the Commemoration of the Living. The 'Bishops of the Catholic Church' (= all Roman, Orthodox, Anglican and Lutheran Bishops) are prayed for, because they are the inheritors of the Catholic tradition received in the Church and not sundered at the Reformation[13]; and after-

13. R.L.I. pp.179-181; from the various foreign editions of the Liturgy, 'Bishops of the Catholic Church' is meant to include Anglican, Roman, Orthodox and Lutheran Bishops (cf.Rub.E. p.12, on prayers for Bishops and their Dioceses).

wards, without giving the impression of downgrading or intending to convert the prayer goes on, 'uphold them in their true place'. Then, prayer is made for obedience to authority in those Churches; similarly at the end, provision is made for prayer for local authorities in Churches, without restriction to episcopal Churches. The hierarchies and composition of the already-existing Churches are therefore taken seriously, and prayer is offered that God may fulfil his will in them.

In the second and third passages, we see the evangelistic outreach of the new Church; the Proper of Oblation in the Form for Apostolic Visitation of a Church mentions local authorities, ecclesiastical and civil, and prays for revelation of the divine will in the course of the ensuing visitation. Similarly, in the Special Commemoration of the Living in the Form for Evangelistic Work, prayer is made that the local Bishops and Clergy may receive the Testimony and the Ministry of the restored apostleship.

(iv) The nature of the Church: The Church is understood as the 'People' qua 'People of God'. The Confession speaks of what God does for them, and the Offertory Prayer refers to the obligation of tithes and offerings. The Incense Anthem identifies the Church with the People; and the Proper Preface for the Tuesday after Pentecost speaks of theChurch as the spiritual Israel, made up of Twelve Tribes.

The Church is mentioned as 'the Church'. This is usually in Sacramental functions; the Prayer of Oblation before Consecration refers to the faith and prayers of the Church offering the bread and wine, and the Common Preface mentions the work of the Spirit, and in particular the Sacraments and Communion of Saints. The Prayer of Oblation after Consecration asks God to have regard to the Sacrifice of Calvary, in the sacrifice of the Church. In the Proper of Oblation for the Three Seasons, prayer is made

for the Spirit to come down on the Catholic Church, for vocations to the ministry of the new Church.

What is the precise use of the word 'Church'? We may ignore the use of 'churches' in the Prayer for Low Estate, since this refers to the divisions in Christendom which the new Church believes itself to be sent to heal. With regard to the use of 'Catholic Church' in the Three Seasons, Cardale does not deal with this Form in 'Readings', but in his discussion of the Nicene Creed he defines the Catholic Church as the communion of all Baptised. We may safely infer that this is his meaning here, where prayer is made for the whole Church (as on the Eve of Pentecost and on All Saints' Day). But whereas the 'Catholic Church' when applied to the whole community is understood to be the community of the baptised, the phrase 'Bishops of the Catholic Church' in the Commemoration of the Living applies only to those bodies within the Catholic Church which are episcopal in government[14]. Corroboration of this is given in the Proper of Oblation in the Form for Apostolic Council, at the beginning of which prayer is offered for the Holy Spirit to guide the way of 'The Church', and at the end of which fulfilment of this prayer is confidently identified with edification of 'The Catholic Church'.

(v) The Church is spoken of as the Communion of Saints: This comes across most clearly in the Commemoration of the Departed and the Concluding Prayer before Communion; the former refers to the eternal nature of the Church, the latter speaks of the destiny of the Church in the Kingdom. Because all believers, alive and departed, comprise the Communion of saints, there can be no distinction, in either category, since all are one in Christ; examples of this formula appear in the Proper of Oblation and Additional Post-Communion Prayer for All Saints' Day, with the eschatological

14. R.L.I. pp. 115-116.

hope in view. Other references to 'the saints' in other parts of the Rite usually refer to the saints alive on earth.

(vi) The Church is spoken of as the Body of Christ: The key passage is the second paragraph of the Apostolical Benediction for All Saints' Day: 'The Lord Jesus, who hath so loved the Church that he hath given himself for it, and nourished and cherished it, even as His own Body': the identification of Christ's 'body' with the Church is an eternal feature of divine activity, not just an historic one. This is clear from other examples: in the Additional Post-Communion for Commemorating a Deceased Person, the Church is the Body of Christ, made and united in that Body through the power of the Holy Spirit, whose divine energy, emanating from the Godhead, constitutes and vivifies the creative process in the whole Church. A similar insight (but with more emphasis on the Church on earth) appears in the Additional Post-Communion for the Tuesday after Pentecost.

We might at this point ask the question, who did the Catholic Apostolics think they were, in relation to other Christians? The answer is derived from their claims to divine origin, and from their attitude to the existing Churches. The work of the whole Church as they saw it was under the judgement of God; they, however, stood even closer under this judgement because of the specific task with which they had been entrusted, in order to prepare the whole Church and the world for the final manifestation of that judgement. The Catholic Apostolic Church, therefore, was something of a 'super-church', existing among other churches, but all forming one Church, nonetheless.

Catholic Apostolic Ecclesiology, therefore, is finely balanced. Speaking particularly, the Restored Apostleship is called by God to prepare for the Second Coming. Its composition is founded on this call. Its relationship with the historic Churches has to be one of courteous acceptance of their

position, without minimising its own claims. For this reason the word 'sect' should not be used in speaking of this Church. Speaking more generally, the Church is understood as the People of God, the whole Church (especially in sacramental life), the Communion of Saints, and the Body of Christ. The first two are important in themselves, but the latter two are the most interesting, for the following reasons.

First, they point beyond present institutions to divine origin.

Second, they convey the eternal dimension with the emphasis required in view of the eschatological hope.

Third, they provide a sacramental ecclesiology, with the Eucharistic life of the Church as the focal point.

Fourth, and most important of all, they provide the ground for a truly ecumenical ecclesiology, not with a scheme for union, but in the emphatic assertion that the Church, militant and expectant, is essentially one, and will be manifested as one, in its triumphant end.

(b) Eschatology

Eschatology plays a vital role in the teaching of the Church, and is naturally dominant in the Liturgy. Unlike Pneumatology and Ecclesiology, there is no clear comparison with other Rites, with the exception of conventional passages from Collects. But there are nonetheless two factors which require some kind of comparison; first there are different kinds of eschatological expression, and second, there is the important consideration of 'apocalyptic imagery'. The eschatological material falls into six clearly-definable groups; anticipated eschatology, futurist eschatology, historical interpretation, endurance to the end, presentation before God, and general resurrection.

(1) anticipated eschatology: This category embraces those references to anticipation of the last things now. The Lord's Prayer in its unparalleled position in Eucharistic Liturgies is based on Cardale's view that 'Thy Kingdom Come' referred to the Eucharist. The Common Post-Communion Prayer (No.1) refers to the Eucharist as the prefiguring of divine glory. The Collect for Three Seasons prays that through a full complement of ministers in the Church man may grow into the fulness of the stature of Christ, the Proper Preface for Pentecost refers to the work of the Holy Spirit in sealing the People of God as 'the earnest and first-fruits of our hope'.

(2) Futurist Eschatology: By 'futurist eschatology' we mean reference to the Coming Kingdom which are general rather than specific, and which do not indulge in the imagery or interpretations of our other categories.

In the Eucharist, the Common Preface mentions the Coming Kingdom after the work of the Holy Spirit in the Church; similarly, the 'anamnesis' in the Prayer of Oblation after Consecration awaits the 'blessed hope of his appearing and coming again'; and in the Commemoration of the Living (2), for Particular Churches, the prayer ends, 'waiting for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ'.

In the Seasonal Forms (there are no examples in the Occasional Forms), the Proper of Oblation for the Three Seasons ends with a prayer to hasten the sending of the Son, when the faithful will 'behold his face in right-eousness and everlasting peace'. The Advent Collect prays for acceptance of the Coming Judgement, and the Proper of Oblation looks forward to the 'blessed hope' of the Lord's appearing; a similar theme occurs in the Christmas Eve Collect. The Collect for the Thursday before Easter refers to the command to celebrate the Eucharist until the Kingdom has come. Finally, the Additional Post-Communion for All Saints' Day refers to the

general assembly of saints in the kingdom, and to the Eucharist as a preliminary.

(3) historical interpretation: This is an easy category to classify, since it refers to passages which interpret the age of the Catholic Apostolic Church as 'the last days' (or a similar expression), thus giving history a definite time-scheme for the life of the new Church. It is a Biblical expression, and occurs fourteen times in the NT[15]. The beginning of the last Commemoration of the Departed refers to those persons departed who have enjoyed 'in these last times....Thy returning grace unto Thy Church'; it says three things - that time is short, that the Catholic Apostolic fellowship manifests the pristine glory of the earliest Church, and that it has a special role in the consummation of the world

The Collect for the Tuesday after Pentecost gives a rationale for the two sets of twelve apostles, and more particularly refer to the second twelve as restored to the Church 'in these last days'.

The Collect in the Form for Evangelistic Work quotes Is.2:2 in the promise that 'in the last days' the mountain of the Lord's house shall be exalted above the hills, clearly referring to the work of the Restored Apostleship.

(4) endurance to the end: These are passages which pray for endurance until the Coming Kingdom. In the Advent Form, the Preface prays that 'we who have kept His (= Christ's) word of patience' may be given the promised glory. In the same Form, the Additional Post-Communion prays that participation in the Eucharist may strengthen the faithful to endure to the end. The Additional Post-Communion for Christmas Day repeats this theme, but in reference to the Incarnation; and the words 'pass through' are used, not 'endure'. The Collect in the Form for Unity refers to the unity of the Church as enabling all to 'persevere unto eternal life'.

15. Jn.6:39, 40, 44, 54; Jn.7:37; Jn.11:24; II Tim.3:1; Heb.1:2; Jam.5:3; I Pet.1:5; I Pet.1:20; II Pet.3:3; I Jn.2:18 and Jude 18.

(5) Presentation before God: This is an apocalyptic image of the redeemed being presented before God (or before the reigning Christ) in the final Kingdom. In the Eucharist, the Concluding Prayer before Communion speaks of the Coming Kingdom with this presentation of the purified Church before the Lord. In the Collect for Pentecost, the Coming is seen as complete when the Son presents the saints to the Father. The Apostolical Benediction for All Saints' Day refers to the Son presenting the Church 'spotless and blameless' to the Father. The Collect in the Form for Evangelistic Work employs the same material, but not at such great length. In nearly all of these cases, the apocalyptic theme of purity is explicit, but this purity is understood to begin now, and to be continued and perfected in the Kingdom.

(6) General Resurrection: This is the favourite eschatological image in our Rite; most of the examples view the resurrection either taking place at the end, or awaited now, and always happening in joy or peace.

In the Eucharist, the first paragraph of the Commemoration of the Departed looks forward to the 'common perfecting in bliss in the day of the resurrection', and the Final Commendation at the end asks that the saints may 'awake to a joyful resurrection'. The Common Post-Communion (No. 1) ends with the 'glory of the resurrection' as the end of the 'Communion of the Body of Christ', thus giving the sacramental slant which we expect from Post-Communion prayers.

In the Seasonal Forms, the Proper of Oblation on the Day of Presentation depicts the Church awaiting 'redemption of the Body', a phrase which also occurs in the Proper of Oblation for All Saints' Day. Both the Collect and the Proper of Oblation for Easter Eve (the former at greater length) pray for the resurrection, when mortal bodies will take on immortal. The Additional Post-Communion for Easter Day envisages Communion as a means towards purifying

the body from 'corrupt affections', looking forward to eternal life and resurrection at the last day.

In the Occasional Forms, the Proper of Oblation (No.II) in the Form by the Apostle for the Tribe Committed to Him ends with a brief reference to joy and confidence in the knowledge of the nearness of redemption. More explicitly, the Collect and Proper of Oblation in the Form for Commemorating a Deceased Person pray that the soul of the departed person may rest in peace until the glory and immortality of the day of the resurrection, thus repeating the themes of the Commemoration of the Departed in the Eucharist.

Catholic Apostolic Eschatology is thus rich and varied, and the images used are Biblical and traditional, and are not always consistent. Two points need to be brought out. First, the Eucharist is seen again and again in an eschatological light, particularly in the Post-Communion Prayers, either as a foretaste of the heavenly assembly or as the means towards that assembly. Second, in spite of the examples of 'historical interpretation', there is no apoclyptic timetable; these historical sections all deal with material specifically related to the congregations of the Restored Apostleship.

Ultimately, the apocalyptic imagery of the Rite must be considered. Two recent scholars of Biblical Apocalyptic, Rowley and Russell, have been largely responsible for the revival of interest in this aspect of Biblical study; they adopt different starting-points in their works, Rowley concluding with a defence of the 'enduring message of Apocalyptic'[16], Russell giving a concise list of the 'essential features' of Apocalyptic[17]. We suggest that Catholic Apostolic Eschatology presents a compendium of the

16. Rowley, The Relevance of Apocalyptic , pp.150-178.
17. Russell, Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic , pp.259ff.

latter, in the terms of Christian theology, and that it has an enduring message which is ably summed up in the former - and on this assessment, Catholic Apostolic Eschatology is an inheritor of the Apocalyptic tradition in the Christian Church. Furthermore, as both Rowley and Russell emphasise, Apocalyptic is an essential part of the Christian faith, in that it enables the Church to say something about the last things, and the relationship between what is now and what will be. In our Rite, we see inconsistency (openly expressed) in the variations between whether the Father or the Son is the focus of the Church's final 'presentation'; but this merely goes to show that Apocalyptic consists of images. When the Church, here perhaps more than at any other point of Christian doctrine, walks by faith rather than sight, 'mythology' is the sole means of conveying these ultimate truths of Christian theology in the framework of Christian worship.

This brings us to the next consideration. What can the Catholic Apostolic liturgical Eschatology say today? In spite of the recognition of the 'eschaton' in liturgical revision throughout this century, and the more extended and esoteric debates on Eschatology in general, the only book on the subject of Eucharistic Eschatology is that of Wainwright[18]. Unfortunately, he does not make any mention of the Catholic Apostolic Liturgy, but inhis detailed study, he differentiates between two sorts of Eschatology. The first is one of a Kingdom which will be imposed from above, and to which man will contribute nothing at all, and the second is one in which man's efforts ameliorate his present condition in fulfilment of the Gospel's commands[19]. The Catholic Apostolic Liturgy embodies an Eschatology which has as its starting-point a Kingdom from above, but which takes seriously the present condition of human life, and it thus forms a combination of Wainwright's two kinds. Today's

18. Eucharist and Eschatology , by Geoffrey Wainwright.
19. op.cit. p.149.

theological climate is very different from that of Cardale's day, but we nonetheless make the following observations as the 'enduring message' of the Eschatology of our Rite.

First, the Catholic Apostolics grasped the importance of Eschatology in their life and teaching, and incorporated it into their worship.

Second, Eschatology needs to be expressed in all worship, but especially in the Eucharist, as it is the prefiguring of future glory, and an earnest of resurrection life (as recurrently expressed in the Additional Post-Communion Prayers).

Third, in order to express those specifically Eschatological aspects of the Christian faith in Eucharistic worship, mythology is essential, provided it is soundly based.

(c) Typology in the Eucharist

We have already seen the role of typology in the early worship of the Church and its Ministry, and we must now look at typology in relation to the Eucharist. Cardale begins his discussion of this as follows: 'The Holy Eucharist is the focus of all the rays of Divine Light which emanate from all the various rites and ceremonies of the Law'[20]. Thus, as both he and Bramley-Moore explain, the typological correspondences are not exact. Here are the most important, for our discussion.

1. Action in the Court

Confession	The Great and Lesser Sin-Offering (Lev.16)
Absolution and Peace	The sprinkling and varied application of the blood of victims.
Prayer of Approach/Kyrie Eleison	The blood of Sin Offering brought within the Veil.
Gloria in excelsis/Salutation/ Collect	Approach to Brazen Laver.
Epistle/Anthem after Epistle/ Gospel/Homily	Use of the Laver

20. R.L.I. p.205; for the explanation of the relationships, v. R.L.I. pp.289ff; v. also Bramley Moore, Tabular View, Col.I.

Creed	Salt, symbolising faith (Lev.2:13).
Offertory	Tithe (Lev. 27:30-32).
	2. Action in Most Holy Place
Greater Introit	Going to God with Burnt Offerings (Ps.66:13-15).
Prayer of Oblation before Consec.	Burnt Offerings put on altar (Lev.16).
Preface	Meat-Offering, accompanying Burnt-Offering, symbolising thankful view of God's acts (Heb.13:15).
Lord's Prayer	Golden Spoon of Incense (Num.7:20).
Consecration	Passover: slaying of lamb (Rev.6:6).
Prayer of Oblation after Consec.	Sprinkling of blood of Sin-Offering within Veil, Sprinkling of blood of Paschal Lamb (Exod. 12:12).
Commemoration of Living and Departed	Ministry of Golden Censer (Heb.9:4).
Concluding Prayer before Comm.	Waving of Sheaf of 1st fruits before Lord (Lev.16).
Pre-Comm. Sentences	Feast of Unleavened Bread (Lev.23:10,11).
Peace before Comm.	Peace-Offering.
	3. Consumption of Sacrifices
Communion	Passover, Peace-Offering, Shewbread.
Benediction	High Priest's re-appearance on evening of day of atonement (Lev.16:24).

Three conclusions can be drawn from this scheme.

First, because the Eucharist subsumes all the sacrifices and ceremonies of the Law, through the work of Christ, there is not, and cannot be, any exact 'foreshadowing', but rather certain correspondences.

Second, the prominence of a typological understanding of the Eucharist helps to explain the strongly sacrificial view of the Eucharist in the various parts of our Rite.

Third, the typological relationships do not affect the way in which our Rite has been composed, as there is very little in the way of exact sequence of sacrifices and ceremonies set against the order of prayers in the Eucharist. The only real sequence is in the three sections, in the Court, the Most Holy Place, and the Consumption of Sacrifices, but their correspondence with the Preparation, the 'Anaphoral', and Communion parts of the Eucharist cannot be said to be in any way a determining factor, as this is the same sequence adopted in traditional liturgies.

Thus the typology of the Eucharist seeks only to point to the uniqueness of the work of Christ, and the role of the Eucharist within that work. It is certainly an interesting scheme, and is itself quite unique.

(d) Eucharist: Sacrifice and Presence

We now come to the two doctrinal aspects of the Rite which are specifically Eucharistic. We will deal with Sacrifice first; this will enable us to understand the Presence, which is more complex, because it finds expression in different ways in the Rite.

(1) Sacrifice

There are sixteen references to Sacrifice in the course of the Rite. These divide, fairly easily, into two categories; first, specific references to the Eucharist with a more 'objective' understanding of the sacrifice, and second, more general references to 'offering sacrifice', but of a more 'subjective' nature.

(i) Objective: The 'Orate Fratres' at the Greater Introit refers to the bread and wine (unconsecrated) as 'our sacrifice', a phrase echoed by Cardale's phrase, 'the common sacrifice'[21], then it prays that it will be acceptable to God, and the congregational response expresses full confidence that it will be accepted. Then follows the Prayer of Oblation before Consecration, in which two offerings are made. The first is the bread and cup, as the offering of the people - the 'common sacrifice' - part of the creation being handed to God for a particular purpose. The second is the people themselves, as a 'living sacrifice'; the self-oblation comes at this point through association with the gifts - they are an offering made by the Priest, in the name of the people, as an expression of the people's commitment to live according to the will of God. In other words, the two

21. R.L.I. p.142

offerings made here are with the Consecration and Communion in view.

In the Prayer of Oblation after Consecration, there are, similarly, two offerings made. The first is when the Priest presents (N.B. not offers) 'this reasonable and unbloody sacrifice which thou hast instituted in Thy Church', and then prays that God may 'have respect unto that Sacrifice once offered upon the cross, once for all'. There is no question of the sacrifice being repeated. Cardale sees the sacrifice on the cross as eternal, (N.B. capital 'S'), and the Eucharist as an historical 'presentation' (N.B. minuscule 's'), in the sense of pleading before God of something that has already taken place. The specifically 'sacrificial' aspects are explained by Cardale to be to honour God, and to obtain his blessing; this sacrificial association seems to be strongly typological - in the sense that the sacrifices under the Law honoured God, and asked for his blessing[22]. The second offering is in the intercessions, introduced by the Proper of Oblation, and continued, symbolically in the offering of incense, and effectually by the Commemorations of theLiving and Departed. Sacrifice is accompanied by prayer; with the consecrated bread and wine now 'presented' before God, the long act of intercession begins.

In these prayers, we see ameat balance between the traditional Catholic and Protestant positions current when Cardale was writing. The issues are not dodged, but by grasping them firmly, and attempting something comprehensive,Cardale makes a 'memorial-sacrifice' doctrine explicit, which gives equal stress to the people's action and the nature of the offering itself.

On a similar note, the Additional Post-Communion Prayer for the Thursday before Easter refers to the Eucharist as 'commemorating His Sacrifice who is the true Paschal Lamb', once again giving equal stress to temporal and

22. R.L.I. p.172.

eternal. We see the same teaching enshrined in the Good Friday Liturgy. The 'Orate Fratres' lacks a response, becausethe sacrifice has already been offered (i.e. the whole Eucharist has been celebrated), but is now being presented anew, for intercession and Communion. The first of the long series of prayers links the already-consecrated gifts to the celebration of the Sacrifice of Calvary of the Day; this is a peculiar feature, but one which shows a desire not to make the Eucharistic celebration cross-centred, and implicitly provides the rationale for not celebrating the Eucharist on this occasion. The Collect at the end of the Prayers repeats this theme.

(ii) Subjective: The Prayer of Approach at the Introit in the Eucharist concludes with a petition that the congregation 'may offerunto Thee a sacrifice in righteousness'; this obviously refers to the whole Eucharist, as a Liturgy, and not to any part of it (e.g. Consecration). The remaining examples come from Propers of Oblation; those for Advent, Separation of Apostles, All Angels and Childbirth, all refer to the Eucharist as a 'sacrifice of praise'; that for All Saints, 'sacrifice of thanksgiving'; and that for Rejoicing, 'sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving'. These are all variations of the same theme, and in each case introduce the topic for prayer appropriate to the occasion. It is in the Propers of Oblation for the Thursday before Easter and for Pentecost that the most interesting examples are to be found. The texts run as follows: 'we beseech Thee that for His merits who now abideth before Thee, our High Priest in the heavens, this and all our sacrifices offered according to thy will may be acceptable in Thy sight', and '....offering unto Thee these spiritual sacrifices, acceptable in the Holy Ghost'. The meaning in both is clear - the unique nature of the Sacrifice, and the plurality of its celebration. The focal-point is, however, different in each case - in the first, the High Priestly Ministry, of Christ, and in the Second, the work of the Holy Spirit.

Having distinguished between the 'objective'and 'subjective' expressions, we can now fit them together into a coherent and comprehensive Sacrificial theology of the Eucharist, as we go through the service. The Prayer of Approach refers to the whole Eucharist as a spiritual sacrifice. The 'Orate Fratres' speaks of the bread and wine as a sacrifice in the sense of an offering by the people, and this is strengthened in the Prayer of Oblation before Consecration, which, furthermore, makes offering of the people also, as a living sacrifice. In the Prayer of Oblation after Consecration, the bread and wine, now consecrated, are presented to God as a memorial-sacrifice, the 'memorial' being of the 'sacrifice' of Christ which is invoked in this prayer. Through this, in the Propers of Oblation, Commemorations of Living and Departed, and all Occasional Forms, intercession is offered with the sacrifice, since it is through the sacrifice of Christ in the Eucharist that all saints, living and departed, are united in prayer to the Father.

De Watteville in a recent study of Patristic Eucharistic Sacrificial theology, has summarised the Patristic doctrine as containing the following elements; (1) a memorial of the Passion, (2) the offering of the New Covenant, (3) a Sacrificial meal and (4) the joint Oblation of Christ and the Church[23]. These four ingredients correspond approximately with the features in our Rite, and to these Cardale adds the traditional Reformation insight of the 'peoples' oblation'.

The basic doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice is, therefore, a fine blending of Catholic and Protestant insights, which, given the polemics of the pre-ecumenical era in which it was framed, is a remarkable achievement.

23. Jean de Watteville, Le Sacrifice dans les textes eucharistiques des premiers siècles, p.207.

(2) Presence

There are more references to the Sacramental Presence than to the Sacrifice, and most of the examples are from Additional Post-Communion Prayers. The material tends to fall into four different kinds; revelation, mysterium, subjective and objective (the last two sometimes combined).

(i) Revelation: There is one example of this, in the Additional Post-Communion for Apostolic Council, where the Sacrament is prayed for as a means of the 'grace of thy illumination'; this prayer stands on its own, for its sheer liturgical quality, but also in a doctrinal connection, as it makes an explicit request for revelation of the divine will to the assembled Council, through the Eucharist, in the language of the Lucan Emmaus narrative.

(ii) Mysterium: The Confession (the earliest example of all) speaks of receiving Communion as effected 'through a divine mystery', a reality brought about through a mysterium. The Additional Post-Communion Prayers for Three Seasons and Advent both give thanks for 'partaking of these holy mysteries', and that for Christmas Day more explicitly in 'being made partakers, through these earthly creatures, of thy divine and heavenly mysteries'; the Collect for the Thursday before Easter prays for 'such discernment of these holy mysteries'. All these examples point to the mysterium of the Eucharist, but are definite in what they say is the nature of the mystery (heavenly food, in earthly food), and understand the 'mysteries' as the means through which this Presence is effected.

(iii) Subjective: This is where prayer is offered for the need, specific or general, of the communicants. Thus the Prayer to the Father asks for 'health both of body and soul'; and in the second and third Common Post-Communion Prayers, Holy Communion is referred toin terms of spiritual food, and likewise the Post-Communion for Christmas Eve. On a more devotionally

exuberant note, the Proper of Oblation for Ascension Day beseeches God to 'satisfy with joy the desire of our souls', and both the Post-Communions on this occasion continue this theme. In the Form for Unity, prayer is made for the Sacrament as a means towards union with the Father, and the Post-Communion in the Form in Times of Scarcity asks for provision of daily needs, referring to the 'heavenly food' already received in the Sacrament.

(iv) Objective: The most important of all is the Epiclesis in the Consecration Prayers, where an objective view of the Presence is taken, but with the words 'unto us', thus expressing the 'fact' of the Consecration, and the 'faith' of the Communicants. This is another mark of comprehensiveness. The Concluding Prayer before Communion speaks of the Presence as 'under the veil of earthly things', in contrast to the total revelation in the future. The Prayer to the Son prays, 'impart unto us Thy most holy Body and Thy most precious Blood'; and the first Commun Post-Communion Prayer uses similar language (although in retrospect to the Communion); this same kind of language is echoed in the Additional Post-Communion for the Circumcision. The Good Friday Liturgy provides two interesting examples. The first of the long series of Prayers refers to the bread and wine as 'emblems of Thy passion', and then prays, 'casting ourselves down, as it were, before the cross', a curious combination of Eucharistic objectivism and seasonal devotion; the bread and wine are the Body and Blood of Christ, devotion to which on this occasion is centred on the cross. The Additional Post-Communion Prayers for Easter Eve both give thanks for receiving the Body and Blood of Christ, with the emphasis on the Presence rather than the effects on the recipients, and this is also true of the corresponding Pentecost Prayer. Finally, the Additional Post-Communion Prayer in the Form for the Sick refers to the 'grace of Thy Sacrament'.

(v) Subjective/Objective: The Additional Post-Communion Prayer for the Presentation gives thanks for Communion, and prays that this may be a means of attaining to resurrection. That for the Separation of Apostles refers to the Communicants abiding in Eucharistic Life, and thus 'defended by Thy heavenly ordinances' may be delivered from evil - a strange formula in reference to the Sacrament. Finally, that for All Saints Day prays that those who partake of 'this Thy Holy Table' may share in the assembly of saints in heaven at the last.

The Catholic Apostolic understanding of the Eucharistic Presence thus embraces the following features: revelation of the divine will; participation in Communion through a divine mystery; the Eucharistic gifts as holy mysteries; the Eucharist as the spiritual food of the faithful and the means of union with the Father; the Consecrated elements as the Body and Blood of Christ.

Two pastoral/liturgical features bring out more clearly this balance between the 'objective' and 'subjective', the 'theological' and the 'devotional'. The Eucharistic Presence is symbolised by the lighting of the lamp before the Altar after the Concluding Prayer before Communion. Secondly, the reception of the Sacrament is emphasised by the reverence and formality associated with the Administration; all Communicants receive, if present, and spiritual gifts are exercised at this point.

We have looked at all these expressions of the Eucharistic Presence from a thematic angle. It now remains to see how the Presence is expressed in the course of the service; and here, we will see the same balance of emphases noted in our discussion of the Sacrifice. The Confession opens the service, and begins with the definition of the Communion wrought by the divine mystery. The Presence is therefore primarily a gift of God which Man cannot fully understand. In the consecration, the bread and wine are

acknowledged to become the Body and Blood of Christ, through the power of the Spirit. To quote Cardale in his treatment of the Consecration: 'it is manifest.... that a real change takes place in the holy gifts through the act of consecration... God's act, by the instrumentality of the celebrant at this period of the service, and not the faith of the communicant at any subsequent part of the service, makes the elements thus consecrated to be the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ.... true and visible signs... of spiritual things present upon the altar'[24]. And a similar statement of the 'fact' of the Presence appears in the Concluding Prayer before Communion, and in the Prayer to the Son. Then comes the Communion itself. After this, we have the various Post-Communion Prayers, Common and Additional; most of them contain specifically Eucharistic material, and more often than not, the direction of the prayer is devotional - giving thanks for the Communion, and praying for effect in the lives of the faithful.

Cardale teaches in the Rite, and explains in his 'Readings', a doctrine of the Presence which is both objective, in its 'real-ness', and subjective, in its immediate reference to Communion by the faithful. He rejects both Transubstantiation and Consubstantiation, as being inadequate to express the nature of the change - on the grounds that 'substance' is a material concept, and cannot therefore refer to something essentially spiritual; at the Consecration, the bread and wine, by the power of the Holy Spirit, receive spiritual properties, of Christ's Body and Blood.[25] Thus, Cardale seems to be attempting to steer a course between Transubstantiation, in his belief in the 'real-ness' of the change, and Consubstantiation, in the conviction that the bread and wine remain, materially, bread and wine. Such a theology is much dependent on a strong doctrine of the Spirit, which is so prominent in our Rite.

Thus in both Sacrifice and Presence, we see the expression of a doctrinal comprehensiveness which does not whittle down the various beliefs and

24. R.L.I. pp.162-163.
25. R.L.I. pp.165-166.

practices of the Churches in existence during Cardale's time, but keeps them, rationalises them, and holds them together in a creative synthesis. As a liturgical theology, it sets out to be ecumenical in its approach to the faith and worship of Christendom.

Conclusion

From this discussion of the doctrine of the Catholic Apostolic Church as contained in its Liturgy, we can draw together the following features.

(1) It is Biblical. Catholic Apostolic teaching and worship is strongly grounded in the Biblical tradition, whether in Typology, or in specific doctrinal emphases, such as Eschatology.

(2) It is Rich. In each doctrine, there is an obvious desire for 'inclusiveness', in that a plurality of images and teaching is preferred to a monochrome system. This is connected with the next feature.

(3) It is Traditional. It sets out to take seriously the mainstream of Christian tradition, particularly in the important place given to the teaching role of the Church.

(4) It is Comprehensive. This has been brought out clearly in the discussion on the Eucharistic Sacrifice and Presence, but it also applies to other facets, especially Ecclesiology. The Catholic Apostolic use of tradition in the Christian Churches is manifested in its desire to mould together different insights into the faith, above all in the faith of the Eucharist itself.

(5) It is Prophetic. The Catholic Apostolics taught, with characteristic humility, that they had a specific task to perform in relation to the existing Churches. It is not our position to accuse them of misguidance,

looking back to a parousia that has not yet taken place. But it is possible to see in them a desire to give the Churches of the time something which they lacked, and, furthermore, to see that the Catholic Apostolic Church taught some of these things; the Unity of the Church; the fine distinction between the Incarnational Church with the person of Christ prominent, and the Pneumatological Church with life in the Spirit as the vivifying force; and the authority in the Church required to manifest that unity, proclaim the Lord who has been, is, and is to come; and above all to live fully in the Spirit.

Chapter 13 : Historical Assessment

Any age has its own ways of worship, whether it revises, enshrines or resorts to iconoclasm. The nineteenth century had its fair share of liturgical renewal, and the Catholic Apostolic Church clearly is a courageous example of one aspect of this process. However, in making an historical assessment, we must relate our Rite to the liturgical thought and developments of the preceding century, as a distant background, before we consider the more immediate background of the first part of the 19th century. Then, we will look at the developments later in the century, by way of comparison, and show where our Rite may have affected liturgical renewal in certain Reformed Communions. Finally, we will make certain observations about certain advances in liturgical faith and practice of the 20th century, and suggest parallel insights of the Catholic Apostolic Church, which may, when set in comparison, show it up in a prophetic light.

(a) Liturgical Background - the 18th century

It is perhaps a common feature of the liturgical achievements of both 18th and 19th centuries that the areas of industry in this field which produced concrete results were, on the whole, small branches or offshoots of Churches - in sharp contrast to the vast programmes of revision undertaken by most major Churches in this century. The 18th century saw development mainly in the 'Neo-Gallican' Movement in the French Church[1], and in the work of the Non-Jurors in England. This latter achieved lasting value through contacts with the Non-Jurors in the Scottish Episcopal Church, which culminated in the Scottish Liturgy of 1764, and spread to the American Church through the consecration of Bishop Seabury in 1792[2]. It is, therefore, a tragic irony that the wider manifestation of the fruits of the labours of Neo-Gallican and Non-Juror alike should at last have received

1. cf. Pocknee, The French Diocesan Hymns and their Tunes , pp.1-13, and Klauser, A Short History of the Western Liturgy , p.121.
2. cf. Grisbrooke, pp.1-18, 70-159 and Procter and Frere, A New History of the Book of Common Prayer , pp.234-248.

some recognition, the former in the work of the Roman Missal of PaulVI[3], the latter in the (abortive) Prayer Book of 1928[4].

But liturgical revision need not be the only fruit of the labour of the liturgical scholar. Thomas Brett's 'Dissertation' on the Ancient Liturgies may be regarded as a defence of the Non-Juror's Liturgy of 1718[5], but two notable figures of the same century show a considerable knowledge of liturgy, without challenging the 1662 Prayer Book in any way. Charles Wheatly, in his 'Rational Illustration upon the Book of Common Prayer' openly disagrees with the 'primitivism' of Rattray, in denying the existence a single original Apostolic Liturgy[6]. Nelson's 'Companion for the Festivals and Fasts' of the Church of England: with Collects and Prayers for each Solemnity'[7] is a less scholarly work than Wheatly's but it shows the same acquiescence in the Prayer Book. The Roman Church supplies three notable liturgical scholars. The first is Goar, with the very full work contained in the collation of texts and notes in his 'Euchologion'[8]. The second is Renaudot, with the fuller collection of texts and invaluable dissertations of his 'Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio'[9]. These works pioneered towards a fuller knowledge of Oriental Liturgies, Goar with all the services of the Byzantine Rite, Renaudot with the Eucharist (and a few other services) of as many of the Oriental Rites as he could muster. Their work is lasting, for in spite of more recent critical editions, these books are still referred to by scholars, and Cardale made abundant use of them. The third is Pope Benedict

3. cf. ed.L.Shephered, The New Liturgy, pp.202-212 (article on Eucharistic Prayer No.3) and A. Dumas, Q.L.P. 1971, pp.266-269 (on composition of Collects).
4. cf.Cuming, A History of Anglican Liturgy , pp.213-244.
5. Brett's actual dissertation is preceded by a series of Eucharistic Liturgies in translation, as follows: Clementine, St. James (Greek), St.Mark, St.John Chrysostom, St.Basil, The Ethiopian (Abyssinian Jacobites), the Nestorian, Severus of Antioch, Gallican and Mozarabic fragments, Roman the 1549 Rite and finally, 'The New Communion Office' (q.v. pp.1-148).
6. Grisbrooke, p.137.
7. Published, London 1795; this is a practical work, with information on the feasts laid out as in the Catechism, i.e. question and answer.
8. cf. Swainson, The Greek Liturgies , pp.x-xi.
9. cf. Swainson, pp. xi-xii.

XIV, who, as Archbishop of Bologna wrote his 'De Festis', a biblical, theological, and historical commentary on the Liturgical Year; by far the greatest Pope of his century, he did attempt a programme for liturgical revision, but this proved too much for the time, so that his most lasting legacy to the Roman Rite is the 'Caeremoniale Episcoporum'[10].

When we consider these features, we see how Cardale inherited the work of the 18th century, in continuing a tradition of liturgical activity and in a small, but vigorous, worshipping community. Ronald Jasper pinpoints the history of British liturgical writing of the past three centuries in 'The Search for an Apostolic Liturgy' - a search among the most ancient documents available on the Church's Eucharist. The crux of the matter, as far as it affects this assessment of Cardale's work, lies not so much in whether or not there was believed to be one fixed 'Apostolic' Liturgy in ancient times but rather in how study of ancient Liturgies is to be used in the process of liturgical revision, or, (as in Cardale's case) in composition. Thorndike, Brett and Rattray were all greatly affected by this 'search', the latter two with direct liturgical consequences[11]. Cardale, following Wheatly, consciously or not, does not believe in the existence of such a Rite. He takes as his starting-point the evolving Catholic Apostolic Rite, and, although he gives sporadic citations to ancient texts, he does not consider it important to discuss in any detail any part of any Rite, with one notable exception, the Prayer of Approach at the start of the Eucharist[12]. This method seems to be founded on two main grounds. First, Cardale was regarded by the people for whom his 'Readings' were intended as the Pillar of the Restored Apostles; although he never presses this authority in a hierarchical manner in his work (e.g. in stating why he comes to what conclusion in a liturgical/doctrinal question), he presupposes

10. cf. ed. Martimort, The Church at Prayer, pp.45-46.
11. v. Jasper, 'Search', pp.1-6.
12. R.L.J. pp. 45, 203: no reason is given for this exceptional treatment.

it. Second, 'Readings' is the ultimate authority for the origin and interpretation of our Liturgy; all subsequent liturgical guides are based on them.

Nevertheless, we still find it surprising that Cardale virtually ignores the discussion of 'Apostolicity' of ancient Liturgy in the previous century, particularly when he himself claims to be an Apostle. We therefore suggest that because of the mixture of elements within our Rite, Cardale did not think there was discernible in the ancient books available to him such a thing as an 'Apostolic Liturgy' going right back to the first century, and, furthermore, in view of this mixture, that he did not consider the matter important to the composition of the Rite. This may be contrasted with the fact that the 'search' persisted into the nineteenth century (at the end of Cardale's life) in the work of W.C. Field, 'The Apostolic Liturgy and the Epistle to the Hebrews'[13]. But Cardale avoids the particular liturgical red herring which, though technically going out of fashion during the nineteenth century, persists in the primitivism of much liturgical revision of today; in view of his free use of ancient elements within a completely new framework, he is sure to have disagreed with the implicit liturgical primitivism of Dr. Grabe's motto, 'Apostolica omnino videtur, certe antiquissima est'. The clock cannot be turned back.

Cardale can thus be seen against the background of the 18th century, and follows on the pattern of liturgical activity in small break-off branches of existing Churches. Like the 'Neo-Gallican' tradition, he looks carefully into the Mediaeval Western Mass, and like the Non-Jurors he shows a marked interest in Oriental Rites. But he does not accept either's presuppositions, nor is there any similarity of product.

13. This is vividly set forth in the first paragraph of the Preface, q.v.

(b) Liturgical Background - the 19th century

The nineteenth century continued the liturgical work of the previous century. The actual practic e of Liturgy in the Churches received a boost, through the various 'revivals', in Roman and Anglican Churches.

In the Anglican Church, the period before the Tractarian Revival yields a small work in Biddulph's 'Practical Essays on the Morning and Evening Services and on the Collects of the Liturgy of the Church of England'; the title itself shows an uncritical acceptance of the Book of Common Prayer as it then was (and in this sense follows the precedent set by Nelson), but also with the pattern of worship at the time prevalent in most places of worship of the Established Church. The first of the Tractarian scholars to challenge the Prayer Book was William Palmer, who, in his 'Origines Liturgicae', discusses some ancient Liturgies, and compares them with the Anglican Liturgy; his researches led him to divide Rites into four principal families, derived from four parent Liturgies (Oriental, Alexandrian, Gallican, Roman)[14]. William Maskell, in his 'Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England' showed an ounce more liturgical fundamentalism, and found the 'Apostolic' Liturgy theory attractive and convincing[15]. But the study of Oriental Liturgies was still a neglected field, scholars having still to depend onRenaudot, Goar and Assemanni; then a succession of works appeared, each in turn exposing the gaps of its predecessor, Neale, Neale and Littledale, Hammond,Swainson, and, finally, Brightman[16]. Liturgiology was becoming an increasingly

14. Written in 1832; v. pp.1-7, and Jasper, 'Search', pp.6-7.
15. Written in 1844; q.v. 'Preface', pp. i-lxxxvi; and Jasper, 'Search', p.8, n.1.
16. Neale, in 1858 and 1859; Neale and Littledale, in 1868; Hammond, in 1878; Swainson, in 1884; and Brightman, in 1896. Neale's early work was to reproduce the Greek liturgies; Neale and Littledale [illegible] them; Hammond reproduced the principal Eastern and Western Liturgies; Swainson wasthe first critical edition of the principal Eastern Liturgies; and Brightman took Swainson's work very much further, supplying M.S.S. which he had studied personally.

scientific study. Cardale was probably acquainted with as many of these (and other) liturgical works as appeared in his life-time, but only Palmer's was published before our Rite had taken on its definitive shape and form[17].

The Roman Church's liturgical activity of the nineteenth century is confined (for any bearing on Cardale) to the work of Dom Prosper Guéranger, whose Ultramontanism led him to work fiercely for the re-establishment of the Tridentine Roman Rite in France (and thus disband the 'Neo-Gallican' books), and whose zeal for the Religious life led him to refound the Abbey of Solesmes, establishing it as a centre for the study of liturgy, with Gregorian Chant and ceremonial of the 'Gothic Revival' as the cultural milieu; although in some ways overtaken by subsequent liturgical scholarship, he did give an impetus to the liturgical life of France (and beyond) at a time when it was much needed, through his two major works, 'Institutions Liturgiques' and 'L'Année Liturgique'.

Guéranger's work has parallels in the Roman Catholic Church in Britain during the course of the century, particularly in the Gothic Revival of Pugin and his followers. But this was much more popular in the Church of England, particularly in the Tractarian revival. To this we must now briefly turn, to assess another historical aspect of the Catholic Apostolic Liturgy - its Mediaevalism of presentation.

As has already been shewn, the architecture, lay-out and furniture of a Catholic Apostolic Church was very much akin to 'Gothic Revival' ideals. We have now dealt with the Liturgy in more detail; we can, therefore, see that the same principles of scholarship and creativity govern the method and the environment of it presentation. Both in architecture (e.g. Drummond's 'Principles') and ceremonial (e.g. the Greater Introit), there is

17. Palmer's work, which, by accident, is the only extraneous piece of liturgical writing which still lies on the bookshelves of the Council Chamber at Albury, was a dissertation on various existing Rites, whereas Cardale's is an explication of one new Rite.

discernible the ideal of a large Church, built in the Gothic Revival style, equipped with Gothic Revival fittings and vestments; Brandon's Church in Gordon Square contains a sanctuary lamp by Pugin, and nearly all the fittings in the Paddington Church are by the architect, Pearson[18]. But there are crucial differences which distinguish a Catholic Apostolic Church from an Anglican Tractarian one, in spite of the (frequent) use of the same architects by both parties; the Tabernacle must be large enough to accommodate reservation in both kinds, the altar must be visibly a stone altar, rather than a communion-table, the Deacons sit in the Lower Choir, and the ceremonial must employ as full a complement of ministers as the Particular Church can muster. The liturgical 'law' appears to be that ceremonial fits ministers, rather than vice versa, as was the case in the Tridentine Mass[19]. The externals of worship can easily become an end in themselves, but in the requirements of Catholic Apostolic worship, certain similarities with the Gothic Revival period emerge, hardly suprising inview of there being no other style as popular in ecclesiastical building of the time.

The contemporary background of the Catholic Apostolic Liturgy is thus to be found, principally in the field of liturgical study, and secondly in that of contemporary liturgical presentation. The similarities are there: Palmer and Cardale were both antiquarian in liturgical study, Pugin and Drummond were both concerned with accuracy of architectural detail. But the situations were different, Cardale had to write a completely new Liturgy for a completely new Church, and Drummond had to help find the right architectural milieu as a vehicle for its presentation.

18. v. J.M. Lickfold, The Catholic Apostolic Church, Gordon Square , p.26; and also Drummond, 'Principles', passim.
19. The 'Tridentine Principle' is discernible also in the ceremonial directions of such Tractarian works as the Directorium Anglicanicum , of 1865, by Frederick Lee, and the Ritual of the Altar , of 1878, by Orby Shipley.

(c) Later Reformed Liturgical Movements

In the Commentary, attention has already been drawn to the influence wielded by our Liturgy on three principal bodies among the Reformed Communions: the American German Reformed Church, and its service-books; the Church Service Society of the Church of Scotland; and the French Reformed Church, in the work of Pastor Eugène Bersier.

(i) American German Reformed Church: this Rite represents a curious amalgam of Reformed, original, and Catholic Apostolic elements. There are three main editions; 'A Liturgy, or Order of Christian Worship...for use of the German Reformed Church in the United States of America', 1859; 'An Order of Worship, for the Reformed Church', 1867; and 'The Directory of Worship for the Reformed Church', 1884. All three appear to be for the use of the same body; a comparison between them brings to light a slow development, gaining and losing elements in the process.

1859: Prayer of Approach ('O God who by the blood'); with penitential material inserted.

Sentences of assurance and pardon, by the minister.

Gloria in excelsis, or a 'suitable hymn'.

Gospel.

Epistle.

Collect (and 'Festival Prayer, if appointed).

Brief 'sermon or homily', or a lesson, 'on the history on Christ's death and passion'.

Nicene Creed, or, if the last Communion in the year, the Athanasian Creed.

Offering of alms, 'as an oblation to God'.

Uncovering ofbread and wine.

Exhortation, including sentences, 'Christ our Passover'.

Confession, mainly from our Rite.

Prayer declaring pardon.

Salutation and Sursum Corda.

Eucharistic Prayer, same structure as our Rite, but considerable amplification in paras. 1 and 2.

Sanctusand Benedictus, with 'Sabbaoth', and 'Hosanna' twice.

Institution narrative, with Alexandrian 'which is broken for you'.

Epiclesis prayer, with mention of the bread and wine being 'set apart', and a neat Receptionist formula on the presence ('they may exhibit and represent to us with true effect the Body....')

Oblation prayer, confusing anamnesis, sacrifice of Calvary, peoples' sacrifice.

Intercession; Church 'throughout the world', this 'Particular Church and congregation, all men 'in Christian lands', 'favourable weather', for 'Thy light....unto the ends of the earth', for the suffering, for 'those departing this life', and for 'the blessed communion of all thy saints' (a great deal of these word for word from our Rite).

Blessing; similar to Apostolical Benediction.

Peace.

Distribution.

Post-Communion Prayer (free or as set).

Benediction.

1867: Invocation.

Exhortation.

Confession; more close to our Rite than 1859.

'Declaration of Pardon'.

Nicene Creed and Gloria in Excelsis.

Gospel.

Epistle.

Gloria Patri.

Salutation.

Collect, and 'Festival Prayer', if appointed.

'brief sermon'.

'offering', with Sentences.

Uncovering of bread and wine.

Prayer of Approach.

Sentences.

Salutation and Sursum Corda.

Eucharistic Prayer (as before).

Sanctus and Benedictus.

Institution Narrative.

Epiclesis (as before).

Oblation Prayer (as before, but with confused central portion omitted).

Intercessions (as before).

Lord's Prayer.

Peace.

Distribution.

Prayer (not called 'Post-Communion') as before.

Te Deum, in V. and R. form.

Benediction.

1884: Decalogue.

Exhortation.

Confession (Parts from our Rite).

Questions and Answers on newness of life (cf. Methodist Covenant Service).

Declaration of Comfort.

Blessing.

Collect (based on Prayer of Approach and 'Collect for purity' in B.C.P.).

Sentences.

Salutation to Benediction as in 1867 book.

As we look at these Rites, we can see changes of form rather than content, and a definite shape developing in the last edition, The Prayer of Approach and Penitential sections reverse places in '59 and '67; the 'Blessing' before Communion drops out in '67 and the Te Deum is inserted;

and the Questions and Answers appear in the '84 book.

The influence from our Rite is more liturgical than doctrinal - traditional liturgical features are adopted (e.g. Eucharistic Prayer), but they are always given a Calvinist doctrine (e.g. the Presence). Furthermore, Catholic Apostolic influence appears in all three (e.g. the Confession changed in 1867). Finally, the Reformation 'edification' principle in worship is still prominent, in the Sentences, the penitential material, and the spirituality. The Rite in its entirety represents what might be called a 'High Church Calvinist' Rite, displaying certain aspects of Catholic Apostolic wording and use of traditional liturgical features, but little of its genius.

(ii) Church of Scotland: Burnet, in 'The Holy Communion in the Reformed Church of Scotland' deals briefly with the work and influence of the Church Service Society in the Kirk; founded in January 1865, largely at the instigation of a group of scholarly-minded parish ministers, it published in 1867 a 'Euchologion' - the first of a long series of publications, which continue to this day[20]. The 'Euchologion' begins with a preface, which sets out the aims of the Society; it is defensive in tone (against those within the Kirk suspicious of a 'formal liturgy'), but nonetheless firm in the conviction that the forms of service contained therein would fill up the 'wide chasm' between 'the bondage of a positive liturgy, and the poverty of an absolutely extemporaneous service'. Appeal is made to three things; first, the primitive tradition of Scottish Presbyterianism; second, the wealth of liturgical tradition in ancient (Patristic) documents; and third, the barrenness of worship at the time. As regards the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, there is a brief summary of the principal liturgies, ancient and modern, among which are numbered the 'Irvingite' and the 'American German Reformed Church'; the charts of both these liturgies use

20. Burnet, p.280.

titles for the prayers sometimes as they appear in the respective books, sometimes interpretative[21]. The compilers obviously considered the Catholic Apostolic Eucharist and the American German Reformed Rite as examples of modern compositions worth following, and their intention was to produce the Euchologion as part of the same awakening in liturgical study and practice for those members of the Church of Scotland who were interested. They also note the influence of our Rite on the American Service.

There are common features, although the compilers are conditioned by the lack of congregational participation at the time; first is the bringing in of the elements at the start of the service, a primitive Presbyterian custom, for the revival of which they may have had recourse to our Liturgy[22]. Second, there is the 'Prayer of Access', which is largely taken from our Confession, as well as our 'Prayer of Approach'[23]. Third, there is the Eucharistic Prayer, which, as the Commentary has shewn, is virtually word for word from our Rite, both in content, position and name. Fourth, there is the position of the Lord's Prayer (between the Eucharistic Prayer and the Institution), which is foot-noted as 'probably apostolic', perhaps based on Cardale's defence of this freak position[24]. Fifth, there is 'General Intercession' in the Post-Communion position, 'where it is unconnected with any suggestions of oblation, and where it may even be said to occur naturally when we have partaken of '...that bread...' which unites us as members of the one body'; the first reason appears to be based on Reformation polemic against sacrifice, the second, on the emphasis on reception of Communion, rather than objective presence; the content borrows a great deal from our Rite, particularly in the paragraph praying

21. Euchologion, pp.37-39.
22. v.s. Ch.3 on the ordination of Irving into the new Church, and the 1838 Order.
23. Euchologion, pp.52-3.
24. Euchologion, p.55, note.

for the 'desolate heritage of the Church'[25]. Sixth, the 'Thanks for the Church Triumphant' follows immediately, enumerating no departed person or category by name, and giving the rationale an Anglican emphasis ('follow their good faith and example'), but there is an eschatological conclusion, likewise borrowed from our Rite[26].

Thus there are six principal similarities, nearly all involving some degree of adaptation. Certainly this shape was to be formative upon future liturgical productions from the Church of Scotland, although the 'Book of Common Order' in the following year (1868) was simply a reprint of the old services associated with John Knox, but with 'historical introductions and illustrative notes' by George Sprott and Thomas Leishman, both founder-members of the Church Service Society[27]. The aim of the notes is to give some picture of the intention of the Reformers, the appeal for a liturgical revival being made in their name. Further books have appeared since then, most notably the Book of Common Order of 1940, which maintains the basic shape of the Euchologion, as well as some of the borrowings from our Rite[28].

But the common ground with the history of the Catholic Apostolic Liturgy goes deeper still, both in the principal aims, and in the personalities concerned. The principal aims of the Church Service Society Burnet describes as 'the more worthy and uniform ordering' of the Sacrament as 'the centre and vitalising force of all spiritual activities of the Church', and more frequent opportunities for the people to partake of the Sacrament as the most potent means of raising the whole level of religious life in the Church.[29].

25. Euchologion, pp.59-60.
26. Euchologion, p.61.
27. Burnet, op.cit., p.280.
28. The following features remain; the basic order of the Intercession (before the Sermon), pp.114-115; the 'Prayer of Approach' and the bare outline of the ensuing Offertory prayer, p.117; the concluding section of the Preface, p,118; and some of the material in the 'anamnesis', p.119.
29. Burnet, op.cit. p.281.

When we look at the Society, we see a small group within a large national Church moving towards a particular goal - a more frequent and more 'liturgical' Communion. When we look at the Catholic Apostolics, we see a small new Church, developing within the 1830's and 1840's towards a Sacramental emphasis on the Eucharist through frequency of celebration and use of traditional models for the composition of the Rite. Whereas the Society had to use a certain degree of historical apologetic in the introduction to the Euchologion to justify its aims[30], the Catholic Apostolics were a new Church, sufficiently separate and hierarchical to facilitate the 'Catholic' slant in faith and practice.

As regards the personalities, there is a direct link between the Church Service Society and the Catholic Apostolic Church; Dr. John MacLeod, Minister of Govan Parish Church, was not only a prominent member of the Society, but was also numbered among the (many) clergy who accepted the Restored Apostleship, and were sealed, but who remained at their posts, either through conviction, or through direct pastoral direction from a minister of the new Church. MacLeod's name is well-known in the Church of Scotland and the majority of his works cited in Copinger's 'Bibliography' concern liturgical spirituality, centring round the Eucharist as celebrated in the Church of Scotland.

The Liturgy thus influenced the work of the Church Service Society, directly in the Euchologion in 1867, andindirectly in the Book of Common Order of 1940, an officially edited and recognised Rite (though, as in all Reformed Worship, only optional), and no longer an esoteric production by a liturgical club.

(iii) French Reformed Church - Eugène Bersier: J.D. Benoit, in his Liturgical Renewal: Studies in Catholic and Protestant Developments on

30. e.g. the defensive assertion that the way in which the Sacrament is celebrated would be much improved if the order were left less to the discretion of the minister (Preface, pp.xii-xiii).

the Continent' describes Bersier as 'the real father of the modern liturgical revival on the continent', and after studying his work, one is surprised that more has not been written about him and that Catholic Apostolic influence upon him has not yet been pointed out. Bersier was of Swiss origin, but his mother was Anglican, a factor which both Benoit and Max Thurian regard as formative on his interest in liturgics[31]. His main works, apart from lengthy editions of his sermons, are the two editions of the 'Liturgie à l'usage des Eglises Réformées (1874 and 1876), and his 'Projet de Révision de la Liturgie des Eglises Réformées de France' (1888). The latter was published for the Synod of the French Reformed Church, it was a defence of his ideas on liturgical revision, and represents a much-simplified Rite in comparison with his earlier work. Bersier's aims are set out in the 'Préface' to the 'Liturgie'; (i) to redress the balance of sermon/prayer by more concentration on corporate intercessory adoration; (ii) to express in worship the faith of the Church as contained in the traditional (i.e. Patristic?) writings; (iii) to give the congregation vocal participation in the prayers of the service; (iv) to givea more prominent place to the reading of the Scriptures, making them less of a prologue to the sermon; (v) to ensure 'catholicity' of content of prayers, without relying completely on the ideas of the preacher; (vi) to emphasise and to make liturgically explicit an understanding of the Church as united in spite of its divisions, and at one throughout the ages; (vii) to restore the Lord's Supper to the central place in the life of the Church by more frequent celebration, as intended by the Reformers[32].

All these ideals reflect a positive attitude to traditional liturgical worship, and in what appears to be the most important (vii), he appeals

31. Benoit, op.cit., p.31 and correspondence with Thurian. Bouyer notes the influence of our Rite on Bersier, to the detriment of Bersier's 'Liturgie' as a whole (Eucharist: Theology and Spirituality of the Eucharistic Prayer, pp. 431-432).

32. cf. Eng. Ber pp. 3-5.

to the true intentions of the Reformers. In all this, there is a basic desire to bring the text of the liturgy into line with ancient practice.

The 'Liturgie' has much in common with our service-book, despite notable differences; for a start, Bersier's use of 'Liturgie' bears comparison with 'Liturgy' in the first American German Reformed Book, and the antiquarian Scottish 'Euchologion'. The similarities go further; there is a Table of moveable feasts, and a Lectionary. Then follow many different orders of service for Morning and Evening, on each Sunday of the month, and for seasons of the year (including Palm Sunday and Holy Week, the special days marked only by special prayers). There are two forms for the 'Liturgie de la Communion', the first for use as an adjunct to one or other of the forms of Morning service, the second, as an adapted form of Morning service, to be followed by the first form, thus constituting 'Synaxis' and 'Eucharist'.

For the sake of convenience, we will look at the liturgy as celebrated on its own, independently of the Morning Service.

Opening greetings.

Confession (by minister alone).

Kyrie.

Prayer of declaration of pardon.

Versicles and Responses (some similar to Suffrages inour Rite).

Two Readings: one O.T., the other N.T.

Long Exhortation, with Pauline narrative of Institution.

Another Exhortation, strongly didactic, referring to Eucharist as 'le sacrifice éternel' and the bread and wine containing spiritual nourishment 'par substance divine'.

Gloria in excelsis.

Uncovering of bread and wine.

Prayer of Offering (with material from Prayer of Oblation before Consecration).

Penitential Prayer by minister (with material from concluding part of Prayer of Oblation before Consecration in our Rite)[33].

Sursum Corda.

Short Eucharistic Prayer with seasonal insertions.

Sanctus.

Short Intercessions; in 'Alexandrian' position[34]: ('recois nous au nombre de tes élus' is the conclusion).

Epiclesis.

Consecration.

Anamnesis (separate prayer, as our Prayer of Oblation after Consecration).

Prayer for fruits of Communion.

Lord's Prayer.

Communion.

Thanksgiving Prayer.

Blessing.

In Bersier's Rite, the similarities with our Liturgy are not so strong as in either the American German Reformed or the Scottish Books, and the aims appear to be different. The overall shape of the Eucharistic Liturgy is the same, except for the unusual position of the Gloria, and the Intercession comes in the Alexandrian position, as in the American Reformed books. Benoit is right in criticising Bersier's Liturgy for its strong didactic tone[35]. Bersier probably understood liturgical principles better than he could compose prayers; indeed, his 'Préface' (echoed in the 'Projet') shows a much clearer understanding of the principles of liturgical worship than either the Scottish Euchologion (which is too apologetic) or the American books (which contain no introductions whatever).

33. Both these prayers have as their model the Prayer of Oblation before Consecration; for Cardale, the prayer is a unity, but for Bersier, the Communal 'offering' prayer is one, and the semi-private prayer of the minister for ratification of the celebration is another.
34. No rationale is given for this position; presumably it is adopted in order not to appear to pray before the Consecrated Sacrament.
35. Benoit, op.cit., p.31. Bouyer makes a similar criticism (op.cit. p.432), but Brilioth does not share this view at all (Eucharistic Faith and Practice, Evangelical and Catholic, p.181).

The borrowings from our Rite are confined to the long Offertory Prayer, the Prayer on behalf of the Minister, the Eucharistic Prayer, and, possibly, in the pre-consecrational epiclesis. Bersier's aim in so doing appears to be to defend a 'catholic' tendency in his liturgy at subsidiary points (offering by the people, consecration pronounced by minister, praise by all to God) whilst still affirming a basically Calvinist Eucharistic theology and spirituality (the long Exhortation). His Rite does lack direction, and this is not helped by the verbosity of many of the prayers, whereas our Rite has a definite direction, in spite of its length.

It is clear from both Benoit and Thurian that, unlike the Church Service Society in Scotland, Bersier's direct influence on the liturgical life of the French Reformed Church did not get much further than his own congregation at the Etoile. The 'Project' of 1888 for the Synod contains a lengthy introduction, with a history of liturgical worship in the French Reformed Church, and ends with a compression of his principal aims (ecclesiastical year, congregational participation, importance of intercession before sermon, the regular recitation of the Apostles' Creed); and in the Communion, (the basic Neuchatel order), nothing is said about the frequency of Communion, nor on the use of ancient texts. Bersier is clearly limited in having to deal with the whole of the French Reformed Church[36].

When we compare Bersier's 'Liturgie' with our Rite, we are comparing two very different situations - one man, working in Paris, and many men, working all over Christendom. He did not really understand the Catholic Apostolic Rite, although he did use it as a partial source, available to him through the congregations in France, the French-speaking areas of Belgium

36. Bersier, 'Projet', 'Introduction Historique', section 10. 'Des principes qui ont inspiré notre travail', pp.XLI-LVI.

and Switzerland, and congregations in England itself. Bersier saw the best of the Catholic Apostolic insights in theory only (as in his basic principles in the 'Préface'), but his debt to the Catholic Apostolics merits wider appreciation nonetheless.

(iv) Other minor areas of influence: David Tripp has drawn attention to certain other minor areas of influence of our Rite[37]. We have seen some of them already in the Commentary.

First, there is W.E. Orchard's 'Divine Service'. Orchard, in his Congregationalist days, issued this multi-source manual for worship. In the introduction, three 'styles' of celebration are noted - Low, Festal and Solemn. Several of the prayers contain Catholic Apostolic material; the Prayer of Approach, the 'people's oblation' in the 'Offertory Prayer', oblation material in the 'Prayer of Oblation', after the Consecration, and the 'Sancta Sanctis' before Communion[38].

Second, a simplified version of this service is to be found in the 'Free Church Book of Common Prayer', whose Foreword expresses thanks to Orchard's work. The material from our Rite is less than in the previous book; the 'people's oblation' at the Offertory, the pre-consecrational epiclesis, with 'unto us', and the oblation-material in the 'Prayer of Oblation', after consecration[39].

Tripp notes influence in the Methodist 'Divine Worship', but since this book does not contain a Eucharistic Rite, it does not concern us here. He also notes Heiler's praise of the Catholic Apostolic Liturgy (which he does not share), and suggests a link between our Rite and the liturgical awakening in the German Lutheran Church in the 19th century[40]. This is probably due in large measure to the number of congregations in Germany.

37. S.J.T. Vol. 22 (1969), No.IV, p.450.
38. pp.122, 128, 131, 134.
39. pp.113-4, 115-6, 116-7.
40. For reff. v. op.cit. pp.450 n.3, and p.437 n.2

Clearly these influences continue the trend of small groups within mainstream Protestantism interested in adopting a traditional Liturgy. The extent to which they rely on our Rite is very limited, although Orchard, like Bersier, the Church Service Society, and the American German Reformed Church, is obviously attracted by the Catholic Apostolic synthesis of oblation of gifts and people at the 'Offertory'. But these influences are only superficial in comparison with the entirety of our Rite.

(d) Some 'Victorian' features

It is worth taking this opportunity to mention three cases in our Rite which clearly reflect social attitudes which we would call 'Victorian'. They all come from the Commemoration of the Living.

First, the structure of society. The Prayer for Civil Rulers prays for men in an order of society which is fixed and unquestioned - rulers, legal officials, aristocracy, and everybody else. After this, prayer is offered for the Royal Family, the Ministers of the Crown, and all subjects of Britain and the Empire (these are suitably altered in foreign editions).

Second, the ethics of war. The Prayer for the Nations spells out the necessity of war in certain circumstances; a 'righteous cause' is accepted, as well as the desire to spurn selfish hostilities. The whole prayer reflects what would at the time be regarded as a 'Christian' attitude to war.

Third, the structure of family life. The Prayer for Children envisages a static family structure; the parents provide a Christian upbringing, the Children respond in obedience, and generation follows generation in service to the Church.

(e) Some common features with the twentieth century Liturgical revival

It is now to the Liturgical Movement of this century that we must turn in order to understand fully the genius of our Rite. Three main insights into the nature of worship, which this century has either worked out, or is in process of working out, can be seen to be enshrined in the principles and aspirations of the Catholic Apostolic Church.

First, Eucharistic worship is Pneumatological. The People of God come into being through the work of the Spirit, visibly manifested in the hierarchy as well as in the 'laity' (ordination and sealing). This appears in worship. First, the formal liturgy, as written in the text, is affirmed by Cardale to have been composed in the light of the ministry of the Holy Spirit, worked out through Cardale's own academic researches, and subsequently approved by the Apostolic College[41]. Second, the Liturgy itself shows this aspect in the constant reference to the work of the Spirit in revelation and sanctification, more than any other Western Rite of the time. In this connection, we may compare with Rites already in existence (e.g. Roman), and conclude that the Catholic Apostolics looked to Oriental Rites for their liturgical expression of the work of the Spirit, in order to produce what Bobrinskoy would call a 'liturgical pmeumatology'[42]. Third, the Liturgy demands a degree of flexibility for occasion and circumstances, for authenticity of celebration as much as for the exercise of spiritual gifts within it, particularly during the administration of Communion; the 'charismatic' element is not relegated to a subsidiary place in worship, but rather fostered through encouragement at a particular point as a consequence of prayers to that effect elsewhere in the Rite. This has a great deal in common with the 'prophetic' ministry referred to in the New Testament; and such an exercise of

41. v.s. Ch.12.n.5 for reff. to 'light of prophecy.
42. cf. Bobrinskoy, 'Quelques reflexions sur la pneumatologie du culte', in Mélanges Liturgiques offerts au R.P. Bernard Botte, pp.19-29.

'prophetic gifts' is in one of the three positions in the Eucharist most commonly associated with 'charismatic utterances' in Catholic Pentecostalism today[43]. These three elements are held in tension by the history of the Catholic Apostolic Church and the evolution of its Liturgy in two ways: first, in the slow developments from Presbyterian origins in Regent Square, through the more formative experiences at Albury, to a growth in understanding of the task of the new Church and the subsequent widespread desire for an ordered liturgy; and secondly in the wide variety of forms (editions) and styles ('degrees of solemnity') of celebration, manifested in the many editions of the service-book, at home and abroad, as well as in the different ways of carrying out what are essentially flexible directions in the ordering of the service. The Pneumatology of the worship and history of the Church can be summarised as follows: the People of God are called by the Holy Spirit, the work of the Spirit is explicit in worship through the understanding of revelation and sanctification, and continued in the exercise of spiritual gifts, all of which are prayed for repeatedly in the Rite.

Second, Eucharistic worship is Eschatological: from the very beginning, two features distinguished the teaching of the Church from other Christian bodies - the preaching of the Second Coming, and the gifts of the Spirit. This teaching is borne out in the Liturgy by repeated prayer for the Second Coming, and it is notably absent from nineteenth century theology as a whole. We are not suggesting that the highly apocalyptic imagery for the 'eschaton' as found in our Rite would immediately serve the present-day

43. On the exercise of spiritual gifts at the Eucharist, arguably during the Communion itself, cf. Cullman's discussion, Early Christian Worship pp.20-21, esp.p.21, n.1, where he suggests a connection with the resurrection-appearances. On contemporary Catholic Pentecostal Worship, cf. Killian McDonnell, 'Eucharistic Celebrations in the Catholic Charismatic Movement', Studia Liturgica, Vol.9, pp.22-31; the three positions favoured for exercise of spiritual gifts in Catholic Pentecostalism within the Eucharist seem to be after the Ministry of the Word, at a break during the Eucharistic Prayer, and during the Communion.

Church's needs, but this imagery does assert the control and activity of God in the sphere of creation. Catholic Apostolic Eschatology stood virtually on its own during its time. The twentieth century interest in Eschatology has much in common with it, and much that is very different from it, but the parallel is there between the two - the theology and the liturgical expression of the Last Things.

Thirdly, the Eucharist is a corporate act of worship, an offering of the whole Church, for the whole Church, and therefore an 'Ecumenical Sacrament': and this, because worship of God is primarily an act of the whole Church. Cardale's starting-point for worship is the Eucharist, on which the Offices centre. The Sunday Eucharist, established very early in the history of the Church, is the focus of all worship, and, thereby, of the life of the congregation. It is celebrated once each Sunday, by the Angel, as the focus of unity within the whole church; he is assisted by his 'presbyterium' and 'diaconate', who all have a function to perform, the service is 'congregational', in the extent to which all participate, musically and verbally, and everyone present, except small children, is expected to receive Communion. Furthermore, the Eucharist is a means of union with all fellow-members of the Body of Christ, living and departed, so that the Church in all its forms and denominations is united through the Eucharist, especially in the great act of Intercession, and this unity is further enhanced once more by the fact that the Angel is the celebrant. Such a pattern of worship has much more in common with this century than the last, if we compare it with Eucharistic worship in other Churches. This century has seen a great revival in the worship of the Church, particularly in the Churches of the West, in Roman, Anglican, Calvinist and Lutheran traditions. Much of the writing in liturgical theology and practice has been orientated towards the revival of Eucharistic worship, particularly in its corporate and ecumenical directions. The reassertion

of the importance of the Eucharistic celebration can be seen in the Roman Church not just by the adoption of the more ancient and theologically more balanced term 'Eucharist', but also in the moves, initiated largely by Lambert Beauduin, towards authenticity of celebration which have sought to re-establish the Rite of the Eucharist as the central communal act of Roman Catholic worship. This work has been continued to this day in the various centres on the Continent, and more particularly in the work of the Second Vatican Council[44]. By far the greatest achievement has been the Missal of Paul VI - a direct consequence of the Council, where the corporate and ecumenical aspects of the Eucharist have been brought out in the revisions, most strongly in the active participation of the whole assembly, and in the revival of the ancient rite of concelebration[45]. In the Anglican Communion, this revival can be seen in the 'Parish Communion' movement, which has a good deal in common with what has since developed in the Roman Church, but began independently, with the gathered congregation as ecclesia, and the local community as the starting-point; here again, both the ecumenical and the episcopal aspects have been the fruit of much consideration[46]. It is, however, to those Rites composed for 'ecumenical' situations that we must look to see the essential unity of the Church, the greatest examples being the Office of the Taizé Community (1963) and the Eucharist of the Church of South India (1952), both of which have already had considerable influence on revisions elsewhere. The Catholic Apostolic Liturgy has a lot in common with this search for corporate Eucharistic worship, and it is particularly in the role of the

44. v. Martimort, The Church at Prayer , pp.52-54; the 'classic' of the Movement is Beauduin's 'La Piété Liturgique', published as Early as 1914.
45. cf. the articles on concelbration by Botte, Raes, Vandenbroucke, Honoré, Martin and Roguet, in Maison-Dieu, No.35 (1953 pp.9-78; and the presciptions concerning concelebration in the Paul VI Missale Romanum, pp. 57-65.
46. cf. The Parish Communion , ed. Hebert, 1937.

ordained ministry in worship that we see an authentic performance of all orders, which avoids the necessity of 'concelebration' (in the modern sense), and yet which is a concelebration of the whole assembly, in the unity of the whole Body of Christ; this is certainly the cardinal aspiration of our Rite, based on its premises as a Church. The Catholic Apostolic Liturgy can claim to be an 'ecumenical' Sacrament, primarily because it claimed as a Church to be able to unite Christendom, and sought to express this 'ecumenism' in the different liturgical traditions, and the doctrinal understanding of the nature of the Church, which went into the composition of its Eucharist.

(f) Where does the Catholic Apostolic Liturgy fit?

After all these considerations, we must ask the question, where does the Catholic Apostolic Rite stand in relation to the work of these three centuries?

When we compare our Rite with the thinking of the preceding century, the only parallels seem to be the Non-Jurors and the Neo-Gallicans. With the former, the parallel goes no further than the Eucharist itself, there being no clear picture of a vigorous worshipping group, with the Sunday Eucharist at the centre of a week-day worship-programme. Furthermore, Thomas Brett and his followers aimed at a reconstruction of an early Patristic Rite from ancient documents, whereas Cardale was liberated from this in a more creative attitude to liturgical composition, for all his obvious interest in liturgical history. With the Neo-Gallicans there can be little parallel, save in so far as both manifest knowledge and research into Western Mediaeval Rites; the Neo-Gallicans stand firmly in the Western, 'Gallican' tradition, whereas Cardale is free to draw from any sources.

When we compare our Rite with contemporaneous liturgical activity of the nineteenth century, which included both liturgical archaeology as well as 'ecclesiology', we have a stronger parallel, in the desire for scholarship, as well

as the concern with presentation. But there are differences. The Oxford Movement liturgists were 'Western', and it is not until the turn of the century that we meet with any desire to make the Communion Rite more 'Oriental', along the lines of the Non-Jurors, and this, only in the moderated form contained in the 'Orange Book' before the time of the Deposited Books of 1927/1928. Secondly, the Tractarians were, initially at least, less interested in liturgical changes, and their first generation scholars regarded this aspect of the Church's life as secondary in importance to the centrality of teaching[47]. Cardale, on the other hand, was addressing himself and his colleagues to a very different situation - a new Church, with teachings and emphases peculiar to itself.

When we compare our Rite with the small liturgical groups in Protestantism, once again the different situations reflect basic differences, affecting likewise the extent of the possibilities of liturgical activity (e.g. Bersier and the frequency of the Eucharist). Valuable as these fringe-groups are, they constitute a borrowing of the 'letter' rather than the 'spirit' of our Rite. Such evidence as there is for direct borrowing is significant enough to merit wider appreciation, but it is still minor in comparison with our Rite as a whole.

When we compare our Rite with the liturgical revival of this century, there are, conversely, similarities in the 'spirit' rather than the 'letter'. The renewed consciousness of the Church as 'People of God' has led to liturgical and architectural changes which the Catholic Apostolic Church certainly would not have countenanced in its day[48]. However, we have tried to show particular insights common to both which show up the Catholic Apostolic Liturgy in a light which can only be described as prophetic.

47. Vidler, The Church in an Age of Revolution, pp.157-158; Jasper, Prayer-Book Revision in England, 1800-1900, pp.44-45.
48. e.g. celebration of the Eucharist facing the people, which the Catholic Apostolics would have seen in Free Church worship, but which they ignored in preference for the traditional 'east-ward' position, which their eschatological and liturgical ideas would favour.

Chapter 14 : Conclusion

We have looked at the Catholic Apostolic Eucharist from different points of view; it now remains to draw some general conclusions. One of the principal guide-lines of this study has been to set out clearly the mass of detail in our Rite, and the aim has been to get under its skin. In the end our assessment is a favourable one, because the Rite is authentic - it says and does what it sets out to say and do -- and this authenticity has four main causes.

(1) The Rite evolves in a definite and purposeful manner. This process involves excisions to clarify it (e.g. in the Confession, between 1842 and 1847) and additions in order to enrich it (e.g. Apostolic Benedictions, 1851); prayers do not 'accumulate' in haphazard fashion. And although its shape and principal content of prayers had evolved by 1847, the exercise of prophetic gifts secured for it an innate growth-point, enhanced by the steady flow of minor addenda and new Forms, which ceased only on Cardale's death. The main evolution has taken place by 1847, but at the same time other evolutions did follow throughout the Church's history - and there is, therefore, an acceptance of the former and an openness to the latter implicit in the Rite.

(2) The Rite is composed to express a doctrine. This brings in idiosyncratic emphases, which emerge at the beginning of the Church's life because they are the reason for its 'separateness' (Apostolic ecclesiology, pneumatological activity, eschatological expectation), as well as traditional elements, which evolve after the new Church has been born, and are given liturgical expression after doctrinal innovations have been recognised (e.g. Weekly Eucharist, Eucharistic Sacrifice).

(3) Everything in the Rite has a meaning. First, there is a 'universal' dimension in that the whole Christian Faith is 'celebrated' at each Sunday

Eucharist (hence conservative Liturgical Year). Second, the prayers in the service are carefully composed so that their meaning comes across clearly (e.g. Common Preface, with 'sections', and Commemorations of Living and Departed, with 'order'); and the ceremonial illuminates this aspect of the Rite (e.g. Greater Introit). Thirdly, the lay-out of the prayers in the service-book (e.g. names of items and typography), as well as subsequent writings on it (e.g. Cardale's 'Readings' and derived works) show that the Rite has a strong 'structuralism' about it.

(4) Finally, the whole Rite coheres well. First, the different parts are well-composed and formed, and fit together; in spite of overall length and verbosity, there is a sense of shape and direction. Second, the different aspects blend together; doctrine, which seeks to be comprehensive, but in a 'Catholic' direction, and doing justice to idiosyncrasies of the new Church; culture, which is 'Romantic' in language and presentation; and the Rite-proper, which is selectively antiquarian and often very original. These different aspects do not make a patchwork liturgy; what we see is, rather, the worship of a community of people which has in essentials been framed in the Conference room, and has in practice been worked out in the sanctuary.

We can reject their presuppositions (call to Apostleship), their cultural milieu (Gothic revival), and their liturgical method (Mediaeval), but we cannot reject the Rite (as has so frequently been the case), as belonging to a group of cranks who dabbled in the worship of antiquity. The Catholic Apostolic Eucharist repays study in itself, and also offers much to the anxious revisionist of today, because it is one of the most interesting, original and well thought-out products of the nineteenth century.

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3. Periodicals

Scottish Journal of Theology.

La Maison-Dieu.

Questions Liturgiques.

Studia Liturgica.

C.M.S. Newsletter.

The Ecclesiologist.

4. Manuscripts and privately printed works

Among the many manuscripts, hand-written and privately-printed, number the following as the most important; all are described in the course of the thesis.

The Order for Communion, 1838.

The 'Albury Paper'.

The 'Albury Note'.

The Lindsay-Grant MSS Book.

C.E. Lewis Heath: Lecture to the Young Men of the Central Church on the Evolution of the Apostles' Liturgy; 1898.

C.B. Heath: Two Lectures on the Development of the Liturgy and the Origin of its Prayers; 1950.

2 printed accounts of early worship at Newman St:
'Exposition, Sermon, and Sacramental Address, by the Revd. Edward Irving, A.M., at his Chapel, Newman Street, Oxford Street, November 4, 1832; together with the Manifestations on that occasion'.

'Exposition and Sermon....by the Revd. Edward Irving..... Sunday Evening, Dec. 23rd 1832'.

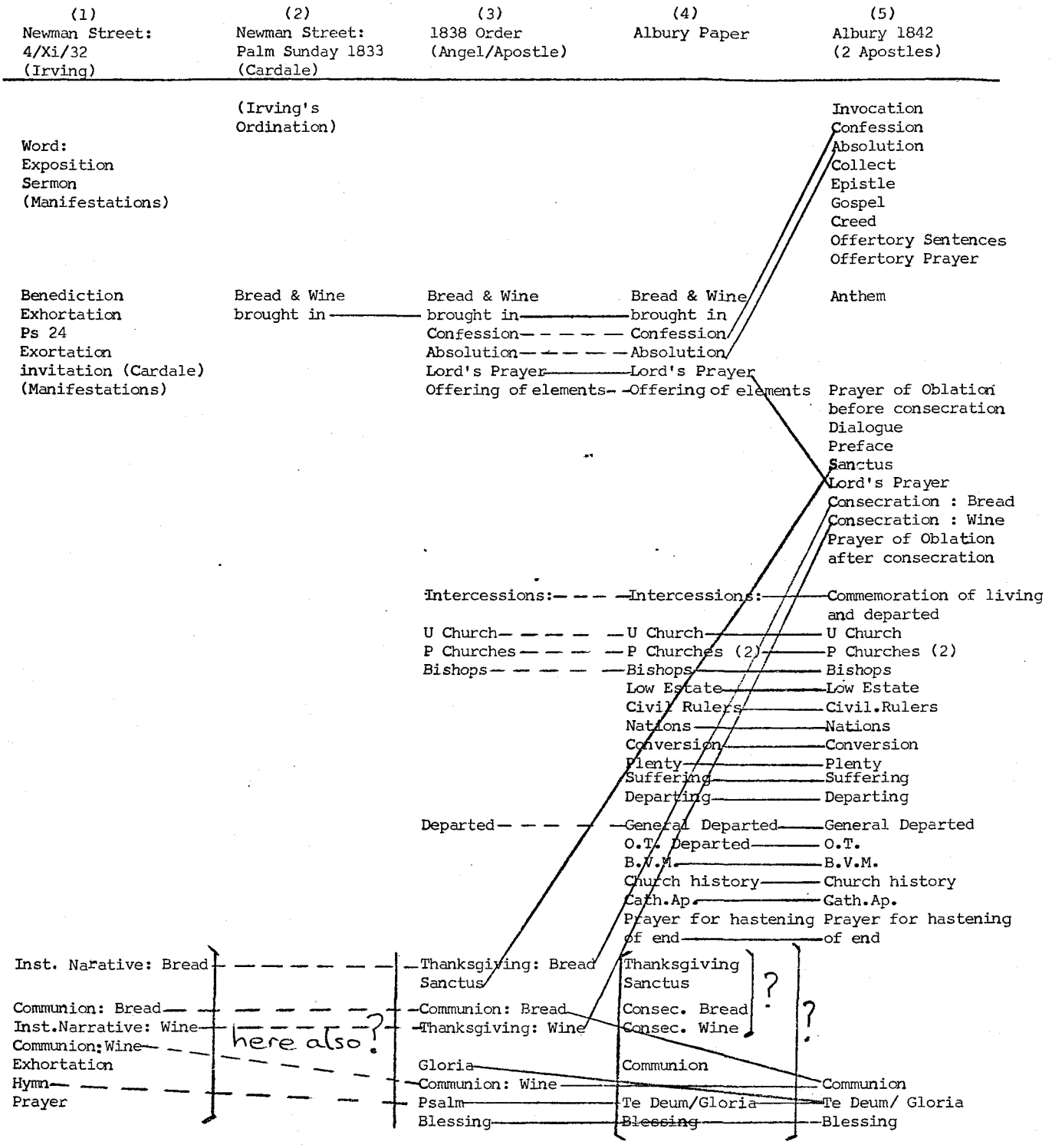
(Cardale, J.B.): 'Notes of a Ministry on the Office of Coadjutor.... delivered on Tuesday, August 1st, 1865'.

Copinger, H.B.: 'A Bibliography'.

Chart A/I : Evolution of early Bible: from Newman Street 1832 to Library 1842

SOUTHAMPTON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Chart A/1 : Evolution of Early Rite : From Newman Street 1832 to Albury 1842



:

Traditional Reformed shape and order but with 'manifestations' - including Cardale's.

Only clear items : Cardale celebrant, bread and wine brought in : no indication of latter in (1) - therefore we could assume a 'developed' form of Consecration/Communion in (2).

Still only outline : but a definite shape, which affects all later books : correlations with (4) obvious and important. N.B. Thanksgivings and Communion procedure which does not survive.

Incomplete M.S.S.but same order as (3) and almost exact correspondences in wording in (5). N.B. Breaks off before Consecration and Communion : possible form outlined - with similar order as (3) but taking into account advances in 'anaphoral' section in (5) (?).

Final shape and wording reached, together with synaxis, fully worked out : Confession and Absolution transferred into synaxis : after offering of elements a new section with traditional 'anaphoral' material but adhering to separate Consecrations : this means intercessions take place after consecration - a deliberate innovation from (4) (?).

———— = correspondences

– — – — = exact (or near exact) revised parallel

Chart A/II : Eucharist : Evolution of Component Parts

N.B. + first appearance of part: 1, 2, 3 etc represents no. of differences from final form.

± first appearance in final form.

w with shorter Commemorations, for Shorter Office

s Scottish peculiarities, v. Ch.6.

N Nicene Creed used, except on All Saints' Day, when Athanasian Creed used.

A Athanasian Creed used on all Feasts.

	1842Alb	1847	1850S	1351	1853	1854S	1856	1861S	1863	1869	1880
Title	1+	±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Invocation	±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Confession	3+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Absolution and Peace	2+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Suffrages		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Prayer of Approach		±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Kyrie Eleison		±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Gloria in Excelsis		±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Hallelujah after Gloria				±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Salutation		±	+§	+	+	+§	+	+§	+	+	+
Collect	±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Epistle	±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Anthem after Epistle		±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Gospel	±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Benediction of Homilist				±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Homily		±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Creed	1+	1+	1+	±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Nicene/Athanasian	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	A	A	A	A
Offertory Sentences	±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Offertory Prayer	±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Greater Introit Anthem	±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Orate Fratres	1+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Prayer of Obl.before Consec.	3+	3+	3+	3+	±	+	+	+	+	+	+
Salutation		±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Sursum Corda	±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Preface	6+	6+	6+	6+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Proper Preface		±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

	1842Alb	1847	1850S	1851	1853	1854S	1856	1861S	1663	1928	1880
Sanctus and Benedictus											
Lord's Prayer											
Consecration Prayers											
Prayer of Obl. after Consec.											
Proper of Oblation											
Incense Anthem											
Commemoration of Living											
(1) Ministers of U Churches											
(2)-(4) Min. of P. Churches											
(5) Low Estate											
(6) Penitents											
(7) Those Possessed											
(8) Civil Rulers											
(9) The Nations											
(10) Children											
(11) Conversion of World											
(12) Plenty											
(13) Suffering											
(14) Dying											
Commemoration of Departed											
(1) General											
(2)-(4) Particular											
(5) Particular: Cath.Ap.'s.											
(6) Final Commendation											
Concl. Pr. before Communion											
Pre-Communion Sentences											
Prayer to the Father											

	1842Alb	1847	1850S	1851	1853	1854S	1856	1861S	1863	1869	1880
Agnus Dei		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Prayer to the Son		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Prayer to the Holy Ghost		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Sancta Sanctis		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Benediction before Communion				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Peace before Communion		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Communion	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Communion Anthem		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Post-Communion Prayer (Common)		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Ad.Post-Communion Prayer (Proper)		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Te Deum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Benediction	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Notes:

v. Ch. 3 on early editions.

1842Alb : main shape of Rite formed

1847 : many additions, mainly embellishments, not altering shape.

1850S : first S. edition, and first appearance of weekly Collects and single Consecration Prayer.

1851 : A few additions, no compressions.

1853 : one addition and a few compressions.

1854S : no change; as1853, but with weekly Collects and single Consec. Pr.

1856 : no change; but this year Shorter M. and E.P. brought out.

1861S : Ath. Creed on all Feasts, a few additions; but single Consec. Pr. dropped in favour of English use.

1863 : A few minor adjustments.

1869 : No change, but a few minor Offices brought out.

1880 : No change, but lay-out altered considerably, with a lot of Seasonal material printed separately.

N.B. Absolution allowed to be extempore until 1856.
Proper Preface and Proper of Oblation extempore until 1847.
Incense Anthem optional until 1880.

Chart A/III : The Eucharist: Principal sources

Title	Non-Juror; Original
Invocation	Roman; Original
Confession	Various, incl.Oriental,Anglican,Biblical.
Absolution	Original
Peace	Roman
Suffrages	Roman
Prayer of Approach	Oriental; Biblical
Kyrie Eleison	Roman; Anglican
Gloria in Excelsis	Roman; Anglican
Hallelujah after Gloria	Oriental; Original
Salutation	Roman
Collect	Roman; Anglican
Epistle	Anglican
Anthem after Epistle	Roman; Anglican; Original
Gospel	Anglican
Benediction of Homilist	Roman: Original
Homily	Roman; Oriental
Creed	Roman; Anglican
Athanasian Creed	Anglican; Original
Offertory Sentences	Anglican; Original
Offertory Prayer	Original
Greater Introit	Roman; Oriental; Original
Orate Fratres	Roman; Original
Prayer of Oblation before Consecration	Oriental; Non-Juror;Anglican;Original
Salutation	Roman
Sursum Corda	Roman; Anglican
Preface	Oriental; Anglican; Biblical; Original
Sanctus + Benedictus	Roman

Lord's Prayer	Original (Non-Juror)
The Consecration Prayers	Oriental; Original
Prayer of Oblation after Consecration	Roman; Oriental; Anglican
Proper of Oblation	Roman; Original
Incense Anthem	Oriental; Biblical; Original
Commemoration of the Living and Departed	
(a) The Living	Oriental
(1) Ministers of U Church	Oriental; Anglican; Original
(2)-(4) " " P Churches	Anglican; Oriental; Original
(5) Low Estate	Oriental; Anglican; Biblical;Original
(6) Penitents	Oriental
(7) Those Possessed	Oriental
(8) Civil Rulers	Anglican
(9) The Nations	Oriental; Anglican
(10) Children	Oriental
(11) Conversion of World	Biblical
(12) Plenty	Oriental; Anglican
(13) The Suffering	Anglican; Biblical
(14) The Dying	Oriental
(b) The Departed	Oriental
(1) General	Oriental; Non-Juror
(2)-(4) Particular	Oriental; Biblical
(5) Particular; Cath.Asp.	Original
(6) Final Commendation	Roman
Concluding Prayer before Communion	Oriental; Biblical
Pre-Communion Sentences	Anglical; Biblical
Prayer to the Father	Anglican; Biblical
Agnus Dei	Roman; Anglican

Prayer to the Son	Oriental
Prayer to the Holy Ghost	Oriental
Sancta Sanctis	Oriental
Benediction before Communion	Ancient Roman; Biblical
Peace before Communion	Roman
Commuion: Words of Administration	Traditional
Communion Anthem	Roman
Post-Communion Prayers (Common)	Roman; Anglican
Te Deum	Anglican; Original
Benediction	Anglican

Notes for Chart A/III

(a) The names for sources are self-explanatory, except that 'Non-Juror' is understood to apply to all Anglican Liturgies of the 17th and 18th century; the term is used for this whole 'family' of Anglican Rites.

(b) The sources offered are a very succinct run-downof those elaborated in Ch.6; they apply to sources of words used as well as source of liturgical item (i.e. the words used, as well as the idea in principle of each component part).

Chart B/I : Seasonal Forms: Evolution

N.B. + first appearance of part: appears in all subsequent editions

1. Collect	1842A1b	1347	1850S	1851	1853	1854S	1856	1861S	1863	1869	1880
Three Seasons								+			
Advent: Ad.	+										
Christmas Eve: Ad2.		+									
Christmas and Octave	+										
Circumcision and Octave: Ad.	+										
Octave of Circ. to Sunday before Easter	+										
Presentation and Octave: Ad.		+									
Sunday before Easter	+										
Thursday before Easter	1	+									
Good Friday	+										
Easter Eve	1	+									
Easter to Ascension	+										
Ascension Day/Ascension I	+										
Pentecost to Christmas	+										
Pentecost Monday							+				
Pentecost Tuesday											+
Separation of Apostles: Ad.					+						
All Angels: Ad.					+						
All Saints: Ad.	+										

N.B. Ad: refers to Additional Collect: Ad.2 refers to 2nd Additional Collect

1 : until 1847, Collect for Sunday before Easter
used through week before Easter:
from 1847, this not the case on Thursday before Easter
and Easter Eve, both of which were supplied with special Collects.

2. Anthem after Epistle	1842Alb	1847	1850S	1851	1853	1854S	1856	1861S	1863	1869	1880
Three Seasons								+			
Advent		+									
Christmas Eve		+									
Christmas and Octave		+									
Circumcision and Octave		+									
Circumcision Octave to Sunday before Easter		+									
Presentation and Octave		+									
Sunday before Easter		+									
Thursday before Easter		+									
Good Friday		+									
Easter Eve		+									
Easter and Octave		+									
Ascension/Ascension I		+									
Pentecost and Octave		+									
Pentecost Monday							+				
Pentecost Tuesday										+	
Separation of Apostles					+						
All Angels					+						
All Saints		+									

3. Proper Preface

	1842A1b	1847	1850S	1851	1853	1854S	1856	1861S	1863	1869	1880
Three Seasons								+			
Advent		+									
Christmas/Circ.and Octaves		+									
Sunday before Easter		+									
Thursday before Easter		+									
Easter Eve		+									
Easter and Octave		+									
Ascension/Ascension I		+									
Pentecost and Octave		+									
Pentecost Tuesday											+
Separation of Apostles					+						
All Angels					+						
All Saints		+									

4. Proper of Oblation	1842Alb	1847	1850S	1851	1853	1854S	1856	1861S	1863	1869	1880
Three Seasons								+			
Advent		+									
Christmas Day		+									
Circumcision		+									
Presentation		+									
Thursday before Easter		+									
Easter Eve		+									
Easter Day		+									
Ascension Day		+									
Pentecost		+									
Pentecost Monday							+				
Pentecost Tuesday											+
Separation of Apostles					+						
All Angels					+						
All Saints		+									

5. Apostolical Benediction	1842Alb	1847	1850S	1851	1853	1854S	1856	1861S	1863	1869	1880
Christmas and Octave				+							
Easter and Octave				+							
Pentecost and Octave				+							
All Saints and Octave											+

6. Communion Anthem

	1842Alb	1847	1850S	1851	1853	1854S	1856	1861S	1863	1869	1880
Three Seasons								+			
Advent		+									
Christmas and Octave		+									
Circumcision and Octave		+									
Presentation and Octave		+									
Sunday before Easter		+									
Thursday before Easter		+									
Easter Eve		+									
Easter Day and Octave		+									
Ascension/Ascension I		+									
Pentecost and Octave		+									
Pentecost Monday							+				
Pentecost Tuesday											+
Separation of Apostles					+						
All Angels					+						
All Saints and Octave		+									

7. Additional Post-Communion Prayer

	1842Alb	1847	1852S	1851	1853	1854S	1856	1861S	1863	1869	1880
Three Seasons								+			
Advent		+									
Christmas Eve		+									
Christmas and Octave		+									
Circumcision and Octave		+									
Presentation and Octave		+									
Thursday before Easter		+									
Easter Eve		+									
Easter and Octave		+									
Ascension/Ascension I		+									
Pentecost and Octave		+									
Pentecost Monday							+				
Pentecost Tuesday											+
Separation of Apostles					+						
All Saints and Octave		+									

Notes:

1842Alb : Collects involve overlaps; only 6
No further parts of Forms

1847 : More Collects (6) for all occasions except Three Seasons, Pentecost Monday and Tuesday, Separation of Apostles and All Angels. All remaining parts of Form introduced, except Apostolical Benediction.

S1850 : Introduction of weekly Collects, in season after Pentecost.

1851 : Introduction of Apostolical Benediction, except for All Saints' Day

1853 : Introduction of Separation of Apostles and All Angels

S1861 : Introduction of Three Seasons (issued in 1858)

1880 : First appearance of Apostolical Benediction for All Saints' Day, though probably used before this date (q.v. Ch.8).

N.B.

- Remarkable observance of All Saints' Day as early as 1842Alb.
- Most of Seasonal Forms introduced in 1847.
- Pentecost Tuesday introduced in 1875.

Chart B/11 : Seasonal Forms : Distribution

N.B. + appears in edition concerned

\- does not appear in edition concerned

	Collect	Anthem after Epistle	Proper Preface	Proper of Oblation	Apostolical Benediction	Communion Anthem	Additional Post-Communion Prayer
Three Seasons	+	+	+	+	—	+	+
Advent	+	+	+	+	—	+	+
Christmas Eve	+	+	—	—	—	—	+
Christmas Day	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Circumcision	+	+	+	+	—	+	+
Circ.-Sun.before Easter	+	+	—	—	—	—	—
Presentation	+	+	—	+	—	+	+
Sunday before Easter	+	+	+	—	—	+	—
Thursday before Easter	+	+	+	+	—	+	+
Good Friday	+	+	—	—	—	—	—
Easter Eve	+	+	+	+	—	+	+
Easter	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Ascension	+	+	+	+	—	+	+
Pentecost	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Pentecost Monday	+	+	—	+	—	+	—
Pentecost Tuesday	+	+	+	+	—	+	+
Separation of Apostles	+	+	+	+	—	+	+
All Angels	+	+	+	+	—	+	—
All Saints	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Total	19 (19)	19	14	15	4	16	14

Notes

- Collects and Anthem after Epistles both at maximum.

- Proper Preface: where do not occur, days concerned either do not commemorate a particular feast (e.g. Christmas Eve) or are unimportant.

- Proper of Oblation: as Proper Preface.

- Apostolical Benediction: only on major Feasts.

- Communion Anthem: for period from Circumcision to Sunday before Easter, Common Anthem used.

- Additional Post-Communion Prayer: period from Circumcision to Sunday before Easter, and Sunday before Easter, do not commemorate special feasts.

Conclusions

No pattern for distribution emerges, except vague criteria, e.g. major and minor occasions; in particular, no pattern in Proper Preface/ Proper of Oblation and Communion Anthem/Additional Post-Communion Prayer.

Chart B/III : Seasonal Forms : Sources/ Characteristics

1. Collect

Three Seasons	Biblical	(1)
Advent	Anglican	(2)
Christmas Eve	Roman	
Christmas Day	Anglican	
Circumcision	Anglican	
Presentation	Anglican	
Circumcision to Sunday before Easter	Anglican	
Sunday before Easter	Anglican	
Thursday before Easter	Roman	(2)
Easter Eve	Anglican/Biblical	
Easter Day	Anglican	
Ascension	Anglican	
Pentecost	Anglican/Biblical	
Pentecost Monday	Biblical	(1)
Pentecost Tuesday	Biblical	(1)(2)
Separation of Apostles	Biblical	(1)
All Angels	Anglican	
All Saints	Anglican	

Notes

(1) length a noted feature: all these late date and special commemorations peculiar to our Rite.

(2) addressed to the Son.

Thursday before Easter - 1842Alb - early for Roman source.

Circumcision to Sunday before Easter is length same as Cardale's own Collects.

2. Proper Preface

Advent	Biblical	
Christmas Day	Roman/Biblical	(1)
Sunday before Easter	Biblical	
Easter Eve	Biblical	
Easter Day	Roman/Biblical	(1)
Ascension	Roman/Anglican/ Biblical	(1)
Pentecost	Biblical	
Pentecost Tuesday	Biblical	
Separation of Apostles	Biblical	
All Angels	Biblical	
All Saints	Biblical	

Notes

(1) Anglican/Roman sources used - traditional feasts.
All others Biblical.

3. Proper of Oblation

Three Seasons	Biblical	(1)(3)
Advent	Biblical	(1)(2)(3)
Christmas Day	Biblical	(2)
Circumcision	Biblical	(1)
Presentation	Biblical	(3)
Thursday before Easter	Anglican/Roman/ Biblical	(2)(4)
Easter Eve	Biblical	
Easter Day	Anglican/Biblical	(4)
Ascension	Anglican/Biblical	(3)(4)
Pentecost	Biblical	(1)(2)
Pentecost Monday	Biblical	(1)
Pentecost Tuesday	Biblical	
Separation of Apostles	Biblical	(1)(2)(3)
All Angels	Biblical	(2)
All Saints	Liturgy/Biblical	(2)(3)

Notes

(1) Pneumatological material
(2) Sacrifical material
(3) Eschatological material
(4) Borrowings from Proper Preface

4. Additional Post-Communion Prayer

Three Seasons/Pentecost Tuesday	Biblical	
Advent	Biblical	(1)(2)
Christmas Eve	Roman	
Christmas Day	Biblical	(1)
Circumcision	Biblical	
Presentation	Biblical	(1)
Thursday before Easter	Anglican/Biblical	
Easter Eve	Biblical	(1)
Easter	Biblical	(1)(2)
Ascension (2)	Biblical	(1)
Pentecost	Biblical	
Separation of Apostles	Biblical	(2)
All Saints	Biblical	(1)

Notes

(1) Eschatological material
(2) Addressed to the Son

All heavily Biblical in content and imagery

Chart B/IV : Seasonal Forms : Lectionary

Occasion	Epistle	Gospel	
Three Seasons	Is.6 1-8	Mt.9:35-end	(1)
Advent I	Rom.13:8-end	Mt.21:1-13	
Advent II	Rom15:4-13	Lk.21:25-33	
Advent III	I Cor.4:1-5	Mt.11:2-10	
Advent IV	Phil.4:4-7	Jn.1:19-28	
Christmas Eve	Tit.2:11-14	Jn.3:13-19	(2)
Christmas Day	Heb.1:1-12	Jn.1:1-14	
Circumcision	Col.2:8-17	Lk.2:15-21	(3)
Circ. I	Col.2:8-17	Lk.2:15-21	(4)
Circ. II	Rom.12:1-5	Lk.2:41-end	
Circ. III	Rom.12:6-15	Jn.2:1-11	
Circ. IV	Rom.12:16-end	Mt.8:1-13	
Circ. V	Rom.13:1-7	Mt.8:23	
Circ. VI	Col.3:12-17	Mt.8:24-30	
Circ. VII	I Jn.3:1-8	Mt.24:23-31	
Septuagesima	I Cor.9:24-end	Mt.20:1-16	
Sexagesima	II Cor.11:19-31	Lk.8:4-15	
Quinquagesima	I Cor.13	Lk.18:31-end	
Quadragesima I	II Cor.6:1-10	Mt. 4:1-11	
Quad II	II Pet.1:1-16	Mt.17:1-9	(5)
Quad III	Eph.5:1-14	Lk.11:14-28	
Quad IV	Gal.4:21-end	Jn.6:1-14	
Quad V	Heb.9:11-15	Lk.4:13-22	(6)
Sunday before Easter	Phil.2:5-11	Mt.21:1-17	(7)
Thursday before Easter	I Cor.11:17-end	Jn.13	(8)
Good Friday	Heb.10:1-25	Jn.19:1-37	
Easter Eve	I Pet.3:17-end	Mt.27:57-end	
Easter Day	Col.3:1-7	Jn.20:1-10	

Occasion	Epistle	Gospel	
Easter I	I Jn.5:4-12	Jn.20:19-29	
Easter II	I Pet.2:19	Jn.10:11-16	
Easter III	I Pet.2:11-17	Jn.16:16-22	
Easter IV	Jam.1:17-21	Jn.16:5-15	
Easter V	Jam. 1:22-end	Jn.16:23-end	
Ascension Day	Ac.1:1-11	Mk.16:14-end	
Asc. I	I Pet.4:7-11	Jn.15:26-16:4	
Pentecost	Eph.4:4-16	Jn.14:15-end	(9)
Pent. Monday	I Jn.2:20-end	Jn.7:37-39	(10)
Pent. Tuesday	Eph.2:13-end	Jn.10:11-16	(11)
Pent. I	Rev.4	Jn.3:1-18	
Pent. II	I Jn.4:7-end	Lk.16:19-end	
Pent. III	I Jn.3:13-end	Lk.14:16-24	
Pent. IV	I Pet.5:5-11	Lk.15:1-10	
Pent. V	Rom.8:18-23	Lk.6:36-42	
Pent. VI	I Pet.3:8-16	Lk.5:1-11	
Pent. VII	Rom.6:3-11	Mt.5:20-26	
Pent. VIII	Rom.6:19-end	Mk. 8:1-9	
Pent. IX	Rom.8:12-17	Mt.7:15-21	
Pent. X	I Cor,10:1-13	Lk.16:1-9	
Pent. XI	I Cor.12:1-11	Lk.19:41-end	
Pent. XII	I Cor.15:1-11	Lk.18:9-14	
Pent. XIII	II Cor.3:4-9	Mk.7:31-end	
Pent. XIV	Gal.3:16-22	Lk.10:33-37	
Pent. XV	Gal.5:16-24	Lk.17:11-19	
Pent. XVI	Gal.6:11-end	Mt.6:24-end	
Pent. XVII	Eph.3:13-end	Lk.7:1-17	
Pent. XVIII	Eph.4:1-6	Lk.14:1-11	

Occasion	Epistle	Gospel	
Pent. XIX	I Cor.1:4-8	Mt.22:34-end	
Pent. XX	Eph.4:17-end	Mt.9:1-8	
Pent. XXI	Eph.5:15-21	Mt. 22:1-14	
Pent. XXII	Eph.6:10-20	Jn.4:46-end	
Pent. XXIII	Phil.1:3-11	Mt.18:21-end	
Pent. XXIV	Phil.3:17-end	Mt.22:15-22	
Pent. XXV	Col.1:3-12	Mt.9:18-26	
Sunday before Adv.	Jer.20:5-8	Jn.6:5-14	
Presentation	Ma.13:1-5	Lk.3:22-40	
Sep.Apostles	I Cor.4:1-5	Mt.28:16-end	(12)
All Angels	Rev.12:7-12	Mt.18:1-10	
All Saints	I Thess.4:13-5:10	Mt.25:31-end	(13)

All Lections are B.C.P. based, with the following exceptions:

(1) Three Seasons: special for special day.
(2) Christmas Eve: Epistle = M.R. Gospel = on Incarnation.
(3) Circumcision: Epistle = on circumcision.
(4) Circumcision called 'Sunday after Christmas' until 1861 Scottish.
(5) Quad.II: B.C.P. Epistles and Gospel used from 1842Alb until 1853, when Transfiguration-tradition considerations led to adoption of special Epistle on Transfiguration and M.R. Gospel (also on Trans.).
(6) Quad.V: Gospel special; N.B. no 'Passiontide', therefore B.C.P./M.R. not used.
(7) Sunday before Easter: 'palm' Gospel.
(8) Thursday before Easter: B.C.P. Gospel used until 1853, when replaced by M.R.
(9) Pentecost: Epistle = on spiritual gifts; (B.C.P. read at Afternoon Service).
(10) Pentecost Monday: specially chosen for associations of this day.
(11) Pentecost Tuesday: specially chosen for associations of this day.
(12) Sep. Apostles: specially chosen for associations of this day.
(13) All Saints: eschatological theme dominates both readings; Cath. Ap.understanding of this day.

N.B. Interesting changes in (5) and (8) in 1853.

Chart B/V : Seasonal Forms - Authors-Sources
(with certain Common Anthems)

1. Anthem after Epistle

Common	Ps.118:24-7	
Three Seasons	Ps.123:3,4; Ps.126:4-6	(1858)
Advent	Is.45:8; 16:1; 10:32	
Christmas Eve	Hos.6:3; Is.2:3; 59:20	
Christmas Day	Is.44:23; Ps.111:9	
Circum.	Is.9:2; Ps.97:1	
Present.	Lk.1:45; Hag.2:7; Jn.1:14	
Sunday before Easter	Ps.8:1-5	
Thur. before Easter	Ps.103:1-5	
Good Friday	Byzantine Horologion	
Easter Eve	Rev.14:13; I Cor.15:55 or Ps.130:1, 5-8	(1853)
Easter Day	Ps.139:1,7,17,18	
Asc. Day	Ps.24:7-10 or Ps.110:1-4 (1853)	
Asc. I	Jn.16:21-22	
Pentecost	Is.61:10	
Pent. Mon.	Ps.45:6-8	(1856)
Pent. Tuesday	Is.26:1-4	(1880)
Sep. Ap.	Ps.19:1,4; Is.52:9-10	(1853)
All Angels	Ps.103:19-22	(1853)
All Saints	Rev.20:6; Dan.12:13	

2. Communion Anthem

Common	Ps.132:13-16	
Three Seasons	Ps.102:13-16	(1858)
Advent	Prov.9:1,5; Rev.19:7, Lk.14:15	
Christmas Eve	Prov.9:1,5; Rev.19:7, Lk.14:15	
Christmas Day	Lk.2:29-32	
Circum.	Lk.2:29-32	

Present	Lk.2:29-32	
Sunday before Easter	Rom.6:4; Mt.21:9; Byzantine Horologion	
Thurs. before Easter	Lk.22:15-16; Jn.14:27a; 12:27a; 14:27c	
Good Friday	nil	
Easter Eve	Ps.30:4,5b; 16:9-10	
Easter Day	I Cor.10:16; 5:7	
Asc. Day	Jn.14:2a, 3-4; 14:18; 16:22	
Asc. I	Jn.14:2a,3-4; 14:18; 16:22	
Pentecost	Jn.6:63; Rom.14:17	
Pent. Monday	Jn.6:63; Rom.14:17	
Pent. Tuesday	Ps.122:3-9	(1880)
Sep.Ap.	Is.1:29; 60:17-18	(1853)
All Angels	Rev.5:11-12	(1853)
All Saints	Ps.149:1-2,5,4	

3. Special Introits

Christmas Eve	'Rorate Coeli', in A.V. English: NO Gloria
Good Friday	"Popule Meus', in A.V. English: NO Gloria (N.B. final form 1853)
Easter Eve	Ps.42:1,2,9,10,14,15: NO Gloria
Easter Day	Lk.24:34; Rom.6:9a; Rev.1:18: followed by Gloria
Pentecost	pts. of 'Veni Creator' after Gloria

4. Special Post-Communion Anthems

Thurs.before Easter	Ps.2 (while vessels removed); Exod.15:1-18 (Instead of Te Deum)
All Saints	Dt.32:1-9, 36, 40, 43; Rev.15:3b-4 (Instead of Te Deum)

Notes

All Anthems written in 1847, except otherwise stated.

Multi-sourced, and - with few exceptions - Biblical; sometimes consecutive verses (e.g. Communion Anthem, Christmas Day), sometimes plainly tortuous (Communion Anthem, Thursday before Easter).

Certain Common Anthems included here, for sake of comparison.

Chart C/I : Occasional Forms: Evolution

	Collect	Epistle	Anthem after Epistle	Gospel	Proper of Oblation	Communion Anthem	Additional Post-Communion	Whole Form
Apostolic Council: by Apostle	1851	1851	1851	1851	1851	1851	1851	1851
Apostolic Council: by Angel	1863	1851	1851	1851	1880	1851	1851	1880
Tribe					1851			1851
Apostolical Visitation		1851	1851	1851	1851			1851
Particular Church					1847			1847
Unity	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847
Blessing Evangelistic Work	1851	1851	1851	1851	1851	1851	1851	1851
Raise up Evangelists		1851	1851	1851	1851			1851
Calamity	1847	1853	1853	1853	1853	1853		1853
Sickness	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847		1847
Scarcity	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847
War	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847		1847
Rejoicing	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847		1847
Young Person					1847			1847
Woman after Childbirth					1851			1851
Sick Person					1847		1847	1847
Commemoration of Deceased	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1851	1851	1847

Notes on Dating:

(a) Date of composition corresponds with date of introduction of Form, except (i) Apostolic Council, Angel; where Three Seasons Collect is used, and (ii) Calamity, where earlier Collect is used.
(b) Apostolic Council; Angel Form corresponds with Apostolic Council, Apostle Form, except in Collect (borrowed) and Proper of Oblation (N.B. appears in Swedish 1878).
(c) Proper of Oblation in Apostolic Council (both) and Particular Church, are similar, the latter probably based on the former.
(d) Proper of Oblation in By Apostle for Tribe and Apostolic Visitation are similar.
(e) Collect and Anthem after Epistle in Evangelistic Work and Raise up Evangelists identical.
(f) Collect for Sickness and Scarcity identical.

Chart C/II : Occasional F[illegible] Distribution

N.B. + appears

	Collect	Epistle	Anthem after Epistle	Gospel	Proper of Oblation	Communion Anthem	Additional Post-Communion Prayer
Apostolic Council: Apostle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Apostolic Council: Angel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Tribe					+		
Apostolical Visitation		+	+	+	+		
Particular Church					+		
Unity	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Blessing Evangel. work	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Raising up Evangel.		+	+	+	+		
Calamity	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Sickness	+	+	+	+	+		+
Scarcity	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
War	+	+	+	+	+		+
Rejoicing	+	+	+	+	+		+
Young Person					+		
Woman after Childbirth					+		
Sick Person					+		+
Commemoration of Deceased	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Notes:

No pattern discernible, except a smaller proportion of 'complete' sets than in Seasonals (v. Chart B/II); Proper of Oblation for every Form; four of Forms consist only in Proper of Oblation.

Only Forms for Blessing Evangelistic Work, Calamity, and Rejoicing have special Forenoon Service, thus enhancing importance of occasion.

Unlike Seasonal Forms, which pivot on whole liturgical year, the Occasional Forms appear to pivot on the Proper of Oblation.

Chart C/III : Occasional Forms : Sources/ Characteristics

1. Collect

Apostolic Council: Apostle	Anglican
Apostolic Council: Angel	Biblical
Unity	Biblical
Blessing of Evangel.	Biblical
Raising up Evangel.	Biblical
Calamity and Rejoicing	Anglican
Sickness and Scarcity	Roman
War	Anglican
Commemoration of Deceased	Biblical

Notes:

Mixture of sources

Roman source (Sickness/Scarcity), dated 1847:
cf. other Roman source-use in Seasonals (Chart B/III).

2. Proper of Oblation

Apostolic Council (both Forms)	Biblical/Oriental/Anglican	(1)
Tribe	Biblical	(3)
Apostolical Visitation	Biblical	
Particular Church	Biblical	(1)(4)
Unity	Biblical	(1)
Blessing of Evangel. work	Biblical	(1)(2)(3)
Raising up Evangel.	Biblical	(1)(3)(4)
Calamity	Biblical	(1)(4)
Sickness	Biblical/Anglican	(2)(4)
Scarcity	Biblical	(2)
War	Biblical/Anglican	(4)
Rejoicing	Biblical/Anglican	(2)
Young Person	Biblical/Anglican	
Woman after Childbirth	Anglican	(2)
Sick Person	Biblical/Roman	
Commemoration of Deceased Person	Biblical	(3)

Notes:

(1) Pneumatological material
(2) Sacrifical material
(3) Eschatological material
(4) Rhetorical material

Reliance on AnglicanThanksgivings, assimilated into new structure

3. Additional Post-Communion Prayer

Apostolic Council (both Forms)	Biblical	(1)(2)
Unity	Biblical	(1)(2)
Blessing on Evangel. work	Biblical	(1)
Scarcity	Biblical	(1)
War	Roman	
Sick Person	Biblical/Roman	(1)(2)
Commemoration of Deceased	Biblical	(1)(2)

Notes:

(1) reference to Eucharist; only one without, Roman in source
(2) addressed to Son; perhaps because of devotional intensity after Communion

2/7 with Roman source; cf. 2/13 non-Biblical sources in Seasonal Forms (v. Chart B/III).

No Eschatological material; cf. Seasonal Forms, where exactly the opposite (v. Chart B/III).

Chart C/IV : Occasional Forms: Lectionary

Occasion	Epistle	Gospel
Apostolic Council: Apostle	Is.6:1-8	Jn.17:11-23
Apostolic Council: Angel	Rev.4	Jn.17:11-23
Apostolical Visitation	Rev.1:10-end	Mt. 24:42-end
Unity	Gal.4:1-8	Lk.15:3-10
Blessing Evangel. Work	Hag. 2:1-9	Lk.10:1-24
Raising up Evangelists	Rom.10:11-17	Mt.9:35-38
Calamity	Jam.1:2-7	Mt.21:18-22
Sickness	II Sam.24:10-25	Mt.8:14-17
Scarcity	Gen.8:15-22	Mt.8:1-9
War	Jam.4:1-10	Mt.14:22-33
Rejoicing	Phil.4:4-8	Mt.7:7-11
Commemoration of Deceased	I Thess.4:13-18	Jn.5:24-29

Notes:

(a) No liturgical sources; except Epistle in Commemoration of Deceased is Roman.

(b) No overlaps in topics, even when related, except in Apostolic Council Forms, Gospel.

(c) Interesting use of O.T. material in Readings for Epistle.

Chart C/V : Occasional Forms : Anthem Sources

(a) Anthem after Epistle

Apostolic Council: Apostle	Ps.122:3-9
Apostolic Council: Angel	Ps.122:3-9
Apostolic Visitation	Ps.103:1-5
Unity	Ezek.34:16a, 12b
Blessing Evangel. Work	Is.52:7, 32:20
Raising Up Evangel.	Is.52:7, 32:20
Calamity	Ps.34:17-19, 22
Sickness	Ps.90:7-8, 13-14
Scarcity	Ps.90:7-8, 13-14
War	Ps.59:1, 60:11-12
Rejoicing	(Sickness) Ps.103:1,3-4 (Peace) Ps.46:1,9-11 (Famine) Ps.118:17-19
Commemoration of Deceased	Job 19:25-27

(b) Communion Anthem

Apostolic Council: Apostle	Ps.133 or Ps.47
Unity	Ps.130:3, 4, 7, 8
Blessing Evangel. Work	Ps.68:9-12
Raising Up Evangel.	Ps.68:9-12
Calamity	Ps.145:18-21
Sickness	Ps.103:2-5
Scarcity	Ps.33:18-19, 21-22
War	Ps.22:16-18, 22.
Rejoicing	Ps.34:3-4, 7-8
Commemoration of Deceased	Ps.112:4,6-7, 9b or Ps.17:1-2, 8, 15.

(c) Special

Apostolic Council: Apostle 'Veni Creator' after Additional Post Communion Prayer

Notes:
Much more straightforward sources than Seasonals.
Predominance of Psalms
Overlaps, especially in related topics.

Chart D : Editions of the Service book : English and Foreign

Editions of the Liturgy: English and foreign

(1)	English	1842Alb, 1843, 1847, 1851, 1853, 1856, 1863, 1869, 1880.
(2)	Scottish	1850 (?) 1854 (?), 1861 (dates for first two deduced from Lindsay-Grant and comparison with English Editions)
(3)	French	1850, 1857/8, 1873/5, 1882.
(4)	German	1850, 1859/60, 1868, 1880.
(5)	Swiss-French	1851, 1901.
(6)	Swiss-German	1852, 1866, 1872, 1898.
(7)	Flemish	(pts) 1861 (superseded by French edition).
(8)	Wendish:	(pts) 1851, (whole) 1902 (probably other editions between these dates).
(9)	Danish	1861, 1873, 1878, 1884, 1911 (direct translation from English).
(10)	Italian	(pts) 1861, (whole) 1894/5.
(11)	Dutch	1866, 1878, 1892.
(12)	Swedish	1878, 1893/5
(13)	Lettish	(pts) 1880, 1898, (whole)1903.
(14)	Esthonian	(pts) 1890, (whole) 1898
(15)	Polish	(pts) 1898, (whole) 1903.

Bibliograp

The above list does not purport to be complete; it is based on Copinger's C.E. Lewis Heath and C.B. Heath Lectures, Lindsday-Grant M.S.S., and the books made available at Albury.

N.B. (i) most of the above-listed had reprints after 1880; dates given after then are only for first editions of a foreign language (e.g. Lettish 1880).

(ii) There were also English editions printed or bound in Montreal and New York, for use in Canada and U.S.A. respectively; one of those recovered and bound in Montreal is identical to the Scottish 1854, i.e. with weekly Collects and single Consecration Prayer; no explanation can be found; it is possible that Drummond had influence here.

(iii) All foreign editions are a faithful reproduction of the English, except as far as minor details, in Intercessions for the Civil Authorities.

(iv) All these foreign editions were translations from the most recent English edition, often through another langauge (e.g. German used for Danish edd. until 1911).

(v) The only exception to (iii) is a peculiar one, and concerns the use of weekly Collects, and certain B.C.P. and Western feasts of the liturgical year.
Weekly Collects appear in the German edition of 1850 (but cease in 1859); the French editions of 1850 and 1857 (but cease in 1873), and in the Swiss-German editions of 1852, 1866 and 1872 (and survive into contemporary tradition, in 1898 and 1910). The extra Feasts (Epiphany, Annunciation, St. John the Baptist, and the Transfiguration) appear in German 1850 (but cease in 1859) and again in Swiss-German, in 1852, 1866 and 1872 (but cease in 1898).

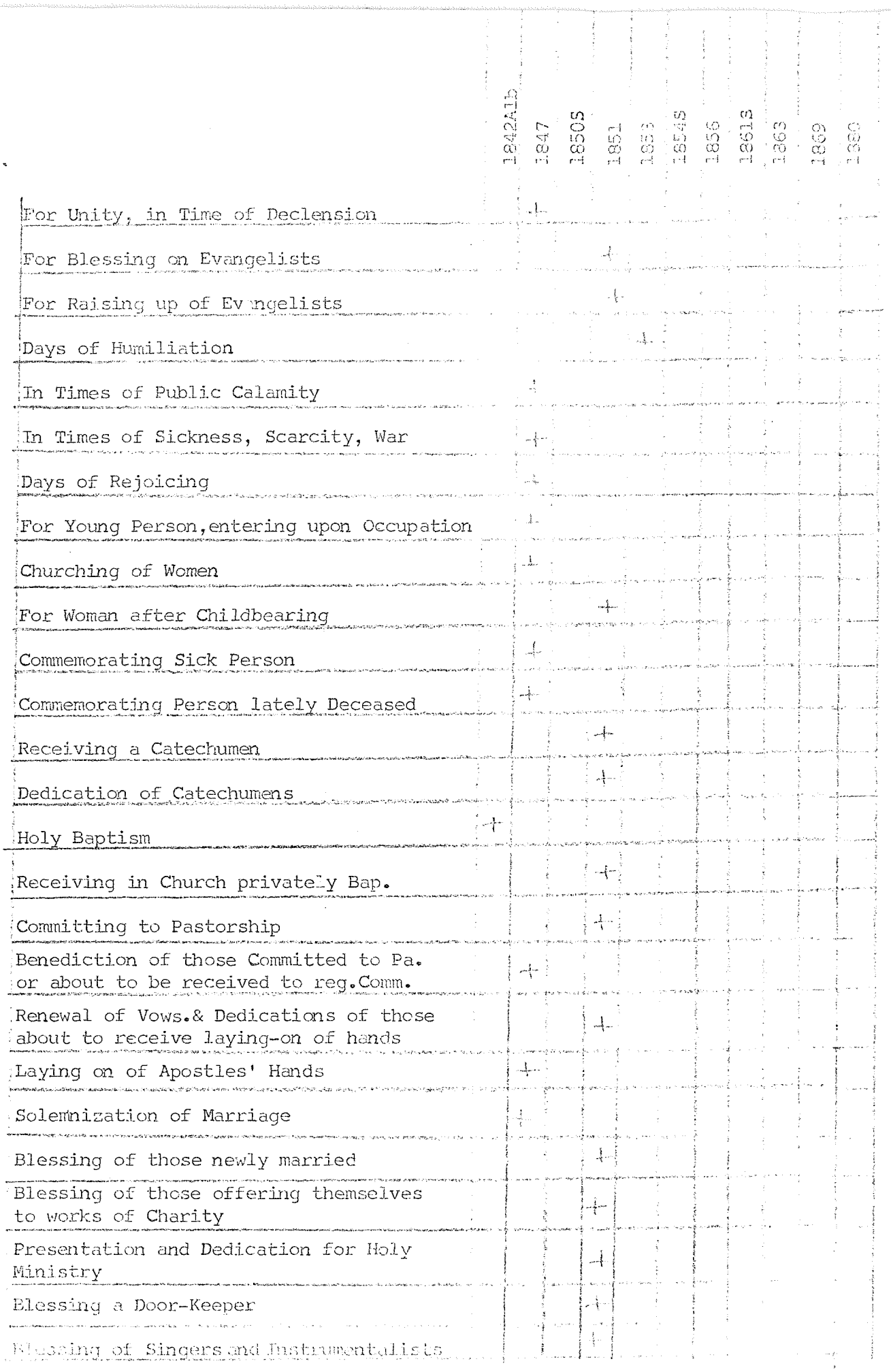
Chart E : Contents of whole service-book: Evolution

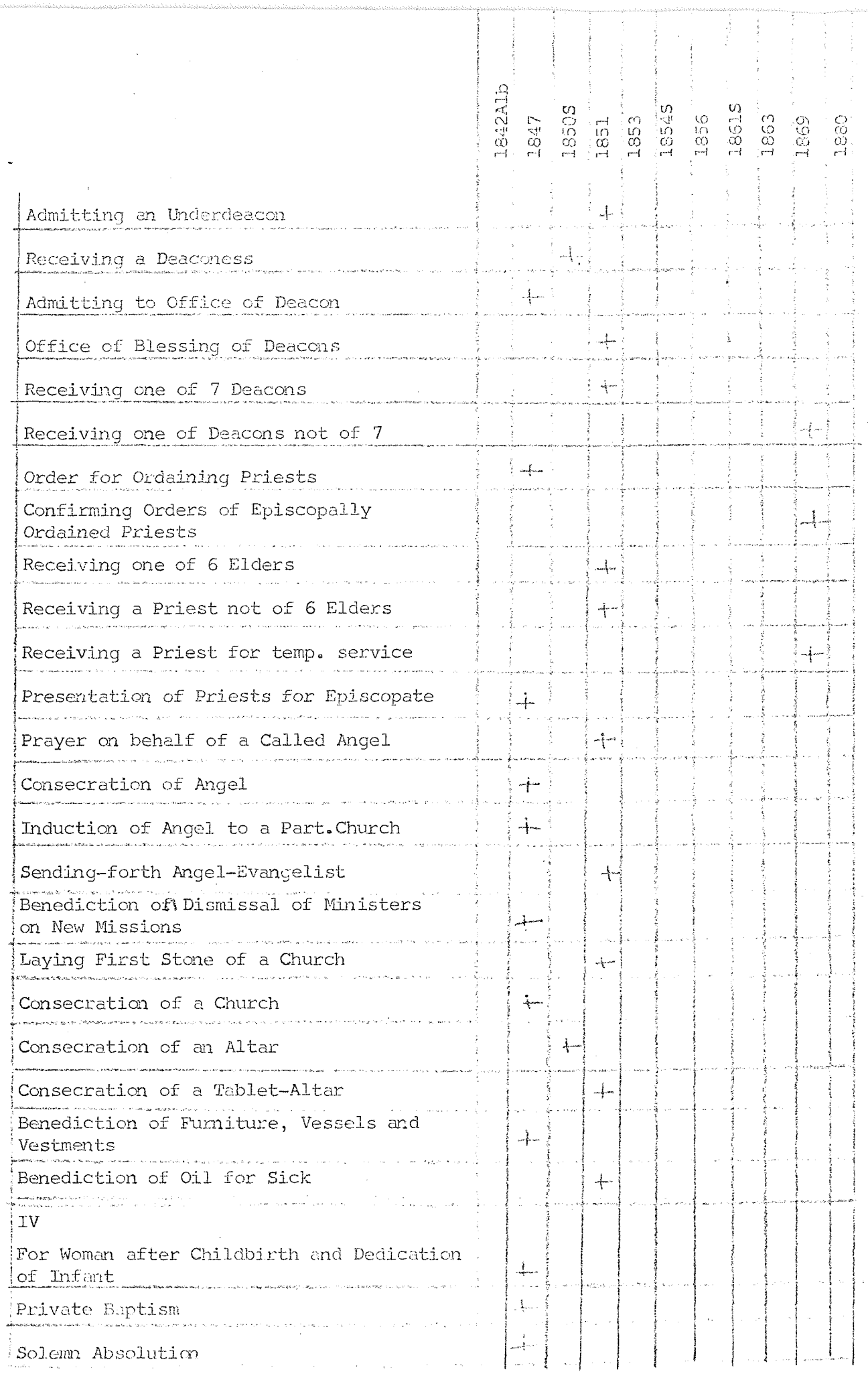
I	Offices for Daily or Weekly use
II	Forms for Proper and Occasional Use (i) Seasonal Forms (ii) Occasional Forms
III	Special Services and Forms
IV	Offices for Use on Private Occasions and all subsequent

N.B. + appears in edition concerned

	1842Alb	1847	1850S	1851	1853	1854S	1856	1861S	1863	1869	1880
Table of Lections	+										
Table of Psalms	+										
Table of Moveable Feasts				+							
I Eucharist on Lord's Day	+										
Afternoon Communion on L's Day		+									
Shorter Office of Eucharist		+									
Athanasian Creed								+			
Morning Prayer	+										
Daily Communion after Morn.Pr.			+								
Evening Prayer	+										
Forenoon Service	+										
Form for Removing Sacrament										+	
Form for Benediction of Water										+	
The Litany		+									
Afternoon Service	+										
Shorter Morning Prayer							+				
Shorter Evening Prayer							+				
Additional Prayers etc.	+										
Occasional Prayers,Thanksgivings,etc.	+										
Prayers for passing Reserved Sacram.		+									
II Three Seasons								+			
Advent	+										
Christmas Eve		+									
Christmas Day and Octave	+										
Circumcision and Octave	+										

	1842A1b	1847	1850S	1851	1853	1854S	1855	1861S	1863	1869	1880
After Octave of Circ. to Sunday before Easter	+										
Presentation and Octave		+									
Sunday before Easter	+										
Monday and Tuesday before Easter		+									
Wednesday before Easter		+									
Thursday before Easter		+									
Good Friday		+									
Easter Eve		+									
Easter Day and Octave	+										
Octave of Easter to Ascension Day		+									
Ascension Day		+									
Sunday after Ascension		+									
Eve of Pentecost		+									
Day of Pentecost	+										
Monday after Pentecost							+				
Tuesday after Pentecost											+
Octave of Pentecost to Christmas	+										
Separation of the Apostles					+						
All Angels					+						
All Saints and Octave	+										
Assembly of Seven Churches		+									
III Apostolic Council, by Apostle				+							
Apostolic Council, by Angel											+
For Tribe, by Apostle				+							
Apostolical Visitation				+							
For Particular Church, by Angel		+									


1842A1b
1847
1850S
1851
1853
1854S
1856
1861S
1863
1869
1880
For Unity, in Time of Declension
For Blessing on Evangelists
For Raising up of Evangelists
Days of Humiliation
In Times of Public Calamity
In Times of Sickness, Scarcity, War
Days of Rejoicing
For Young Person, entering upon Occupation
Churching of Women
For Woman after Childbearing
Commemorating Sick Person
Commemorating Person lately Deceased
Receiving a Catechumen
Dedication of Catechumens
Holy Baptism
Receiving in Church privately Bap.
Committing to Pastorship
Benediction of those Committed to Pa. or about to be received to reg.Comm.
Renewal of Vows.& Dedications of those about to receive laying-on of hands
Laying on of Apostles' Hands
Solemnization of Marriage
Blessing of those newly married
Blessing of those offering themselves to works of Charity
Presentation and Dedication for Holy Ministry
Blessing a Door-Keeper
Blessing of Singers and Instrumentalists


1842Alb
1847
1850S
1851
1853
1854S
1856
1861S
1863
1869
1880
Admitting an Underdeacon
Receiving a Deaconess
Admitting to Office of Deacon
Office of Blessing of Deacons
Receiving one of 7 Deacons
Receiving one of Deacons not of 7
Order for Ordaining Priests
Confirming Orders of Episcopally Ordained Priests
Receiving one of 6 Elders
Receiving a Priest not of 6 Elders
Receiving a Priest for temp. service
Presentation of Priests for Episcopate
Prayer on behalf of a Called Angel
Consecration of Angel
Induction of Angel to a Part. Church
Sending-forth Angel-Evangelist
Benediction of Dismissal of Ministers on New Missions
Laying First Stone of a Church
Consecration of a Church
Consecration of an Altar
Consecration of a Tablet-Altar
Benediction of Furniture, Vessels and Vestments
Benediction of Oil for Sick
IV
For Woman after Childbirth and Dedication of Infant
Private Baptism
Solemn Absolution

	1842Alb	1847	1850S	1851	1853	1854S	1856	1861S	1863	1869	1880
Administration of Comm. to Sick		⊣									
Anointing Sick		⊣									
Litany in Visitation of Sick											
Prayers commending a dep. soul											
Benediction of a House											
Benediction of a Chamber-Lodging				⊣							
Benediction of a Ship								⊣			
Catechism		⊣									

Notes to Chart E

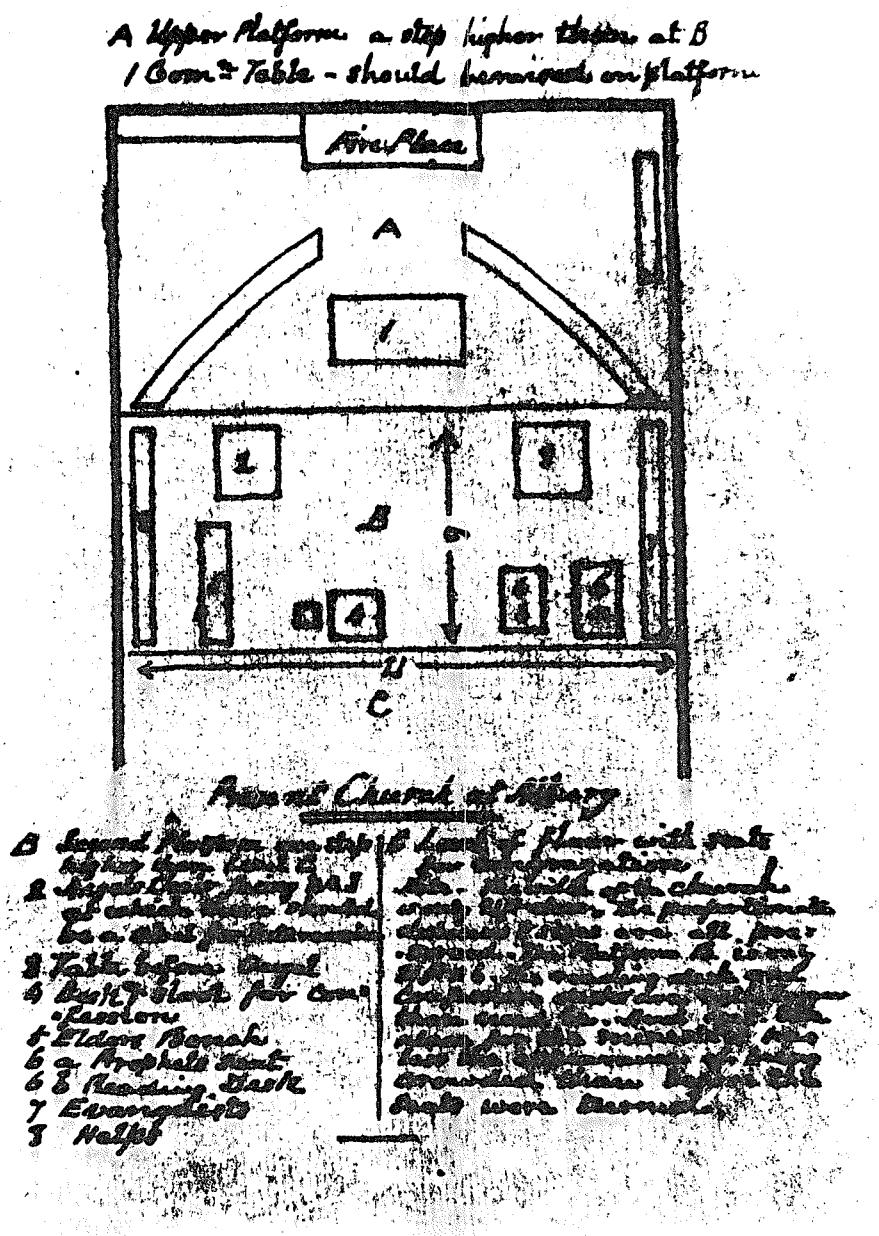
(1) Considerable variation to position of different Offices within Service-Book.
(2) Some of editions have officially-circulated addenda either bound or gummed into books.

Conclusions

Development very similar to Eucharist and Seasonal/Occasional Forms:

1842Alb	Bare outline
1847	Most of detail filled in, esp.Forms, 'Ordinal', and 'Rituale'
S1850	Receiving of Deaconess added
1851	Special Forms and 'Rituale' to the full, except for a few
1853	Nothing new, except All Angels
S1854	Feast of Separation of Apostles
1856	Shorter M. and E.P.
S1861	Three Seasons added, as also Pentecost Monday and Ben. of a Ship
1863	Athanasian Creed now printed separately; used on all Feasts
1869	Forms for Removing Sacrament and Benediction of Water
1880	Form for Pentecost Tuesday

PLAN A



This Plan is reproduced from family papers. The date of the 'Church' (in effect a 'Room-Chapel', as is obvious from its size) is not known, but from the lay-out of the furniture and the prescriptions for seats for the various ministers we suggest some time around 1836.

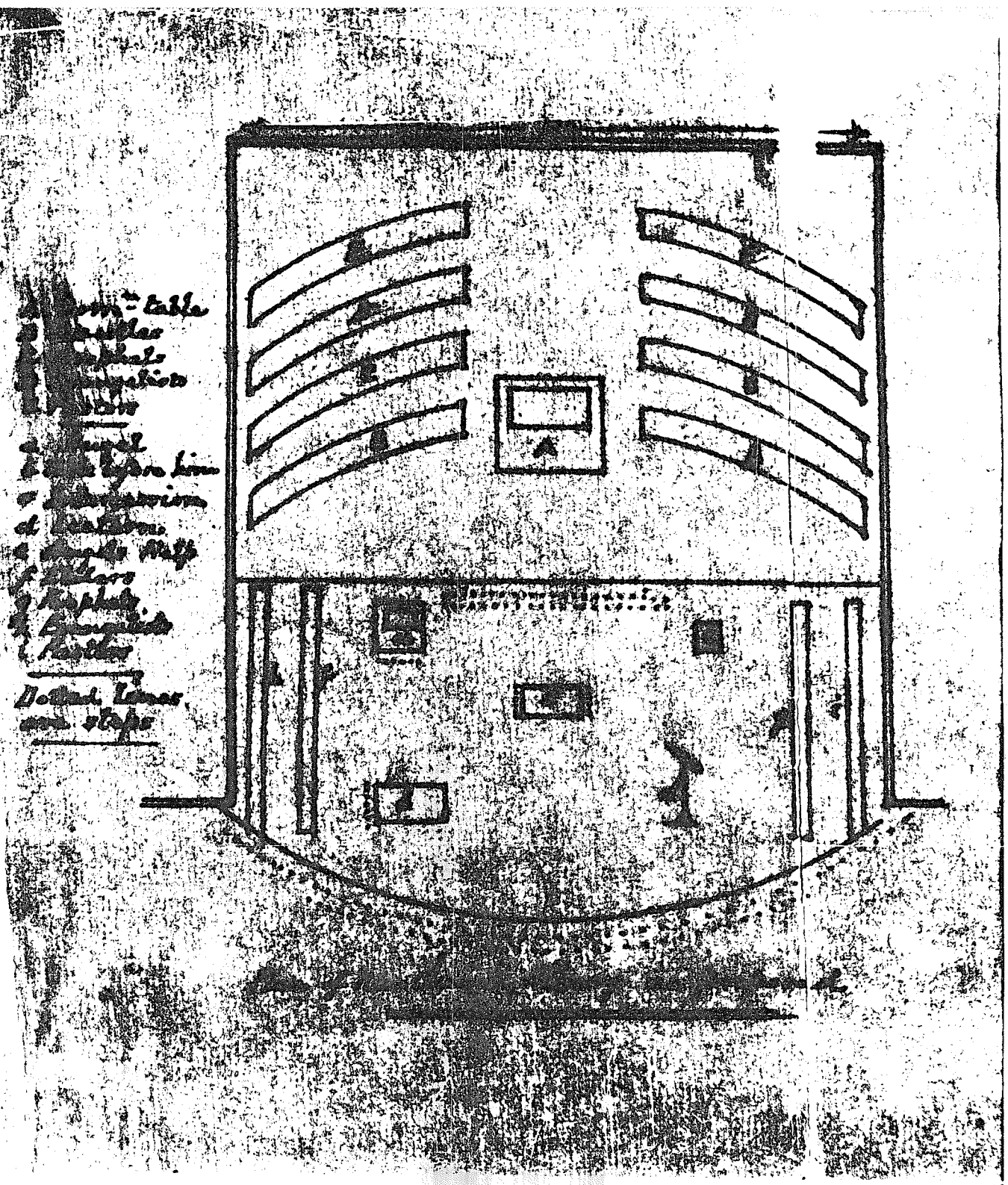
There are three 'levels':

A corresponds with the (later) Sanctuary, with the Communion Table, and, presumably, seats for the Apostles, and any Ministers 'with' them (cf. Plan B in this respect).

B corresponds with the (later) Upper Choir, where the Angel and the Priests sit. N.B. 'Table' before the Angel's seat, which probably served a purpose similar to the (later) Table of Prothesis.

C corresponds with the (later) Nave, for the congregation.

PLAN B

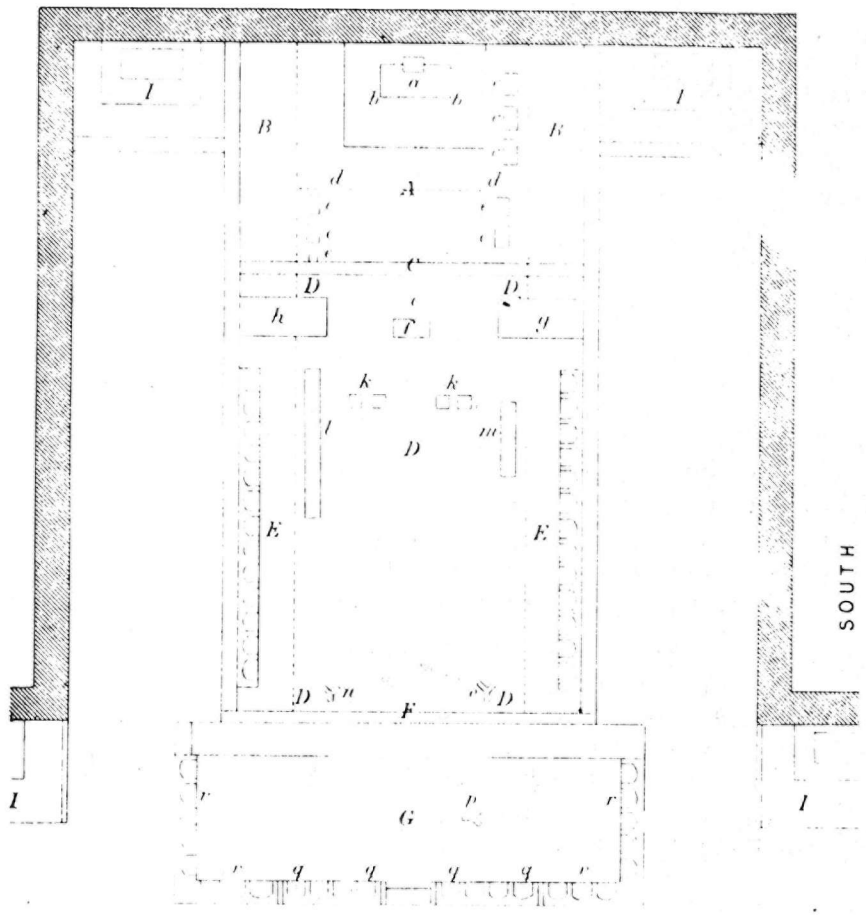


This Plan is also reproduced from family papers. No date is given, but the size and proportions match exactly those of the Apostles' Chapel at Albury, built in 1840.

The basic lay-out is similar to the one in Plan A. The 'Upper Choir' contains more furniture - lectern and intercession-stool. The 'Sanctuary' is larger, accommodating more explicitly than Plan A the Apostles, and the Angel-Prophets, Angel-Evangelists, and Angel-Pastors, as well as having the Communion Table on a platform.

PLAN C

EAST



S

II

WEST

References to the annexed Plan, in explanation of the 'Notes on the Architectural and Ecclesiastical Divisions of a Church,' as set forth in Chapter XXXIII.

A. The Sanctuary.

a. The Altar with Tabernacle thereon.

b b. The lamp stands at the Altar.

c c c. Seats for the celebrant and two assistants.

d d. Step or steps to the Altar, where the space admits of such, and the size of the building requires the Altar to be elevated above the level of the sanctuary. The lamp before the tabernacle may be suspended over the line of these steps, or to the westward of them.

e e e e e. The places where the Apostle and the three Ministers with him and the Archdeacon, are to be seated. These seats should be moveable.

B B. Spaces on the north and south sides of the sanctuary. In these spaces seats may be provided for the Apostles, in a church where such accommodation is required. In other churches the sedilia, or seats *c c c*, might be placed against the wall, where such an arrangement would be preferable as a matter of architectural propriety.

C. The access to the sanctuary.

D D D D. The upper choir.

f. The place of Intercession.

g. The place for the Table of Prothesis.

h. The place for the Angel's seat, or throne.

i. Over this part are suspended the seven lamps.

k k. The places for the four ministers at the time of offering supplications, &c.

l. The place to be occupied by the elders at Morning and Evening Prayer.

m. The seat for the three ministers after the Intercession.

n. The lectern for the Gospel.

o. The lectern for the Epistle.

E E. Stalls for priests not officiating.

F. The access to the upper choir.

G. The lower choir.

p. The lectern in the lower choir.

q q q q. The stalls for the chief-deacon and his help, and the other deacons of the Seven.

r r r r. Other stalls for deacons, behind which (or elsewhere) the choristers may be placed.

H. The nave or body of the church.

s. The pulpit. The exact place for the pulpit can only be determined by architectural or other considerations.

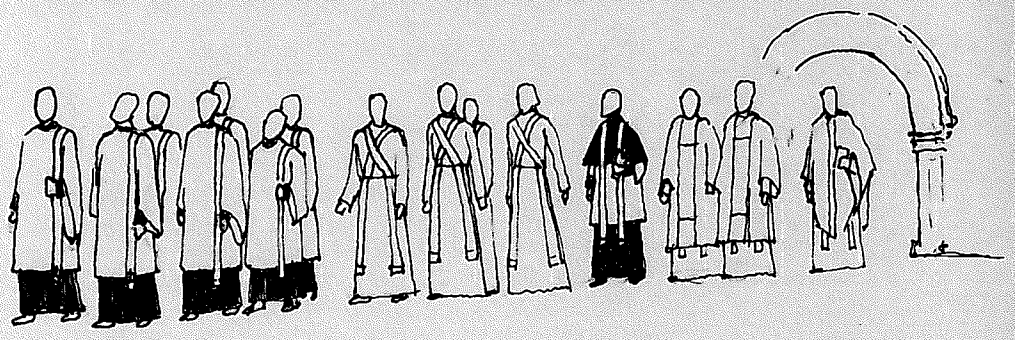
t. The part to be appropriated to seats for the Angel and clergy at sermons. These seats may be movable.

I I I I. Places adapted for chapels, with additional altars.

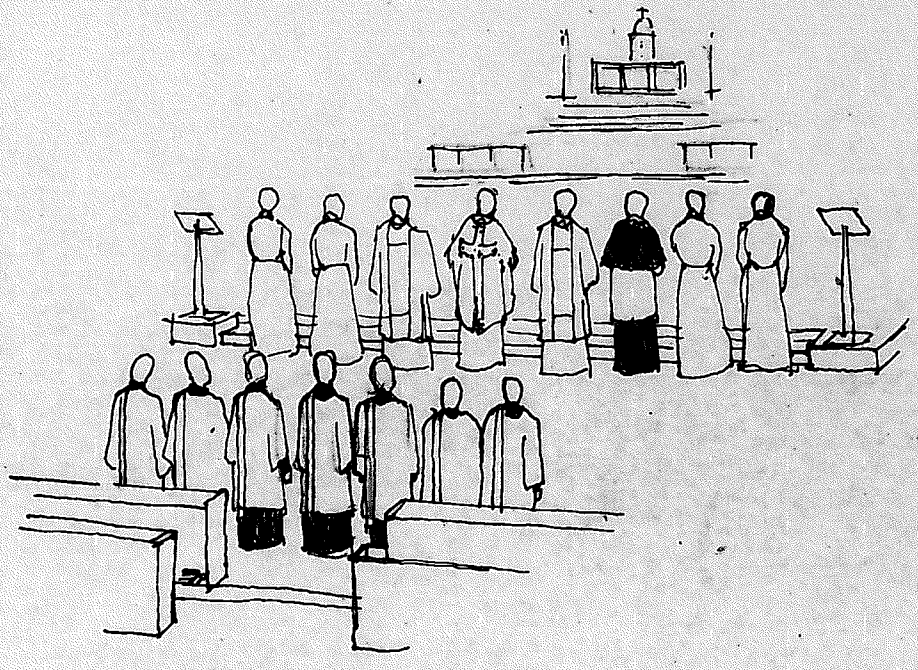
For the position of the font, and of the pastors' chairs, which the size of the Plan does not permit to be shown, see Sects. 802 and 804.

This Plan is reproduced from the Book of Regulations. It represents an 'ideal' Church, with a full complement of ministers, and a building made up on a large scale. A few buildings, such as Gordon Square and Paddington, London, and those in Liverpool, Birmingham and Edinburgh, were completed on this scale. But none of them had more than one side--chapel (with the exception of Gordon Square, and for the special reasons explained in Chapter 4).

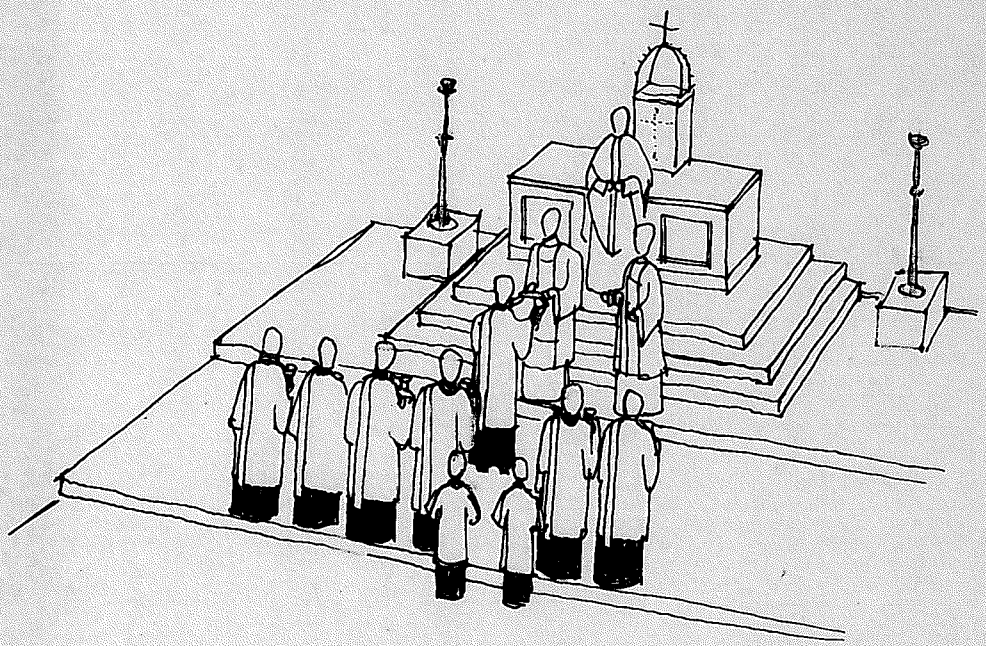
Comparing this Plan with A and B, we can see a definite progression. The Congregation is still accommodated in the 'Nave'. The 'Upper' and 'Lower' Choir hold the Priests and Deacons, the Angel presiding from the throne. The Sanctuary contains the Altar, and, on the proper occasions, the Apostle and Ministers 'with' him. Thus, in all three Plans, the Congregation, Ministers of the Particular Church, and Ministers of the Universal Church are all seated in corresponding positions.



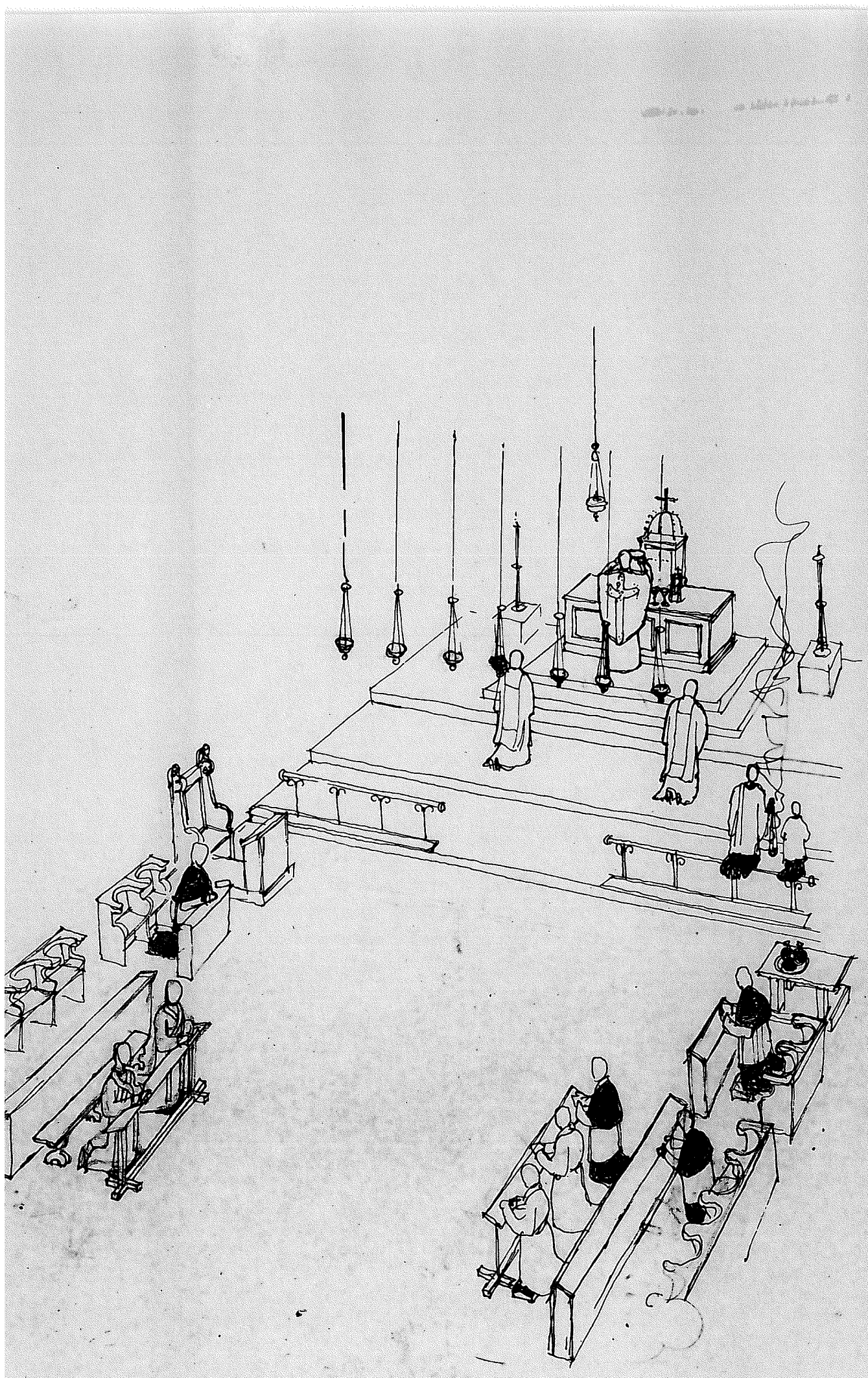
A. THE ENTRY OF THE MINISTERS
Deacons lead procession from sacristy



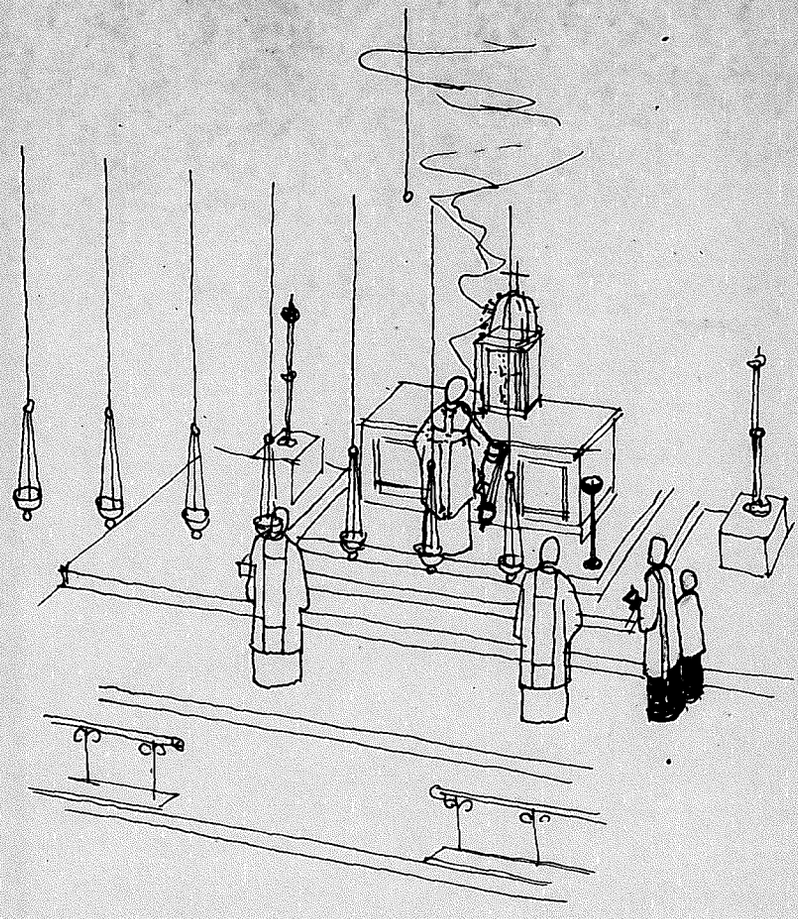
B. THE ENTRY OF THE MINISTERS
Angel about to lead ministers into upper choir



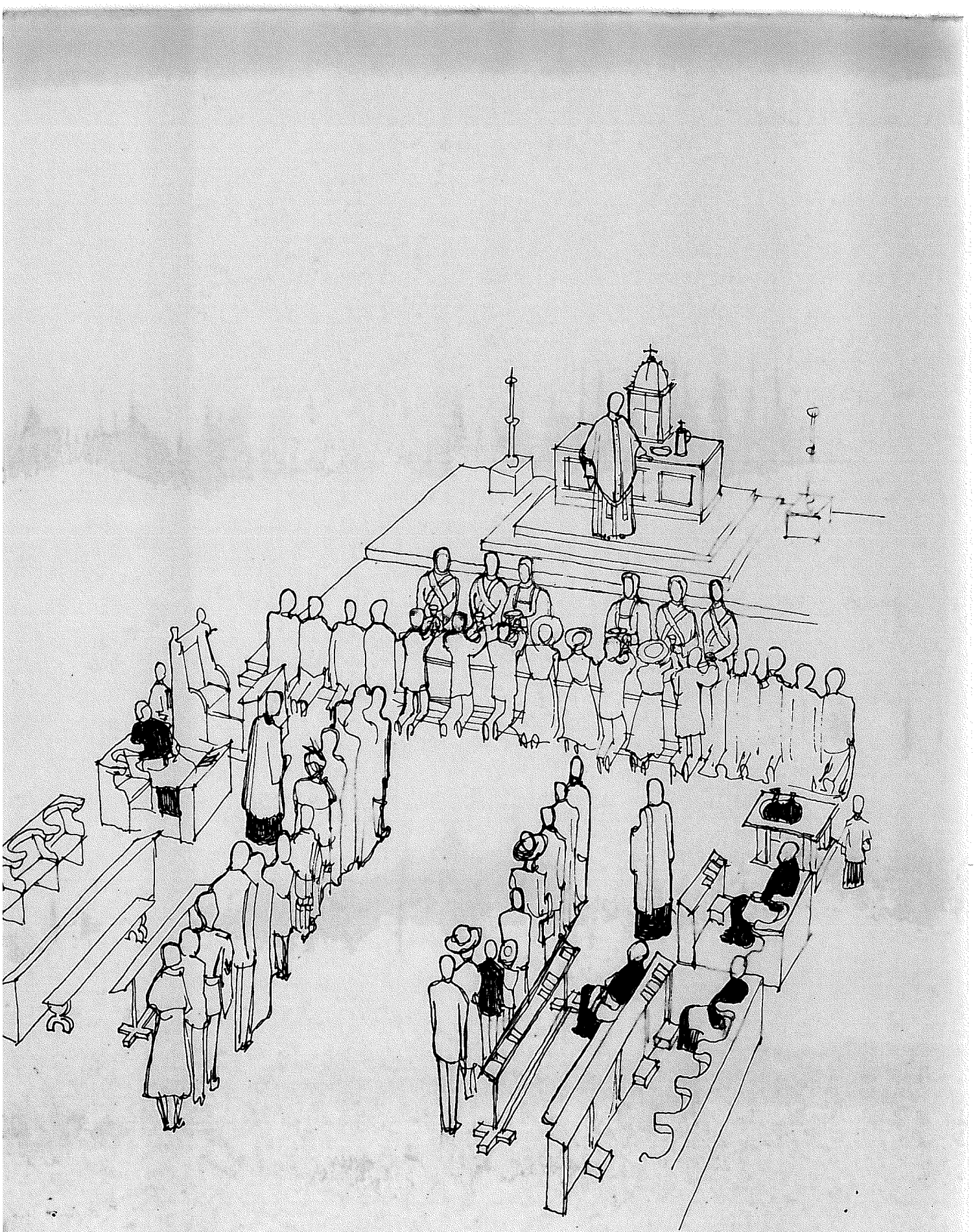
C. THE GREATER INTROIT



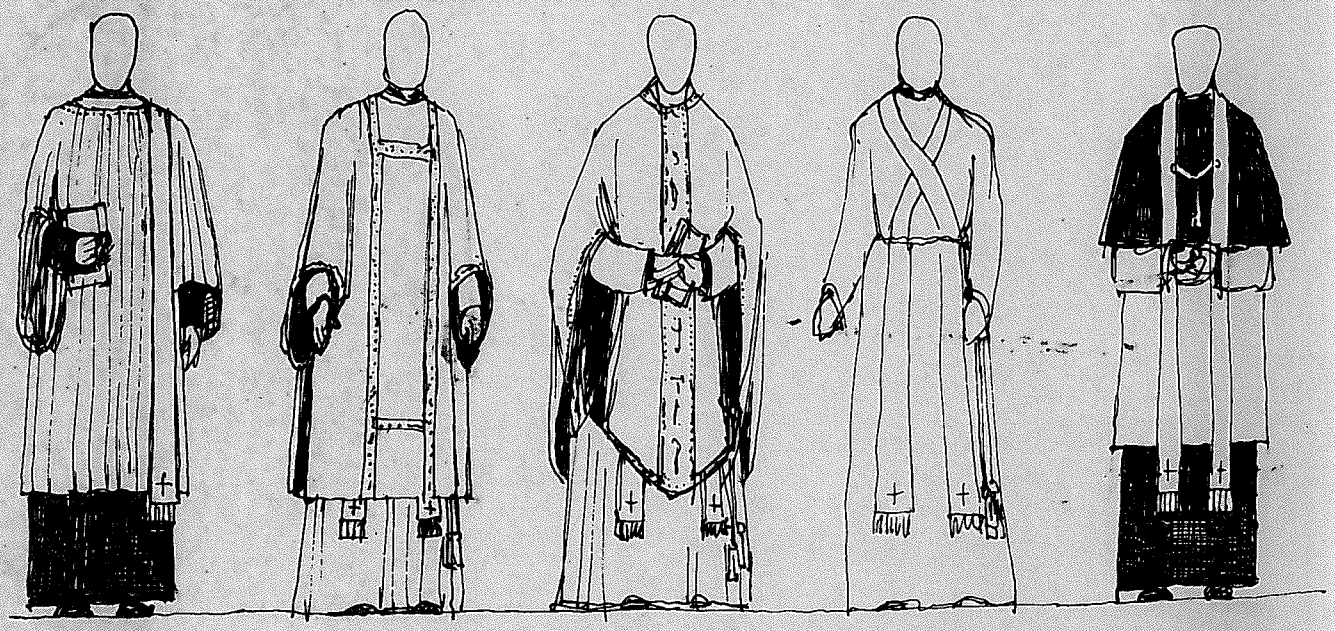
D. THE CONSECRATION OF THE BREAD



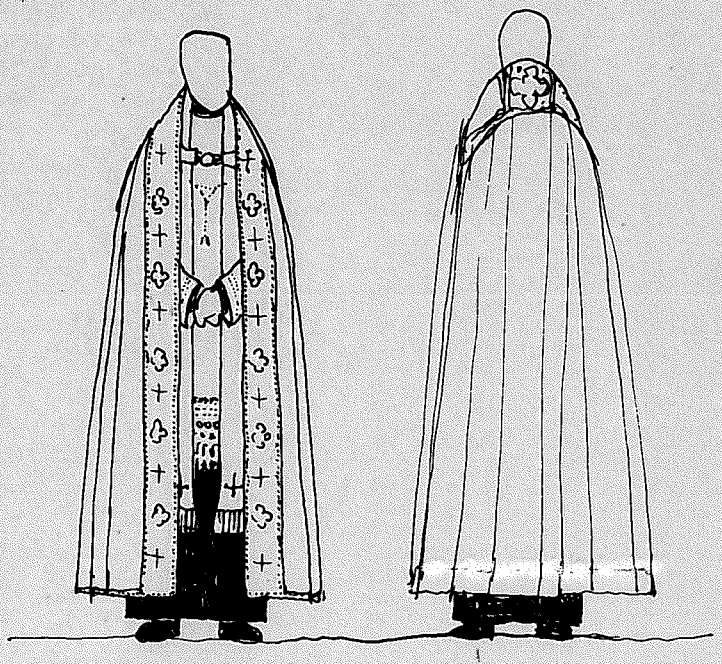
E. THE OFFERING OF INCENSE DURING THE INCENSE ANTHEM



F. THE COMMUNION OF THE PEOPLE



DEACON ASSISTANT CELEBRANT SUB-ASSISTANT HOMILIST



ANGEL WEARING COPE

G. VARIOUS MINISTERS IN THEIR VESTMENTS

Abbreviations Used

Abbreviations used: context shows whether reference is made to a work or a service-book.
Biblical references are made with commonly-accepted abbreviations.

Årsbo	Komme Dit Rige.
Armen.	Armenian.
Bas.	St. Basil (Byzantine).
B.C.O.	Book of Common Order.
B.C.P.	Book of Common Prayer.
Brewster	The Tabernacle and the Church.
Brightman	Liturgies Eastern and Western: Vol.I; Eastern Liturgies.
Chrys.	St. John Chrysostom.
'Clem'.	Pseudo-Clementine (Apostolic Constitutions Vol.VIII).
C.S.I.	Church of South India - Book of Common Worship.
Cyr.Alex.	Cyril of Alexandria.
Eug.Ber.	Eugène Bersier- Liturgie à l'usage des Eglises Réformées
F.C.B.C.P.	A Free Church Book of Common Prayer.
Fortescue	The Mass of the Roman Rite Described.
F.P.B.K.E.	The First Prayer Book of King Edward VI (1549 Book).
Grisbrooke	Anglican Liturgies of the 17th and 18th centuries.
Hen.	John Henley.
Jas.	St. James (Greek).
Jungmann	The Mass of the Roman Rite.
Lit.	The Liturgy and Other Divine Offices of the Church.
Mar.	Maronite.
Martinucci	Manuale Sacrarum Caeremonialium.
Mk.	St. Mark.
M.R.	Missale Romanum (Trent).
M.R. Paul VI	Missale Romanum (Vatican II).
Non-Jur.	Non-Jurors.

Orchard	The Order of Divine Service for Public Worship.
P.E.	Prex Eucharistica (Hänggi-Pahl).
P.L.	Translations from the Primitive Liturgies (Neale).
Rat.	Thomas Rattray.
Reg.	The Book of Regulations.
R.L.	Readings on the Liturgy.....(Cardale).
Rub.E.	General Rubrics, 1878 (England).
Rub.S.	General Rubrics (Scotland).
Scot.	Scottish.
S.J.T.	Scottish Journal of Theology.
Steph. I-III	Edward Stephens: numbering of Liturgies acc. to order in Grisbrooke.
Syr.Jac.	Syrian Jacobites.
Tay.	Jeremy Taylor.
Whist.	William Whiston.
1842Alb.	1842 Albury Service-Book.
1850^S 1854^S 1861^S	Scottish Editions of the Liturgy