A "Second" Reformation

The Reformation Watershed

Looking back from the present day, what is sometimes easily referred to and simply called "the Reformation" was, in actuality, anything but easy and simple to comprehend. Because the Church and the Christian faith were foundational to virtually all of life, serious change to that foundation sent shock waves through all parts of culture and society. Politics and government, the arts, society, finance, and the sciences – everything was affected and, in many cases, completely redefined. To say that the Reformation was all about religion would be myopic – all of life is religious, and it was particularly so in the 16th-17th centuries. The Reformation proved and demonstrated that.

Neither was the Reformation a uniform process. It affected different nations and cultures, all with different emphases, priorities and pressures. To begin with, the motivations of the individual Reformers were varied and complex. The historical and theological circumstances of their own, personal lives were complicated and sometimes incompatible even with one another; and their successes, as well as the implications of their achievements, were often unpredictable and uncontrollable.

The one thing the Reformers had in common was their clarion call back to the authority of the Scriptures and the urgent need for the Church to conform to them. For Wycliffe in England, the priority was educational. For Luther in

Germany, the emphases were soteriological and governmental. For Zwingli in Switzerland, the implications were social and political. For Calvin, also in Switzerland, the results were doctrinal and foundational or systematic. Each, in his own time and circumstance, found opportunity to rediscover the truth of the gospel and the practice and worship of the church by drawing authority solely from the Word of God.

Being much more than just a series of polemics against man-made tradition, the movement of Reformation really dealt with the question of how much of the ancient Constantinian enhancement of the church should be rejected and what should replace it. Answering such a question would bring argument, dissension, war, and, eventually, the formal breakup of the Holy Roman Empire – which had been considered for an entire millennia to be the Kingdom of God on earth.

The bold cries of the Reformers were also met and answered in different ways and with different priorities, and resulting in different outcomes. The Roman Catholic Church responded with the Counter-Reformation - soundly condemning the Reformers through the anathemas of the Council of Trent, succeeding in holding Spain, and regaining control of much of the Netherlands and France.

In some cases the Roman Catholic Church did this if only by force. But in other cases, the Church was being forced from within to reconsider some of its own practices in worship and ethics. England, led by Henry VIII, once

considered the defender of Rome, wound up in conflict with the Pope and responded with a radical separation from Rome and the creation of the Anglican church, all the while allowing unsatisfied Puritans and Calvinists to slowly come to a boil on their own. Later, with a theologically driven civil war, a Presbyterian Commonwealth in England erupted, climaxing with the beheading of the crown, only to see a sudden and dramatic return to the monarchy within one generation.

Scotland would eagerly, even zealously receive and embrace the Presbyterian movement to the ejection and eventual doom of their queen but, within a hundred years, the newly restored monarchy of the united empire wound up chasing down and murdering those who held out for Crown and Covenant.

No matter how the Reformation was experienced, or how it was met, the most visible and dramatic effect was on the pattern and practice of worship. It was the service of worship to God which divided men, shed blood, and divided kingdoms. Those same three principles - the elitism of the clergy, the role of drama, and the room as holy space – were at the center of it all.

The Elitism of the Clergy - By the time of the Reformation, the Catholic Church had developed a sophisticated and elaborate system of hierarchy in terms of her officers. We have seen how that first began when the early church readily gave herself to the appointment of bishops. During the rise of sacerdotalism, the basic building block of this hierarchy had become the priest.

But now, the Reformation declared this vital office to be inappropriate for the New Testament age. I will quote Calvin here merely as a sampling:

> *We shall begin with the order of presbyter, or priest. For by these two words they indicate the same thing, and they so refer to those whose duty it is, they say, to perform the sacrifice of Christ's body and blood on the altar, to frame prayers, and to bless God's gifts. … Christ commanded that stewards of his gospel and sacraments be ordained, not that sacrificers be installed. He gave a command to preach the gospel [Matt. 28:19; Mark 16:15] and feed the flock [John 21:15], not to sacrifice victims. He promised the grace of the Holy Spirit, not to enable them to make atonement for sins, but duly to engage in and maintain the government of the church [cf. Matt. 28:20]." (Calvin, p. 1476)*

The rejection of the priesthood was also connected to the rejection of the priest's primary duty – being the conductor of the dominant subject of worship, that being the sacrifice. The conducting of the Mass, the Roman Catholic sacrificial interpretation of the Lord's Supper was worship by performance at the highest level. Again, Calvin summarizes the sentiments of all Reformers:

> *By these and similar devices Satan has tried to obscure with thick darkness and to defile Christ's Sacred Supper – in order at least to prevent its purity from being preserved in the church. But the height of frightful abomination was when the devil raised up a sign by which it was not only to be obscured and perverted, but – being completely erased and annulled – to vanish and pass out of human memory. This happened when he blinded nearly the whole world with a most pestilential error – the belief that the Mass is a sacrifice and offering to obtain forgiveness of sins. (Calvin, p. 1429)*

The theological arguments for rejecting the priesthood focused on the perfect, mediatorial work of Christ alone, the fulfillment of the Aaronic priesthood in Christ (being of the order of Melchizedek), the torn veil of the Temple, and Christ's instructions and assurances to the apostles that in their own prayers they have immediate access to the Father in his name. While there were varying views among the Reformers on what should replace the Mass, the

dismissal of the priest from the church was singularly crucial to the form that the worship of God would now begin to take.

The Role of Drama in Worship - The evolution of worship into dramatic display had involved the key actor of the drama, that being the priest/bishop and what it was that he was doing during the service. The performance of this act had virtually created his prestige and obligated the laity to regard him as superior. This form of worship involved the colorful and musical processional in which he and his assistants judiciously entered the sanctuary and slowly marched toward the front where the altar stood. Such drama would then continue to develop surrounding the observance of the Mass with chants, singing, genuflecting, kissing holy objects and spreading incense. The climax was the sacrifice of the Mass which was choreographed to visibly express the invisible holiness of God, the awe involved in the Son of God laying down his life for his church, and the majesty that the presence of God communicated among men. The pilgrimage of the worship service was meant to symbolically and yet visibly transport the worshipper from earth toward heaven.

The symbolism of worship was directly tied to this sense of drama. Everything represented or stood for something - some significant meaning either with regard to the gospel in general (Biblical stories and characters, etc.) or, more specifically, the locale, the circumstances of the construction of the building and the primary financial benefactors of that particular church.

In this context raged the age-old debate regarding iconography. Icons were visual imagery that encouraged and enhanced the sense of drama. Pictures and statues depicted biblical scenes making them come alive, and drew the worshipper's focus of attention for purposes of devotion, prayer or veneration. They were, it was often argued, "the Bible of the illiterate"[i]. But the Reformers rejected iconography - not only because they saw it as a violation of the second commandment but because they were determined to deny that worship required that sense of drama[ii]. Instead, the literate and illiterate, alike, needed to be taught.

The real detriment of drama had been to separate, segregate and isolate the lay worshipper – not only from God but also from other Christians from thinking they were, in any sense, a community, as being the people of God. The more drama, the more furniture, the more elaboration and symbolism, the less connection the lay person had with what was actually transpiring in the service, and the less understanding they had of what it all meant.

> *These Reformation Christians were not anonymous religious beings who sat passively through a service that did not involve them, nor were they pious souls who immersed themselves individually in some mystical adoration. (Bieler, p. 50-51)*

The older Roman Catholic concept of retaining Latin as the holy language of worship and the language shared by the church universal, had by this time only managed to further isolate and discourage the laity from not only following the service but even comprehending it.

> *[T]he worship had become remote from the people. It was said throughout in Latin, a language which now for centuries had been known only by the educated few. If a*

> *sermon was preached, and this was no longer a regular part of the service, it would be in the vernacular together with certain prayers said before and after it; and the Scriptures might be read again in the common tongue of the people before the sermon in a little vernacular service called the prone embedded in the mass, but this was not a fixed feature, nor was it everywhere used. The ceremonial, august, symbolical, and meaningful to the initiated, was not understood by the great body of the people, who could not therefore intelligently follow the service. The elevation was for them the climactic point, when bells were rung, and they prostrated themselves, but the remainder of the service to most of the laity was sheer mystery. Thus popular attendance fell off, as the people could not share in the great action, fundamentally transformed into a dramatic spectacle and no longer an action of common worship. (Maxwell, p. 37-38)*

The result of this was to make it plain that the real worshippers were not the laity at all but the priests themselves. They did not lead or assist the laity in worshipping God, the priests worshipped God on the laity's behalf. The laity were just spectators who were held back from entering into the real presence of God. The worship of God was something going on down front and by professionals. In fact, the true worship of God was conducted whether there was any laity present or not, and individuals considered themselves free to come and go during the service. For the laity, worship had devolved into private devotion in a holy place. Anything more than that simply did not matter.

The primacy of drama in worship had eliminated the need for faithful to gather collectively in worship. The Reformation turned that around. The priesthood and performance was eliminated, and with it, the fundamental understanding of worship as drama. Drama in worship now had no place. The Reformers called for the people of God to stand and worship their God and not to merely be spectators.

The stone altar, fixed against the east wall was destroyed or replaced with a wooden table that was placed either in the center of the chancel or moved to the nave itself where the congregation might actually gather around it themselves.

> *To this end, they changed the focus of the rite [of the Mass] from a sacrificial altar to a communion table and the standard posture at the reception of the elements from kneeling to sitting. (Schmidt, p. 15)*

The Room as Holy Space – With the rejection of the priesthood, the Mass that the priest performed, and the drama that worship had been allowed to become, attitudes and perspectives toward the room in which worship was to be done demonstrably and radically changed. The medieval abbeys and cathedrals, these most magnificent, Gothic structures yet built by man to the glory of God, were now dinosaurs. What earlier priests and bishops had dreamed and envisioned as ideal, what architects had progressively designed as more glorious, majestic and soaring than ever before, what artists and engineers had so creatively and inventively developed to open up, lighten[iii] and beautify, what masons and carpenters had given their lives' occupations toward and for which construction often took much more than a single generation to accomplish, what local townspeople had sacrificed so dearly for so long and had taken such pride in, were now seen as … well, just wrong.

> *The presence of God was manifested neither in one special holy place, nor in the substance of the bread and the wine, but in the heart and the body of the believers, in the physical community of Christians gathered together around the holy table in communion with the Risen Lord. There was therefore no longer any reason for maintaining the illusion of an objectively holy place, … . The clergy were no longer the only mediators, the indispensible intermediaries between God and the worshippers. To have a chancel*

> *reserved for them could only mislead the community concerning the reality of God's communication with them. The place reserved for the choir had to be emptied or eliminated. (Bieler, p. 50)*

The worship of God had so changed that not only were the cathedrals rendered purposeless and meaningless but the even greater motivating vision – of increasing and demonstrating the kingdom of God on earth – had been shattered as well.

Instead of Holy Space, Worship Space - To say that the Reformation caused an upheaval in entire countries and kingdoms as well as in churches would be an understatement. Just as in the time of Roman persecutions, there were hot spots where people died and church buildings were attacked, while in other areas there simply was not much change at all. Much of the historical focus of this era is readily found in terms of the active, grass-roots uprisings which resulted in violent expressions being made against the Pope, in which church buildings were stripped of icons, windows broken and walls whitewashed. To historians with an eye towards the preservation of art, such actions seem to have been a senseless or hate-filled tragedy motivated by passion and, perhaps, outside instigation[iv].

The truth is much different, however. Beyond the cases which today we refer to as "headline-grabbers", many more church buildings experienced nothing more than the effects of a withdrawal of funding and/or mere abandonment. In many cases, items considered of value would be stripped and sold, either to pay for repairs to the building or to go to other purposes entirely[v].

> *By the time of the Reformation, … owing to internal strife and invading armies as well as to neglect by many of the incumbents and alienation of teinds [tithes], most of the parish churches were in disrepair, and many also of the abbey, cathedral, burgh, and collegiate churches had severely suffered. Efforts were made by the Reformers to put them into good if somewhat uncouth repair, but their funds were limited, and much of the work was makeshift and rude. Thus during much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the medieval church-buildings remained uninviting, dismal, cold places. Apart from some great churches and burgh churches, the old buildings were usually small, narrow, dark, and dank, rectangular in shape, with earthen floors, still often disturbed for burials leaving bones scattered about and a settled and prevailing odour of the dead. The roofs were, more often that (sic) not, thatched with heather or turf in the medieval manner, as in former times (straw was much too valuable and scarce to be used for roofing), the walls decayed, the windows small, and dampness was everywhere prevalent, increased by the raised level of the ground in the churchyards where burials had taken place for centuries. Through the roofs, the rain trickled in, to make it damper still. In 1690, the heritors were urgently charged with maintaining the churches in repair, but in a period when a laird's annual income was about £50, such admonitions had little effect. (Maxwell, p. 98-99)*

But there was also a third reason for the change these buildings experienced. When the Reformers reinvented the worship of God along the lines of the Scriptures as sole authority and focus, the only buildings convenient were those selfsame cathedrals and parish churches, which were much too large and/or cost-prohibitive to tear down completely or replace immediately.

> *Thus, apart from other considerations, sheer economic necessity demanded the continued use of medieval parish kirks, and their repair and adaptation to suit new ritual requirements became the policy of the Reformers. (Hay, p. 18)*

Still, no one was to be confused about the change in direction that the Reformation was taking the church. Even if the older buildings were to continue to be used, their purpose now was totally different.

> *The Westminster Directory (1644), the traditional standard for Presbyterian worship, stated that "no place is capable of any holiness.*[vi]*" To the Westminster divines it was unthinkable that holiness should be attributed to physical things in and of themselves. … The function of things may be sacred even though they possess no sanctity of themselves. There is nothing sacred about a pulpit or font to a Protestant, but there is definitely something sacred in preaching or baptism, the acts for which these objects are employed. (J. White, p. 31)*

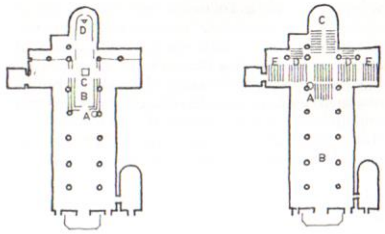
Because of that, the first changes were simply to modify the interior so as to reflect the new priorities. This was done in a variety of ways.

The cathedrals, abbeys and parish churches were all divided as they stood into three sections – the nave, the transepts, and the chancel. These sections had become separated with barriers – rood screens or even stone walls with only narrow doorways. The first thing to be removed were these barriers. The second thing to be done was to rearrange the interior so as to fit the Reformation principles of worship: the preaching of the Word, the community of God's people, and the practice of the sacraments, particularly, the Lord's Supper. Because the typical cathedral was not built to accommodate these Reformation principles, experiments in accommodation had to be made[vii].

Artist's sketch of Calvin in the pulpit of Cathedrale de Saint_Pierre passionforpreaching.net

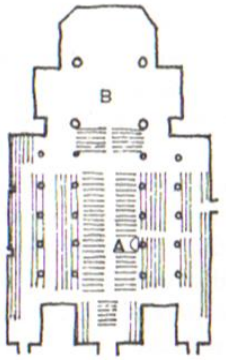
On Calvin's return to Geneva in 1541, the lay-out of the sanctuary in the Cathedrale de Saint_Pierre was entirely changed. The rood screen and the choir were demolished and the pulpit(A) was taken from the second pillar on the right to the first on the left, in order to allow a gathering of the community around the Word of God and the holy table(C), which was set out on the Lord's Supper days. The congregation was arranged in the form of a star in the front part of the nave, in the transepts and in the choir.

The arrangement of the pews in the cathedral at Geneva in 1660 shows that the fundamental conception of Protestant worship remained unchanged. They were set out convergently right around the pulpit, and in effect formed an amphitheatre concentrated at the end of the old sanctuary. (Beiler, p. 57)



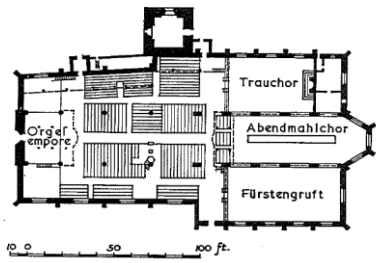
Cathedrale de Saint_Pierre, Geneva
Before the Reformation After
Bieler, p. 59

In many places, the entire worship service was often moved into the nave, setting off the rest of the interior. The pulpit (letter A in the figure to the right), which before had been set along the side of the nave, now was to be centralized by priority. Most often it was not moved but the chairs or benches were turned to now make the pulpit the center of attention. The effect of this was turning the focus of the room sideways. This allowed for and showed the priority for the gathering of the worshippers to assemble on all three sides. The congregation could be close enough to the pulpit to hear the preaching and restore a sense of community in the gathering of the saints as a single body of Christ around the Word of the Lord.



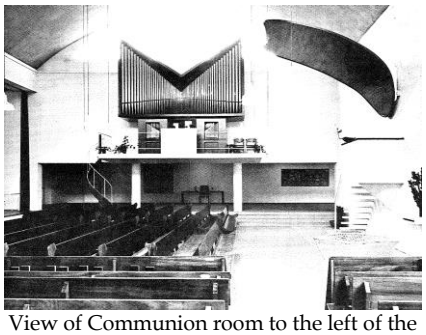
Basle Cathedral
after the Reformation
Bieler, p. 59

In some cases, cathedral buildings were divided up for more practical use. The chancel might be turned into the worship space by itself, but it often proved to be too small for that. In some cases, it was reserved for the service of communion alone – the people moving from the nave to the chancel[viii] for the communion service[ix]. An early example of that is the Grosse Kirche in Emden, Germany. With such adaptation, the Reformed practice of the congregation sitting at a table big enough for many, if not all, can be seen. This practice became particularly attractive to the churches in Germany, Scotland and



Grosse (Reformirte) Kirche, Emden, Germany
(Hay, p. 25)

the Netherlands. Using the chancel or choir of the medieval building for such a designated use had two effects. It gave rise to the idea of communal partaking as a distinct, even separate part of the worship service. This practice continued in some areas even into the modern age with some worship rooms being constructed with separate aisles designated only for the observance of the Lord's Supper. The other effect was to create an entirely opposite perception: to reduce "the communion service to a remote spectacle completely at variance with both primitive and Reformed concepts … ." (Hay, p. 25)



View of Communion room to the left of the worship auditorium (pulpit to the right)
Church of the Advent, Hervormd, Netherlands
Bruggink & Droppers, p. 277

The Reformers also found other uses for the three sections of the medieval church. In some cases, the sections were simply walled off and made into separate rooms, even for separate and distinct congregations[x] who could, then, use the full building all at the same time[xi]. In still other cases, the extra rooms were simply abandoned or relegated to storage or secular use.

The transformation of ancient Roman churches at the Reformation adapting places of worship for the evangelical community gathering, was

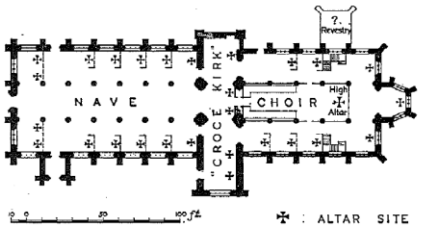


FIG. 1. Aberdeen, St. Nicholas: Reconstruction of pre-Reformation plan arrangement. (The nave was replaced in 1755 by James Gibbs's West Kirk and the choir in 1835 by Archibald Simpson's East Kirk)

Hay, p. 24

Nave or "West Kirk", St. Nicholas today

undertaken almost everywhere. The inspiration was always the same, but there were variations in the actual execution. (Bieler, p. 61)

Immediate Post-Reformation Experimentation - Eventually, the new Reformed communities began building their own buildings. While the cathedral design, with its clear connection to sacerdotalistic Catholicism, was rejected, a new-found freedom spurred the imagination of the Reformers[xii].

> *The ancient tradition of the circular church was rediscovered, thus expressing the gathering of the community by the Word of God around the holy table in the joy of the Resurrection. … Square, rectangular, octagonal, oval or elipitical in plan, French Protestant churches at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries show both great architectural freedom and unity of liturgical conception. (Bieler, p. 62-63)*

Gone was the sense of grandeur, prominence and beauty that had characterized the cathedrals whether this was to be legitimately appreciated or not. Yet, just because what was being rejected could be agreed upon, clear and definitive steps forward were not immediately clear and distinct.

One reason for this was ideological – Reformed thinking was simply not uniform and lemming-like. The Reformation had spawned nothing if not independent thinking and an argumentative spirit. And there were other dimensions to be appreciated as well. One such dimension was the political influence of each individual region – that is, the church's relationship to the government, which varied from country to country and sometimes from province to province. Another dimension was financial – cathedrals and abbeys had been built with the resources of royalty, land barons, prominent clergy,

knights, etc., all who gave generously and proudly for such a building. Constructing a worshipping majestically in a glorious cathedral to the honor of God had proven to be a true incentive for giving. But now, there was little to no motivation for such generosity, no vision for local pride, no work for engineers or masons, no opportunity for religious legacy.

All of this meant that building a church building for Reformed worship would be a challenging venture – not for engineers anymore but for theologians. What is proper? What is sufficient? What is financially possible? It was one thing to intentionally reject the age-old glory of building an everlasting edifice for the kingdom of God. Instead, the emphasis now was on the people who gathered to worship. So, how much building was too much? Would a humble house where the people could gather truly prove adequate? Just what does a church building say to the world about the condition and place of the church in society? More often than not, very humble structures began to identify the Reformed view of God, the church and worship from the beginning.

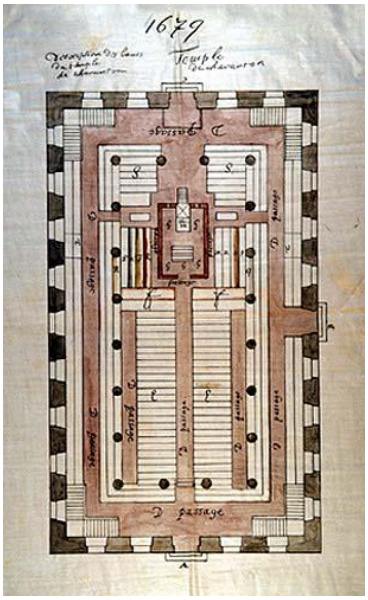
So the problem for the historian today is in trying to find the evidences of such structures for study. Unlike the cathedrals built after the first millennium, these intentionally humble buildings, built only 500 years ago, were not meant to last, not meant to be monuments to an architect or an engineer or an artisan. Such structures were plain and simple and, with time, went by the wayside easily.

Interestingly, and perhaps surprisingly, the first evidences and records for Protestant construction come from France, one place where the Reformation was not at all welcome. Protestant influence came early into France in the form of Lutheranism and then Zwinglism. Within twenty years, the entrenched Catholics determined these Protestants to be heretics and began their dreadful persecutions. This was the time that John Calvin fled France to settle in Switzerland. Before long, France was embroiled in her Wars of Religion between Catholics and Protestants, which formally ended with the Edict of Nantes in 1598. This was a generous compromise, allowing Protestants to practice their faith publicly albeit under strict guidelines.

Temple de Paradis, Perrissin
www.museeprotestant.org

Before the Edict of Nantes, as early as 1564, the *Temple de Paradis* was constructed in Lyon[xiii]. It was destroyed only three years later during the Wars but it is preserved in one painting of its interior[xiv]. It was built in the round with a pointed roof. The people gathered around the pulpit which projected out into the room[xv]. The windows appear to bear the symbols of the Crown.

In 1606, after the Edict, the Protestants in Paris constructed the Charenton Temple. The original was burned in 1621 and little is known of its design. It was rebuilt in 1623 and considerable documentation records its design. It was rectangular in shape and it was huge. With two galleries wrapping around all four walls, there was room to accommodate 4,000 worshippers. But it was distinctly not basilican in form or function. The pulpit was not against the far, narrow wall but was projected well out toward the center and raised prominently for purposes of sight, sound and symbolic priority. There was no continuous center aisle and at the very top of the ceiling was the only display – a large rendition of the tablets presenting the words of the Moral Law.[xvi]



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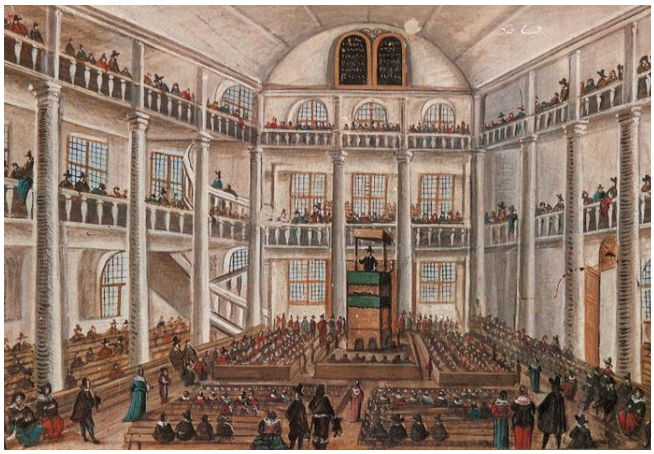
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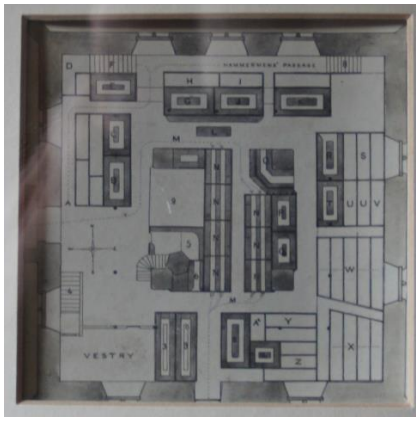
One excellent example of early Reformation construction that does survive is St. Columba's, or the BurntIsland Parish Church which lies close to Fife on Scotland's eastern shore. Not only was it made well but it continues to be kept in good condition and is still faithfully used every week. The church historians claim the building was the first post-Reformation church built in Scotland and that it was constructed in 1592-94, which would have been toward the end of John Brown's pastoral ministry there (1567-1593). The church building replaced an older one with a history going back to the 12th century. Scant ruins remain of that building but they display evidence of a nave and choir and one side aisle, indicating that it fit the typical basilican format of the medieval church. The real mystery surrounds the present structure. There is no hint anywhere of the vision or author of such a radical precedent as the design of this church proves to be. "The church is unique in plan and design; no prototype is known to have suggested its arrangement." (Kerr, p. 10)

Historians curious about the design have proposed various models that might have been borrowed, but nothing has proven to be a true connection. "We have been told that BurntIsland parishioners were largely of strong Protestant stock and some have ventured to suggest that they went to the Bible for their plan, and that the whole design is one of Scriptural symbolism[xvii]." (Kerr, p. 11) It seems likely that the Rev. Brown, the minister during that period, must surely

have led the way in vision-casting such a design, although there seems to be very little historical information regarding him anywhere[xviii].



Original floor plan

The building is laid out in the form of a square containing four internal supporting columns which come together to hold forth a central tower. The pulpit is and always has been attached to the south-west column so that the minister views the room as from a corner. The effect is that the congregation encircles the Word from more than the three opposing sides of the square.

Reformation Priorities – The changes already proceeding in Reformation church identity and practice were monumental. On the one hand, those changes were a rejection of man-made, symbolic and traditional decorations and trappings; but on the other hand they continued to stand for a visible and earnest devotion to the God of the Bible and the growth of His kingdom. On the one hand, they indicated a return to the basic elements of worship found in the ancient church; but on the other hand, they represented a movement forward in terms of liturgical structure and confessional formula. On the one hand, they were a rebuke against the corruption of the hypocritical hierarchy; while on the

other hand, they sounded a clarion call back to the Moral Law for all – clergy and laity alike.

The radical nature of Protestant worship was its unpretentious approach to God, the gathering of the people of God around the Word of God in order to hear the gospel and be taught its application, and in practicing the two surviving sacraments – baptism and the Lord's supper. Therefore, the symbols of those three things – the pulpit, the baptismal bowl, and the table – became paramount to the identity and witness of the church – both as she rejected the trappings of the past and as she set her course for the future.

However, the Reformation did not emerge out of the Roman Catholic Church as a single entity. A developing sense of nationalism meant that different states throughout Europe would come in to their own quite on their own, with differing political influences, differing theological motivations, and differing amounts of internal strife and struggle. Thus, they would come to differ, sometimes quite radically, on what the sacraments were to properly mean and how they were to be observed. In fact, such differences only led to a great legacy of division, particularly between Lutherans and the Reformed. The one thing the Reformers could agree on was the preaching - attention to the Word of God - was held in common. The Reformers saw that clearly.

The Reformation was marked by efforts to restore the primitive balance between the service centering on Scripture and preaching with that of the eucharist (sic). In many traditions the recovery of preaching as worship was extremely successful. The reformers were less successful in the retention of the eucharist (sic) as the other half of Christian worship. (White, p. 80)

The Divine Right of Kings vs. the Providential Wrong of Queens

As the church of Christ moved forward with new Reformed convictions, the world in which she sought to minister was also changing. As our target will take us into the United States, we now narrow the historical survey to England and Scotland in order to appreciate what has been transplanted from there. But to understand these countries' histories, a brief historical survey of the Reformation will be necessary.

A Tale of Two Martyrs - England and Scotland share the same island as neighbors and have warred with each other since the time Hadrian built his wall to keep out the northern riff-raff. They are like two sisters who have grown up together, who share much the same breeding, and yet are constantly fighting and ultimately turn out so very differently. England, the doting older sister, always wanted to control her younger sister to the north who, in turn, wanted nothing to do with her older sister – that is, unless she needed to borrow something from her.

When Robert the Bruce of Scotland (r. 1306-1329) picked up the fallen mantle of William Wallace and routed Edward II at Bannockburn, the inertia toward independence kept going until, in 1328, Edward III of England recognized Bruce to be king of an independent Scotland. As a newly independent nation, Scotland struggled forward through poverty, greed and royal ineptitude, as well as the Black Death.

By the beginning of the 15th c., the time of the early Stewarts had begun with the succession of James I when he was only twelve years old and while he was being held prisoner by Henry IV of England. Five Jameses later, Mary was born (1542) and, one week after that, she inherited the throne upon the death of her father. At the age of only nine months, in the old Chapel Royal of Stirling Castle, Mary cried continually through her coronation service, being crowned Queen of the Scots. Then she was shipped off to France, and was raised Catholic. The Scottish Reformation would occur exactly contemporary with Mary's upbringing, and her kingdom turned ardently Protestant in less than twenty years (1560).

Meanwhile, in England, Henry VIII had just married his fifth wife, Catherine Howard, when Mary, Queen of Scots was born. It was a very political marriage but it ended only two years later when Catherine was beheaded on the charge of treason. While the telling of England's Reformation popularly credits Henry's incessant determination to have a healthy male heir, it was really much more complicated.

Back in the 4th century AD, Constantine had gifted the church with many things; the most significant for England in the 16th century had been the influence of the Crown upon the Church. The 4th century Christian Church, freshly emerging from three centuries of persecution, warmly embraced the attention, royal prestige and perks, as well as the wealth of the emperor, and even, and to a very great extent, his control.

Ever since, the church's own royalty, coming to fruition in the rise in power held by the Bishop of Rome – particularly after the fall of the east - was in a constant tug-of-war for pre-eminence with the royalty of the empire. The pope would declare that he was the Vicar of Christ over all the earth. The answer on the part of the magistrate came to be called "the Divine right of Kings"[xix]. Once the Reformation broke out in Germany in 1517, it was only sixteen years later that the divine right of King Henry was asserted in England.

Thomas Cranmer was born in Nottinghamshire in 1489 and had studied at Cambridge, a school which had begun as an alternative to Oxford and was developing into a school of classics and one opposed to Roman Catholicism. Although he did not wear his Protestant inclinations on his sleeve, marrying the niece of Andreas Osiander certainly would have raised traditional Catholic eyebrows. Henry VIII recruited Cranmer and compelled him to take up the office of Archbishop of Canterbury[xx]. When Cranmer was consecrated in 1533, he addressed the congregation with a strategically written argument against popery. That same year, Cranmer declared Henry VIII's marriage to his first wife, Catherine of Aragon, to be annulled. When Pope Clement VII answered by excommunicating Henry VIII, Parliament answered back with the Act of Supremacy, declaring that the king was now the head of the Church in England.

Henry was a pretty good Bible student in his own right and Cranmer was an able scholar in the king's service. Yet, the formalization of the Anglican Church was a work in progress. A church independent of the pope was one

thing but neither the King nor Cranmer seriously considered a church independent of the crown[xxi]. Neither did they consider such a wild notion as the need to reform the church practice and worship away from state control and authority. The Anglican church, as with Constantine's new-found religion, needed to represent the regal power and splendor of King and country. So, the trappings of the medieval church – the basilica sanctuary as holy space, the priest and his elitist duty in the sacrament, and the worship of God as drama – were all immediately retained and perpetuated with only a few adjustments.

Meanwhile, Cranmer was laying seeds for further reformation in England. When Henry died in 1547, and his son, Edward VI became king at the age of nine, things became even more encouraging. England was set for a long period of Protestant control.

> *During the reign of King Edward VI (1547-53) many stone altars were demolished and replaced by movable wooden tables. … Accordingly "God's board" replaced the immovable stone altar. The Lord's table was set up in some "convenient" spot, a significant term since the emphasis is placed on function rather than on symbolism. In the time of Edward VI this convenient spot could included a table running the length of the chancel (tablewise) or parallel but detached from the east wall (altarwise). (White, p. 83)*

This does not mean that progress came easy. The remaining Roman Catholics in the realm were always scheming; theologians were also becoming more divided between Calvinism and Semi-Palagianism, and a growing number of voices were beginning to speak out for a church free from the control of the crown. Independents and non-conformists were on the rise.

So when Edward suddenly died in 1552 at the age of 15, and his sister, Mary I, who was Roman Catholic, succeeded to the throne, the fate of the Reformers suddenly reversed and became sealed. Cranmer was burned at the stake in 1556 along with a host of others.

Meanwhile, in 1558, a tract was published in Switzerland under an anonymous hand, entitled *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*. John Knox, who had been attending "the most perfect school of Christ" under Calvin's tutelage in Geneva, and who was preparing to return to Scotland, had written this diatribe not only challenging the notion of crown over church but, more directly, condemning the legitimacy of a woman to serve a nation as regent. His immediate target had been Mary of Guise, ruling as a widow in Scotland, but it was also aimed at her daughter, Mary, now sixteen, who was making plans to return to Scotland as queen upon the death of her mother. The effort of reform in Scotland was also sixteen years old and the effect of the pamphlet enflamed the Protestant determination and prejudiced the Scots against their young, Roman Catholic queen even before she set foot on their shores. By 1560, the Scottish Parliament made it official – Scotland was a Protestant nation.

However, the pamphlet had the opposite effect in England. If "Bloody Mary" had ever heard of the pamphlet, she would have had little use for it or this Protestant upstart coming out of Geneva. Mary died the same year the tract was published and she was succeeded by her sister, Elizabeth I. Elizabeth was

not Roman Catholic, but Knox had managed to offend her with his words by association and now she was persuaded not to be an ardent Protestant either. She issued her own Act of Supremacy in 1559, declaring herself the head of the Church of England, securing the control of the church by Anglican Semi-Palagians, and settled in for a reign of forty-five years.

Mary, Queen of Scots, presented herself to her homeland as a Catholic Monarch in an officially Protestant nation. Later, she had to flee arrest and deposition by seeking asylum in England at the mercy of her cousin, Elizabeth. Elizabeth, out of fear for her Roman Catholic influence rising in her own country, had her arrested and held Mary captive for nineteen years, eventually signing the order to have her beheaded at Fotheringhay Castle in 1587.

Consequences Have Ideas

a) *Presbyterianism in Scotland*

A Necessary Prolegomena - Focusing on Scotland, primarily, for this period of church history has several advantages. The first, of course, is the fact that the Presbyterian and Reformed churches in the United States are the direct descendants of Presbyterian Scotland, even more so than the "continental" heritage we have received from the Reformed church in the Netherlands. The second advantage is that in Scotland we have a much more "black and white" picture than we could gain elsewhere. It is true that Anglicanism never faded away completely in Scotland and that Erastianism eventually returned with some strength and vengeance, but nowhere else was

Presbyterianism allowed to explore itself more independently and thoroughly. The third advantage is the amount of architectural research available today on this period of Scottish history. While Hay and Drummond may complain that such is not the case[xxii], their own contributions as well as a host of others do not leave us in the dark at all. The fourth advantage is related to the population and development trends in Scotland since this period. Due to large immigrations westward as well as inordinate losses suffered by brave fighting Scots during various wars, the population of Scotland has not swelled to take over the land and development has progressed slowly. That means that there are still historic church buildings remaining that may be studied. Some even remain open in which worship may be experienced.

The change wrought upon the church in Scotland in the 16th c. came from three directions. The first was economic. Whereas the medieval Catholic Church has grown to become a colossal world enterprise, and the lion's share of Scotland's national economy was under the church's control, the Reformation brought with it a collapse of economic wealth, structure and influence. The crown seized what it could, lay lords and merchants grabbed what they could. The income which had been given previously in the form of inheritance or donations, and of which the church had grown dependent, had all but dried up[xxiii]. Yet, instead of that resulting in the casting aside of religion altogether, it returned the priorities of the church to a much simpler state and mission.

The second change was corruption and decay. The medieval institution, in many ways, had already died a cancerous death. The corruption within the church, made famous by Luther in Germany, was all over Europe. The Abbeys had become gardens of flourishing immorality and hedonism. And as more and more of their inhabitants took care of themselves, more and more cathedrals and churches fell into disrepair, material theft or abuse, neglect or abandonment[xxiv]. The Reformation zeal, which has popularly been regarded as the largest destructive force of medieval art and architecture only had a few buildings left upon which to vent its fury[xxv].

> *Many cathedral and monastic kirks suffered by the violence of the religious revolution, but the condition of the parish kirks appears to have been little better. This was the result of no sudden convulsion, but of neglect and that pre-Reformation abuse, the alienation of parochial revenues[xxvi] (Hay, p. 18).*

> *Thus the spoliation of the medieval church, often ascribed wholly to the Reformation, had been well advanced by appropriations and benefice bargaining long before Protestant propaganda became a significant force, and many noble ecclesiastical buildings, deprived of the means for their maintenance, were tottering to ruin. (Hay. p. 9)*

The third direction of change consisted of those made to the very concept of worship, both in terms of what was to be adamantly rejected now and what was to be considered appropriate now.

> *There were many earlier elements both liturgical and architectural which were modified and adapted to suit new exigencies. The aim of the Reformers was less a creation* de novo *than the recovery of primitive practice, as far as liturgical knowledge then permitted. (Hay, p. 21)*

The Mass was summarily rejected, even outlawed[xxvii], which meant a new approach to the Lord's Supper must be considered.

> *Architectural essentials were – and still are – facilities for the administration of the Reformed sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and for the preaching of the Word, with conditions in which the people might hear, see, and participate intelligently. … the disposition of the long communion tables, at which the communicants sat, was a fundamental factor in their layout. (Hay, p, 21-22)*

The meaning and place of baptism would also change, not only with the rejection of presumptive regeneration but also with the prohibition of baptism as private ceremony. Preaching, which had all but been laid aside in the medieval age prior to the Reformation, was now to take a singularly pronounced center-stage prominence.

> *… Reformed services were conducted audibly in the vernacular, scripture readings and preaching were restored to places of importance, and the Lord's Supper, in which the people communicated in both kinds, was made the basis of the Sunday morning service. For various reasons, however, the aim of a weekly communion was never achieved, and the administration of that sacrament became gradually a rather infrequent event. (Hay, p. 21)*

Still, even with such definitive actions and in inimitable Protestant, and perhaps Scottish (?) style, there were also significant differences of opinion on many other elements.

Four Main Historical Periods

of Ecclesiological Development– From the official beginning of the Scottish Reformation (1560) to the turn of the century, early Reformed church buildings were simply inherited from a worldview gone by the wayside. They were not only modifications of medieval cathedrals and monasteries - smaller, local congregations had been worshipping in very modest structures in Scotland since the 13th c.

Dunsglass Collegiate, Cockburnspath, Dunglass
A mid-15th c. church – complete with nave, transcepts and tower - where Mass had been regularly observed.
welcometoscotland.com

The old kirk, like most mediaeval churches, is a plain rectangle without transepts. It has a door at each end of the south side, rectangular windows in the south wall, pointed windows at the east and west ends, a bell hanging under the gable at the west end, and a thatched roof. (Ross, p. 1)

[T]he most common type of church plan was a simple aisle-less rectangle often of rather attenuated proportion with neither structural chancel, transepts, nor tower, and examination reveals that upwards of two-thirds were of this form. (Hay, p. 13)

Such structures were only pragmatically designed – they measured approximately sixty to seventy feet in length and were twenty feet wide. The width seems to correspond to the abilities and limitations of locals – a symptom which appears to control construction for some time. The roofs were steeply pitched, being originally only of thatching, both of which were required in order to repel the elements of weather. They must have borne a striking resemblance to the houses and barns of the countryside. And just as striking was their obvious departure from the earlier, meager attempts by such locales prior to the Reformation which were imitations of cathedral-like structures.

Cockburnspath Church, Borders, Scotland
Originally built 14th-15th c., some restoration since; unique round tower added late 17th c.
Britainexpress.com

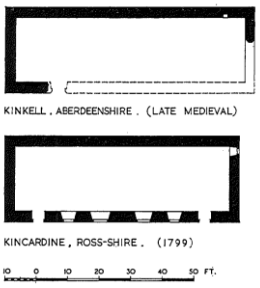


FIG. 1. Comparative plans: Rural kirks, medieval and reformed

Hay, p. 14

Whether medieval buildings were modified or constructed anew, the Reformation brought about the next opportunity for expansion. "The pulpit, … was set up against the south wall, its normal medieval site" (Hay, p. 22). What had been a setting aside of the aspect of preaching, by placing the pulpit to the

side or along the long wall even as the focus of the congregation was toward the short wall where the altar stood, now showed a pronounced difference.

> *To begin with, the language used in the reformed worship was the vernacular, spoken in a strong clear voice. Thus, in one step, the ear replaced the eye. The difference this made was profound: the congregation no longer watched the ceremonial – which was soon reduced to the simplest utilitarian forms, the remainder being swept away as 'superstitious' – but now listened, and hearing understood, for the words were not in Latin but in a living tongue comprehensible by all.*
>
> *Further, the people were encouraged to share in the service as active participants; they were no longer passive observers. Worship became again, as it was originally, a corporate action. This popular participation was secured not only by the use of the vernacular throughout, but also by casting the psalms into metrical forms and setting them to common tunes known or easily learned by the people, tunes to which you could beat out the time and which were therefore easily sung. The metrical forms too made memorizing easy, important in a period when comparatively few persons could read. Thus music, in a simple yet reverent form (as anyone will instantly recognize who seriously examines the psalm-tunes of the Reformation), was restored to the parish churches, and for the first time in centuries the voice of the people was once more heard in the praise and worship of God. Except in the great churches the metrical psalms did not replace plainsong, they replaced silence. (Maxwell, p. 49-50)*

Then, very early in the history of Scottish Reformed thinking, there was a deliberate move to replace the large, imposing font with a basin.

> *According to the Book of Discipline (Knox, II, 252) every church was to have "a basin for baptism," and it appears that such took the place of the fonts which had been in use formerly. … There can be little doubt, however, that in many cases the basin did take the place of the font. Thus at Aberdeen, in 1574, eighteen pence was paid for mending the "standart that holdis the bassing on the pulpett," and ten years later the sum of £3 13s. 4d. was paid for "ane basin and laar (laver) to the babtisme in the kird." In 1589 among the duties of the beadle at St. Andrews was the "setting the towel and the basin on the pulpit, at the second bell." In many cases the basin was attached by a ring to the pulpit, and in some churches the ring may still be seen. While such basins were usually of pewter, occasionally they were made of silver. It is worth noting that in the later decades of the 16th century, the ruling authorities of the Church of England were much troubled by clergymen removing the fonts and substituting basins. (McMillan, p. 251-52)*

The altar, also, was dispensed with, typically entirely, and the congregation turned its focus toward the pulpit, still fixed in the middle of the long wall.[xxviii].

Communion already had the distinctive, Scottish style[xxix].

> *{There was set up for that day,] a long table, covered with white cloths, has been erected lengthwise along the kirk, with benches for sitting on either side of it; the bale area has been fenced by a 'travess' of stakes driven into the earth, with a gap at each end for one person to enter at a time. (Ross, p. 6)*

> *As in the Church of the Netherlands, the pulpit was the dominant center. Silver or pewter basins were often attached to it by brackets for baptism. Until the nineteenth century the people sat about long communion tables which were erected when needed. (White, p. 92)*

The authority of office had also returned with the Reformation in Scotland. The elders of the kirk took their responsibilities seriously in screening and approving each and every worshipper who desired to partake of communion. The communicants were given tokens, signifying the owner's pre-approval for partaking by the elders of the kirk which were presented upon admission. "Though the communicants kneel for the prayers, they sit for the reception of the elements." (Ross, p. 6-7) The elements were delivered during the service by the deacons. The minister took of the bread, distributing it in a basin down the table on both sides. The wine follows in one pewter cup for both sides and each communicant "drinks a good mouthful."

As the mid-17th century changed the political and, therefore, the religious landscape, there was more pressure to conform to Anglican liturgy and authority. Still, the shape of church structures was modified only slightly. The older rectangle, with the pulpit against the long, south wall[xxx], began to be adapted only internally. Lofts[xxxi] began to be installed on both of the short, east and west walls to allow for more numbers to attend the service.

Should accommodation be inadequate, … lofts were erected at the east and west ends of the kirk, and sometimes a transeptal aisle was added, usually on the north side. … [T]he resulting T-plan became a classic Scottish type for new kirks until the nineteenth century. (Hay, p. 22)

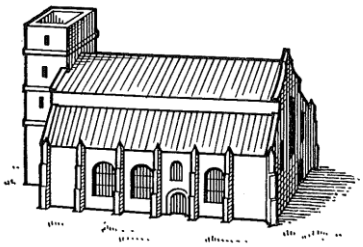
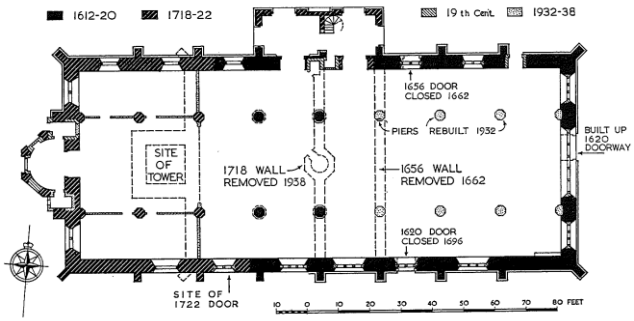


FIG. 8. Edinburgh, Greyfriars, after Gordon of Rothiemay's view, 1647

Hay, p. 46

Often times, the stairway access to the lofts as well as to the raised pulpit were built on the exterior of the structure so as not to hinder space requirements on the inside[xxxii]. One of the churches of this period is Greyfriars Kirk in Edinburgh. It opened in 1620 and was, for many years, the largest post-Reformation kirk in the country.

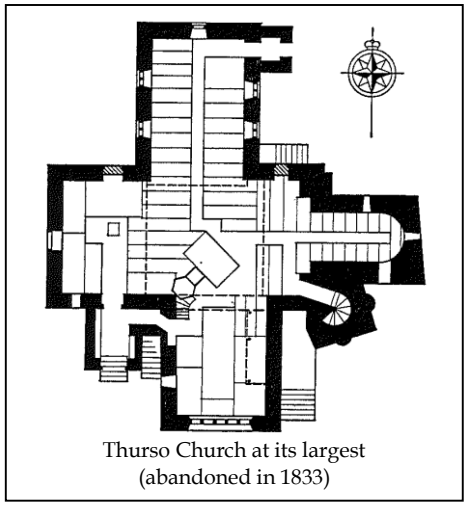


Greyfriars, Edinburgh after 1722 remodeling, Hay, p. 47

[T]he pulpit stood against the mid-south pier and there were east and west lofts … and probably one on the north side. Though built during the first episcopacy it had no altar and the records make it clear that the Lord's Supper was administered in the normal Reformed manner at long moveable tables. (Hay, p. 46)[xxxiii]

There were only slight variations to the rectangular pattern of the 16th century – the addition of "aisles" or gables which projected out as square appendages from the long wall opposing the pulpit. At first, these were additions bought and paid for by the local benefactor[xxxiv], the aisle providing private seating of his family for worship[xxxv]. Such additions were then expanded to either include a private area to retire into between worship services or were built over vaults where the deceased of the family might be laid to rest[xxxvi].

Eventually, such aisles were being built as a matter of need. Fixed seating in the form of both boxed in and open pews was becoming more common and so was the dilemma of arranging the interior furniture to keep to Reformation priorities. Construction engineering was still limited to the rectangular shape but the advent of aisles allowed for the interior expansion of the congregation[xxxvii].


Thurso Church at its largest
(abandoned in 1833)

One marvelous example of this is the church building of Old St. Peter's Kirk in Thurso, Scotland, now abandoned and in ruins since 1833. It probably started out as a traditional rectangle and received, along the way, two if not three additional expansions. The pulpit, perhaps originally fixed against one of the long walls (in this case either east or west), was relocated after building additions to have its back to a southwest corner. This put the minister in the center of the gathering and accessible to both the ground floor and the three-sided loft. The south aisle was either a dedicated communion room or else the pews were made to convert to table and bench – an innovation that was on the rise in the 17th century.

The Reformed principle of baptism continued to be made distinctive throughout the Presbyterian churches.

> *In 1617 the Scots Parliament passed an Act requiring each parish church to be furnished by the heritors with basins and lavers for the Sacrament of Baptism. The laver was a vessel from which the water could be poured on the child in baptism though the shape of some of those still existing suggests rather that they were used to hold the water before it was poured into the basin for the ceremony. Vessels for pouring the baptismal water were not unknown in the Mediaval Church, and as we near the Reformation period it appears to have been a regular custom to use such. (McMillan, p. 253)*[xxxviii]

One more thing is going on about this time period that would rise with popularity and influence the Presbyterian Church in Scotland and the United States in the future is the advent of a phenomenon of Communion seasons, which would have the effect of removing the practice of the Lord's Supper not only from the worship service but also from within the walls of the church building entirely. Leigh Schmidt explains the creation of this Reformed festival as merely the adaptation of old Roman Catholic practices:

> *If the Protestants had their way, the whole devotional rhythm of the late medieval church [veneration of saints, pilgrimages, festivals, etc.] would be transformed. … In addition to transforming Eucharistic ritual, the Scottish reformers sought to restructure the Catholic calendar … . For the reformers, holy days – such as Pasch, Yule, or Good Friday – were superstitious, unwarranted by Scripture and thus best eliminated. … [But b]y the early seventeenth century there were discernible signs that a growing group of fervent Presbyterians was ready to … offer in their stead a great public event centered on the celebration of the Reformed Lord's Supper. … The entrenched Catholic assumption that the sacrament warranted, as the Council of Trent put it, "a special festive solemnity," would long remain evident in popular Presbyterian practice. … [B]y the end of the seventeenth century … they had virtually transformed summer and early fall into one long sacramental season in which the communions were openly hailed as the high days of the year. (Schmidt, p. 14, 15, 18, 19, 20)*

As early as the beginning of the 17th century, the press for more common and regular observance of the Lord's Supper during the worship services in the Reformed churches in Scotland was significantly overwhelmed by the romantic notion of just the opposite – refraining from observing the Lord's Supper and reserving it, instead, for a seasonal time of religious gathering[xxxix]. These

gatherings were long-anticipated and prepared for, took place in common areas that allowed for congregations from several surrounding churches to join in and participate, were held outside over the period of three to four days during which multiple times of preaching would be given climaxing in the all-day affair of serving communion at table to all who attended.

Such seasons were encouraged all the more during the Restoration of the monarchy and the pressure placed on Scottish churches by Charles II. Presbyterians to the west and south, particularly the Covenanters, held secret conventicles out in the open and away from watchful eyes. One such conventicle is described by John Blackadder (from his *Memoirs*, pp. 200-1):

> *The Communion Tables were spread on the green by the water; and around them the people had arranged themselves in decent order. But far the greater multitude sat at the brae-face, which was crowded from top to bottom. The Tables were served by some gentlemen, persons of the gravest deportment. None were admitted without tokens as usual, which were distributed on the Saturday, but only to such as were known to the ministers. … All the regular forms were gone through; the communicants entered at one end, and retired at the other, the way being kept clear for them to take their seats again on the hillside. Mr. Welsh preached the action sermon, and served the first two Tables; the other four ministers, Mr. Blackadder, Mr. Dickson, Mr. Riddel, and Mr. Rae, exhorted the rest in turn. The Table services were closed by Mr. Welsh, with solemn thanksgiving. The Communion was peaceably concluded, all the people heartily offering up their gratitude, and singing with a joyful noise to the Rock of their salvation. It was pleasant as night fell to hear their melody swelling in full unison along the hills. … About 100 sat at every Table; there were 16 Tables served, so that about 3,200 communicated that day. (p. 121-23)*

By the middle of the 18th century, many more local churches will have a tiled floor, as opposed to the dirt floor of previous years, and pews now fill the space as opposed to worshippers bringing their own chairs or benches.

> *"The provision of pews meant that there was no longer enough room for all the congregation on the ground level of the old building, and to accommodate the growing population two expedients have been resorted to: an extension of the church has been*

built in the middle to the north side, so that the building is now T-shaped; and galleries or 'lofts' have been erected on all except the south wall." (Ross, p. 17)

Meanwhile, communion seasons had become a most common and routine practice.

> *During the first half of the century, generally speaking, holy communion was celebrated not more than once a year in each parish and sometimes much less frequently; but as many as eight or nine parishes would often combine for the event, closing their churches, so that, in spite of infrequent celebrations in their own parish, most people had in fact frequent opportunities for receiving communion*[xl].
>
> *They were indeed awesome festivals. Known as 'the Action', 'the Great Work', 'the Sacred Solemnity', 'the Occasion', and 'the Sacrament', they involved, as old family abundantly bear witness, intense personal rededication*[xli]*. (Maxwell, p. 141)*

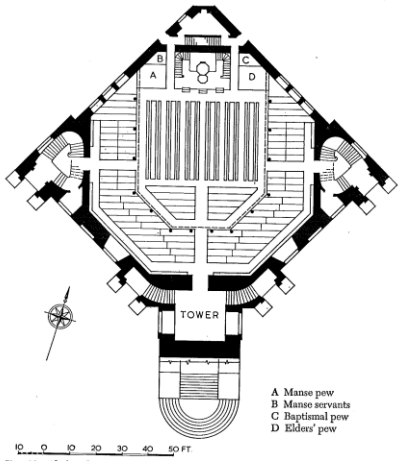
It is only by the mid-19th century that we find more buildings having the pulpits erected at the east end and the boxed pews are all turned to focus attention to the short wall[xlii]. "There is as yet no permanent table, no font, no organ." (Ross, p. 24)[xliii] The aisle is wide enough for the traditional table to run its length on sacrament days, but even more radical changes are coming. Thomas Chalmers and others presented a newer innovation which kept the Lord's Supper in the individual church and as part of the worship service as well as making the process of communion to be quicker by serving the people in the pews rather than having them come and sit at table. Straight row pews began to be redesigned to allow for slanted Bible racks which could be transformed into small tables which could then be covered with linens. There were other variations, such as

Author's wife demonstrates the table in pew arrangement at Durisdeer Kirk, Dumfriesshire

with convertible pews which, with the removal of partitions, tables could be had which ran down the length of the aisle.

Convertible Pews running the length of the aisle in Ceres Parish Church, Fife, 1806

Or even entire floor space reserved for several tables, the space being filled with portable chairs when communion was not observed.



Original layout of St. Stephen's, Edinburgh, 1827
Hay, p. 126

St. Stephens, Edinburgh today
edinfilm.com (used with permission)

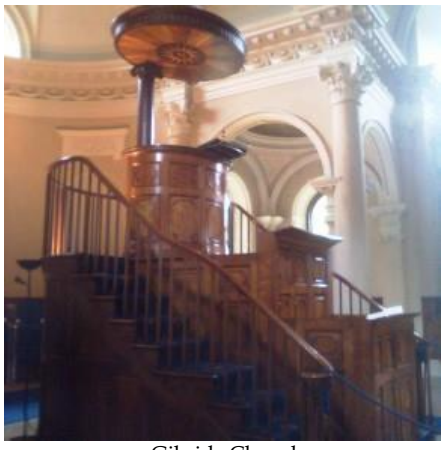
b) *Anglicanism in England*

What can easily be swept under the rug at this point in our survey is how much the Church of England was, herself, effected by the Reformation. And yet, it is here that we find some of the most amazingly long-lasting of influences.

While some political commitments and implications were clearly not up for discussion, many changes occurred within the Anglican Church as a result of the maturing of the Reformation movement.

> *[Martin] Bucer had been driven out of Germany by the enforcement of the Interim of 1548, and took refuge in England. He was invited to express on paper his opinion of the 1549 Prayer Book, and the Censura which appeared in 1551 was the result. … Bucer starts from the premise that the congregation must be able to understand thoroughly all that is done in Christian worship; this involves the officiating minister reading the service clearly and reverently from a place where the congregation can hear him. … Bucer proceeds to argue that the rubric, by placing the clergy in a special part of the church, makes them seem nearer to God than the laity. It encourages the laity to think that the clergy alone by saying a few prayers can procure God's favour, and that the people have no need to worship with any discernment or understanding of the services. (Addleshaw, p. 22-23)*

Bucer's ideas had already been put into effect in the Reformed churches in Germany where communion was performed in the vernacular. The altar was moved away from the far wall so that the priest would stood behind it facing the congregation. John Hooper even argued in 1550 that the chancel should be shut up altogether and the clergy conduct the entire service in the nave. [xliv]. Hooper and Ridley were responsible for getting rid of the stone altars and replacing them with wooden tables. In 1552, the Prayer Book dropped the word "altar" and speaks of "the table", "the Lord's table" or "God's board"[xlv]. The baptismal font would still be made of stone but by 1604, it was to stand at the door to symbolize the one baptized was entering into the church. This is also the era of first the double and then the triple-



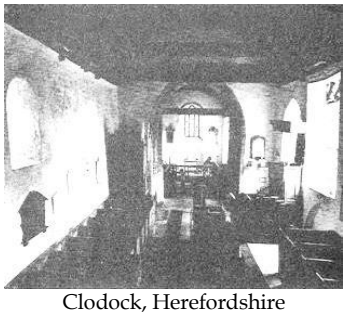
Gibside Chapel
Winlaton, Co. Durham, 1760
mbird.com

decker pulpit, an historic and distinctively Anglican curiosity created by the need for "stations" or lecterns to read the Scriptures and to lead the singing. Both of these duties were seen as different and subservient to the preaching of the Word[xlvi].

> *The Church of England not only had good catholic authority for placing a pulpit and reading desk each side of the chancel arch or a three-storeyed pulpit to one side of the nave; even the three-storeyed pulpit in front of the chancel gates or altar could claim to be following the example of no less a building than Sancta Sophia, where the great ambo was placed on the central axis of the church, though some way from the iconastasis. … The ambo is described as the place to which the people direct their eyes as they gaze on the divine gospel. (Addleshaw, p. 83)*

As in Scotland, many of the country's Anglican churches of this era were a carry-over from the medieval period and were often built with little direction and priority. Most were rectangle in shape but because the focus of the worshipper's attention was necessarily divided between the pulpit and the altar, the inward layout of pews and furniture could be quite erratic. If the pulpit stood in the middle of the long wall, the altar, necessarily, stood prominently against the short wall and the pews – some of which were boxed and enclosed and others which were straight and in rows - had to face one or the other (such as in Clodock, Herefordshire).

> *The result was that pews ran in all directions, and the body of the church was full of odd corners and alleys. Generally speaking, the period found nothing disturbing in the way in which a good number of the congregation sat with their backs towards the altar; in fact, according to the ecclesiology of the period it was eminently reasonable. The part of the church where Morning and Evening Prayer, the Litany and Altar Prayers were said, was planned with reference to the convenience of the congregation in hearing the minister and joining in the service. (Addleshaw, p. 88)*



Clodock, Herefordshire
Chatfield, p. 51

While this suited most local parishioners just fine, inconsistency seems to be the perennial irritant of the politically powerful.

The Influence of Archbishop William Laud - Elizabeth was so fearful of a return of her country to Roman Catholicism that she kept her cousin imprisoned for nineteen years and, eventually, had her executed. But she was also no friend of Scottish Presbyterianism either, thanks to John Knox.

> *Faced with this dilemma, the government of Elizabeth chose neither one horn nor the other, but, with a knack, … devised the Elizabethan compromise. Elizabeth's church, like Elizabeth's policy, was so comprehensive that it was capable of any inconsistency without exceeding the limits of its definition. (Trevor-Roper p. 10)*

The superficial impression was that this "Elizabethan Compromise" brought peace within the Church of England, but the truth is that the war between the high-church Anglicans on the one side and the Puritans and Independents on the other raged as each struggled with what it meant to truly reform and what it required to gain and maintain control. Even when Anglicans embraced the trends of reform, those trends remained restricted to an unmovable construct.

> *When the Church of England in 1559 finally decided to use a vernacular liturgy at its public services, the authorities in Church and State were faced with a serious practical problem. How were the existing churches to be made suitable for that corporate liturgical worship presupposed by the Book of Common Prayer? It is not enough for the laity to be merely present in church; the Prayer Book intends that they should enter into the liturgy, making its moods their own, and following intelligently the action of the rite. A congregation finds this difficult unless it can hear what the minister says and can see what is done at the altar. But the interior arrangements of an English medieval parish church were such that the worshipper could see or hear relatively little of the service; the worship, however resplendent and mysterious, lacked the corporateness which all sections in the Church of England believe to be an essential part of liturgy. … (Addleshaw, p. 15)*[xlvii]

Even with the impact of the Reformation on the Anglican Church, it could only be allowed to go so far. Preaching could be saluted but the real action of worship

would remain the Lord's Supper. This led the direction of worship increasingly back to performance - a ritual done by officials, and something done in high and holy places.

> *The practical consequences for the Anglican liturgy were profound, and can still be seen today in parish churches all over England. For Laudians … a church was not simply a meeting place where sermons were preached and business transacted. It was 'the place where our Lord God most holy doth inhabit', as Robert Skinner declared in a sermon preached before the King in 1634; 'his proper mansion or dwelling house'. (Tinniswood, p. 9)*

After the Virgin Queen passed from the scene, the sister countries were "united" under the Scottish King James VI. James, also, wanted to keep a sense of compromise[xlviii], but rather than allow Scottish Presbyterianism be exported to England and strengthen the Puritans, it was determined that Erastianism would slowly worm its way back into Scotland[xlix], not only during James' reign but more so during the reign of his son, Charles I. So when Charles I took the throne, the Anglicans finally held the upper hand.

> *Unlike his father, … Charles I chose only ritualists and anti-Calvinists as his clerical intimates, from privy councilors to clerks of the closet and royal almoners. … Anglican worship shifted from the Word of Christ, as exemplified by the sermon, to the Body of Christ represented by the celebration of Holy Communion at the altar. … Many of the High Church radicals saw the architecture of a church building as a metaphor for the spiritual life, with its progress from baptism in the font (which stood at the west end of the church), through nave and instruction, to chancel and the holy mystery of the Eucharist: (Tinniswood, p. 9)*

During the reign of Charles I, the Archbishop of Canterbury was William Laud. William Laud had studied at St. John's College in Oxford, a school which he would always hold dear. His tutor, Dr. Buckeridge, instilled in his pupil a strong grasp of Arminianism and a solid distrust and contempt for Puritan

Calvinism and independency. Laud's career took him through prestigious paths until he was appointed to the Deanery of Gloucester.

> *The Bishop of Gloucester was the learned Orientalist and translator of the Bible, Dr. Miles Smithy: and either his conservatism or his Puritanism was outraged when the new dean signalized his arrival by having the communion-table removed from its place in the body of the church and fixed altarwise in the chancel, and by ordering those who entered the church to bow to it. (Trevor-Roper, p. 46)*

> *To the high churchman, however, the table was an altar, the communion a magic function: the sacraments were the body and blood of Christ, transmuted by the divine power delegated to the priest; and no reverence, no ceremonies, were superfluous in the presence of so important and formidable a mystery. This difference in practice thus entailed a difference in doctrine, and the difference in doctrine involved the fundamental political difference between those to whom a priest was an official invested with authority from above, without regard to merit or capacity, and those to whom he was a minister appointed by the community to assist them in the realization of their own powers. (Trevor-Roper, p. 46)*

At the same time, Laud demonstrated a very light regard for the pulpit[1] – his own sermons being often nothing more than politically charged lectures in favor of King James.

> *Laud spoke of the altar as 'the greatest place of God's residence upon earth'; he showed how it was much more important than the pulpit, 'for there 'tis Hoc est corpus meum, "This is My body"; but in the pulpit 'tis at most but Hoc est verbum meum, "This is My word". (Addleshaw, p. 138)*

Laud was "determined to resist disruptive activities in every form," and when he was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford, that determination to unify and control expanded, driving out Calvinism and Puritan thought wherever it might still reside. He was finally appointed Archbishop of Canterbury by Charles I in 1633.

> *When Laud moved over to Lambeth, the beauty of holiness which he had imposed while at Fulham followed him thither. There he restored the stained-glass windows set in the chapel by Cardinal Morton, and moved the communion-table to the east end. It was the same change which he had introduced into the cathedral of Gloucester as Dean of Gloucester: and now, as Primate of all England, he was to impose it upon on all England. (Trevor-Roper, p. 151)*

Laud was determined to eradicate the "Elizabethan compromise" and bring all of England and then Scotland under conformity. He ordered that the screens be rebuilt, that the clergy be separated from the laity once again, that the font be returned to replace the basin[li], and that the altar pushed back and centrally located against the narrow wall to be protected by a rail, revered by all who entered, and before which kneeling benches were to be installed which were to be used by worshippers who sought communion[lii].

> *[The Laudian bishops] realized the beauty of open space and wanted as few pews as was conveniently possible. The Laudian ideal was a nave filled with straight pews, of a uniform height of about three feet, all facing towards the east end. (Addleshaw, p. 89)*

From 1634-37, Laud made several famous "visitations" throughout the realm in his effort to enforce compliance, particularly with the position and reverence the churches should give to the table/altar.[liii] His influence stretched even to the English colonies in America.

> *So, one by one, all independent jurisdictions were being brought under Laud's authority. When the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's claimed exemption from his visitation in April 1636, showing their records to prove that they held their privileges immediately from the King, their claims were soon disposed of. (Tevor-Roper, p. 204)*

The Puritans continued to oppose Laud at home and he hit much greater opposition in Scotland, which eventually caused Charles I to intervene.

> *There is no need to record what happend (sic) when first Laud's Liturgy was read in St. Giles', Edinburgh. Every Scotsman has heard of Jenny Geddes and her stool, and of the movement which had its start on that famous 23rd of July, 1637. Fewer perhaps know that the use of the Book did not come to an end so far as the Scottish Church was concerned on that day, for in September of that year Charles wrote to the Bishops charging each of them to read the service book in his own diocese as the Bishops of Ross and Dunblane had done. (McMillan, p. 108)*

> *At Brechin the Minister refused to read it, whereupon the Bishop (Whiteford) determined to read it himself. He was threatened with personal violence and could only*

> *carry out his purpose by taking a pair of pistols with him into the pulpit, surrounding himself with armed servants, and closing the doors of the Cathedral against the people. William Annand, Minister of Ayr, who preached a sermon in favour of the Service Book in Glasgow Cathedral, raised such a storm of opposition that he was in danger of his life ere he left the city. (McMillan, p. 109)*

Among those who opposed Laud in print was John Williams. In his apologetic for reform, he argued against Laud's imposition of standard upon all the churches - that they should follow lock-step, consider the table an altar, and place the altar against the far narrow wall, saying that even the Anglicans had no just historical cause to regard the table as anything but a table.

> *In justification of the practice of placing the altar amongst the people, Williams pointed out that when the Laudian party appealed to tradition as an argument in favour of the east end position, it was only one tradition to which they were appealing, that of the later Middle Ages; there were other traditions, that of basilican churches, that of the Eastern Church, that of the earlier Middle Ages, where the altar stand detached and the clergy can surround it on all sides; and if the clergy, why not the communicants? (Addleshaw, p. 143)*

> *And Bellarmine himself together with Suarez, do willingly allow they may be fixt in any posture* porter loci commoditatem*, if the conveniency of the place shall so require it. (Williams, p. 219-20)*

Laud was both theologically driven and politically high-handed. The altar was to be prominent, preaching was to be minimized. The pews must all face the altar so that all may watch as the priest leads the service and present the elements. Who would guess that what Laud had to forcibly impose upon the Church in England would make such an architectural standard so mindlessly accepted in generations to come?

The Influence of Sir Christopher Wren – Christopher Wren, Sr., being a rising character of influence within the Anglican church, was determined to school his only son well. Christopher, Sr.'s brother, Matthew had

his own successful career path becoming chaplain of Charles I and occupying the bishoprics of Hereford, Norwich, and Ely from 1634-38.

The Wren brothers found themselves in the center of the battle that was splitting the church in the 1630s.

> *Their connection with the Bishop of Winchester had brought both Wrens into contact with that faction of the Anglican Church which saw radical Protestantism and Puritan piety as a direct threat not only to the Church, but to the stability of the monarchy itself. (Tinniswood, p. 4)*

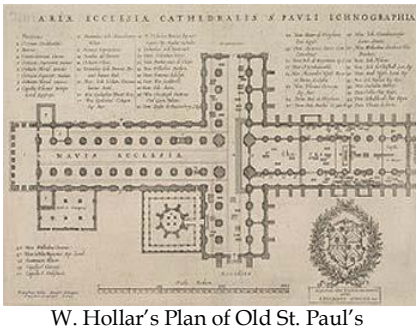
> *In essence, that battle was both an ideological struggle between the forces of conservatism, as represented by Archbishop Laud and his followers, and the progressive Puritans who sought to democratize the institutions of the Church and rest power from the establishment; and a theological dispute in which a predominantly Calvinist clergy and educated laity reacted to the challenge of Charles I's bishops, who rejected predestination and argued for divine grace freely available through the sacraments. (Tinniswood, p. 6)*

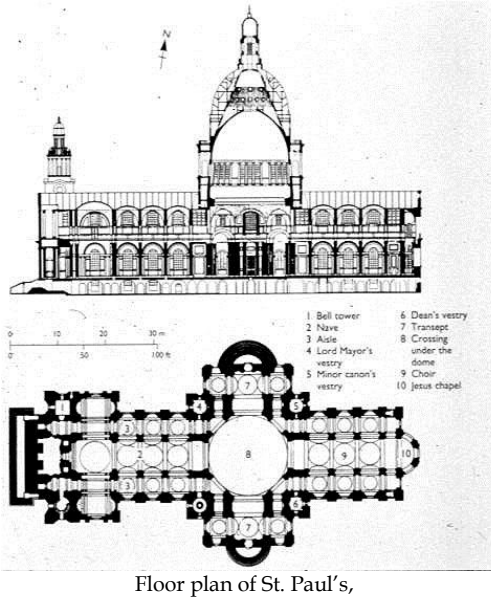
When Laud imposed Anglican practice regarding many things including the placing and reverence of the table/altar, Matthew Wren supported the effort in controlling preaching licenses and Episcopal appointments in a way to favor conformists and to disfavor nonconformist Puritans (Tinniswood, p. 9).

Then, while the Westminster Divines were ensconced in the Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey trying to define for the Parliament the form and function of the Church of England, Cromwell brought the reign of Charles I to a halt. In ensuing days, Charles I and Archbishop Laud were both found guilty of treason[liv] and executed, Laud in 1645 and Charles in 1649[lv]. Matthew Wren was arrested and held in the Tower of London for a time but was eventually released. The political power, at least, of Laudian Anglicanism was broken.

Christopher, Matthew's nephew, grew up in the post-Laudian era but still considered himself a "conventional and reasonably orthodox Anglican" (Tinniswood, p. 16) It was his uncle who first drew his attentions away from science, his first love, and on to architecture. He quickly grew to be London's foremost consultant in all matters of architectural design.

In 1666, the Great Fire of London broke out. It gutted the core of the city, destroying 70,000 homes, 87 parish churches and St. Paul's Cathedral. It eventually fell to Christopher Wren to redesign and build 52 to 56 of those churches as well as his crowning achievement, St. Paul's Cathedral[lvi], which remains to this day, Wren's masterpiece. The early designs of St. Paul's showed more imagination than Anglicanism in Wren but his inspiration was well curbed by political and religious pressures of the day[lvii]. The nave must remain lengthy for priestly processionals, the interior must be absolutely grand, as if fit for the crown, and the altar must be center stage in absolute prominence.


W. Hollar's Plan of Old St. Paul's Cathedral, London, 1658., a-london-tourist-guide.com



Floor plan of St. Paul's, Oberlin.edu

Then, in 1670, Wren turned his attention to the parish churches.

> *Wren was the creator of the modern Anglo-Saxon Protestant church. The effect of the late Puritan supremacy in moulding the English attitude to public worship and the church building could not be undone. … Except in the smaller churches, the room was encircled on three sides by a gallery, with the choir and organ placed at the west end over the vestibule, according to the continental custom. The choir stalls disappeared. The chancel was reduced as a result: sometimes it became a mere niche; often it was dispensed with. The altar, more commonly known during the 18th and 19th centuries as the Communion table, retained its central position. In some cases the pulpit (heightened to command the galleries), on the one side of the altar, was balanced by a conspicuous desk for the conduct of the service. … The font became a vase on a pedestal. (Drummond, p. 36-37)*

Wren put an emphasis on design of these churches, calling them "auditories".

> *Wren's use of the word 'auditories' has frequently led people to suppose that both he and his school designed this plan of church principally for the hearing of sermons, in contrast to the medieval plan which was meant for worship. It would be strange if this were true of Wren himself. Although he shared the scientific interests of his day, he was the heir of the High Church tradition of the early seventeenth century. (Addleshaw, p. 54)*

It is much more likely that by designing these churches as single, open rooms[lviii], "auditories" referred merely to how the sound of the service, whatever that might entail, could be heard by all[lix].

> *Frequently Wren's churches were built on peculiarly shaped lots. The shapes of his buildings include a wide variety of polygons, rectangles, and trapezoids. Basically they are one-room buildings. Few of the parish churches have anything which suggests a chancel. … In a very real sense Wren's auditory church plan became the norm for most Anglican churches until the 1840s. (White, p. 97)*

The design of the church rooms was conflicted by more than simple geography. The late 17th century was in an upheaval with regard to the issue of what was actually understood to be the proper worship of God. The Commonwealth had stressed the Puritan priorities while Anglican laws and political power, still hurting from the overthrow of Charles I, was far from over. "The form of the building, and the arrangement of the interior, style and disposition of the furniture and fittings, all reflect the ideas of worship as they then existed,

although in the late seventeenth century this pattern was changing rapidly." (Jeffrey, p. 151) Wren's churches represented this confusion – some older churches had actually survived the fire, others needed only repair. It was limited to those Wren had complete charge of that might see new change in worship design introduced. But even so, Wren's notion of an "auditory" church for communal worship was limited to "hearing the minister". So, even while his rooms were no more than rectangle boxes, the focus was still against the short wall and the pews would be in straight rows facing the front[lx].

Wren was in charge and personally responsible for the entirety of the rebuilding project, but in truth he "farmed out" work on many of the projects to others. There is serious debate today as to which truly are "Wren churches"[lxi] and among those which can be proven to be specifically of his design, many interiors have been remodeled since. In many cases this remodeling has succeeded in all but erasing Wren's purposeful designs.

> *Of the fifty-six designs, there is enough documentary and stylistic evidence to suggest that six are definitely by Wren: St. Mary-le-Bow (1670-80); St. Bride Fleet Street (1671-8); St. Stephen Walbrook (1672-80); St. James Piccadilly (1676-84); St. Clement Danes (1679-85); and St. Andrew Holborn (1684-6). (Tinniswood, p. 211)*[lxii]

Even if that is the case, the "Wren mark" on what it is that a church "should look like" became well established. "The galleried basilica which evolved from its conception at St. Bride Fleet Street set a pattern for the Church of England which persisted for over a century." (Jeffry, p. 174)

St. Mary-le-Bow Londonist.com

St. Bride Fleet Street
panaramio.com

St. Stephen Walbrook
Wikipedia.org

St. James Piccadilly
Wikipedia.org

St. Clement Danes
Wikipedia.org

INTERIOR OF ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH, 1876. (See page 504.)

St. Andrew Holborn
standrewholborn.org.uk

As beautiful a work as Wren's was, even this has not been met with appreciable regard by the art critic, A. L. Drummond:

> *During the second half of the 18th century the Wren type of church survived in an attenuated and meagre form, a plain oblong box, with a portico crowned by a stumpy belfry: the plastered interior was filled with high pews and great galleries, the Communion table in a shallow alcove being often obscured by the three-decker pulpit. The easy latitudinarianism of the time which found liturgical expression in slipshod services (a duet between clerk and parson), moral essence without Christian radiance and sacraments carelessly and infrequently administered, found ecclesiastical expression in bleak buildings jealously closed except on Sundays, with comfortable pews for the rich and bare benches for the poor. The Communion table no longer received the same care as in Wren's time, and tended to be a bare table (The cross and lights on the Communion table, known in the 17th century, disappeared in the second half of the 18th century.) covered with a dingy cloth, though still flanked by*
>
> 'Moses and Aaron upon a church wall
> Holding up the Commandments
> For fear they should fall.' (p. 37-39)

Where do Scotland and England Meet?

So why is all this important? Why was it necessary to trace the success of the Reformation through Scotland and find its loyal adherence to the priorities of the preached Word and the practice of the sacraments to be so nonsacerdotal? And, why follow that by tracing the rather contrasting historical developments in England which rejected Calvinism for Anglicanism and all that it entailed – priestly service and government, a holy space where the drama of worship may be sublimely performed? The answer, to begin with, is to show their clear and stark differences.

In Scotland, where Presbyterianism functioned humbly and modestly, the buildings, likewise, were modestly designed and constructed and then maintained. And they were used by the humble people who worshipped there, who came to hear a "preaching service"; who presented themselves and their children for baptism which was done during the service of worship itself out of a bowl hardly unlike the ones the people had and used at home; and who sat together as a community at long tables in order to share a common meal that symbolized the finished work of Christ on the cross.

In England, the crown was head of the church and that meant that the Christian faith was, first and foremost, royal. The buildings which were called churches or even Cathedrals had to reflect that in their magnificence and permanence of design, construction and artwork. The ministers who functioned in such buildings were, themselves, high officials who were above the people -

who dressed the part, who processed and recessed slowly and somberly to indicate the beginning and ending of the service of worship, and, effectively, performed the worship themselves much more so than involving the people who happened to wander in. The pulpit was not only symbolically set to one side but relegated to a minor part of the service and, therefore, a minor priority by the one who used it. The sacraments were not only performances themselves, they were distinct in their formality. Baptism was often done privately and separately while the service of Communion, just as in the Roman Catholic Church, remained the priority of focus in the service itself. If it was not Transubstantiation they professed, the holiness of the priestly office, the holiness and centrality of the table/altar, and the elements which the people partook of kneeling, all indicated it was not far different.

What happens next will change all that. What happens next is that both traditions will be transferred to America. It is there, in America, the two traditions become confused and merged. The new world will prove in many ways to be a melting pot, but one of the first of those ways this will be seen is in the practice of the faith.

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[i] In the age of the Baroque, the challenge of artist, architect and engineer was to leave absolutely no blank space whatsoever unfilled and to make the entire interior of the worship area a dramatic unity of heavenly pilgrimage. St. Paul's in London, designed by Sir Christopher Wren, is a good example of this.

[ii] The Reformation was also ushered in by the invention of the printing press and the rise of literacy.

[iii] "The dominant element [of Gothic architecture in general] was light. Abbot Suger described that it was designed to 'facilitate the wonderful and uninterrupted light of the most luminous windows.' … So light becomes the closest thing we can get in the physical realm to the spiritual realm. And hence, to build a building which maximizes light is to build a building as spiritual as

possible – which will the closest possible spiritual reflection. Light is spirituality – it will take you into the other world and that is what Gothic cathedrals are trying to do, fundamentally." (Shutt, Lecture 12)

[iv] My wife and I traveled through the British Isles recently and heard from many who still regard the initial actions of the Reformation movement with sadness and anger. Some have allowed this to lead their political and religious thinking against the church even now. While touring one such site, our guide pointed to what he referred to as "axe-marks" on the door and said with disdain that they were "inflicted by Cromwell's men". But in all my own research on that building, I discovered that Cromwell never come near that building.

[v] The wonderful and mysterious ruins of so many Abbeys and Cathedrals across England are not there because those institutions just "faded away" with time. They were the direct victims of Henry VIII who deliberately closed them and sold the land to fund his own kingdom enterprises. The lead, which kept the roofs from leaking, were stripped and re-used, the roof & ceiling timbers either also recycled or burned, and the stone walls left standing simply because they were too much trouble to pull down and dispose. The amazing ruins of St. Andrews Cathedral in St. Andrews, Scotland, is one of the largest examples of this.

[vi] "As no place is capable of any holiness, under pretence of whatsoever dedication or consecration; so neither is it subject to such pollution by any superstition formerly used, and now laid aside, as may render it unlawful or inconvenient for Christians to meet together therein for the publick worship of God. And therefore we hold it requisite, that the places of publick assembling for worship among us should be continued and employed to that use." (*An Appendix, Touching the Days and Places for Public Worship*. The Westminster Confession of Faith, p. 394)

[vii] "Not even the most sympathetic lover of Gothic can deny that the majority of mediaeval churches were singularly ill-adapted to preaching and congregational worship, with their echoing vaults and long-drawn aisles. It was natural that attempts should have been made to adapt them to the Protestant service, though such adaptation was often crudely utilitarian. … The broad late-Gothic Hallenkirche [Hall church], without transepts or other structural complications, built in an age when the Dominicans had stressed preaching, served as the germ-cell (*Keimzelle*) of the future Protestant church." (Drummond, p. 17)

[viii] "In many churches a part of the building was set apart for Communion purposes, and it is interesting to note that in many instances the place where the Altar had formerly stood was the place chosen. As early as 1571, there was in the Church of St. Nicholas, Aberdeen, an aisle 'quhair the communion was meinsterit,' and this in the following years is referred to as the 'Communion yill.'" (McMillan, p. 243)

[ix] Participating in the communion service for 1500 years had never involved being passively served in one's own seat. Such would only come in the 19th c. when Thomas Chalmers called for distribution of the elements to the people sitting in their pews. Even with such compromise as the Reformers faced in dealing with awkwardly shaped buildings, the movement of the congregants forward for the partaking of communion was always expected.

[x] "[T]he larger parish churches, those of St. Nicholas at Aberdeen, St. Mary at Dundee, St. Giles at Edinburgh (briefly a cathedral in the seventeenth century), St. John Baptist at Perth and the Holy Rude at Stirling [were] similarly divided into two or more churches. (Yates, p. 30)

[xi] One very good example of this subdivision can be found today at the Kirk of St. Nicholas in Aberdeen, Scotland. The original church goes back to the 12th c. and was enlarged in the late 1400s. The original construction had a choir and a semi-circular apse at the east end and a nave at the west end and with north and south transepts. In the late 1500s, the cathedral was divided to accommodate two congregations. The congregation meeting in the nave became known as the West Church. The interior of the nave was handsomely remodeled in the mid 18th c. by the architect, James Gibbs. At obvious expense, this handsome church is laid out sideways to the original plan with a raised pulpit in the middle of the south wall and boxed pews surrounding it. (Other examples of such experimental modifications are rare today for several reasons. Very few

actually had the money to finance formal and permanent modifications. Other cathedrals were returned to something close to their original design during the 19th c. Gothic revival, such as St. Giles in Edinburgh, or else the building and/or congregation did not survive.)

[xii] "By the time of the Reformation, gothic was practically a dead art; and by the time that the forces of the Counter-Reformation were organized, it was felt that a special adaptation of the fashionable art of the day was needed." (Drummond, p. 27)

[xiii] "Three such buildings in Lyons, the *Fleur-de-Lys*, *Paradis* and the *Terreaux*, almost identical in construction, were torn down only three years after they were built by those opposing the Reformation, so radical were their intentions regarded" (cf. Beiler, p. 62). Many such early Reformation church buildings suffered the same fate for much the same reason.

[xiv] There is another pencil drawing of the interior with some discrepancies in the details, as well as a sketch of the exterior (Donnelly, p. 27).

[xv] As we will see later, the rejection of the Mass resulted in a knee-jerk reaction to play down the sacraments. No permanent furniture for baptism or Lord's Supper emerge during this period.

[xvi] There are a few other examples of Protestant buildings preserved in sketches and one, the Temple of Collet-de-Dèze, apparently still stands. (www.chretienssocietes.revues.org)

[xvii] "Their argument is probably as follows: The church is founded on a rock – the great cliff overhanging the Firth of Forth; then in the centre of all is a strong tower; round about this tower are the enclosing walls of the church to shelter the people; the roofs of these four aisles lean and rest upon the central tower; when, therefore, in any time of trouble, the people convene within these walls, they can enter into the tower of safety. This arrangement may be intended to symbolize their trust in the Lord their God." (Kerr, p. 11) While such interpretation is only suggested by Kerr, he draws from the fact that the site for the church was selected on a cliff overlooking the Firth of Forth, as well as the fact that a castle was also built about the same time overlooking the harbour. There could well have been some effort to pair the two in design.

[xviii] John Brown was the first pastor of St. Columba's (1567-1593). There appears no direct connection to the more famous John Brown of Haddington who lived much later (1722-87) and who spent his entire ministerial career across the Firth of Forth from BurntIsland.

[xix] Although the term was not on the forefront of political theory until the time of James I/VI, the theory was a justification for many during the early days of the Reformation.

[xx] The Archbishop of Canterbury went even further back with regard to the battle between Crown and Church. In 1170, Thomas Becket, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was struck down by the overzealous knights of Henry II for his refusal to submit the church to the crown in all things. When Cranmer led the services in that beautiful cathedral, the tomb of Becket was still resting in the chancel. Later, it would be removed and destroyed by Cromwell. Today, only a candle rests on the spot where Becket had laid in state.

[xxi] Not even Martin Bucer (1491-1551) really thought of that.

[xxii] "Apart from the writings of Dr. W. D. Maxwell and DR. W. McMillan on Reformed worship and of Dr. A. L. Drummond on church architecture, the student who enters this rather unfrequented field will seek in vain for anything comparable with the massive studies of continental scholars. The architectural aspect of Scottish Reformed traditions has been almost completely neglected." (Hay, p. 3)

[xxiii] "As is generally recognized, the medieval church was more than well endowed, some authorities assessing its possessions as between one-third and one-half of the nation's wealth. By the time of the Reformation, however, much of this had passed into lay hands." (Hay, p. 9)

[xxiv] In 1587, under the Act of Annexation, James VI of Scotland took ownership of monasteries and other church wealth and property. Many were simply abandoned. Only with James VI, it was done for a redistribution of wealth and political power: "By skillfully farming out temporal lordships erected from these annexations, this astute monarch purchased a measure of aristocratic allegiance placating at the same time current aristocratic avarice." (Hay, p. 20)

[xxv] "Nor should we forget the dubious 'restorations' of more recent date with their scraped and colourless interiors and bad furniture." (Hay, p. 12)

[xxvi] "It was to remedy this state of affairs and 'Lest the Word of God, and ministratioun of the Sacraments, come into contempt by unseemliness of the place' that the first *Book of Discipline*, 1560, sought the expeditious repair of the churches 'in durris, wyndois, thak' and other externals, and such internal ordering 'as apperteaneth alsweall to the majestie of the Word of God as unto the ease and commoditied of the people'." (Hay, p. 19)

[xxvii] Leigh Schmidt recounts how a Catholic priest named James Carvet dared to celebrate a Mass in Edinburgh in 1565, only to be seized, forced to wear his vestments while fixed to a single spot in the center of town, and then was pelted with eggs for several hours over a period of two days. (Schmidt, p. 11-12)

[xxviii] Hay also mentions the Chapel Royal at Stirling Castle, built by James VI in 1594, immediately adjacent to the location of the original collegiate chapel where his mother, Mary, had been crowned in her infancy. The chapel was built to the same specifications of more modest rectangular churches of its period. "Extant plans, dated 1719, show only the pulpit sited on the south wall … . (Hay, p. 35)

[xxix] "The first service-book used in Scotland by those holding the reformed opinions in the sixteenth century was the English Book of Common Prayer 1552, in the ultimate shaping of which Knox, in a sermon preached before Edward VI, had played a spectacular part by his attack upon the rubric enjoining kneeling at reception of holy communion. The Reformation was well advanced in Scotland before 1560, and the reforming party had from the beginning supported an alliance with England in opposition to the 'auld alliance' with France. … Even Knox at this time could 'think well of it'." (Maxwell, p. 43)

[xxx] "This arrangement, particularly popular during the eighteenth century, is shown in the surviving plans of the church at Inverallan, of the Barony Church at Paisley, of the East Church at Stirling and St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, as well as in the water-colour drawing of the interior of St. Giles's, Elgin, c. 1770. Even the important, and, in terms of their design, very advanced town churches of St. Nicholas West at Aberdeen (1755) and St. Andrew at Dundee (174) followed this arrangement. St. Nicholas West, which still retains the majority of its eighteen-century furnishings, still has it elaborate canopied pulpit in the middle of one of the nave arcades. The plan of the church at Inverallan, which dates from about 1700 and appears to be the earlier surviving plan for any Scottish church, shows the long-wall arrangement in a simple country building. … A wide central passageway between the two rows of seating was almost certainly intended to provide space for the setting up of temporary communion tables on Sacrament Sundays." (Yates, p. 67-68)

[xxxi] White speaks of influences of the Reformation in Germany which, while not being a focus of our study here, nevertheless have influences that cannot go unmentioned. "A frequent innovation in German churches was the introduction of galleries. Indeed in the course of time the gallery almost became the distinctive trademark of the Protestant church. Nowhere was it carried to such extremes as in Germany where successive rows of galleries were added, sometimes making five tiers. The result reminds one of an opera house. The purpose, of course, was to bring as many people near to the pulpit as possible. … In many German churches there evolved a desire to bring the principal liturgical centers together as much as possible in the so-called *prinzipalstuck*. Frequently pulpit and altar-table were combined … . This arrangement was not uncommon and in many instances the font was placed directly before the altar-table and the organ case immediately above the pulpit."" (White, p. 85, 86)

[xxxii] At the same time, a raised sense of formality began to be associated with the minister. An elder or other leader would conduct the service and then the minister would enter the room through the outside stairs into the pulpit, often appearing for the first time in the worship service in order to give his sermon.

[xxxiii] "Such was the kirk, which provided the setting for the impressive first signing of the National Covenant of 1638" (Hay, p. 46). Alan Steele corrects common thought that the National

Covenant was signed outside in the churchyard when, in fact, it was signed at the base of the pulpit, with the church surrounding the action.

[xxxiv] In many areas of the country, the local lord was obligated to a third of the expenses for building and upkeep while the area residents were charged to carry the other two thirds of the expenses.

[xxxv] "This was an age which exhibited, as Bishop Butler observed, 'a wonderful frugality in everything which has respect to religion and extravagance in everything else.' Principal Cunningham said with truth: 'The 18th century was certainly the dark age of ecclesiastical architecture in Scotland.'" (Drummond, p. 47)

[xxxvi] With increases in population and age of church buildings, the age-old superstition of veneration of the dead will, at this age, begin to become untenable. Burying within the church building itself, actually a money-making venture for the church, will begin to be discouraged and then prohibited. To replace it, in the 18th c., burying in the grounds surrounding the church building will become popular and the rise of family mortuaries will take place.

[xxxvii] "We see a rather different pattern emerging in the Anglican tradition in England. although Calvinistic theology had a wide influence within the church of England, considerable elements of Catholic tradition were retained or reasserted themselves in worship." (White, p. 94)

[xxxviii] "In Cowper's Draft the service follows the Anglican Book, though there are significant divergencies. Some parts may indicate Scottish usages of the time (about 1619). … The reference to 'dipping' is left out, the Minister being directed to 'pour' water on the child, this probably having reference to the use of the laver." (p. 261)

[xxxix] The Scottish poet, Robert Burns, by the late 18th c., would refer to these communion seasons cynically as "holy fairs".

[xl] "There were other matters too which demanded much preparation: when sometimes there were ten to twelve thousand communicants and even in remote parishes as many as one thousand, the problems of catering and hospitality were formidable in days when food was scarce and shelter strictly limited, as during the first half of the century. Nor are we to forget that it was a point of honour that no one should be charged for either food or shelter when attending these communions." (Maxwell, p. 141)

[xli] "The event began with preachings on Thursday, and concluded with sermons on Monday, the ministers whose parishes were involved coming to share in the duties. Sermons were preached both in the church and in the open air. The ministers in succession went out into the 'tent', an out-door pulpit covered with a roof, and walled at the back and sides. The people sat around on the turf or heather, the crowds varying with the popularity of the preacher, and were greatly moved by the sermons and prayers as the preacher's voice rose and fell in solemn cadences across the moorland or in a sheltered natural amphitheatre chosen for the services. All work came to an end, and the four days (plus two to four days more for those who travelled from afar) were given up wholly to the solemn occasion, with sermons, prayers, and psalms from early morning to late at night.

On Sunday the sacrament was celebrated in the church, with the people coming to the holy table in relays of from thirty to one hundred and fifty (according to the size of the table, church, and congregation), and addresses were given and prayers said at each table served. The service began commonly at nine in the morning, and usually continued far into the evening till darkness fell. Meanwhile, outside the church, other sermons were being preached, prayers said, psalms sung, and services of preparation and thanksgiving held.

People, with great awe and solemnity, received communion sitting at the table. In both form and kind, the elements used varied in different parts of the country, as they had done since the Reformation. In some places leavened bread was used, and in others a special kind of shortbread or unleavened bread; and the bread might be either in slices, passed and broken by each communicant or diced as in Aberdeenshire. The wine used was normally claret, sometimes sack; and in some places water was added.

All concluded on the Monday with services of thanksgiving." (Maxwell, p. 141-143)

[xlii] "After the Oxford Movement some country parsons in England going up to the great churches which consisted of nave, quire, and chancel discovered the singers in the quires, and coming back to their parish churches brought their singers into the chancels to imitate as nearly as possible what seemed to be the approved thing; and, Scottish ministers, going south and admiring, followed this unfortunate example in the late Victorian and Edwardian period, and, oddly, are doing so still in some places. As a result, many of our sanctuaries are now crowded with stalls, chairs, organs, and singers many of whom mistake the office of chorister for that of concert singer, and with an invincible determination worthy of a better cause suppose that they must face the people when they sing, and will go to any lengths to do so. Thus so many of our sanctuaries, instead of being spacious places of dignity where the holy table stands in austere simplicity, are cluttered, crowded, and restless; and, as if this were not bad enough worse still has been devised, for the irreverent and banal indignity is not unknown of organ consoles being made to serve as communion tables." (Maxwell, p. 168-69)

[xliii] "In Dutch Reformed churches … the pulpit was the only liturgical center of importance. … The altar-tables in Reformed churches in the Netherlands were (and in many instances have remained) portable furnishings which were set up when the Lord's supper was celebrated so that the congregation could sit around the altar-table. Thus long tables extended down the aisles or across the front of the church, but, since this would be an inconvenience except on the occasions when the sacrament was celebrated, they would be removed after communion." (White, p. 89)

[xliv] Addleshaw, p. 23-24

[xlv] Addleshaw, p. 27

[xlvi] "Three-storeyed pulpits were fitted with every convenience necessary for the conduct of the services. Pulpit, reading pew and clerk's pew, each had a seat and a wide desk for books; the desk in the reading pew being wide enough o take a folio Prayer Book and Bible." (Addleshaw, p. 78-79)

[xlvii] Earlier, in 1551, in a paper Martin Bucer wrote regarding the 1549 Prayer Book, the *Censura*, Bucer argued against "the rubric, by placing the clergy in a special part of the church, makes them seem nearer to God than the laity. It encourages the laity to think that the clergy alone by saying a few prayers can procure God's favour, and that the people have no need to worship with any discernment or understanding of the services. He suggests that the churches most suitable for corporate worship are the round ones of antiquity, with the priest in the middle and the congregation standing round so that they can easily hear and understand what is being read." Still, "The solid stone screen, or *pulpitum*, which in the Middle Ages separated the choir from the nave in cathedral and collegiate churches, was also retained, but not for the same reason as the chancel screen in parish churches. In cathedrals the *pulpitum* made the choir a separate place where the cathedral body and such as cared to join them could sing the daily offices. The nave formed an enormous narthex to this church within a church, and in many cathedrals was utilized as a special place for sermons. The *pulpitum* became or remained an organ loft, and was usually known as an organ screen. Great organ cases still further enhanced the separation between choir and nave, and added not a little to the beauty of the interior. (Addleshaw, p. 23, 42)

[xlviii] "James had always been uncomfortable with the quasi-democratic structure of the Church of Scotland and the power of its presbyteries, and looked enviously at other Protestant countries, such as England and Scandinavia, where the monarch could effectively control the established church through the bishops." (Yates, p. 15)

[xlix] James also looked to reintroduce and enforce "the reception of Holy Communion kneeling, provision for communion of the sick and private baptisms, the confirmation of children over the age of eight and the proper observation of the festivals and fasts of Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, the Ascension and Pentecost." (Yates, p. 16)

[l] "Holiest of all was the altar. It was no longer acceptable to regard it, as the Puritans did, as simply a wooden table which stood in the middle of the chancel (usually on an east-west axis), to

be dragged out into the nave for parish meetings or school lessons; it was, in Laud's words, 'the greatest place of God's residence upon earth … yea, greater than the pulpit'." (Tinniswood, p. 9)

[li] Jeffrey, p. 161-2

[lii] "To Laud Art was merely 'the handmaid of Religion' – no Queen in her own right. To him, the Beautiful was the Traditional, the 'churchly.' His aim was to build antiquarian reproductions of old churches, embellished (as he sarcastically said) with 'holy-beetles and scribbled monograms that no one understands, and that would do them no good if they did.' He professed admiration for the 'Gothick.' Under his auspices was built St. Catherine Cree, a London City Church in the hybrid Renaissance-and-Gothic of the period (not altogether unpleasing). Yet even Laud in spite of his traditionalism was a child of his generation, actually collecting £100,000 for the rebuilding of Gothic 'Old St. Paul's' (as yet unburnt) started a Corinthian Portico at the west end, which was fortunately stopped by the Civil War." (Drummond, p. 25-26)

[liii] The Laudian instructions also included the rebuilding of screens which divided the nave from the chancel. The purpose, it was argued, was "not as in pre-Reformation days in order to separate the clergy from the laity in the performance of the liturgy, but to provide a different place in the church for each service, where priest and people could both gather." (Addleshaw, p. 40-41)

[liv] "Matthew Wren, was one of the most zealous of the Laudian bishops, whose visitation articles and injunctions and the defence which he made at his impeachment in 1641 are an important source of information on Laudian ecclesiology." (Addleshaw, p. 54)

[lv] Laud was eventually buried under the altar of the chapel of his beloved St. John's College in Oxford, which is structured according to strict Laudian guidelines.

[lvi] "Palladio's disciple, Inigo Jones, proclaimed the new Gospel with fervor in England, building St. Paul's Covent Garden (1631), a simple rectangular building with a portico which seemed to call for southern sunlight – the first English church of note built for Protestant worship." (Drummond, p. 34-5)

[lvii] The Acts of 1667 & 1670 read: "That the ..churches to be rebuilded within the said City of London … shall be built and erected according to such Models, and of such Dimensions, and in such Manner and Form in all Respects, as by the said Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Bishop of London, and Lord Mayor of London for the time being (with his Majesty's Approbation thereof) shall be directed and appointed." (Jeffrey, p. 27)

[lviii] "Frequently Wren's churches were built on peculiarly shaped lots. The shapes of his buildings include a wide variety of polygons, rectangles, and trapezoids. Basically they are one-room buildings." (White, p. 97)

[lix] "In a letter to a friend on the subject of the Act of Parliament of 1711, which made provision for fifty new churches to be built in London and Westminster, Wren discusses the room plan at some length. The letter ranks in importance with Bucer's letter on the position of the minister while taking the offices, and is one of the chief source documents for the history of Anglican ecclesiology." (Addleshaw, p. 53-54)

[lx] Jeffrey observes that the order of the pews was in keeping with the churchwardens' need/desire to charge rent. Thus there had to be thought and design for discrimination rather than communion and fellowship. (Jeffrey, p. 153)

[lxi] Even St. Martins-in-the-Fields, which, as it turned out to be the church personally used by the Wrens, was not a Wren creation but rather one by Wren's student, James Gibbs in 1724.

[lxii] Jeffrey is only willing to list four in the buildings he credits to Wren without reservation. (Jeffrey, 100)