

NATIONAL PRAYERS: SPECIAL WORSHIP SINCE THE REFORMATION

Volume 3:
Worship for National and Royal Occasions
in the United Kingdom, 1871–2016

A Form of Prayer
& of Thanksgiving
to Almighty God
on the Occasion of
The Silver Jubilee
of the Accession of
Our Sovereign Lady
Queen Elizabeth
The Second

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Edited by
PHILIP WILLIAMSON, STEPHEN TAYLOR,
ALASDAIR RAFFE AND NATALIE MEARS

Church of England Record Society

Volume 26

NATIONAL PRAYERS

SPECIAL WORSHIP SINCE THE REFORMATION

VOLUME 3

WORSHIP FOR NATIONAL AND ROYAL OCCASIONS
IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

1871–2016

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EDITED BY
Philip Williamson, Stephen Taylor,
Alasdair Raffe and Natalie Mears

THE BOYDELL PRESS

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Cover image: Title-page of the first form of prayer to be recommended
jointly for special thanksgiving services in the Church of England and the
Roman catholic and free churches of England and Wales. *A form of prayer
and of thanksgiving to almighty God on the occasion of the silver jubilee of
the accession of our sovereign lady Queen Elizabeth the second* (1977),
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Volume 26

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EDITED BY
Natalie Mears, Alasdair Raffé, Stephen Taylor
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EDITED BY
Philip Williamson, Alasdair Raffé, Stephen Taylor and Natalie Mears (2017)

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EDITED BY
Philip Williamson, Natalie Mears, Alasdair Raffe and Stephen Taylor

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Preface

As with the preparation of volume 2 of this edition, so with this volume: further research has revealed more material and important related matters, and resulted in a number of adjustments.

First, new evidence has again revealed further special occasions of national worship in addition to those listed in the 'Analytical list of particular occasions of special worship' for the whole period of the edition, which was printed in volume 1, pp. cxi–clvii. A number of occasions given in this list have also been found to have had a different scope to that originally noted. These changes have necessitated some re-coding of occasions. A list of 'Additions and corrections' to the Analytical list is given below on pp. xix–xxii.

Second, the history of special prayers since 1871 is more complex than for the periods of the earlier volumes, with the result that the Introduction and the commentaries are more wide ranging. This history involves new types of occasion to mark royal events (as is indicated in the volume title); changes in the relationship between the state and the churches; co-ordination between leaders of the established churches and those of other churches and religious communities, notably for national days of prayer; transformations in communication, with broadcasting and the internet; more frequent and widespread observance of British occasions in the overseas empire and commonwealth; and the churches' reactions to declines in attendance at public worship and in popular belief in God. The very definition of special worship became more fluid, requiring the use of a criteria of selection between 'national' and 'church' occasions; some of these issues are considered in Appendices on 'church prayers' and 'Special Sundays'.

Third, the material for the texts and the commentaries for the anniversary commemorations – both for those originating in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and for Remembrance day within the period of this third volume – is so substantial that it has been decided to include these occasions in a further volume. This fourth volume also has the Appendices, which provide additional information covering the whole period of the edition, and the indices for the whole edition.

The preparation of this edition received assistance from a large number of individuals and institutions. Many are listed in the Preface to volume 1. For this volume, we would like to express particular gratitude to the archivists at Lambeth Palace Library, The National Archives, the Royal Archives, Dr Williams's Library, the Archives of the Archbishops of Westminster, and the BBC Written Archives; to the librarians at New College, Edinburgh, and to staff at the offices of the World Evangelical Alliance.

Material from the Royal Archives is used with the permission of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

Christopher Wright at Cambridge University Press enabled us to consult materials on publication of forms of prayer, which started new lines of investigation; and Rosalind Grooms, the archivist of the Cambridge University Press archives in Cambridge University Library, provided copies of her catalogues of this material. For information, assistance with research and advice on particular matters, we are grateful to Sarah Foot, Richard Huzzey, Rosalind Marshall, Colin Podmore, Simon Potter, Tom Rodger,

Michael Snape and John Wolffe. Joseph Hardwick shared material from his research on occasions of special worship in former British colonies and dominions, and Hilary Ingram provided assistance with the illustrations. We thank Lambeth Palace Library for permission to reproduce images of material in its collections.

Much of the original research for the edition was funded by an award of a research grant from the Arts and Humanities Research Council (grant AH/E007481/1). It has been assisted by periods of research leave awarded by Durham University and the University of Reading, and by grants from the Faculty of Arts and Humanities and the Department of History at Durham University. We are grateful to the Marc Fitch Fund and the Scouloudi Foundation for grants towards the publication costs. David Cowling and Clare Zon in the Faculty of Arts and Humanities, Jo Fox, now at the Institute of Historical Research, and Jacqui Fletcher in Reading, provided practical assistance.

Christine Woodhead made completion of this volume possible by her detailed editorial assistance on the numerous drafts, and by checking the final version. With this as with the earlier two volumes, Linda Randall has been an exemplary copy-editor.

The Project Group

Philip Williamson (principal investigator) is professor of history at Durham University, and author of *National crisis and national government. British politics, the economy and empire 1926–1932* (1992), and *Stanley Baldwin. Conservative leadership and national values* (1999). His further publications include essays and articles on twentieth-century British party politics, government and the monarchy, and more recently ‘State prayers, fasts and thanksgivings: public worship in Britain 1830–1897’, *Past and Present*, 200 (2008), and ‘National days of prayer: the churches, the state and public worship in Britain 1899–1957’, *English Historical Review*, 128 (2013). He is co-editor, with Tom Rodger and Matthew Grimley, of *The Church of England and British politics since 1900* (2020).

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Professor John Wolffe, The Open University

Additions and Corrections

The first volume of this edition contained a list of particular occasions of special worship for the whole period studied, from 1533 to 2012 (pp. cxi–clvii). For the period of this third volume, further research has revealed a more complex history of special services and prayers than was expected, and required a number of revisions to the original list – the addition of more special prayers, services and calls to prayer, and one deletion. In some cases, the insertion of further occasions has involved a re-coding of occasions. The corrections are as follows:

1879–E, an additional occasion:

Prayers for fine weather and a good harvest
After Saturday 5 July 1879

1897–E, an additional occasion:

Prayers for the relief of famine and plague in India
After Tuesday 2 February 1897

1906–I, an additional occasion:

Prayers for Christian unity
Sunday 3 June 1906

1911–E1, an additional occasion:

Prayers during a national railway strike
From Saturday 19 August 1911

consequential re-coding:

1911–E2, for 1911–E (collect for use during the king's and queen's visit to India)

1913–E1, an additional occasion:

Service or prayers for the Church in Wales
Wednesday, 12 February 1913

consequential re-coding:

1913–E2, for 1913–E (prayers for China, 27 April)

1918–4, a re-coding of the earlier 1918–E3 (days of commemoration and prayer), as special worship was also recommended in Scotland

1921–E2, an additional occasion:

Prayers for industrial conciliation
From Saturday 9 April

consequential re-coding:

1921–E3, for 1921–E2 (prayers for peace in industry, in Ireland and international relations)

1921–S, an additional occasion:

Prayers on behalf of Russia
Sunday 9 October 1921

1921–1, a re-coding of the earlier 1921–E3 (prayers for the Washington disarmament conference), as special prayers were also recommended in Scotland

1925–E1, an additional occasion:

Prayers during crisis in China

From 6 July 1925

consequential re-codings:

1925–E2, for 1925–E1 (prayers during industrial troubles)

1925–E3, for 1925–E2 (thanksgiving prayer for return of the prince of Wales)

1927–E, an additional occasion:

Prayers for the settlement of disputes in China

Sunday 6 February 1927

1930–2, a re-coding of the earlier 1930–E3 (prayers for the Indian round table conference), as a call for prayers was also issued in Scotland

consequential re-coding:

1930–E3, for 1930–E4 (prayers on the unemployment problem)

1931–1, an additional occasion:

Prayers for the success of the world disarmament conference

From 13 June 1930 [to February 1932]

1931–E1, an additional occasion:

Prayers during financial and political crisis

From 7 September 1931

consequential re-coding:

1931–E2, for 1931–E (prayers for the needs of the nation)

1933–2, an additional occasion:

Prayers on the abolition of slavery

A Sunday during July 1933

1934–S, an additional occasion:

Prayers in support of persecuted protestants in Germany and other parts of Europe

Good Friday, 30 March 1934 to Easter Sunday, 1 April 1934

1935–E, a re-coding of 1935–E1 (prayers for guidance of world statesmen)

consequential on re-coding of the following entry

1935–3, a re-coding of 1935–E2 (prayers for the meeting of the League of Nations council and the maintenance of international peace), as a call for prayers was also issued in Scotland

1939–E, an additional occasion:

Prayer for Finland

Sunday 31 December 1939

1941–E, an additional occasion:

Thanksgiving prayers for victory in the Battle of Britain

Sunday 21 September 1941

1942–4, an additional occasion:

Remembrance prayers for the naval services

Sunday 19 July

consequential re-codings:

1942–5, for 1942–4 (National day of prayer)

1942–6, for 1942–5 (prayers for Czechoslovakia and oppressed peoples)

1942–7, for 1942–6 (prayers for civil defence and battle of El Alamein)

1942–8, for 1942–7 (prayers for the people of Poland)

1943–E2, a prayer for a Church of England Society, given little publicity, is recorded in the commentary for 1943–E1, and is replaced by:

Prayer for Farm Sunday

4 July 1943

1943–5, an additional occasion:

Thanksgiving prayers for Battle of Britain Sunday

Sunday 26 September 1943

consequential re-codings:

1943–6, for 1943–5 (prayers for China)

1943–7, for 1943–6 (prayers for India)

1946–E, an additional occasion:

Prayers for the cabinet mission to India

From 19 March to late June 1946

1949–E1, an additional occasion:

Prayers for Greece

Sunday, 20 March 1946

consequential re-coding:

1949–E2, for 1949–E (thanksgivings for the 400th anniversary of the Book of Common Prayer)

1956–1, an additional occasion:

Prayers during the Suez crisis

From Monday, 13 August 1956

1976–1, an additional occasion:

Day of prayer for Northern Ireland

Tuesday, 13 April 1976

1980–E, an additional occasion:

Thanksgivings and prayers for the independence of Zimbabwe

Sunday 20 April 1980

1982–S, an additional occasion:

Day of prayer during the Falklands conflict

Sunday 30 May 1982

1982–E, an additional occasion:

Thanksgiving prayers for the end of the Falklands conflict

Sunday 20 June 1982

1984–1, an additional occasion:

Thanksgiving and commemoration after a bomb attack on British government ministers

Sunday 21 October 1984

1985–E, an additional occasion:

Prayer in commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War

From 26 April, esp. Wednesday 8 May 1985

2006–E, an additional occasion:

Thanksgiving services for the eightieth birthday of Elizabeth II

Friday 21 April, Sunday 23 April, or during June 2006

2007–E, an additional occasion:

Prayers to mark the tenth anniversary of the death of Diana, princess of Wales

Friday 31 August to Sunday 2 September 2007

2013–E, an additional occasion:

Prayers and services for the sixtieth anniversary of the coronation of Elizabeth II

Sunday 2 June 2013, or a related day

2016–1, an additional occasion:

Prayers and services to celebrate the ninetieth birthday of Elizabeth II (and I)

Thursday 21 April 2016 and Friday 10 June 2016, or related days

Summary List of Particular Occasions of Special Worship, 1871–2016

Key to codes

E	England & Wales; after 1920, England only
S	Scotland
Number	added to letter codes when more than one occasion was ordered during a year
Number only	both kingdoms

Notes

Occasions are listed in chronological order of observance.

Where an occasion had several causes, only the principal one is given here: for fuller details see the commentaries for each occasion in the main text.

Code	Description	Cause	Page
1871–1	prayers	illness of the prince of Wales	3
1872–1	thanksgiving prayers	recovery of the prince of Wales from illness	6
1872–2	thanksgiving service and public holiday in London	recovery of the prince of Wales from illness	8
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Reader's Guide and Editorial Conventions

This edition brings together the core texts for all occasions of special national worship observed in the constituent parts of the British Isles from the beginning of the reformation in England to recent times. It also includes a number of texts that were concerned with special worship throughout the overseas British empire, as well as in Britain. Commentaries and lists of sources are provided for each occasion of special worship, together with related supplementary and contextual information, and a general explanatory introduction.

The phrase 'special national worship' is used for editorial convenience. In strict terms, it is problematic for several reasons, not least the differences between an early modern kingdom and a modern nation, and the changing relationships of the political units. For the purposes of this edition, the term 'national' refers both to the separate historic kingdoms of England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, and to the subsequent consolidated kingdoms of Great Britain and the United Kingdom of Britain and Ireland. During the period covered in this volume, relationships between the governments and the established churches of the original three kingdoms of the British Isles continued to change, as did the territory of the United Kingdom. The number and scope of established churches – which are the focus of this edition – was reduced, with the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1871, and the Church in Wales in 1920. The partition of Ireland in 1921 created the Irish Free State as a self-governing dominion of the British commonwealth (until it left on becoming a republic in 1949), and the main territory was renamed as the United Kingdom of Britain and Northern Ireland. Yet in another sense, some acts of special worship became more 'national' than in the past, whether through co-operation among the main churches, both established and non-established, by appeals from the sovereign or by assistance of the proclamation of public holidays or days of mourning, creating occasions for the whole of the United Kingdom.

The term 'special worship' is taken to include both *particular* occasions of special worship, those appointed for one day or for short periods, and *anniversary* (or annual) religious commemorations, those appointed for general observance on a specific date each year over long periods.¹ The commentaries and texts for the religious anniversary occasions are presented in volume 4 of this edition.

These issues of definition and the principles for inclusion are discussed in the Introduction to volume 1, with further comments relevant to the periods covered in the Introductions to volumes 2 and 3. Essentially, however, the edition includes all

¹ Three caveats should be noted for this volume, as distinct from volumes 1 and 2. (1) A small number of particular calls for prayer during the Second World War were repeated in further years: see explanation in the Introduction, p. lvi. (2) The emphasis is on occasions deemed to have national significance and to be appeals to the general public, rather than those which addressed internal church purposes, here called 'church prayers'. (3) The anniversary commemorations, which assumed observance by subjects or the public in general throughout the kingdom or nation, are distinct from the annual round of 'Special Sundays' that were created during this period. These Special Sundays were versions of 'church prayers', intended to support church and charitable purposes. 'Church prayers' and 'Special Sundays' are not included in the main part of this edition: see p. li, and Appendices 10 and 12 in volume 4.

those occasions on which the state and/or the established churches of England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, Great Britain and Ireland, and the United Kingdom of Britain and Ireland (later Northern Ireland) ordered or requested special worship on matters of national significance, to supplement or replace the normal patterns of daily and Sunday worship throughout the nation or large parts of the nation, on specified dates or for specified periods. The focus on the established churches means that orders or notices for churches after they were disestablished have not been reproduced, nor have those for dissenting, nonconformist or free churches, or the Roman catholic church – although in this volume references to these orders or notices are given for occasions when they co-operated with the established churches, and in cases when the various church leaders issued joint notices. Information is also given on observance of British occasions in the overseas colonies, dominions and the Indian empire, including orders or notices which were sent by the sovereign or government to the governors of these territories.

The 'core texts' reproduced in the edition fall into two main groups – orders and forms of prayer – with a third group consisting of addresses. By 'orders' are meant the documents which were generated by the authorities in the state and/or the established church when arranging the occasions. For editorial convenience, the term has been used generously to include various types of document, including what were strictly recommendations or notices. Orders strictly understood might be proclamations or orders of council issued by the crown, or acts or resolutions of church assemblies, letters from monarchs, politicians or clergymen, or – especially in volume 3 – notices in newspapers. 'Forms of prayer' consist of the special services or prayers which were to be read in public worship. Until the early twentieth century, these were texts for the Church of England and the Church of Ireland. In the Church of Scotland, the texts read in churches had consisted of a statement of the 'causes' for special worship included within the acts (or orders) of the church's general assembly, or issued as separate addresses. However, from 1915, the Church of Scotland also published forms of prayer, offering printed texts of services and prayers as an alternative or supplement to the church's longstanding practice of extempore prayers.

CODES

For ease of reference and cross-reference each *particular* occasion has been given an identification code in the format 1877–E, 1883–S, 1885–E2, 1887–1.

Year This denotes the year during which the observance was marked. If the observance extended across two or more years, only the first year is given.

Letter 'E' or 'S' indicate a *particular* occasion which took place in either England & Wales (or after 1920, England), or in Scotland.

Letter and number Where more than one *particular* occasion in one geographical area was ordered during a single year, a number is added to the code. When several occasions took place in one year within the same geographical area, these are numbered chronologically reckoned on the date of observance, rather than the date of order, e.g. 1913–E1 and 1913–E2.

Number only When an occasion took place in both England & Wales (or after 1920, England) and Scotland, no letter is given but only a number, e.g. 1897–1, 1977–1.

Nine *anniversary commemorations* were at various periods appointed and observed in one or more kingdoms of the British Isles. These are given the code 'AC', followed by an abbreviation to indicate the specific commemoration (and for more precise purposes, these are followed by the date of a new order, form of prayer or other change). Many of these anniversary commemorations were appointed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and most were abolished before or in 1859. The commemorations relevant to this volume are:

AC–Accession	anniversary of the sovereign's accession
AC–Remembrance	Remembrance day or Sunday, from 1919

The special service for AC–Accession continued to be 'annexed to' the Book of Common Prayer by a special order of the sovereign (a royal warrant) at the start of each reign. At the beginning of the period considered in this volume, this annexed service was the version which had last been revised in 1728. Some of this service was retained in a revised service issued in 1902. A number of English forms of prayer for particular occasions make use of suffrages or prayers from these services. In the edited texts, these are indicated by the phrase 'anniversary accession service', with the addition of '1902' indicating changes made in that year.

For some of the annual observances of AC–Remembrance, church leaders in England or Scotland issued appeals for further prayers on current issues in foreign relations, usually in order to emphasize the causes of peace and disarmament. The texts and explanations of these appeals are provided in volume 4 of this edition. These calls for additional prayers on Remembrance day should be regarded as supplementary to the particular occasions of special worship given in this volume.

ORGANIZATION OF THE EDITION

Analytical list

An 'analytical' list of *particular occasions* from 1533 to 2012 is given in volume 1, pp. cxi–clvii. This gives the date of observance and description of the type of occasion (fast day, thanksgiving day, special services, special prayers, national day of prayer, etc.); the day(s) of the week on which the observance took place, and an indication of whether it was observed once or on several days; the geographical area(s) within which observance took place; and a summary of the reason(s), or cause(s), for the occasion. Fuller details under all of these headings are provided in the editorial apparatus which precedes the texts for each occasion in the relevant volume.

A number of additions and corrections to this analytical list have become necessary as preparation of the edition has proceeded. For the period of volume 1, 1533–1688, these are given in Appendix 1 of volume 4 of this edition. For the period 1689 to 1870, they are included in volume 2, pp. xvii–xviii. The additions and corrections for the period of this volume, 1871–2016, are listed on pp. xix–xxii.

Summary list

Each of the first three volumes of the edition has a summary list of the *particular occasions* contained within each volume, giving code, a simple description and the

opening page number for the commentaries and texts for all particular occasions. This offers an easy finding aid.

Introduction

Taken together, the Introductions to the successive volumes of the edition may be read as essays on the development of special national worship across five centuries. Their purpose is to provide readers with the general and contextual material necessary to use, understand and interpret the texts which follow. Each outlines the significance of special national worship, provides definitions of the types of occasions and documents, describes the main phases and developments of the relevant period and the reasons for the occasions, discusses some of the ambiguities and complexities of 'national' worship, analyses the process of ordering, printing and distribution, and gives an account of the sources. The Introductions are divided into sections and sub-sections in order to facilitate easy reference to a range of topics, but they do not attempt to provide a full discussion of the purposes and meanings of these occasions.

Special worship and the prayer books

The forms of prayer ordered for use on special occasions in the Church of England were until the early twentieth century based largely upon, or assumed the use of, the services of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer (BCP), given statutory authority by the Act of Uniformity in that year. The section 'Special worship and the Book of Common Prayer', pp. cxxxiii–cxxxviii below, provides an outline of the structure of the main services – morning prayer, litany, communion and evening prayer – in order to indicate those parts which were typically modified by special services, or where special prayers were to be added to, or to replace, the usual prayers in these services. However, in the English forms of prayer for many of the special occasions covered in volume 3, these BCP services were shortened or varied, and often replaced by independent services.

During the twentieth century, other prayer books became available for the Church of England: the revised BCP of 1928 (which printed the 1662 text with additions and alterations), *The alternative service book* of 1980, and the 'liturgical resources' of the volumes of *Common worship*, published from 2000. Some forms of prayer for particular occasions used material from the revised BCP and from *Common worship*. References to this material are given in the edited texts; digitized versions of the books are available online.

The Church of Scotland had never required the use of a set liturgy. The special forms of prayer (or 'order of divine service') that it introduced from 1914 were intended as advisory 'aids' for ministers. Their texts were not derived from earlier official services, nor did they conform to various books of prayers which were authorized by the church's general assembly from the 1920s onwards.

Printers

During the period of this volume, the printers and publishers of the documents for special worship in England were more varied than during the period of the first two volumes: see pp. cxiii–cxix. For this reason, the names of the printers are given in the source notes, rather than in separate lists as in volumes 1 and 2.

Texts and commentaries

These are divided in two ways. First, the commentaries, notes and texts for the *particular occasions of special worship*, which form the bulk of the edition as a whole, are divided as follows:

Volume 1	1533–1688
Volume 2	1689–1870
Volume 3	1871–2016

The dates at which the volumes are divided are significant for the history of special worship. During the years from 1870 to 1872 which divide volumes 2 and 3, the Church of Ireland was disestablished, the English archbishops resumed a practice of issuing prayers for national use independently of the crown and the illness of the prince of Wales began a new elaboration of special worship on royal occasions.

Second, the commentaries, notes and texts for the *anniversary commemorations* from 1555, are printed in volume 4.

Appendices

Appendices containing additional material relating to the particular and anniversary occasions of special worship are printed in volume 4. As well as information and texts for the periods of the first two volumes, these appendices include lists relevant for the current volumes: lists of translated texts, forms of prayer issued by other churches, and for the Jewish communities, and broadcast services; and comment on 'church prayers', unadopted proposals for anniversary commemorations, and Special Sundays.

ORGANIZATION OF THE EDITORIAL APPARATUS AND TEXTS

The materials provided for each *particular* occasion are divided into two sections: the editorial apparatus and the texts. This format is standard for every occasion and consists of the following elements.

Editorial apparatus

The editorial apparatus is divided into four sub-sections.

Heading

A heading gives the identification code and a title, briefly describing the event and denoting what type of special worship was ordered (e.g. prayers, day of thanksgiving, national day of prayer, etc.).

Sub-heading

A sub-heading summarizes the day(s) and date(s) on which the occasion was observed and the area within which observance took place, as in the following examples:

Sunday 11 February 1912 (England & Wales)

From Friday 7 August 1914 (Scotland)

Sunday 2 January 1916 (United Kingdom, and in the empire)

**Sunday 29 July, Saturday 4 August or Sunday 5 August 1917 (Scotland);
Saturday 4 August and Sunday 5 August 1917 (England & Wales, and in
the empire)**

Sub-headings which refer to the empire, India and (from 1926) the commonwealth are given when orders or notices are known to have been issued by the government in London to their governors, or when there is evidence of extensive observance of the occasion in these territories.

Commentary

A commentary is provided for each occasion, outlining its context, and further details when known: why, how and by whom the occasion was ordered; the ordering process; information about the form of prayer (if commissioned); and indicative information, where extant, on observance. Attention is also drawn to significant developments in the types of occasion, the reasons for special worship, the ordering process, the format of liturgies etc. Comment is made on imperial and commonwealth observances of British occasions, either as a result of an order or notice from London, or when authorities in overseas territories acted on news of the British order or observance.

These commentaries vary substantially in length, depending on the context of the event, its complexity and the survival of evidence. They are intended to be self-contained, so that readers who are interested in only one occasion are provided with enough information to understand its context. For readers interested in particular periods or types of occasion (e.g. those linked to the monarchy), cross-references, given by use of codes, assist the reading of such texts in sequence.

Bibliographical information and sources

Unless otherwise stated, the place of publication is London.

Order(s): When different orders were issued for different geographical areas, these are listed as follows: ENGLAND & WALES: *Short title* ... SCOTLAND: *Short title* ... UNITED KINGDOM: *Short title* ...

The type of order (proclamation, order of council, order of the general assembly, public letter, etc.) and the date of its issue are given, followed by the source of the text of the order. Citations for significant reprints are listed in [square brackets].

‘Not known’ indicates where it is not known whether a written or printed order was issued (some ‘orders’ were expressed verbally, at meetings).

‘None found’ indicates where it is known from other evidence that there was an order, but where there appears to be no extant copy.

The term ‘order’ is for editorial convenience and is used liberally. Orders were normally published documents, although in some cases the order might be an unpublished letter. For some occasions, and especially from the 1870s, the document was often an exhortation, a recommendation or a request, expressed in a public letter or a notice published in a newspaper. In some cases, newspaper notices contained the text of a prayer.

Additional order(s): In cases where an act of special worship was organized by consultation among leaders of various churches, i.e. when co-ordination was integral to the purpose of the occasion, typically for a national day of prayer, the order(s)

or notice(s) of leaders of the non-established churches is noted (where found), although the text is not printed.

Form(s) of prayer: When different forms were ordered for different geographical areas, these are listed as follows: ENGLAND & WALES: *Title ...* SCOTLAND: *Title ...*

The first edition of the form of prayer is listed, followed by its page length, the publisher or publishers and the location of the copy used.

'Not known' indicates when it is not known whether a form of prayer was published.

'None found' indicates where it is known from other evidence that a form was published, but no extant copy has been located.

Where a Welsh translation is known to be extant, this is noted after the details of the English form, with location details. Appendix 6(a) provides further information about Welsh translations.

Additional form of prayer: This heading is occasionally used in volume 3 to record further forms; examples are special forms issued for children (e.g. 1929–S, 2002–E).

Address, or pastoral letter: These headings are used in cases where, in addition to or instead of the order, a statement was published by the Church of Scotland.

Additional sources: This lists the primary sources used in the writing of the commentary. Various forms of abbreviation have been used to simplify and economize on the length of these references. In addition, for dates, the year is given only for the first source cited, except where the year changes for subsequent references or where there might be ambiguity. As *The Times* was effectively a 'paper of record', page and column numbers are provided. Secondary historical writings are cited only if they contain primary evidence which was not otherwise available to the editors, or if they are directly concerned with the particular occasion or series of occasions. Other secondary writings, such as monographs and articles, which refer to occasions as part of a discussion of other subjects, are not listed.

Printed sermons: For volumes 1 and 2, an indicative list of printed sermons for each occasion is given, when these were published as pamphlets. Publication of sermons delivered on occasions of special worship was during the early modern period an important genre for religious and political debate, and as far as possible these have been recorded in this edition. But from the mid-nineteenth century, the practice declined, and it effectively ceased during the early twentieth century, as the character of public debate changed. Accordingly, the references to sermons in volume 3 are far fewer than in the earlier two volumes. A small number of these types of sermons, for instance by the archbishop of Canterbury, continued to appear in newspapers until the middle of the century; these can easily be found in the issues on the day after the special occasion. Others were published in collections of sermons, but it has not been feasible to locate these.

Images: With the advent of photography, newsreels and broadcasting, images of the major occasions included in volume 3 are too numerous to list. For only a few major occasions, usually royal, is a notable image indicated (e.g. 1872–2, 1897–1, 1938–2).

Texts

The texts are sub-divided into two sections.

Order(s)

A sub-heading gives details of the type of order, the issuing authority and the date of issue. There might be several orders for the same occasion, for one or more reasons: separate orders for England (& Wales) or for Scotland, or the United Kingdom; orders (and sometimes additional orders) by different authorities, in the state and church; supplementary orders by the government or the churches; orders to governors in the empire. As already noted, the term 'order' is a standard heading used for convenience throughout the edition: in this period, notice or public letter is often a more accurate description.

A transcription is then provided of the order or orders, according to the date of their issue.

The main state orders – proclamations and orders of council – begin and end with standard formulations. For example, proclamations typically open with a phrase such as 'By the King a Proclamation [with title of occasion]', and end with 'Given at Our Court at [place, date, regnal year]. God save the King.' In the transcriptions, these standard phrases are usually omitted, either without indication if at the start or end of documents, or marked by ellipses if within the text.

In some cases, a full transcription of the main text of the order is not provided. Instead, where sections of text have been repeated from an earlier order, this is indicated by the use of catch-phrases, ellipses and a cross-reference to the earlier form, given in [*italics in square brackets*]. This practice alerts the reader to the ways in which texts were either re-cycled or changed throughout the period.

For a proclamation or order of council for England (& Wales), Scotland and the United Kingdom, the main source is the copy that appeared in the *London Gazette*. The *Edinburgh Gazette* normally reprinted verbatim the orders and notices from the *London Gazette*, although it alone published the Scottish order for 1897–1.

For public announcements – notices, or public letters – of the archbishops or other authorities of the Church of England (in some cases, published jointly with leaders of other churches), the sovereign or the government, the main source is *The Times*, although other newspapers (in some cases church newspapers) have been used when necessary.

For orders issued by the authorities of the Church of Scotland, the source is normally either the annual *Principal acts of the general assembly*, or a letter or announcement by the general assembly or its moderator in *The Scotsman*, and occasionally in another newspaper.

The text of communications sent by the sovereign or government to governors in the empire are provided only in the few cases when these were definite orders. As explained in the Introduction, pp. cxxv–cxxvii, most of these communications were notifications and requests: these are noted in the commentaries and source notes.

Form(s) of prayer, or address or pastoral letter

Where there is more than one form or address, a sub-heading gives the geographical area (England & Wales, Scotland). A transcription is then provided of the form or forms of prayer issued for each occasion, and any address or pastoral letter ordered to be read in church.

Where the occasion was observed in more than one geographical area, documents appear in chronological order.

In most cases, a full transcription of a form of prayer is not provided. This is partly because of space constraints, but principally in order to indicate the material in particular forms of prayer which was derived from earlier sources.

First, where sections of text have been repeated from an earlier form of prayer or address (etc.), these are indicated by the use of catch-phrases, ellipses and a cross-reference to the earlier form within [square brackets]. For some occasions, when there is only a single change – the date of observance, for example – this is indicated in an editorial note in *[italics in square brackets]*.

Second, until the mid-twentieth century, many of the forms of prayer for the Church of England consisted of additions to or adaptations of the services printed in the BCP. In these cases, the standard elements of the services have not been reproduced. Instead, they are indicated by square brackets in italics – e.g. [*Te Deum*]. Rubrics have been retained where they are different from those in the BCP, where they provide additional information about the structure of the service or how it was celebrated, or when paraphrasing does not lead to a significant reduction in words. Within orders of service, for ease of reference the headings for the different services have been standardized to ‘Morning prayer’, ‘Litany’, ‘Communion’ and ‘Evening prayer’.

To assist in understanding forms issued by the Church of England, summary outlines of the liturgy from the 1662 BCP are provided in the section on ‘Special worship and the Book of Common Prayer’. To reconstruct *everything* that was said in a special church service that was based on the BCP, reference must be made to a copy of the BCP. This was the practice followed by ministers when they used these forms of prayer.

However, during the period of this volume, the forms issued for the Church of England increasingly departed from the services in the BCP. From 1900, the archbishops issued independent ‘special services’, and encouraged the clergy to improvise their own prayers; from the 1940s, a number of special forms were issued in co-operation with interdenominational bodies; and from the 1980s, use of the BCP was largely superseded by new service books (see Introduction, pp. xcv–xcix). Consequently, the texts of the forms, including the rubrics, cannot always be ‘reduced’ to a standardized format, as was usually possible in volumes 1 and 2, with the effect that the texts are presented more fully, and indicate how their structure and content developed.

Forms of prayer for the Church of Scotland were normally composed anew for each particular occasion, with only rare repetitions. Again, the effect is that the texts are presented in only lightly edited format.

During this period, the texts of lessons, epistles, gospels and psalms were only rarely provided within the form of prayer; instead, they were indicated by their scriptural numbers. In this edition, the references are given in standardized abbreviations and format.

The forms did not prescribe the use of a particular version of the bible. Until the 1880s, the use of the King James version (1611) would have been assumed. From 1885, the Revised Version was available as an alternative; from the 1960s, a further alternative was the New English Bible (New Testament 1961, Old Testament 1970, the whole reissued as the Revised English Bible, 1986).

In the Church of England until the 1960s, the texts of psalms which would have been used were either those included within the BCP, or the metrical versions by Nahum Tate and Nicholas Brady, authorized by royal order in council in 1696, which were commonly annexed to editions of the BCP. A revised psalter was authorized

by the bishops in 1963 and included in *The alternative service book*, and a further revision was available in volumes of *Common worship* from 2000. The psalms in the Church of Scotland's forms of prayer assumed the texts from the bible, or the metrical versions (the 'Scottish Psalter') first approved by the general assembly in 1650 and much reprinted and revised; a new edition was published in 1929.

The words of hymns specified in Church of England forms of prayer were normally printed in full, principally in order to dispense with the use of additional hymn books during the service, though occasionally because a particular hymn was not well known or had been written specially for the occasion (e.g., 1872–2, 1897–1). In this edition the full texts are not printed, and most hymns are identified only by the first line.

In Church of Scotland forms of prayer, the words of hymns were not printed. Reference in this edition is generally by number and first line to the relevant edition of *The church hymnary* or, where this is indicated in the original order of service, to *The Scottish hymnal*.

The Church of Scotland forms also included 'Paraphrases', passages from the bible presented in verse form so that they could be sung. Volumes of these had been authorized by the general assembly since the eighteenth century, and particular paraphrases became known by their numbers (in similar style to the numbers used for hymns). A new edition of the paraphrases was published in 1889, and their texts were included in editions of *The Scottish Psalter* in 1907 and 1929.

Other texts

Religious bodies outside the established churches may or may not have issued orders for special worship for their own congregations on the occasions appointed by the state or the established church. Some of these religious bodies also issued their own forms of prayer. These orders and forms of prayer are not printed in this edition, but where these were a significant part of the 'national' observance of an occasion, their existence is noted in commentaries and by references in the notes. Appendices 7 and 8 in volume 4 provide information on the forms of prayer known to have been issued by the Episcopal Church in Scotland, by the free church councils and the methodists in England and Wales, and for the Jewish communities. An attempt has been made to trace as many of these as possible, but their survival is haphazard and the information here should be regarded as no more than indicative.

TRANSCRIPTION

Original spelling, capitalization and punctuation have been retained in the transcription of both printed and any manuscript texts. For the sake of clarity, editorial interpolations appear in *[italics in square brackets]*.

Where printers have emphasized particular words or phrases by using a different font (e.g. italics in a non-italicized text, or vice versa), this is indicated in the edited text.

The presentation of psalms has been standardized, as has the general layout of forms.

Compiling an edition of printed texts spanning a period of almost five centuries presents certain challenges. The tension between retaining the appearance and flavour of the original work and imposing consistency across the edition is much greater than when editing texts from a shorter period. Typographical practices changed significantly

not only across several centuries, but also within the period of each volume. It is clear that the appearance of many forms of prayer was the product of much thought and discussion. It was decided, however, that while the history of the appearance of forms of prayer (and other documents such as proclamations and addresses) has much interest, it is not a subject that could be addressed in this edition. The provision of a number of illustrations enables readers to obtain some sense of the changing appearance of the originals. It should also be noted that most twentieth-century forms tended to include much more white space than those of earlier centuries; this will not be apparent to readers.

LOCATION AND SURVIVAL OF SOURCES

The relevant major public and private libraries and archives have been searched not just for manuscript or printed texts, but also for sources to assist in the writing of commentaries and the introduction. For much of the period of this volume, particularly important material has been obtained from the voluminous papers of the archbishops of Canterbury in Lambeth Palace Library, the printed proceedings and reports of the general assembly of the Church of Scotland, the records of government departments in The National Archives and the papers of sovereigns and their secretaries in the Royal Archives. Searches have been undertaken in parish records in several local record offices in England, sufficient to indicate that further research in these records would be valuable. Limited searches have been undertaken in the central records of the Roman catholic and free churches in England to assist with the commentaries. The relevant printed collections have been consulted, including the records of convocation and parliament, and especially newspapers in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, primarily using digitized collections. For much of the period of this volume, the appointment of special acts of worship was commonly announced by notices in the national newspapers; *The Times* and *The Scotsman* have been leading sources for the texts used in this volume, supplemented for England by church newspapers and for Scotland by other regional newspapers. Much of the information on observance of British acts of worship in the empire and commonwealth has been derived from digitized collections of government gazettes and newspapers, available online. The colonial office records in The National Archives have been the best source for orders or notices sent to governors or governors-general. The dominions office and India office records are not organized in a manner that enables ready location of the relevant telegrams and despatches, but their existence can generally be inferred from gazettes and newspapers.

The survival of forms of prayer is not guaranteed for any period from the sixteenth century to recent times. For the Church of England, the forms have chiefly been found in Lambeth Palace Library, although successive archbishops of Canterbury (or their secretaries) did not always retain copies; where necessary, this collection has been supplemented by copies in other libraries or private collections. Further useful collections (which contain additional materials, notably ordering forms sent to the clergy and to booksellers) are in the records of Cambridge University Press, which incorporate files from its predecessor as the royal printers, the publishers Eyre and Spottiswoode: these records are now held in Cambridge University Library. Some parishes retained sequences of forms, proclamations and orders of council, generally

for relatively short periods, and have deposited these in regional record offices. But in general, the orders and forms of prayer sent to parishes were treated as ephemera, and the survival rate of copies does not reflect the large numbers that were printed. This is even more true of forms of prayer published by the Church of Scotland. Not only were their print runs much smaller, but no library acted as an obvious repository. Most surviving forms were in private collections that have gravitated over the years to the library of New College, Edinburgh. Many of its forms appear to be unique copies, and its collection is not complete.

It should be noted that historical research on special worship becomes more difficult for periods approaching the present. Access to some archives is closed for recent times: the Royal Archives during the reign of the current sovereign (so at the time of publication of this edition, from 1952), and the archbishops' papers and government records since the mid-1980s. From the 1950s, national newspapers gave less coverage to the statements of church leaders. Their notices were rarely printed in full, and often ignored; even church newspapers tended to provide only summaries. Consequently, a copy of the original press release, found in the papers of the archbishop of Canterbury or the Church of England's information office, has sometimes been used, rather than a text that is known to have been published in newspapers. It has not always been possible to find recent forms of prayer for the Church of Scotland, as copies have not yet been deposited in libraries. The creation of the internet gave church leaders another means of publicizing their notices and publishing forms of prayer. However, documents published on websites are a new form of ephemera: the online archives of the churches and related organizations are variable in quality and longevity, with texts liable to disappear from view after only a short period. Not all the relevant texts for this volume have been found.

Abbreviations

PUBLISHED SOURCES AND LOCATIONS OF UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

The place of publication of works listed here and elsewhere in this edition is, unless otherwise stated, London.

AAW	archives of the archbishops of Westminster, Westminster Diocesan Archives, London
A&M	<i>Hymns ancient and modern</i> (1861; standard edn, 1916)
AC	anniversary commemoration: the code used for these occasions in volume 4 of this edition (with a further code to indicate each type of commemoration, together with the date)
ACNS	website of the Anglican Communion News Service [online archive]
Add.	British Library, Additional Manuscripts
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BBC WAC	BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham
BCC	British Council of Churches
BCP	Book of Common Prayer
1928 BCP	<i>The Book of Common Prayer with the additions and deviations proposed in 1928</i> [the ‘revised prayer book’] (Cambridge, Oxford and London, 1928)
Bell, Davidson	G. K. A. Bell, <i>Randall Davidson</i> (2 vols., continuous pagination, 1935) [note the single-volume edn, 1938, with additional material]
Benson papers	papers of Archbishop Edward Benson, Lambeth Palace Library
BL	British Library, London
BM [with date]	bishops’ meetings: minutes of the meetings of archbishops and diocesan bishops of the Church of England (and from 1920 the Church in Wales), in Lambeth Palace Library
Bod.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
CAB	cabinet records, in The National Archives, Kew
Canterbury convocation [year]	<i>The chronicle of convocation, being a record of the proceedings of the convocation of Canterbury</i> (1858–continuing)
CH	church records in the National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh
CHy	<i>The church hymnary</i> [authorized for use in the Church of Scotland, United Free Church, and presbyterian churches elsewhere] (Edinburgh, 1898, and later edns)

CIHM	Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions [with item number]
CIO	Church [of England] Information Office
CO	colonial office records, The National Archives, Kew
CoEMC	Church of England Media Centre: press releases from 1999 [online, viewed 2016]
Coggan papers	papers of Archbishop Donald Coggan, Lambeth Palace Library
council register	registers of the privy council, in class series PC2 in The National Archives, Kew; unless otherwise stated, these record the issue of council orders and proclamations
CTBI	Churches Together in Britain and Ireland
CUP	Cambridge University Press
Davidson papers	papers of Archbishop Randall Davidson, Lambeth Palace Library
DO	dominion office records, The National Archives, Kew
E&S	Eyre and Spottiswoode
England & Wales	England, [the dominion of] Wales and the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed: the area designated in English proclamations and forms of prayer until 1919
Evangelical Alliance council	minutes of the council of the [World] Evangelical Alliance, in the Alliance's London office
FCEFC	Federal Council of the Evangelical Free Churches [or 'Federal Free Church Council', from 1920: references to its committees are to minute books among the papers of its successor body, the Free Church Federal Council, Dr Williams's Library, London]
FCFC	Free Church Federal Council, from 1940 [references to its committees are to minute books in its papers, Dr Williams's Library, London]
F. Temple papers	papers of Archbishop Frederick Temple, Lambeth Palace Library
Fisher papers	papers of Archbishop Geoffrey Fisher, Lambeth Palace Library
<i>General assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland, [year]</i>	<i>Proceedings and debates of the general assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland</i> (29 vols., Edinburgh, 1901–29)
<i>Guardian</i>	until 1951 this refers to the weekly Church of England newspaper; from 1959 it refers to the national daily newspaper (formerly <i>The Manchester Guardian</i>)
<i>HC debs.</i>	<i>House of Commons debates</i>
HHA	Hatfield House Archives, Hatfield
<i>HL debs.</i>	<i>House of Lords debates</i>
HO	home office papers, The National Archives, Kew

IOR	India office records, British Library
Lang papers	papers of Archbishop Cosmo Lang, Lambeth Palace Library
LC	lord chamberlain's records, The National Archives, Kew
LG	<i>London Gazette</i> [digital archive, online]
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library
NCEFC	National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches [or 'National Free Church Council', 1896–1940; references to its committees are to minute books among the papers of the Free Church Federal Council, Dr Williams's Library]
NCLE	New College Library, University of Edinburgh
NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
NLW	National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth
OUP	Oxford University Press
<i>Paraphrase</i>	biblical passages in verse, for singing, bound in editions of <i>The Scottish Psalter</i> (1907, 1929) and used in the Church of Scotland's forms of prayer
<i>Parl. debs.</i>	<i>Parliamentary debates</i>
<i>Parl. papers</i>	<i>Parliamentary papers</i>
PC	privy council records, The National Archives, Kew
PREM	prime ministers' office papers, The National Archives, Kew
PRESS	Cambridge University Press papers (including Eyre and Spottiswoode material) in the University archives, Cambridge University Library
<i>Principal acts GA, [year]</i>	<i>The principal acts of the general assembly of the Church of Scotland</i> (Edinburgh, annual volumes)
PRO	Public Record Office: personal and miscellaneous papers in The National Archives, Kew
<i>Queen Victoria letters</i>	<i>The letters of Queen Victoria</i> , 2nd ser., ed. G. E. Buckle (3 vols., 1926–8), 3rd ser., ed. G. E. Buckle (3 vols., 1930–2)
RA	Royal Archives, Windsor Castle
Ramsey papers	papers of Archbishop Michael Ramsey, Lambeth Palace Library
<i>Reports GA, [year]</i>	<i>Reports to the general assembly of the Church of Scotland</i> (Edinburgh, annual volumes)
RT	<i>Radio Times</i>
Runcie papers	papers of Archbishop Robert Runcie, Lambeth Palace Library
SHy	<i>The Scottish hymnal. Hymns for public worship</i> [by a committee of the general assembly of the Church of Scotland] (Edinburgh, 1869, and later edns)
SPCK	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
Tait papers	papers of Archbishop Archibald Campbell Tait, Lambeth Palace Library

TNA	The National Archives, Kew
UL	University Library (preceded by name of the university)
W. Temple papers	papers of Archbishop William Temple, Lambeth Palace Library
<i>York convocation</i> [month and/or year]	<i>The York journal of convocation, containing the acts and debates of the convocation of the province of York</i> (1859 and continuing)

BOOKS OF THE BIBLE

Old Testament

Gen.	Genesis	Eccles.	Ecclesiastes
Exod.	Exodus	S. of S.	Song of Solomon
Lev.	Leviticus	Isa.	Isaiah
Num.	Numbers	Jer.	Jeremiah
Deut.	Deuteronomy	Lam.	Lamentations
Josh.	Joshua	Ezek.	Ezekiel
Judg.	Judges	Dan.	Daniel
Ruth	Ruth	Hos.	Hosea
1 Sam.	1 Samuel	Joel	Joel
2 Sam.	2 Samuel	Amos	Amos
1 Kgs.	1 Kings	Obad.	Obadiah
2 Kgs.	2 Kings	Jonah	Jonah
1 Chr.	1 Chronicles	Mic.	Micah
2 Chr.	2 Chronicles	Nahum	Nahum
Ezra	Ezra	Hab.	Habakkuk
Neh.	Nehemiah	Zeph.	Zephaniah
Esther	Esther	Hag.	Haggai
Job	Job	Zech.	Zechariah
Ps.	Psalms	Mal.	Malachi
Prov.	Proverbs		

Apocrypha

1 Esdr.	1 Esdras	S. of III Ch.	Song of the Three Children
2 Esdr.	2 Esdras		
Tobit	Tobit	Sus.	Susanna
Judith	Judith	Bel & Dr.	Bel and the Dragon
Rest of Esth.	Rest of Esther	Pr. of Man.	Prayer of Manasses
Wisdom	Wisdom	1 Macc.	1 Maccabees
Ecclus.	Ecclesiasticus	2 Macc.	2 Maccabees
Baruch	Baruch		

New Testament

Matt.	Matthew	1 Tim.	1 Timothy
Mark	Mark	2 Tim.	2 Timothy
Luke	Luke	Titus	Titus
John	John	Philem.	Philemon
Acts	Acts of the Apostles	Heb.	Hebrews
Rom.	Romans	Jas.	James
1 Cor.	1 Corinthians	1 Pet.	1 Peter
2 Cor.	2 Corinthians	2 Pet.	2 Peter
Gal.	Galatians	1 John	1 John
Eph.	Ephesians	2 John	2 John
Phil.	Philippians	3 John	3 John
Col.	Colossians	Jude	Jude
1 Thess.	1 Thessalonians	Rev.	Revelation
2 Thess.	2 Thessalonians		

Introduction: 1871–2016

Philip Williamson

‘National prayers’ are special acts of worship on matters of national significance, which were ordered or encouraged by the sovereign, the government or the leaders of the established churches for observance on specific dates or for particular periods in all places of worship of the established church in a kingdom, or for large areas of a kingdom or its capital city, and which were ‘national’ in the multiple meanings created by consolidations of the kingdoms of the British Isles into larger units – applying both separately to England and Wales, to Scotland and to Ireland and collectively to Great Britain and to the United Kingdom of Britain and Ireland. This is the most straightforward description, although there are complications that are outlined in volume 1 of this edition, pp. xlvii–xlvi, and explained further elsewhere in the Introduction to that volume and in the Introduction to volume 2. Notwithstanding these complications, from 1660 to the 1860s the ordering, nomenclature, organization and texts for special acts of national worship settled into reasonably clear patterns, shaped by precedent and long-established practices. From the 1870s, however, the character and arrangement of national prayers changed considerably, as large shifts took place in the relationships between the state, the churches and members of the nation, in the authorization and styles of worship, in the religious understandings of the established churches and in the means of communication.

Since the sixteenth century, special occasions of national worship had chiefly been ordered by the state. Although the sovereign or the government continued occasionally from the 1870s to order, authorize, organize or encourage special services or prayers, these were now more often initiated by leaders of the established churches. The number of established churches was reduced. Most notably, the Church of Ireland – for which documents and commentaries were included in the first two volumes of this edition – was disestablished at the beginning of 1871, and accordingly ceases to be a focus for this volume. The two established churches that remained, the Church of England (reduced in scope by the creation of the disestablished Church in Wales in 1920) and the Church of Scotland, became less able to claim that they encompassed all members of their ‘nations’, in conditions of increased religious pluralism and declines in church attendance and in Christian belief. Freed from the constraint of orders by the state, seeking to accommodate theological, religious and social changes, and with new media available, the established churches introduced new types of special worship, which were appointed more frequently and for a wider range of purposes; they also issued new kinds of order or notices for the clergy, with new styles of services and prayers.

The Church of England and the Church of Scotland still often acted alone as national churches. However, they also took the leading part in innovations of considerable historical significance: the organization of ‘multi-church’ or interdenominational occasions of special worship. It became increasingly common for the leaders of the two established churches to act in unison, and to co-operate with leaders of other religious communities: not just with those of the nonconformist, secessionist or ‘free’

protestant churches but also – in the most striking departure from past commitments – those of the Roman catholic church, and for some occasions the orthodox churches and the united Jewish congregations; and not just in England and Scotland but also in Wales and in Ireland or, after the political partition of Ireland in 1921, in Northern Ireland. Consequently, some acts of special worship became in a sense more broadly ‘national’ than those of previous centuries, because they comprehended a wider range of religious groups and beliefs within the whole United Kingdom. In time, the use of radio and television made some of the occasions still more national in scope, reaching into homes, schools, public halls and workplaces. Until the 1950s, the chief occasions of special worship were also observed in the colonies, dominions and India – again, more so than during earlier periods, and assisted by the imperial broadcasts of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC).

Yet at other times, the two established churches appointed acts of special worship without an expectation that they would attract national attention or obtain high levels of general observance. These were for causes specific to their churches, or their favoured charities or issues. The old assumption of a unity of ‘church’ and ‘nation’ – which had been maintained from the 1660s, despite the realities of religious pluralism – was in these cases set aside, even as for numerous other occasions it was preserved in a more embracing sense of appeals to all ‘Christian people’. During the 1950s, however, even these appeals to a religious nation became difficult to sustain.

The outcome of all these changes was that the types and number of acts of special worship multiplied, and the texts for these occasions became more varied. What had for centuries been standard, stable and relatively easy to classify becomes complex, more fluid and difficult to define. The problems of definition will be considered further in a later section of this Introduction. Here, it should be stated that these changes have required a different approach from that of the earlier volumes of this edition. For the periods of the first two volumes, little selection was needed: ‘national prayers’ were those usually ordered by the crown, or for some periods until the early eighteenth century, by the English or Scottish parliaments, and in Scotland also by the general assembly of the Church of Scotland. From the 1860s, what was ‘national’ about national prayers had different meanings, and some acts of special worship no longer had a national purpose or importance. A number of special prayers and services observed throughout the established churches have therefore been excluded from this volume. The following distinction has been made.

National prayers: special prayers, services and days of worship which were manifestly national in purpose. The special services for national *anniversary* commemorations, in this period for the accession of the sovereign and Remembrance Sunday (for Remembrance Sunday, occasionally with further calls for special prayers),¹ form the main part of volume 4. For the *particular* occasions of national prayers, commentaries and documents are provided in this volume. These occasions are defined variously as follows: acts of special worship that continued to be ordered and authorized by the crown, or were initiated or organized by the government; those for which leaders of the Church of England and the Church of Scotland obtained the public approval of or ostensible initiation by the sovereign;² those for which the leaders of these churches

¹ See p. lvi below.

² As explained below, there was an important difference between the sovereign issuing an official order as head of state, and the sovereign expressing personal approval or ‘desire’ as the symbolic head of the nation.

addressed the whole community, and those for which they acted together with leaders of the other main religious communities on matters of national significance. From the later 1920s, the main occasions attracted national broadcasts. Many were also observed in the empire and the commonwealth,³ and in some cases in churches in foreign nations. Accordingly, the scope of the commentaries and sources for this volume is larger than for the first two volumes, in order to indicate the range of participation by other religious communities and in overseas territories, and the use of new means of transmission. Further details on other churches and communities and on broadcasts are given in Appendices 7, 8 and 9 in volume 4 of this edition.⁴

Church prayers: special prayers, services and days of worship for causes which were specific to the particular churches. These occasions are excluded from the main part of this volume. Their purposes were typically for the established churches to encourage deeper faith among their own worshippers, to mark particular church events (for example, the periodic Lambeth conferences of leaders of the world-wide anglican communion), or to assist the collection of funds for church charities or for charities supported by the church. For some of these occasions, dedicated prayers or services were published, and approved by authorities within the church. These ‘church prayers’ were of two types, particular and annual. Indications of particular church prayers are provided in Appendix 10. Annual appeals for church and charitable causes became known as ‘Special Sundays’: these are considered in Appendix 12.

The distinction between ‘national prayers’ and ‘church prayers’ is not clear cut. It is a matter of editorial judgment; others might disagree on the categorization. A complication is that the meaning of ‘national significance’ is not always obvious. It varied according to time, circumstance and subject. Some occasions which might seem to be specific to the church – notably commemoration of past religious events – had national importance because of their wider historical and cultural significance, or because they were intended to reassert the value of a national church and the national faith. Accordingly, decisions on selection have tended towards the capacious, in the belief that evidence of the shifting patterns of special worship will assist understanding of the attitudes of leaders of the established churches towards the major changes in religious and national life. Selection becomes especially difficult for the period since the 1980s, and has required a further change in editorial practice; the issues for this period are considered below, pp. lv and 687–9.

Other types of multiplication of acts of special worship and forms of prayer should be noted, which had more restricted scope. From the mid-nineteenth century, bishops of the Church of England revived their authority to appoint special days of prayer and special services or prayers within their own dioceses, and to issue or authorize forms of prayer for these occasions, published by local printers or supplied by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK). The SPCK itself commissioned forms of prayer for events in the church calendar or for special causes, and obtained authorization or recommendation from bishops. Cathedrals and other places of worship printed their own forms of prayer, both for occasions which were observed throughout the church, and for their own special services: this was especially the case in the Church

³ The empire in the sense of colonies, protectorates, mandates and the Indian empire, and the commonwealth as the self-governing dominions, which together with the United Kingdom formed the British commonwealth from 1926, and the Commonwealth of Nations from 1949.

⁴ It should be noted that leaders of the non-established churches and the chief rabbi occasionally recommended special services or prayers for national or international events which were not marked by the established churches.

of England, but forms for the High Kirk in Edinburgh (St Giles' Cathedral) can be found from the 1880s. However, as these types of occasion or forms of prayer were limited in the scope of their appointment or use – for dioceses, localities or particular places of worship – and were not for 'national' observance, they are not included in this volume.

Further preliminary explanations concern changes in the character of the texts issued for special acts of worship. Under the terms of the acts of uniformity (the last in 1662), the clergy of the Church of England were required in public worship to use only the services given in the Book of Common Prayer (BCP), with two types of variation. During specified types of anxiety or celebration (for example, exceptional weather, harvests, epidemics or wars), clergy could at their own discretion or by direction of their bishop include in their services one or more of the prescribed 'Prayers and thanksgivings upon several occasions' published in the BCP. More substantially – for occasions considered in this edition – the crown (normally) or the church authorities periodically issued orders for a special act of worship and for use of a special form of prayer, which superseded or supplemented the requirements of the BCP. These special forms of prayer, printed and distributed to all places of worship, provided adapted or alternative texts for church services or the texts of additional prayers, to be used for a specified date, succession of dates or period.⁵ The services or the prayers in these special forms of prayer are among the principal documents presented in this edition. However, as will be explained more fully in a later section (see pp. xcii–xcix), from the late nineteenth century strict conformity by the clergy to the BCP declined, and this was in time accepted and eventually encouraged by the archbishops and bishops. This had two effects. First, the archbishops tended to issue 'special services' in a new sense of services that were independent of the BCP.⁶ Second, and increasingly, they did not provide special forms of prayer at all. Instead, the archbishops issued a public letter, an appeal or a 'call' for special prayers, which was published as a notice distributed through newspapers. These newspaper notices might contain the text of a prayer or prayers; but it became common for them to give only recommendations on the cause or themes for prayers. The clergy were expected either to compose their own prayers, or to select prayers from the BCP, from earlier special forms of prayer, or from other sources. In such cases, these notices both served as the 'order' for special prayers and took the place of a form of prayer, and are accordingly presented in this volume. Increasingly, these were joint notices, issued by the archbishops with leaders of other English protestant churches, later with the Church of Scotland and eventually with the Roman catholic church.

A further consequence of the freedom allowed to Church of England clergy was that archbishops and bishops came to assume that the clergy would select or compose their own prayers during periods of anxiety. Indeed, from the 1920s the archbishops emphasized a duty of regular prayer for matters of national importance, rather than reliance on calls for special prayers (see below, pp. cvi–cvii). As a result, when archbishops issued statements on national issues, they commonly assumed that prayers were either already being said or would be said by the clergy, and so might in general terms encourage continuing or continuous prayers on these issues. As this

⁵ See vol. 2, p. lxxv.

⁶ As explained in the Reader's guide, p. xxxix, an effect for this edition is that texts of these Church of England forms of prayer are now presented more fully, as they cannot be edited by reference to the BCP services.

type of statement contained no specific recommendations for the character or dates of prayers, they are not printed in this volume – although references may be given to them when they provide some of the context for calls for special prayers.

In contrast to the Church of England's long use of printed forms of prayer, the Church of Scotland had expected its ministers to extemporize prayers and services. Consequently, documents for Scotland in the first two volumes of this edition consisted primarily of orders, occasionally supplemented by addresses to be read out in church. However, during the period of this volume – in contrast to the new tendency in the Church of England to encourage improvised prayers – the Church of Scotland began to supplement its tradition of extempore prayer by the provision of texts of prayers and services (see below, pp. xcix–ci). This provides a new series of documents for inclusion in this edition.

The Introduction and commentaries describe the ordering and observance of occasions of 'national prayers', and the supply and structure of the orders, forms of prayer and addresses. Much of the volume consists of texts of these documents. It should be emphasized that this edition does not offer detailed descriptions and explanation of changes in liturgies, worship, theology, belief, faith or observance. Indications of changes in the texts for church services are given, but the main purpose is to provide materials which will assist other scholars in their studies of these matters.

This volume provides commentaries and documents for 212 occasions of national prayers from 1871 to 2016. Given their variety and a fluid nomenclature, it is not easy or useful to enumerate them by classes of occasions, as was possible in the earlier volumes, for fast days and thanksgiving days, services and prayers. However, they may be grouped broadly into four phases or sub-periods.

From 1871 to the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, the state largely withdrew from ordering special worship, and the initiative passed to the leaders of the established churches in England and Wales and in Scotland. This required new attitudes towards special worship, new types of order and new arrangements for printing and publicizing the texts for use in church services. At first, it resulted in a degree of hesitancy; but it also brought freedom to appoint special services and prayers for a wider range of causes than the government had, or would have, countenanced, including issues which related to party politics. Towards the end of this period, there were the first instances of leaders of the established churches joining in calls for special prayers with leaders of other churches. As theological understandings changed, belief in 'special' providences – in God's direct interventions to punish or assist nations – had already begun to recede. Instead, the emphasis shifted more towards belief in 'general' providence – God's moral scheme for the whole world – and towards the efficacy of national prayers said on behalf of groups and individuals. This had profound implications for the purposes and the selection of causes for special prayer, and for the styles of worship. Another notable feature was the appointment of prayers and services for types of royal event that had never been observed by general acts of worship in the past, creating a leading theme which was sustained into the twenty-first century. The chief of these – the jubilees, funerals and coronations of sovereigns – were also marked by services across the empire. Although the crown no longer proclaimed religious fast and thanksgiving days 'set aside' from work and business on weekdays (holy days which were also 'holidays'), the government now appointed secular public holidays for royal jubilees, coronations and funerals, under the terms of new legislation. Religious holy days at times of national anxiety or celebration were replaced by civil holidays for the main

royal events. The churches did arrange special services on these royal holidays; but separate orders were now issued by the state and the churches. Whereas in the past only the royal printers had been authorized to publish special forms of prayer, in England and Wales the popular demand for the forms for these royal occasions was so great that the archbishops allowed their publication by as many as four printers, marking a change in their production, distribution and sales.

From 1914 to 1953, the number of occasions of national prayers was multiplied. The principal reason was the First World War, during which a new type of special worship was created. Often termed ‘national days of prayer’, these involved all the main churches in the United Kingdom, were co-ordinated by the archbishop of Canterbury and publicly approved or requested by the sovereign; they were also observed in many territories in the empire and the commonwealth. They consolidated a general trend towards appointing special worship for Sundays, rather than the earlier common practice of special days of prayer held on weekdays. These national days of prayer were considered so successful that the religious use of a royal proclamation was revived and extended to celebrate the peace treaty of 1919, appointing a day of thanksgiving throughout both Britain and the empire. The war also brought new styles of worship. In the Church of England, a choice of special services and prayers was made available, and the clergy were now encouraged to improvise their own services, in a marked departure from conformity to the BCP and from uniform use of special services. Conversely, the Church of Scotland for the first time published forms of prayer. All the protestant churches accepted prayers in commemoration of the war dead, and after the war Remembrance Sunday was established as a new religious anniversary, alongside the civil observance of Armistice Day. Leaders of the two established churches now had greater confidence in appealing to the nation for special worship, on more occasions and for more causes, including international peace and disarmament, and in organizing interdenominational calls to prayer, which became common in both England and Scotland. Further national days of prayer were appointed at times of domestic and international crisis between the wars, and special worship for royal events continued to develop, assisted by the use of radio broadcasts. All this contributed to special worship becoming an accepted part of the national effort during the Second World War, for ‘spiritual mobilization’ alongside the physical mobilization of manpower and production. More national days of prayer were organized, and calls for special prayers were made in support of Britain’s allies and the churches and peoples of nations occupied by the enemy powers. The king and the government took increasingly direct parts in announcing, organizing and eventually initiating special prayers and days of prayer. After the war, the government adopted Remembrance Sunday in place of Armistice Day, merging the religious and civil days for commemoration of the war dead. The coronation of 1953 became the last great occasion of national worship, measured by the scale of efforts by the churches, the degree of media attention and the extent of popular engagement in special worship.

From 1954 to 1985, national prayers declined in prominence and significance. A turning point was rejection of the last known proposal for a national day of prayer to be considered by the cabinet, in January 1957. From the 1950s, the archbishops of the Church of England became reluctant to lead calls for national prayers. The repeated crises of the Cold War were held to require constant prayers rather than appointment of special prayers, and it seemed false to ask for prayers from a nation in which fewer and fewer people attended church, assumed the effectiveness of prayer or believed in God. As newspapers and broadcasters now commonly failed to publish

or report these appeals, it was difficult to communicate them beyond the church itself. The archbishops appear to have accepted that these calls would be heeded only by the clergy and regular members of their congregations. In practice, ‘national prayers’ now increasingly shaded into ‘church prayers’. In Scotland, where church attendances remained higher, the attitude towards national prayers in conditions of spreading secularization was different. The Church of Scotland arranged a succession of multi-centenary commemorations of religious episodes – particularly the Scottish reformation and the origins of Calvinism – as occasions to reassert Christian belief and presbyterianism as integral to Scottish national life. An element of continuity in special worship throughout the United Kingdom was the thanksgiving services for Queen Elizabeth’s silver jubilee in 1977, though these were an early example of a new development – a form of prayer authorized for use not just in the Church of England but also in the free churches and the Roman catholic church, the last made possible by the liberalization promoted by the Second Vatican Council of 1962–5.

After 1985, the issue of special prayers or calls for prayer again proliferated, to an extent far exceeding their numbers in the past. This was for three main reasons. With the churches still less able to appeal to the nation in general, there was less reason to be selective in the choice of causes for special prayers, and more reason to address the concerns of the clergy and regular worshippers. Even prayers on national and international issues now usually had the character of ‘church prayers’ rather than national prayers. With a recognition that the churches were less able to direct the prayers of their members, there was more concern to respond to the spiritual needs of a diverse range of worshippers. From the 1990s, the availability of the internet made it much easier and quicker to publish the texts of special prayers, often for issues reported in the media week by week and even day by day, and in ephemeral formats. The Church of England website for a period of several years during the 2000s and 2010s maintained a page with a constantly changing succession of ‘topical prayers’. For these reasons, in this volume the main series of national prayers and services ends in 1985. However, texts and commentaries continue to be given for special prayers and services for royal events, as these were still reported in the national media and continued to attract substantial public interest. Another feature of this period was the Church of England’s more definite departure from the BCP, authorized by its general synod. With the issue of the volumes of *Common worship*, beginning in 2000, the church made available to the clergy a choice of ‘liturgical resources’, a change expressed in its forms of prayer under this or a similar description.

DEFINITIONS

As the types of occasion and the texts for special worship changed, the terminology for these became more varied, less fixed and in some respects more confused. It is less useful than in the earlier volumes to rely on the contemporary terms or descriptions, so more editorial judgment has been used to define these occasions and texts.

Occasions

- (a) *Special prayer* or *prayers*: one prayer or a small number of prayers ordered to be added to the ordinary church services, or (in the Church of England) to

replace prayers in the BCP. These might be prayers of petition or thanksgiving.⁷ In some cases, the text of the prayer or prayers for use by the clergy was issued; in others, a call for prayer was published, with a statement of the causes and theme, and sometimes with an outline of what the clergy might include in their prayers. These were typically ordered for use at Sunday services, and sometimes for both a Sunday and for services on following weekdays. A few were ordered for particularly significant mid-week dates.

During the Second World War and into the early post-war period, some calls for prayer were repeated annually: commentaries and texts are provided for the first occurrence, with the years of repetition recorded.⁸

Another type of special prayers should be noted. In some years from 1919, the leaders of the established churches (sometimes with leaders of other churches) used the opportunity of the annual commemoration of Armistice Day (to 1938) or Remembrance Sunday to issue a call for additional prayers on the same day, drawing attention to peace organizations or to current issues in international affairs. These additional calls for prayers associated with Remembrance commemorations are important supplements to the special prayers for particular occasions presented in this volume; they are included with the material for AC–Remembrance in volume 4.

- (b) *Special service* or *services*: these were ordered or recommended to modify, add to or replace the ordinary church services. They might be services of penitence, petition, intercession, commemoration or thanksgiving. They were usually appointed for Sundays. The most common exceptions were services for major royal events, which were often appointed on the same weekday as the public holidays or funeral days for these events, and sometimes for further days.⁹ Special services were also published for anniversary commemorations, in this period for the anniversary of the sovereign's accession and for Remembrance day: see volume 4.
- (c) *Day of prayer* or day of 'humiliation',¹⁰ 'intercession',¹¹ 'penitence'¹² or 'day of thanksgiving': terms used by church leaders to give emphasis to special services on particular dates. As the churches themselves could not order days

⁷ A number of occasions on which petitionary or thanksgiving *prayers* were to be said were described by some contemporaries as 'days of prayer' or 'thanksgiving days', although these terms were more appropriately used for certain days of special *services*: see below.

⁸ For Battle of Britain Sunday, 1941–E and 1943–5; for the naval services, 1942–4; for Czechoslovakia, 1942–6; for persecuted Jews, 1943–E1; for Farm Sunday, 1943–E2; for China, 1943–6, and for India, 1943–7.

⁹ Monday, 1935–2 (silver jubilee); Tuesday, 1887–1 (jubilee), 1936–1 (funeral), 1953–1 (coronation); Wednesday, 1937–1 (coronation); Thursday, 1911–1 (coronation); Friday: 1910–1 and 1952–1 (days of mourning); Saturday: 1901–1 (day of mourning), 1902–2 (coronation). In some cases, the recommendation also included observance of special services on the nearest Sunday, or on other days of the week.

¹⁰ A term used once in this period, for 1893–S. It had been used before 1871 as an alternative to a public fast, for a special 'holy day' set aside from ordinary activities. From the 1870s to the 1940s, there were periodic appeals for the appointment of a 'day of humiliation' in this sense, or at least for revived use of the term: see pp. lxiv–lxv, lxxxv below.

¹¹ A term which replaced 'day of humiliation' into the early twentieth century, and represented a shift in the purpose of prayers: 1900–S, 1900–E1, 1914–E2, and see 1914–E4, 1914–E5, 1915–1 and 1916–1.

¹² 1931–S.

of worship to be ‘set aside’ from other activities on weekdays, these were usually appointed on a Sunday, or sometimes also on a Friday or Saturday.¹³

- (d) *National day of prayer*: a special day of prayer co-ordinated by leaders of the main churches, and with the public (or assumed) recommendation, request or order of the sovereign. These might be days for petition, intercession, dedication or thanksgiving. The early names of these occasions varied, but the term ‘national day of prayer’ (or ‘day of national prayer’) became generally accepted from 1918. Twenty-one such occasions were appointed from 1915 to 1947, mostly for Sundays; in 1942 and 1943, special arrangements were made by the government to enable them to be observed on weekdays.¹⁴
- (e) *Public holidays* (or ‘bank holiday’ or ‘day of mourning’) ordered by the state, by the issue of royal proclamation under special provisions in the Bank Holidays Act of 1871 (34 & 35 Vict. c. 17). The texts of these proclamations are given only when the established churches arranged special services of thanksgiving or commemoration for the same date as the public holiday. This combination of public holiday and special church services occurred in one limited case, in London, for a royal thanksgiving.¹⁵ It was then used generally for several (but not all) jubilees and funerals of sovereigns, and for all the twentieth-century coronations.¹⁶

Orders and notices

Until the 1860s, most acts of special worship and almost all forms of prayer were the subject of a formal order, with explicit or implied penalties for disobedience. These orders had been issued principally by the crown – the sovereign in council, or the privy council on behalf of the sovereign – or in some periods by the government or parliament. A number of crown orders continued to be issued during the period of this volume, but the more common method of appointing occasions, prayers and services was by recommendation or request or ‘call to prayer’, issued by means of a public notice, usually published in newspapers and eventually online on the web. This resulted from a transfer of responsibility for most national prayers and services from the crown to the leaders of the established churches. Recommendations had long been common for occasions appointed by the general assembly of the Church of Scotland. Now they were also used in the Church of England, as it too came to act independently of the state and the royal supremacy in matters of religion.¹⁷ This transfer of responsibility from state to the established churches had a corollary for the sovereign or government, if they wished to propose or encourage national prayers: they now asked church leaders to act, or expressed public approval of their actions. A further effect was that in the absence of a royal or government order, the leaders

¹³ Friday: 1897–S; 1914–E5, 1916–2; Saturdays were added to Sundays for 1917–1. On these work days, attendances at services would have been smaller than on Sundays.

¹⁴ Philip Williamson, ‘National days of prayer: the churches, the state and public worship in Britain 1899–1957’, *English Historical Review* 128 (2013), 323–66.

¹⁵ 1872–2: thanksgiving services for the recovery from illness of the prince of Wales.

¹⁶ Jubilees: 1887–1, 1935–2; days of mourning: 1901–1, 1910–1; coronations: 1902–2, 1911–1, 1937–1, 1953–1.

¹⁷ In the Church of England, recommendations by archbishops had first been used for 1866–ES and 1870–E. For the church’s independence in special worship raising issues about the authority for appointing acts of special worship and issuing forms of prayer, see below, pp. lxviii–lxxi.

of the Church of England and the Church of Scotland could more easily act together with leaders of other churches which objected in principle to state orders in matters of worship. This co-operation might be expressed by independent notices by the various church leaders, or by joint notices.

For editorial convenience, the term ‘order(s)’ continues to be used as a heading for the notes and texts, but it should be understood that in many cases the meaning is ‘notice(s)’ or ‘public letter(s)’, in the sense of recommendation or request.

Orders by the sovereign or government

- (a) *Order of the lords of the council*: an order by a committee of the privy council acting on behalf of the sovereign, on the recommendation of the prime minister or another minister.¹⁸ For the Church of England, this type of order was issued under the authority of the sovereign’s role as supreme governor of the church (the ‘royal supremacy’ in matters of religion). Early in this period, these orders continued to *initiate* some special prayers.¹⁹ But their main purpose became the *authorization* of certain special services which the archbishops proposed to issue for use in the Church of England. For the sake of parity, an order for Scotland was added for some occasions until 1897.²⁰ Before this period, the printed orders had borne only the name of the council clerk, but for the first time in 1871 – for unknown reasons – the names of the ‘lords of the council’ who attended the meeting or signed the order were given:²¹ these names (but not those of the council clerk) are given in the edited texts. The orders were normally published in the *London Gazette*, and sent to all incumbent clergy as sheets which could be placed on church doors or noticeboards. There was now little consistency in the issue of these orders: this was sometimes a matter of precedent, and sometimes of convenience and cost, as use of these orders in England obliged the royal printers to print and distribute the forms of prayer to all incumbent members of the clergy.
- (b) *Royal proclamation*. This was used only once in this period to appoint special worship, for the thanksgiving day after the treaty of Versailles (1919–1). The more common relevance of royal proclamations for this volume was their use to create public holidays for royal events or days of public mourning. In instances when the established churches appointed special services on these holidays or days of mourning, an edited text of the proclamation is provided. In contrast to the earlier proclamations for fast, humiliation and thanksgiving days, issued separately for England and Wales, Ireland and Scotland, these proclamations of holidays were issued for the whole United Kingdom.

¹⁸ Orders *in* council (made in the presence of the sovereign) had in the past been used to order special worship, with orders *of* council, as described here, used only when the sovereign was not readily available (for example, during illnesses or after births). From the 1860s, orders of council became normal.

¹⁹ For 1871–1, 1872–1 and 1894–1.

²⁰ By mistake, a further order was published for the 1935–2 jubilee. The status of royal orders for worship in the Church of Scotland had always been questionable; they were allowed to lapse before an eventual abolition: see pp. lxx–lxxi.

²¹ From 1935, the lords of the council did not meet; the clerk simply circulated the order for signature. It may be noted that orders of council had further uses in matters of worship (not considered here): to authorize the coronation service in Westminster Abbey, and for alterations to names in the prayers for the sovereign and the royal family (the latter changes as allowed by clause XXI of the 1662 Act of Uniformity).

- (c) Approval, request or ‘desire’ of the sovereign: an informal public expression of the sovereign’s support for certain occasions of national worship which were initiated by leaders of the established churches. The character of these expressions varied: a ‘direction’ or ‘command’ for the issue of a form of prayer, given in its title (1902–1, 1902–2, 1953–1); a statement reported in a public notice by the archbishops of the Church of England (some occasions from 1915–1); a public notice by the king (1918–1);²² and from 1940–2 a notice issued from Buckingham Palace or by the home office declaring that it was ‘the desire of the King’. Such expressions avoided a formal council order under the royal supremacy over the Church of England, which facilitated co-operation with leaders of other churches. From 1918, and particularly from 1940 until their last use in 1947, these statements were issued after consultation with the prime minister and, in some cases, the cabinet.
- (d) Notice by the home office or the government: these were issued to newspapers for a number of occasions to announce arrangements for royal events, and from 1942 to 1947 to announce the sovereign’s ‘desire’ and the civil arrangements for observance of days of prayer or thanksgiving.

Orders or notices by the established churches

- (a) In the Church of England, a *letter from the archbishops* to other bishops, making their own recommendations or reporting decisions of convocation or bishops’ meetings. These letters were often also published in newspapers, in which case they are described as public letters.
- (b) In the Church of Scotland, an *act, order or resolution of the general assembly*, or *resolution of the commission of the general assembly*.
- (c) *Public letters or notices* published in newspapers, from the archbishops of the Church of England or moderators of the general assembly of the Church of Scotland, or in some cases both together or with leaders of other churches. These might be the texts of letters sent to bishops (for the Church of England) or the clergy, or letters to the editors of newspapers. Notices were more straightforward requests or recommendations. These public letters or notices could announce the publication of a form of prayer, or contain the text of prayers or adaptations of services, or consist of a call for prayers on a certain subject or set of subjects, with the clergy left to select or compose their own prayers. When the leaders of either or both of the established churches acted together with other churches, these notices or public letters might be signed jointly with the heads of those churches. By the 1940s, a common arrangement was signature by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the moderator of the general assembly of the Church of Scotland and the moderator of the Free Church Council. Later, the Roman catholic archbishop of Westminster was often added. Some notices or letters bore signatures of the heads of further churches; some were organized by a Scottish Churches’ Council, others by the British Council of Churches. In all these cases which were led by or included leaders of the established churches, the text is printed in this volume. For other occasions, the heads of non-established churches published their own separate notices; these are not published here, but where known their existence is recorded under the heading ‘Additional notices’.

²² This notice contained the word ‘proclamation’ but was not issued by any formal procedure.

Documents for church services

- (a) *Form of prayer*: texts and the rubrics used for worship. In the Church of England, this term was used both for special prayers added to or replacing prayers in the services in the BCP and in later prayer books, and for special services, which modified, replaced or provided additional services to those already existing. Forms which were ordered or authorized by the crown had always been published by the royal printers; now, for occasions recommended by the archbishops, other printers were employed, and are recorded here. As in the past, forms were usually handsomely printed, with well-spaced text and a paper cover, the front of which acted as the title-page, except that as the two world wars proceeded (and for 1947–1) shortages of paper resulted in forms which lacked a cover and separate title-page, had cramped text and were printed on thin and poor-quality paper.²³ Some texts of prayers and services were now only (or first) published in newspapers; for these, the term ‘form of prayer’ is retained in this edition. From 1915–1, the Church of Scotland introduced published texts for some special services, usually entitled ‘form and order of divine service’: these were in the style of forms of prayer, and are so described in this volume. A number of further forms authorized or recommended by the leaders of the established churches were issued together with heads of other churches or by ecumenical bodies, the British Council of Churches and Churches Together in Britain and Ireland: these instances are included. Instead of ‘form of prayer’, the CTBI used the term ‘worship material’ or ‘worship resources’. Towards the very end of the period, following the adoption of *Common worship*, the Church of England adopted a similar language, of ‘liturgical resources’ or ‘liturgical material’.
- (b) Some *notices* or *public letters* contained prayers or instructions for adapting services. The clergy were expected to read these from newspaper cuttings.
- (c) *Address*: a statement or pastoral letter on the causes for special worship, occasionally issued by the general assembly of the Church of Scotland or its moderator.

NATIONAL WORSHIP

The terms ‘nation’ and ‘national’ have complex and changing meanings for the British Isles, and all the more so when these terms are applied for acts of special worship. This was true of the earlier periods considered in this edition, as explained in the Introductions to volumes 1 and 2. Reasons included the existence of the three kingdoms of England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, with separate governmental and legal arrangements which in some respects persisted under the successive unions that created Great Britain in 1707 and the United Kingdom of Britain and Ireland in 1801. They also included the distinct established churches for each kingdom and later each part of the United Kingdom: the ‘anglican’ Church of England (originally including Wales) and Church of Ireland – which were merged as the United Church of England and Ireland within the constitutional union of 1801 – and the presbyterian Church of Scotland. What was described as ‘national prayers’ in the first two volumes was

²³ See illustrations 9, 18 and 19. Another instance is the first BCC form, illustration 22.

defined as special religious days, services or prayers ordered by the authorities of the state – the crown (the sovereign, the sovereign's representatives or the sovereign or his representatives in council) or parliament – or by the leaders of the established churches, for observance in the whole or large parts of a kingdom, in the various or united kingdoms, or in and around the capital city or burgh. The Episcopal Church in Scotland was included in some state orders for special worship from 1788 onwards (see volume 2, pp. lxxvii–lxxviii). With this exception, the arrangements for national prayers ignored the existence of other churches and religious communities.

From the 1860s, the meanings of 'national' acts of special worship continued to change. In some senses, this meaning was diminished, by church disestablishment, by political partition, by dwindling use of state orders, by declining church attendance and by secularization. In other senses, the meaning was expanded. Other churches and religious communities became participants in the organization of national prayers. Broadcasting by radio and then by television created new means of communicating special worship, and new styles of national religious observance.

Details for the participation of other churches and religious communities and for the national broadcasts are provided in the commentaries and lists of sources for particular occasions.²⁴ This section describes the general patterns of these changes.

Geography: disestablishment and partition

The Church of Ireland was disestablished on 1 January 1871, by an act of 1869 which had two effects: it dissolved the United Church of England and Ireland, and it ended the union of the church and state within Ireland (see 1870–Ir). The act was a belated recognition that the Church of Ireland had always been a minority church, its worshippers greatly outnumbered by Roman Catholics, and in the northern parts of Ireland also by Protestant nonconformists.

The dioceses of the Church of England in Wales were disestablished on 31 March 1920, under an act of September 1914 (4 & 5 Geo. 5 c. 91).²⁵ This followed a long campaign by nonconformists who formed the religious majority in Wales and by their English free church supporters, and an unsuccessful defence of the establishment by members of the Church of England, which included the appointment of an occasion of special services and prayers (1913–E1) and a 'day of intercession' (1914–E2). The National Assembly of the Church of England, by a measure of 1924 enacted as the 'Interpretation Measure 1925' (15 & 16 Geo. 5 no. 1), redefined the jurisdiction of the Church of England to exclude the Welsh dioceses, which now formed a distinct province with the title 'The Church in Wales'. The Interpretation Measure also ended a legal definition which had for centuries resulted in the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed being specified in English orders and forms of prayer for special worship.²⁶

²⁴ See also the lists in Appendices 7–9.

²⁵ See BM, 29–30 Jan. 1920, for Archbishop Davidson to Bishop Edwards of St Asaph, 24 Jan., releasing the Welsh bishops from their 'oaths of canonical obedience' to the archbishop of Canterbury from the date of disestablishment and creation of a new Welsh province.

²⁶ A typical designation had been 'all churches and chapels in England and Wales and in the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed'. For 1935–2, 1936–1 and 1952–1, the orders in council were for 'all Churches and Chapels in England as defined in the Interpretation Measure, 1925'. For 1939–4, the phrase was 'all Churches and Chapels of the Provinces of Canterbury and York'; for 1977–1 (which involved churches of other denominations), it was 'all Churches and Chapels in England'.

Because disestablished churches lost their status as ‘national churches’, documents produced for special acts of worship by the Church of Ireland and the Church in Wales are not printed in this volume. However, evidence of these churches’ association with the acts of special worship initiated by the Church of England or the sovereign or government is indicated in commentaries and lists of sources, just as it is for other non-established churches of England and Scotland. The bishops of the Church in Wales continued to be represented at the bi-annual meetings of bishops held at Lambeth.²⁷ The primates or bishops of the Church of Ireland and the Church in Wales ordered observance of many of the special acts of worship, sometimes issuing their own forms of prayer for these occasions but quite often recommending the use or adopting the text of the Church of England’s form, especially those issued for royal events. For some special prayers or national days of prayer, they received early notification from the archbishop of Canterbury, or joined him and the heads of other churches in signing joint appeals for prayer.

In 1921, Ireland was partitioned. The Irish Free State (Eire from 1937) was created as a self-governing dominion in the British commonwealth (and in commentaries is treated as part of the commonwealth); it contained the Dublin province of the Church of Ireland, and parts of the province of Armagh. Northern Ireland – including much (but not all) of the diocese of Armagh and a substantial part of its ecclesiastical province – remained within the United Kingdom, now redefined as the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. During the 1920s and 1930s, the archbishop of Dublin as well as the archbishop of Armagh continued to recommend special prayers or services for some of the special acts of worship initiated in England. After the government of Eire declined to join the United Kingdom in the Second World War and became a neutral state, the archbishop of Armagh explicitly limited his instructions for British national prayers to those parts of his diocese and province that were within Northern Ireland;²⁸ the archbishop of Dublin seems to have ceased to give instructions. In 1949, Eire became a republic, and left the commonwealth.

The state

Order by the state is one definition of a national act of special worship. Since the sixteenth century, this had been the chief means of appointing these occasions – nearly always in England and Wales, and commonly in Scotland. In the mid-nineteenth century, the wording and format of the main texts of these orders continued to be in the style that had become standardized during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The orders were issued by authority of the royal supremacy in matters of religion, which was part of statute law in England and Wales, though not in Scotland. Proclamations in England and Wales and in Scotland were addressed to the whole community (‘all our loving subjects’); those for England and Wales contained orders to the bishops and clergy of the Church of England to prepare and use a form of prayer.

²⁷ In BM, 19–20 May 1920, Davidson welcomed the Welsh bishops in their new capacity as bishops of the Church in Wales, with Edwards as archbishop; thereafter, the bishops’ meetings were described as those of ‘the archbishops and bishops of the three provinces’ (Canterbury, York and Wales), or a similar phrase. The bishops of the Church of Ireland were not regularly represented at these bishops’ meetings, which began in 1871, after its disestablishment – although the archbishops of Armagh or Dublin were occasionally invited to attend.

²⁸ See 1939–4. For 1953–1 (the coronation), the English form of prayer was made available for use in ‘the Church of Ireland in Northern Ireland’.

Orders of the council or lords of the council for England and Wales were instructions for the Church of England; those for Scotland were for the Church of Scotland and the Episcopal Church in Scotland.

During the mid-nineteenth century, criticisms of state orders for special worship became common, and the state began to alter their character. Criticism came from several groups and individuals, and from within the established churches as well as from members of other churches: see volume 2, pp. lxviii–lxix, lxxv, lxxxv and lxxxviii–lxxxix.²⁹ In the Church of England, some high churchmen raised doubts about the legality of crown orders to modify, add to or set aside the services of the BCP, as strict adherence to the BCP was prescribed both by statute law (the Act of Uniformity) and by the church canons. Some clergy in the Church of England and more in the Church of Scotland objected to ‘Erastian’ orders in religious matters, that is to say, worship ordered by civil authority rather than by the authorities of the church. Orders by the state (as such, not only because they contained instructions to the established churches) were in principle unacceptable to nonconformist and methodist churches in England, to most of the secessionist presbyterian churches in Scotland, and to the Roman catholic church. For some clergy and lay people, changes in theological and scientific understandings made public fasts and belief in special providential interventions seem antiquated and improper. The requirement to suspend business and work on fast days was criticized by employers who lost output and profit, by workmen who lost earnings and by philanthropists and politicians concerned at the imposition of extra hardships on the poor. Churchmen were scandalized as more people seemed to treat mid-week fast or humiliation days as ordinary holidays. Even the sovereign disliked some of the orders issued in her name. Queen Victoria objected privately on religious and moral grounds to fast days and some types of petitionary prayers, and came to think that special prayers should be a matter for the bishops, not the state³⁰ – although she made exceptions for thanksgiving prayers and services for royal events.

From 1849, the privy council and the archbishop of Canterbury tried to circumvent some of these criticisms, at first by adjusting the traditional terminology of the orders. In royal proclamations, references to punishment were removed and the word ‘command’ was replaced with ‘exhort’. A religious use of the term ‘humiliation’ was preferred to ‘general fast’ (see volume 2, pp. xc–xci). Following representations from the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, for 1859–1 the order in council for Scotland was changed, with ministers and preachers now ‘earnestly exhorted’ instead of ‘ordered’ to offer thanksgiving prayers.³¹ Increased sensitivity towards the unease about civil orders is also evident in the private directions sent by the council clerk to the moderator of the general assembly of the Church of Scotland: these had asked for ‘due obedience’ to the council orders, but in the late 1860s this was changed to the suggestion that such orders be brought to ‘the attention’ of ministers.³² But modifications of language did not seem sufficient. There were legal obstacles to omitting the word ‘fast’ altogether.³³

²⁹ See also Philip Williamson, ‘State prayers, fasts and thanksgivings: public worship in Britain 1830–1897’, *Past and Present*, 200 (2008), 149–66.

³⁰ E.g. Davidson to Bigge, 16 Jan. 1900, Davidson papers, 69/302–4.

³¹ This change of language should have been recorded for 1859–1 in volume 2, pp. 916–17. The change was noted, and credit claimed, in *Proceedings of the synod of the United Presbyterian Church, 1857–63* (Glasgow, 1864), pp. 376–7. Oddly, the church did not seem to mind that the orders of council continued to be addressed only to the established and episcopal churches.

³² Compare PC7/15/238 (for 1865–1) with PC7/18/42 (for 1868–1).

³³ See the commentary for 1854–1.

Because council clerks reused the texts of proclamations or orders of council from similar occasions in the past, sometimes they inadvertently reverted to the older terminology.³⁴ Nor did it seem easy to find appropriate words to satisfy critics. In 1869, the privy council rejected the United Presbyterian Church's suggested use of the words 'invite' and 'recommend' as inappropriate for a sovereign when addressing her subjects.³⁵

For Liberal governments and for an increasingly liberal state, it was important both to accommodate religious pluralism and to avoid contentious religious issues which attracted criticism of the crown, government and established churches. Rather than modifying the terminology of the orders, the more straightforward course was to stop issuing them and to leave appointments of special worship to the churches. After 1857, no more proclamations were used to order either fast days or days of humiliation. In 1866, the Liberal cabinet rejected a request from the archbishop of Canterbury for state appointment of a day of humiliation, and government ministers publicly expressed approval when the Church of England made its own arrangements (see 1866–ES). Royal proclamations for thanksgiving days also lapsed. Orders in council continued to be used to appoint special prayers during the 1860s and in 1871–2.³⁶ But in 1872, Gladstone as prime minister supported a proposal to extend the scope of the English order by turning it into an exhortation that would include other protestant churches, and in 1873, the privy council conceded the United Presbyterian Church's case that orders for Scotland should use the word 'invite'.³⁷ However, these changes were never implemented. Instead, with just one exception,³⁸ no more council orders were issued to *initiate* acts of special worship.

The change in state practice is evident in several instances for England and Wales during the following decades. During the third Ashanti war in 1874, nothing came of an agreement between the new prime minister, Disraeli, and Archbishop Tait that a prayer or thanksgiving should be issued by order of council, perhaps because of discouragement by the queen.³⁹ When the queen wanted prayers to be said for the prince of Wales's tour of India (1875–E, 1876–E) and when Gladstone wanted a day of thanksgiving for military victories in Egypt (1882–E3), they asked for these to be arranged by the archbishops. Three years later, during military actions in Sudan and domestic political anxieties, they rejected appeals for prayers by state order (1885–E1, and see 1885–E2). During a severe influenza epidemic of 1892, the queen discouraged Archbishop Benson from asking for a day of humiliation or intercession (even though her grandson, Prince Albert Victor, was among the victims), stating privately that

³⁴ For proclamations, see the commentary for 1857–2. For Scottish orders in council, the old format of an order was reused for 1864–1, 1865–1, 1866–1 and 1866–2, but the new text with the term 'exhorted' was restored for 1868–2.

³⁵ *Proceedings of the synod of the United Presbyterian Church, 1870–73* (Glasgow, 1874), pp. 182, 196–7.

³⁶ In orders for Scotland for 1871–1 and 1872–2, the council clerks mixed the old and new styles of text: clergy were both 'ordered' and 'earnestly exhorted'.

³⁷ Gladstone to Forster, 17 Jan. 1872, Gladstone papers, Add. 44541/46, and see 1872–1; *Synod of the United Presbyterian Church, 1870–73*, p. 749.

³⁸ Thanksgiving prayers for the birth of the future Edward VIII: see 1894–1.

³⁹ Disraeli had been keen to accept a proposal from an evangelical Conservative peer: Ebury to Tait, 6 Apr. 1874, Disraeli to Tait, 8 Apr., Tait papers, 93/34–5, 36–7; Tait to Disraeli, 9 Apr., Bod., Disraeli papers, 144/4/41–2 (Disraeli and Tait both mistakenly commented that there had been no prayer after the Abyssinian campaign: see 1868–1).

‘these days & formal forms of prayer ... do no good’.⁴⁰ Notwithstanding considerable campaigns by churchmen and religious associations during both the South African war and the First World War for a revival of the practice of wartime fast or humiliation days ordered by the crown for weekdays, the sovereigns and the governments refused to act, obliging church leaders to make their own arrangements (see commentaries for 1900–E1, 1915–1, 1916–2, 1917–1, 1918–1). During 1902, both for the coronation and at the end of the South African war, the cabinet did consider the possibility of a proclamation for a mid-week thanksgiving day, because they wanted the occasions to be celebrated with suspensions of business and work. A draft proclamation prepared to mark the coronation provides a further indication of change in state–church relations, as it omitted the traditional references to worship and the established churches. This draft was rejected on the advice of the law officers, partly because no precedent existed for thanksgiving days for coronations, but chiefly because the main aim – arrangement of a national holiday – could more appropriately be achieved by use of the Bank Holidays Act.⁴¹ Thanksgiving days after peace treaties had many precedents, but the cabinet decided that any decisions on religious thanksgiving for the coronation were best left to the archbishops – although in both cases Archbishop Temple obtained a statement of the king’s personal approval of the Church of England’s form of prayer, published on its title-page (1902–1, 1902–2; and see illustrations 5 and 6).

The state did not withdraw altogether from special worship, and for some royal occasions and during the two world wars and their aftermath it resumed a more active part. Some orders of council continued to be issued, but with a different and lesser purpose to those of the past. Instead of their use for the *appointment* of occasions of national acts of special worship, they were now issued to assist those arranged by the archbishops and bishops of the Church of England, by providing *authorization* for the texts of special services. This continuing use of the crown’s authorization arose from more general and persistent problems in the church from the 1860s to the 1900s over authority in matters of worship, with controversy, litigation and popular ‘protestant’ protests over departures by high church and ritualist clergy from the rubrics and texts in the BCP services. The council orders were requested both to help the bishops in deterring clerical indiscipline, and to protect the archbishops from accusations by ritualists that they themselves were acting illegally, without adequate authority. Once reintroduced or introduced for certain occasions (see especially jubilees and commemoration of sovereigns, considered below), these orders became precedents which privy council officials and archbishops felt obliged to follow when these types of occasion recurred.

Some objections to ‘Erastian’ orders did continue to be expressed within the Church of England, notably by a group of anglo-catholic priests at the service for George V’s silver jubilee (see 1935–2). They also contributed to a change affecting the Church of Scotland. In the early part of this period, the privy council clerks as a matter of

⁴⁰ Davidson, bishop of Rochester, to Benson, 29 Jan. 1892, Ponsonby to Davidson, 1 Feb., Davidson papers, 18/85, 4/113; A. C. Benson, *The life of Edward White Benson* (2 vols., 1899), II, 423; Victoria’s note on Ponsonby memo., 30 Jan. 1892, RA VIC/Main/D/13a/159.

⁴¹ If issued, this would have been the first use of a single thanksgiving proclamation for the whole United Kingdom, preceding that issued for 1919–1, which reverted to references to religious thanksgiving, in the aftermath of the national days of prayer during the First World War. What were described in the 1902 exchanges as the ‘scruples’ of the law officers were secular, not religious – a legal doubt that the royal prerogative to proclaim thanksgiving days should be used for financial and trade considerations: Fitzroy to McDonnell, 11 Mar. 1902, PC8/560.

course continued to issue orders in council for Scotland as well as for England, but even though these orders now included the language of exhortation, the practice was allowed to lapse. For 1887–1 and 1897–1, the general assembly revived an earlier practice and itself appointed special services, without reference to the council order. Thereafter, no further council orders for Scotland were issued, except by what was evidently a mistake for 1935–2 (the council clerks had carelessly reused the orders for the previous jubilee). The orders were presumably discontinued because the privy council was informed that the Church of Scotland wished to emphasize its spiritual independence, and that in any event they were unnecessary, because the church would issue its own orders. The change may also have been linked to how, beginning with 1871–1, the council orders now contained a list of those who attended the meeting and signed the document, which exposed the incongruity of bishops of the Church of England participating in the issue of orders for the Church of Scotland.⁴² The Church of Scotland Act, 1921 (see below, p. lxxiii), affirmed this independence of the church from the state; and when a question about a council order was raised in 1953, the Church of Scotland and the Scottish home department informed the council office that these orders ‘should never have been made as there was no legal authority for them’. After advice from the law officers and with the queen’s agreement, it was agreed that no further crown orders on worship for Scotland would be issued.⁴³

As already noted, royal proclamations were also put to a new use associated with national prayers, although with a civil rather than religious purpose, in proclaiming bank holidays and days of mourning.⁴⁴ When the sovereign and the government again became more active in arrangements for special worship, this was communicated in new ways – not by formal orders, but by public notices in newspapers.

State involvement was now for two types of causes. The first was royal events (see also, more fully, pp. lxxix–lxxxiv below) – proclamations of holidays for jubilees and coronations, and for days of mourning in 1901 and 1910; home office notices of two-minute silences in 1936 and 1952; and orders of council to authorize the Church of England’s general services for jubilees and for commemoration of dead sovereigns (for an example, see illustration 20). For services to mark the coronations, the archbishops preferred to issue forms of prayer by their own recommendation – chiefly to maximize the number of copies for congregational use⁴⁵ – although in 1902 and 1953 they also obtained a public statement of the sovereign’s personal approval of the form.⁴⁶ A more

⁴² In the past, the omission of names of councillors from proclamations and council orders had made it possible for members of the Church of Scotland to assume that these were issued by the sovereign, without involvement of archbishops or bishops: see volume 2, p. lxxiii. For the composition of the lords of the council, see pp. cviii–cix below. For 1887–1, 1894–1 and 1897–1, an effort seems to have been made to ensure that at least one government minister present was Scottish; for 1935–2, the signatories of the English and Scottish orders were changed, with the secretary of state for Scotland replacing the bishop of London.

⁴³ Reported in Agnew (council office) to Fisher, 31 Dec. 1959, Fisher papers, 251/199, and see 1960–1. The issue in 1953 had been a council order to change the names in prayers for the royal family, following the death of Queen Mary.

⁴⁴ The Bank Holidays Act of 1871 did not replace the use of proclamations to appoint ‘holy days’, but it had an implicit secularizing purpose: ‘It shall be lawful for Her Majesty, from time to time ... by proclamations, in the manner in which solemn fast and or days of thanksgiving may be appointed, to appoint a special day to be observed as a bank holiday’ (s. 4). The Act gave no sanction for the term ‘day of mourning’, but the privy council adopted it rather than use the inappropriate word ‘holiday’ at times of sovereigns’ deaths: see 1901–1.

⁴⁵ See pp. cxv–cxviii below.

⁴⁶ ‘Issued by command of the king/queen’. Although the verbal difference is small, this was distinct

considerable state involvement arose from the need to co-ordinate royal ceremonies, holidays, public mourning and church services, which produced consultations between palace officials, civil servants, government ministers and church leaders that tended to increase over time. The royal household and individual government ministers were responsible for deciding the date of the general services for Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee (1897–1). The prime minister participated in decisions on the thanksgivings for George V's recovery from illness (1929–1) – including an interesting decision not to issue an order of council, as the intention was to encourage services by all religious communities throughout the empire. Arrangements for jubilees (1935–2, 1977–1, 2002–1, 2012–1), royal funerals and memorial services (1936–1, 1952–1) and coronations (1937–1, 1953–1) were decided by the cabinet or cabinet committees, with civil service advice.

The second type of state involvement was chiefly the product of wars. After the decision not to proclaim a day of humiliation during the South African war, Archbishop Temple persuaded Salisbury, the prime minister, and the queen to allow an order of council to authorize a special form of prayer for the Church of England (1900–E1). This became the precedent for use of these orders after the outbreak of the two world wars (1914–E2, 1939–4). An indication of the reduced official significance of these wartime orders is that, in contrast to earlier practice, they were not published in the *London Gazette*, and the last was not reported in *The Times*. Later in 1914, Archbishop Davidson decided that special worship in wartime was better organized as national days of prayer, which the sovereign approved or announced informally as the symbolic head of the nation, rather than acting formally as head of the state (see below, pp. lxxxiv–lxxxv). The success of these national days of prayer led to further developments during the next three decades: to the unique revival of a royal proclamation to appoint special worship, for a thanksgiving day for the peace treaty, in a new style that embraced all religious communities and the whole empire (1919–1); to royal approval being obtained for further days of prayer and for special prayers during the 1930s (1932–1, 1933–1, 1938–E1, 1938–1); and to an elaboration of national days of prayer during the Second World War. From 1941, decision-making became increasingly more complicated, as the government and its agencies took a larger part.⁴⁷ Churchill as prime minister, several government departments and the religious department of the BBC now proposed national days of prayer, special prayers and special services, and took over aspects of their announcement and organization. Department or interdepartmental committees of officials were established to undertake the civil parts of the arrangements (see most occasions from 1941–1 to 1945–2). Special prayers were initiated or promoted by armed forces departments (Battle of Britain Sunday, 1941–E, 1943–5, and Navy or Sea Services Sunday, 1942–4) and by home departments (Civil Defence day, 1942–7, and Farm Sunday, 1943–E2); and for the two thanksgiving days at the end of the war, the church leaders effectively acted as

from a phrase commonly used since the 1660s in titles of forms issued by state order: 'By his/her majesty's special command'. The phrase was used again in some forms where the authority was an order in council (1935–2, 1936–1, 1952–1).

⁴⁷ It should be noted that another type of government decision affected occasions of special worship. In June 1940, ringing of church and chapel bells was prohibited by civil defence regulations, except for use as local military or police warnings of airborne raids by enemy troops. See 1942–7 and 1943–2 for cabinet exemptions to encourage bell ringing for celebration of military victories, on days for which special prayers were also appointed, and for decisions for partial and then full lifting of the ban in late April and late May 1943.

the agents of the civil servants. However, this was not a revival of the state exercising or claiming religious authority, but a wartime expedient – the government seeking spiritual mobilization as reinforcement for the physical war effort. Archbishops Lang and Temple welcomed this increased government interest as an acknowledgment of religious faith by the public authorities and as a means to gain greater attention from the general public, and Temple at first encouraged even greater participation by the government and other public agencies as part of his efforts to make national days of prayer more impressive, by appointment in mid-week (see 1942–5). But he soon regretted it. Government requests for special prayers became so frequent that they threatened congestion in the church's own calendar, and aroused public criticism from clergymen (see below, p. cvi), while the involvement of ministers and civil servants became so detailed and extensive that a type of state decision was reintroduced. The archbishops now felt obliged to accept that national days of prayer – even for a peacetime occasion (1947–1) – could not be arranged without the approval of the prime minister or cabinet.⁴⁸ In effect, a government power of veto had been established. In the absence of a public appeal from the sovereign sanctioned by the government, the leaders of the churches now considered it inappropriate to claim that a day of special services was a 'national day of prayer'. On two occasions, government approval was denied (see 1944–E2, 1956–1), and the second denial marked the end of national days of prayer in their original sense.

An order of council was considered – though not in the event used – when a special prayer was proposed by the home secretary for the birth of Prince Andrew (1960–1). The last order of council issued for a form of prayer was for the silver jubilee of Elizabeth II. This followed the precedents for the jubilees since 1887, but now the main concern was not to authorize the form of prayer – its title recorded the approval of heads of churches – but to assist its distribution and sales (see 1977–1). In this last exercise of the historic constitutional role of the sovereign and the privy council in special worship, a real ecumenism was embodied in an English order for a form of prayer agreed and shared by the Church of England, the Free Church Council and the Roman catholic church. A public statement of the sovereign's personal approval for the issue and the text of prayers for general use was revived for 2012–1, 2013–E, and 2016–1, almost certainly to honour and publicize the queen's religious devotion.

The Church of England

With the decline in orders by the state after the 1860s, the authority and the procedures for appointing special prayers and services for the Church of England became unclear, as no single authority existed to take the place of the crown. The church was divided into the two provinces of Canterbury and York. The archbishops of these provinces had little direct authority, because for special worship authority was vested in the 'ordinary', in this context meaning the diocesan bishop.⁴⁹ For several decades, the issue was further complicated by unintended effects of parliamentary attempts to address disputes over ritualism, and to adjust the BCP to modern conditions. Legislation in 1865 and 1872

⁴⁸ See 1944–E2, for Temple conceding that national days of prayer were now defined by a call issued by the king on the advice of the government.

⁴⁹ See Bell, *Davidson*, preface to 3rd edn, p. xiv: 'In law the Archbishop has no authority to order special prayers in another diocese, or to prescribe forms of public intercession. He may recommend, but it is the Bishop who sanctions'.

sought to preserve discipline in church services and to achieve practical reforms. Departures from the BCP were allowed ‘by lawful authority’, yet this authority was not defined; special forms of service could be approved by each diocesan bishop, but the content of services was limited (see below, p. xciii); no provision was made for authorization of special services for any area larger than a diocese.⁵⁰

Far more than in the past, individual bishops (including the archbishops in their capacities as diocesan bishops) now issued special services and prayers for use in their own dioceses, often acting independently of other bishops.⁵¹ Where instances of diocesan orders provide context for special acts of national worship, these are mentioned in the commentaries. But this dispersal of authority had the effect that special worship for the whole church – ‘national prayers’ – had to be arranged by agreement among or recommendation to the diocesan bishops. This was not straightforward: archbishops were at first tentative, and no settled procedure became established during the late nineteenth century. Several methods were used. The restoration of active convocations during the 1850s and 1860s provided assemblies in which archbishops and bishops could co-ordinate a collective exercise of their authority.⁵² This method was adopted by Canterbury convocation for 1866–ES, for a number of occasions from 1879 to 1885, and periodically in later years.⁵³ But these were arrangements for one province alone. An alternative was the ‘bishops’ meetings’ – the twice-yearly meetings of the archbishops and diocesan bishops of both the Canterbury and York provinces held in Lambeth Palace from 1871 onwards (from 1920 also with the bishops of the disestablished province of Wales, and from the 1950s with bishops of the Episcopal Church in Scotland). Discussions at these meetings prompted a call for prayer early in this period (1882–E2); the co-ordination of a day of intercession (1900–E1); decisions not to appoint days (1916–1, 1916–2); the dates of some special days and services (1916–3, 1931–E2, 1977–1) and the issue of some forms of prayer (1915–1, 1937–1). From 1919, another possible forum was the National Church Assembly, essentially a body representative of both the Canterbury and York convocations as established by the Church of England Assembly (Powers) Act (the ‘Enabling Act’, 9 & 10 Geo. 5 c. 76) to provide the church with a greater ability to reform its own arrangements. The assembly prompted one call for special prayers, and received announcements for two more (1930–E3, 1932–E, 1938–E3).

⁵⁰ The Clerical Subscriptions Act, 1865 (28 & 29 Vict. c. 122) and the Act of Uniformity Amendment Act, 1872 (35 & 36 Vict. c. 35). The lack of statutory definition of the term ‘lawful authority’ was a persistent problem for the church: see the historical memorandum attached to *The canon law of the Church of England* (1947), pp. 215–23. The issue was only settled with the establishment of the General Synod of the Church of England in 1970 (see below, pp. lxxi).

⁵¹ When the issue of episcopal authority to sanction additional services and adapt the BCP was endorsed at the Lambeth Conference in 1897, appeal was made to precedents during the sixteenth century, as set out in W. K. Clay, *Liturgical services: liturgies and occasional forms of prayer set forth in the reign of Queen Elizabeth* (Parker Society, Cambridge, 1847): see *The six Lambeth conferences 1867–1920*, ed. R. Davidson (1929), pp. 207–8, 271–5.

⁵² From the 1850s to the 1900s, the two convocations at various times had committees to consider standard prayers for occasions of national humiliation and thanksgiving, for additional services, or for new occasional prayers. For example, in 1860, the Canterbury committee offered ‘A Form of prayer, with humiliation, to be used on any special occasion when it shall be allowed by the ordinary’ and an equivalent ‘Form of prayer with thanksgiving’ (LPL, Conv XII/3/4). But except for a harvest thanksgiving service, the proposals foundered on difficulties over authorization. For these issues and the contexts of liturgical reform and ritualism, see R. C. D. Jasper, *The development of the anglican liturgy 1662–1980* (1989), pp. 47–61.

⁵³ 1879–E, 1882–E2, 1885–E1, 1885–E2, 1897–E, 1914–E2, 1944–4.

However, these various assemblies were usually considered unsuitable for the appointment of special prayers or services, as the comparative rarity of their involvement indicates. Their meetings were held at fixed times during the year, yet the causes for special worship often arose at other times and at short notice. Even when more time was available, the archbishops evidently preferred to settle these matters themselves, with assistance from selected advisors, rather than open them to the vagaries of wider discussion. Accordingly, the principal method of appointment became recommendation by the archbishops. From 1870 to 1882, Archbishop Tait revived a medieval and early modern practice of making a request to the bishops of Canterbury province by means of a letter to the dean of the province, the bishop of London.⁵⁴ This was the formal procedure; but he also had the letter and the text of the prayer published in national and church newspapers. In part, this was for speed of communication to the bishops, but it had another implicit consequence: it was a direct method by the archbishop to encourage parish clergy to adopt the prayers themselves, and – like public notices of recommendations made by Canterbury convocation – it also made them available for bishops and clergy in York province. Notices and prayers issued for Canterbury province were therefore relevant for the whole church, and are included in this volume. In some cases, their publication was followed by the archbishop of York making a recommendation for the bishops of his province.

From the end of the nineteenth century, the normal method of appointing occasions of special worship was by a notice from both the archbishop of Canterbury and the archbishop of York: the first was for 1898–E. While these were usually joint notices, they were sometimes issued by the archbishop of Canterbury with a statement of the archbishop of York's agreement or, if notice was short, with an implicit assumption of his agreement. When forms of prayer also began to be issued by the two archbishops – the first was for 1902–1 – the limit of their authority over other bishops was commonly acknowledged in the title of the form, its rubrics or in the notice announcing its issue. The forms were described as 'commended', 'recommended' or 'approved' by the archbishops, or made available for use 'as authorised by the bishop of each diocese' or 'with the approval of the ordinary'.⁵⁵ The qualification had real meaning for several occasions, particularly when evangelical bishops objected to use of certain phrases or prayers, and instructed their clergy to omit them or to use alternatives (and within dioceses, some anglo-catholic as well as evangelical clergy defied both their bishops and the archbishops).⁵⁶ In these cases, the bishop gave only limited sanction, specifying the words or phrases to be changed, or arranging to have amended versions of the form published for their dioceses (see 1911–1). The text of prayers given in notices published by the archbishops in newspapers had an even more uncertain status. Early in the period, it was usually stated that the prayer was for use under the authority of the diocesan bishop; but bishops rarely seem to have communicated their sanction to the clergy, who were left to decide for themselves whether or not to read a text which they had to cut from the newspaper. To some clergymen, this seemed an 'undignified and

⁵⁴ 1870–E, 1877–E, 1881–E, 1882–E2. This method was also used to communicate a decision made in Canterbury convocation, 1879–E.

⁵⁵ A particularly emphatic but private statement was for the first instance, the service for Edward VII's coronation (1902–2): 'of course neither this service nor any modification of it can be used in your Lordship's Diocese without your sanction'. See also 1911–1, 1912–1, 1914–E1, 1915–1, 1916–1, 1917–1, 1919–E1.

⁵⁶ For clergy, see the case of 'protestant reformed religion' for 1902–1, and for bishops and clergy, use of the word 'altar' (1911–1), and prayers for the dead (1914–E5, 1917–1).

indefensible' procedure.⁵⁷ During the First World War, references to the authority of the diocesan bishops began to be dropped, and forms were 'issued under the authority of the archbishops of Canterbury and York'.⁵⁸ The approval of the bishops was implied, or, more simply, came to seem redundant, as the archbishops encouraged the clergy to make their own selections from the official forms of prayer (see below, pp. xc–xcvi). Invocations of the authority of the bishops became rare, although they were revived in archiepiscopal notices issued by William Temple.⁵⁹ The reasons for this revival are unclear, although they were possibly connected with disputes over the rights to publish forms of prayer, which led to some publishers raising issues of copyright and questioning the very legality of the archbishops' authority to issue special services: see below, pp. cxvii–cxviii.

The arrangements for the issue of forms of prayer were eventually formalized in new canons approved by the convocations of Canterbury and York, in 1964 and 1969 respectively, which also overcame the longstanding lack of clarity over the meaning of the phrase 'lawful authority'; these arrangements were confirmed by the Church of England (Worship and Doctrine) Measure, 1974 (no. 3). By canon B2, ultimate authority in matters of worship was vested in the new general synod of the church, the creation of which obtained statutory status by the Synodical Government Measure, 1969. Canon B4 restated that each convocation and each 'ordinary' could also approve forms of prayer; but for special acts of national worship the effective clause gave the archbishops the authority to 'approve forms of service for use in any cathedral or church or elsewhere in the provinces of Canterbury and York'.⁶⁰

From the 1870s, the archbishops' recommendations for special prayers were initially addressed only to the clergy and congregations of the Church of England. The restriction of scope expressed fundamental religious changes – not just recognition of religious pluralism, but also the reduced position of the Church of England. It retained the legal position of an established church, its historical status, its influence with national and local institutions and its continued presence in all local communities, but its claims to be the national church and to arrange truly national acts of special worship had been diminished: it was no longer the assumed expression of the religion of the whole of the English population. As already noted, its geographical scope was also reduced, by the disestablishment in 1920 of the Church in Wales.

However, during the twentieth century the archbishops acquired a new and compensating status. This was the result partly of local co-operation among protestant churches for the royal occasions in 1910–1 and 1911–1 – when Davidson privately encouraged the attendance of 'nonconformists' at services in the Church of England's parish churches and cathedrals – but chiefly of the creation of national days of prayer during the First World War and the growth of ecumenicalism, marked especially by the Lambeth appeal for church unity in 1920 and by the creation of the BCC in 1942. For some occasions of special worship, the archbishops were now able to provide

⁵⁷ E. L. Tuson letter, *Guardian*, 1 Mar. 1912.

⁵⁸ This formula was first used for the reissue of the form of prayer for 1915–1. It was used for all three forms published during 1918.

⁵⁹ See 1937–1 and 1941–2, the succession of occasions from 1942–3 to 1942–6, and then 1943–2 and 1944–3. According to Bell, *Davidson*, preface to 3rd edn, p. xiv (writing in 1951 of the period since 1910), 'the weight of the Archbishop's recommendation [for special prayers] has so increased ... that whatever he asks in his province is almost certainly done'.

⁶⁰ *The canons of the Church of England* (1969), p. 9. These canons had been under discussion since 1939.

leadership not just for the other English churches, but for churches throughout the United Kingdom.⁶¹ Consequently, the archbishops' notices expanded in scope. The archbishops could report the agreement of other English protestant churches (the first was for 1912–1), and later issue joint notices with their representatives (initially for 1922–E4 and for AC–Remembrance in 1923).⁶² During the Second World War, moderators of the general assembly of the Church of Scotland were included in these joint notices (the first was for 1942–7), and later the Roman catholic archbishop of Westminster was added (1946–1, though chiefly from the 1960s).

As leaders of the English national church, the archbishops had sometimes been emboldened to appeal for special prayers beyond the Church of England, for example from 'all Christian citizens' in England and Wales for 1914–E3. After closer relations had been established with leaders of other churches through the arrangement of national days of prayer during the First World War, they could more frequently and with greater confidence call for prayers from the churches of the United Kingdom, and indeed from 'all our fellow countrymen', or 'Christian people generally' or 'in all places of worship' and 'the whole nation', without undertaking a joint call or consultation with the heads of other churches (1919–E2, 1922–E2 and 1933–1). In 1939, Archbishop Lang presented an order of council to the Church of England as 'a means by which the State expresses its recognition of God and of the need of Divine help and guidance. The Order will therefore rightly be regarded as national in its scope and intention' (1939–4).⁶³ During 1940, he asserted that while the two archbishops together were generally understood to speak for the Church of England, the archbishop of Canterbury when acting alone had a different status: 'it is often recognised' that he could 'speak for other Christian communions besides his own' (1940–6). In the late 1940s, the archbishop of York could write that the 'Church of England still in many ways represents the religious aspect of the nation', as shown most clearly by how on occasions of national importance – royal events, and national days of prayer and thanksgiving – 'the Church leads the nation Godwards'.⁶⁴ From the 1960s, these assumptions were extended further: the archbishops invited the Free Church Council and the Roman catholic archbishops to join them in approving special forms of prayer for Remembrance day in 1968, and for the silver jubilee in 1977. More recently still, the archbishops have acquired an even wider reach. At a reception for leaders of the main churches and non-Christian faiths in the United Kingdom during the diamond jubilee celebrations in 2012, the queen stated that the Church of England's role 'is not

⁶¹ For a wider context, see Philip Williamson, 'Archbishops and the monarchy: leadership in British religion, 1900–2012', in *The Church of England and British politics since 1900*, ed. Tom Rodger, Philip Williamson and Matthew Grimley (Woodbridge, 2020), pp. 57–79.

⁶² This refers to calls for prayer initiated or co-ordinated by the archbishops with leaders of other churches. There were earlier instances of appeals initiated by others that were signed by members of various protestant churches. An example is an 'invitation to prayer' on 23 or 24 July 1881 promoted by evangelicals from a sense of general moral and religious malaise (lawlessness, godlessness, luxury, self-indulgence, disputes) and signed by Archbishop Tait, eleven English and Irish bishops and suffragans, various deans and canons, prominent laymen and the president of the Wesleyan methodists, the baptist, Charles Spurgeon, and other nonconformists: *Times*, 15 July 1881, 8c. See 1906–1 for an exceptional early case of the archbishop of Canterbury heading a list of British protestant church leaders, for an occasion organized by others.

⁶³ See 1939–4: while the moderator of the general assembly of the Church of Scotland readily stressed co-operation with the Church of England, he made no public reference to the order of council as he wished to avoid any suggestion of 'Erastianism'.

⁶⁴ Cyril Garbett, *The claims of the Church of England* (1947), pp. 189–90.

to defend Anglicanism to the exclusion of other religions. Instead, the Church has a duty to protect the free practice of all faiths in this country'.⁶⁵

The Church of Scotland

The general assembly of the Church of Scotland had always considered that it had a religious authority independent of the state, and had continued periodically to order or recommend its own special acts of worship – although one means of registering this independence was by recommending ministers to observe occasions ordered by the crown.⁶⁶ From the 1870s to 1914, it continued these practices, by encouraging special services or prayers for the main royal occasions and for the peace treaty in 1902. Otherwise, it ordered fewer special prayers than the Church of England. Its most substantial effort during this early period was appointment of a day of humiliation for church defence, to assist its resistance to campaigns by secessionist presbyterian churches and Liberal politicians for disestablishment of the church (1893–S). However, in contrast to the Church of Ireland and the Church in Wales, the Church of Scotland did not experience enforced disestablishment. Instead, the main presbyterian churches drew together, and the church establishment was modified by agreement. The United Presbyterian Church merged with the main part of the Free Church in 1900, to form the United Free Church,⁶⁷ and discussions on union between the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church began in 1909. During the First World War, an indication of the growing closeness of the two churches was co-ordination in arrangements for special worship (1914–5, 1915–1, 1916–1: for the latter two occasions, the churches issued identical addresses to be read out in all their kirks).⁶⁸ This continued after 1918, with calls for prayer on several occasions issued jointly by the moderators of the general assemblies of both churches (1918–2, 1918–4, 1926–S, 1929–1). The union of the two churches was achieved by stages. In the 'Articles declaratory of the constitution of the Church of Scotland' of 1919, the church's independence from the state in spiritual matters was affirmed – a requirement for union with the United Free Church – while implying that it retained its status as the national church. These articles were given statutory force in the Church of Scotland Act of 1921 (11 & 12 Geo. 5 c. 29).⁶⁹ Completion of the union in October 1929 was marked by a thanksgiving day (1929–S).⁷⁰

In late 1914, leaders of the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church were responsible for the king agreeing that a day of prayer in England and Wales should also be observed in Scotland, which turned the occasion into the first genuinely national

⁶⁵ *Times*, 16 Feb. 2012, 1a–d.

⁶⁶ See volume 2, pp. lxx–lxxv.

⁶⁷ A small minority of ministers and congregations rejected the union, and continued as the Free Church of Scotland.

⁶⁸ There had already been some degree of co-ordination of special worship among presbyterian churches for 1849–1, 1860–S and 1866–ES, before the frictions over disestablishment. For some occasions from 1901–1, United Free Church ministers were invited to participate in special services of the Church of Scotland.

⁶⁹ Given these assertions (and acknowledgments) of independence, the character and extent of the church establishment in Scotland has long been a matter of ecclesiastical, legal and historical debate: see Colin Kidd, *Union and unionisms. Political thought in Scotland, 1500–2000* (Cambridge, 2008), ch. 2.

⁷⁰ Some ministers and congregations of the United Free Church rejected this union, and continued the separate existence of the church.

day of prayer, for the whole of the United Kingdom (1915–1). This occasion was also notable for the first issue of a form of prayer for general use in the Church of Scotland (see p. c). As will be explained more fully in following sections, national days of prayer had two effects for the Church of Scotland. First, it often provided an opportunity for co-operation with leaders of other Scottish protestant churches. Second, consultations with the archbishops of the Church of England created a closer relationship between the two established churches than at any time in the past, giving the Church of Scotland a new place in British religion. Calls for special worship were often co-ordinated between the archbishop of Canterbury and the moderator of the general assembly, and at the start of the Second World War the moderator emphasized how ‘the two national churches of Great Britain have spoken with one voice’ (1939–4). For some occasions from 1942 onwards, moderators signed joint notices with the archbishops and the moderators of Free Church Federal Council of England and Wales. In 1943, the moderator commented that ‘we are all accustomed now to having letters and appeals’ signed by these three, and took it for granted that he represented the Scottish protestant churches: there was no need ‘to have other signatures from Scotland’.⁷¹

Co-ordination: free and episcopal churches, Roman catholics, Jews and churches overseas

Religious communities outside the established churches had not in the past considered themselves bound to obey crown orders for worship. Many objected to orders for worship by civil authorities; some occasions expressed ecclesiastical or doctrinal differences, notably in their anti-catholicism; and Roman catholics could not recognize protestant authority in matters of worship. Nevertheless, at various times most of these communities had come to observe national occasions of special worship on their own terms, issuing their own orders or recommendations for services or prayers (see volume 2, pp. lxxxvi–xci). They usually agreed with the religious justifications for these occasions, and wished to express their loyalty to the crown, their gratitude for religious liberty and toleration and their membership of the national community. However, with the granting of civil equality from the 1820s to the 1850s, they sought fuller recognition of their place in national life, and the realities of religious pluralism. This generated denominational conflict, attacks on the privileges of the established churches, and campaigns for disestablishment. For special worship, it produced increased criticism of state orders, as these were both instructions to the established churches and declarations of their own exclusion, implying that their beliefs and worship were inferior, and that their attachment to the crown and membership of the nation were somehow doubtful – leading to requests that the orders and instructions should be replaced by invitations which would include other churches and communities. Together, these criticisms and requests contributed to the modification and decline of these orders from the 1850s to the 1870s.

Yet a long-term effect of the decline of state orders was to assist the creation of a new type of national prayers – ‘multi-church’ or interdenominational occasions, appointed by co-operation among leaders of the main churches. Without orders from the crown, in the appointment of special worship the established churches became in effect ‘voluntary’ bodies, no different from the other churches. This provided a common basis for co-ordinated appointment of special prayers and services, later for

⁷¹ C. W. G. Taylor to Hugh Martin, 13 Jan. 1943, W. Temple papers, 49/3.

joint calls for prayer and later still for joint approval of forms of prayer. A precursor of this co-operation, in a context of bitter political conflicts over denominational issues during the early 1900s, was a collective appeal by British protestant church leaders for prayers for Christian unity (1906–1).

These changes in national prayers were expressions of large shifts in religious, ecclesiastical, political and social conditions, the growth from the 1910s of national and international interdenominational and ecumenical movements, and the effect of the First World War in subduing denominational conflicts. They were manifested and advanced by two developments – worship for royal events and national days of prayer – which will be the subject of the next two sections. A number of structural arrangements and connections will be noted here, in order to describe the principal bodies that co-operated with the heads of the established churches.

Members of the dissenting protestant or nonconformist churches in England and Wales – the baptist union, congregational union, presbyterian church,⁷² the methodist connexions,⁷³ the Society of Friends (quakers) and others – formed a National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches (NCEFC, or National Free Church Council) in March 1896, with local branches and district federations. ‘Free church’ became the preferred designation of these churches – a positive rather than a negative description, indicative of their claim to an equivalent status to that of the Church of England. As well as providing a central co-ordinating body for the various free churches on moral, social and political issues, the Council promoted ‘united services’ among their members for occasions of special worship. It also issued what were innovations for most of the free churches – general forms of prayer for special occasions: copies known to survive are listed in Appendix 7(b) (and see illustration 23). Wesleyan methodists and later the methodist church sometimes also issued their own forms: the known copies are given in Appendix 7(c). The National Council was constituted by the membership of individuals. During the First World War, most of the free churches decided that they should be associated as corporate bodies, and in October 1919 their leaders created a Federal Council of the Evangelical Free Churches (FCEFC, or Federal Free Church Council). The National and the Federal Councils existed alongside each other, until in September 1940, the two were merged as the Free Church Federal Council (FCFC).⁷⁴ These councils readily co-operated with the archbishops of the Church of England in arranging occasions of special worship, through their secretaries and their annual president (NCEFC) or moderator (FCEFC and FCFC). The first co-ordinated occasion was for 1912–1; the first joint call for prayers with the archbishops – also signed by heads of the individual free churches – was for 1919–2. Officers of the free church councils sometimes even agreed to the archbishop of Canterbury issuing calls for prayer with their ‘concurrence’ rather than an equal participation (1925–E2, and see 1936–E1, 1936–E2).

The Church of Scotland took the leading part in the formation in December 1925 of a Scottish Churches’ Council, the members of which also included the United Free Church, Free Church, Episcopal Church, Reformed Presbyterian Church, and the

⁷² In 1972, the congregational union and presbyterian churches in England and Wales were merged as the united reformed church.

⁷³ The Wesleyan methodists, primitive methodists and united methodists, which in 1932 were united as the methodist church. Not all methodists accepted the designation of nonconformist or free church.

⁷⁴ See E. K. H. Jordan, *Free church unity: history of the free church council movement, 1896–1941* (1946).

congregational and baptist unions and main methodist connexions in Scotland.⁷⁵ From 1926, this council co-ordinated the Scottish protestant observances for Remembrance Sunday, and from 1933 to 1946 joined with Scottish peace organizations in adding a notable series of calls for prayers for peace (see AC–Remembrance).

The Episcopal Church was in an unusual position. Since 1788, it had been recognized alongside the Church of Scotland in the orders in council issued for Scotland, and as an ‘anglican’ church it had long tended to use the special forms of prayer issued by the Church of England.⁷⁶ From 1916, the primus of the Episcopal Church was commonly added to the list of leaders of the various British churches – including the anglican archbishops of Wales and Armagh – to whom the archbishop of Canterbury sent early notifications of national days of prayer. From 1950, representative bishops of the Episcopal Church were invited to the bishops’ meetings at Lambeth. As already noted above, p. lxii, the bishops of the Church in Wales had remained members of these meetings, and in 1963 the Scottish bishops joined them as full members, in what was now described as meetings of ‘the archbishops and bishops of the provinces of Canterbury and York, and of the Church in Wales and the Episcopal Church of Scotland’, and later ‘the Diocesan Bishops of England, Wales and Scotland’.⁷⁷

These various interdenominational connexions were developed further by the creation of ecumenical bodies, at first among the protestant churches. The British Council of Churches (BCC), was formed in September 1942 under the presidency of Archbishop William Temple, as the successor of several earlier ecumenical movements: its members included established, episcopal, presbyterian and free churches. It was involved in several calls for prayers in England and Scotland from the 1940s to the 1980s. The BCC was succeeded in 1990 by Churches Together in Britain and Ireland (CTBI), with even more churches as members, and with the member churches in associations for England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland.⁷⁸

In co-ordinated occasions of national prayers, the Roman catholic church was normally represented by the archbishop of Westminster, acting implicitly or in some cases explicitly for the catholic bishops of England and Wales. It appears to have been assumed that the catholic church in Scotland would follow his example.⁷⁹ Well into the twentieth century, Roman catholics were prohibited from praying together with non-catholics.⁸⁰ For a long period, archbishops of Westminster and the catholic bishops also issued their own separate instructions for specific prayers and services; it was not usual practice for the church to publish special forms of prayer, but it did produce an

⁷⁵ *Scotsman*, 25 Dec. 1925. The first report and the constitution are in *Reports of the schemes of the Church of Scotland ... 1926* (Edinburgh, 1926), pp. 600–2.

⁷⁶ See vol. 2, pp. lxxvii–lxxviii, cxxiii–cxxiv, and Appendix 7(a) in volume 4.

⁷⁷ BM, 4–5 July 1950, 25–6 June 1963 and 15–18 June 1970 record the respective beginnings of these arrangements and terms.

⁷⁸ Churches Together in England, Cytûn (Churches Together in Wales), Action of Churches Together in Scotland, and the Irish Council of Churches.

⁷⁹ There may have been correspondence with the catholic archbishops in Scotland, but this requires further research.

⁸⁰ On the problems this created for interdenominational groups, and catholic criticisms of Archbishop Hinsley when in 1941 he said the Lord’s prayer in the presence of protestants, see M. J. Walsh, ‘Ecumenism in war-time Britain: the sword of the spirit and religion and life, 1940–1945’, *Heythrop Journal*, 23 (1982), 252–4, 384–6; Adrian Hastings, *A history of English Christianity 1920–1990* (1991), pp. 395–6. The church could also not have masses on the deaths of non-catholics, which caused complications in organizing memorial services for Queen Victoria and Edward VII: see 1901–1 and 1910–1. For the commemorations of George V and George VI, the archbishop and bishops followed strict instructions sent from the Vatican: see 1936–1.

Order of mass for the 1953 coronation (illustration 23). Although they signed joint appeals with protestant church leaders for charitable collections (notably for the Red Cross and the Order of St John during the First World War) and for some causes which referred to prayers in general terms (e.g. 1919–E3), they declined to sign any joint statements that contained instructions or recommendations on worship, the text or themes for prayers or the dates for observance. This was relaxed to a degree during and after the Second World War (1942–4, 1943–5, 1944–2, 1946–1) and again for 1960–2, although the Roman catholic archbishops took care to avoid the recommendation of any particular prayer. However, the cases in the 1940s provoked a long-running dispute about precedence in these and other types of joint statement, as successive archbishops of Westminster insisted that their signatures should be printed before those of both the archbishop of York and the moderator of the general assembly of the Church of Scotland. Archbishop Fisher resisted on behalf of the archbishop of York, and officers of the general assembly of the Church of Scotland also refused to yield priority, both as representatives of a national church and because in letters published in protestant Scotland they could not allow the name of their moderator to follow that of a Roman catholic prelate.⁸¹ Participation of the archbishops of Westminster in joint notices became regular only after Pope Paul's decree on ecumenism during the Second Vatican Council, as a result of which in December 1964 the English and Welsh bishops gave permission for their clergy and laity to join in prayer with members of other churches.⁸² During the following years, links between the Roman catholic church and the BCC were established, and the church joined CTBI and the issue of precedence ceased to be an irritant.

In some cases, co-ordination prompted interdenominational use of prayers or services, which was eventually facilitated by the ecumenical bodies. For the 1918–1 national day of prayer, the National Free Church Council included three prayers from the Church of England's form of prayer in its own form, and for the 1922–E4 prayers for peace the archbishops agreed that anglican congregations should use a prayer composed by a congregationalist, together with a personal pledge in a free church style. Lang made a special effort with the main Church of England form for the 1935–2 silver jubilee: at the request of the Church of Scotland's committee on public worship, some of the anglican prayers were included in the Scottish forms; he also persuaded the two free church councils to recommend the use of the whole form instead of producing one of their own.⁸³ The BCC published the form of prayer approved for the Church of England during the Festival of Britain, because the Free Church Federal Council also wished to recommend it (1951–E1); it also published a form prepared for the Church of England and approved by the Church of Scotland and the various free churches for use in united or 'ecumenical' services to mark the

⁸¹ The dispute can be followed in W. Temple papers, 39/281–8 (June–July 1942), Fisher papers, 19/307–12 (July–Dec. 1946), 36/215–31 (June–Dec. 1947), and 78/74–81 (Aug.–Sept. 1950, on Fisher's reasons for avoiding a joint statement for 1950–1). For the problem being neatly circumvented by printing the names in two columns, see 1960–2.

⁸² Statement by the Roman catholic bishops of England and Wales, read out in all churches, *Times*, 7 Dec. 1964, 7e: catholic lay persons could now attend non-catholic religious services, and catholic priests could, with the approval of their bishop, give addresses during non-catholic services – a provision later relaxed to enable them to say or lead prayers in ecumenical services.

⁸³ William Temple hoped to have the FCFC adopt the Church of England's form of prayer for the 1943–3 national day of prayer (Temple to Garbett, 10 June 1943, W. Temple papers, 56/201), but it seems without success.

coronation (1953–1; illustration 22). After the Second Vatican Council, more fully ecumenical forms of prayer became possible: a form for Remembrance day in 1968 and the form for the 1977–1 silver jubilee were approved jointly by the English archbishops, the moderator of the Free Church Federal Council, and the archbishop of Westminster. CTBI published forms of prayer for use in all its member churches for the 2002–1 golden jubilee, from 2005 for Remembrance day, and for the 2012–1 diamond jubilee (for which the Church of England also published a form of its own). For the diamond jubilee and for the sixtieth anniversary of the coronation, 2013–E, the authorities of the Church of England announced that other churches were ‘welcome’ to use the special prayers commended by the archbishops of Canterbury and York.

Other religious communities also observed the main national occasions of special worship. These included the Greek Orthodox church in Britain, which was invited by Archbishop Davidson to join in a special day of prayer early in the First World War, as the religious representative of allied powers in the Balkans (1914–E5). The leader of the church was later consulted about and asked to participate in other calls for prayer (1922–E4, 1939–2). The two main Jewish religious communities – the ‘Spanish and Portuguese’ (Sephardi) and the ‘German’ (Ashkenazi) synagogues – had since the eighteenth century associated themselves with fast and thanksgiving days and special prayers ordered by the crown, issuing their own forms of prayer for use on the same dates as the Church of England or on a related Sabbath. From the early 1840s, the forms for the largest community, the ‘German’ Jews, were for use in their ‘United Congregations’ in Great Britain, and from 1887 onwards they were published by ‘the office of the chief rabbi’.⁸⁴ The chief rabbi usually also published forms for occasions of national prayers announced by the archbishop of Canterbury, and some degree of consultation was established between the two leaders. For George V’s coronation, Archbishop Davidson suggested that parts of the Church of England’s form might be used in synagogues (though without effect: see 1911–1). During the First World War, the chief rabbi was invited to join with church leaders in charitable appeals, and during the Second World War, he was added to the list of religious leaders to whom the archbishop of Canterbury routinely gave early notice of national days of prayer, with the effect that the chief rabbi’s public notice was printed in newspapers together with those of leaders of the main churches (1940–5, 1940–6, 1941–1). A representative of the chief rabbi also attended the conferences of religious leaders which made recommendations in 1946 on the new arrangements for Remembrance day.

Co-ordination of special acts of worship was not confined to Britain alone. Until at least 1953, church leaders and the government encouraged observance of the chief occasions in the empire and commonwealth (see below, pp. cxxiii–cxxx). Archbishop Davidson arranged that the first national day of prayer during the First World War should also be observed in some manner in the churches of the allied nations (1915–1). In some calls for prayer during the inter-war years, Davidson and Lang (sometimes jointly with free church leaders) noted that the prayers in England would coincide with those called by the pope for the Roman catholic church throughout the world: see 1919–2 (famine in Europe and the Near East), 1930–E1 (religious persecution in Russia), and 1939–2 (for international peace). For this last occasion, Lang tried to co-ordinate an appeal by leaders of all the main European churches, although

⁸⁴ Forms were also published for ‘the Spanish and Portuguese synagogues of Great Britain’, and from the 1840s for the main Jewish Reformed community, the West London synagogue and its associates: see Appendix 8 in volume 4.

eventually the only European signatory was the Lutheran archbishop of Uppsala. Some special prayers for disarmament and peace were co-ordinated by international church organizations (see below, p. civ), particularly in the United States of America. National days of prayer appointed in the USA during the two world wars were influential in Britain (1915–1, 1918–2); another was noted in Lang's notice for 1940–5, and a further one prompted Churchill to ask for a simultaneous day of prayer in Britain (1942–1). The Episcopal Church of the USA marked some British acts of special worship – for royal events, and during the world wars – with their own services or prayers; these are noted in the commentaries. During the Second World War, American forces in Britain were ordered to observe its national days of prayer.⁸⁵

Royal events and national services

A prominent feature of special worship from the 1860s was an increase in general services and prayers for royal events, both in number and in the range of causes. For these general acts of worship for royalty – observed throughout the nation – there was even more innovation than in the related 'invented tradition' of more splendid and better reported 'national services' for royal events that were held at St Paul's Cathedral or Westminster Abbey, and attended by the sovereign, the royal family and other national leaders.⁸⁶

In the past, only a limited range of particular royal occasions⁸⁷ had been marked by worship in all the churches of England or Britain, and then normally only by the issue of special *prayers* for matters directly affecting the sovereign: the birth of the sovereign's children, attempts against the sovereign's life and the severe illnesses of sovereigns.⁸⁸ These conventions for the sovereign were continued or revived in certain instances of illness (1928–E, a service for 1929–1, and 1951–1), and births (1960–1, 1964–E). The innovations were of several types. One was the application of these causes for prayer to other members of the royal family. Thanksgiving prayers for births were extended along the line of direct succession to the throne, for Queen Victoria's grandson (1864–1) and great-grandson (1894–1),⁸⁹ and for the attempted assassination of her second son (1868–1). Prayers (and a service) for illness were extended to the prince of Wales (1871–1, 1872–1, 1872–2). Another type was the creation of a new cause for prayers – for royal tours in the empire, commonwealth or elsewhere, by the prince of Wales (1875–E, 1876–E), by George V (1911–E2, 1912–E1), by a later prince of Wales (1925–E3) and by Elizabeth II (1954–E).

⁸⁵ Michael Snape, *God and Uncle Sam: religion and America's armed forces in World War II* (Woodbridge, 2015), p. 458.

⁸⁶ For national services, see David Cannadine, 'The context, performance and meaning of ritual: the British monarchy and the "invention of tradition" c. 1820–1977', in *The invention of tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 101–62.

⁸⁷ 'Particular' in contrast to the *anniversary* commemorations of matters affecting the monarchy, of which there were as many as four from the late seventeenth century. Of these, only the service for the anniversary of the sovereign's accession remained after 1859: see volume 4.

⁸⁸ For the settled pattern of prayers for royal events (rather than services or fast or thanksgiving days), see the list of occasions from 1689 to 1870 in vol. 2, pp. xix–xxx. One exception was the thanksgiving day and service for George III's recovery from his first mental breakdown (1789–2). Another was prayers ordered for churches in London and Westminster during the illness of a royal consort, Queen Caroline (1737–E).

⁸⁹ Neither turned out to be blessed in their royal roles: the first (Prince Albert Victor) did not become king, dying early, and the second (Edward VIII) abdicated.

The greatest innovations were general *services* for the chief royal events – jubilees, funerals of sovereigns and coronations. These were accompanied by new applications of state orders for worship (as already noted, p. lxxv), and up to 1953 they were also observed in places of worship in the empire and commonwealth. Whereas the only previous royal jubilee had been marked by thanksgiving prayers (1809–1), Queen Victoria's first jubilee was a much more elaborate event, marked by thanksgiving services and a public holiday (1887–1). Thereafter, the types of jubilee multiplied, not just for fifty years in the original meaning of jubilee (2002–1), but for both longer and shorter periods: 1897–1 (sixty years), 1935–2 and 1977–1 (both twenty-five years), and 2012–1 (sixty years). Coronations and royal funerals had never previously been marked by instructions for general services or provision of forms of prayer. Beyond the rituals in Westminster, London or Windsor, any wider celebrations or commemorations had been by local initiative: civic ceremonies, special sermons and prayers and, during the nineteenth century, memorial services after royal deaths.⁹⁰ For the funeral of Queen Victoria, a national day of mourning and general commemorative services were appointed (1901–1). These created the precedent for 1910–1. For later royal funerals (1936–1 and 1952–1), there were again services, although the day of mourning was replaced by a national two-minute silence. The coronation of Edward VII was marked by general services and a public holiday (1902–2). These arrangements were repeated for 1911–1; for 1937–1 and 1953–1, services were also published for the previous Sunday.⁹¹ Further innovations have been more recent, with a range of royal events that have never previously been marked by recommendations for general services or prayers: the death of a princess (1997–E2, 2007–E) and a queen mother (2002–E), the sovereign's fiftieth wedding anniversary (1997–E)⁹² and eightieth and ninetieth birthdays (2006–E, 2016–1), and the sixtieth anniversary of the 1953 coronation (2013–E).

The initiatives were usually English, with the Church of England taking the largest part. Nevertheless, for much of this period the Church of Scotland and other Scottish churches remained strongly unionist and royalist, and made their own arrangements to match those decided in London. The Church of Scotland even recommended special prayers for royal events which were not generally marked in England: for Queen Victoria's eightieth birthday (1899–S) and for the death of Queen Mary (1953–S). However, for the period since Queen Elizabeth's silver jubilee (1977–1), it has not been easy to establish whether the Church of Scotland continued to recommend general services or prayers for royal events.⁹³ What is clear is that the church was represented

⁹⁰ In the Church of England (and Ireland), the clergy had improvised extracts from the BCP. For royal deaths, they used parts of the burial service, and modified the BCP services by their selection of hymns and other music: see John Wolffe, *Great deaths. Grieving, religion and nationhood in Victorian and Edwardian Britain* (Oxford, 2000), esp. pp. 56–68, 81–4, 97–8, 100–1, 104, 111–12, 120–1, 204, 210–15.

⁹¹ Royal weddings were never occasions for the issue of general services or prayers, although the clergy may have said prayers on their own initiative.

⁹² For the silver wedding anniversary of George V and Queen Mary in 1918, celebrated by a service in St Paul's Cathedral, Davidson suggested to the bishops that services might also be held in other cathedrals and elsewhere (BM, 14–15 May 1918); but no public recommendations or prayers were issued.

⁹³ The difficulties are that for recent times the reports and proceedings of the general assembly do not refer to such services or prayers; reports do not appear in newspapers; online press releases are only archived for a limited period; and if forms of prayer were issued, these have not yet been deposited in libraries.

at national services in London, and it is likely that services were held or prayers said in St Giles' Cathedral in Edinburgh and other particular places of worship.

Some of the prayers or services for royal events were the product of unique circumstances, while remaining indicative of the general trend to multiply this type of special worship. Three phases are clear, from the 1860s to 1901, from 1902 to 1977 and from the 1990s.⁹⁴

The first phase, reaching from prayers and services for members of the royal family to Queen Victoria's funeral, was when much of the innovation occurred. In conditions of major social, cultural and political changes in both the United Kingdom and the overseas empire, the sovereigns, their advisors and governments encouraged new types of connections between the monarchy and public feeling. As the monarchy's direct participation in government declined, its symbolic status became more important and more generally acceptable – in representing certain social, moral and religious values, in evoking pride in established institutions and in providing a focus for sentiments of national and imperial cohesion. Queen Victoria contributed to the extension of special prayers for royal events, conscious of the public interest not just in herself but also in members of her family. She also overcame her dislike of big public religious services, with considerable effects for the public role of the monarchy.⁹⁵ Aside from their necessary presence at coronations, before 1870 the attendance of sovereigns at 'national services' in St Paul's Cathedral or Westminster Abbey had been rare: just twelve occasions in three hundred years, with a majority of these (seven) during Queen Anne's short reign, and the last (actually attended by the prince regent) for 1814–2.⁹⁶ With one probable exception, these national services had been held on days which had been proclaimed for general religious thanksgivings to mark great national events – victories, peace treaties and securing a protestant succession.⁹⁷ In contrast, the 'national services' of Victoria's reign (for 1872–2, 1887–1 and 1897–1) were celebrations of royal persons, and – in a reverse of arrangements in the past – the decision to organize these services in London prompted the appointment of thanksgiving services in the rest of Britain and in the empire.⁹⁸ These late Victorian royal occasions provided models for the appointment of general services to mark the queen's funeral and Edward VII's coronation, which in turn became precedents for later reigns.

Services for royal events were now organized not just by the established churches but also by free churches, the Roman catholic church, the Jewish communities and members of other faiths. All the churches and religious communities now had stronger

⁹⁴ For a valuable overview, with rather different phases and emphases, see John Wolffe, 'Protestantism, monarchy and the defence of Christian Britain 1837–2005', in *Secularisation in the Christian world*, ed. Callum Brown and Michael Snape (Farnham, 2010), pp. 57–74.

⁹⁵ See esp. William Kuhn, 'Ceremony and politics: the British monarchy 1871–72', *Journal of British Studies*, 26 (1987), 133–62, and *idem*, *Democratic royalism. The transformation of the British monarchy 1861–1914* (Basingstoke, 1996).

⁹⁶ See volume 2, pp. lxxx–lxxxi. Another national thanksgiving service was held in 1713, but Queen Anne was unable to attend because of ill health.

⁹⁷ The probable exception is the thanksgiving for George III's recovery from his first serious bout of illness, 1789–2: his desire for a service in St Paul's seems to have preceded the council's decision to proclaim a general thanksgiving day.

⁹⁸ This change of priority, with the 'national service' providing the occasion for the arrangement of services elsewhere, has shaped the commentaries for royal events. More attention is given to organization of the national services than in earlier volumes, because this provides much of the explanation for the initiation, dates, orders and forms of prayer for many of the general services marking royal events.

reasons to celebrate and to identify their communities with the monarchy, and to elevate its religious significance. The great public interest in royal events also gave them opportunities to attract more people into their places of worship, to renew religious commitment and to assert the importance of their churches and faiths in national life. Moreover, royal events had a unifying religious influence. This was encouraged by the royal household and the government: for all the national services in London for these events from 1872 – services within the Church of England – representatives of other churches and faiths were invited to join the congregations,⁹⁹ and the arrangements announced and the royal messages issued for these occasions in the United Kingdom and the empire were implicitly addressed to members of all churches. Nonetheless, participation in religious celebration of the monarchy was also spontaneous. The National Free Church Council suggested (unsuccessfully) that Victoria's funeral should be marked by a common form of prayer, shared by the Church of England and the free churches. For the main royal events, the free church councils promoted local 'united' or interdenominational services among the various free church congregations and where possible with the parish church. The Church of Scotland also encouraged united services among the presbyterian churches, and later with other evangelical churches.

During a second phase, from Edward VII's coronation in 1902 to Elizabeth II's silver jubilee in 1977, these patterns of national services in the capital and general services elsewhere were elaborated. The monarchy remained a symbolic focus for unity during more intense political and ideological divisions, economic stresses, imperial strains and threats from aggressive foreign dictatorships; its religious character seemed still more valuable amidst the spread of atheistic doctrines and secularization.¹⁰⁰ Sovereigns now made themselves available for attendance at more public church services. Edward VII encouraged public ceremonies, and his attendances at thanksgiving services to mark the end of the South African war and the coronation were the start of new royal conventions. George V was still more willing to be present at public services, and was more prepared to do so in an 'informal' manner, rather than in the ceremonial style of state occasions, especially during the First World War. Indeed, the arrangement of the thanksgiving service for his recovery from illness in 1929 was presented as emphasizing his closeness to the people of the nation and empire. All this had the consequence of making attendance at big public services a matter of duty for his successors, George VI and Elizabeth II. National services for royal events began to be broadcast in 1929. From the 1930s, the cabinet or cabinet committees took a larger part in organizing major royal events, taking some of the decisions on religious services as well as supervising the civil arrangements. For the silver jubilee of George V in 1935, for his funeral in 1936, and for the coronation of George VI in 1937, the churches made more elaborate provisions than for any previous acts of special worship, with the Church of England and the Church of Scotland issuing two and even three forms of prayer,¹⁰¹ for services on different days during the periods of celebration or mourning.

Other churches wanted closer association with the monarchy and greater evidence of their status at royal events. Gradually, some of their requests were accommodated, within limits set by the Church of England's position as the established church in

⁹⁹ Leaders of the Roman catholic church were invited, but until 1977, they declined because of the prohibition on praying with members of other churches. However, it was always made clear that the church would have its own services to mark the event.

¹⁰⁰ Philip Williamson, 'The monarchy and public values, 1910–1953', in *The monarchy and the British nation 1780 to the present*, ed. A. J. Olechnowicz (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 223–57.

¹⁰¹ For the three Church of England forms for the 1937 coronation, see illustrations 14 and 15.

England.¹⁰² For Edward VII's funeral in 1910 and George V's coronation in 1911, the Church of England's archbishops and some bishops tacitly or expressly encouraged local united services with the free churches, and for later royal or national occasions, free church ministers were invited to read lessons in certain cathedrals and parish churches. After the armistice in 1918, George V attended the main thanksgiving services of the free churches and the Church of Scotland, and sent a representative to the Roman catholic service. For the main royal events from 1935 to 1953, leading members of the various churches participated in BBC broadcasts (see below, pp. lxxxvii–lxxxviii). But free church leaders asked for greater participation in the national services themselves, denying that services conducted by the Church of England were genuinely 'national'.¹⁰³ After the matter was raised by government ministers during preparations for George V's silver jubilee in 1934, Archbishop Lang invited the moderator of the Federal Free Church Council to read the lesson at the silver jubilee service in St Paul's Cathedral; he also persuaded the Council to recommend use of the Church of England's general form of prayer in free churches, and the Church of Scotland incorporated prayers from this form in its own forms of prayer (see 1935–2). Representatives of the main English and Scottish protestant churches were now given places in the clerical processions at national services, and prominent seats in the congregations. For the 1953 coronation, Archbishop Fisher assigned to the moderator of the general assembly a speaking part in the religious ceremony, and the queen attended a Scottish 'national' thanksgiving service in Edinburgh. Interdenominationalism was a prominent feature of the silver jubilee in 1977: an English form of prayer for general use was jointly approved by the heads of the Church of England, the Free Church Federal Council and the Roman catholic church (see cover illustration), and 'national' services were held in Wales as well as in Scotland and England (although there was one serious anachronism: to the annoyance of the leaders of all the English churches, the dean of St Paul's Cathedral organized a purely anglican service).

The third phase, from the 1990s, was marked by a resumption of innovation in special worship for royal events. To some extent, it was prompted by the death of Diana, princess of Wales, in 1997. The remarkable public demonstrations of grief which made her funeral a national and international event seemed to necessitate some response from the Church of England, despite the lack of precedents for general religious commemoration in such a case. The improvised recommendation for services on this occasion was subsequently matched by initiatives to help soothe criticism of the sovereign and members of the royal family, and the monarchy as an institution. There was growing recognition in the churches that the queen provided an impressive public example of religious and moral dedication, increasingly emphasized from the early 2000s by the queen's references to her personal faith in her Christmas broadcasts. In the larger context of further secularization, greater diversity of faiths and increased ethnic tensions in the United Kingdom, and the respect for the sovereign in the commonwealth and the global anglican communion, members of the royal family and the churches were concerned to present the monarchy as a beacon of religious faith in the widest

¹⁰² A particular point of friction with the Roman catholic church was eased in this period. Since 1689, sovereigns had been required to make an accession declaration, which described catholic doctrines as 'superstitious and idolatrous'. Both Edward VII and George V wanted the declaration changed, and in 1910, the anti-catholic terms were removed by a Liberal government, assisted by Archbishop Davidson: see Bell, *Davidson*, pp. 612–17.

¹⁰³ E.g. Charles Brown and J. H. Jowett in *Christian World*, 21, 29 June 1911; F. B. Meyer for 1919–1; FCEFC moderator, *Times*, 22 Sept. 1936, 9e; *The Record*, 7 May 1937.

sense. The Church of England appointed general prayers or services for other types of royal occasions, in addition to the continuing tradition of marking royal jubilees. More national services were arranged at St Paul's Cathedral or Westminster Abbey, and for some occasions it appears that lord lieutenants – the sovereign's representatives in the English counties – initiated or liaised with deans in the arrangement of services in cathedrals elsewhere. These occasions became more ecumenical. For national services for royal events from 1977, a Roman catholic archbishop joined the leaders of the English and Scottish protestant churches in the ecclesiastical processions, and in 2002, joined them in reading lessons or saying prayers. For the 2002 and 2012 jubilees, churches from a wide range of Christian traditions shared in the general services, through the publication of ecumenical services by CTBI. From 2002, 'representatives of world faiths' were prominent in the congregations at the national services, and for both the 2002 and 2012 jubilees, the queen attended multi-faith receptions with leaders of all the main 'faith communities', non-Christian as well as Christian.

National days of prayer

Although royal events from 1872 were a type of special worship which drew the churches together, it was the organization of national days of prayer that gave new meanings to the term 'national prayers'. Notwithstanding earlier instances of consultation among leaders of protestant churches for some acts of special worship – in Scotland since the mid-nineteenth century, in England and Wales in 1912 – these were essentially a product of the First World War.¹⁰⁴ Archbishop Davidson decided during its first month that if a special day of prayer in England and Wales was to have a 'national character', this required co-ordination with other English and Welsh churches. The Church of England alone could no longer claim to express the whole nation's commitment to God's will. All the main churches supported Britain's entry into the war, and its war aims included defence of catholic allies. Setting aside centuries of hostility, the archbishops invited, and the National Free Church Council accepted, public co-operation with the Roman catholic church (1914–E5).¹⁰⁵ Davidson then aimed to make a second wartime day of prayer still more 'national' by obtaining a public statement of the king's approval of the occasion – with the sovereign now acting not as the head of the state and supreme governor of the Church of England, but as the chief representative of the nation in all its religious diversity, in effect as an ecumenical monarch giving national sanction to the collective exercise of authority by the various religious leaders. However, this exposed how the archbishops and the royal household had a limited English conception of the religious nation. Leaders of the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church insisted that the king should include Scotland in any national act of worship, and those of the Church of Ireland, other Irish churches, the orthodox churches and the Jewish communities also rushed to associate themselves with the king's approval for special worship. With an unexpected degree of spontaneity, a truly 'national day of prayer' was created (1915–1). This occasion, on the nearest Sunday to the new year, established a pattern of observance for the rest of the war. All the churches and religious communities believed that simultaneous prayers throughout the nation would achieve the spiritual mobilization

¹⁰⁴ See also Williamson, 'National days of prayer'.

¹⁰⁵ For a long perspective, see Hugh McLeod, 'Protestantism and British national identity, 1815–1945', in *Nation and religion*, ed. Peter van der Veer and Hartmut Lehman (Princeton, NJ, 1999), pp. 44–70.

and the acceptance of God's purposes without which the war could not be won. For each of them, participation in special acts of worship welcomed by the king as the head of the nation expressed their commitment to the war effort, and registered their place in national life – for the established churches their claim to leadership, for the other churches and communities an assertion of the equal significance of their worship.

National days of prayer were prominent features of religious and public life during the two world wars. As both wars proceeded, the days of prayer became more elaborate and more frequent – two in some years, rather than the annual observances originally intended. During the First World War, this was a consequence of movements that wanted a revival of the days of humiliation of the mid-nineteenth century, appointed by royal proclamation and held not on a Sunday but a weekday, with work and worldly tasks replaced for a whole day by prayer and by spiritual commitment to God's will. These movements started soon after the outbreak of war; mass petitioning campaigns began in Scotland during 1915, and during the next three years the Evangelical Alliance organized a succession of appeals from the heads of protestant churches in all parts of the United Kingdom. Paradoxically, these movements originated within churches which had in the past rejected state orders in matters of worship, while the archbishop of Canterbury now became the chief defender of religious voluntarism. At root were two different religious perspectives. Those who wanted days of humiliation regarded the terrible scale and costs of the war – the immense loss of life, the huge numbers of injured and bereaved, and prolonged military deadlock – as a divine judgment of exceptional severity, which required extraordinary action by the nation's leaders: a great corporate demonstration of penitence ordered by the state to appease God's wrath, and prayers of petition for an act of divine intervention to secure victory. Davidson did not expect such a special providential intervention, and regarded united prayers approved by the sovereign on a particular Sunday as sufficient to express the nation's trust in God, and its faith in a righteous outcome of the general providential order. Pragmatically, he knew that Liberal government ministers were opposed to any state order; would not allow use of the word 'humiliation', which enemy and neutral nations might interpret as acceptance of guilt for causing the war; and would not order a mid-week suspension of war production. Consequently, Davidson improvised a succession of more elaborate acts to meet the pressures for more frequent and fuller appeals to God: two days of religious preparation and an appeal for civic services on the next national day of prayer (1916–1); appointment of special services for anniversaries of the outbreak of war (1916–2, 1917–1); a personal call by the king for a national day of prayer throughout the empire (1918–1); and appointment of the war anniversary as another national day of prayer, with a national service attended by the king, government and parliament (1918–2).

The two national days of prayer in 1918 were regarded as great successes – by many as impressive religious and public occasions, and by some as explanations of the allied victory. This type of special worship had now achieved wide acceptance, from the king and government to most of those who would have preferred days of humiliation.¹⁰⁶ It shaped the day of thanksgiving for the peace treaty (1919–1), was repeated during further crises between the wars (1932–1, 1938–1 and a thanksgiving,

¹⁰⁶ See, however, 1921–E3, 1931–S and 1932–E. With a different meaning of humility before the military task, Churchill later asked for 'humiliation' to be used for national days of prayer: see 1941–1 and 1942–2, in the last case causing Archbishop Lang to explain publicly why the term had been avoided.

1938–2) and became an expected public event during the Second World War. The pressures for more numerous and varied national days of prayer during this war were different. The stark spiritual and ideological challenge of Nazism; the desperate fight for national independence under aerial attacks, threats of invasion and shortages of food, oil and other necessities; successive defeats of allies and German occupation of much of continental Europe; and the imperatives of preserving public morale, mobilizing the whole nation and empire, and offering hope to conquered and persecuted peoples and prospective new allies – all these factors contributed to the state taking as active a part in special worship as it had during the wars of previous centuries, though implemented in different ways. The king, Churchill as prime minister and government departments now asked the archbishops of Canterbury to organize national days of prayer or other special prayers or services, and from 1940, national days of prayer were ostensibly appointed by the king's 'desire'. After originally planning that, in contrast to the First World War, the annual national day of prayer would not be at the new year but on a Sunday close to the anniversary of the outbreak of war, Lang was persuaded by the war crisis of May 1940 to appoint another – which encouraged Churchill and Archbishop Temple of York to expect two national days of prayer each year during 1941 and 1942. However, once Temple became archbishop of Canterbury he worried that the greater frequency would mean loss of effect, with these days becoming little different from ordinary Sundays, and failing to increase the numbers of regular worshippers. He therefore revived the idea that a special day of worship would be more impressive and reach more people if it were held in the middle of the week, with some suspension of ordinary work. Any lengthy interruption of the war effort could be avoided by the use of radio: as well as church services arranged before the start of the working day, during lunch breaks and in the evening, most of the nation could be asked to listen to and participate in a short service broadcast by the BBC. The mid-week national day of prayer on the anniversary in 1942 of the start of the war (1942–5) attracted considerable media interest, and succeeded in obtaining greater public participation than for previous days of prayer; it was repeated twelve months later, when the next war anniversary was also a weekday. However, this creation of a mid-week observance had two unintended consequences. First, it required so much effort from the churches and made such an impression that a second national day of prayer each year now seemed excessive, so during 1943 Temple reluctantly reverted to a single annual observance, which in the following year fell on a Sunday (1943–3, 1944–3). Second, the organization of mid-week observances required assistance from the government, and became absorbed into the procedures of civil servants, who assumed that appointment of any national day of prayer had become a matter of decision by ministers and the cabinet. This pre-conception of ministerial control meant that the wartime government treated thanksgiving days as a natural part of the celebrations for the end of the war in Europe and in the Far East (1945–1, 1945–2). Its Labour successor accepted Archbishop Fisher's request for another national day of prayer during the post-war domestic crisis (1947–1).

Yet this assumed reliance on the government also became a factor that inhibited the organization of further national days of prayer, as has been noted earlier (p. lxxviii). To Temple's annoyance, the government blocked his own plans for a national day of prayer in preparation for the allied invasion of Europe (although he organized a more limited day of prayer for the Church of England alone: see 1944–E2). In 1947, Archbishop Fisher summarized three possible types of appointment for special days of prayer: a call by the king, a 'summons put out jointly by the Heads of the Christian

Churches' and a call by the archbishop of Canterbury, with other denominations given advance notice and invited to issue 'similar calls for their own people'.¹⁰⁷ He took it for granted that a call by the king could not now be made just by request of the archbishop of Canterbury, but required formal advice from the prime minister. When after the Suez and Hungarian crises of 1956 the cabinet in January 1957 rejected another appointment of a national day of prayer, in one sense this marked the end of this type of special worship. But as will be explained below (p. cvii) there were further reasons: the archbishops no longer believed that national days of prayer could be meaningful when a large part of the nation had ceased to attend church or to believe in God. The term 'national day of prayer' continued to be used occasionally, but in the more limited sense of an occasion agreed among church leaders.

The wartime national days of prayer had a wider significance. They created a habit of consultation among church leaders which was formative for other types of 'national prayers': the signing of joint calls for special prayers and the establishment of Remembrance Sunday. These consultations also made some contribution to the growth of ecumenical movements: the Lambeth appeal for Christian unity in 1920, discussions for unions of protestant churches in England and Scotland, various interdenominational movements and in time the formation of the BCC and CTBI.

Broadcasts

Broadcasts were also important for the 'nationalization' of special worship. Most obviously, they instantly communicated the conduct of the 'national services' in St Paul's Cathedral or Westminster Abbey throughout the United Kingdom, and also to the empire and commonwealth. BBC radio broadcasts of these services started with the thanksgiving for George V's recovery from illness in 1929, and continued for the leading royal occasions considered in this volume – jubilees, funerals and coronations (and also for royal weddings). Television broadcasts for the royal events recorded in this volume began with a memorial service for George VI in a London church in 1952,¹⁰⁸ and the transmission of the coronation ceremony in 1953 made an enormous public impression. Cathedral services were broadcast for the thanksgivings for Scottish church reunion in 1929, and for thanksgivings during and at the end of the Second World War. For some occasions, beginning with George V's silver jubilee in 1935, services in cathedrals in Northern Ireland and Wales were also broadcast. The national services from the 1970s have usually also been broadcast by the second national television network, ITV. In addition to the 'outside' broadcasts, for the chief national acts of special worship from the 1930s to the 1950s the BBC arranged its own services and talks, not just on the date itself but often on earlier days in preparation for the occasion and – if it was in the middle of the week – on a related Sunday. In accordance with the remit and aims of the Religious Broadcasting Department of the BBC, these broadcasts were representative of the leading British churches. Indeed, during the 1930s and 1940s, the BBC itself became an important element in shaping public religion. As it assumed 'the essential unity of the Christian Churches' and regarded its religious broadcasting as a 'great contribution to Christian unity', it tended to promote a style of undenominational Christianity, sometimes called 'BBC

¹⁰⁷ Fisher to Attlee, 24 Mar. 1947, PREM8/617.

¹⁰⁸ The very first televised royal event (recorded and transmitted in the evening, rather than live) was for the wedding of Princess Elizabeth and Prince Philip on 20 November 1947.

religion’ or ‘radio religion’.¹⁰⁹ The main BBC services were interdenominational protestant services. For the succession of royal jubilee, funeral and coronation from 1935 to 1937 and again for the 1953 coronation, they were conducted jointly in BBC studios or concert halls by leading members of the Church of England, the Church of Scotland and the FCFC. Similar joint services were mounted for the national days of prayer from 1939 to 1944 and for the days of thanksgiving in 1945, accompanied by a separate session for the Roman catholic church, either a talk by the senior archbishop or a service. Details of these broadcasts are given in commentaries, and a consolidated list is provided in Appendix 9. Some calls for and texts of special prayers may also have been broadcast during the ordinary Sunday religious broadcasts, although these are not normally recorded in the sources. During the Second World War, a number of special prayers on behalf of allied or occupied nations in Europe were intended to be broadcast to these nations, as well as said in British churches: the purpose was to publicize British spiritual solidarity with these nations, and petitions for God’s assistance for all those resisting Nazism and fascism.

The broadcast services were not regarded as replacements for attendance in churches and chapels, nor were they originally intended for passive listening or watching. Church leaders as well as the BBC’s Religious Broadcasting Department treated them as additions to the special services in churches; listeners and, later, viewers were encouraged to involve themselves in the acts of worship transmitted by radio and television. For most occasions, the texts of the forms of service for the outside broadcasts from places of worship and for the studio services were published during the preceding week in the *Radio Times* and in newspapers,¹¹⁰ to enable listeners or viewers to follow the service and to join in reciting the prayers and responses, and in singing the hymns and psalms. For royal events from 1935 to 1937 and in 1953, forms of prayer for the studio services were published well in advance by the BBC, and made available for sale. Broadcasts, it was thought, enhanced national acts of worship and increased the levels of public participation. They could reach and engage more people, at home and in other venues, and it was hoped that they would attract more of them to attend places of worship and to become regular worshippers. These were central aims of the mid-week national days of prayer in September 1942 and September 1943, with loudspeakers used to reach listeners in workplaces, schools and public squares.

There was, however, an obvious risk that some people might treat the broadcast services as substitutes for joining the worship in churches.¹¹¹ The churches therefore tried to ensure that the broadcasts were supplements to, rather than replacements for, the church services. From the first broadcasts of national services in 1929, many clergy arranged for them to be heard in their churches or church halls. For the broadcasts of the 1937 coronation, the BBC agreed to allow its broadcasts to be heard through

¹⁰⁹ *BBC handbook 1941*, p. 20; *ibid.*, 1942, p. 60. For further information on the character of the BBC’s religious broadcasting and particularly on transmissions for national days of prayer during the 1940s, see Kenneth M. Wolfe, *The churches and the British Broadcasting Corporation 1922–1956* (1984), and Hannah Elias, ‘Radio religion: war, faith and the BBC, 1939–1948’, Ph.D. thesis, McMaster University, 2016.

¹¹⁰ It is indicative that after the sudden death of George VI, the BBC rushed out a free supplement to the *Radio Times* (9–16 Feb. 1952), so that the text of its interdenominational memorial service, as well as schedules revised for further memorial broadcasts, the lying-in-state and the funeral, could be available for listeners.

¹¹¹ For opinion poll evidence for 1938–47 that this was occurring in general terms, see Clive Field, ‘Puzzled people revisited: religious believing and belonging in wartime Britain, 1939–45’, *Twentieth Century British History*, 19 (2008), 465–7.