

XI

OCCASIONAL OFFICES: BAPTISM, INSTRUCTION, AND CONFIRMATION

I. THE BAPTISMAL LITURGY

THE RITES OF INITIATION into the Christian Church offer some significant parallels to the eucharistic Liturgy. In the traditional view of the Church, both the "Great Sacraments" claim immediate institution by our Lord, assert his authority for their continued observance, and embody definite forms of words attributed to him. Both display the fixed procedure of a distinctive Rite, uniform in its essentials throughout the world, attested in the earliest Christian writers, and even to some extent recognizable in the New Testament accounts.

Indeed a fully developed structure of the baptismal order receives rather earlier and wider attestation than that of the Eucharist. Moreover, this Baptismal Liturgy, as it has every right to be called, has on the whole been less subject to accretions and innovations than the Communion. Hence to this day it is inherently the same in all branches of the historic Church, and very little altered anywhere from what it is known to have been at the beginning of the third century, and what it may have been much earlier.

Just as in the case of the Eucharist, of late the ultimate origins of the baptismal rites have been the subject of somewhat searching criticism. The results of that investigation,

so far, are somewhat disconcerting to traditional views; and may of course be disregarded by those satisfied with such views, and content to rest their conceptions of the history of the Sacrament upon the *primâ facie* evidence of plain statements of the New Testament as it stands, before critical methods are applied to that evidence. The following section is submitted to the judgment of the reader as a summary of inquiries which are still being pursued, and which later discussion may modify.

2. IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

In the Hebrew religion, there were many rites which we call ceremonial ablutions, but which the Jew believed to be immediately effectual,¹ with no merely "symbolic" element, and with no contrast between ceremonial and moral purity. Of these rites, perhaps the most striking was the Baptism of Proselytes—a self-administered bath of purification, in the ceremonies of initiation into the family of Israel.

It was this rite which was adopted in the "revival mission" of John the Baptist. In effect he told the complaisant orthodox Jews that they were apostate by their sins, so that like the despised Gentiles they needed to renounce their old life and embrace a new one, by a comprehensive act of cleansing of the whole man.

It seems probable that this act, like the Baptism of Proselytes, was in most cases self-administered: that the multitudes immersed themselves² in the Jordan in the presence of John. And while the immediate effect of this baptism was "for the forgiveness of sins," it was also a *regeneration*, a new birth and initiation into a new life and a new fellowship. Indeed,

¹Cf. Heb. 9:13.

²ἐβαπτίζοντο in Mark 1:5 and Matt. 3:6 is more probably a middle (reflexive) voice than a passive. Cf. the reading of Luke 3:7 in D and the Old Latin versions: "were baptized in his presence."

John's baptism and his "church" did not cease with the coming of Christ.³ This explains the fact that Christianity did not regard Baptism as a purification which might be repeated, but as an entering upon a new status for life.

Both the Synoptics and the Acts are silent as to any use of Baptism during our Lord's ministry. Acts 1:5 picks up Mark 1:8 precisely, pointing to Pentecost as the beginning of the distinctively Christian rite. Against this we find standing alone the statement of John 4:1-2, that "Jesus baptized more disciples than John," with the qualification "though Jesus baptized not, but his disciples."

The question of a direct institution of Christian Baptism by our Lord, which was asserted with such confidence by all parties at the Reformation, is now somewhat under a cloud, with the reluctance of modern critics to adduce the Fourth Gospel in evidence, and with the authenticity of Matthew 28:19 also defended by few. Yet the explicit statement of John 4:1-2 may still be correct; and certainly something of the nature of the discourse on Baptism in John 3 seems required to explain the Church's unhesitating adoption of the fundamental rite of Christian initiation. Underlying these passages, there may well be a genuine tradition of some definite instruction by the Lord.

It seems certain that Christian Baptism at the first was at least in some cases self-administered, exactly as its Jewish antecedents were. The reflexive form of the verb is used unmistakably in the Greek of Acts 22:16, and 1 Corinthians 6:11 and 10:2. The "three thousand" on the day of Pentecost could hardly have been immersed individually by the Apostles; it is more probable that this was a group baptism like the multitudes of John's followers. St. Paul seldom administered Baptism in person;⁴ and we have seen that the

³Cf. Acts 18:25, 19:3.

⁴1 Cor. 1:14-17.

testimony of the Fourth Gospel as to the practice of Jesus is along the same lines.

Hence the action of an official "minister" appears to have been no more essential than for Baptism than it is now for Marriage.⁵ The function of the officiant in both cases may be described as supervising the due performance of the voluntary actions of the individuals concerned before proper witnesses. The fact that lay Baptism is recognized in the Church, though lay celebration of the Eucharist is not, may have its origin in these primitive circumstances.

It further appears that the only "Form" of the administration of Baptism was the declaration of faith proclaimed by the candidate. Apparently for Jewish converts this was the affirmation, "Jesus is Lord."⁶ The accession of Gentiles brought in a Trinitarian formula, which left its mark on Matthew 28:19, and ultimately became standard in the Church; we find it complete in the *Didaché*⁷ and Justin Martyr.⁸

Originally, the Christian Initiation was normally designed for the admission of adult converts on profession of their faith. Yet the example of the Jewish reception of the whole families of proselytes, and the repeated mention of the baptism of the "households" of Cornelius, Lydia, Stephanas, and the Jailor at Philippi, as well as the lack of any negative evidence in the entire history of the Church, make it an undeniable inference that from the beginning infants were thus brought within the Christian Covenant.

Jewish baptisms required complete submersion, forbidding even rings and hairpins as preventing entire contact with the cleansing waters. Immersion was certainly the normal mode of Christian Baptism. St. Paul found in it a secondary sym-

⁵Cf. p. 247.

⁶Rom. 10:9; 1 Cor. 12:3; Phil. 2:11.

⁷C. 7 (Quasten, *Monumenta* [Bib. 14], 9).

⁸1 Ap. 61 (P.G. 6. 420; Quasten, *op. cit.*, 14).

bolism of the Christian's burial and resurrection with Christ.⁹ Yet as the primary meaning was that of a rite of purification, the essential symbolism could be carried out with any amount of water, however small, which was available. The "three thousand" baptisms on Pentecost would seem to offer practical difficulties. Certainly early in the following century, the *Didaché* explicitly allows affusion if immersion is impracticable;¹⁰ and all the pictorial representations of Baptism, which show affusion, with or without partial immersion, reflect the subsequent practice of the Church.

The mode of administration very early acquired another ceremony from current custom. At this period, immersion in a bath was always preceded and followed by an anointing of the body with oil. All ancient baptismal rites both Eastern and Western have always had this dual anointing before and after Baptism: indeed, in all of them the post-baptismal Unction has overshadowed the laying on of hands as the ceremony of Confirmation. Now necessary actions in connection with sacred rites always tend to become ceremonies, invested with mystical interpretations. The act of anointing, originally as purely utilitarian as the corresponding modern use of soap and cold-cream, became aligned with the Jewish ritual unctions at the consecration of prophets, priests, and kings.¹¹ This use is unmistakable as early as the year 180;¹² and there remains the possibility that the primarily spiritual expressions in the New Testament about anointing and "sealing" may reflect an already emergent ritual practice.¹³

But if the anointing was in some way integral to the

⁹Rom. 6:3 ff.; Col. 2:12.

¹⁰C. 7 *ut supra*.

¹¹Easton, *Apostolic Tradition* [Bib. 7], 36 §5.2; Wilson, *Gelasian Sacramentary* [Bib. 27], 70.

¹²Theophilus of Antioch *Ad Autolyc.* i. 12 (P.G. 6. 1041): "We are called Christians for the reason that we are anointed (Χριστιανοί, ὅτι χρισόμεθα) with the oil of God."

¹³1 John 2:20, 27; 2 Cor. 1:21-2; Eph. 1:13, 4:30.

baptismal ceremonies, as soon as they settled into a fixed rite, there is more difficulty about the other ceremony of laying on of hands, which we find associated with Baptism in the New Testament in ways which are not altogether clear or consistent with each other. This action was the accustomed Jewish rite for transmitting divine power; its function in Christian use was to convey a special impartation of the Holy Spirit. But while in Acts 19:1-6 we have an instance of the laying on of hands continuously with Baptism administered by an Apostle, and in 8:14-17 as an apostolic act supplementing a previous Baptism by a Deacon, in 9:17-18 and 10:47 this action, and the gift of the Spirit, *precedes* the Baptism. According to the Lucan theory, then, this rite conveys the Spirit only, Baptism cleanses only, and they might be administered in either order. Against this stands the Pauline and Johannine postulate that the Spirit is given in Baptism.¹⁴ This latter, in fact, is the *rationale* which appears in all the Church's baptismal liturgies from the beginning. But while the Church in practice conformed to the custom recorded in the Acts that Baptism should normally be supplemented with "Confirmation," it did not require Confirmation for any of the rights of membership, but in theory aligned it with Ordination, as a particular enabling gift and grace for a sort of lay priesthood.

3. THE THIRD CENTURY

At the beginning of the third century we have copious attestations of baptismal customs from St. Cyprian and Tertullian, embodying almost everything known in subsequent rituals. Even more important, the *Apostolic Tradition* of St. Hippolytus furnishes us with a complete basic order of the Baptismal Liturgy in use in Rome at the beginning of the

¹⁴1 Cor. 12:13; Eph. 1:13; Titus 3:5; John 3:5.

century, in substantial agreement with the North African use just mentioned, with the witness of St. Cyril of Jerusalem in 347, and with customs Eastern and Western to the present day.¹⁵

By this time, the new institution of the Catechumenate had grown up. There are no traces of this in the New Testament; then all applicants had been immediately accepted on expression of their faith and desire. But under the stress of persecution without and inconstancy within, the Church had been compelled to safeguard its holy mysteries and to assure the character of its membership by imposing a period of probation, during which careful instruction was imparted to the candidates.

According to the *Apostolic Tradition*, the candidates had to apply for enrolment as Catechumens, each vouched for by a Sponsor; and those in occupations inconsistent with the Christian profession must abandon them. A probationary period of three years was suggested, to be shortened at discretion. During this time the Catechumens were admitted as "Hearers" to the preliminary part of the eucharistic Liturgy, being dismissed before the Gospel¹⁶ after an instruction, with a prayer of blessing and imposition of hands.

As the stated time of Baptism drew near, their conduct during their probation was subject to review: and those who were acceptable were enrolled for the period of intensive instruction. Hippolytus calls them those "set apart."¹⁷ Thenceforth throughout the Lenten season there was daily instruction, with imposition of hands and exorcism.

¹⁵Easton, *op. cit.*, 41-49.

¹⁶The liturgical Gospel was reckoned at Rome as belonging to the *disciplina arcani*, along with the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. Outside the Roman sphere of influence, the Catechumens were generally allowed to remain until after the Sermon following the Gospel, being dismissed immediately before the *Anaphora*.

¹⁷Later known in various regions as the *Electi* (chosen ones), *Competentes* (eligible candidates), or *φωτισόμενοι* (those under process of enlightenment).

Finally on Maundy Thursday the candidates made their preparations; fasted on Good Friday; and assembled on the morning of Saturday for the concluding prayers, imposition of hands, exorcism, exsufflation,¹⁸ and instruction. They were told to bring their offerings to the eucharist of the Easter Vigil that night.

After the Lectons of the Vigil Eucharist, at cockcrow toward the dawn of Easter morning the baptismal water was blessed; and the Bishop said an exorcism over one quantity of oil, and a "thanksgiving" over another. The candidates removed their clothing. Each made a renunciation of Satan, all his servants, and all his works; and the Presbyter anointed him with the "exorcised oil," with a final sentence of exorcism. All the candidates descended into the water, accompanied by a Deacon. The chief officiant put his hand on the head of each, demanding his assent to each of the three clauses of an interrogative Creed, and on receiving each assent, immersed him. Evidently this is a transition-form from the self-baptism which we have seen to have been the original form, to a clerical administration of the rite; but there is still no other "Form" than the candidate's profession.¹⁹

Ascending from the font, each was anointed by the presbyter with the "Oil of Thanksgiving,"²⁰ dried and clothed, and brought into the church to the Bishop, who laid his hand on their heads, saying:

O Lord God, who hast vouchsafed these persons to be worthy to obtain remission of sins through the laver of regeneration of

¹⁸*I.e.*, breathing in the face; cf. John 20:22. —

¹⁹Exactly this form, accompanied by a clear implication that the candidate still dipped himself, is found in the year 387 in the tract *De Sacramentis* II. 7. 20 (*P.L.* 16. 448; Quasten 149; *tr.* Thompson and Srawley [Bib. 15], 93).

²⁰Coptic, "Oil of eucharistia:" cf. the decree of the Council of Carthage in 255 (*P.L.* 3. 1078; *CSEL* 3. 768): "Porro autem eucharistia est unde baptizati unguuntur oleum in altari sanctificatum."

the Holy Spirit, bestow upon them thy grace, that they may serve thee according to thy will; for thine is the glory, etc.

Then each was anointed on the forehead with the "Oil of Thanksgiving" in the name of the Trinity, and signed with the sign of the Cross. The Prayer of the Faithful, Kiss of Peace, and offering of the Eucharist now followed. At the end of the Canon, water, milk, and honey were blessed, to be received by the newly baptized between the two species of their first communion.

4. THE SEVENTH CENTURY

The "Gelasian" Sacramentary at the end of the seventh century furnishes a developed form of this rite already established in the third. The enrolment of prospective candidates had become a formal service "for Making a Catechumen," consisting of exsufflation, naming and signing, prayer and imposition of hands, and the giving of salt²¹ to symbolize the "wisdom" of the instructions to follow.

The intensive preparation consisted of six Masses of "Scrutiny," as they were called, held from the third to the fifth weeks in Lent.²² In these, after the Collect of the day, the Godparents signed the candidate; this being followed by signing, prayer, imposition of hands, and exorcism by the Acolytes, and the same without exorcism by the Priest; concluding with another signing by the Godparents. As in the time of Hippolytus, the Catechumens were dismissed before the Gospel.

At the third Scrutiny the hitherto reserved instruction on the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the liturgical Gospel was imparted to the candidates: the communication of the Creed

²¹Peculiar to Rome and North Africa.

²²Our lections for Lent III are those for one of these Masses of Scrutiny, reflecting the instruction and exorcism of the candidates.

and the Lord's Prayer being accompanied by the special Roman ceremony of the "Opening of the Ears," wherein four Deacons in solemn procession brought in the books of the four Gospels, reading and expounding the introductory passages of each.

The seventh and final Scrutiny was held at 9 A.M. on Easter Eve. This time the Priest himself signed, imposed hands, and exorcised. Then followed the peculiar Roman unction of ears and nostrils with saliva, known as the *Effeta* (i.e. *Ephphatha*, cf. Mark 7:34).²³ The preliminary unction with holy oil was reduced to an anointing of breast and back. This was succeeded by a triple renunciation of Satan, and by the reddition of the Creed inculcated at the third Scrutiny—theoretically by the candidates, but actually performed by the Priest, laying his hands on their heads successively.

After the Lections of the Vigil Mass that night, the font was blessed with long and imposing ceremonies. Then after the triple profession of faith in response to the interrogative Creed, Baptism was administered by triple immersion. The Priest then anointed the candidates with chrism, with a version of precisely the same prayer as Hippolytus cites for the Bishop's "Confirmation." Clothed in white robes and brought into the church, the Bishop laid his hands upon them with a doublet of this Confirmation Prayer, enlarged with the recital of the sevenfold gifts of the Spirit, and signed them with chrism.²⁴ Then followed the Easter communion, succeeded by the gift of milk and honey.

It will be noted that although by the seventh century the Catechumenate was really obsolete, most baptisms being

²³The *Effeta* was already known to St. Ambrose: *De Mysteriis* i. 3 and *De Sacramentis* I. 1. 2 (P.L. 16. 406 f, 435; Quasten, *op. cit.*, 114, 139; Thompson and Srawley [Bib. 15], 46, 76).

²⁴Exactly this duplication of prayers in the same form as the *Gelasianum* was in use in the time of St. Ambrose: *De Sacramentis* II. 7. 24 and III. 2. 8 (P.L. 16, 450, 453; Quasten, *op. cit.*, 150, 153; Thompson and Srawley, *op. cit.*, 94, 100).

those of children, yet the whole structure of the service remained unchanged, and the infants were treated throughout as if they were adults, the Godparents, by a legal fiction, assuming responsibility for them.

5. THE SARUM RITE

Immediately before the Reformation, the service was still on the ancient basis. Baptism was not confined to the paschal season, however, and the whole ceremony was conducted at a single session. The introduction to the Sarum service was still called "The Order for Making a Catechumen," and began symbolically at the church door. It consisted of the same elements as in the seventh century; but the ceremonies of the old Scrutinies were reduced to signing, prayers, and exorcism performed by the Acolytes and repeated by the Priest. The "Opening of the Ears" left as its vestige the reading of a Gospel (Matt. 19:13-15). It was followed by the *Effeta*, and by the "redditions" represented by the recitation of the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, and Creed, by the Priest and Godparents. Then the child was signed, blessed, and carried into the church.

At the Font, the triple Renunciation was made;²⁵ followed by the anointing on breast and back, and the triple Profession of Faith in response to an interrogative Creed still retaining its primitive summary form. After the Baptism by triple immersion, the child was signed with chrism, clothed in the "chrysom" or white robe, and given a taper.²⁶ The service concluded with an Exhortation to the Godparents.

Confirmation, at this period usually a separate rite, was in the same form as in "Gelasian" times.

²⁵The present Roman rite marks the historical transition from the matter of the Seventh Scrutiny to the Baptismal Office proper by exchanging a violet stole (and cope) for white at this point.

²⁶A "Gallican" feature.

6. ANGLICAN SERVICES BEFORE THE LAST REVISION

The *Administration of Public Baptism* in 1549 kept the outlines of the Sarum ceremonial intact, omitting only the exsufflation, salt, acolytes' exorcism, *Effeta*, Hail Mary, and the first anointing. The German orders contributed the seven explanatory and hortatory addresses to the people, and suggested the substitution of Mark 10:13-16 for the old Gospel. The Interrogatory Creed was given in full instead of in summary, but in a paraphrase independent of the form in Mattins. A Blessing of the Font, for use as needed, was appended to the service. It seems to have been derived from some "Gallican" source not now extant, since it does not quite coincide either with the Mozarabic rite or the *Missale Gallicanum*. It consisted of a prayer for the benediction of the water, followed by eight of the sixteen Mozarabic suffrages for the candidates, with an effect something like a little Litany, concluding with a summary Collect.

The Second Prayer Book, under Continental pressure, abolished nearly all the remaining "pictorial" ceremonies—the exorcism, imposition of hands, chrysom, and anointing. It rather neatly transferred the Signing with the Cross to the place and office of the baptismal Unction, thus removing the needless doublet of the Confirmation prayer and ceremony. The "Reddition" of the Creed disappeared, as the Creed now occurred in full in the interrogative form. The Lord's Prayer also was transferred to begin a new section of Thanksgiving at the end, on the analogy of like changes made in the Communion Office in the same book. The text of the order for the Blessing of the Font was incorporated into the service after the Interrogations, excising from it however the initial prayer for the blessing of the water, and

half the remaining eight Suffrages. This left both Suffrages and Collect devoted to sole reference to the candidates, and coming in with really admirable continuity of thought in connection with the preceding Baptismal Vows.

In 1662 a phrase for the blessing of the water was inserted into the Collect. A fourth Interrogation as to intention to live according to God's Commandments was inserted, taken from the Catechism. This Book also reverted to first principles by instituting a special office for the Baptism of Adults. Naturally this was modeled on the current service for infants, from which it differed only in a special Gospel, some proper matter in the Exhortations, and the addressing of the Interrogations to the candidate rather than the sponsors.

The first American Prayer Book of 1789 made mutual alternatives out of the first two prayers of the service, since they had been left in direct sequence and apparent duplication by the removal of the Sign of the Cross after the first one in 1552. The prayer and exhortation before the Interrogations were dropped outright; and the Gospel and the following exhortation, and the Suffrages after the Interrogations, might be omitted at discretion, provided they were said once a month! The Sign of the Cross might be omitted if requested by the family; a permission which quieted an old controversy quite painlessly, as there does not seem to be any case on record where such request was made.

The revision of 1892 restored the omitted prayer and exhortation, but as before allowed the service to be abbreviated by passing from the first prayer to the Interrogations, and from thence to the Blessing of the Font.

The only other important variant introduced by these American books was the substitution of the question, "Dost thou believe all the Articles of the Christian Faith, as contained in the Apostles' Creed?" for the paraphrased inter-

rogative Creed of the English orders. This completed the elimination from the baptismal service of the recitation of the Creed, whose prime origin had been as a baptismal profession of faith.

7. PRIVATE BAPTISM, AND OTHER MAKESHIFT ORDERS

To this situation before the last revision must be added the fact that this portion of the Prayer Book was cluttered with ill-considered forms and directions for private baptisms at home in case of emergency, for the reception in church of those so baptized, and for combinations of baptisms and receptions, and of the offices for infants and adults.

The provisions for emergency baptism in 1549 were taken straight out of the Saxon *Agenda*, without regard for the quite different *rationale* of the normal English service of Public Baptism. Those present were directed to "call upon God for his grace"—apparently extemporaneously—and say the Lord's Prayer; then name and christen the child. 1662 advised as many "Collects" as possible from the order of Public Baptism, and appended the Thanksgiving. 1789 extended the use of emergency baptism to adults; and 1892 specified that in that case the Interrogations should be put to the candidate before he was baptized.

If the child to whom private baptism had been administered in apparent danger of death survived, it was to be brought to the church to be received, and to have some omitted portions of the rite supplied. The text of this supplementary service was given in full, but treated in a perfunctory manner—it was never brought up to date and into conformity with the public office in any given revision. The Prayer Book of 1549 had an extended but rather irrelevant inquiry into the circumstances of the private baptism, end-

ing in a public certification that what had been done was well done; followed by the baptismal Gospel and its exhortations, Lord's Prayer and Creed, Interrogations, gift of chrysom (though not Unction, which was the one supplement one might have expected at this date), the prayer *Almighty and everlasting God, heavenly Father*, transferred from its place after the Creed in default of any other Thanksgiving, and the final Exhortations. 1552 dropped the Creed and chrysom, but did not insert the new Thanksgiving nor the Sign of the Cross from the public office, nor alter the position of the Lord's Prayer, which remained in its 1549 place in Private Baptism through the book of 1892! 1662 added the Sign of the Cross, and the Thanksgiving with its Bidding; but a printers' misunderstanding of Cosin's copy curtailed the final Exhortation.²⁷ The American books filled up the latter; allowed the Priest to pass from the Certification to the Interrogations (omitting Gospel, Exhortation, and Lord's Prayer); and permitted the reception of one child in combination with the baptism of another—entailing some real confusion of reference and inappropriateness of tenses.

The American books further attempted to give a consolidated order for the combined baptism of infants and adults, consisting of the first Exhortation from the Adult office, one of the two first prayers, the Interrogations first for adults and then for infants (omitting therefore even the prayer for the Blessing of the Font), the remaining prayers, and the final respective Exhortations, one after the other.

8. THE AMERICAN BAPTISMAL RITE OF 1928

All this accumulated confusion, disharmony, and complicated rubric demanded a thoroughgoing revision more

²⁷Blunt, *Annotated B.C.P.* [Bib. 125], 422 note.

than any other part of the Prayer Book. Few clergy understood all the intricacies of the matter; and faced with an unusual combination, did not try to tread the maze themselves, but fell back upon some such compilation as *The Priest's Prayer Book* to straighten out the tangle for them, leaving the congregation to follow as best it might.

The revisers of 1928 set themselves to reduce four different baptismal orders to one straightforward scheme, usable alike for infants and adults, or both, without confusion on the part of any one who could read; shortened at the places where it was really redundant, namely the homiletical Exhortations, so that there would be no excuse for abbreviating it by omitting parts integral to its structure; consolidating the scattered rubrics to bring the Church's requirements in intelligible form into a prominent position where they could not be ignored; and reducing the orders for Emergency Baptism and Reception to such conformity with the public office that all that was needed to use them was a simple directive rubric.

The result was outstandingly skilful and successful. The most minute collation of the rubrics, especially, shows a masterly discrimination, economy, and finesse. There was no attempt (as, broadly speaking, there was no need) to go back of the provisions of 1892. There was no question at this late date of restoring the old "pictorial" ceremonies: however ancient some of them may be, however significant to those accustomed to their use, none were in the least essential to the rite, or desirable to be reintroduced now. From a practical point of view, virtually all the changes in the structure of the service since 1549 have been actual improvements.

The only revival of an archaic feature was the restoration of "The Lord be with you" from 1549 before the Blessing

of the Font. This is now followed (as also in the English and Scottish books) by the *Sursum Corda*, with a corresponding modification of the beginning of the prayer. By this means the whole has been brought into line with the solemn Benediction of the Font in the ancient liturgy of the Easter Vigil, from which it was ultimately derived. This prayer now constitutes the only example we possess, outside the Communion Office, of a "eucharistic" or preface-form prayer, such as the Latin rite freely employs for the greater benedictions.

The first of the two prayers at the beginning of the service was now omitted. So likewise was the permission to leave out the Sign of the Cross. This permission had served its purpose, as all objection to the ceremony seems to be extinct.

Those accustomed to the office of the Baptism of Infants prior to 1928 not unnaturally miss some of the beautiful phrases of the first Exhortation, and of that following the Gospel. But these are precisely the portions where the services for infants and adults necessarily diverged; and by their combination into one order they inevitably eliminated each other. As for the Exhortations for adults, this was small loss.

The Interrogations were increased to six in both cases, by incorporating the effective substance of the former final Exhortation for infants into two personal promises by the Sponsors, and by interpolating two distinctly evangelical vows of faith in Jesus, and intention to accept and follow him as Saviour and Lord, for the use of adults.²⁸

²⁸This returned to the standards of the earliest days of the Church, which administered Baptism on profession of a personal faith in and allegiance to the Lord, and seems preferable to the action of the latest British books in interpolating the Apostles' Creed into the Baptismal Vows. Peter's Confession (Matt. 16:16) utilized for the Vow of Faith is equally adequate, and is inserted without formal interruption. Yet it seems at least historically regrettable that the recitation of the Creed has been entirely eliminated from the baptismal service which gave it birth.

Three alternative Gospels were provided, one from each of the old orders, and one suitable to a combined baptism. The Doxology was most appropriately appended to the Lord's Prayer—as Wren had intended to do in 1662.²⁹ And a new proper Benediction was added, summarized from Ephesians 3:14-19.

9. RUBRICS AND USE OF THE BAPTISMAL SERVICE

It was certainly high time that the present initial rubric on p. 273, directing that the clergy should "often admonish the People, that they defer not the Baptism of their Children," was rescued from the relative obscurity of the office of Private Baptism: since in this country in the present age there is manifest a considerable carelessness, often an absolute indifference, toward what is certainly a primary duty of Christian parents.³⁰

It was also a gain to have brought to a like prominence the rule against baptisms at home except in emergency. Baptism is a corporate act of the Church, not the expression of the whim of individuals. Children should be brought to the church, to be received by the congregation, instead of being subjected to the too common abuse of submerging a sacred rite in a social function.

It is likewise advisable, as the rubric intimates, that Baptism, when practicable, be solemnly performed at a principal service on a Sunday—the alternative of Holy-Days having ceased to mean much, except for Easter Even. All the recent

²⁹Proctor and Frere, 583 n. 1.

³⁰The First Prayer Book insisted that infants must be baptized at once, on the first Sunday or other Holy Day following their birth. This was relaxed to the "first or second" in 1662, and to the "fourth or fifth" in the recent British orders; but all the British books specify that the time-requirement may be waived only "upon a great and reasonable cause to be approved by the Curate." The lack of any such urgent stipulation in all the American books may have something to do with the present laxity of practice.

books indeed leave it to the discretion of the Minister to appoint other days and times. But mere convenience should not be the sole guide; suitable opportunities should be embraced to administer the Sacrament in the presence of a general congregation.

The present rule as to the number and sex of the Godparents has prevailed since 1662. In ancient times, one Sponsor, of the same sex as the candidate, was required for admission to the Catechumenate, another at Baptism, and yet another at Confirmation; and the Church displayed considerable reluctance to admit more than one at any of these junctures. Thus our three Godparents at Baptism are a reminiscence of the old triple sponsorial system. The three were considered a normal maximum; there was hardly need for the American books, in the face of missionary conditions, to be apologetic about it with the qualification "when they can be had." But as the provision exists, parents should be encouraged to fill up the whole number of Godparents to which their children are entitled. The ancient ban on parents' occupying the position of sponsors was reenacted as recently as 1603 in England; but the American books abrogated it from the first, the Convocation of Canterbury followed suit informally in 1865, and all the recent revisions of the Prayer Book have done the like. Another provision of the 29th Canon of 1603, that sponsors must be communicants of the Church, is grounded in reason, and may profitably be observed in America; though neither our canons nor rubrics so specify.

The requirement of a minimum of two "Witnesses" of an adult Baptism comes from the Scottish rite, and characterizes all recent revisions. There is more than a hint of the discipline of the old Catechumenate in the other directions for an adult Baptism, prescribing ample prior notice, instruction, and preparation by prayers and fasting.

BAPTISM AND CONFIRMATION

Both text and rubric still treat Immersion as the normal and primary method of Baptism, though actual instances of its use are exceedingly rare. Responsibility for choosing the mode was placed upon the Godparents in 1662; and the American books have always treated the two methods as simple alternatives.

The regulations for Private Baptism expressly indicate that in cases of sudden emergency when a clergyman cannot be procured, any baptized person may validly administer the Sacrament. This is a reversion to the general consensus of the Primitive Church, which, after some outspoken controversies, came to the realization that as Baptism is the sole gate of the Church, that gate must be made as wide as possible, and open to the knock of any one at any time. The Roman doctrine is that any human being may so officiate—a Jew, a Turk, an infidel soldier, an atheist doctor—any one who knows that this is a rite for admitting one to the Christian Church—provided he uses the appointed matter and form. For our purposes, there was no need to explore the extreme limits of these possibilities; but the new permission rescinded the action of 1604, which restricted emergency baptism to “the Minister of the Parish, (or, in his absence, any other lawful Minister that can be procured).” The Bishops at the Savoy Conference accepted this restriction on the insistence of the Presbyterian party, who in this instance as in many others showed themselves to be more sacerdotalist than the historic Church of the land. The other recent revisions also now extend the ministration of Baptism in necessity to any one present.

The provisions for Conditional Baptism furnish a form for use when there is “reasonable doubt” as to valid matter and form having been employed in a former purported administration of the Sacrament. Since Baptism is of prime

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importance, and since the assurance of all other Sacraments subsequently conferred depends upon it, the conditional form should always be used in the reception of persons baptized in other communions, if there appears *any* question, even the slightest, of the fact or the manner of their Baptism. But there is little ground for copying the custom of Rome, which, in actual practice if not in theory, is content to acknowledge the certainty of no ministrations but its own, and requires the conditional baptism of all converts whatsoever.

10. THE OFFICES OF INSTRUCTION

Catechesis is as old as the Christian Faith. Its essential meaning is mouth-to-ear instruction. In the time of St. Augustine, and of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, this was in the form of lectures. The term *Catechism* however was first applied to the Interrogations of the Baptismal Office. By the time of the Reformation this application to the ritual examination in the essentials of the preparatory instruction was extended to the method of teaching by approved answers to set questions.

We have seen that the Catechumenate was originally a preparation for the baptism of adult converts. With the growth of infant baptism, the grounding in Christian principles necessarily came after baptism. It was not, as at present, a specific preparation for Confirmation (which, as we shall see, was generally administered immediately after infant baptism until the thirteenth century), so much as a general instruction of the whole congregation. From the eighth century on, the English clergy were repeatedly enjoined to teach their people the substance of Christian faith and practice, on the basis of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments.

German Protestant influence led Cranmer to adopt the principle of Confirmation at "years of discretion." This had been increasingly advocated by Catholics on the Continent for the preceding three hundred years, but apparently without affecting English practice appreciably. The innovation was now justified at some length in the argumentative rubrics of the office of "Confirmation, wherein is contained a Catechism for Children."

This Catechism was proposed as the basis for a public examination of candidates for Confirmation before that service, and also as the groundwork of instruction to be held at least every six weeks, in the half-hour before Evensong.³¹ It was by no means intended as a complete summary of divinity, but quite explicitly as an interpretation of the Baptismal Vows, which were now conceived as being ratified *propria personâ* at Confirmation. The traditional instruction of the congregation induced the inclusion of the Decalogue here, righteousness of life being a necessary implication of the Christian profession; and this in turn, as we have seen, produced in 1662 an explicit Baptismal Vow to correspond.

Presbyterian demands for a fuller schedule of teaching resulted in the addition of the matter on the Sacraments in 1604. The Convocation of Canterbury in 1887 proposed a further exposition on the Church and the Ministry. This was not adopted by the Upper House; but, with judicious amendments and condensations, it was incorporated in the Office of Instruction of the American revision of 1928.

The new Offices of Instruction thus contain the old Catechism, with minimum additions to cover some other essen-

³¹The Book of 1552 extended this to all Sundays and Holy Days; 1662 transferred the time to after the Second Lesson at Evening Prayer; the American books removed the specific requirement of both the frequency and the hour of such instruction.

tial matters which "every Christian ought to know and believe to his soul's health." The straight catechetical material has however been incorporated into a public service of worship, which is not addressed at all to children as such, but to a general congregation. Such in fact is the intention: parents and sponsors being directed not to "send," but to "bring," the children, and hence to stay and participate with them in the Church's teaching.

The only substantial omission from the old Catechism was that *crux infantium*, the "I desire." It can hardly be denied that the Lord's Prayer needs careful explanation to young children: but it has long been abundantly clear that the Catechism's paraphrase of that Prayer left much to be desired for such an explanation.

It was the intention of the Revision Commission to present the new Offices of Instruction not merely in part to supplement, but absolutely to supplant the Catechism. This proposal however met with some resistance; with the result that while the new Offices were adopted in the body of the Prayer Book, the old Catechism was also retained in an appendix, and Canon 21 was left unaltered. Literally construed, it would seem that the Church Catechism is still the legal standard and method of instruction.

Comparing other Reformation Catechisms, it may be said that no other conveys so much in so little space. The content of the Anglican syllabus of instruction is eminently sound and practical. Modern pedagogical theories seem inclined to take issue with the old methods of its inculcation. But if it is approached by an inductive method, and not taught by rote until it is to some extent understood, these objections will lose much of their force. Moreover, some hundreds of years of practice have qualified the Church to maintain that

some of the newest psychologies do not give enough weight to the value of a "form of sound words" written indelibly on the mind, and waxing in meaning with ripening experience.

II. CONFIRMATION

We have seen that both in the New Testament and the early Church, Confirmation normally followed immediately upon the rite of Baptism, as its complement and consummation. This remained true down to late medieval times in the West, Confirmation being separated from Baptism only when a Bishop was not available, regardless of the age of the candidate. In the East, where the right of administering Confirmation has everywhere been conceded to priests, to this day infants are confirmed directly after they have been baptized, in a single ceremony.

The Council of the Lateran in 1215 seems to have been the first to indicate Confirmation for the "years of discretion"—which Roman practice has interpreted as the "years of reason," *i.e.* normally not earlier than seven, though not later than twelve. But this does not seem to have penetrated England to any real extent before the Reformation. The Sarum rite directed that children should be presented to the Bishop at the first available opportunity after their baptism; and Archbishop Cranmer baptized and confirmed Queen Elizabeth at the age of three days. The idea of Confirmation as a responsible act of the candidates, and a rite to be administered only to those who had memorized the Catechism, was, as we have shown, an innovation.

The English canons intimate that Confirmation may be administered at twelve, and require it to be received by the age of sixteen (Can. 112). Yet the custom of confirmation at ages as early as seven survived in the time of Bishop Andrewes, and was warmly advocated by him. At the present

time there seems to be some trend toward earlier confirmations. It is argued that the unstable transition-years of adolescence are a bad time to implant lasting impressions, and that it is more important to "condition" children to definite habits of the reception of the Sacraments, than it is to secure a more thorough understanding of all the difficult matters inculcated in the Catechism.

Whatever measure of truth such considerations may contain, and however they may affect a priest's judgment in individual cases, they can hardly outweigh the accumulated experience of the Church, which has found it best to accept one of the great natural turning-points of life, and to consecrate the first important voluntary act of adult status to the personal acceptance of religion. The burgeoning altruisms, ideals, and enthusiasms of that period mark it as the "acceptable time" for such an act of self-devotion. And it must not be forgotten that the ultimate "Mother Church" of Israel retains it to this day as it did in the time of our Lord; and that Rome, which of recent years has been experimenting with First Communion at seven, still feels it cannot give up Confirmation at adolescence.

The First English Prayer Book followed the Sarum rite of Confirmation very closely, with Suffrages, the prayer for the Sevenfold Gifts of the Spirit, the ceremony of Consignation (marking the forehead with a cross), a prayer for God's continuing blessing, and a brief Benediction. The last fine prayer however was taken from Hermann's *Consultation*; the Sarum psalm-verse was omitted; and the anointing with chrism was abolished.

The *essential* "form" of the rite was originally considered to be the prayer for the ordaining power of the Spirit, which in the time of Hippolytus was accompanied by the imposition of hands. But just as in the ordination services the plurality

of candidates caused the primary precatory "form" to be said with hands outstretched over the whole group collectively, so it was here, leaving the consignatory Unction to be performed individually. There is of course no doubt whatever as to the imposition of hands in the New Testament, while, as we have seen, the Unction alluded to *may* be metaphorical. Certainly Cranmer so understood it, for he conjoined the Imposition to the Consignation, with only a verbal reference to an "inward unction" of the Holy Ghost.

The Second Prayer Book abolished also the Consignation, and substituted the present beautiful sentence in precatory form: "Defend, O Lord, this thy child with thy heavenly grace, that *he* may continue thine for ever; and daily increase in thy Holy Spirit more and more, until *he* come unto thy everlasting kingdom." Thus while the primordial Confirmation Prayer has been displaced from its central position and office, the new Sentence is really a full equivalent of it; and our rite has in fact returned to the primitive form of Confirmation by prayer accompanied by imposition of hands.⁸² It seems a mistake for the recent Scottish and South African books to have restored the Consignation—in South Africa with optional use of Unction—accompanied by a declarative form such as seems so much more definite to the modern, as it did to the medieval, mind; but the English and American books join in rejecting such a backward step.⁸³

The revision of 1662 incorporated the apologetical rubrics of 1549 into a homiletical Preface to the office, followed by

⁸²It may be noted that although a Roman Bishop sits to confirm, with his gremial in his lap, because he is bestowing Unction, and is able to wear his mitre, because he employs a declarative formula, yet any Anglican copying of this use is inappropriate with our precatory form, since it is not in conformity with Catholic precedent that any one should say any prayer seated and with head covered.

⁸³It appears that, although the custom of Consignation, with the use of the Christian name, was abolished in 1552, it survived sporadically to the beginning of the eighteenth century: cf. Blunt, *Annotated B.C.P.* [Bib. 125], 443, 444 n. 1.

a summary reaffirmation of the Baptismal Vows. In both passages the words "ratify and confess" of the First Prayer Book became "ratify and *confirm*"—leaving the unfortunate impression on the minds of many generations that Confirmation is essentially an act of the individual in "confirming" his Vows, instead of the heavenly grace of the Spirit confirming him!⁸⁴

1662 also added the Lord's Prayer after the Imposition, and the Collect for grace to keep the Commandments from the Occasional Collects.⁸⁵

The American revision of 1892 made the Preface optional, and appended after it a presentation of the candidates, analogous to that at ordinations, and also a lection from Acts 8:14-17.⁸⁶

Our last revision dropped the Preface entirely; and added a second question, "Do ye promise to follow Jesus Christ as your Lord and Saviour?" in line with those added to Adult Baptism. The recent English and Scottish books offer the feature of rehearsing the Baptismal Vows in full, instead of by summary reference.

The final rubric, *And there shall none be admitted to the Holy Communion, until such time as he be confirmed, or be ready and desirous to be confirmed*, was added in 1662, after Confirmation had been in entire abeyance under the Commonwealth. It was taken from a rubric of the old Sarum baptismal service, which in turn was derived from the Con-

⁸⁴The English Alternative Order of 1928 reverts to *confess*—though it might seem that *profess* would come nearer to conveying the original idea.

⁸⁵Cf. p. 196 n. 38.

⁸⁶The Episcopal Church in America, surrounded by denominations which reject Confirmation, thought it worth while to adduce in its own ritual this testimony that the rite is both scriptural and necessary. Our use of this passage is not intended to assert, and in fact is not understood to convey the idea, that Baptism is not both a ministration and an impartation of the Spirit, but rather that there are many gifts of the Spirit in divers measures and for different ends; among which this quasi-ordination of laity has real power for their "vocation and ministry."

stitutions of Archbishop Peckham of 1281. Properly speaking, this rubric has no bearing on the practice of what was known in England as "occasional conformity"; it defines admission to the full and permanent privileges of the *status* of a communicant in the Church.

The latest English and Scottish books require, when possible, the presence of a Godparent at Confirmation. This is in line with the declaration of their responsibility to see that their Godchildren be brought to the Bishop to be confirmed—which is made an explicit promise in the American rite. It has been suggested that it might be desirable to have such Godparents stand at the altar-rail with their Godchildren, and themselves, with the Priest, present them to the Bishop. The present ceremony symbolizes the unsatisfactory fact that the enlistment, preparation, and presentation of candidates is in practice left to the sole responsibility of the parish priest. A change of rubric here might add considerably to the strength of the Church.

OTHER OCCASIONAL OFFICES

I. MARRIAGE

THE INSTITUTION OF Marriage is older than anything that can be called civilization, and is a chief cornerstone of such civilization as our race has yet achieved.

The marriage ceremony is in essence the public ratification of a mutual contract between a man and a woman for a lifelong union. No recognized civil contract of marriage is any less than this definition, since even a marriage before a Justice of the Peace must express the intention of the parties to engage in an enduring relation; and the subsequent production of evidence that it was their intention that the tie should not be permanent has often been held to invalidate the contract from the beginning. Nor is any ecclesiastical marriage any more, since even Roman theologians assert that the clergy do not marry people—the people marry each other, and are themselves the ministers of the Sacrament conferred upon each other; and the marriage of two baptized persons, before whomsoever solemnized, is sacramental.¹ The Church indeed imposes conditions, exacts vows, and bestows a solemn blessing—but all with the purpose of safeguarding what any marriage ought to be, and of realizing, if possible, the ideal of that monogamy which imperfect man in a rudimentary social order is trying to attain.

¹The modern legislation, applying the *Ne Temere* decree of the Council of Trent, excepts Roman Catholics (only) from the operation of these principles, requiring their marriage before the parish priest of one of them, or his authorized representative, and imposing on them a "diriment impediment" against any other condition.

The Church found Marriage as an already existing institution, with established customs and ceremonies connected with the publication of the contract. Among the Jews, there was originally no religious solemnity, the presence of a Rabbi at a wedding not being required until the Middle Ages. After a declaration before witnesses, the bridegroom simply brought the bride to his tent: a ceremony which had a ritual reminiscence in the "Veiling" which long survived, in the form of extending a canopy over the couple at the blessing of their marriage.²

The old Romans first held a solemn public betrothal, consisting of mutual consents to the future marriage expressed in fixed formulas, and the delivery of the marriage contract, and the giving of a ring and other presents from the bridegroom to the bride, as symbolic tokens of dowry. Then on the wedding day, the bride wore a distinctive veil, and both parties were crowned with flowers. The contract was signed; their hands were joined; and the marriage was sealed by the *Confarreatio*—the partaking of a sacrificial loaf accompanied by fruits. They then made the circuit of the altar while the priest recited a prayer. Then followed the sacrifice of an animal, and the wedding-feast.

At the first the Church took no account of these rites, Jewish or pagan, contenting itself with blessing a marriage already contracted by such forms as were customary. St. Ignatius at the beginning of the second century wrote: "It is fitting for those who purpose matrimony to accomplish their union with the sanction of the Bishop, that their marriage may be in the Lord, and not merely in the flesh. Let all things be done to the honor of God."³ And a century later, Tertullian spoke of the happiness of a marriage that is "arranged by the Church, confirmed by the oblation, sealed

²Eisenhofer II. 411 f.

³*Ep. ad Polycarp.* 5 (P.G. 5. 724).

by the benediction, proclaimed by the angels, and ratified by the Father."⁴ Nothing more is here implied than the nuptial Eucharist and benediction, which long remained the only ceremonies in which the Church concerned itself.

In the course of time, however, the Church found that a proper safeguarding of the marriage of its members required it to lay down prior conditions for a union, and eventually to take over the ratification of the contract itself, as an ecclesiastical rite. A statute of Charlemagne at the beginning of the ninth century forbade marriages without inquiry by the clergy into possible impediments of consanguinity, etc.;⁵ the publication of the Banns was developed for this purpose, until it was required universally by the 51st Canon of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, and until in some places a final warning of this nature was prefixed to the marriage service itself, as still in our present rite.

The first recorded instance of priestly participation in the espousals was at the marriage of the daughter of Charles the Bald (840-97). Lay espousals began to be forbidden in the thirteenth century, but they were not everywhere interdicted until the Council of Trent. In the latter days of the "secular" contracting of marriages, they were held in the church porch, immediately before the Nuptial Mass; and when the Church took over the rite, it was performed at the church door. Later, a certain twisting of the rubric brought the espousals to their present place at the chancel door.⁶

Meantime, certain developments of society in Northern Europe had wrought some changes in the old Roman rites

⁴*Ad uxor.* 2. 9 (P.L. 1. 1415).

⁵Eisenhofer II. 414.

⁶*Ante ostium ecclesie* originally referred to the outer door; cf. Eisenhofer II. 415; but the rubric before the Baptismal Office specified *ad valvas ecclesie*, which was taken as fostering the idea that the *ostium ecclesie* could be interpreted as the chancel gate. The Sarum rubric of the marriage service, which adds the further description *coram Deo, sacerdote, et populo*, may indicate that the transfer of place had already been effected.

which had been handed down as folk customs. The Betrothal—an optional feature in Roman use—became an essential in Teutonic regions during the period of parental authority, and acquired the feature of the formal “giving away” of the bride by her father. As parental control in turn was relaxed, there was a new emphasis on the mutual action of the parties as free agents in giving themselves to each other; the vows and the dowry-tokens of the Betrothal were reduplicated in the ensuing Espousal; the original engagement-ring, incidentally, becoming the wedding ring.

The rites of the Sarum *Manuale* at the time of the Reformation were in general according to this North-European development of those of the ancient Roman Empire. Naturally, apart from the Eucharist, they were chiefly in the vernacular.⁷

The service in 1549 followed closely the order of the Sarum Use. The chief differences were the lengthening of the initial Exhortation with German material;⁸ the Teutonic “giving away” of the bride from the York rite; the conversion of two prayers for blessing the ring into a prayer over the newly betrothed;⁹ the addition of the Declaration, “Those whom God hath joined together,”¹⁰ and the Proclamation of the Marriage,¹¹ from Lutheran sources; and the transfer of the benedictory prayers formerly interpolated into the Nuptial Mass to the second part of the marriage service.

This left the rite consisting of two parts: the Marriage

⁷Hence Roman Catholic marriage rites in English-speaking countries resemble those of the Church of England more than they do the Italian minimum prescribed by the *Rituale Romanum*, since both Roman and Anglican forms are descended from the common ancestor of the English services before the Reformation.

⁸E.R. I. cxxiii; II. 800, 802.

⁹E.R. II. 806.

¹⁰From the Gospel of the Nuptial Mass.

¹¹E.R. I. cxxiii. This seems to have been a “Gallican” feature, as Martène quotes it from an order of Limoges (*de ant. eccl. rit.* [Bib. 24] I. ix. 5, *ord.* 12), and of Milan (*ib.*, *ord.* 15); and the Polish Catholics used it in the eighteenth century (Pullan, *The Book of Common Prayer* [Bib. 83], 222).

proper, composed of consolidated Betrothal and Espousal, held “in the body of the church”; and the Blessing of the Marriage, comprising a psalm said in procession to the altar, and subsequent prayers at the altar-rail. The Eucharist as such contained nothing proper to the marriage,¹² and it is not remarkable that the revision of 1662 removed the requirement of it.

The American Prayer Book of 1789 dropped the second part of the service altogether. Cranmer’s transmutation of the blessing of the ring into a blessing of the parties had indeed left the second section without sufficient *raison d’être*, since it rounded out the first part of the service as complete in all essentials, with the marriage contracted, blessed, and proclaimed. The American rite also shortened again the first exhortation, eliminating the statement of the purposes of marriage, from a dislike of the Tudor frankness in which they were put.¹³

The latest revisions, American, English, and Scottish, all add a Blessing of the Ring, and omit the “obey” clause from the bride’s betrothal question and marriage vow, making the formulæ for both parties identical in tenor. The American book further dropped “with all my worldly goods I thee endow”;¹⁴ and added for optional use judiciously amended versions of the two outstanding prayers for children, and for mutual happiness, from the second section of the English services. All revisions append a proper Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for the Nuptial Eucharist for use where desired.

The American service still provides for publishing the

¹²Sarum had used the Votive Mass of the Holy Trinity, adding proper Collects for the marriage to those of the festal order, and substituting a special Epistle, Sequence, and Gospel; from 1549 nothing was specified, and the Communion Office of the day was employed.

¹³Blunt speaks of Cosin’s desiring to amend some “unnecessarily coarse words” (*Annotated B.C.P.* [Bib. 125], 451). The English book of 1928 has revised this intrinsically valuable matter with consummate skill.

¹⁴English, Scottish: *share*.

Banns, if required by the civil law. Nowadays, however, the marriage license, which was originally an episcopal dispensation from the necessity of calling the Banns, has become the State's authorization and registration. It protects the officiating clergyman in questions of fact. The Church's underlying requirement of due publicity has not yet been satisfactorily met by recent canonical experiments with the exaction of prior notice of a projected marriage in lieu of the obsolete system of the Banns.¹⁵

In our present order of the service, the first two exhortations were formerly known as the *Cautela* or "Cautions." They express in the most solemn possible language the safeguards with which the Church surrounds the rite, and the necessity for its worthy reception.

The following questions represent the ancient Betrothal; they are still in the future tense. Though in a sense they cover the same ground as the following vows of espousal, they are retained as a logical sequel of the "Cautions," in the light of which the parties must immediately affirm that they voluntarily and sincerely desire to proceed to the marriage.

The "giving away" of the bride is in form the one archaism surviving in our rite from the days when women were property; but its significance has been wholly converted from the transfer of obedience to that of loving care.

The incorporation of the characteristic prayers from the second part of the English service has now furnished our order with all desirable completeness. At one stage of the last revision it was proposed that our rite be conformed to the two divisions of the English; but it was rejected as involving something of an anticlimax.

¹⁵The Roman rule exacting authentication from their own parish clergy for persons married elsewhere than in the place of their domicile is more practical than mere prior notice, which offers no guarantee for persons who happen to be in a position to furnish it, and places needless obstacles in the way of worthy persons who cannot.

There is some difficulty however when it is attempted to copy the English ceremonial with our consolidated service. Somehow or other it has very generally come to be the custom to hold the first part of the service through the betrothal vows in the old place at the chancel door, and to go to the altar for the espousals and prayers. This does not correspond with the British division, which in the latest English and Scottish books has been made clear by subtitles as between "The Marriage" and "The Benediction." Some of our clergy indeed conform to this natural and organic division of the service, by making the procession to the altar-rail come after the giving of the ring and before the prayers, avoiding the interruption of what is now a continuous action. Our rubrics however do not provide for either custom.

2. THE THANKSGIVING AFTER CHILDBIRTH

The Jewish idea of a period of separation and a ceremony of reconciliation after childbirth¹⁶ was brought before the Church by the incident of the Purification of the Virgin Mary. This idea is found in the *Canons of Hippolytus*;¹⁷ and an accustomed service of thanksgiving, rejecting Jewish ceremonial concepts, is noted in the time of Gregory the Great.¹⁸

The *Purification of Women* in 1549 followed closely the Sarum order, and has remained unaltered in its essentials, though the title was changed to its present form of "*Thanksgiving, . . . commonly called the Churching*" in 1552.

Strong Puritan objections¹⁹ were successfully met in England, where the service has remained habitual. Elsewhere, either these objections, or Victorian prudery, or possibly

¹⁶Levit. 12.

¹⁷C. 18 (Riedel 209 f.).

¹⁸Bede H.E. I. 27. 8 (P.L. 95. 62 f.).

¹⁹Cj. Hooker, *Ecclesiastical Polity*, V. lxxiv. 2.

sheer carelessness, have caused the service to fall into general disuse. The American book of 1928 rescued the office from the end of the collection to a place after the marriage service; the Scottish adds it to the group of baptismal offices.

3. VISITATION OF THE SICK

A large part of our Lord's ministry was devoted to the healing of the sick. It may be said that *health* of body and mind together was the primary objective of that wholeness and fulness of life which he came to bring; certainly it is the immediate expression for that normality, security, and sanity of living, which the New Testament calls *σωτηρια* (deliverance, safety), and which Latin devotion translated as *salus* (safety, health), that we have converted into the more abstract conception of *Salvation* itself.

He acknowledged that sickness is sometimes the result of sin;²⁰ he habitually exacted some measure of prevailing faith, and once²¹ a restitution to moral wholeness, as prerequisites of healing; but in general he condemned the popular idea that sickness is a condign punishment of misdeeds of the sufferer or his forefathers.²²

Often he made use of "suggestive" ceremonies,²³ and even of material media;²⁴ and while there is no record that he used oil, his followers did,²⁵ and the therapeutic practice of anointing was common among the Jews at that time;²⁶ and the words of St. James²⁷ mark the employment of oil as customary in the early Church, as subsequent evidence shows it to have been thereafter.

²⁰John 5:14.

²²Luke 13:4; John 9:2-3.

²³Matt. 20:34; Mark 1:31, 41; 5:23, 41; 6:5; 8:23; 9:27; Luke 4:40.

²⁴Mark 7:33; 8:23; John 9:1-7.

²⁵Mark 6:13.

²⁶L. & W. 510.

²⁷James 5:14-16.

²¹Mark 2:5.

The gift of healing was explicitly bestowed upon the Apostles.²⁸ The early Church regarded it as a normal function of the ministry: not however in any sense as a magical act, *ex opere operato*, displacing the physician,²⁹ but as a ministration to the soul, curing the spiritual obstacles to physical recovery. The *Canons of Hippolytus* mentioned powers of exorcism and healing as bestowed at the ordination of bishops,³⁰ and the *Apostolic Constitutions* bracketed gifts of healing with the word of teaching at the ordination of presbyters.³¹

Our earliest liturgical document, Hippolytus' *Apostolic Tradition*, has a blessing of oil for the sick at the end of the eucharistic Canon, at the point where the Holy Oils are still consecrated in the Roman rite on Maundy Thursday with a formula which retains some of Hippolytus' words to this day.³² Bread, water, and oil for the healing of the sick were blessed in the Prayer Book of Serapion.³³ The early Syrian Church prayed at every Eucharist for those in mental darkness (the *Energumens*) as regularly as for the Catechumens;³⁴ and Serapion had a corresponding prayer for the sick in general in the normal liturgy.³⁵

From as early times as we have any information, we find all branches of the Church applying its spiritual remedies for soul and body together to the benefit of those who could not come to church to receive them, in formal Offices for the Visitation of the Sick. This Visitation was not a personal

²⁸Matt. 10:1 ff.; Luke 9:1 ff. (Luke 10:9 ff., the commissioning of the "Seventy," is a doublet of the passage on the Apostolate).

²⁹Cf. *Ecclus.* 38:1, 4, 12; and Col. 4:14.

³⁰C. 3 (Riedel 202).

³¹A.C. viii. 16 (P.G. I. 1113; Funk I. 522).

³²Easton, *Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus* [Bib. 7], 36; Wilson, *Gelasian Sacramentary* [Bib. 27], 70.

³³J.T.S. I. 1. 108, I. 2. 267; Funk II. 178 f., 190 f.; Wordsworth, 66, 77.

³⁴LEW 7, 477-45, 487.24, 490.31.

³⁵J.T.S. I. 1. 102; Funk II. 164 f.; Wordsworth, 83, 93.

call of the clergyman to console the sufferer, but a corporate act of the Church, a concourse of clergy, choir, and friends,³⁶ for the purpose of administering the sacramental rite of the Anointing of the Sick.

This Anointing was regarded as distinctly a ministration of the Spirit,³⁷ as restoring the grace of Confirmation;³⁸ and not merely as palliating the results of sin, like Absolution, but as actually curing spiritual maladies by destroying the roots and causes of sin.³⁹ A consequent physical recovery was confidently expected.⁴⁰

These beliefs regarding the Sacrament of Unction still remain in the East.⁴¹ But in the West, a pernicious change beginning about the ninth century transformed the rite from a sacrament of healing to a preparation for death, under the name of *Extreme Unction*—*i.e.*, the Anointing of those *in extremis*.⁴² A new ritual was devised of anointing seven parts of the body, with formulæ professing to remit specific sins committed through the several senses. This converted the ceremony from a “confirming” consecration to a solemn Absolution in imminent expectation of death.

In the light of such depressing doctrines it is a little surprising that Unction survived at all in 1549, and not at all remarkable that it was eliminated in 1552. It is only very recently that a better understanding of the primitive doctrine and use of the rite have made it possible to restore it in the latest revisions of the Prayer Book.⁴³

At the Reformation, the Sarum Visitation of the Sick com-

³⁶*Cf. L. & W.* 495. This still remains a custom in some Latin countries; an excellent example being narrated in Eleanor Mercein Kelly, *Nacio, His Affairs* (Harpers, N. Y., 1931), 312.

³⁷*L. & W.* 513.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 491, 507.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 502.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 488 (2) and *n.* 5.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 502, 514 f.

⁴²*Ibid.*, 490.

⁴³Of late even Roman theologians have been rebelling against the theory and practice of a “Sacrament of the Dying”; *cf. L. & W.* 535, 538.

prised the Seven Penitential Psalms with their Antiphon “Remember not,” on the way to the house; the salutation “Peace be to this house” on entering, and upon reaching the sick chamber a sprinkling with holy water, *Kyries*, Lord’s Prayer, suffrages, and nine collects. Then followed an Exhortation to the sick person to prepare him for the reception of Unction by first quieting his mind and conscience, containing an examination of faith, and counsel to acts of charity and restitution. This led to a sacramental confession, followed by an emphatic declaratory Absolution, and also by the much older *prayer* of absolution which was the formula normally employed for this purpose until the twelfth century.⁴⁴ Then the rite of Unction was introduced with Psalm 71 with its Antiphon “O Saviour of the world.” Next came the sevenfold anointing of the organs of sense, each followed by a psalm; then a concluding prayer and psalm; and the office ended with communion from the reserved Sacrament.

Most of this structure was retained in outline in 1549. One of the Penitential Psalms (143), formerly said on the way, was now repeated on entering the chamber, in lieu of the Aspersion. The nine collects were reduced to two, and those by no means the strongest of the list, materially impairing the former confident note of expected recovery. The first part of the Exhortation, on the moral values of sickness, was much expanded, especially along the unfortunate line of submission to suffering as divine retribution; the passages on charity and restitution were reduced to rubrics leaving their treatment to the discretion of the priest. Confession was recommended, and the old forms of Absolution retained. The

⁴⁴The prayer at the bottom of p. 313 of the present American Prayer Book. This is the form used at the solemn Reconciliation of Penitents on Maundy Thursday in the “Gelasian” Sacramentary (*ed. Wilson* [Bib. 27], 66).—Indicative forms of Absolution began to appear in the ninth century; *cf. Eisenhofer II.* 342.

Anointing was to be with the sign of the cross upon forehead and breast only, with a single confident prayer for *healing*, remission, and grace—a material improvement on its immediate sources, though not free from medieval misconceptions in detail. Psalm 13, the first of the eight psalms connected with the Sarum Anointing, concluded the office.

But the abolition of the Anointing in 1552 destroyed at a stroke the whole objective and *rationale* of the rite. It was entirely appropriate that there should have been an adequate and searching penitential preparation for receiving what was accepted as an effectual Sacrament of Healing. But the removal of that *terminus ad quem* left all that preparation directed only toward death, or at best to subduing the soul to patience under continued illness. In the first sense, the office is psychologically and therapeutically quite as deleterious as “Extreme Unction” itself, viewed as a “Sacrament of the Dying”; in the second, it “definitely countenanced the view that sickness is, as a rule, a divine punishment for sin, and that therefore it is a sick person’s principal duty to glorify God by remaining ill and suffering patiently, rather than by recovering quickly through the ministrations of His Church.”⁴⁵

The development of modern psychology and psychotherapy, and the revival of some understanding of the real manner and import of the ministrations of the early Church, have caused our Visitation Office to be increasingly disused. The more dangerously ill the patient, the less chance that a wise clergyman would subject him to such a strain—or that the physician or family would permit him to do so. For those painfully but not dangerously sick, there is little of comfort or consolation in the service. There are probably few clergy now living who have ever employed the office formally and

⁴⁵L. & W. 514.

as a whole. Even as a storehouse of helpful and hopeful devotions it leaves much to be desired.

Most of the changes made in the service since 1552 have been directed toward making it more available for the consolation of the sick. Psalms 143 and 13 were dropped in 1552. Four supplemental prayers were added at the end of the office in 1662, and three more in 1789. The first American book also substituted Psalm 130 for Psalm 71, and eliminated all mention of a private confession.

Our revision of 1928 struck out the old gloomy Exhortation, referring to its subject in a rubric. Private confession is again mentioned, and the short Absolution as in Evening Prayer appended after the service. The framework of the old office remains; but an attempt has been made to import an element of comfort and edification by incorporating five psalms, each preceded by an Antiphon and followed by a Collect. The appendix to the service has been enlarged by a Litany for the Dying, prayers for the Commendation of the Soul, and very brief forms for Anointing or Imposition of Hands.

The English and Scottish revisions have likewise been in the direction of providing a ministry of comfort, abolishing morbid elements, and listing about sixty consoling psalms and lections.

All these revisions antedate the adoption of the report on the Ministry of Healing at the Lambeth Conference of 1930, which established the fact that the whole trend of modern psychology is to recognize the fundamental place of spiritual wholeness in bodily healing, and to approve what we have seen to be the faith and practice of the primitive Church. The way is therefore open for future revisions to reconstruct the now obsolete Office of Visitation along primitive lines, and to restore it as a living and usable rite.

4. COMMUNION OF THE SICK

The Anglican Church stands almost alone in encouraging the private *celebration* of the Eucharist for the purpose of the Communion of the Sick. The ancient Church regarded the Liturgy as a corporate act of the whole body,⁴⁶ and as early as Justin Martyr⁴⁷ directed the Communion to be taken from the altar to the sick. Down to the Reformation, instances of private celebrations are few and doubtful.⁴⁸ Even the Calvinists retained this point of view,⁴⁹ and reluctantly preferred some form of Reservation to private celebrations.

The First Prayer Book provided that if the sick communion was to be made on a day when the Sacrament was celebrated in church, the priest should reserve at the open communion as much as was necessary for the sick person, and take it to him after service, administering it with Confession, Absolution, Comfortable Words, and Postcommunion Thanksgiving. If it came on a day when there was no Communion in church, then, upon sufficient notice, and provided there was a suitable place in the sick man's house⁵⁰ where he might reverently celebrate, he should consecrate the Sacrament by a form comprising Introit, *Kyries*, Collect, Epistle, Gospel, and Preface "unto the end of the Canon," and so administer the communion. In event of emergency, or lack of warning, or other just impediment, the sick person was to be instructed to make a spiritual communion, exactly as the Sarum Manual had provided in like case. It is on the whole probable that Cranmer intended these three methods to be exhaustive; although in fact continuous reservation for the sick was nowhere forbidden in the book, and might indeed be legiti-

⁴⁶L. & W. 543.

⁴⁷*1 Ap.* 65, 67 (P.G. 6. 428 f.; Quasten, *Monumenta* [Bib. 14], 17, 20).

⁴⁸L. & W. 547.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 552 note.

mately applied where there was ample "warning," but no service in church, and no "convenient" place to celebrate in the house: and there is some evidence that such reservation survived in some places.⁵¹

The Prayer Book of 1552 dropped all mention of the "Justinian" method of communion the same day from the service in church, as well as all other rubrics specifying the manner of administration. Here it is at least possible that the directions were not intended to be exclusive, since they were hardly even sufficient. Perhaps the idea was to avoid the mention of deeply controverted subjects, and leave the practice to traditional custom and the discretion of the clergy. Certainly Elizabeth's Latin Prayer Book of 1560 retained the "Justinian" reservation of 1549; and Bishop Sparrow's *Rationale*, published in various editions from 1657 to 1684, and for nearly two centuries the most esteemed commentary on the Prayer Book, maintained that this procedure had continued to be legitimate.⁵²

Continuous Reservation was permitted in the Nonjurors' book of 1718; and has long been legal in the Episcopal Church of Scotland. A proposal to authorize it in the English book of 1928 was a chief cause of the defeat of the sanction of that book by Parliament. A like proposal was rejected by General Convention for the American revision of 1928. Yet Reservation with or without episcopal license has long been known both in England and America. It is obviously a convenience, sometimes a necessity, for busy clergy; likewise it is somewhat less of a strain on a very sick communicant than a whole celebration. Perhaps there might have been less opposition to its authorization if its advocates had been willing to refrain from some uses of the Sacrament in ceremonial

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 554 ff.

⁵²*A Rationale of the B.C.P.* (1657; cf. Bib. 135), 349.

cultus which seem to many to be dangerous infringements of the principles of Articles XXV and XXVIII.

All recent orders for Communion of the Sick offer alternative provision of Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for the depressing assignments of 1549, with their dominant note of submission to the will of God. The American books since 1892 have allowed the use of the full proper service of the day in the case of bedridden persons not critically ill; and the new book offers a shortened Confession and Absolution.

5. BURIAL OF THE DEAD

A belief in human immortality is as old as religion.⁵³ All races and faiths have provided for the reverent disposition of the outworn tenement of the soul. For the most part, the funeral ceremonies have expressed or symbolized not only consolation for the bereaved, but some sort of help for the departed in the new life upon which he had entered. The rationalistic and sceptical attitude of the party of the Sadducees kept this latter to a minimum in Jewish belief; and it is a curious fact that there is no entirely *undeniable* allusion to prayers for the dead in either the canonical Old or New Testaments. Nevertheless this was an established custom in the time Second Maccabees was written;⁵⁴ and regular commemorations of the departed were made at every synagogue service in the time of our Lord, as they have been ever since.⁵⁵

The Resurrection of our Lord, acclaimed by the Apostles as the primary ground of their Christian confidence,⁵⁶ and observed by the Church in weekly festival, filled up an immemorial hope with the certainty of faith, and exalted the

⁵³Modern historians find it inseparably involved with the dawn of primitive religions.

⁵⁴2 Macc. 12:43-45 (written probably ca. B.C. 75).

⁵⁵The *Jahrzeit* (anniversary) of the death of his parents is the last religious observance which a lapsed Jew of today gives up.

⁵⁶Rom. 1:4.

immortality of the soul beside the being of God as an equally fundamental assurance of religion. To the Christian, death was become "the gate of everlasting life"; and the Church kept the anniversaries of the tragic ends of the Martyrs as their *Natalia* or "birthdays" into the life of eternal blessedness. For the first thousand years the Church wore white at funerals, in contrast to the black of pagan and Jewish mourning; and to this day the burial service of the Eastern Church redounds in the acclamation of *Alleluias*.

The *Martyrdom of Polycarp* in 158 is witness for the celebration of the Eucharist both at a funeral and on anniversaries; and in the same century Tertullian gives a like testimony for North Africa.⁵⁷ By the middle of the fourth century we have evidence for prayers for the dead in the normal liturgy, in Serapion and the *Apostolic Constitutions*. The latter document gives an account of funeral services, displaying the features of all subsequent burial offices: a funeral procession, psalms, lessons of Scripture, prayers, and the celebration of the Eucharist.⁵⁸ Memorial services, composed of psalms, lessons, and prayers, were held on the third, ninth, and fortieth days, and the anniversary,⁵⁹ as they still are in the Eastern Church.⁶⁰

In the West, in the "deformation" period of the ninth and tenth centuries, the medieval doctrines of Purgatory, with its penal torments, again cast a pagan gloom over the burial of the Christian dead, bringing a revival of the black garments and the notes of mourning and terror of heathen days.

At the Reformation, the tone of the services left much to

⁵⁷*De coron.* 3 (P.L. 2. 99); *Exhort. ad cast.* 11 (P.L. 2. 975); *De monog.* 10 (P.L. 2. 992).

⁵⁸*A.C.* vi. 30 (P.G. 1. 988; Funk I. 381): embodying the much earlier *Didascalia* vi. 22 (Funk I. 376; *tr.* Connolly [Oxford, 1929], 252 f.). Also *A.C.* viii. 41 (P.G. 1. 1144; Funk I. 550 f.).

⁵⁹*A.C.* viii. 42 (P.G. 1. 1145; Funk I. 552 f.).

⁶⁰The Western days are the third, seventh, and thirtieth.

be desired toward voicing the consolations of the Christian hope. Yet they did express an unremitting solicitude, and filled the time from the decease to the interment with an almost unbroken round of the offices of religion. The rites for the dying might be prolonged to any required length; concluding with the magnificent Commendation of the departing soul. A further commendatory farewell followed the death. During the preparation of the body, the *Placebo* or Vespers of the Dead was said. The body was borne to the church in a procession with psalms and prayers. Then came the *Dirige* (whence *dirge*) or Matins and Lauds of the Dead; and the Requiem Mass, followed by the Absolutions or final blessings of the body. Another procession with psalms and collects brought them to the grave, which was opened and blessed to the accompaniment of further psalms and prayers. The body was committed to the ground; and the grave filled in again during more psalmody. A final office,⁶¹ consisting of psalms, prayers, and the canticle *Benedictus*, concluded the rite; and the Penitential Psalms were said while returning from the grave.

The First Prayer Book selected the salient essentials of this prolific order. The Processions were reduced to one from the lychgate to the church or grave. The ceremonial opening and blessing of the grave was eliminated from the Burial, and the subsequent covering of the body confined to a symbolic gesture. The Service of the Dead might occur either before or after the Burial, and consisted of Psalms 116, 139, and 146, the Lesson from I Corinthians 15, *Kyries*, Lord's Prayer, suffrages, and Collect. It was followed by a proper Requiem Eucharist. Of this material, the German orders suggested the

⁶¹This was a sort of rudimentary Matins; a legitimate descendant of the Office of the Dead in the A.C., and much older than *Placebo* and *Dirige*, whose parent it was.

use of I Corinthians 15 in church, and the anthem "In the midst of life"⁶² at the grave.

The Second Prayer Book abolished the Requiem, and in the Service of the Dead and the Burial eliminated the Psalms, the Suffrages, and all the prayers but two—from which every explicit intercession for the departed soul had been removed, as had the commendation of the soul to God from the Committal. What was left of the Service of the Dead must follow the Burial, so that the whole office was said at the grave-side.

The revision of 1662 returned to the alternative procedure of 1549 in holding the Service of the Dead in the church before the Burial. Psalms 39 and 90 were incorporated from the liturgies devised by Sanderson and Jeremy Taylor for use during the period when the Prayer Book was interdicted under the Commonwealth. This revision also prefixed the "canonical" rubrics denying Christian burial to the unbaptized, excommunicates, and suicides.

The latest revisions in England, Scotland, and America offer these features: amended versions of the Sentences; additional alternative psalms, lessons, and prayers—some of which now again include specific supplications for the departed soul; a restoration of the commendation of the soul at the Committal, and of provision for the proper Eucharist; and permission to say the whole service under cover of the church.⁶³ The English and Scottish books offer additional Sentences, and restore the Suffrages after the Lord's Prayer. The English and American give an Anthem alternative to "Man that is born of a woman." The English returns to 1549

⁶²Containing a "Gallican" adaptation of the Greek *Trisagion*, and attributed to Notker of St. Gall in the ninth century. The Sarum and Ambrosian Uses employed this Anthem in the Offices in Lent; other occurrences are found at Tours and in some German breviaries—though it never secured a place in any Roman ritual.

⁶³This has been an American use since 1892.

OTHER OCCASIONAL OFFICES

by allowing the Service of the Dead either before or after the Burial; and has made a move toward reconstituting the Matins of the Dead by allowing three lessons alternating with three psalms—in effect approximately the structure called a “Nocturn,” as a constituent of Matins. The American rite abolishes the “canonical” rubric, which often imposed an unendurable hardship upon those already under deep affliction—contenting itself with specifying that “it is to be noted that this Office is appropriate to be used only for the faithful departed in Christ, provided that in any other case the Minister may, at his discretion, use such part of this Office, or such devotions taken from other parts of this Book, as may be fitting.”

All revisions provide a special office for the Burial of a Child,⁶⁴ dealing tenderly with those who mourn under conditions which to them are always the purest tragedy, with the comfort of faith and hope most difficult to attain. The American service is peculiar in encouraging, if it does not actually adopt, the conception of modern popular theology that the souls of children become “angels” in heaven.

⁶⁴Such an office is provided in the *Rituale Romanum* (1614).

XIII

THE ORDINAL

I. ORIGINS

THE PREFACE TO THE ORDINAL as it appeared in 1550 begins with the words, “It is evident unto all men diligently reading Holy Scripture, and ancient authors, that from the Apostles’ time, there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ’s Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.”

The fine restraint of these words is characteristic of the entire Prayer Book tradition. The English Reformers, in the spirit of their time, turned to the Scriptures as the primary rule of faith and practice—but, unlike others, they did not stop there. They took the wider view that the Scriptures could not and did not contain exhaustive regulations for the conduct of the Church in all future generations. The Bible must be interpreted by the actual life and growth of the Church; the witness of History must be weighed, in order to determine what elements of the Christian faith are essential, as well as what developed under the varying pressure of circumstances.

Thus the English Church accepted the ministry in its historic form, and proclaimed its intention to perpetuate it as such. But this was stated in the most general terms, without attempting to fix upon the Church any particular theory of the origin of the ministry, or of its place in the teaching and purpose of our Lord. It left scholars free to face without prejudice the historical questions which must arise.

This characteristic Anglican position is particularly important at the present time, when, in view of the movements toward Reunion, questions concerning the ministry of Christ's Church ought no longer to be matters of controversy, but altogether matters for careful research. In what follows, we have endeavored to present only the facts as to the historic rites of ordination; touching upon the conflicting theories of Orders only to the limited extent to which they are involved in the actual forms used, and therefore cannot be wholly excluded from an impartial interpretation of those rites.

There is little clear evidence of such rites in the New Testament. Our Lord commissioned the Apostles, as he did the Seventy—unless indeed the accounts are doublets. He is reported as charging both groups in some detail as to the principles which should govern their work; but there is no suggestion of any method of that commissioning other than his word. In the passage in John 20:21-23, the words "Receive ye the Holy Ghost" represent the Johannine interpretation of Pentecost, and intimate a gift bestowed upon the whole Church. Certainly these words were not used as a necessary formula in the early ordination services, nor interpreted as the essential "Form" until the Middle Ages.

Outside the Gospels, the other New Testament documents present as the one and only ceremony of ordination the laying on of hands—the familiar Jewish rite of solemn benediction.¹ This was used by the Apostles in commissioning "elders" or "overseers," and deacons.² And we have an explicit account of the ordaining of the Seven Deacons, which seems to have established the outlines of the procedure of all later ordinations of whatever grade. The candidates were elected by the people on consideration of their character and ability; they

¹Such was the commissioning of Joshua in Num. 27:15-23; and the Elders of the Sanhedrin were so ordained.

²Acts 6:6; 13:3; 1 Tim. 4:14; 5:22; 2 Tim. 1:6.

were formally presented, and ordained with prayer and imposition of hands.³

2. THE FIRST TEXT

No further light for this study appears until the beginning of the third century, when Hippolytus' *Apostolic Tradition* furnishes us with a first and basic text of the rite.⁴

All three orders were elected by the people, and ordained on a Sunday. After a last opportunity to voice objections to the choice, there was a pause for silent prayer. Then the candidate was ordained with a single prayer, accompanied by the imposition of hands. Hippolytus explains in detail that the Bishop alone laid his hand upon a Deacon, who was his immediate assistant and agent, but who was not a partaker of the powers of the college of Presbyters; that the whole Presbytery joined in the laying on of hands upon a Presbyter, not however as ordaining, since it was their distinctive characteristic that they had no such power, but as welcoming the ordinand into their rank; and that at a consecration to the Episcopate, one Bishop, by the delegation of all, imposed his hands and said the Ordination Prayer.⁵

Hippolytus' prayers of ordination, reconstituted from the parallel documents, are as follows; phrases surviving in later Western ordinals being in capitals:

TO THE DIACONATE

O GOD, WHO HAST CREATED ALL THINGS, AND adorned them BY THY WORD, the Father of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, whom thou didst send to minister⁶ thy will and manifest to us thy desire; BESTOW THE HOLY SPIRIT of GRACE and ZEAL and DILIGENCE upon THIS THY SERVANT, whom thou hast chosen TO MINISTER⁶ TO THY

³Acts 6:3-6.
⁵*Ibid.*, 38.

⁴*Ed.* Easton [Bib. 7], 33, 37 f.
⁶ἱεραροειν.

CHURCH, and to bring forth the holy things which are offered by thine appointed High-Priests to the glory of thy Name: that having ministered⁶ to thee BLAMELESSLY and PURELY, HE MAY BE FOUND WORTHY of a good DEGREE and thy favour; through thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord, *etc.*

TO THE PRESBYTERATE

O GOD AND FATHER of our Lord Jesus Christ, look UPON THIS THY SERVANT, and fill him with the Spirit of grace and counsel FOR THE PRESBYTERATE, that he may HELP and GOVERN THY PEOPLE with a pure heart, even as thou didst regard thy chosen people, and didst enjoin MOSES to choose out presbyters, whom thou didst FILL WITH THY SPIRIT, which thou hast bestowed upon thy servant. And now, Lord, grant that thou PRESERVING IN US THE SPIRIT of thy grace, we may be found worthy to serve thee IN FAITH with simplicity and A PURE CONSCIENCE,⁷ praising thee through thy Servant Jesus Christ; by whom, *etc.*

TO THE EPISCOPATE

O GOD and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, . . . who settest the bounds of thy Church by the word of thy grace, who didst foreordain from the beginning a righteous race from Abraham, who didst appoint them RULERS and PRIESTS, and didst not leave thy sanctuary without a ministry, who from the foundation of the world hast been well-pleased in those by whom thou hast chosen to be praised; NOW POUR OUT THE POWER which is from thee of thy directive SPIRIT, which thou didst bestow by thy beloved Servant Jesus Christ upon the holy Apostles, who established thy Church in every place of thy sanctification, to the continual glory and praise of thy Name. O Father, WHO KNOWEST THE HEARTS,⁷ grant to this thy servant, whom thou hast chosen to the Episcopate, to feed thy holy flock, and to exercise his HIGH-

⁶διακονεῖν.

⁷In the *Leonianum* and later Latin forms, these phrases were transferred to the prayer for a Deacon.

PRIESTHOOD unto thee without blame, ministering⁸ before thee DAY AND NIGHT,⁹ and continually to propitiate thy countenance, and to offer thee the Gifts of thy holy Church; and by the high-priestly Spirit to have AUTHORITY to remit sins according to thy commandments, to choose clergy according to thine ordinance, TO LOOSE also EVERY bond according to the authority which thou gavest to the Apostles, and to please thee in meekness and purity of heart, offering thee a sweet-smelling savour; through thy Servant Jesus Christ, through whom, *etc.*

The prayer for the ordering of a Deacon, in spite of its brevity, a little vagueness in the application of its terms, and some doubtfulness as to the transmission of its text, does sufficiently express the duties of his office as an assistant to the pastoral and liturgical functions of the Bishop. Much more of the essential detail of this prayer has survived to the present day than in the case of either of the other Orders. Naturally, the most frequently used rite, by which all clergy entered Holy Orders, has varied least.

The prayer for the Consecration of a Bishop is also adequately expressive of his functions. The Bishop is in possession of the Church's High-Priesthood, and is the primary minister of all Sacraments. His duties are to feed the flock, offer the holy Gifts, remit sins, choose clergy, and bind and loose.

But the prayer for a Presbyter is unexpectedly vague, void, and perfunctory. Nothing more is specified than that he is to take his part in the administration of the Church, assisting the Bishop as the "Elders" assisted Moses in ruling Israel. Nor is it likely that this is a mere fanciful analogy, like the term "Levites" applied to the Deacons in later Roman rituals;

⁸λαειτουργοῦντα.

⁹*Leonianum*, etc., transferred to the prayer for a Presbyter.

the status and the functions of the Presbyters in the early Church are too exactly like those of the Jewish Elders not to render it most probable that the origin of this Order lay in a direct inheritance from Judaism.¹⁰

There is no indication of any "sacerdotal" functions in this prayer of Hippolytus. This is in accord with the historical fact that in the early period the College of Presbyters was little more than the Bishop's Council of Advice.¹¹ At the first, there was a very slow growth of suburban and rural churches, which of course had to be manned by presbyters; and within a city, a plurality of parishes was regarded as an unwarrantable division of the faithful. As late as the fourth century, the great centers of Rome and Alexandria, which were too populous to be gathered into a single "cathedral" congregation, but which were reluctant to divide the episcopal authority with suffragan bishops, stood almost alone in a rapid growth of the parochial system within their borders.¹² In most places, the Bishop habitually celebrated the one Eucharist for all the faithful, assisted by the Deacons; the like was true of the rites of Baptism and Absolution: so that the liturgical duties of the Presbyters were few.

Hence we shall find that all the Ordinals testify that the essentially suffragan ministry of the Presbyterate was very slow to achieve a clear expression of its functions, as history shows that it was slow to enter upon a full exercise of those functions.

3. THE FOURTH CENTURY

About the year 350, the witness of Hippolytus is closely paralleled in the first Eastern text, furnished by Serapion in

¹⁰Easton, *op. cit.*, 75 ff.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 77. The Roman Cardinals were originally this kind of Diocesan Council.

¹²*Cf.* Brightman, *The Sacramentary of Serapion of Thmuis*, in *J.T.S.* I. 2 (January, 1900), 256 f.

Egypt.¹³ Here also are three prayers, but without rubrical directions. The prayer for a Deacon intimates that the Order is after the pattern of the first Seven Deacons; the special blessing is "the Spirit of knowledge and discernment"; the duties of the office are to "serve in this ministration (*διακονῆσαι ἐν τῇ λειτουργίᾳ ταύτῃ*)." For a Presbyter, the analogy is that of the Seventy Elders; the grace is "a portion of the Holy Spirit, from that Spirit which was upon the Onlybegotten, for the grace of wisdom and knowledge and right faith"; the office is "to serve in a subordinate capacity (*ὑπηρετῆσαι*)"¹⁴ with a pure conscience—but there is also mention of the ministry of the word (*πρεσβεύειν τὰ θεῖά σου λόγια*), of the ministry of reconciliation (*καταλλάξαι τὸν λαόν σου*), and of the management of a parish (*οἰκονομῆσαι τὸν λαόν σου*), in line with what has been said as to the early development of the parochial system in this region. The Bishop is "in succession of the holy Apostles"; he is to receive "grace and the Divine Spirit, which thou gavest to all thine own servants and prophets and patriarchs"; his duty is, solely and simply, to "feed the flock." In none of Serapion's prayers is there any mention of any sacrificial ministry.

4. WESTERN RITES OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY

In the seventh century we have a pure Roman text, in the "Leonine" Sacramentary,¹⁵ and a pure Gallican order in the *Missale Francorum*,¹⁶ substantiated also by Isidore of Seville.¹⁷

¹³*Ibid.*, 266 f.; Funk II. 188 f.; Wordsworth, 72.

¹⁴Acts 26:16; 1 Cor. 4:1. The *Apostolic Constitutions* i-vi, and the Council of Laodicea (363) called a *Subdeacon* ὑπηρέτης; LEW xxix. 10, 518.22, 519.28; in line with Luke 4:20.

¹⁵*Ed.* Feltoe [Bib. 22], 119-122.

¹⁶Mabillon, *Liturgia Gallicana* [Bib. 31], 303-310; P.L. 72. 320-326.

¹⁷*De ecclesiasticis officiis*, Lib. II (P.L. 83. 777 ff.).

In both cases, the rites were still essentially what they had been in the time of Hippolytus. The candidates were presented to the people for their acceptance; then there was a Bidding, and a pause for congregational prayer; then a single solemn Prayer of Ordination, accompanied by the Imposition of Hands. The chief divergences of these parallel rites of ultimately common origin were that the original pause for silent prayer was occupied at Rome by the Ordination Litany; and that the Gallican rite in the sixth century had added an anointing of the hands of priests and bishops. The Gallican texts also present a special collection of General Rubrics under the title "Ancient Statutes of the Church,"¹⁸ dating from the fifth century, and identical in their directions for the three Holy Orders with the provisions of Hippolytus, save for the added Eastern ceremony of imposing the open Book of Gospels on the head and neck of a Bishop, to symbolize the derivation of his commission directly from Christ.

In both, the prayers are expanded from the simplicity of Hippolytus and Serapion, and are stiff with stately rhetoric; but their actual content of thought remains the same. For a Deacon, the analogy of the Levites is proposed in the Roman prayer, the Seven Deacons in the Gallican; in both his office is defined as "to minister at the altar." For a Presbyter, the analogy is of the Seventy Elders and the Sons of Aaron in the Roman, Titus and Timothy in the Gallican; both mention the "honor of the Presbyterate," and the teaching office; otherwise, his duties in the Roman are only to assist the Bishop—whereas the Gallican rite for the first time succeeded in importing a definitely "sacerdotal" note, by transmuting an original supplication that his ministry might transform the *mystical* Body of Christ "into a perfect man," into an explicit prayer for power to "transform the Body and

¹⁸Quoted, *L. & W.* 647 f.

Blood of Christ."¹⁹ For a Bishop, the forms are identical in both sources—it has been surmised that one or the other may have been lost—mentioning High-Priesthood, and authority to rule the Church; although the Gallican includes a passage not found in the pure Roman books²⁰ recounting also preaching, the ministry of reconciliation, the power of the Keys, and stewardship over the household of God.

5. SYNTHESIS OF THE LATIN ORDINAL

The ninth century saw a complete consolidation of these parallel and mutually equivalent Gallican and Roman forms. The various Orders, major and minor, to and including the Priesthood, were now conveyed successively in the same service; so the Litany was put before the ordination to the Diaconate. The relevant Rubric from the "Ancient Statutes" was inserted before the rite for each Order. Then in each followed the Roman Bidding, succeeded immediately by the former Litany-Collect for that Order; then the Roman Ordination Prayer; then the doublet of these, the Gallican Bidding and Prayer.

Compromise by combination may sometimes have its merits; but this duplication of essential forms simply destroyed the very idea that they *were* essential forms. As we have seen, from the time of Hippolytus to the present day the proper Ordination Prayer for the Priesthood has been nearly as vague as it could be as to the functions and powers of the Order conferred. And from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries, speakingly dramatic ceremonies were added to symbolize those functions and powers, thus opening the door to seize upon various of them as constituting the vital "Form" and moment of Ordination. Such were the Gallican

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 635.

²⁰*I.e.*, the *Leonianum*, *Gregorianum*, and present use, though occurring in the *Gelasianum* and *Missale Francorum*.

Unction of Hands, the Investiture with the Chasuble, and the so-called "Presentation of the Instruments" derived by analogy from the Gallican rites of Minor Orders²¹—all of which have at various times been maintained to be the effectual means of conferring the Priesthood.²²

Another source of confusion was the obscuring of the one undoubted apostolic ceremony of the Imposition of Hands, by a change due to the multiplicity of candidates to be ordained at the same service. If several men are to be ordained at one time, it is impossible for the Bishop to hold his hands upon the head of each during a long prayer of ordination; the only feasible alternative, as we have seen in the case of Confirmation,²³ is for him to hold his hands outstretched over the whole group collectively, in the form in which all solemn general Benedictions and Absolutions of the Church are necessarily conveyed. But the Roman rite underwent a further degeneration. At present, hands are outstretched only during the former Litany-Collect; and the proper Ordination Prayer, which since the tenth century has been cast in "eucharistic" or preface-like form, is now said *manibus extensis ante pectus*, i.e. in the conventional posture of public prayer, with no reference of gesture toward the ordinand.

Meanwhile the initial Rubric from the "Ancient Statutes" before each Order, which explicitly directed the imposition of hands in exactly the terms used by Hippolytus, had the

²¹These were ordained by the presentation of their official insignia, e.g. the keys to the Doorkeeper, the Cruets to the Acolyte, etc.

²²This *Porrectio Instrumentorum* was declared to be the essential Matter of ordination to the Priesthood by Eugenius IV in 1439 in his *Decretum ad Armenos*. Though this doctrine was exploded by Jean Morin in the seventeenth century (*De sacris ecclesie ordinationibus*, Paris, 1655), and is not maintained by any Roman scholars now, the rubrics of the Pontifical are constructed on this basis, calling the candidate a Deacon before that point, and a Priest afterward; and the Holy Office still orders that if the *Porrectio* has been omitted, the candidate must receive conditional reordination *ab initio*, while the omission of the Imposition of Hands entails only the separate supplying of that ceremony alone! *Cf. L. & W.*

643.

²³p. 243 f.

peculiar effect of attracting the Imposition to *that place* in the service; whereby the ritual of ordination to each grade was made to *commence* with an Imposition, either in silence,²⁴ or with the words "Receive ye the Holy Ghost."²⁵

Finally, the form for the Priesthood acquired another Imposition at the conclusion, accompanied by the words, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose sins," etc., to round out the dramatizing of each several element of grace and power imparted by thus committing the ministry of reconciliation.

The difficulty underlying all this confusion of forms in the medieval period was a confusion of mind between the idea of a *commissioning* and a *consecration*. When Innocent I said that it would have sufficed at the beginning if the ordinand had simply been told, "Be a Priest!" and intimated that probably something of that sort had been done originally, he spoke of course in ignorance; we have seen that what the early Church actually did was to *offer a prayer* that he might be a *good* priest. So in its preoccupation with a theoretical Aristotelian "character" imprinted indelibly upon the soul, the medieval Church lost sight of the greater matter of a personal priestly character filled with the Spirit, and transfigured into the likeness of Christ—yet it was the latter conception, not the former, which the primitive Church contemplated as the divine effect of Holy Orders.

Ruling princes of the Church made the mistake of imitating the formal commissions, the ceremonial investitures, the symbolic presentations of official insignia, which characterized the installation of secular dignitaries; and thus while they externalized with dramatic pomp the functions of an ecclesiastical Order, they lost account of the most vital element of the inward and spiritual grace to be received.

²⁴As in the present Roman Pontifical at the Ordination of Priests, this imposition having disappeared entirely in the rite for the Diaconate.

²⁵At the Consecration of Bishops.

This temper which was not content with a prayer to God as the only essential for the bestowal of Orders, also sought some kind of declarative or even imperative formula. This has affected even the Eastern rites, where the "Form" of Orders is considered to be the proclamation, "The Divine Grace, which ever healeth the infirm and supplieth that which is lacking, advanceth *N.* the most pious *Deacon* to a *Presbyter*," etc. But happily this proclamation is immediately followed by a proper Ordination Prayer, accompanied throughout by the Imposition of Hands.

6. ANGLICAN ORDINATION SERVICES

No Anglican Pontifical was printed before the Reformation. Existing only in manuscript, regarded as the personal possession of the Bishop, and subject to any alterations which he might consider desirable, and which could be easily made by the stroke of a pen in the margin, there was no uniformity of use, but a great variety of detail and order from church to church.

Hence the basis of Cranmer's work was not precisely the Sarum Pontifical, which approximated Roman standards, so much as other local rites with which he was familiar; some of which were conservative, retaining ancient features which had become obscured in Roman use. The Pontifical of Archbishop Bainbridge (†1514), for example, at the beginning of the sixteenth century still retained the actual Imposition of Hands during the priest's Ordination Prayer; and this and like survivals may have influenced Cranmer's restoration of the Imposition of Hands as the essential ceremony. Certain Canterbury Pontificals²⁶ justify the position of the Litany and the *Veni Creator* in the Ordinal of 1550, which differs here from the Sarum order.

²⁶E.R. I. cxxxiv.

It has been commonly held that Reformation influence was represented in a tractate of Bucer's, *De ordinatione legitima*, which was supposed to be a draft drawn up for Cranmer's guidance in framing the new Ordinal, and to have been the source of long passages appearing *verbatim* in the Ordination of Priests. But scholars have now come to the conclusion that this tractate was in fact intended as an appendage to Bucer's *Censura* of the First Prayer Book; that it was based on a Latin translation of the 1550 Ordination of Priests specially made for him (Bucer knew no English): and therefore that it is Cranmer's own original work which appears in the Ordinal.²⁷ The passage in question, in the long Exhortation to Priests, was an expression of Cranmer's highest ideals for the personal and pastoral side of the priest's office, such as has never been equalled, and which has led the souls of generations of clergy to more absolute devotion to the obligations of their high calling.

The chief new features of the ordination services are this Exhortation, and the detailed Examinations of Deacons and Priests, parallel to those previously in use at the consecration of Bishops. There was some precedent for both.²⁸ But it is one of the distinguishing marks of the Anglican Communion that the Examination of Priests imposes upon them responsibilities for teaching and maintaining right doctrine, thus adding a new significance to their office.

We have mentioned that Cranmer restored the apostolic ceremony of the Imposition of Hands as the essential "matter" of the rite. But the prevailing misconceptions of his time, which placed their emphasis upon one or another imperative formula, effectively forestalled him from reverting to the apostolic "Form" of an Ordination Prayer, such as we find in Acts 6:6. In default of any information as to the actual

²⁷L. & W. 671 f.

²⁸E.R. I. cxxxv.

usage of the early Church, he attempted to carry the origin of Orders back to some example of our Lord, and naturally selected John 20:22, "Receive the Holy Ghost," as the Form for a Priest or Bishop—qualified in each case with some other biblical phrases identified in his mind with the respective offices.

Of all the old subsidiary ceremonies, the only one retained was the "Presentation of the Instruments," in the giving of a New Testament (in lieu of the former Book of Gospels) to a Deacon, of the Bible and eucharistic vessels to a Priest, and of the Pastoral Staff to a Bishop. Cranmer knew that none of these were scriptural; but the dominant theory of his time accounted them the essential ceremonies of ordination, and though he did not so consider them, he nevertheless continued their use, as a sort of warranty of the *bona fides* of his "intent that these Orders should be continued."

The Ordering of Deacons prescribed a Presentation of the candidates; a Challenge, "Brethren, if there be any of you who knoweth any impediment," etc.; the Litany, in full, with a special Suffrage for the candidates; followed by the Litany-Collect, which also served as the initial Collect of the Communion;²⁹ the Epistle; the imperative formula, "Take thou authority to execute the office of a Deacon in the Church of God committed unto thee: in the name of the Father," etc., unaccompanied by any proper ordination-prayer at all; the presentation of the New Testament; after which one of the new Deacons read the Gospel. At the end of the Communion Office, before the Benediction, there was a true *Super populum* Collect, a Commendatory Prayer³⁰ over the new Deacons, taken from the old Ordination Prayer, and

²⁹Until 1662, all preliminary matter of the Communion Office before the Collect was omitted here, exactly as we have seen that Dr. Frere recommends when the Litany prefaces the Communion (p. 135 above).

³⁰P. 216.

strikingly preserving some of the very phrases first found in Hippolytus.

The Ordination of Priests had a proper Introit (omitted in 1552), but no Collect—apparently the Collect of the day was used. After the Gospel, the *Veni Creator* was sung in a lengthy and prosaic paraphrase. Then followed the Presentation, Challenge, Litany, Litany-Collect (a brief summary paraphrase of the old Ordination Prayer), the new Exhortation and Examination, a new Ordination Prayer emphasizing exclusively the evangelistic work of the ministry, the imperative form, "Receive the Holy Ghost: whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven: and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained: and be thou a faithful dispenser of the word of God, and of his holy Sacraments," etc., and the presentation of the Bible and eucharistic vessels—the latter however being discontinued in 1552. The Commendatory Prayer for the new priests at the end was specially composed, and again spoke of the ministry of the word.

In 1662, this order for Priests through the Litany-Collect was transferred to the beginning of the service, exactly as in the case of the Diaconate, to simplify its use in combination with the ordering of Deacons, which has always been very common. Thus here also the Litany-Collect took the place of the Collect of the day. The *Veni Creator* was transferred to a more effective place immediately before the Ordination Prayer, as in the Consecration of a Bishop, and furnished in a briefer and more accurate alternative translation.

At the Consecration of a Bishop, there was also a proper Introit, but no Collect, until in 1552 the former was dropped, and in 1662 a form of the Collect for St. Peter's Day was employed at the Communion. The ordination took place after the Gospel and Creed, with Presentation, Bidding, Litany, Litany-Collect borrowed from and duplicating that

in the Ordination of Priests, Examination, *Veni Creator*, Ordination Prayer—the only one in the three services which corresponds with its Latin prototype—the imperative formula, “Take the Holy Ghost: and remember that thou stir up the grace of God, which is given thee by this Imposition of our hands,” etc., the imposition of the Bible on the ordinand’s neck and the presentation of the Pastoral Staff—these last converted in 1552 to the presentation of the Bible accompanied by the combined Charge of the two former ceremonies. The final Commendatory Prayer of this service was taken from a Collect for the enthroning of a Bishop.³¹

The revision of 1662 added a specific designation of *the name of the Order conferred* in the case of a Priest or Bishop, by interpolating “for the office and work of a Priest (Bishop) in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands,” after “Receive the Holy Ghost” in the respective formulas of ordination. This addition was prompted by the contention of the Presbyterian divines at the Savoy Conference, when they claimed a parity of the Presbyterate and Episcopate, on the ground that there was no real distinction between the “forms” employed to confer them. At the same time and for the same reason, certain transfers were effected of the Epistles and Gospels read at the two services, in order to clarify what the Church had always believed and practiced.

Thus there is no foundation for the intimation of the papal Bull *Apostolica Cura*, that the Church of England realized at this time that its Forms for conferring these sacerdotal Orders were defective, and filled them up—too late to do any good, since by the Roman hypothesis Priesthood had by this time already become extinct in this Church. The underlying Roman contention is perhaps true, namely that the “Form”

³¹*E.R.* II. 1016.

of a Sacrament must designate unmistakably what it purports to effect—at least if we add the indispensable qualification, that it must so designate it *to the understanding of those who participate in the rite*. The moment these Forms became equivocal to English churchmen, they needed to be changed. But originally, it was quite sufficient that the scriptural citations, “Whose sins,” and “Remember that thou stir up,” were fixed in the minds both of those who constructed and those who used the services as denoting definitely the Priesthood and the Episcopate respectively.

Relatively little has been done with the offices of the Ordinal since 1662. Even the rubric directing the place of the concluding Collect has, as we have seen,³² stood uncorrected in a misleading form ever since 1552. The latest English and Scottish books, however, have accomplished a much-needed reform by restoring the proper Ordination Prayer for the Diaconate (since 1550 used as a Last Collect) to its rightful place in the service.³³ These books also follow one meritorious development of the medieval Pontificals, in presenting all the Ordination Prayers in solemn “eucharistic” or preface-form. The English rite makes the use of the Litany optional at all ordinations; the American has a special Ordination Litany, of most excellent plan and admirable condensation, but somewhat uninspired literary quality.

7. THE GENIUS OF THE ANGLICAN ORDINALS

In the past, the character of a given Christian communion, its effectiveness in the world, and its relations to other bodies of Christians, have been largely determined by the kind of meaning which it has given to its official ministry. Now,

³²*P.* 216.

³³This leaves this service without a Last Collect.

and in time to come, this matter remains paramount over other questions of faith and worship among the influences that are bringing Christians together, or keeping them apart. We cannot leave this subject without some consideration of the general characteristics and implications of the services of the Ordinal.

Especially noteworthy in the Anglican ordinals is the emphasis upon the Holy Scriptures. Bishops, Priests, and Deacons signify their acceptance of the Scriptures as "containing all Doctrine required as necessary for eternal salvation";⁸⁴ and the Priest, like the Bishop, pledges himself "to teach nothing, as necessary to eternal salvation, but that which he shall be persuaded may be concluded and proved by the Scripture."

This vow of the Priest, which is a distinguishing mark of the Anglican Ordinal, is of great significance. In the ancient Catholic Church, the Bishops were considered to be the guardians of Christian truth. This guardianship (the original "Apostolic Succession") was handed down from one generation to another: with the consequence that as the Church developed, and questions of doctrine became important, it was assumed that they should be referred to the Bishops alone. The pre-Reformation Ordinals were consequently framed on the basis of this theory.

The Church of England, in breaking with this tradition, lifted the Presbyterate to a new importance, and opened the way to a more thoroughly representative expression of the common faith of all Christian people. The position which the Episcopal Church in America has taken in giving to General Convention—laity as well as clergy—the final decision in interpretation of doctrine, would hardly have been

⁸⁴In 1928 the American Book altered the question to the Deacon to conform with the others, in place of the rather too unqualified form previously in use.

possible were the Bishops regarded as its sole guardians and interpreters. Likewise, the Anglican priest is free, intellectually as well as morally.

Another important element in our Ordinal is the happy balancing of the two elements in ordination—*commissioning* and *consecrating*—which, as we have noted, have often been confused. The rite essential in *commissioning* stands out clearly as the laying on of hands. No one can for a moment think that the presentation of the New Testament or the Bible is anything more than a symbol of certain functions which are assigned by that commission. But with the ceremony likewise goes the prayer that the Holy Spirit may make this formal commission effective for the work of the Church; and that ideal inspires the offices throughout. Thus *consecration* and *commission* stand together. Inadequate consecration and inadequate commission both make defective the work of the minister of Christ.

The liberality of these wide horizons is also reflected in those portions of our rites which express the meaning of the commission to the ministry.

In the American books, one important addition was made in 1789 in the service for Priests, by the inclusion of an alternative Sentence of Ordination: "Take thou Authority to execute the Office of a Priest in the Church of God, now committed to thee by the Imposition of our hands. And be thou a faithful Dispenser of the Word of God," etc. This form omitted the words from the Fourth Gospel, "Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained." The purpose of the alternative was of course to make the service more acceptable to the evangelical groups who disliked the sacerdotal implications of the English form.

Since either alternative is sufficient, there are two obvious

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consequences: that either may be interpreted by the other; and that therefore the Church has deliberately intended to open the widest latitude of opinion or belief concerning the meaning of Priesthood. The Church intended to "make Priests," who should be qualified to do what priests have always done, and designed to consecrate them to that office by prayer that they might be worthy—and left it at that.

Thus the Ordinal is definite in its expression of faith that the historic ministry *is* historic; it is quite as definite in its expression of its purpose to continue that ministry: but on the other hand it has not surrounded that purpose with a multitude of unessential factors. It has returned to the simplicity of the earliest rites, and effectively conformed the whole office to the spirit of the New-Testament tradition. And it has imposed upon no one, clergyman or layman, any special doctrinal interpretation. It appeals to facts, but leaves thought free.

In all the discussions of the Ministry which are so vital an element in the problems of Christian reunion, the Episcopal Church may point with reasonable satisfaction to its official Ordinal, as being at once in harmony with the age-long tradition of the Christian ministry, and yet consistent with and expressive of those ideals which in all the varied patterns of ecclesiastical organization have dominated and must dominate in the great United Church of the future.