

## **Remember Me: a liturgical, theological and social history surrounding two nineteenth-century chalices from Churches of Christ in Australia.**

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In the late nineteenth century Hawthorn Church of Christ had a pair of matching chalices for use in their weekly Lord's Supper. They do not appear to be the work of an artist silversmith, but were most likely mass-produced in electro-plated nickel silver and factory-engraved to be purchased by any church on a budget. Unremarkable in aesthetic and manufacture, these artefacts may be read for theological, social and institutional history as they intersect with the liturgy of the worshipping community. Central to the congregations' weekly sacrament, they cannot be overlooked in the development of the church's identity as a denomination, inscribing as they do, the congregation's name on the side. When brought into conversation with the sacramental theology of a religious movement which was intentionally unbound by tradition and welcoming of newcomers from other churches, the engraving on the reverse, "Remember Me", must be read not merely as a paraphrase of Christ's command to "do this in remembrance of me" but as a statement of a theological position standing against the winds of change. Amidst theological debate, the words spoken as the chalices were held aloft and then distributed among the faithful are lost to time because Churches of Christ were a lay movement without a formalised liturgy - but there are hymn books full of theological statement which, in turn, reveal significant discontinuities with the denomination's 'orthodoxy'. The chalices once held 'wine' – non-alcoholic only – and so the moral content of the cups and the implications for sacramental understandings are explored. Despite a theology which is suspicious of ritual and liturgy and has traditionally clung to Restoration and reason, in Churches of Christ the liturgy of the Lord's Supper has been a conduit for theological and social change as this study of the material objects associated with that ritual will demonstrate.

Within the Hawthorn Church of Christ the chalices would have been placed on the communion table along with a ewer and a white cloth. The communion table would have

been, in denominational tradition, in the centre of the raised platform at the front of the chapel. The Lord's Supper was celebrated at the mid-point of *every* worship service. As material objects their presence would have been central in time and place, and touched by every adult believer. Just in terms of shine and decorativeness, the chalices would have stood out amid the bare aesthetic of the Church of Christ. As a matching pair, they are indicative of some financial resources and the eldership's expectation of numerical growth. Indeed, they are not the modest communion cups of a "small inward-looking"<sup>1</sup> sect but of a church growing in confidence and aware of its position in the colony's religious landscape. Measuring eighteen centimetres high and eight centimetres in diameter, the chalices are covered in engraving, the most striking of which being the words on the sides of each of the cups.



*Pair of chalices from the Australian Churches of Christ Historical Society Archive. The left one is turned to show the engraving 'Remember Me'. The right shows 'Church of Christ Hawthorn'. (Source: Photo by the author.)*

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<sup>1</sup> Graeme Chapman, *One Lord, One Faith, One Baptism* (Melbourne: Vital, 1979), 10.

### *The cups' church identity*

On one side of the cups they are engraved, "Church of Christ Hawthorn". Such self-conscious denominational branding seems a world away from the modest tent gatherings for the 'breaking of bread' which characterised the religious movement a few decades earlier when it arrived with the Victorian gold rush. The engraving of "Church of Christ Hawthorn", beyond mere insurance against theft, suggests a congregation certain of its identity and place within the movement. Unlike many Churches of Christ in Australia in the 1800s, the congregation at Hawthorn did not originate outside the movement. It was not originally a Baptist church as the congregation at Newstead in the state of Victoria had been before the arrival of travelling evangelist Stephen Cheek who persuaded the entire congregation to switch denominations, nor a German Baptist Church as the congregation at Zillmere in Queensland had been before the same evangelist visited.<sup>2</sup> Nor was it a church such as Wedderburn which had come across the denominational journal, *British Millennial Harbinger*, and, being so persuaded by its Restorationist argument, established themselves as a Church of Christ. Nor was it a former independent Christian Church as was Kersbrook in South Australia.<sup>3</sup> All these churches, and many like them, had lingering attachments to other religious causes. But the church at Hawthorn could have no doubt about its identity and purpose. It was composed of "a few brethren and sisters living in Hawthorn, Kew, and surrounding districts, feeling the inconvenience of going into Melbourne on the Lord's Day for worship, [who] met and resolved to assemble together in Hawthorn".<sup>4</sup> They were denominationally aligned before their establishment as the Hawthorn Church of Christ.

However, while the group of worshippers dated their origins from 1873, meeting weekly for Lord's Supper, they officially constituted themselves as a church ten years later and didn't have the use of a chapel until 1886 (which is most likely when they invested in matching chalices). This lack of institution does not indicate a corresponding lack of

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<sup>2</sup> Maston, ed., *Jubilee Pictorial History of Churches of Christ in Australasia* (Melbourne: Austral Printing and Publishing Company, 1903), 270 and 122.

<sup>3</sup> Lori McDonald, "Formation of the Kersbrook Church of Christ," *Australian Churches of Christ Historical Society's Historical Digest* Vol. 144 (August 2004): 1-4.

<sup>4</sup> Maston, 281.

identity or clarity of purpose, for they knew very well for what they stood. It is instead characteristic of a lay movement centred around the restoration of simple church practices observed in the New Testament.



**Officers of Hawthorn Church.**

*Top Row—R. H. BARDWELL, W. E. SMITH, JNO. COLLINGS, J. MCCOUGHTRY, R. C. EDWARDS, JOS. COLLINGS (Deacons).  
Bottom Row—J. EDWARDS, W. FINGER (Elders), MRS. J. MCCOUGHTRY, MRS. NORFOLK, MRS. STAGGARD (Deaconesses),  
W. H. BARDWELL (Elder), D. FIELDING (Deacon).*



*By 1903, when this photograph was taken, the church had an average attendance of 110 at worship on Sunday mornings and 210 for the evening “Gospel Service” at which an evangelist was employed to preach. Elders had spiritual oversight while deacons and deaconesses took care of all other matters of church governance.*

*(Source: Maston, ed., Jubilee Pictorial History of Churches of Christ in Australasia (Melbourne: Austral Printing and Publishing Company, 1903), 281.)*

***Restoration and the Lord’s Supper***

Restoring New Testament ways was the life work of Alexander Campbell (b.1788, N. Ireland - d.1866, U.S.A.), one of the founders of Churches of Christ (along with his father, former Presbyterian minister, Thomas Campbell (1763-1854)). He believed unity

was essential for the integrity of the then highly fractured church and for its mission to the world. Campbell held that discarding human religious innovations in favour of restored New Testament principles was the only way of achieving the necessary common ground. Placing a common-sense reading of the New Testament as authoritative beyond tradition and charisma, he argued that the bible was the text with which all Christians began, regardless of what path institutions had taken since. His writings, published in both Britain and North America in the early 1800s and distributed in colonial Australia, were the unifying link which saw Churches of Christ establish and form into a movement, albeit with disparate strands. Though not immune to disagreement from his independent-minded fellow churchmen, his was an articulate and powerful central voice with which to argue or agree. A brief examination of his writings on the practice of the Lord's Supper, which is so central to the denomination, provides some insight into Churches of Christ's Restorationist liturgy.

As a Restorationist, Campbell turned to Scripture for his model in re-imagining Lord's Supper practice and, in line with his preference for 'Bible words' rather than those of the church or 'theology', he argued (against his own occasional practice) that the ordinance not be called Lord's Supper at all. The term was imprecise, he claimed. He referred to 1 Corinthians 11:20 which distinguishes between supper and the breaking of bread and drinking of wine. More scriptural to call the ordinance 'Breaking the Loaf', argued Campbell:

As the calling of Bible things by Bible names is an important item in the present reformation, we may here take the occasion to remark, that both "the Sacrament" and "the Eucharist" are of human origin. It is also called the communion or "*the communion of the saints*;" but this might indicate that it is exclusively *the* communion of saints; and, therefore, it is more consistent to denominate it literally 'the breaking of the loaf.'<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Alexander Campbell, *The Christian System, in Reference to the Union of Christians and a Restoration of Primitive Christianity as Pleaded in the Current Reformation*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Pittsburgh, Pa: Forrester and Campbell, 1839), 319-320.

The distinction which Campbell made illustrates his general approach to Restorationism: plain-speaking, reasonable, inclusive in spirit. Indeed, spirit is central to the proper practice of the rite:

But much depends upon the *manner* of celebrating the supper. The simplicity of the Christian institution runs through every part of it. The well bred Christian is like the well bred gentleman--his manners are graceful, easy, artless, and simple ... in all the ceremonies of the table.<sup>6</sup>

For Restorationists, simplicity, solemnity and the spirit in which the ordinance was observed was more important than 'man-made' liturgical texts: indeed initially there were none. Campbell went on to conclude his writing on 'Breaking the Loaf' by giving a detailed description, but not a prescription, for a worship service. In brief, after songs and bible readings, the lay brother presiding stood at the table and reminded the faithful of the practice of the Apostles in breaking bread. He broke the single loaf and it was distributed. Then, giving thanks for the cup he passed it around, followed by a collection and prayers for the poor. More songs and extemporised prayers were interspersed with bible readings and the mutual exhortations of the faithful, followed by a benediction. All this was undertaken with "no formality, no pageantry".<sup>7</sup> Although, in the twentieth century, hygenic individual cups replaced the single chalice and the sermons of ordained ministers replaced mutual exhortation (and, in some cases, simultaneously added a degree more spectacle), the pattern of worship remains and the Lord's Supper retains its centrality in Churches of Christ today.

After terminology and spirit, there were other more contentious issues to be considered around Eucharistic practice: frequency, access and theology. Campbell answered all three issues in a single sentence:

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<sup>6</sup> Campbell, 340.

<sup>7</sup> Campbell, 342.

All Christians are members of the house or family of God, are called and constituted a holy and a royal priesthood, and may, therefore bless God for the Lord's Table, its loaf, and cup - approach it without fear and partake of it with joy as often as they please, in remembrance of the death of their Lord and Saviour.<sup>8</sup>

Frequency, access and theology have their own histories in Churches of Christ. Only frequency has remained constant, the Lord's Supper still being celebrated at each service (though individuals most often partake at only one service each week). Access varied over the years, beginning in Australia with restriction to only those baptised believers in good standing (in the estimation of the lay eldership) but developing under the spirit of unity and twentieth-century ecumenism to include *all Christians*.<sup>9</sup> Theology, like access, broadened and diversified as we shall see in the following discussion.

### ***The cups' use in maintaining theological purity***

On the other side of each of Hawthorn's cups it says "Remember Me" in capital letters. The words are simple and bold. They serve as a reminder to the theologically adventurous or the newly converted (whose numbers had begun to grow in the last two decades of the nineteenth century) of the church's much argued scriptural position on Lord's Supper. The presence of "Remember Me" on the cup from which the members drank signified a church sure of its sacramental position, and willing to defend it. Partaking from these vessels was, beyond faithful observance of the ordinance, an act of doctrinal agreement and a pledge of allegiance to the cause of Eucharistic 'remembrance only' theology. The material object here intersects and engages with the theological debate of its era.

The clarifying power of words has been central to the practice of Lord's Supper. While Protestant churches since the Reformation have emphasised the spoken, written and

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<sup>8</sup> Campbell, 317.

<sup>9</sup> Campbell did not think 'private consideration' made a Christian, but believer baptism. He did however set the example of partaking alongside all who came, and this graciousness grew throughout the movement in time to include, literally, 'all Christians'.

printed word above the “visual ritual”<sup>10</sup> of the Mass, Churches of Christ brought the clarifying power of words into the mystery of the sacrament and cleansed it of ‘superstition’. With the elements rendered mere ‘emblems’ or reminders, the power of the Lord’s Supper lay in the weekly recitation of the words of institution. Campbell was adamant that the practice was an act of remembrance only. In this, he is in line with Zwingli who argued against the real (bodily) presence of Christ in the bread and the wine (although Campbell was perhaps more directly influenced by exposure to the Scottish School of Common Sense and its philosophy of rationalist ‘common sense realism’). The strict memorialism of early Churches of Christ sacramental theology effectively stripped the ritual bare, leaving only scripture verse, memory and food.

However, Churches of Christ theology around Eucharist, despite its literal, rational and Restorationist intentions, was in practice sometimes nebulous. While Campbell’s preference for remembrance only was pervasive and was the majority understanding in the nineteenth-century, it was not exclusively practiced. Especially as lay people presided at the Lord’s Table, a variety of theologies were (and are still) heard in the churches. There were also other writers and thinkers in the denomination in the United States who argued at length with Campbell about the nature of the Lord’s Supper. Robert Milligan (1814-1875) and his contemporary Robert Richardson (who had been an Anglican) maintained there was a mystical dimension in communion. Influenced by the Anglicanism of the time, they tended strongly toward the notion of Lord’s Supper as ‘spiritual nourishment’.<sup>11</sup>

In Britain in the twentieth-century there was a decided shift toward Eucharistic presence (along with a change in vocabulary: ‘sacrament’ rather than ‘ordinance’) led by William Robinson (1888-1963). He argued that the Lord’s Supper was not merely commemorative or an aid to memory but a time of spiritual engagement with God. He insisted, in the Restorationist model, that there was no magic involved, stating that Christ

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<sup>10</sup> R. Kevin Seasoltz, *A Sense of the Sacred: Theological Foundations of Christian Architecture and Art*, (New York: Continuum, 2005), 204.

<sup>11</sup> Paul M. Blowers and Byron C. Lambert, “The Lord’s Supper”, in Douglas A. Foster, Paul M. Blowers, Anthony L. Dunnavant and D. Newell Williams, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2004), 493.



was not literally present in the material of the bread and the wine. However, he claimed that Christ became mystically real in the *act* of partaking.<sup>12</sup> His ideas, he believed, were not a departure from Restoration ideals but a natural development of existing thoughts within the movement (though the study of hymns to follow suggests that his ideas were lyrically pre-empted).

Australian theology developed under the influence of nineteenth century American and British leaders, finding its own path in the twentieth century. In 1980 Australian Churches of Christ theologian E. Lyall Williams (1906-1994) wrote:

While we speak of the bread and wine as symbols we regard them as more than symbols. In theological parlance the Supper, like baptism, is a means of grace. That is, God's blessing is mediated to us through our worship in the partaking of the bread and the wine. Through the Supper we are built into Christ.<sup>13</sup>

Of course, like Campbell more than a century before, his articulate and educated opinion was not defining for the average member. As Blowers and Lambert state,

One of the difficulties of describing observances of The Lord's Supper ... is that [the denomination's] growth into millions of congregants, combined with a persistent individualism and spirit of independence, have generated a variety of communal practices among them.<sup>14</sup>

It has often been said that there are almost as many opinions as communicants. While memorialism has endured as a sacramental theology, the denomination's determined lack of ecclesial and doctrinal controls, its preference for primitivism over systematic theology and its deliberately naïve approach to worship have allowed room for many other ideas to be absorbed into the liturgy.

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<sup>12</sup> Blowers and Lambert, 494.

<sup>13</sup> Edwin Lyall Williams, *Churches of Christ: An Interpretation* (Melbourne: Vital, 1980), 72.

<sup>14</sup> Blowers and Lambert, 491.

### *The cups' musical accompaniment: theology in song and among the people*

Hawthorn Church of Christ's position on Lord's Supper was confidently engraved on the cups. But what was the accompanying liturgy chosen and sung by the congregation over the years? Records do not exist to show us what hymns were sung each week as the faithful gathered but, considering the congregation's denominational orthodoxy, it is likely they were chosen from Churches of Christ sources. Those sources covered a wide range of sacramental positions, not all of them consonant with the bare memorialism of Alexander Campbell – and the 'Remember Me' cups.

Even while Churches of Christ in Australia eschewed the supposed pretensions of liturgy and theology in favour of plain biblical speaking, the hymnal had enormous effect as people drank in theology through song. Indeed, such was the value of the *Hymn Book* among congregations, some churches presented it to new members when they were baptised by immersion as believers - in place of the more traditional gift of a New Testament.<sup>15</sup> Hymnals thus exist as evidence of non-prescribed liturgy demonstrating religious understanding even as the official denominational position was articulated differently. The lyrics reveal theology as it was heard in the pews. The music aided theological 'absorption' (as it was hummed during the week while people went about their working lives), and expressed the tradition's largely working-class musical aesthetic.

A range of hymnals were produced for Churches of Christ in Australia, derived from British and American Churches of Christ sources as well as other denominations. The books have in common a larger than usual proportion of Lord's Supper hymns, reflecting the centrality of the ritual.<sup>16</sup> They also repeat a great number of hymns between editions pointing to a slow rate of change and generational sharing in the sentiments expressed. In 1887 *Psalms and Hymns* was published in Melbourne, Victoria, the hymns largely

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<sup>15</sup> Judith Raftery, "Singing en route to Beulah Land," *Australian Churches of Christ Historical Society's Historical Digest* 156 (May 2008): 2-5.

<sup>16</sup> For example, Australian Churches of Christ's 1957 hymnal dedicated one in fifteen hymns to communion. In their 1974 hymnal it was one in fourteen. The 1933 (1946 reprint) *English Hymnal* for use in the Anglican Church had only one in eighteen hymns, and the popular *Sacred Songs and Solos 1200 edition* by Ira Sankey had only one in one hundred and thirty-three.

sourced from the American branch of the denomination's *Christian Hymn Book* (1864) and the British Churches of Christ hymnal. Alongside Churches of Christ's own compositions, they include hymns by Watts, Wesley, Newton, Bonar and Doddridge. But no music was provided. In its place was direction to a range of tunes in other hymnals, with instruction to repeat, alter or omit lines to make the words fit - pity the organist.<sup>17</sup> In 1931 another hymnal was produced, and again in 1957 and 1974.

Not until 1976, just three years before Hawthorn Church of Christ closed for lack of members as people moved out of Melbourne's inner suburbs, were tunes fixed firmly to hymns with publication of a 'music edition' of the hymn book. Hawthorn thus existed in a period in which music was always interchangeable and subject to the preferences of individuals - their theological and *musical* preferences. With laymen planning and leading worship services, their musical tastes inevitably influenced which words were sung. The practice of substituting tunes in three successive hymnbooks speaks of the tradition's disregard for the formalities of liturgy and, though it seems a contradiction, congregations' and lay leaders' willingness to engage creatively with that liturgy.

### ***Liturgy of contested lyrics***

Words were tacitly considered more contentious than music, and more powerful too as the lack of controls around tunes attests. It comes as no surprise then that, despite a generally low level of education among members and some undistinguished musical preferences, lyrics were examined and contested.

Theological variation in song, as it applies to Lord's Supper, is evident from early times. Prolific British hymn writer, Gilbert Y. Tickle died in 1888, just as he co-produced a hymnal for use in British Churches of Christ. Tickle (1818-1888) was a powerful individual in a church which, without institutional hierarchy, could be swayed by personality. He had been the head of the movement in Britain, taking up the year-long

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<sup>17</sup> Frank J. Funston, "Notes on our Hymnals", *The Digest of the Australian Churches of Christ Historical Society* Vol. 19 (May 1967): 4. Funston notes that some churches did not own organs or were doctrinally opposed to instrumental music in the nineteenth century under the influence of the American *a capella* movement within Churches of Christ.

position as President of the Conference of Churches of Christ in Britain numerous times in the years between 1859 and 1880. Just two verses from Tickle's "Another week with all its cares hath flown" illustrate a variety of theological positions:

Jesus, our great High Priest, our Sacrifice! / Our Passover! rich Gift of love divine! / With Thee we would into the Holiest rise, / Communing with Thee in the bread and the wine.

O what a feast ineffable is this! / Thy table spread with more than angel's food! / Angels, the highest, never taste the bliss - / The dear communion of Thy flesh and blood.<sup>18</sup>

Tickle's lyrics consistently speak of spiritual nourishment, atonement, the bread and wine as a pledge for divine promises and Lord's Supper as communion with God.<sup>19</sup> The introduction of a developed form of this last idea into British Churches of Christ is usually attributed to William Robinson; though he was born the year the hymnal was published and perhaps raised singing it. Such hymns as Tickle's were sung by generations of Australians.

Although there is a range of theological viewpoints found in the church's hymns, resulting in some apparent inconsistency<sup>20</sup>, there is evidence of thoughtful negotiation. In the 1957 *Churches of Christ Hymn Book* there are lyrics by writers of various religious backgrounds and a range of theological understanding. William Robinson's preference for spiritual nourishment via the bread and the wine features in a third of the Lord's Supper hymns. However, Campbell's interpretation of strict commemoration dominates: twenty-six of the fifty-two hymns sing of remembrance. It is carefully balanced: that exactly half the hymns in 1957 mention the theme of commemoration is unlikely to be a coincidence. When the 1974 edition was published a third of hymns were removed or

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<sup>18</sup> Gilbert Y. Tickle, "Another week with all its cares hath flown" in (Australian) *Churches of Christ Hymn Book*, ed. Robert Lyall, et al. (Melbourne: Austral Printing and Publishing Company, 1957), hymn no. 231.

<sup>19</sup> For examples see hymn numbers 231, 258, 283, and 286 in *Churches of Christ Hymn Book*, 1957.

<sup>20</sup> Judith Raftery describes this inconsistency as, "a telling expression of the intentionally undeveloped nature of the movement's theology and doctrine and its consequent ability to absorb a variety of influences". J. Raftery, "Jesus in Twentieth Century Evangelical Hymnody" (unpublished thesis, Flinders University, 2007).

replaced yet the proportion of commemoration lyrics remained the same. The need to balance the hymn selection so precisely speaks of ongoing tension over interpretation.

Despite evidence of careful negotiation over sacramental theology in the Australian Churches of Christ's hymn books, musical practice has often pre-empted or made diffuse the denomination's doctrinal articulation. This has gone largely unnoticed by the denomination's historians who, reflecting their tradition's suspicion of liturgy, bypassed the hymnal and looked only to preachers for evidence of theological development. But the liturgy, negotiated among the laity and spoken and sung by the people each week, is surely at least as reliable a guide to the denomination's theology in practice as the heated argument of individual preachers' polemic, preferred by the denomination's historians (all of whom have been preachers themselves). In the light of the people's liturgy, the cups' engraving must be read not as a sure statement of denominational orthodoxy and particularity but as a contested position originating with the denomination's foundation but under threat of erosion ever since.

### ***The cups' moral content***

Along with the words, 'Church of Christ Hawthorn' and 'Remember Me', Hawthorn's communion chalices are engraved extensively with vine leaves, symbolic of the cups' traditional contents. Yet the cups at Hawthorn would never have contained real wine. Just as Churches of Christ's theology of Eucharist held (at least in part) to 'remembrance', so the vine leaves engraved on the cups remained a mere 'remembrance' of wine. Anti-liquor campaigning grew up alongside Churches of Christ, rising in the early 1800s to political prominence in the last few decades of that century. In many Churches of Christ, the work of Temperance fitted neatly alongside the work of saving souls and eventually led to involvement in much greater social service. It did however raise an apparent contradiction between the movement's insistence on biblical literalism around Lord's Supper and their moral insistence on the non-use of wine. A solution was found at first in unfermented grape juice. Restorationism's literalism in using wine disappeared under the moral weight of wowserism amid much convoluted biblical interpretation and corrupted hermeneutic all of which attempted to give scriptural

sanction to the non-scriptural use of non-alcoholic ‘wine’.<sup>21</sup> Meanwhile, the acceptable range of substitute substances grew. In the late nineteenth-century Churches of Christ’s denominational printing press actually ran a small side-business distributing unfermented grape juice (along with rubberised ‘Baptismal Trousers’, thus representing the two sacraments observed by the church). By the late twentieth-century blackcurrant cordial was sometimes used: it tasted pleasant, was the right sort of colour and had a long shelf life. Many congregations have made do with less convincing non-alcoholic substitutes.<sup>22</sup>

To eliminate any confusion, however improbable given Australian Churches of Christ’s public stance against alcohol, the word ‘wine’ was rarely used in the liturgy. Separating the vocabulary of Temperance and sacrament neatly avoided confusing the sacramental representation of Christ’s blood with morally corrupt alcohol. When speaking of Lord’s Supper, ‘wine’ was frequently replaced metonymically with ‘the cup’<sup>23</sup>, though the sacramental bread was never called ‘the plate’. Following New Testament tradition, the vessel stood in linguistic place of its contents, which were once innocent (indeed the innocence of the blood sacrifice is integral to the narrative of atonement) but had become, in the light of Temperance, potentially contentious. Necessarily some of the narrative power of the now questionably innocent wine/blood was sacrificed to the cause of anti-alcohol campaigning. An undeveloped liturgy could be adaptable – even while Restorationist interpretation resisted and moral concerns remained firm.

### ***Remember Me***

Hawthorn’s pair of chalices was used in one time and place yet their story intertwines with the liturgical, social and theological history of Churches of Christ in Australia, depending so much, as that story does, on the weekly practice of Lord’s Supper. With

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<sup>21</sup> Daniel Sack, *Whitebread Protestants: Food and Religion in American Culture* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 16-19.

<sup>22</sup> The substitution of the material substance of the elements seemed to raise few theological problems for Churches of Christ. Indeed Alexander Campbell did not write on the matter. However Temperance did not herald the beginning of substitutions: see Paul Gibson, “Eucharistic Food – May We Substitute?” *Worship* Vol. 76:5 (Sept 2002). As well as discussing the history of substitution and its theological considerations, Gibson takes time in his article to criticise the Australian practice of using blackcurrant Ribena.

<sup>23</sup> For example, *Australian Christian Pioneer* (June 1, 1879): 253. ‘The cup’ is also used in numerous Churches of Christ publications produced to guide laymen in presiding over the Lord’s Table in the early and mid-twentieth century.

the congregation's name on the side, the cups articulate the certain identity of a confident and growing church, for which Lord's Supper was central and defining. As mass-produced artefacts, engraved and adapted for Churches of Christ, they are symbolic of the tension between the move toward the Protestant mainstream and the maintenance of denominational distinctiveness. Likewise, their non-alcoholic contents represent the disjuncture between Restorationist reading and the shared Protestant concern of Temperance which also led the way out of sectarianism and into social co-operation. The cups step unexpectedly into theological debate with their bold 'Remember Me' assertion even, as comparison with the music of the time reveals, the position's certainty began to fade in the glow of new ideas and old hymns. The Lord's Supper, though initially stripped of mysticism and complexity, has incorporated multiple interpretations which rest uneasily with the persistent primitivist simplicity of 'Remember Me'. Through all this, the deliberately undeveloped liturgy has quietly permitted, ahead of sanctioned theology, a permeability around the denomination's sacramental understanding. In this context, 'Remember Me' needs to be read not only as denominational doctrine but as a tempering of the theologically porous liturgy, written into the ritual's material objects. The story of two unremarkable nineteenth century chalices intersects with Churches of Christ's development as a denomination and its central liturgy which, while retaining much of its nineteenth century simplicity, has been a creative conduit for change all around.