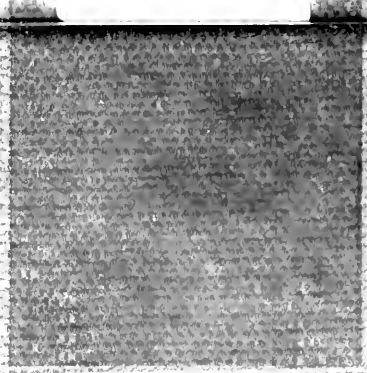

THE LORD'S SUPPER

HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED.

BY THE

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PREFACE.

FOUR years ago a remarkable book was published by Messrs. Seeley and Co., entitled 'The Lord's Supper. History of Uninspired Teaching. By the Rev. Charles Hebert, D.D.' It consists of extracts from the principal ecclesiastical authors who have expressed themselves on this subject from A.D. 75 to 1875. It thus brings before us within a comparatively small compass the information which we could not otherwise acquire without a very long and laborious search through several hundred volumes not, in many cases, easily accessible. Dr. Hebert's Book, however, occupies two thick octavo volumes, and from the necessarily disjointed nature of its contents may not seem to be very attractive to the generality of readers. Yet the subject is at the present time on many accounts well worthy of the serious attention of all Christian men; and I have thought that a short continuous History of this sacred Ordinance, and of the manner in which it has been dealt with during the last eighteen hundred years, might bring it acceptably before a larger number of persons; and might possibly lead some of them afterwards to study it more fully in Dr. Hebert's Book, or even to examine at length the original authorities to which he introduces them.

In the following historical review the lines of Dr. Hebert's Book have for the most part been followed; but other sources of information, when desirable, have also been consulted.

In references to Dr. Hebert's Work in foot-notes the volume and pages are given without his name being repeated.

G. A. JACOB, D.D.

TEIGNMOUTH,
January, 1884.

THE LORD'S SUPPER HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED.

It is intended in the following pages to present the reader with a short but comprehensive view of the History of the Lord's Supper, from the commencement of the Christian Church to the present time. And surely in these days, when strange and dangerous doctrines and practices in connection with this Sacrament are boldly and perseveringly exhibited in the Church of England, such history well deserves the attention of Christians in general, and especially of all true Churchmen. The more so inasmuch as the Eucharistic tenets and ministrations, which have prevailed in any given period, have always acted with a powerful influence upon the whole character of its worship and religion: nor could our Church in the present day make any wide departure from Scripture truth in this very thing without a lamentable change being also wrought in the entire body of Christian doctrines and devotions which it has hitherto happily maintained.

The Lord's Supper in the New Testament.—In order to form a just estimate of the different views of this holy ordinance which we shall successively meet with in the course of this History, it is necessary for us to look first of all to the New Testament, and so to carry with us the lessons of its authentic and inspired instructions as our standard of truth and of wholesome action, whenever the exercise of our judgment is required. On searching then the pages of the Christian Scriptures we find the institution of the Lord's Supper, and the place which it occupied in the religious life of the primitive Church, pre-eminently characterised by a *divine simplicity*. Bread and wine, common elements of man's natural food, with no

divinely appointed ceremonial to invest them with an adventitious solemnity,—only the bread to be broken and eaten, and the wine to be drunk, in remembrance of the Saviour's body being given and His blood shed for us,—were alone the visible essentials of this Christian Sacrament. Yet it was not wanting in a very real sanctity and a very real spiritual power, as it was used by all faithful Christians; and it is this union of extreme simplicity of outward action with a deep solemnity of spiritual meaning that specially distinguishes the Lord's Supper as we trace its design and use in the inspired pages of the New Testament.

It is further to be remarked that in the New Testament it is not often alluded to, and never in any strong terms of exaltation above other acts of piety and devotion. Besides the record of its institution in the first three Gospels, it is only mentioned three times in the Acts of the Apostles under its most simple name; and, of all the Epistles addressed to Christian communities, it is spoken of only in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, and then only on account of abuses in the administration of it[1].

In the early part of the Apostolic times the administration of this Sacrament seems to have been made as nearly as possible to resemble, and as it were to reproduce, the very scene and circumstances of its original institution at the close of the Passover Supper. Hence it was preceded by an Agapé, or 'Feast of Charity' (Jude 12), in which the distinctions of rank and social position were laid aside, and all sat down together with the free acknowledgment of equality in Christ, which marked the Christian brotherhood of those days. And thus the name of 'the Lord's Supper,' or the still more simple appellation of 'the breaking of bread,' was given to this

[1] Chronologically speaking the earliest mention of the Lord's Supper is that which is found in the first Epistle to the Corinthians; that Epistle being probably of an earlier date than the publication of the first Gospel. In the Acts the Lord's Supper is called 'The breaking of bread,' in the following passages—ii. 42, 46, and xx. 7, 11.

ordinance, including apparently at first the whole social meal, —the Agapé itself,—as well as the sacramental celebration with which it closed. It was in consequence of this that (as we find it briefly alluded to in Acts ii. 46), among the first Christians at Jerusalem, who were so united as 'to be together and to have all things common,' and who were almost like one large family, the hallowed 'breaking of bread' in the Lord's Supper seems to have taken place every evening; the principal meal of each Christian company being eaten together and concluded with this sacred rite[1].

That this practice was not confined to these earliest converts at Jerusalem, but was adopted as a general rule in Christian Churches, is shown by what occurred at Corinth. For the disorders and profanation which St. Paul reproved there (1 Cor. xi. 19–34) could not have happened, as they did, if an ordinary supper—at which excess on the one hand, and a deficiency of food on the other, could take place—had not preceded the more strictly religious ceremony. These disorders, however, at Corinth, together with the operation of some other causes, led afterwards to the separation of the sacramental supper from the 'Feast of Charity'; the former being then attached to the principal public devotions of the Church which took place in the morning, while the Agapé was still held in the evening as before.

This separation was possibly one of those things which St. Paul arranged among other matters which he promised to 'set in order' on his next visit to Corinth (1 Cor. xi. 34). But no

[1] The Christians from the very first, as soon as the 3000 had joined the Apostles on the Day of Pentecost, must have required several different *places* for their religious and social meetings. No distinctly Christian buildings being then in existence, they met in the most convenient *rooms* that they could obtain in private houses. Such 'rooms' are in the New Testament called οἶκοι—in our English Version 'houses'; and 'daily breaking bread from house to house,' in Acts ii. 46, denotes the daily meeting of Christian companies in these different 'rooms' for the Agapé and Lord's Supper. The word οἶκος continued long after to be used for a Christian place of worship, even when it was a church expressly built for this purpose. —See Dr. Jacob's Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament, p. 192, &c.

apostolic regulation to this effect is recorded, nor is it known exactly at what time the earlier practice was generally discontinued. When, however, the second Epistle of Peter and the Epistle of Jude were written, the Agapé seems to have been already separated from the sacramental supper. For the disgraceful conduct so severely censured in these Epistles, though occurring at the 'Feast of Charity,' does not appear to have been connected with a profanation of the sacred Ordinance.

It is evident that in such a mode of celebrating this Sacrament as the Apostles authorised and practised, the idea of its being a 'sacrifice,' offered by a 'Priest,' upon an 'Altar,' could have had no place. It was literally, as the name declares, a 'supper,' not a sacrifice. Although possibly the allusions made by St. Paul, in 1 Cor. x. 16–21, may justify those who have found in it some resemblance to 'a Feast upon a Sacrifice.' As was the case with the Jewish Passover, into the place of which the Christian ordinance was in some measure to succeed, no Priest or church Officer of any grade or name was required to preside at it. St. Paul associates the Corinthian Church-members with himself in this office, when he says, 'The bread which *we* break,' and 'the cup of blessing which *we* bless.' After the separation of the sacramental supper from the Agapé, and its attachment to the morning service, it would naturally follow that the Presbyter who conducted the public worship of the congregation would also administer this sacred rite; and so this henceforth became the established rule. But no change in the mode of its administration, or in the light in which it was regarded, is traceable in the New Testament.

From the words of St. Paul in 1 Cor. x and xi we see Christians in the Church of the Apostles were infallibly taught—

(1) That this Sacrament was to be a memorial and representation of the Saviour's giving Himself to die for man; and thus continually to remind them of what He had done for them, *until He should come again.* It was to be a memorial of Him during His absence.

(2) That by a due reception of this bread and wine, according to the Lord's command, they had a participation (κοινωνία) in His body and blood through that spiritual reception of Him as the divine Sin-bearer, Who had given His life for them, which He had Himself declared to be the true and only way of eating His flesh and drinking His blood (John vi. 35, 63). And thus 'feeding on Him in their hearts by faith with thanksgiving' they were assured of their union with Him, and also with those who joined with them in the Communion Service, — 'the blessed company of all faithful people.'

(3) That this Sacrament, although so simple in its visible actions, yet being an ordinance of so holy an import, was to be used with serious thought, self-examination, and reverence; and that a careless and profane use of it, as if it differed not from any common food, was an offence against the body and blood of Christ which was therein commemorated; and therefore such conduct deserved condemnation instead of bringing any blessing with it[1].

It only remains to be noticed that there is nothing in the New Testament to suggest the notion of any change being effected in the sacramental elements. They are not even said

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[1] An unfortunate mistranslation and misunderstanding of two verses in 1 Cor. xi have helped to occasion and keep up some erroneous views and scruples about the Lord's Supper. The words in verse 27, 'Whosoever shall eat this bread and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, *shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord*,' have led to a vague but alarming supposition that a want of worthiness in a communicant makes him guilty of putting Christ to death! But the words really mean that disorders, such as those at Corinth, and consequently any other profane treatment of this holy ordinance, were an offence, not against good manners merely or common decency, but against the person of Christ himself therein represented, a desecration of a hallowed thing. The words should be translated 'guilty *concerning* the body.'

The words in verse 29, 'Eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body,' have also often alarmed scrupulous minds. The translation ought to be 'Eateth and drinketh *condemnation* to himself from not distinguishing the Lord's body' from any common food; such condemnation being immediately afterwards declared to have brought upon some of them temporal inflictions, sent to correct so grievous an error.

to have been 'consecrated,' but only to have had words of blessing or thanksgiving spoken over them. The Apostles took their Master's words, 'This is My body,' 'This is My blood,' just as they must naturally have taken them when He was sitting visibly before their eyes;—just as they had always taken similar forms of speech in their Scriptures, when they read, 'The seven good kine *are* seven years, and the seven good ears *are* seven years' (Gen. xli. 26);—and just as they received on many other occasions from their Master's lips such sayings as 'The field *is* the world; the good seed *are* the children of the kingdom; the tares *are* the children of the wicked one' (Matt. xiii. 38)[1].

Neither is there in the New Testament any indication that Christ was regarded as in any sense present in, or in conjunction with, the bread and wine at this service; on the contrary it was to be used only during His absence. 'Ye do show the Lord's death *till He come.*'

Such was the Lord's Supper as it appeared under the inspired instruction of the Apostles, and as it was committed by them to the use and keeping of the Church which they left behind them. We have now to see how this ordinance was dealt with by that Church in successive ages, under the teaching and guidance of uninspired men.

THE LORD'S SUPPER IN THE POST-APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

The eucharistic history of these eighteen centuries, which have elapsed since the Apostles' times, may be conveniently divided into two parts, suggested by the nature and circumstances of the subject under our consideration. The *first* part extends to the full development of the Eucharistic teaching of Latin Chris-

[1] This is, in fact, the Bible mode of saying that anything is a symbol or representation of something else.

tianity which was authoritatively enunciated in the thirteenth century; while the *second* part embraces the six centuries which followed, and brings us down to the present generation.

The First Part—*from* A.D. 75 *to* 1264.

When we turn from the views of the Lord's Supper given us in the pages of the New Testament, to the doctrines and practices afterwards taught and inculcated in connection with this Sacrament, we soon feel that we are no longer in the hands of inspired Apostles,—that we are breathing a different religious atmosphere from that which surrounds *their* teaching,—and that we are brought into tracts of thought and faith very unlike the paths in which *they* have bidden us walk.

This change, as might be expected, comes on gradually, and as it were step by step, along the successive stages of ecclesiastical history, exemplifying in a striking manner what Richard Hooker says of superstition in general. 'The superstition that riseth voluntarily and by degrees which are hardly discerned, mingling itself with the rites even of very divine service done to the only true God, must be considered of as *a creeping and encroaching evil*,—an evil, the first beginnings whereof are commonly harmless, so that it proveth only then to be an evil, when some farther accident doth grow unto it, or itself come unto farther growth.' We may add that 'misguided zeal and ignorant fear'—those two affections which, as Hooker further remarks, 'frame the stamp and character of man's religion according to their influence on his heart,' wrought their natural effects in this case with all the more prominence and power inasmuch as this Sacrament drew towards itself the deepest and most lively feelings of Christian men.

Bearing this in mind it will afford some help towards an apprehension of the whole subject under our consideration, the details of which are spread over so many successive ages, if at the outset we mark some natural divisions in the course of their progress and development. There is observable here a certain

periodicity. The twelve centuries from the close of the apostolic age to the authoritative establishment of the doctrine of Transubstantiation by the Church of Rome, may be divided into three periods, embracing about 400 years each, and terminating respectively about the middle of the *fifth*, the *ninth*, and the *thirteenth* century.

The first of these periods demands the greatest attention of them all, for it exhibits the decadence of the Church in its Eucharistic teaching, until it departed so widely from the exemplar of the Apostles, that little was left to be afterwards added in order to complete the full structure of Romish error. By that time what may be termed the 'sacrificial' doctrine of the Lord's Supper, with most of its accompanying and supplementary tenets, had been accepted, and had gained the force of a consuetudinary law.

During the second period this doctrine was maintained and stamped more deeply upon the Church system ; and towards the close of it, in the ninth century, transubstantiation in *fact*, though not yet in *name*—transubstantiation unqualified and undisguised—was boldly enunciated. And after some efforts unsuccessfully made by a few of the more enlightened men of the time towards a return to some measure of scriptural simplicity, this doctrine held its place in the Church, although not yet dogmatically established by ecclesiastical authority.

After this, along the 400 years of the *third* period may be traced from time to time some conflict of sounder opinions with the prevailing superstitions, and some more or less subtle explanations of the *mode* in which the sacramental elements became the Lord's body and blood—together with some strong denunciations of those who ventured to think otherwise ; until transubstantiation in *name* as well as in *fact* was permanently settled and sealed in the Church of Rome by the fourth Lateral Council in A.D. 1215 under Pope Innocent III ; and by the appointment of 'Corpus Christi Day' in 1264 under Urban IV, as an annual festival in honour of this doctrine.

First Period—A.D. 75 to about 460.

1. The first symptom of a deviation from apostolic language—very slight indeed, but still a deviation to be noticed—is seen in the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians (A.D. 67–77), where he uses 'thanksgiving' in a technical or transitional sense for the Lord's Supper[1]. And this word *εὐχαριστία*—in modern times Anglicised as 'the Eucharist'—was subsequently taken up more distinctly by Ignatius; and in the following century, as we learn from Justin Martyr, it had become the usual name for designating this sacrament. This name 'the Eucharist' has nothing objectionable in itself, yet it was an innovation upon New Testament phraseology; and it is noticeable that being so it is never used in the formularies of the Church of England.

2. Passing on to quite the end of the first century we come to Ignatius, commonly reckoned as an apostolic Father; and, taking his Epistles as our authority for the sacramental doctrines of that time, we find the progress of uninspired teaching marked, not so much by any positive error, as by dangerous tendencies—seen in marked declensions from scriptural simplicity, and in germs or roots of evil ready for aftergrowths which but too surely sprang up from such beginnings. In particular we see here (1) an inclination to adapt Judaistic terms to Christian acts and doctrines; as, 'Unless a man be within the precincts of the altar he comes short of the bread of God.' (2) The use of exaggerated and imaginative expressions

[1] Clement uses the verb *εὐχαριστέω* in this technical sense in § 41. He speaks also of Christian offerings (*προσφοραί*), but as he does not expressly apply the word to the Lord's Supper he may mean nothing more than 'the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving.' Some expressions of his, in § 40 of his Epistle, have been thought to apply the terms, High priest, Priest, and Levite to Christian ministers; but this can hardly be the case, especially as even Ignatius, half a century later, with all his fondness for Jewish phraseology, does not adopt such language. Clement, in my judgment, writes obscurely, but really refers in this passage to the well-known officials of the Jewish Church, and not to the Christian ministry.

descriptive of the Lord's Supper not warranted by the New Testament, such as 'The bread of God'; 'An antidote against dying'; 'A medicine of immortality.' And (3) a desire is thus shown to exalt this Sacrament above all other means of grace, and to make it as it were the one source of all spiritual power in the Christian [1].

3. Another step brings us to Justin Martyr and the middle of the second century. In his interesting description of the administration of the Lord's Supper in the church services of his time everything savours of apostolic simplicity, except that (1) water was mixed with the wine, and (2) absent members of the congregation were included among the communicants by the deacons carrying portions of the bread and wine to them. The first of these practices probably arose from the supposition that mixed wine and water had been used at the original institution [2]; the second seems to have been innocent enough in Justin's time, but became afterwards in the form of the 'reserved sacrament' a source of grievous superstitions.

Although the mode of administration was at this time so simple, yet we find something of a suggestion of a *change* in the bread and wine, when Justin says, 'We do not receive these things as common bread or common drink, but we have been taught that the food given thanks for by Him is the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh [3].' And, in his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, though he rightly says in one place that the only sacrifices offered up by Christians are their praises and thanksgivings, yet in another place he affirms that the accept-

[1] By 'the precincts of the altar' Ignatius probably means the communion of the visible Church. In his Epistle to the Philadelphians (§ 4) the word 'altar' seems more distinctly to mean the communion table; but it must be remembered that the only Ignatian Epistles which can be relied upon as genuine are those addressed to Polycarp, the Romans, and the Ephesians.

[2] That this supposition was correct is shown by the best authorities, which leave no room to doubt that water was mixed with the wine at the Passover feast. See Edersheim, The Temple, &c., p. 204, and the article on the Passover in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible.

[3] Vol. i. p. 43.

able sacrifices referred to in Malachi i. 11, as offered by Gentiles, are the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper. And when he remarks that 'God does not receive sacrifices from any but through His priests,' and then immediately goes on to speak of 'sacrifices ordered by Jesus Christ in the Eucharist [1],' he seems to imply that in some sense Christians have 'priests' and offer a 'sacrifice' in this Sacrament. And so we may notice here the first faint traces of an evil influence, which not long afterwards, with an increase of power, wrought a widespread mischief in the Church at large. The Christian religion, as taught by the Apostles, was in its external aspect strikingly distinguished from Judaism and all other surrounding religions by its having no *priesthood*, no *sacrifices*, and consequently no *altars*. For this Christians were reproached by their Pagan neighbours, who could not imagine a religion without such appliances, and who sometimes on this account looked upon them as Atheists; while a Jew found it a stumbling-block in his way, when Christianity demanded a surrender of his cherished confidence in his sacerdotal and sacrificial rites. Hence in an evil hour Christians sought to remove this ground of contumely, which was in reality their glory; and Justin, in his 'Dialogue with Trypho,' is in some degree drawn in that direction. A weak and fatal yielding to this temptation of surrendering the divine simplicity of the Gospel, for the purpose of making it more attractive and imposing to those who were without, soon after this, as we shall see, was followed by its natural but most deplorable results.

4. We pass on to Irenaeus, the distinguished bishop of Lyons, and a martyr in the persecution under Septimus Severus, to learn from him the accepted Church teaching in the latter part of the second century. We thus advance about forty years from the time of Justin, and we find plain evidence of a further growth in Eucharistic doctrine in the following particulars.

(1) The bread and wine are regarded as 'offerings to God.' Thanks-offerings as firstfruits of His gifts, but likewise

[1] Vol. i. p. 45.

something more. For Irenaeus says, 'We offer to God the bread and the cup of blessing, giving thanks to Him that He ordered the earth to bring forth these fruits for our food; and then having completed the offering we call forth the Holy Spirit to exhibit this sacrifice, both the bread as Christ's body, and the cup as Christ's blood[1].'

(2) It naturally follows that such offerings are made upon, or at, an 'altar'; and although Irenaeus makes his meaning a little obscure by saying that 'the gifts and offerings are *directed to* an altar in the heavens,' yet the altar *at* which they were offered seems necessarily to refer to the Communion Table.

(3) That a *change* is effected in the sacramental elements by their consecration is distinctly declared. 'The bread from the earth receiving to it the invocation of God is no longer common bread, but the Eucharist consisting of two things, both the earthly and the heavenly.' And again, 'The mingled wine and the made bread receives the Word of God, and the Eucharist becomes the body of Christ.' Irenaeus evidently did not believe that the nature of the bread and wine was changed; and he terms them in this very passage 'figures' or 'resemblances' (*ἀντίτυποι*); but he represents the body and blood of Christ as in some way added to them.

Yet even the comparatively moderate language of those days led inconsiderate or ill-informed persons to suppose that a real change of substance was intended[2].

5. The beginning of the third century presents us with some fresh marks of the rising tide of Eucharistic doctrine, though they are seen more in the Church practices than in dogmatic teaching. Tertullian, the greatest Father of this time, whose long life was equally divided between the second and third centuries, like his contemporary Clement of Alexandria, can supply us with expressions not out of harmony with Scripture on the question of a change in the sacramental bread and wine; thus he says, 'Christ gave to the bread the figure (or represen-

[1] Vol. i. p. 57. [2] See Vol. i. p. 56. Fragmentum ab Oecumenio.

tation) of his body'; and again, 'He made the bread, which He took and distributed to His disciples, His own body by saying This is My body, i.e. the figure of My body.' Yet he does not at all recede from the position which sacramental doctrine had reached before his time. Thus he speaks of idol-makers being communicants and so '*touching the Lord's body with their hands.*' 'Christ's body,' he says, 'is considered (*censetur*) to be in the bread.' 'The flesh [of the communicant] feeds on Christ's body and blood, that his soul may be enriched from God.' And he further mentions that it was regarded as a distressing thing if a drop of the wine or a particle of the bread happened to fall to the ground.

But what is specially to be noticed is that by this time *sacerdotalism* had fastened itself upon the Church. The Christian presbyter was now a 'priest,' the Communion Table an 'altar,' and the bread and wine 'offerings' upon it; and these offerings were for the benefit of the *dead* as well as the living. The germ observed in the time of Justin Martyr has grown and gathered strength; and this distinct admission of sacerdotalism into the Church system is the great step in advance to which we are brought at the beginning of the third century. It was a fruitful and a poisonous plant. It was introduced by the prevailing influence of Jewish and Pagan sentiments overriding the plain teaching of the New Testament. The consequences were inevitable. It was henceforth only a question of time,—so many more or fewer generations,—for the full ripening of sacramental superstitions.

6. But indeed the growth was rapid. One more generation was sufficient to bring out the '*sacrificial theory*' of the Lord's Supper still more plainly in the Church. By the middle of the third century, as testified by the writings of Pontianus, Hippolytus, and Cyprian, and other contemporary documents, the Lord's Supper was presented as a sacrifice—not of thanksgiving merely—but of the precious body and blood of Christ sacrificed for the remission of sins by 'priests,' who acted as mediators between God and the people,—who 'made the body

and blood of Christ[1],'—and who thus offered acceptable victims (*hostias*) for the benefit of the living and the dead!

At the same time (1) the practice of mixing water with the wine appears no longer as a harmless custom, as in Justin Martyr's days, but as an essential part of the administration, inasmuch as it was now declared that the communicants were thereby united to Christ (*Christo populus adunatur*), and that without it the Sacrament would be seriously impaired. (2) The consecrated elements, being looked upon as in themselves the body and blood of the Lord, and effectual by a corporal reception merely, it was usual to give them to *infants*. (3) Communicants were encouraged to take home portions of the consecrated bread to be kept for private use; and miraculous powers were ascribed to them. (4) A feeling of mysterious awe and dread towards this once apostolic feast of joy and consolation was beginning to appear.

7. The tide flowed on,—not without some ebbings or breaks in its course, or some evidences that the progress of declension from apostolic truth was not equally rapid in all localities. Thus in the records of the Council of Elvira, or Illiberis, in Spain[2] A.D. 305, we find more harmony with the sacramental teaching of the New Testament than in the African Church as represented by Cyprian fifty years before. But the unscriptural doctrines and practices of the third century gradually extended their influence more and more, until they were generally adopted throughout Christendom; and the time at which we are now arrived, reaching on to the end of our first period, is

[1] This expression, 'To make the body and blood of Christ' (*conficere corpus et sanguinem Christi*), so frequently used afterwards by Jerome and others, seems to occur first in the writings of Pontianus, bishop of Rome, who suffered martyrdom in A.D. 235. An attempt has been made in some quarters to attach to the word *conficio* the meaning of 'consecrate,' but this is refuted by the numerous passages in which it occurs. They do not say *conficere panem et vinum*, which would be the case if *consecration* was meant, but *conficere corpus et sanguinem*. The word *efficio* is also used in the same sense. The patristic word for 'consecrate' is *consecro, sacro*, or *sanctifico*, and in Greek ἁγιάζω.

[2] Vol. i. p. 145.

characterised by the deepening and intensifying of the sacramental system, or by carrying out its natural results to a further development, rather than by the introduction of departures from Scripture truth altogether new and not begun before.

This time is in some respects the most illustrious age in ecclesiastical history. The Church, now delivered from persecution, and countenanced by imperial authority, was free to carry out in unfettered action whatever it deemed to be edifying or expedient. It is the time of the most distinguished Fathers, and exhibits a long array of honoured names, including those of Ambrose, Augustine, Basil, Chrysostom, Jerome, and many more. It is not necessary, and it would be tedious, to dwell upon their individual opinions or beliefs; but from the abundant materials which they supply we may obtain a sufficiently comprehensive view of the Eucharistic doctrines and practices which then prevailed,—which they helped to consolidate and firmly establish,—and which reached an acknowledged measure of completeness by the middle of the fifth century.

It is of importance also for our present subject that we have still extant some of the liturgies of those days. For, whereas attempts are sometimes made to explain away the language of the Fathers on the plea that their strong words are only rhetorical expressions not at all meaning what they say, the liturgies cannot be so dealt with. They introduce us into the actual working and the popular form of the Church system, and they show what was the teaching inculcated on and received by the people. Moreover, the fact that the wisest of the Fathers sometimes spoke of the Lord's Supper in scriptural and sober terms can have no weight in our present consideration. For our question is not what was the private or theoretical opinion of this or that Father, but what, in the Church system which they all supported, was the practical effect of their ordinary teaching as a whole, — what the Church members received, believed, and did under their sanction and approval [1].

[1] It is too much for any one to assume that the Fathers were always consistent with each other or with themselves. We must take them as

The following particulars will suffice to give the reader some idea of the position occupied by the Lord's Supper at this notable era of the Church :—

1. Its administration was made in a more marked and decided manner than before a *sacrificial service*, with every adjunct and accompaniment that could give it an imposing effect as such in the eyes of the congregation. The priest with his attendant ministers, — the sacrificial altar, — the sanctuary or Holy of Holies (in which the altar stood) separated from the rest of the church by a screen and curtains as a place of pre-eminent sanctity, — the burning of incense, — the lighted lamps, — the whole demeanour of the officiating ministers, — the earnest addresses of the preachers,—all helped to invest the scene with awe and mystery, as the offering up of a literal, material, and most solemn sacrifice after the Jewish or Pagan type.

2. The people were expressly taught that this was indeed an awful, a terrific sacrifice ; that it was the Lord Jesus Christ Himself who was offered up as a propitiatory sacrifice upon the altar, who was taken into the hands of the priest, and who was to be received by the communicants in a posture of adoration, for which minute directions were given.

3. The consecration of the bread and wine was made in such a manner as necessarily to inculcate the belief that they were changed into the very body and blood of the Lord. It was declared that the priests had power, from their office, to *make* Christ's body and blood ; and in particular the prayers of consecration found in the liturgies of this time, prayed in the most solemn and emphatic words that the Holy Spirit might be

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they are, and judge them fairly ; but it is no business of ours to attempt to force them into a consistency which they decline. But if one of them had been charged with self-contradiction in saying at one time that the bread was changed into the Lord's body, and at another time that it was a figure or representation of that body, he might have replied as Durandus said in a later age, 'The bread may be really Christ's body in latent substance, and yet superficially and in its accident qualities a representation or figure of it.'—See Dr. Hebert, i. p. 242.

sent down to effect this change,—a change compared to our Lord's turning the water into wine at Cana of Galilee [1].

It is possible for those who wish to do so to endeavour to tone down the strong language of preachers such as Chrysostom and others; though why should they have used such language if they did not mean their hearers to believe it? But it is not possible that forms of prayer used in Liturgies under the direct sanction of the Bishop and Clergy, and joined in by the congregation every week or oftener, should mean, or be taken by the people to mean, anything less than what they distinctly expressed [2];—and that was in complete accordance with what they heard from the pulpit.

4. It naturally followed from all this that portions of the consecrated bread were 'reserved' and freely used for purposes of the grossest superstition, which was kept up by means of marvellous legends of pretended miracles, recorded and propagated by the highest authorities of the Church. It was a prevalent notion that the natural human body of Christ had in itself an inherent power of working miracles [3]; and so, as the

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[1] See Vol. i. p. 186.

[2] The following are extracts from Liturgies of this time:—

'Thyself, O Lord, with Thy voice change the things lying before Thee. Thyself being present perfect this mystic service. Thyself send down Thy all-holy Spirit, that He may come and sanctify it with His holy, and good, and glorious presence, and may change these honourable and holy gifts *into the very body and blood* of our redemption.'—Liturgy of Gregory Nazianzen.

'Have mercy upon us, O God, according to Thy great mercy, and send down upon us, and upon these gifts lying before Thee, Thy all-holy Spirit, that He may come upon them, and sanctify them with His holy, and good, and glorious presence, and may make this bread *the holy body of Thy Christ*, and this cup *the precious blood of Thy Christ*.'—Liturgy of St James.

How literally the popular belief understood such words, and regarded them as fulfilled, is shown plainly by stories of the actual exhibition of visible flesh and blood upon the communion table, such as that recorded by Palladius, who lived A.D. 368–431. See Dr. Hebert, vol. i. p. 328.

[3] This notion has been called a 'Cyrillian' doctrine, from its having been frequently dwelt upon by Cyril of Alexandria, who lived on the confines of the fourth and fifth centuries, but it was not confined to him or to this period. Vol. i. p. 369, &c.

consecrated bread was His body, it likewise must have a similar supernatural power. Accordingly, to carry a piece of the 'reserved' bread about one's person was considered an unfailing protection from danger by land or sea; and a morsel of it dropped into the mouth of the dying was believed to be a sure *viaticum* for the soul [1],

'To smooth its path from earth to heaven.'

5. Hence too was inculcated the necessity of 'Fasting Communion' out of respect for the body of Christ, which, in accordance with the gross materialistic doctrines of the age, would be dishonoured by the presence of ordinary food in the communicant. And so even Augustine took upon himself to say that Fasting Communion was ordered by the Holy Spirit; and Eusebius of Alexandria went so far as to say that an unfasting communicant was as bad as the traitor Judas [2].

6. The step from the belief that the consecrated bread was the very body of the Lord to the *adoration* of it seems to be an easy one; but it was not taken, at any rate with firmness and decision, during this period. Symptoms, however, and some tendencies towards *Host-worship* had made their appearance; for Cyril of Jerusalem bids communicants observe 'a posture of *worship* and *adoration* [3].' And Theodoret, though he admits

[1] For instances see Dr. Jacob's Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament, p. 383.

[2] This conceit about 'Fasting Communion' led to a general discontinuance of the administration of the Lord's Supper *in the evening*. 'Evening Communions,' to which of late objections have inconsiderately been made, were undoubtedly the rule at first, and they continued to be common in the early Church, as testified successively by the remarks of Tertullian, Cyprian, Gregory Nazianzen, and Augustine.—See Dr. Hebert, vol. i. pp. 79, 80, 119, 213, 262, and Dict. of Christian Antiquities, art. Communion. Indeed 'Evening Communion' was never objected to *as such*. But when it was thought necessary that communicants should have previously taken no food during the day, the evening was usually found to be inconvenient. Augustine expressly says, 'It is offered in the *morning* for the sake of those who have a morning meal, but in the *evening* for those who fast till then.'—Ep. ad Januarium.

[3] The directions of Cyril, from which some modern clergymen take their instructions to communicants, are as follows:—'When you come forward [to receive the bread] do not come with your hands stretched out, or your

that 'after consecration the mystic signs do not depart from their own nature, for they remain in their former substance,' yet immediately adds, 'But they are understood and believed to be the very things which they have become, and are *worshipped* as being the very things which they are believed to be.' (See Dr. Hebert, vol. i. p. 410.)

And here we may pause a moment: and looking back upon the course which we have been tracing, we see very small beginnings leading to very great and deplorable ends;—the path of deviation from Scripture teaching almost coincident or parallel with it at first, but gradually turning away from it more and more into a totally different direction at the last.

How slight and innocent seems the innovation of the new name 'Eucharist,' though never so used in the New Testament! How unobjectionable, we might be inclined to think it, to call this Sacrament an 'offering' or a 'sacrifice'; for it might be pleaded that there was in it the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving! Yet by and by this grows into a regarding of it as a material offering up of the bread and wine as first-fruits of God's earthly gifts,—and then as an actual sacrifice of Christ Himself!

The adoption of Judaistic terms for Christian acts and ordinances might be thought a trivial error, but it opened the door for the influx of Jewish and Pagan sacerdotalism, which perverted the whole character of the Christian ministry and its ministrations.

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fingers separated from each other; but make your left hand a throne for your right hand which is going to receive your King; and so making a cavity in your palm receive the body of Christ; and, after sanctifying your eyes by touching them with it, partake of the holy body, taking care not to lose any of it; for if you were to do so, it would be as if you lost a portion of one of your own limbs. Then after partaking of the body of Christ, come forward for the cup of His blood, not stretching up your hands, but bending down in *a posture of worship and adoration,* saying the Amen, and be sanctified by partaking of the blood of Christ; and moreover sanctify your eyes, and forehead, and your other organs of sense by touching them with some of the moisture that is on your lips.'—Catech. Mystag. v. 18.

A consecration of the sacramental elements may be excused as meaning no more than setting them apart for a sacred use, though it is a departure from the simple usage of the New Testament; but such consecration was turned into an engine of priestcraft whereby (as men were taught) a divine change was wrought in the bread and wine, and the priest was enabled to *make* the body and blood of the Lord.

And so the simple memorial rite of the New Testament, gathering Christians around a festive though sacred table, and promotive of faith and love and spiritual joy in their absent Lord, was turned into a terrific sacrifice of the Lord Himself, present there, and offered up on an altar by a priest for the dead and living,—a service full of awe and mystery, and promotive of superstitious confidence and of superstitious fear.

Second Period—from about A.D. 460 to about 860.

We have already seen to what a lamentable extent the divinely simple ordinance of the Lord's Supper, as instituted by our Lord, and exhibited in the New Testament, was changed and disfigured during the course of four centuries. The 'sacrificial theory' had gained a firm hold. This Sacrament had become a 'sacrifice' offered by a 'priest' upon an 'altar,' —a sacrifice of Christ Himself,—of His body and blood, into which the bread and wine were said to have been changed by the action of the priest, and the power of the Divine Spirit. We have now to notice the condition of the Eucharistic question during this second period of 400 years. And here it may at once be said that, in contrast with the preceding period, we find no *marked gradations* indicating new positions occupied one after another; no *strikingly new* steps in advance of those which had previously been taken; but rather the natural continuance of a system already wrought out in all its essential parts and appliances, and henceforth only strengthening and deepening its influence or adding some non-essential particulars to make the exhibition of its true character more complete.

1. Among the few things which seem to show any symptoms of *progress* in the treatment of this ordinance, what first attracts our attention is the introduction of a more elaborate ritual in its administration. Thus in the Gallican Liturgy of the sixth century mention is made of *processions*, in which the Lord's body is carried to the altar in towers!—*in turribus*, i.e. in vessels of a turreted shape in which the bread was placed. 'Corporal palls' for receiving and covering the bread are also named [1].

In a Liturgy ascribed to Chrysostom, but evidently belonging to a considerably later date, among other ceremonies is one which represented the actual *slaying* of the sacrifice by the priest [2].

Later on in the seventh century the following account is given of the arrangements about the 'altar,' which had usurped the place of a simple Communion Table: 'Since we have to speak concerning the rites which are used in the holy sacred service, it is necessary first to say what the Church is, and what is set forth by the "shell," the "joint-seat," the "recess," and such things. The Church is so-called (ἐκκλησία) from the orthodox being assembled and called in it; but it is named a casket (περιοχή) from having the wonders of God in it. The shell is the cave in Bethlehem, and is like the cave where He was buried. The joint-seat is a type of the Master's throne by which He overcame the world, and was taken up with His flesh, and sat on it; but it is called a "joint-seat" and not a "seat," because there sit together on it the Son with the Father. The rest of the joint-seats show the honour which the just are entitled to after the resurrection, according to the saying, "I said ye are gods"; and the priests sit together as crucified with Christ in their passions and desires, the deacons standing for a type of the angels. The holy table shows the holy sepulchre in which He was buried; and the holy *Prothesis*, the "place of a skull" where He was crucified, and on this account He is sacrificed on it. The *Ciborium* is for a type of Noah's Ark, and the statues on the pillars are to imitate the four living

[1] Vol. i. p. 497.

[2] Vol. i. p. 358.

creatures that were seen by the prophet (Ezekiel). The altar is so-called from the heavenly and mentally-seen altar, and on it the priests in the body sacrifice the types of the mentally-seen and spiritual services. The recess above the sanctuary is a type of the first heaven[1].'

Later still, Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople (A.D. 648–733), describes a peculiar ceremony not before noticed. The whole quantity of bread and wine, from which a portion was to be taken to be consecrated, was, according to an ancient custom, brought as an offering of first-fruits; and now this whole offering was made to represent the Virgin Mary, and the portion to be used was cut from it as the Lord's body. 'The offering,' says Germanus, 'that is called bread, and blessing, and first-fruits, out of which the Lord's body is cut, is received as a sign of the ever-virgin Mother of God, who had to bear perfect God and perfect man.' And again, the Lord's body is cut apart by the deacon, as if from the flesh of the Virgin's body (I mean the whole bulk of bread, the blessing, and offering), with an iron instrument, which they call a spear.

[1] Vol. i. p. 540. This is a fanciful explanation of the church as a building, and especially of the 'chancel' or 'sanctuary' with the 'altar' and its surroundings, by Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem, A.D. 629-638. He calls the church *περιοχή*, an 'enclosure,' or as we may possibly interpret it, 'a casket,' as containing precious things.

The 'shell' (*κόγχη* or *conchula bematis*) was the apse at the west end of the chancel.

The 'joint-seats' (*σύνθρονος*) were those on which the priests sat, arranged round the apse. The deacons had to stand.

The 'prothesis' (*πρόθεσις*) was a side-altar, or credence-table, on which the bread and wine were first placed, to be afterwards taken and set as offerings upon the principal altar. The name seems to allude to the *shew-bread* of the Jewish Temple, called *πρόθεσις*, Heb. ix. 2; *ἄρτοι τῆς προθέσεως*, Matt. xii. 4.

The *ciborium* was the dome-shaped canopy over the altar, supported by four pillars. (See Dict. of Christian Antiq.) Sophronius gives an absurd derivation of the word from *κιβ*, the first syllable of *κιβωτός*, an ark, and *ὥριος*, seasonable, from its orderly arrangement. *Ciborium* was the name of the cup-like flower of the Egyptian lily, and then the name of a large drinking cup (Horace, Ode 2. 7. 22), and so in ecclesiastical language a canopy; Ital. *baldachino*.

The 'recess' (*μύαξ*) seems to have been the ceiling of the chancel.

The deacon who cuts apart the sacred body from the blessed offering imitates the angel who uttered to the Virgin the word 'Hail[1].'

And to give only one other example, Amalarius, archbishop of Treves, at the end of the eighth century, tells us of the practice of blessing candles and giving them to the people after the Communion at Easter (see p. 35); and he adds: "concerning *putting the bread into the wine.* By the little piece of bread put into the wine is shown Christ's body, which presently rose from the dead, and the little piece remains on the altar until the end of the Mass itself, because the bodies of the saints rest in their tombs to the end of the world. The cross which is made on the cup marks out by the little piece of the offering Christ himself before our eyes. The priest touches the four sides of the cup, because by that the race of man in the four climates [of the world] is signified[2].'

2. In the reception of the consecrated elements by the communicants the directions of Cyril of Jerusalem (see note 3, p. 18) probably continued in general use for some centuries longer; yet some peculiarities are observable during this period.

In some places women were not allowed to receive the bread in their bare hands, but were required to bring a *clean white napkin* for that purpose[3]; in others a custom for a time prevailed for the communicants to bring *little vessels of gold* or some other material, in which the bread was to be received by them. This, however, was afterwards forbidden, and they were directed to receive it in their hands placed in the form of a cross[4]. But by the end of the ninth century it was ordered, at any rate at Rome, that communicants should receive the bread into their *mouths*[5].

To prevent the possibility of spilling a drop of the wine, each

[1] Vol. i. p. 552. [2] Vol. i. p. 578.

[3] See Council of Auxerre (*Autissiodense*), Canon 36, 42; A.D. 578.

[4] Council of Trullo, Canon 101; A.D. 692.

[5] See Ordo Romanus; date, latter part of ninth century. Referred to in Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, arts. Communion, p. 417, and Fistula.

communicant, at one time, had to draw it up from the chalice into his mouth through a gold or silver tube; a practice which of course fell into disuse when the administration of 'Communion in one kind' was enforced[1].

3. Some foolish speculative questions began to be entertained and discussed in connection with the belief that the bread and wine were changed into the real body and blood of Christ. Such as that referred to by John of Damascus, about A.D. 700, that the consecrated bread, as the Lord's body, was liable to corruption, might be broken, or gnawed by mice, &c., until it was eaten by the communicants, and as it were *buried* in them; but after that it became incorruptible, and made the recipients incorruptible also; just as the body of Christ, while He was upon earth, was corruptible and capable of suffering, until after His burial and resurrection, when it was so no longer[2].

4. The very realistic views of the Lord's Supper which now prevailed, led by a natural affinity to the *worship of images*, which in the latter part of this period was encouraged by the highest Church authorities. And so even the material things connected with the death of Jesus, such as the cross, the nails, and the spear, were said to be deified (θεοθέντα), and to be justly regarded as objects of a subordinate kind of adoration[3].

It may be noticed also that the worship of the Virgin Mary had begun to connect itself with this sacrament. Before this time exaggerated language had been used respecting her; but now, in the sixth century, in the Gothico-Gallican Missal, is found the following prayer at the end of the sacramental service. 'Be present, O Lord, to Thy faithful people, that the Blessed Mary, who received Thee both with body and mind into herself, may *guard us by her intercession*[4];' while a century and a half later stronger language is used, and the Virgin is addressed as follows: 'Hail thou, through whom we dare to draw near and partake of the pure and terrific flesh on the

[1] See note 5, on preceding page.
[2] Vol. i. pp. 557–558.
[3] Vol. i. p. 574.
[4] Vol. i. p. 496.

table of the terrific ritual. Hail thou by whom we taste the true and immortal bread[1].' Similar expressions are also found in the Liturgy erroneously ascribed to Chrysostom[2].

But the Eucharistic history of this period is principally marked by *the stronger hold* which the materialistic views of the preceding ages had now gained upon the Church.

1. Infant Communion, practised before even in Cyprian's time, is now affirmed to be absolutely indispensable for the salvation of infants, on the ground that the receiving of the consecrated elements was that eating of the Saviour's flesh and drinking of His blood, which He declared (in John vi.) to be necessary for all[3].

2. Sacerdotalism had long before been brought into the Church, and the Christian minister regarded as a 'priest'; but now bolder language is found, and the priest, administering this Sacrament, is expressly styled 'a Mediator between God and man, and one who thoroughly propitiates God in behalf of the multitude of their sins[4].'

3. Strong expressions had been previously employed in asserting the change of the elements into the Lord's body and blood, but they are surpassed by the still stronger words of this later time, of which the following are examples. 'The body of our Lord and God, of which we partake, Brethren, is the very body (*αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα*) which He received of our substance, which He took to Himself from the pure Mother of God.' 'We are offering the same sacrifice [as Christ Himself did], the same Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world[5].'

The change in the bread and wine is declared to be wrought by the same divine power of the Almighty, as that by which the world was created. 'If the word of God is living and of mighty power,—if He said, Let there be light, and it came,—can He not make bread a body for Himself, and the wine and

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[1] Vol. i. p. 563.
[2] Vol. i. p. 358.
[3] Vol. i. p. 475.
[4] Vol. i. p. 506.
[5] From the writings of John of Damascus, vol. i. pp. 556–561.

water His blood?' And again, 'The bread and wine are not a figure (τύπος) of the body and blood of Christ,—be it not imagined,—but the very body of the Lord deified[1].'

And then on the confines of the eighth and ninth centuries we are told, 'It is an act of detestable madness for the faithful to have any doubt in their minds that the substance of the bread and wine which is laid on the altar becomes Christ's body and blood by the mystic action of the priest, God working this by divine grace by His secret power. . . . Therefore the unseen Priest (Christ) changes His own visible creatures into the substance of His own flesh and blood by His secret power. And in this body and blood of Christ indeed to prevent horror in those that receive it, the taste and form of bread and wine remain, the nature of their substance having been wholly changed into Christ's body and blood[2].'

From such teaching as this it was but a very slight step to the outspoken and completely unmistakable language of Paschasius, abbot of Corbey, in the ninth century, who is sometimes pointed out as the first of the Fathers that taught the doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, i. e. the change of the substance of the sacramental bread and wine to Christ's body and blood. The fact is that 'transubstantiation' was not even now expressed in *name*, nor had it yet been dogmatically promulgated as an article of the faith by any Pope, Council, or other Church authority, because it had never been called in question with sufficient clearness and boldness to attract much attention; yet it had long since, as we have seen, been virtually prevalent throughout the Church. The time was now ripe for the plainest language to be used; and Paschasius only put into words what had been for ages the common belief, when he expressed himself as follows:—

'These things [the bread and wine] must be believed to be entirely and nothing else than Christ's flesh and blood after their consecration.' Let those hear who desire to extenuate

[1] See note 5, on preceding page.

[2] Vol. i. p. 594.

this word, 'My Body,' as if it were not Christ's true flesh, which is now exhibited in the Sacrament in Christ's Church, nor His true blood;—who desire to approve or invent something or other, as if there were only the *virtue* of His flesh and blood; so that Christ would be telling lies, when the Truth Himself says, 'This is My body.'

Again, when speaking of the words, 'This cup is the New Testament in My blood,' he says, 'The blood had not yet been shed, and yet it will be handed in the cup,—the blood which was presently to be shed.' This drives him to a further assertion, 'That blood already in the cup, which was yet to be shed; and therefore the very same blood was in the cup that was also in the body; and also the body or flesh was in the bread[1].' This was realism or literalism indeed!

No one seems to have been shocked by Paschasius's words. He incurred no Church censures. He was not pronounced heretical or in any way reproved. But when he had presented a copy of his writings to the King of France, Charles the Bald, that monarch requested two of Paschasius's contemporaries, John Scotus Erigena, and Bertram (or Ratram), a monk of the abbey of which Paschasius himself was the abbot, to write their opinions on it in reply. The former of these probably wrote in a more enlightened and scriptural manner than was otherwise known at that time; but his works on this and other kindred subjects were afterwards condemned as heretical, and they have come down to us in so mutilated a state, that we can only somewhat vaguely conjecture what they may have been. Bertram fared better in this respect. His treatise on the Lord's Supper has been allowed to survive. He professedly opposed Paschasius, and many passages may be culled from his work, which are much to be admired; but others are *entirely out of harmony with them*; and on the whole he leaves the subject in inextricable confusion. The followers of Paschasius acted prudently in allowing this treatise to escape intact.

[1] Vol. i. p. 597–598.

They may have thought, and not without reason, that it would strengthen their hands, and that its self-contradictory assertions would drive its readers to prefer the monstrous but less inconsistent teachings of his opponent.

Bertram in this treatise appears as Transubstantialist, Consubstantialist, and Protestant or semi-Protestant, by turns. 'It is almost impossible,' as Dr. Hebert observes, 'for one Church, much less for a single divine, to stand up free at one effort from the encrusted errors of ages;—to say nothing of the temptation to let a part of the truth drop in the hope of getting the rest received[1].'

And so this period was brought to a close. In the course of it several Fathers might be pointed out here and there, who spoke of the sacramental bread and wine as being Christ's body and blood in a figurative sense[2]; but such admissions not only did not affect the general current of Church teaching and of popular belief, but did not even hinder those who made them from themselves believing and asserting that these elements were changed into Christ Himself. As before remarked, it was quite possible for men to acknowledge that the bread and wine in their visible form were *figures* or *representations*,—and yet to believe that in a manner unappreciated by the senses they were really the Lord's body and blood.

Third Period—from about A.D. 860 to 1264.

The efforts of such men as Erigena and Bertram, in their dissent from the outspoken language of Paschasius, having failed to produce any appreciable effect upon the Church at large, the current of Eucharistic belief and practice flowed on as before. Hence the general character of this third period differs but little from that of the preceding, except that, according to the natural course of man's religious history, the complexion of error

[1] See Vol. i. 605–611.

[2] Such were Gelasius, bishop of Rome, A.D. 495, Facundus, 570, Eutychus, 580, Isidore of Seville, 600, and Beatus Flaccas, 800.

grew darker still as time went on, and generation after generation was born and brought up in it. The doctrine of Transubstantiation, real, actual, unqualified, took more complete possession of the minds alike of priest and people, as a necessary Article of the Christian faith. And then, as men of learning or position exercised their thoughts, not to ascertain what the New Testament taught them, but to explain, defend, or enforce the traditional creed, some new outgrowths from the parent stock of error appeared, and new speculative questions were discussed, involving various degrees and combinations of subtlety and foolishness. Meanwhile the priests, exalted before the end of this period to almost superhuman honour, taught persistently the Church traditions; and the people knew nothing but what they heard from such teachers and saw in the ministrations of their Churches.

1. It is true that, notwithstanding the general subsidence of the Church into the grossest materialistic doctrine of the Lord's Supper, a few more enlightened men appeared from time to time, who in a greater or less degree rose above the rest, as they gained some clearer knowledge from the study of the Scriptures, or strove after better things in the midst of the surrounding darkness. Thus, among other names that might be mentioned, Ælfric, the Anglo-Saxon, in the tenth century, reached so far towards the truth as to say that what is offered in the Supper 'is Christ's body not *bodily* but *ghostly*; not the body which He suffered in, but the body of which He spake, when He blessed the bread and wine[1].' In the eleventh century Theophylact, archbishop of Bulgaria, sometimes called the last of the Greek Fathers, says, 'Are we not always offering bloodless sacrifices? Yes; but *we make remembrance of* His death. And it is one, not many, since it was offered once for all. For we are always offering the same; or rather we are *making a remembrance* of that offering, as if it were now taking place[2].' And better still his contemporary Berengarius, teacher and treasurer

[1] Vol. ii. p. 3.

[2] Vol. ii. p. 67.

in St. Martin's Abbey at Tours, declared, 'There are seen on the altar with the bodily eye after consecration the sensible substances of bread and wine, but there are not seen Christ's body and blood, which are laid up in heaven; because if you assert that before the restitution of all things, I say not merely that the flesh of Christ is seen with the bodily eye, but even *that it is in the world at all*, you do this in the teeth of David's prophecy, Peter the apostle, his fellow-apostle Paul, and all authentic Scriptures.' And again, referring to Erigena's treatise, he expressed his entire approval of the statement contained in it, 'The sacraments of the altar are a similitude, a figure, and a pledge of the Lord's body and blood [1].'

This is the bright side of the picture; and it is gratifying to know that there were some lights shining here and there in the spiritual darkness which so widely prevailed. But there are *two considerations* which the student of this period must bear in mind, and which prove that the more enlightened sentiments noticeable in a few better instructed men did not, and could not, have any perceptible effect upon the general aspect of the Church at large.

(1) Those who, like Ælfric and Theophylact, above named, seemed to show that they had some knowledge of what is taught in the New Testament, not only (for the most part) expressed themselves without *sufficient distinctness*, but also *neutralised* their words of more wholesome import, and made them merely *powerless inconsistencies*, by maintaining at other times the prevalent doctrines of the day. Thus Ælfric does not scruple to say, 'Why then is the housel [sacrifice] called Christ's body, if it be *not truly* what it is called?'—'Without they be seen bread and wine, both in figure and taste; and *they be truly*, after their hallowing, *Christ's body and blood* through ghostly mystery [2].' And Theophylact adopts still plainer language, and affirms, 'The bread eaten by us in the mysteries is *not figurative* of the Lord's flesh but it is, as He says, *My flesh*. For this bread is changed

[1] Vol. ii. p. 22.

[2] Vol. ii. p. 4.

by the ineffable words, through the mystic blessings and the coming upon it of the Holy Spirit into the Lord's flesh.' And again 'The loaves are by divine grace changed into the very body (*αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα ἐκεῖνο*), of the Lord[1].' The same was the case with others also. Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mentz, and a promoter of Bible learning in the ninth century, though he opposed Paschasius, yet writes, 'It is Christ's body and blood in the way in which it is either suitable for our use or sufficient for our salvation. How?—or by what mode of existence? Doubtless in *name, fact*, and effect[2].' And Rupert, abbot of Duytz, at the beginning of the twelfth century, who studied the Scriptures, and some of whose words might seem to indicate that he rejected the doctrine of Transubstantiation, nevertheless writes as follows, 'We undoubtingly believe, all the clouds of figures and similitudes being laid aside, that we eat,—not any body you please,—nor that body of Christ which the Church is,—but that body of the Lord, which was betrayed for us, and drink that blood which was shed for us.' And again, 'By the operation of the Holy Spirit the bread becomes the body, the wine the blood of Christ[3].' Indeed it was still to be seen, as we had occasion to observe in the former period, that some scriptural or spiritual views of this ordinance could, in the better class of minds, be held without displacing or improving the gross materialism with which it had been so inveterately incrusted; of which another notable example is seen in the case of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury in the latter part of the eleventh century, who acknowledged a *spiritual participation* in conjunction with a *bona fide* reception of Christ's *natural body*; and who thus had not much difficulty, when required, in taking his stand on the side of decided Transubstantialists[4].

(2) Secondly, from about the middle of this period and onwards anything like an avowal of sound doctrine, or a denial of an actual transubstantiating of the Eucharistic elements, was regarded by Church authorities as heretical, and exposed men

[1] Vol. ii. pp. 60, 62.
[2] Vol. ii. p. 615.
[3] Vol. ii. pp. 72, 75.
[4] Vol. ii. pp. 17–19.

to imminent danger. Lanfranc himself was summoned to Rome as one *suspected* of such heresy, though he was acquitted by the Councils of Rome and Vercelli before whom he gave an account of his belief. Berengarius, however, who had to answer for himself at the same time as Lanfranc, was not so fortunate. His views were too sound and clear, and had been too plainly expressed, to escape condemnation at the hands of his judges, and he only saved his life by retracting them, and by signing the following recantation :—

'I, Berengarius, believe with my heart and confess with my mouth, that the bread and wine which are placed on the altar are converted by the mystery of sacred prayer and the words of our Redeemer into the true and own vivifying flesh and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was shed from His side; not, however, through the sign or virtue of the Sacrament, but in their own proper nature and the reality of their substance, as is contained in this brief, and as I have read it, and as you have understood it. Thus do I believe: and I will not teach against this faith any further. So help me God and His holy Gospels [1].'

These Councils, which thus dealt with Berengarius, condemned and burned the treatises of Erigena and Bertram, which 200 years before had attempted to restore some light of truth to the Church ; thus confirming the plain teaching of Paschasius, and fixing it as the acknowledged doctrine of the orthodox faith. Nor was this only a solitary outburst of zeal and bigotry. Henceforth the doctrines of Berengarius, whenever they appeared, were denounced as heretical, blasphemous, and pestiferous ; and those who held them were anathematised, and threatened with vengeance unless they recanted [2]. What effect then, under such circumstances, could be produced by a few occasional words slightly tinged with sobriety and truth !

2. If the more enlightened Fathers of the Church could allow themselves to use such expressions as those which have

[1] Vol. ii. p. 17.

[2] See Vol. ii. pp. 55, 106, 109.

been quoted from their works, what must we expect to find in the rest who made no attempt to raise their thoughts or teachings above the current divinity of their time! It was hardly possible indeed for stronger language to be used than some that was found even in the former period; suffice it therefore to say that the doctrine enunciated by Paschasius was now generally accepted, proclaimed, and inculcated, without any qualification or reserve; of which the following are some examples:—

'If God could create creatures out of nothing, much more may He be able to change these creatures [bread and wine], and to transfuse them into the substance of His own body[1].' 'The Almighty God turns the substance of bread and wine into the true substance of the flesh and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ[2].' 'Although *three* gifts are set on the Lord's Table, there are only *two* after their consecration. There is water mixed with wine before, but afterwards there will be only blood to feed our inward spirit. The water is for a mystic meaning, but Christ's blood absorbs it. For God transfuses our ashes into His own body[3].' 'Heretics deny that the bread is transubstantiated into Christ's body by the sacred words said by the priest in the mass.' 'None of the bread's substance remains, with regard either to matter or substance, but certain accidental properties[4].'

3. These gross materialistic views naturally manifested their effects in various matters of Church life, among which the following may especially be noticed:—

(1) **Eucharistic Ritual.** The belief that the body and blood of Christ,—in fact the Lord Himself,—was actually and literally present in the form of the consecrated bread and wine, could

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[1] Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres, vol. ii. p. 34. He also dared to say to a communicant 'you carry God in your body.'

[2] John, Bishop of Avranches, vol. ii. p. 22.

[3] Peter of Blois, vol. ii. p. 83.

[4] Alanus of the Isles, vol. ii. p. 120.

not fail to influence the ritual observances in the administration of the Sacrament; and they in turn greatly encouraged and helped to maintain the popular belief. This indeed had been to a great extent the case long before. It will be sufficient here to allude to some of the more prominent features of this ritual at the time now under our consideration; and the reader who desires further information will find useful extracts in Dr. Hebert's book [1], with references to original authorities for those who wish to consult them.

The 'sanctuary' with the 'altar,' even before the end of the first period, was marked off by lattice-work (*cancelli*) from the rest of the Church; and curtains also were drawn during the consecration of the elements, to create an idea of greater mystery and awe in the minds of the people. In the later time the altar was surmounted with a canopy [2] supported by pillars, an image of Christ being placed in it; and the altar itself was further concealed by a veil. 'Corporals' and veils were used for covering the paten and the cup, as before.

The consecrated bread was divided into *three* parts; one of which was dipped in the cup (a custom found also at an earlier date), and from this the lay communicants received their portions; this method being adopted, it is said, for fear any drops of 'the Lord's blood' might fall to the ground. And thus a step was taken towards the later practice of denying the wine to the laity altogether. A *second* part was destined for the priests and other ministers; while the *third* was 'reserved,' to be used at any time for the sick, and as a *viaticum* for the dying [3]. This 'reserved host' was carefully preserved in a 'pyx,' or in a little 'tabernacle,' which was sometimes made in the form of a dove, and suspended over the altar [4]. Incense

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[1] See especially vol. ii. pp. 39, 48, 53, 96, 126.

[2] This canopy, called *ciborium*, was, as we have seen, in use as early, if not earlier, than the seventh century. This and all other accompaniments of the altar were continued or still further elaborated as time went on, see note on p. 22.

[3] Vol. ii. p. 40.

[4] See Dict. of Christian Antiquities, art. 'Dove, Eucharistic.'

was used as an accompaniment of the sacrifice[1]; and lighted candles as emblematical of the presence of Christ, 'the Light of the World.' In particular wax-candles were so regarded, the wax being said to represent His body, the light His soul, and the flame His divinity[2].

Of course the vessels used at the Mass, and every particle of the consecrated elements adhering to them, the corporals, veils, and everything connected with the altar, were treated with an excessive reverence. The sacred vessels were to be washed by no hands but those of a priest or deacon; and the water of the ablution was poured out into a place prepared for it near the altar[3], where there was also a basin for the priest to wash his hands both before and after the Communion. The whole ritual by the end of this period tended to foster the great central doctrine of transubstantiation.

(2) **Host-Worship.** The adoration of the Eucharistic elements, as being in fact the Lord Himself, may be traced, at any rate in an incipient form, as early as the fourth century (see Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. Mystag. v. 18), although well-meaning attempts are vainly made to explain away such expressions. But in the latter part of our present period the practice was indubitably encouraged, and indeed was only a legitimate outcome of the doctrine then distinctly held. Thus Anselm, primate of England, who died in 1109, has left us a prayer, 'to be used before receiving Christ's body and blood,' in which the communicant is to say, 'I adore and venerate

[1] Incense was used at a much earlier time, but it is not certain whether it was not then employed only as a supposed disinfectant. It is first expressly named as a part of a religious ceremonial by the pseudo-Dionysius. See Dict. Christ. Antiq. art. 'Incense.'

[2] Vol. ii. p. 48.

[3] The place for pouring away the water, properly named *infundibulum*, was sometimes called the *piscina*, a name originally belonging to the baptismal font. It was usually made in the side wall of the chancel, as may still be seen in some old churches, or in modern imitations of them. In some ritualistic churches the ablution of the vessels is considered an important ceremony, and the priest makes an *infundibulum* of his own body by *drinking the water*.

[*adoro et veneror*] this Thy sacred body, and this Thy sacred blood[1].' And a little later we read, 'As Christ was adored in His own body [by the leper whom He healed], so also now He should be adored as present in the same body, mighty to cleanse him who adores and eats Him[2].'

The *Elevation* of the Host, for the people to see and worship it, is said to have been adopted at this time as a significant form of protest against the better teaching of Berengarius. The custom of ringing a bell, in order to bid the people worship the consecrated wafer, was introduced at a somewhat later time. The *lifting up* of the bread and wine, mentioned in the earliest Liturgies, seems to have been intended, not for their adoration, but as an act of offering them to God; for it was done before the curtains were drawn aside and the chancel opened to the eyes of the people[3].

(3) **Mariolatry.** The invocation of the Virgin Mary as a mediator, which was before noticed, does not appear more conspicuously, or seem to have made much advance, until near the end of this period. Anselm, indeed, at the end of the eleventh century is rather strong in this direction, and he addressed four hymns and a salutation to the Virgin[4]; and Innocent III in his Order of the Mass joins her with other saints in the address, 'Receive, O Holy Trinity, the oblation of bread which we offer to thee for the memory of the passion, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ our Lord, in honour of Mary ever-virgin, and blessed John the Baptist[5],' etc. But Nicetas a little later goes beyond this, and says, 'I believe and say that the holy Virgin Mary who bare Him after the flesh was properly and truly Mother of God, when He put Himself in man; and on this account I worship (*προσκυνῶ*) and honour her as having become by grace the Sovereign Lady (*κυρία*) and mistress of all creation[6].'

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[1] Vol. ii. p. 43. [2] Geroch, abbot of Reichensberg, vol. ii. p. 109.
[3] See Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, art. 'Elevation.'
[4] Vol. ii. p. 44. [5] Vol. ii. p. 126. [6] Vol. ii. p. 155.

(4) **Miraculous Legends.** As even in earlier times miraculous stories were related for the exaltation of this Sacrament in the eyes of the people, it was not to be expected that miracles would be omitted in these days of more advanced superstition; and accordingly we find them used especially 'to glorify the Lord's body,' or to convince those who denied, or doubted about, the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Thus Rupert of Duytz relates that in a great conflagration which destroyed a part of that town, a 'corporal,' taken from a church, and thrown into the raging fire, was cast back by the flames unconsumed and uninjured; and a pyx containing 'the Lord's body' remained whole and unscorched, while another pyx with unconsecrated bread, and other vessels, were destroyed[1]. Another marvellous story is recorded by Bernard in his Life of St. Malachi in connection with a clergyman of Lismore, who having, apparently with great wisdom and good sense, maintained a spiritual view of this Sacrament, was excommunicated as a heretic, and being afterwards miraculously struck down by a divine judgment acknowledged his errors, and was forgiven[2]. And it would seem that the method of convincing gainsayers by producing the actual appearance of flesh and blood upon the altar, which was alluded to in the first period (p. 17) was not unfrequently resorted to at this time: since Alanus tells us that 'to confound these heretics a miracle is wrought in many churches by which the visible form of flesh has been seen in the host[3].'

4. This grievous declension from the teaching of the New Testament gave occasion to many foolish and unprofitable, or even revolting, notions, put forward by divines of this period, which never could have occurred to their minds, or found an utterance from their lips, if the simple truth as given us in the Scriptures had been adhered to by the Church. A few examples will suffice.

It was declared to be blasphemy and an inspiration of the

[1] Vol. ii. p. 75. [2] Vol. ii. p. 107. [3] Vol. ii. p. 120.

devil to say that the bread and wine received by a communicant passed through the same natural processes as other food [1]. This, however, was only the revival of a notion of a much earlier date.

It was represented that Christ had *two* bodies, one in heaven, and the other on the altar; and that the Holy Ghost transfused them together into one [2].

The doctrine of *Impanation*, i.e. Christ received into, and as it were enclosed in the bread, is referred to by Guitmund at the end of the eleventh century. 'Others,' he says, 'who do yield to the Church's reasonings, and yet do not come back from their folly, say that the Lord's body and blood are in reality, but in a latent way, contained there; and, in order that they may be received by us, that they are in a certain way so to say "impanated" (*impanari*) [3].' This notion is sometimes said to have originated with John of Paris two hundred years later. But he in fact only reproduced an older doctrine.

The well-known Romish tenet that the consecrated elements contain 'the body, soul, and divinity' of the Lord finds an authority in Abbot Rupert at the beginning of the twelfth century, who says, 'This true sacrifice of bread and wine is not only flesh and blood, but spirit and life; because it is the true Word which is incarnate, and is true Godhead in bread and wine [4].'

So eminent a man as Hugo de St. Victor, who flourished on the confines of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, tells us, 'We cannot say that they [the appearance and taste] are in the substance of the bread and wine, for the substance of bread and wine is not there, but Christ's true body; nor do we dare to say that they are in the body of Christ [5].' So here was a new difficulty.

Such 'foolish and unlearned questions' also as the following were debated by leaders of Church opinion.

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[1] Pope Silvester II, vol. ii. p. 7.
[2] Fulbert, vol. ii. p. 34.
[3] Vol. ii. p. 57.
[4] Vol. ii. p. 69.
[5] Vol. ii. p. 94.

Whether the bread is the same body as was born of Mary or a different one [1].

Whether Christ's body is broken when the bread is eaten by the communicants [2].

Whether Christ at His resurrection received back again the blood which He had shed on the cross [3].

Whether Christ present in the sacrament stands or sits on the altar [4].

What a mouse eats when the sacramental bread is eaten by it [5].

It was only a natural and fitting conclusion of this deplorable career of error and superstition, when at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 under the authority of Pope Innocent III, the doctrine of Transubstantiation was promulgated as the dogmatic teaching of the Church of Rome, as follows :—

'The universal Church of the faithful is one, outside which there is no salvation. And in this Jesus Christ is at the same time Himself priest and sacrifice; and His body and blood are truly contained under the appearance of bread and wine in the Sacrament of the altar, being *transubstantiated*—the bread into the body, the wine into the blood—by the divine power, in order that to complete the mystery of unity we may ourselves receive from what is His own that which He received from what is ours. And also no one can make this Sacrament but a priest, who shall have been ordained according to the keys of the Church which Jesus Christ Himself gave up to the Apostles and their successors [6].'

And when in 1264 Pope Urban IV instituted 'Corpus Christi Day' as an annual commemoration of this monstrous figment, he put upon it the final seal of Rome's authority, and left it to darken and debase the minds and consciences of men, until the dawn of the Reformation at length appeared, and men of God turned to the wholesome teaching of the New Testament to displace the pernicious traditions of a fallen Church.

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[1] Vol. ii. p. 7. [2] Vol. ii. p. 101. [3] Vol. ii. p. 129.
[4] Vol. ii. p. 149. [5] Vol. ii. p. 171. [6] Vol. ii. p. 136.

THE SECOND PART—*from* A. D. 1264 *to the present time.*

IN the *first* part of this subject it was our task to trace the Eucharistic doctrines and practices of the Christian Church, as they led us on from the inspired simplicity of the apostolic times and the teaching of the New Testament, through gradual developments and accumulations of error, until they landed us in the authoritative assertion of dogmatic transubstantiation, and the propitiatory sacrifice of the Mass, in the thirteenth century.

After this there was very little more that Rome could do to mar this sacred ordinance of Christ. It only remained for the Council of Constance in 1415 to pronounce authoritatively for the denial of the cup to the laity. This was afterwards confirmed in 1562 by the Council of Trent, which declared, that 'Holy Mother Church for weighty and just reasons approved the custom of communion in one kind, and commanded it to be observed as a law [1].'

In this *second* part, which is to embrace the six centuries that have elapsed since that time, we have at first to reverse the process before pursued. For we have now to mark the course of a recovery from mediaeval errors, and of a return to scriptural truth; according as light broke in with the dawning of the Reformation, increased with the progress of that great religious movement in spite of obstacles and failures, and at last in the sixteenth century displayed this sacramental rite in the purity of its original institutions, and apostolic use, to the Churches which were willing to receive it.

And this might have been the conclusion of all that needed to be said, if men could only have been satisfied with receiving this holy ordinance, thus once more presented to them in its

[1] The custom of giving the bread only to the laity had crept in some time before, the way having been paved for it by the practice of dipping the bread in the cup before giving it to them. (See p. 34.) Shortly before the Council of Constance some good men had returned to the scriptural mode of administration, and this the Council condemned as heretical. See Mosheim, ii. p. 326.

primitive simplicity; and if, warned by the lamentable errors of previous ages, they had not again been led away from the inspired teaching of the New Testament in their use and exposition of it.

But as unhappily this has not been the case, it will be necessary to take some notice of the Eucharistic doctrines which have been put forward during the last three centuries, and thus to bring down our historical sketch to the present time.

This portion then of our subject naturally divides itself into two nearly equal periods of about three hundred years each. The *first* of these reaches to the middle of the sixteenth century, when the great Protestant Reformers had attained to their final emancipation from the trammels of Rome, and had boldly taken their stand upon the written Word of God instead of Church traditions; when in the year 1552 the second Prayer-book of King Edward VI embodied in its Communion Service the most matured convictions of Cranmer and the other leaders of English Protestantism; and when, a few years later, in 1560, the Church of Scotland, under the guidance of John Knox, endeavoured to adhere still more closely, if possible, to the institution of the Lord's Supper in their liturgical arrangements for the administration of it. The *second* period extends from these dates to the present time, and includes opinions which have been prominently advocated within the compass of our own generation.

First Period—from A.D. 1264 to 1552 and 1560.

In dwelling upon the events which will now be brought before us it may serve to give a unity of thought and aim to our consideration of them, and may present them with greater interest to our readers, if we keep in view from the beginning that restoration of the Lord's Supper to, as nearly as possible, its primitive use, which was accomplished at the close of this period. We can thus profitably mark how in the providence of God, events led on, very slowly perhaps as we might think, but

surely, to their final consummation in the recovery of Christian truth; one generation preparing the way for another,—the advantage gained in one century enabling still further advantages to be secured in the next,—as the spiritual and moral darkness of Christendom was gradually dispelled.

When the fourth Lateran Council in A.D. 1215 had stereotyped in the form of acknowledged transubstantiation what had been long before floating in Church opinion, it became a prominent object of Rome's power and influence to fasten this doctrine more and more completely upon the public mind, and to make it appear reasonable and self-consistent by elaborate expositions of its mysteries.

Thus the recurrence of 'Corpus Christi Day,' before alluded to, familiarised the people in general with this monstrous dogma; the cruel penalties enforced against so-called heretics deterred dissentients; while the *scholastic* divines [1], some of whose most distinguished leaders flourished in the thirteenth century, devoted a portion of their subtle reasonings to the task of making it acceptable to the thoughtful and enquiring.

It seems marvellous that men of such accomplishments and mental powers as some of these 'schoolmen' were, should present to us as truth such fallacies as they have done. But as they set out with the assumption that the full doctrine of Transubstantiation was a Catholic truth to be incontrovertibly received, nothing could save them from such results. 'For a

[1] The most striking peculiarity of the scholastic divinity is that, in explaining or defending Church doctrines, the 'Schoolmen' relied, not upon the Scriptures or even Church traditions, but on human reason and philosophy. This scholastic or philosophic theology is represented as having been begun by the speculations of Origen in the third century. It was adopted to a certain extent by John of Damascus, who died in A.D. 756. The method was revived by Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, in the eleventh century, and was carried forward by the most learned men of their times to its culmination in Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth, who was eminently the Philosopher of the Schools, the creature of the system which had then obtained its full strength.—See the chapter on 'The Philosophy of the Schoolmen' of the Ecclesiastical History, in the Encyclopaedia Metropolitana.

general corruption of reasoning will follow any bold outrage upon a great sacred truth. Men cannot play false with conscience and understanding and then recover their moral sense and intelligence at will.' So men attempted to get rid of the strange and absurd conclusions to which this doctrine brought them, by the use of technical subtilties of language and a perverted logic ;—by an assumption of miracles at every turn ;—or even by the promulgation of such theories as that of 'Impanation,' commonly ascribed to John of Paris as its author, though it had been broached at a much earlier period. (See page 38.)

In the meantime the venality and corruption of the Papal Court, and the ignorance and gross vices of the clergy, with the general depravity of morals which naturally ensued, reduced the Church to the lowest state of degradation, and made the early part of the fourteenth century the darkest period of the pre-Reformation time.

Yet even then there were signs and tendencies indicative of better things, though not so noticed at the time. Principles were at work and events were taking place which we can now see were preliminary to the Reformation, and helped to bring it gradually to pass. And as the question of the Lord's Supper is bound up in the wider subject of the general condition of the Church, these must be, at any rate, briefly glanced at.

It has been truly said that 'a Reformation in the higher sense of the word is always a great historical result, the issue of a spiritual process extending through centuries [1].' And thus in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries preliminary work for the great Reformation in the sixteenth was going on, in which we may especially notice the following particulars.

1. **The Scholastic Philosophy.**—The labours of the scholastic divines, before alluded to, were not directed to the discovery

[1] See some excellent remarks of Prof. Ullmann on 'Reformers before the Reformation.'—Dr. Hebert, vol. ii. p. 236.

of Christian truth as revealed in the New Testament; for indeed appeals to the Scriptures were entirely neglected by them. Yet they unconsciously acted as precursors of the Reformation; inasmuch as the very temerity of their speculations accustomed men to think boldly; and by endeavouring to satisfy human reason, and magnify it against arbitrary authority, they encouraged departures from the long-standing custom of settling everything by some *dictum* of the Christian Fathers and so stopping all further enquiry. And thus they nurtured a spirit which survived the system in which it had grown up; a spirit which only wanted more religious light and a right direction to be given to it, in order to its wholesome operation.

2. **The Universities.**—The establishment of the Universities on the footing on which they now continue to exist, was a marked feature of these 'middle ages.' In them lectures were given and examinations held; colleges also were founded by Dominican and Franciscan friars, and others, in connection as now with the Universities, for the accommodation of students. The pursuit of learning was thus encouraged; the revival of ancient literature was fostered and made great progress, especially after the overthrow of the Greek Empire at Constantinople in the middle of the fifteenth century (1453); and a valuable field was prepared, to be advantageously occupied at a later time for the inculcation and dissemination of Reformation truths. And even in the earlier days the disputations and contests between the Dominican or Franciscan teachers in their schools and the regular professors of the Universities could not fail to produce some emanations of forbidden light, and thus helped to prepare the way for larger admissions of sacred truth.

3. **The moral corruption of Christendom.** — The gross depravity in the clergy of all ranks, the profligacy, arrogance, and extortion of successive occupants of the Papal chair, and finally the monstrous exhibition of rival popes, at Avignon and Rome[1], had well-nigh exhausted the patience of princes and of

[1] This strange schism lasted for nearly 40 years: from 1378 to 1414.

peoples. A reformation began to be demanded. But at first it was a reformation of the *social* and *political* corruptions of the Roman system that the reformers aimed at. They were not yet sufficiently enlightened by the Scriptures to attack the *religious* corruptions of the Church. Accordingly the dogma of Transubstantiation was not repudiated even by such martyrs as John Huss and Jerome of Prague, nor afterwards by Savonarola, who was martyred in 1498. These good men, like some others of that time, had their hearts full of all spiritual feelings towards the person of Jesus Christ, while they still believed that in the Lord's Supper they were eating and drinking His very body and blood. They owed their martyrdoms to their attacks on clerical corruption and the Papal rule;—to their demand for the restoration of the cup to the laity;—and to their being preachers of righteousness in a crooked generation.

4. **The Scriptures.**—All the three particulars mentioned above had their influence in their several ways as preliminary and introductory to the great Reformation; but that which was its most immediate and most effectual precursor was the opening of the Scriptures to the knowledge and acceptance of the Church at large. And we may be permitted to rejoice that the honour of being the first Translator of the Bible into the popular language of any modern nation belongs to our countryman John Wycliffe, whose English Version of the Scriptures enabled all who could read or hear it, to see the vast difference between the teaching of the New Testament and that of Rome[1].

The influence of this and of other labours of Wycliffe extended far beyond the limits of England. He was the greatest light of his age, and the effects of his work were never lost, although Papal opposition and persecution still delayed the Reformation for more than a hundred years after his death. During this time, however, Bible theologians were reared in greater numbers than before. In the immediately preceding ages the 'Scholastics' only were held in estimation, and exerci ed great public

[1] Wycliffe's translation of the Bible was finished in 1380.

influence; but now students and expositors of the Scriptures appeared upon the scene, and made their voices to be heard. And this Bible theology was most essential for the accomplishment of a *religious* Reformation in the Church,—and most of all for that part of it which in these pages we are especially considering,—the restoration of the holy ordinance of the Lord's Supper to the purity of its original state. The gross *moral* corruptions of the Church might have been combated by an appeal to its own better teaching, and to the conscience and judgment of its worthier members, but the false doctrines and superstitious practices, with which the Lord's Supper had been surrounded,—which had the support of venerated names, and had grown up and gathered strength from age to age,—and which had been wrought into the very texture of the Church system,—could be met and dispelled by nothing short of a bold return to the actual teaching of the New Testament; and for this it was needful not only that there should be Bible-theologians, but also that some knowledge of the Scriptures should be widely spread throughout the Church, and brought within the reach of its ordinary members. Both these requisites *began* to be supplied even in the fifteenth century. Wycliffe himself, taught by the Scriptures which he translated, rejected the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and declared that the sacramental bread remained *bread*, and was only 'the Body of Christ *figuratively*'; and others followed him, while his English Bible throughout those years, in spite of difficulties and oppositions, was copied, and read, and brought light to many souls [1].

And now we may turn to the first half of the sixteenth century, which will introduce us to glorious times, and Christian heroes valiant for the truth. The causes which had previously been at work, more or less imperceptibly, now resulted

[1] John Wessel has been called 'the theological forerunner of the Reformation,' and he was so for *Germany*. He was a noble advocate of vital scriptural theology; but though he lived nearly a century later than Wycliffe, his views of the Lord's Supper were not so near the truth as those of his great English predecessor.—See Ullmann's Reformers, Dr. Hebert, vol. ii. p. 240.

at last in the happiest effects. The seed sown for two centuries before had grown up and ripened for the harvest.

Confining ourselves now to our particular subject we have to mark how the truth of the New Testament teaching on the nature and use of the Lord's Supper was during this half-century searched after, examined, and clearly brought to light.

Church *corruptions* in doctrine and practice, prevailing throughout large bodies of professing Christians, are seldom, if ever, traceable to particular persons who had influence enough to introduce them and to secure their general adoption. They grow up by degrees from a widely spread and increasing declension from wholesome teaching and the true Christian life. But Church *reformations* commence with the efforts of individual men, who having themselves obtained from the Scriptures a correct knowledge of what a Christian Church should teach and do, have also faithfulness and courage enough to make it publicly known, and to endeavour at all risks to gain for it an authoritative reception. Such men were conspicuous at this period of our history, and as the name of Martin Luther justly holds the foremost place among them, as the most distinguished and undaunted of all these Reformers, we may notice first the *Continental* Reformation in its contributions towards the recovery of Eucharistic truth.

1. The Eucharistic teaching of the German and Swiss Reformers.—The three leading and representative names of Luther, Melanchthon, and Zwingel, will furnish us with the three principal phases of Eucharistic doctrine exhibited in the Continental Reformation.

(1) Luther, notwithstanding his high moral eminence, his study of the Scriptures, which he translated for his countrymen, and his clear enunciation of the great Gospel truth of 'Justification by Faith,' never rose above the doctrine of 'Consubstantiation,' i.e. (as he explains it) 'that the Body and Blood of Christ are really in, or with, the bread and wine, which still retain their own nature and substance.' It seems that this great man

was incapable of perceiving the truth, or of reasoning correctly, in a subject in which his feelings were deeply engaged. And in maintaining his sacramental opinions in his sermon, *De Eucharistia*, he substitutes assertion and re-assertion in various forms for anything like true or solid arguments. And when pressed on this question in the Conference at Marburg, he exclaimed in his vehement way, 'Christ has said, "This is My body." Let them show that a body is not a body. I reject reason, common sense, carnal arguments, and mathematics. God is above mathematics.' And again, 'Christ's body is in the Sacrament, but it is not there as in a place.' 'Then,' said Zwingel, 'it is not there at all.' But Luther rejoined, 'Sophists say that a body may very well be in several places at once[1].'

Yet the influence of his name and authority has stamped this doctrine upon the Lutheran Churches even to the present day.

(2) Melanchthon, perhaps, next to Luther, the most influential of the German Reformers, drew nearer to the simple truth of the New Testament; and we find him writing as follows on 1 Cor. xi: 'When Luke and Paul say, "This is the Cup of the New Testament," it is, so to speak, the figure metonymy, as if I were to say, "the fasces are the Roman Empire."' And again, 'No man's work earns for us those eternal blessings which are bequeathed to us through His death. This rite [of the Supper] then is not a sacrifice to earn these blessings for him who offers it, and for others; but it testifies that they are furnished; and they must be received by faith that rests on the sacrifice of the Son of God Himself[2].' Yet he was not able altogether to disentangle himself from the patristic teaching of the fourth and fifth centuries; and in the Augsburg Confession which was drawn up by him (1530) he asserts 'that the body and blood of Christ are *really present*, and are administered in the Lord's Supper to those who partake of it[3].' And in the Saxon Confession

[1] See D'Aubigné's History of the Reformation, Book XIII. ch. vii.
[2] Vol. ii. p. 304.
[3] D'Aubigné's Hist. of Reformation, xiv. 7, or Mosheim, vol. ii. p. 420.

(1551) still more strongly, 'In the instituted use [of the Supper] Christ is truly present in His substance (*vere et substantialiter adesse*); and Christ's body and blood are truly supplied in this Communion to the recipients[1].'

(3) Zwingel, the distinguished Swiss Reformer, of whom it has been remarked that his reformation was directed against the *Pagan* element in the errors of Romanism, while Luther's assailed the *Jewish* element[2], took his stand upon the New Testament alone, and thus gained a view of this divine ordinance more clear and scriptural than either of his two illustrious contemporaries had done. He was enabled to see that, according to an acknowledged Bible usage, the words, 'This is My body,' stand for, 'This *signifies* or *represents* My body'; and he therefore maintained that the sacramental elements are signs or symbols of the Lord's body and blood, which are not really present in them or combined with them.

The doctrine of Zwingel has often been misrepresented, as if he denied that the Lord's Supper was in any sense a means of grace or a participation in Christ's body and blood. But his own writings afford a sufficient answer to such misrepresentations. Thus, in his 'Confession of Faith,' addressed to the Emperor Charles V, he says, 'I believe that a Sacrament is a visible figure or form of invisible grace produced and given by the gift of God. I believe that in the sacred supper of the Eucharist the true body of Christ is present to the contemplation of faith: i. e. that those who give thanks to God for so great a benefit conferred on us of His kindness in His Son, recognise that He took to Him true flesh, suffered truly in it, and truly washed away our sins with His own blood; and therefore that work done by

[1] Vol. ii. p. 308.

[2] 'The Jewish element prevailed chiefly in that part of the Christian doctrine which relates to man. Catholicism had received from Judaism the pharisaical ideas of self-righteousness, of salvation by human strength or works. The Pagan element prevailed especially in that part of the Christian doctrine which relates to God. . . . It had established in the Church the reign of symbols, images, and ceremonies, and the saints had become the demi-gods of Popery.'—D'Aubigné's Hist. of Ref. Book xi. 4.

Christ is, as it were, made present to them by the contemplation of faith. But that Christ's body in its essence and reality (i. e. His natural body itself), is either present in the Supper, or is eaten by our mouth and teeth, we truly not only deny, but firmly maintain that it is an error adverse to God's word[1].'

If Zwingel had not unhappily been cut off by a sudden and early death at the age of 47[2], he might have exercised a still deeper and wider influence than he was permitted to do. But his labours were not in vain. He lived, at any rate, to see a genuine religious reformation established in Zurich, and to witness the first Protestant celebration of the Lord's Supper, freed from remnants of Romish errors, and administered with a truly apostolic simplicity and solemnity, which filled every heart with sacred joy.

Of this interesting service, which took place at Zurich in April 1525. D'Aubigné gives us the following brief account:—

'The altars had disappeared. Plain tables bearing the sacramental bread and wine were substituted in their place, and an attentive crowd pressed round them. There was something particularly solemn in this multitude. On Holy Thursday the young people,—on Friday, the day of the Passion, the adult men and women,—and on Easter Sunday the aged,—celebrated in turn the death of the Lord. The Deacons read aloud the passages of Scripture that relate to this Sacrament; the Pastors addressed the flock in an earnest exhortation, calling upon all to retire from this sacred feast, who by persevering in their sins would pollute the body of Jesus Christ. The people knelt down. the bread was carried round on large platters or wooden plates, and each one broke off a morsel; the wine was next distributed in wooden goblets. In this manner it was thought they made a nearer approach to the simplicity of the primitive supper. Emotions of surprise or joy filled every heart[3].'

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[1] Vol. ii. p. 312.

[2] Zwingel was killed at the battle of Cappel in 1531.—D'Aubigné, xvi.

[3] Hist. of Reformation, xi. 6.

2. **The Eucharistic teaching of the English Reformation.**—While the great Continental Reformers were making their noble stand for Christian truth, and courageously encountering the formidable obstacles which opposed them, the Reformation was begun and carried forward in England with less promise of success at first, but with a more complete victory at the end.

Here, as in the former case, individual reformers come prominently upon the scene, and the names of Latimer, Cranmer, and Ridley, can never be forgotten or unhonoured by British Protestants. But the circumstances under which the English Reformation grew up, and made its way, differed from those which surrounded the work on the Continent; inasmuch as this great religious movement in England was at first partially and afterwards fully promoted and enforced by the highest authorities of the realm in Church and State. The Continental Reformation began from *below*, and extended from the people to their rulers, but the English Reformation began from *above*, and was given by their rulers to the people; so that here we have to notice not so much the opinions and teaching of individual men, however distinguished, as the doctrines embodied in the national profession of the Christian faith, and expressed in the authorised formularies of the Church.

But before proceeding to trace the course of the actual reformation in the Eucharistic teaching of the English Church, it is desirable to mark the invaluable help which it derived from the English Version of the Bible, at this time produced, printed and disseminated throughout the land. For it is hardly too much to say that without this preliminary aid the Reformation could not have succeeded as it did.

Nearly 150 years had now passed away since Wycliffe's English Bible had first appeared. During that time several providential events had happened, favourable to the labours of his successors in the Bible field. For (1) the revival of learning had promoted the study of Hebrew and Greek; so that now translations could be made from the original languages of the

Scriptures, instead of from the Latin Vulgate. (2) The invention of printing supplied a most valuable instrument for multiplying copies of the book, in place of the slow and expensive method of hand-writing which alone existed in Wycliffe's time. (3) The religious awakening on the Continent had produced a great demand for the Scriptures to which Luther had so forcibly appealed. And (4) the culture and development of the English language had made great progress during the preceding century; so that it was now still better fitted for expressing and imparting religious knowledge.

Here, therefore, was a great occasion calling for a great man to meet and use it. And such a man was found in William Tyndale, who was the first to translate the New Testament into what may be called *modern* English, compared with that of Wycliffe; and who did this excellent work in the midst of harassing difficulties, and of the greatest dangers,—and at the cost of his life. Tyndale's version of the New Testament was first printed in 1526. He did not live to complete the Old Testament. That was afterwards finished by Miles Coverdale; and the *first whole Bible* ever *printed in English* appeared in October 1535. And thus, by the labours of these two devoted men, the foundation of the English Reformation was firmly laid. It remained for this foundation to be built upon by other hands.

The casting off of the Pope's authority by Henry VIII left untouched the doctrine of Transubstantiation and the Romish Mass. Indeed no national religious progress was made during his reign; with the exception of the asserted independence of the Anglican Church,—the appointed reading of the English Bible in the Church Services,—and the public use of a revised and partially improved form of an English Litany, which had previously been in the hands of the people [1]. Reformed opinions, however, were making large advances in the minds of the leading men, and to some extent in the country at large.

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[1] See Proctor's History of the Prayer Book, ch. iii.

The short but most important reign of Edward VI witnessed the beginning and the completion of the English Eucharistic reformation. A marvellous work to have been so well accomplished in so short a time! But preparations for it had in God's providence been largely made before in many minds; and as soon as a Protestant king ascended the throne, great results rapidly followed, as the Reformers gained a clearer and clearer insight into Scriptural truth, or as the mental eyes of the people were able to bear the transition from the darkness of Romish superstition to the light of the New Testament.

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper having been the very centre and stronghold of Rome's religious system and dominion, one of the very first measures of reform on the accession of Edward VI was the issuing of a provisional 'Order of the Communion,' which at once restored the sacramental cup to the laity who had been so long deprived of it[1]. This did not, however, interfere with the Latin Office of the Mass; but only added to it some portions of an English service for the better edification of the communicants.

No time, however, was lost in preparing a Protestant Book of Common Prayer, which should entirely supersede the Romish Liturgy. Two such books, altogether in the English language, were successively produced during this short reign, in the years 1549 and 1552 respectively, and were sanctioned by the authorities of the realm. The Communion Services of these Books afford a clear and indisputable measure of the progress of the Eucharistic reformation; nor can we do better than to refer to them, in order to see distinctly to what admirable conclusions that progress at length arrived.

1. In the Communion Service of the first Prayer Book of Edward VI the following particulars may be noticed.

(1) The retention of the word 'Mass.' The title of the service was, 'The Supper of the Lord and the Holy Communion, commonly called The Mass.'

[1] See Liturgies of Edward VI. Parker Society.

(2) Certain vestments were specially ordered for this service, with the intention apparently of giving it a *sacrificial* character. 'The Priest that shall execute the holy ministry shall put on him the vesture appointed for that ministration, that is to say a *White Albe plain* with a *Vestment* or *Cope*'; and any assisting ministers were to have Albes with Tunicles.

(3) The Communion Table was called an 'Altar' in several rubrics; as, 'The Priest humbly standing afore the midst of the Altar'; 'Then the Priest turning him to the Altar,' etc.

(4) 'Auricular Confession' and a reliance on 'Priestly Absolution' were encouraged, with some words of caution respecting them. Thus any one troubled in conscience is directed to 'come to me or to some other learned Priest . . . that of us, as of the Ministers of God and of the Church, he may receive comfort and absolution.' And those who are satisfied with a general confession are 'not to be offended with them that do use for their further satisfying the auricular and secret confession to the Priest.' At the same time those who continue in malice or wrongdoing are warned that 'Neither the absolution of the Priest can avail them anything.'

(5) The bread was to be almost like the Romish Wafer; for it was 'to be unleavened and round as it was afore; but without all manner of print, and something more larger and thicker than it was.'

(6) The wine was to be mixed with water, according to the direction 'Putting the wine into the chalice, or else in some fair convenient cup prepared for that use, putting thereto a little pure and clean water.'

(7) The bread and wine were to be consecrated, (i) by a special prayer, (ii) by the sign of the cross, and (iii) by the Priest taking them in his hands; the prayer of Consecration being as follows: 'Hear us, O merciful Father, we beseech Thee; and with Thy Holy Spirit and Word vouchsafe to bl✠ess and sanc✠tify these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, who in the same night that He was betrayed took bread,' etc.

[*Side Rubric.*] 'Here the Priest must take the bread into his hands.'

'Likewise after supper He took the cup,' etc.

[*Side Rubric.*] 'Here the Priest shall take the cup into his hands.'

(8) The words to be used in giving the bread and wine to the communicants were, 'The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life.'

And similarly with the wine.

(9) It was directed that the communicants should 'receive the Sacrament of Christ's body *in their mouths* at the Priest's hand,' in order to prevent the practice of carrying the bread away and using it for 'superstition and wickedness.'

It will be seen that here was on the one hand a marked improvement upon the Romish Missal, and yet on the other hand a manifest need of still further reforms to bring the service into a conformity with the teaching of the New Testament. For the Sacrament thus administered, among other less important defects, encouraged the notion of a 'sacrifice' offered by a 'sacrificial Priest' upon an 'Altar,'—of the efficacy of sacerdotal absolution,—of a change wrought in the bread and wine by a divine power through the performance of ministerial acts,—and, though not of actual transubstantiation, yet of something which might be mistaken for it.

2. The Second Prayer Book of Edward VI.

It was perhaps necessary that some such intermediate ground should be occupied, as that which is seen in the First Edwardian Prayer Book, before the national mind could be at all prepared to receive a more distinctly Protestant administration of the Holy Supper. But the advanced scriptural knowledge of the leading English Reformers, strengthened as they were by the counsels of eminent foreign divines, especially of Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer, would not allow them to stop at this imperfect stage of the Reformation[1]. In the year 1552 there was

[1] Martyr and Bucer were natives, the former of Florence, and the latter of Schelstadt in Alsace. They had before this been invited to England

given to the English Church a Second Prayer Book of a much more distinctively Protestant character than the first had been. In the Communion Service of this Second Book the following important changes are to be seen.

(1) The word 'Mass' was omitted from the title of the office.

(2) No special 'vestments' were to be used in this service, as a rubric plainly showed. 'And here it is to be noted that the minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use neither *Albe*, *Vestment*, nor *Cope*; but being an Archbishop or Bishop shall have and wear a *Rochet*; and being a Priest or Deacon he shall have and wear a *Surplice* only.' Thus not even a priestly garment was allowed to encourage the notion of a *sacrifice* or of any *sacerdotal act* in the administration of this Sacrament.

(3) The word 'altar' was carefully excluded from this service and from all other parts of the book.

(4) 'Auricular confession' and 'priestly absolution' were *disallowed*. For in the address to the people those parts, which in the Book of 1549 had favoured such remnants of Romanism, were now omitted. Only those who were troubled in conscience were invited to 'come to me or to some other discreet and learned *minister of God's Word* . . . that by the *ministry of God's Word* he may receive comfort and the benefit of absolution.' Comfort and absolution by the *ministry of God's Word* are something very different from 'comfort and absolution from a priest.'

(5) The sacramental bread was not to be 'unleavened and round as it was afore'; but a rubric directed that, 'It shall suffice that the bread be such *as is usual to be eaten* at the table with other meats, but the best and purest wheat bread that may be gotten.'

(6) The direction for mixing water with the wine was omitted.

(7) There was no consecration of the sacramental elements either by a prayer for their sanctification, or by the sign of the cross, or by the minister's taking them in his hands. Every-

by Archbishop Cranmer, and had been made Professors of Divinity at Oxford and Cambridge respectively.

thing was in fact omitted which could countenance the supposition that any change was wrought in the bread and wine, or that any virtue was imparted to them through the 'priest.'

(8) The words to be used in delivering the bread to the communicants were, 'Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on Him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving.' And similarly with the wine.

(9) Instead of the direction that the communicants should 'receive the Sacrament of Christ's body *in their mouths* at the priest's hands' the minister was to 'deliver the Communion to the people in their hands kneeling.'

Furthermore a 'declaration touching the kneeling at the Holy Communion' (called sometimes 'the Black Rubric,' because it was not printed in red letters like the rest) was added at the last moment from the pen of Cranmer [1], to the effect, 'that it is not meant thereby that any adoration is done, or ought to be done, either unto the sacramental bread or wine there bodily received, or to any real and essential presence there being of Christ's natural flesh and blood [2].'

Surely this was an Eucharistic reform indeed! There was thus given to the Church of England a grandly simple and nearly primitive Communion Service, with no teaching of transubstantiation or consubstantiation in it,—no ground for the superstition that any change was wrought in the sacramental elements or any virtue imparted to them by the acts of the officiating minister,—no unscriptural or materialising declaration of the presence of Christ,—the very word 'altar' carefully excluded with all notions of a material or literal sacrifice offered up in the service,—no prayers or offerings for the dead or trust in their intercession,—no adoration of the consecrated elements,—no directions for a fantastic or superstitious mode of receiving them,—no administration of them to infants,—no

[1] See Dr. Hebert, vol. ii. p. 328.

[2] See the whole Declaration in the Liturgies of Edward VI, Parker Society's edition.

reserving of them for superstitious purposes,—no encouragement to a vain reliance upon a formal use of them.

The Reformation, therefore, as far as the Lord's Supper was concerned, was complete. By going back to the New Testament for the doctrines which were to be held, and for the ceremonial in which those doctrines were to be set forth, the Reformers of 1552 showed to the universal Church how this holy ordinance could be purified from the vain and worse than vain traditions, from which it had so long suffered; and they left this 'Office for the Holy Communion' to be adopted or imitated by other Christian communities, but by none of them ever to be surpassed[1].

The form assumed at this time by the Eucharistic reformation in Scotland, under the leadership of John Knox, was nearly identical with that of the English Church. Indeed 'it is worthy of remark that during this period the worship of the Church of Scotland was chiefly liturgical, and that the service used for several years after the Reformation was the Prayer Book of Edward VI[2].' In the Lord's Supper, however, the communicants received the bread and wine in a *sitting posture*, as being, in Knox's view, most in accordance with the original institution of this Sacrament.

A conference on this question between the great Scottish reformer and Archbishop Cranmer, for the purpose of having,

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[1] It is to be regretted that the word 'mysteries' should have been retained in this Communion Service as an appellation of the Lord's Supper. At the present day, at any rate, its meaning is apt to be misunderstood.

In the New Testament the word 'mystery' means something once hidden or unknown, but now revealed to the knowledge of men. (See Eph. iii. 3–6, and other places.) Among the Greeks the name 'mysteries,' in the plural, had been given to certain secret rites, to which none but the initiated were admitted; and when the Christian Church had departed from its apostolic simplicity the word was applied to Christian rites. In particular the name 'mysteries' was given to the Lord's Supper, which indeed from the fourth century onwards was made as far as possible analogous to the secret mysteries of Greece.

In the Prayer Book the word is used in the sense of a holy rite, or religious ordinance.

[2] See Russell, quoted in Mosheim, vol. ii. p. 493, ed. Stubbs.

if possible, the same form observed in both the national Churches, was not productive of any result. Each Church has continued to follow its own convictions, and to use its own discretion in this matter. And those who have had personal experience of both these modes of reception, have found that both of them may be equally compatible with the propriety and solemnity requisite in such a service [1].

Second Period—from A.D. 1560 to the present time.

In this last period, embraced in our short review of the history of the Lord's Supper, our attention will be almost exclusively occupied by our own country and the English Church. It is well, however, to remark that it was at the beginning of this period that the Church of Rome finally settled and formularised its doctrines, and therein confirmed and perpetuated all the Eucharistic teaching which had been promulgated about 350 years before by the fourth Council of Lateran and Pope Innocent III. The Council of Trent convened for the purpose of stopping and, if possible, extinguishing the Protestant Reformation, was first assembled at the end of the year 1545; and having after this been twice interrupted, and twice reassembled, it finally closed its sessions in December 1563. And its decrees, supplemented and enforced by the creed of Pope Pius IV, which gives in a condensed form the substance of the council's principal decisions, have ever since been acknowledged as containing the authoritative religious profession of the Church of Rome.

[1] At the present time, among the orthodox Christian Communities who are separated from the Church of England, the Wesleyans use a Service essentially the same as that of the Anglican Prayer Book. The Congregationalists adhere more to the Scottish mode of administration. With them the presiding minister reads from one of the Gospels, or from 1 Cor. xi. 23–26, an account of the institution of this sacrament,—delivers at his discretion a short address, and offers a short prayer. Deacons, after the breaking of the bread and giving of thanks, carry the bread, and afterwards the wine, to the communicants, who take their seats in the centre of the church and remain seated. The bread is previously divided into small portions for each person to take one.

The fifth article of this creed of Pius IV, which relates to the Lord's Supper, is as follows :—

'I profess likewise that in the Mass there is offered to God a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead; and that in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist there are truly, really, and substantially, the body and blood together with the soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that there is made a conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the blood; which conversion the Catholic Church calls Transubstantiation. I also confess that under either kind alone Christ is received whole and entire, and a true Sacrament.'

The Protestant Reformation in England, after having been suppressed in its national acceptance during the reign of Queen Mary, was revived on the accession of Elizabeth, and was then so firmly established,—at first by Royal and Parliamentary authority, and afterwards by the enlightened convictions of the nation at large,—that it has never ceased to be the cherished inheritance of succeeding generations, or lost its hold upon the national mind and life: while the 'Articles of Religion' drawn up and agreed to at the end of the year 1562, and promulgated some months earlier than those of the Council of Trent, have continued to the present time to testify to the Protestant and Scriptural character of the English Church[1].

The four Articles relating to the Lord's Supper (28–31) exhibit the Eucharistic doctrines of the Church of England, under this their dogmatic form, in complete harmony with the matured convictions of the English Reformers, as seen in the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. And from this authorita-

[1] In the reign of Edward VI, in the year 1552, forty-two Articles were drawn up, 'to root out the discord of opinions and establish the agreement of true religion.' These were revised, under Queen Elizabeth, in 1562, and were re-arranged, with some alterations and omissions, in thirty-nine Articles. A final revision of them in 1571 made some slight verbal alterations, and left them in their present state.

tive exposition of its tenets it has never, as a Church, explicitly receded.

But in reviewing the Eucharistic history of the period with which we are now engaged, this is not the only thing which has to be considered. There are besides this *two important topics* demanding our attention from their intimate connection with our general subject, and from their influence upon current opinions respecting this sacred ordinance.

The *first* of these is concerned with the alterations which have at different times been authoritatively made in certain church formularies relating to the Lord's Supper; while under the *second* we shall have to deal with sacramental acts and doctrines not directly sanctioned by Church authority, and therefore, strictly speaking, of a private nature, but yet too dangerous in their tendencies, and too prevalent or influential in their effects, to be left out of our consideration.

Alterations in Formularies relating to the Lord's Supper.

The Second Prayer Book of Edward VI contained, as before observed, 'an Office for the Holy Communion' freed from all the human traditions which contravened the truth and simplicity of this ordinance, as exhibited in the New Testament. But the early death of the king in 1553 cut short the work of the Reformation, before this Second Book had time to gain a hold upon the minds of the people, or to be firmly established in the use of the Church; and the reign of Mary restored Popery, and all Popish usages throughout the land.

On the accession, therefore, of Elizabeth, the queen found herself in a position of difficulty, which required much caution as well as firmness. She was determined never to submit to the authority of the Pope, yet she felt no such bigoted aversion to Romanism as would have inclined her to extirpate it with fire and sword, as her sister had done with the Reformation. The problem consequently to be solved was how, without

violence and bloodshed to re-establish the Reformed religion in a country where many bishops and clergy, and a large portion of the people were opposed to it.

'The Romanists were in all the places of power and influence, and were not only left in the quiet occupation of them, but they had also discovered that there were many circumstances connected with the character of Elizabeth, and the security of her crown, which would make her desirous of retaining their good opinion[1].' And when it is further borne in mind that, according to the notions then prevalent about national religion, all persons were to be compelled by law to conform to the use of a national Liturgy, we see how inevitably the Queen and her advisers must have been inclined to make some compromise, and to recede a little from the position to which the Reformation had advanced in King Edward's reign,—to endeavour, in short, to conciliate the adherents of Rome, or at any rate not violently repel them, while at the same time her Protestant subjects should not be shocked or alienated by any open countenance given to Romish superstition.

1. *The Prayer Book of* Queen Elizabeth, *in* A.D. 1559.

The English Prayer Book was accordingly revised; and it was the Queen's wish that the Commission appointed for that purpose should 'favour *the first* Service-book of Edward VI[2].' This the Commissioners were not at all inclined to do, but after they had completed their work and given in their Report, some changes in a compromising direction were made in it by the Queen in Council before it was presented to Parliament. The changes made in this Revision (in 1559) were principally connected with the administration of the Lord's Supper—the great practical ground of contention between Rome and the Reformation—and these included—

[1] Cardwell, Hist. of Conferences, p. 18.

[2] For a fuller account of this Commission, see Past Revisions of the Prayer Book, published by the Prayer Book Revision Society, and Cardwell's History of Conferences, p. 21, &c.

(1) The restoration of *the sacerdotal dress* by the new 'Vestments rubric.' 'And here it is to be noted that the minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use such ornaments in the Church as were in use by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI[1].'

(2) The union of the two formulas of the First and Second Books, the Minister being directed to say in delivering the bread to the Communicants, 'The body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on Him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving.' And then similarly with the cup.

(3) The omission of the 'Black Rubric' about the posture of kneeling.

These changes were not very great; but they were sufficient for the Queen's purpose. They were in reality of a graver import than, on a superficial view, might seem to be the case. The *first* and *third* were favourable to Romanists: for the former encouraged the belief that in this Sacrament a material sacrifice was offered up by a priest: and the latter made room for the admission that in the posture of kneeling the consecrated elements might be adored. And with regard to the *second* change, Protestants, it is true, could and can still use the words without offence; for to them, 'Take and eat this' means, Take and eat this *bread*; but Romanists could acquiesce in the use of the same formula, for to them it would mean,

[1] This was a return to the vestments ordered in the *first* Edwardian Prayer Book. See Liturgies of Edward VI. (ed. Parker Society), pp. 76, 157. The Queen afterwards modified this Rubric, as she was expressly authorised to do by the Act of Uniformity. Her 'Injunctions,' issued in 1564, contained the following directions: 'In the ministration of the Holy Communion in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches the principal Minister shall use *a Cope with Gospeller and Epistoler agreeable*'—i. e. the Ministers who read the Gospel and Epistle should wear 'the vestures appointed for their ministry, that is to say, *Albes with Tunicles*.' But in parish churches 'Every Minister saying any public prayers. or ministering the sacraments or other rites of the Church, shall wear a comely Surplice with sleeves.'

'Take and eat this *Body of Christ*,' just before mentioned, and now put into their hands.

Elizabeth's object was so far gained that 'for ten years' as Heylin informs us, 'the Papists repaired to the parish churches without doubt or scruple.' But the Queen's policy was not acceptable to the feelings and convictions of the best informed among her Protestant people, including the most enlightened bishops of the Church; though they generally submitted to it in the hope that a better state of things would ere long ensue. 'The reluctant divines of the Queen's Commission,' says Bishop Burnett, 'reckoned that if that generation could on any terms have been separated from Popery, though with allowances for many superstitious conceits, it would once unite them all, and in the next age none of these should any more remain.' But these hopes proved to be delusive. These retrograde steps were not retraced, with the exception of such relief as was afforded by the Queen's 'Injunctions.'

This Revision of the Prayer Book at the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth was followed, in the course of the seventeenth century, by the other Revisions, both of which left some mark upon the Eucharistic formularies of the Church.

2. *The Prayer Book of* James I, *in* A.D. 1604.

The Hampton Court Conference, which, if it had been wisely conducted, might have resulted in much good to the Church and nation, was on the whole a sad failure. The Prayer Book, however, was revised, and a few improvements were made in it; but the only noticeable result of this Revision, as far as our subject is concerned, was the addition to the Catechism of the concluding portion about the Sacraments, in which the following answers appear:—

'The body and blood of Christ which are *verily and indeed* taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper.' And, 'The strengthening and refreshing of our souls by the body and blood of Christ, as our bodies are by the bread and wine.'

These words confirmed and still further carried out the com-

promise which had been made in Queen Elizabeth's Revision. They may, it is true, by some amount of pressure, be explained in a Protestant sense; and they have been, and are, so received by Protestant Churchmen; but they do not harmonise well with the sacramental teaching of the 39 Articles, and a Romanist might use them as not inconsistent with his creed. In Article 28 the words 'The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper,' are by the immediate context shown to be *figuratively* used, just as similar expressions are in the 6th chapter of St. John's Gospel; but to say, '*verily and indeed* taken and received,' suggests the idea of a literal and corporal presence of Christ in the Sacrament; and, however explained, such words are apt to produce an unsatisfactory confusion of thought, as we shall have to notice more fully in subsequent pages.

The *second* answer quoted above seems to imply that the Lord's body and blood by some power inherent in them act upon the souls of men, as bread and wine do upon their bodily frame—a belief quite unwarranted by Scripture, though it found its way into the Church by the end of the fourth century[1], frequently appeared afterwards in the course of Church history, and has been revived with more or less indistinctness in modern times. And so the words of this answer have a tendency to encourage a materialistic view of this Sacrament, as if there were some natural or supernatural action of the Lord's body upon the communicant.

3. *The Prayer Book of* CHARLES II, *in* A.D. 1662.

After the close of the Savoy Conference in 1661 the Prayer Book was again revised, when the following alterations were made in connection with the Communion Service.

[1] The writings of Cyril of Alexandria, who died in A.D. 444, abound with assertions to the effect that the body of Christ had an inherent power of giving life from its union with Him who is 'the Life.' He ascribes some of the miracles of Jesus recorded in the Gospels to this power of His human body.—See p. 17.

(1) The direction was added for placing the bread and wine upon the Communion Table, taken from the *first* book of Edward VI, and suggesting the idea of an offering or sacrifice.

(2) The bread and wine were to be *consecrated* by the 'priest,' who was to 'say the prayer of Consecration'; while the side rubrics ordered a manual consecration by his laying his hands upon them. Such consecration had not previously been used for more than a hundred years in the Church of England; and though quite capable of being taken in a Protestant sense, as meaning nothing more than a setting apart of the bread and wine for a sacred use, yet it equally admits the inference, which persons of Romanizing tendencies like to make, that a *change* in the sacramental elements is herein wrought by the action of the priest; and a door is thus opened for advancing still further.

(3) A rubric was added at the end of the service to show what was to be done with any consecrated bread or wine which might remain after all had communicated.

(4) The 'Black Rubric' was restored, with the significant alteration of the original words 'any *real or essential* presence,' into 'any *corporal* presence,' of Christ's natural flesh and blood.

(5) The rubric which ordered the vestments of Edward VI's First Book to be used was re-enacted, although it had been long before superseded by Queen Elizabeth's 'Injunctions.' And this has of late years been the occasion of many unhappy disputes and difficulties.

And now, on looking back on these successive alterations in the Eucharistic formularies of the English Church, we can see how they all tended in the same direction to deviate from the scriptural simplicity to which our great Reformers had brought back the administration of the Lord's Supper. Alterations they were,—some very slight, and none of them in themselves very great or striking,—immediately connected with *action* rather than *doctrine*;—yet altogether they could not fail to influence Church opinion, and so indirectly to influence Church

teaching. Their gradual introduction during the space of more than a hundred years made the acceptance of them by the Church at large all the more easy; and Protestant Churchmen acquiesced in, and at last used without reluctance, these altered formularies, and they do so still. Taking their stand upon the Articles and Homilies, and the sound doctrines therein maintained, they insist that it is in accordance with these that the services in the Prayer Book must be interpreted and used. But this does not remove all difficulty or danger. We have still to ask, 'Why then were these alterations made?' Certainly they were not introduced in order to bring the Liturgy into a closer conformity with the Articles or with the known convictions of the great Reformers. These alterations, as we have seen, were at the beginning framed in a spirit of compromise, so as to be acceptable to Romanists; and afterwards they were adaptations to prevalent opinions, which had lost a clear and simple view of the New Testament teaching on this subject, and which, while they were the cause of such liturgical changes, were themselves encouraged and perpetuated by them. And hence trouble was sure sooner or later to ensue.

No great mischief seemed indeed at first to result from them; just as, ages before, the same thing had happened with the first departures from primitive truth and simplicity in the early Church. During the eighteenth century the Anglican Church was for the most part too fast asleep for much evil or good to be actively stirred within it. But when a time of awakening came, there was found in the Prayer Book, by those who wished to find it, a standing-ground, or base of operations, for holding and extending anti-Protestant doctrines and practices in the very bosom of the Church, and for advancing nearer and nearer to the very errors against which that Church especially protests.

Eucharistic Doctrines not sanctioned by the Church.

The history of the Lord's Supper, even in the short view of it presented in these pages, would not be complete without our considering not only the authorised formularies of the English Church, but also the more private and individual opinions (1) of the great Church Reformers; and (2) of some others of a later date who have more or less widely influenced religious thought and action in the use of this Sacrament; till we come (3) to the latest phase of doctrine and profession, which in a manner beyond all former precedent has appeared in the most recent times, and is even now extensively exhibited in the Church.

(1) The opinions and assertions of the early Reformers, although standing outside of authoritative Church teaching, nevertheless had a sensible effect upon the times in which they lived,—extended their influence to other generations,—affected to some extent the liturgical changes which we have already noticed,—and helped to hand down to us some traditional sentiments, which few persons unfortunately have the courage to bring to the test of Scripture truth, and to reject when at variance with it.

It could not be reasonably expected that even the wisest and most enlightened of the Reformers would invariably keep their minds entirely free from the influence of the Patristic divinity which they had long studied, and of the Church traditions in the midst of which they had been brought up. And it was natural for them in those times of conflict with long-established authority to desire to show, as far as possible, that the doctrine which they held was not opposed to that of the earlier Church. Moreover, when under examination on the charge of heresy, with life and death hanging on their answer, it is not surprising that they were sometimes led to represent their tenets as less diametrically at variance with those of their examiners, than they were thought to be. Hence they were sometimes betrayed into using expressions which were deficient

in clearness, and might easily be turned to a meaning very different from what *they* intended,—playing fast and loose, as it were, with words, where the greatest precision was desirable.

Thus even good old Latimer, notwithstanding his solid learning and steady self-possession, fell into the mistake of admitting that there is 'a real presence' of Christ in the Lord's Supper.

In answer to Gardiner's assertion that 'There is *really* present the natural body of Christ,' he had replied, 'There is none other *presence* of Christ required than a spiritual presence; and this presence is sufficient for a Christian man, as the presence by which we abide in Christ and Christ abideth in us.' But then he unguardedly added, 'And this same presence may most suitably be called a *real* presence, for it is a presence not *feigned but true and faithful*[1].' And again on another occasion he said, 'A spiritual presence may be called a *real* presence, because to the faithful believer there is the *real spiritual* presence of the body of Christ[1].'

It is evident that Latimer meant to deny altogether a bodily presence, or the presence of Christ's body, and to assert a true and genuine presence of Christ as a Spirit, i. e. as God. But he unfortunately took words which were well understood and commonly employed in one sense, and used them in another. The word 'real' was well known as signifying the *res ipsa* of the question, i. e. the *presence of the natural body actually there*, which Latimer strongly denied, and yet he used this same word, putting upon it a very different meaning. And then what a shadowy expression is 'the spiritual presence of Christ's body' to denote His presence as a divine Spirit in the soul. What is the *spiritual* presence of a *body*[2]?

This ambiguous use of language could be productive of nothing but confusion and mischief; and such results the more

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[1] Vol. ii. p. 319.

[2] Even the word 'spiritual' may have two significations, for besides the sense in which Latimer used it, a 'spiritual presence' may be taken to mean the presence of Christ's spiritual body—His glorified body, like the future body of His people.

readily followed inasmuch as Latimer's unfortunate words did not stand alone. We find Cranmer asserting that 'The *body of Christ* is present in them that worthily receive the Sacrament,'—and then explaining his words as meaning that Christ is present there '*not corporally*, but only in force, grace, virtue, and benefit, *really* and effectually present[1].' What but some confused and misty meaning eluding all attempts to grasp it,—if any meaning at all,—can be attached to such words? 'A body present, but not *corporally*, i. e. not as a body'—'*really* present, yet there only in force and grace,' &c. Then again Cranmer says, 'In that Supper, as we in our body receive true bread and wine, so in our spirit we are nourished with the *true body and blood* of our Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ[2].' Words which may be explained to mean the same as 'My flesh is meat indeed, and My blood is drink indeed,' in John vi. 55; or as the expression in our Communion Service, 'Feed on Him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving'; but standing as they do without any qualifying or explanatory terms, they rather indicate the notion, so often noticed, that the natural body of Christ had a power or virtue for acting upon the souls and bodies of men.

Ridley also says with great truth and distinctness, 'The natural substance of Christ's human nature is in heaven and not here enclosed under the form of bread'; and again, 'If He be now present in the body of His flesh, the Supper must cease; for a remembrance is not of a thing present, but of a thing past and absent[3].' Yet in his last examination before the commissioners he replied 'Both you and I agree herein that in the Sacrament is the *very true and natural body and blood* of Christ; we only differ *in modo*,—in the way and manner of being.' And he added, 'In the Sacrament of the altar is the natural body and blood of Christ *vere et realiter*, indeed and really, by grace and efficacy; for so every worthy receiver receiveth the very true body of Christ; but (he adds) if you mean really and indeed,

[1] Vol. ii. p. 324. [2] Vol. ii. p. 325. [3] Vol. ii. p. 334.

so that you would include a lively and movable body under the forms of bread and wine, then, *in that sense*, is not Christ's body in the Sacrament really and indeed[1].' But it was *in that sense*, and in that sense *alone* that they used these words 'really and indeed'; and to use the words in another sense, as Ridley did, conduced most surely to ambiguity and misunderstanding.

How much better if these great and good men,—the founders of the English Church of the Reformation,—could have confined themselves to such clear and unmistakable language as that of Lady Jane Grey, who said, 'I think that I neither receive flesh nor blood, but bread and wine; which bread when it is broken, and wine when it is drunken, putteth me in remembrance how that for my sins the body of Christ was broken, and the blood shed on the cross; and with that bread and wine I receive the benefits that came from breaking His body and shedding His blood. God forbid that I should say that I eat the very natural body and blood of Christ; else there were two bodies, two Christs. One body was tormented on the cross; and if they did eat another body, then had He two bodies. If God would have done any miracle at His supper, He might have done so. But I say He minded no work or miracle, but only to break His body and shed His blood on the cross for our sins. But I pray you to answer me this one question, Where was Christ when He said, This My body? and what took He but bread? what brake He but bread? and look, what He brake He gave; and look, what He gave they did eat; and yet all this while He Himself was alive and at supper before His disciples, or else they were deceived[2].'

Equally clear too and satisfactory were those words of John Rogers, the first of the martyrs in the Marian persecution, who said in his examination, 'I cannot understand *really and substantially* to signify otherwise than *corporally*. But corporally Christ is only in heaven; so cannot Christ be corporally also in your Sacrament[3].'

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[1] Vol. ii. p. 334. [2] Vol. ii. p. 476. [3] Vol. ii. p. 478.

(2) This unfortunate adoption of ambiguous and mystified terms, so calculated to hinder a clear apprehension and enunciation of the truth, inflicted great mischief upon succeeding generations. Indeed it infected the whole current of the Eucharistic theology of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as the religious history and literature of those times abundantly shows.

Thus we see that even such a mind as that of Richard Hooker did not altogether escape its unhappy influence, when we read some of the sections in his Fifth Book. To find fault with anything that he has written is looked upon by some persons as an unwarrantable presumption; but truth is more to be revered than even 'the Judicious Hooker'; and what are we to think of such passages as the following? In section 55 he distinctly and rightly affirms, 'The substance of the body of Christ hath no presence, neither can have any, but only local. It was not therefore everywhere seen. It is not everywhere now, being exalted to heaven. There is no proof in the world strong to enforce that Christ had a true body, but by the true and natural properties of His body. Amongst which properties, definite or local presence is chief.' Again, 'His human substance in itself is naturally absent from the earth; His soul and body not on earth but in heaven only.' And then after these sound and sensible words, he immediately adds, 'Yet because this substance is inseparably joined to that personal Word, which by His very divine essence is present with all things, the nature, which cannot have in itself universal presence, hath it after a sort by being nowhere severed from that which is everywhere present.' And further in section 67, while declining to admit distinctly the Romish or the Lutheran doctrine, he does distinctly affirm 'The *real presence* of Christ's most blessed body and blood in the worthy receiver of the Sacrament'; and declares that 'these holy mysteries impart unto us in *true and real* though mystical manner the *very person of our Lord Himself*, whole, perfect, and entire.' With such expressions as these, and much more to the same effect, from a divine so highly and universally esteemed, it is no wonder that the stream of Eucharistic theology should

not subsequently have been very clear. Nothing can with truth be predicated concerning a body in its relation to a given space, but *presence* or *absence*; and to attempt to mix up these two together in a cloud of words, is equally bad in philosophy, theology, and common sense [1].

Yet we have the same sort of thing in Jewel, who uses the ambiguous words, 'By faith we *verily* receive His body and blood.' And again, 'we do expressly pronounce that in the Lord's Supper there is truly given into the believing the body and blood of our Lord,—the flesh of the Son of God [2];'—and so on, without one hint that it is only in a *figurative* or *metaphorical* sense that the bread given and received is called the Lord's body, as being a symbolical representation and memorial of it; moreover the body and blood of Christ are not 'given into the believing.' They 'feed on Christ in their hearts by faith [3].'

Throughout the seventeenth century the same thing is seen. The addition to the Catechism in 1604 (see p. 65) from the pen of Dean Overall gave countenance to both the elements of indistinctness and confusion of thought and language, which are abundantly traceable in the Eucharistic theology during the whole period from the time of Queen Elizabeth to the present day. For (1) the words 'verily and indeed' favoured the belief in an actual presence of the Lord's body; and (2) the wording of the other answer, quoted on p. 65, suggested the Cyrillian doctrine about the power and operation of Christ's natural body upon the bodies and souls of men. And one, or the other, or both of these, again and again appear in the pages of the numerous theological writers of the seventeenth century. The list of their names includes those of Andrewes, Thorndike,

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[1] Vol. ii. p. 378.

[2] Vol. ii. p. 350.

[3] Archbishop Sandys is one of the clearest and most satisfactory of the Elizabethan divines on this subject, but even he is not quite so clear and outspoken as could be wished, and he does not appear to have kept quite free from the Cyrillian doctrine so often alluded to.—See Dr. Hebert, vol. ii. 402.

Usher, Bishop Hall, Joseph Mede, Bramhall, Cosin, Reynolds, Jeremy Taylor, Stillingfleet, Barrow, Bull, Beveridge, Ken, Baxter, and others, from whose works extracts are given by Dr. Hebert; and among them Barrow and Beveridge alone seem to have risen above their fellows into a clearer atmosphere of Eucharistic truth.

Of the rest some draw nearer than others to the doctrine of Rome; thus Thorndike justifies the adoration of the Eucharistic elements, or at least of Christ presumed to be present in them; and Cosin says, 'I cannot see where any real difference is betwixt us (i.e. Anglicans and Romanists) about the real presence; the body of Christ is taken by us sacramentally, spiritually, and *really*, but not corporally.'

Of the more moderate divines Bishop Jeremy Taylor may suffice for an example, and even he says, 'The symbols become changed into the body and blood of Christ, after a sacramental, i.e. a spiritual *real* manner, so that all that worthily communicate do by faith receive Christ *really*, effectually, and to all the purposes of His passion[1].'

The remarks of Bishop Heber upon these words, in his Life of Jeremy Taylor, are so good and forcible, that I will give them here as a clear and full answer to all such expressions, whensoever and by whomsoever used. 'With sacramental,' says Heber, 'in this sense the term *real* is utterly inconsistent. The word "real," as Taylor has introduced it, is unmeaning or worse; inasmuch as for the elements to be *really* changed into the body and blood of Christ is the very thing for which the Romanists plead, and which is at complete variance with Taylor's previous statements, as well as with all his subsequent arguments. What indeed is the meaning of anything being present under its symbols and representations, unless it be that the thing itself is not there, but that there is something else which supplies its place? Or what but this can be the meaning of the *spiritual* presence of a substance[3]?'

[1] Vol. ii. p. 578. [2] Vol. ii. p. 579.

[3] Dean Goode points out that it is a sophism to make the 'real and

With Archbishop Wake, whose life was nearly equally divided between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we may almost say that there began a new era in the history of the Eucharistic controversy. Instead of 'the real presence of the body and blood of Christ,' which had hitherto been currently maintained, the Archbishop adopted the assertion of 'the real presence of Christ,' which became a popular expression, and without altogether superseding the older phrase survives even to the present day[1]. This seemed to relieve the question of some difficulties; yet it is in fact as objectionable as the former phrase, and as fruitful in confusion of thought and error. For, if the presence of Christ in His *divine* nature be intended, the word 'real' is, as before shown, out of place and misleading; and, besides, that is a presence which no one denies. But if something more than this is meant, then the presence of our Lord in His *human* nature—His body and blood—is brought in after all, although seemingly denied. And so the evil was not removed, but continued, under this slightly altered form, to be handed down to other generations.

The eighteenth century was one of slumber rather than of theology in the Church. Waterland was one of the best divines of that time; but though his work on the Lord's Supper is in many respects commendable, yet he could not keep clear of this all-prevailing mistiness of language, and he tells us that 'the body of Christ [i.e. as he affirms, His glorified body in heaven] is *verily and indeed* received, and consequently is said to be *really present*, notwithstanding its *local absence*[2].'

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spiritual presence' mean the real presence of a body after the manner of existence of a spirit. This is not merely a thing beyond our comprehension, but it involves nonsense.—Dr. Hebert, vol. ii. p. 699.

[1] Archbishop Wake is credited with the first direct enunciation of this form of speech, but the idea which it sought to express seems to have been in the minds of those divines who altered the Black Rubric in the Revision of 1662. For they worded it so as to deny 'a *corporal* presence,' but not 'a *real* or *essential* presence,' leaving room for 'a presence of Christ' in some way to be maintained.

[2] Vol. ii. p. 673, where Dr. Hebert well remarks, 'Will not plain laymen say that we are mad.'

And this kind of wavering, halting, ambiguous theology,—this swaying to and fro between Rome and the Bible,—this self-contradictory and delusive style of thought and utterance,—has never been swept away. It prevails in some form or other even to this present time. Numbers of Christian people, clergy and laity alike, even men who in other respects are well-informed in Biblical knowledge, and have a clear apprehension of evangelical truth, are evidently not free from the influence of such vague, unsettled and unsettling doctrine, and have never gained a clear, simple, straightforward understanding of the truth in this subject, which they would have gathered from the New Testament, were it not for the disturbing effects of these 'traditions of men.'

And thus we witness the remarkable fact that in the Church of England, with its Articles Scriptural and Protestant, and with the Bible freely circulated among all its members, we have a diverging current of traditional opinion running on from the time of the Reformation to our own days, leaving its mark here and there upon the Church's Liturgy, and tending to mystify the Church's teaching, or even to throw it back into some of the earlier forms of error which it was the express object of that great religious revolution to displace.

Strange as this fact may seem to be, it would be more than useless to ignore it. It affords a striking example of the tenacity with which false notions, once deeply-rooted, hold on their power from age to age. And it helps also to throw some light upon the manner in which the Lord's Supper has been dealt with in the last remarkable movement within the Church, with which our present historical review must be concluded, and which could hardly have developed itself, as it has done, if there had been nothing in the formularies of the Church for it to lay hold of for its support, and if the simple teaching of the New Testament, recovered at the Reformation, had not been to some extent afterwards overlaid and obscured in the theological literature of subsequent years, and in the minds of the present and some former generations.

(3) It does not fall within the scope of our present subject to trace at any length the rise and progress of the religious system, which, under the different names of 'Tractarianism,' 'Puseyism,' 'Anglo-Catholicism,' and 'Ritualism,' has grown up in the midst of us during the last half-century. We are concerned only with the Eucharistic doctrines and practices which it inculcates and promotes, and which occupy a prominent position in this new school of Anglican divinity.

The originators and earliest leaders in this movement began some fifty years ago with an attempt to reproduce among us the Church system of the fourth and fifth centuries. But neither they themselves, nor their disciples and successors, did or could stop there. The Eucharistic peculiarities of that Church period gradually led on, as we have seen, to the full-blown Romish doctrine of Transubstantiation with all its accompaniments; and in a similar manner the old Tractarian school passed on beyond the original teaching of the 'Tracts for the Times'; and modern 'Ritualism' is now essentially Romish *in fact*, if not always in undisguised profession.

There are indeed some different varieties to be seen in the issues, to which this Anglo-Catholicism has led its votaries.

1. Some with a conscientious honesty have 'gone over to Rome,' as the proper place for those who had already embraced its tenets.

2. Others, a larger number, continue in the Church of England, holding its benefices, teaching from its pulpits, ministering or worshipping in its sacred buildings, while they avowedly celebrate 'the Mass,' or join in its celebration, as far as possible, in the very style of Rome, with altar and sacrificing priest, with vestments, incense, crossings, prostrations, and every other mediaeval embellishment, and with the adoration of the consecrated elements, as containing or exhibiting under their form the Lord Himself upon their altar[1]. This Romanism

[1] Mr. Bennet of Frome, whose case came before the Court of Arches a few years ago, described the usual practice of his party, when he said,

pure and simple is maintained in a considerable number of English Churches; and in many more, although this is not seen in all its completeness, yet approaches towards it are made with different degrees of nearness both in doctrine and in act.

3. With Romanism thus carried out in *action*, full and distinct Romish *doctrine* may consistently be proclaimed; but this is not always the case. Thus Dr. Pusey, whose name and memory are so highly esteemed in the ranks of Anglo-Catholicism, and who may justly be regarded as representing a large section of its adherents, does not in express terms agree with Rome. He maintains indeed that 'the body and blood of Christ are *literally and really*, and not in any figurative sense, present in the consecrated elements.' But he further explains this view by saying, 'The same body which is *locally* at the right hand of God, is *supra-locally*, under a different mode of existence, present with us *really*, *truly*, *substantially*, though *spiritually*; and since His body is there, there must be His soul also, there also His Divinity.' And again, 'It is a great mystery of His love, that being for ever in His natural mode of existence in His human body at the right hand of God, He should so delight to be among the sons of men, that He *should invent*, so to speak, *another mode of existence* in order to be with us, to be with each of us, so as to be wholly with each of us, as if He were with none besides[1].'

So far as any sense can be extracted from such fantastic and self-contradictory language, it seems to be designed to avoid the acknowledgment of actual Romanism, and yet all the while to hold forth the very same thing, slightly disguised in another form of words. So that practically it makes no difference whether this strange doctrine of Dr. Pusey or simple Romanism is theoretically held.

'Who myself *adore* and teach the *people to adore, the consecrated elements*, believing Christ to be in them, believing that under their veil is the sacred body and blood of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.'

[1] See Dr. Pusey's Eleven Addresses during a Retreat of the Companions of the Love of Jesus.

And this the latest form of Eucharistic teaching,—this last mode in which men have taken upon themselves to deal with the most simple as well as most sacred rite of primitive Christianity,—brings us down to our own days. It is rife amongst us now in this last portion of the nineteenth century. And it appears in the very midst of the Church of England, which authoritatively declares the Bible to be its 'Rule of Faith,' and which is supposed to be the very home of Bible truth,—the strongest fortress of the Protestant Reformation.

Surely there is something here for earnest Christians to regard with more than a passing thought or hasty word.

Let us look back upon the whole path along which this history has led us. It shows us first of all a divinely simple ordinance, clear and bright, and overflowing with Gospel grace and truth, in the hands of the Apostles, and in the inspired pages of the New Testament. And then, as the traditional teaching of uninspired men prevailed more and more in the post-apostolic Church, there came declension and error creeping on and on, and gradually overlaying it and distorting it with their evil work, and at last utterly changing its character and purpose, and making it a very centre and source of idolatrous superstition. Again, from the darkness with which Christendom had been overspread, light, by the good providence of God, began to dawn; and with the opening of the Scriptures, and the general reformation of religion, this hallowed rite was restored, especially for British Christians, to substantially its primitive use and its apostolic simplicity. But alas some germs of error again crept in. Unguarded expressions and ambiguous words obscured the simple truth which had been so happily regained, and left some impression even on the formularies of the Church. A stream of man's traditions flowed on. It seemed as if men could not keep themselves from again interfering with the Saviour's legacy, and marring its simple purity with their subtleties and imaginations. The way was thus prepared for greater mischief. And now we have the old mediaeval Church system, which the Reformation cast off, appearing again

more or less thinly disguised, if disguised at all, and putting itself forward with yearly increasing influence, and claiming to have an acknowledged place on the platform of the Church of England.

Is this to continue and go forward, and to be welcomed or acquiesced in as one of the legitimate aspects of many-sided truth,—one of the forms of Scriptural Catholicity?

Let us not deceive ourselves about the gravity of this question. This doctrine of the Lord's Supper never stands alone. It came in former times, and it comes now, with a train of will-worship, idolatries, and other debasing superstitions behind it; with the whole dominion of a false priesthood arrogating to itself an unscriptural and superhuman power, and corrupting and enslaving the consciences and lives of men, women, and children through the contaminating influence of the Confessional, and by the assumption of a power to forgive sins. It came in former times, and it comes now, as a most essential part of a religious system which makes the word of God of none effect by its traditions, and has proved itself the enemy of man by its hostility to civil and religious liberty.

No earnest and patriotic Christian then should make light of the dangers which thus confront us in these strange times. And whatever else we may be able or may desire to do to meet them, we may certainly gather from the instruction of the past that nothing but the teaching of the New Testament can be safely trusted to guide us in the use of this sacred ordinance, which has always had so powerful an influence upon the whole religious life of individuals and of churches. It is not to the 'Fathers' of early times that we must betake ourselves, or to Churches of any post-apostolic age, or to any favourite writers of ancient or modern date, however revered for their piety or learning; but we must go reverently, yet boldly, to the written word of inspiration. And in following its guidance it will be good for us to mark the footprints of those deviations from the path of Scriptural teaching by which others went astray, that we may avoid treading in their steps. We shall then remember—

1. That the Lord's Supper is not a *sacrifice*; and therefore no 'Altar' or 'sacrificing Priest' (ἱερεὺς) has any place in its administration. But it is a remembrance or memorial of the one all-sufficient sacrifice offered once for all; the only Christian sacrifices being those 'of praise and thanksgiving,'—of 'ourselves, our souls and bodies,'—and of self-denying acts of kindness done for Christ's sake.

2. That no change whatever is made in the sacramental bread and wine through any acts or words of the officiating minister; and that no 'consecration' of them has any scriptural authority; so that, if used, it must be regarded as only setting them apart for a sacred purpose.

3. That there is no presence of Christ's real body and blood in, or with, or under the form of, the bread and wine. There is no 'real presence,' but a *real absence*, of Christ as the Son of God made man; for it is only during His absence that this Sacrament is to be used—'Ye do shew the Lord's death till He come.' The Lord Jesus in His divine nature is present in the heart of the faithful communicant, as He dwells in our hearts by faith in other devotions also. But the body and blood of Christ here *represented* are His body which died, and His blood which was shed, upon the cross, and they *are now nowhere*; for the glorified body of Christ, like that which His people will one day have, is no longer 'the body of His humiliation,' consisting of flesh and blood[1], but a spiritual body, 'the body of His glory[2].'

4. That there was not at any time, and is not now, any inherent power or efficacy in the human body of our Lord to act beneficially upon the bodies or souls of men; but with respect to His natural body, He was bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh, in all points like unto His brethren; and we should be on our guard against this 'fond conceit,' that the body of Christ comes and acts upon us or in us for our good.

5. That the words used by our Lord in the institution of

[1] See 1 Cor. xv. 50.

[2] See Phil. iii. 21.

this ordinance, and all the kindred or associated expressions taken from John vi, are altogether *figurative* and *symbolical*. The bread and wine *represent* to us His body and blood given and shed for us in His atoning sacrifice for our sins; and to *take, eat and drink* them is, by a striking figure of speech which transfers bodily acts to the soul, to receive into our hearts, and believe in the Lord Jesus here presented to us, as having thus given Himself for us, and so by faith to be united to Him, and to have all the benefits of His salvation.

And lastly, seeing the mischief that so often has been caused by the use of ambiguous words or mystified expressions which outrage common sense and sober judgment, let us endeavour to gain, and to keep, *clear and simple* views of this divine ordinance, and to express them in *plain words*. Such clearness and simplicity will not in the least derogate from the sacredness or solemnity of this hallowed service, or from the reverence with which we use it. We shall indeed thus all the more firmly take our stand upon the Word of God given to us in the Scriptures, and from that standing-ground nothing should ever induce us to depart.

By the same Author.

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