

Influence of  
foreigners.

bus vere pœnitentibus (qui videlicet agnitis peccatis suis cum sui accusatione gratiam ipsius per nomen Christi Domini implorant) omnia ipsorum peccata prorsus condonet atque aboleat . . . omnibus, inquam, vobis qui ita affecti estis denuncio, fiducia promissionum Christi, vestra peccata omnia in cœlo a Deo Patre nostro modis plane omnibus remissa esse.

Hooper mentions à-Lasco as alone standing on his side of all the foreigners who had any influence.<sup>1</sup> He was named among the thirty-two commissioners to frame ecclesiastical laws.<sup>2</sup> When the change came and England was no longer a congenial sphere, he returned to work on the Continent and left England, September 15, 1553.<sup>3</sup>

Lutheran  
Kirchen-  
Ordnungen.

It has proved very easy to over-estimate influence of foreign reformed services upon the English Rites. Apart from the *Consultation* and the Lutheran Litany, where the indebtedness is evident, and in the former case traceable to a widely current English version of that document, the parallelisms are vague. The above extracts show this to be so even in the case of documents which must have been well-known in England. Jacobs<sup>4</sup> from the Lutheran standpoint and Gasquet from the Roman Catholic standpoint have multiplied references to many of the countless host of German Kirchen-Ordnungen published between 1523 and 1552: but most of the similarities are slight and such as naturally occur in documents as similar as these are in purpose and origin. The family likeness, such as it is, is collateral, not lineal.

<sup>1</sup> *Orig. Letters*, p. 95. Hooper to Bullinger (Aug. 1, 1551).

<sup>2</sup> *Orig. Letters*, p. 503, Martyr to Bullinger (March 8, 1552).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 512. See further Hard-

wick, *Reformation*, (London, 1886) pp 70, 82 and ff. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, and for his early life, Dalton, *John à-Lasco*.  
<sup>4</sup> *The Lutheran Movement in England*, pp. 218 & ff.

## CHAPTER V.

## THE ELIZABETHAN PRAYER BOOK.

THE death of Edward VI (July 6, 1553), the collapse of the attempt of Lady Jane Grey to mount the throne, and the accession of Mary left no room for doubt as to the immediate fate of the English Prayer Book. It was practically buried with Edward when a month later, by way of compromise, while Gardiner performed a Requiem Mass before the Queen and Council in the Tower, Cranmer performed his funeral in Westminster Abbey on August 8 with the Burial Service and Communion from the Prayer Book.<sup>1</sup> For some time longer the English book remained in possession as the only Service-book in legal use, and for a moment there was some possibility that the compromise adopted over Edward's lifeless body might be continued for the peace of the Church:<sup>2</sup> but soon controversy broke out with too raging a flame to stop short of the destruction of the adversary. The Government moved slowly, while unauthorized zeal, as once before, anticipated the law, in introducing the Latin services into the churches in imitation of the Royal

\* In Mary's  
Reign.\* A moment of  
compromise.\* Zeal out-  
runs law.

<sup>1</sup> Dixon, iv. p. 10. 'First Proclamation about Religion'

<sup>2</sup> No prohibition of the English service was suggested by the Queen's LXXII. *Doc. Ann.* XXVIII.

In Mary's  
Reign.

Chapel. The Universities were the scenes of the first official action and a complete transformation both of rites and persons was speedily effected.<sup>1</sup>

In the midst of the excitement of change it was rumoured that Cranmer had promised to say the Latin Mass and had restored it in his own Cathedral. This drew from him a passionate repudiation of the suggestion, and a bold though exaggerated offer to defend in disputation the English Service against the Latin one as not being in accordance with scripture and antiquity.<sup>2</sup> This brought him to the Tower, (September 14), and was the signal also for the flight of Peter Martyr, à-Lasco and the company of foreigners who had sheltered in England. It was not till the close of the year that Mary's First Act of Repeal abolished the nine Acts which regulated the Edwardian settlement and restored from December 20 onward 'all such Divine Service and administration of sacraments as were most commonly used in the realm of England in the last year of our late sovereign Lord King Henry VIII.'<sup>3</sup> It is noticeable that this Act made no step towards Rome or Popery: that was reserved for the Second Act of Repeal of the close of 1554, which restored, and more than restored, the earlier state of things in 1529 before the breach with Rome began.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dixon iv. 33.

<sup>2</sup> 'I will and by the might of God shall be ready at all times to prove against all that would say the contrary, that all that is said in the Holy Communion . . . is conformable to that order which our Saviour Christ did both observe and command to be observed: which also His Apostles and primitive Church used many years: whereas the Mass in many things not only hath no foundation of Christ's Apostles nor the primitive Church, but also is manifestly contrary to the same and containeth in

it many horrible abuses.'

He with others to help him will maintain the Edwardian Prayer Book and Doctrine to be 'more pure and according to God's word than any other that hath been used in England these thousand years.' And, moreover, 'is the same that was used fifteen hundred years past.' *Works*, i. 429. See Dixon, iv. 37 and ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Gee and Hardy. *Documents*, LXXIII. p. 379. The two Rites were to be allowed side by side till Dec. 20.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* LXXVI.

The Prayer  
Book sup-  
pressed.

In Mary's  
Reign.

The change of Rite was still further emphasized, when the Act became operative, by royal proclamation.<sup>1</sup>

From this time forward the history of the Prayer Book is traced at Frankfort. Thither Pullain fled with his companions, when the refugees of various nations were driven from their homes in England, while others found shelter at Emden under the wing of à-Lasco, or at Strasburg of Martyr, or at Zurich of Bullinger, or at Geneva of Calvin. Those at Frankfort formed a considerable body. The magistrates had already assigned a church for the use of the French Protestant congregation: and when the company of English exiles settled there, they were allowed to use the same church on alternate days in the week, and at different times on the Sunday. A stipulation was, however, made that the English Service was to be brought somewhat into agreement with the French Order.<sup>2</sup> On this understanding Knox was invited to act as their minister; but a rival party were anxious to retain as fully as possible the English Prayer Book, and a hot and long controversy ensued. A description of the English Service-book was sent to Calvin to elicit the expression of his disapproval.<sup>3</sup> It is a painfully interesting document, and the first of a long series of expressions of dislike to ritual observances,

The history  
abroad.

French  
English con-  
gregations of  
exiles at  
Frankfort.

<sup>1</sup> Machyn's *Diary*, 50.

<sup>2</sup> The actual result of this was that 'the Englishe order was perused and this by general consent was concluded that the answeringe aloude after the Minister shulde not be vsed, the letanye, surplice and many other things also omitted: . . . in place of the Englishe confession . . . an other bothe off more effecte and also framed accordinge to the state and time. And the same done the people to sing a psalme in meetre: . . . that don the minister to praye for the assistance off gods holie spirite

and so to proceade to the sermon.

After the sermon a generall praier . . . the lord's praier and a rehearsal off tharticles off oure belieff. Which ended the people to sing an other psalme as afore. Then the minister pronouncing this blessinge The peace off God &c or some other off like effect, the people to departe.' *Troubles begun at Frankfort* (reprint of 1846), pp. vi, vii; cp. p. cxvii. The "Liturgy of Compromise" is printed in *The Second Prayer Book* (Ch. Service Soc. Edition 1905).

<sup>3</sup> See Additional Note IV. p. 129.

Restoration  
of the  
Reformation.

to primitive institutions and Apostolical order, which unhappily forms a large item in the future history of the Book of Common Prayer. A series of conflicts and compromises followed, and an attempt, made by the magistrates of the town to end the disputes by ordering all to conform to the French Order, rather naturally came to nothing. Finally the party of the Prayer Book, led by Cox and Whitehead, conquered, and the dissidents departed with Whittingham to Basel or with Knox to Geneva, leaving the congregation at Frankfort to quarrel for the future on other subjects till their time of exile was done.<sup>1</sup>

Accession of  
Elizabeth.

On the accession of Elizabeth (November 17, 1558) the people generally were more prepared to receive the religious teaching of the Reformers than they had been in the time of Henry, or even of Edward. The Protestant divines, who remained alive, came forth from their hiding-places, and with others who now returned from the Continent began once more to occupy the pulpits. The conduct of the Queen was marked by extreme caution, and the wish to strike a balance between the views, which held the field as a legacy from Queen Mary's reign, and the new views, which the exulting reformers were burning to proclaim. Whatever were her own views, it was more important that the Queen should hold her hand and watch the opposing parties than that she should act.<sup>2</sup> The Mass, therefore, still continued even in the Queen's chapel. An English Litany<sup>3</sup> was however meanwhile being used in the Chapel Royal. This was still legal, and the one form of English public service which is known to have been issued in Queen Mary's time: it might therefore the

Cautious  
Measures.<sup>1</sup> Dixon, iv. 684 and ff.<sup>2</sup> Frere, *Eng. Ch.* v. 4 and ff.<sup>3</sup> Il Schifanoja reported this (*State Papers, Venetian*) on Dec. 17, 1558.Restoration  
of the  
Reformation.

more easily be used by Elizabeth without offence, especially if the lead of the Marian Litany was followed, in omitting the petition for deliverance from the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities.<sup>1</sup>

About Christmas time a very important State paper of questions and advices was prepared,<sup>2</sup> suggesting the mode in which the alteration of religion could be most safely brought about. The 'manner of doing of it' is advised to be determined by a consultation of 'such learned men as be meet to show their minds herein; and to bring a plat or book thereof, ready drawn, to her Highness: which being approved of her Majesty, may be so put into the Parliament House: to the which for the time it is thought that these are apt men, Dr. Bill, Dr. Parker, Dr. May, Dr. Cox, Mr. Whitehead, Mr. Grindal, Mr. Pilkington; and Sir Thomas Smith do call them together and to be amongst them . . .'; and meanwhile to prohibit 'all innovation, until such time as the book come forth; as well that there be no often changes in religion, which would take away authority in the common people's estimation, as also to exercise the Queen's Majesty's subjects to obedience.' Another question is propounded, 'What may be done of her Highness for her own conscience openly, before the whole alteration; or, if the alteration must tarry longer, what order be fit to be in the whole realm, as an *Interim*?' To which it is replied: 'To alter no further than her Majesty hath, except it be to receive the communion as her Highness pleaseth on high

First steps  
towards a  
revival of  
the Reform-  
ation.<sup>1</sup> The Marian Litany is at the see below for the whole question, in British Museum (C. 25. b. 10). The chapter xi., p. 421.<sup>2</sup> For the 'Device for alteration of religion' see Burnet (ed. Pocock), v. 497; and for its relation to other similar papers of the time, see Gee, *Services of Q. Elizabeth*, p. 1. And *Elizabethan, P.B.*, pp. 5-31.

Restoration  
of the  
Reformation.Proclama-  
tion for-  
bidding  
preaching.Sanctioning  
the Litany  
in English.

feasts : and that where there be more chaplains at mass, that they do always communicate in both kinds : and for her Highness's conscience till then, if there be some other devout sort of prayers, or Memory said, and the seldomer mass.' This advice was acted upon. To put an end to the disorders that had arisen from violent sermons on both sides, preaching was forbidden by a proclamation<sup>1</sup> (December 27, 1558), which allowed the Gospel and Epistle, and the Ten Commandments, to be read in English, but without any exposition ; and forbade 'any other manner of public prayer, rite, or ceremony in the church, but that which is already used, and by law received, or the common Litany used at this present in her Majesty's own chapel, and the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed in English, until consultation may be had by Parliament. . . .'<sup>2</sup> Besides the introduction of the Litany in English into her own chapel, the Queen had made some stipulations in her hearing of Mass :<sup>3</sup> for example

<sup>1</sup> Strype, *Annals*, Append. iv. or *Doc. Ann.* XLII. Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 43. Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, LXXVII. Cp. Wriothesley, II. 143. On the extensive and somewhat indefinite authority arrogated to proclamations at this period, see Hallam, *Const. Hist.* i. 320 (236) and ff.

<sup>2</sup> In consequence of this there appeared on Jan. 1 'The Litany, used in the Queen's Majesty's chapel, according to the tenor of the Proclamation, 1559'; it is reprinted in *Lit. Services of Q. Elizabeth* (Parker Soc.), p. 9. A 'Confession' is prefixed, being the Confession in the Communion Service adapted to individual use : after the prayer, 'We humbly beseech thee, O Father,' &c. follows 'A prayer for the Queen's Majesty ;' then the prayer for the clergy and people ; then 'A Prayer of Chrysostome.' and 'ii. Cor. xiii.' with the note, 'Here endeth the Litany used in the Queen's Chapel.' After this are prayers, 'For Rain, if the time require,' 'For fair Weather,' 'In the time of Dearth or Famine,' 'In the time of War,' 'In the time of any common Plague or Sickness,' the collect, 'O God, whose nature and property,' &c., The Lord's Prayer, The Apostles' Creed, The Ten Commandments, Graces before and after meat ; ending with the words, 'God save the universal Church, and preserve our most gracious Queen Elizabeth, and the realm, and send us peace in our Lord Jesus, Amen.' This Litany, with its arrangement of collects, is an amended edition of the unauthorised Litany mentioned above. As it was printed for general use, other prayers were added, and the book was made to partake of the nature of a Primer.

<sup>3</sup> *Zurich Letters*, I. vi. Jewel to P. Martyr. Ap. 14, 1559.

Restoration  
of the  
Reformation.The modifi-  
cations of  
the Mass.Lord-Keep-  
er's Speech  
at the  
opening of  
Parliament.

on Christmas Day when Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle, was saying Mass before her, she sent a message to him during the singing of the *Gloria*, ordering him not to elevate the host, because she liked not the ceremony. The bishop refused and the Queen left after the Gospel : but on S. Stephen's day one of her chaplains was more compliant.<sup>1</sup> The ceremonies of the Coronation exhibited the same spirit of compromise (January 15, 1559). The actual coronation was performed by Bishop Oglethorpe in the old way, though perhaps the Litany was in English, just as at the Mass which followed the Epistle and Gospel were sung in English as well as Latin. Apparently the Dean of the Chapel Royal<sup>2</sup> celebrated, through the refusal of the bishops to adopt the Queen's use, and apparently the Queen did not communicate.<sup>3</sup>

The real policy of the Government was first revealed by the speech of the Lord-Keeper Bacon at the opening of Parliament (January 25, 1559) : that laws should be made 'for the according and uniting of these people of the Realm into an uniform order of Religion : . . . That nothing be advised or done which anyway in continuance of time were likely to breed or nourish any kind of Idolatry or Superstition' ; 'on the other side heed is to be taken, that by no Licentious or loose handling any manner of Occasion be given, whereby any contempt or irreverent behaviour towards God and Godly things, or any spice of irreligion, might creep in or be conceived.'<sup>4</sup> These were the views by which the alterations now made in the Prayer Book were being guided. With regard to

<sup>1</sup> Strype, *Annals*, I. ch. ii. p. 50 ; Heylyn, *Hist. Ref.* (Eccl. Hist. Soc.) II. p. 272, note. Lingard, *History*, VI. 5. *State Papers, Venetian*, Dec. 31, 1558, *Spanish*, I. 17 ; *Engl. Hist. Rev.* xv. 330. Sanders, *Anglican Schism* (ed. Lewis), p. 242.

<sup>2</sup> See *State Papers, Spanish*, I. 6. <sup>3</sup> The evidence is conflicting : contrast Nichols, *Progresses*, I. 30 with *S.P. Venetian*, pp. 17, 24, and 31, 1558, *Spanish*, I. 17 ; *Engl. Hist. Spanish*, p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Strype, *Annals*, I. ch. ii. p. 54 ; D'Ewes, *Journals*, p. 11, 12.

Revision by  
Committee of  
Divines.

the actual 'consultation of learned men' the course of proceedings is far less clear.

There is no sign of a formal commission nor even that the divines nominated met as was proposed at Sir Thomas Smith's house. It is only possible to deduce what must have happened<sup>1</sup> from a letter of Guest<sup>2</sup> sent to Cecil when the draft of proposals was completed, in order to justify 'the order taken in the new service.' Clearly some body of divines had met and drawn up a draft Service-book, and Guest was among them in a conspicuous position: for he speaks as though the revision had been especially his work. It is clear from this letter that the book, in the shape in which it left the committee

Guest takes  
a leading  
part under  
Cecil.

<sup>1</sup> Strype says that Archbishop Parker was absent from the deliberations at least some part of the time through sickness, and suggests that Guest was appointed in his place with especial instructions 'to compare both K. Edward's Communion Books together, and from them both to frame a book for the use of the Church of England, by correcting and amending, altering, and adding, or taking away, according to his judgment and the ancient Liturgies.' *Annals*, 1. ch. iv. 82; but he gives no authority for this.

<sup>2</sup> Strype, *Annals*, 1. Orig. xiv. or Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 48. The following are the chief points: 'Ceremonies once taken away, as ill used, should not be taken again.' *Of the cross*: no image should be set up in the church. *Procession* is superfluous; it is better to pray in the church. 'Because it is sufficient to use but a *surplice* in baptizing, reading, preaching, and praying, therefore it is enough also for the celebrating of the Communion.' *Non-communicants* should be dismissed after the offertory. The *Creed* is ordained to be said only of the communicants. 'Praying for the dead is

not used in the Communion, because it doth seem to make for the sacrifice of the dead': 'as it was used in the first Book, it makes some of the faithful to be in heaven, and to need no mercy, and some of them to be in another place, and to lack help and mercy.' 'The Prayer (in the first Book) for Consecration, "O Merciful Father, &c.," is to be disliked. . . . First, because it is taken to be so needful for the consecration, that the consecration is not thought to be without it: which is not true; for petition is no part of consecration: because Christ in ordaining the Sacrament made no petition, but a thanksgiving.' Also 'for that it prays that the bread and wine may be Christ's body and blood, which makes for the popish transubstantiation.' The sacrament is to be received in our hands. 'The old use of the Church was to communicate *standing*; yet because it is taken of some by itself to be sin to receive kneeling, whereas of itself it is lawful, it is left indifferent to every man's choice to follow the one way or the other, to teach men that it is lawful to receive either standing or kneeling.' Dr. Gee refers this to 1552: *Éliz. B.P.* 32-50.

Revision by  
Committee of  
Divines.

The Divines  
favour  
Puritan  
opinions,

but are over-  
ruled by the  
Court.

of divines, was more favourable to Puritan opinions than was agreeable to the Queen or to her Secretary.<sup>1</sup> According to its provisions the surplice was allowed, but no special vestment was to be used at the Communion; all except communicants were henceforth to be sent out, apparently before the creed, and the posture of communicants, standing or kneeling, was left as a thing indifferent.

This draft Service-book was clearly different both from the First Book, which the Government is thought to have favoured, and from the modified form of the Second Book, which eventually became law. Its history is obscure: possibly it was strangled by Cecil at its birth; but more probably it was propounded to Parliament by the 'Bill for Order of Service and Ministers in the Church' of Feb. 15, or a similar bill of Feb. 16, both of which mysteriously disappeared after a single reading. A new attempt was made, and clauses sanctioning the Second Book, or some such liturgical provisions, were included in the revised Supremacy Bill, but only to be ejected from there at a later stage.<sup>2</sup> Then the baffled government resolved to put forward as a compromise a form of the Second Book, modified by a few but very important alterations in the opposite direction to that of the Draft Service-Book, and calculated to conciliate the Conservatives. Meanwhile plans were laid for a great disputation on religion to be held at Westminster on March 30, in reply to the hostile attitude towards the alteration of religion taken up by the Convocation.<sup>3</sup> This body

<sup>1</sup> It has been supposed, and probably rightly, from the form of Guest's letter to Cecil, that the First Prayer Book was recommended to the divines as the basis of the new book.

<sup>2</sup> *S.P. Venetian*, 48, 52.

<sup>3</sup> This rendered impossible the submission of the Prayer Book to

Convocation: but it is clear from the Supremacy Act that from the point of view of the Elizabethan government parliamentary action in Ecclesiastical matters ought to be conjoined with synodical action in Convocation. Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, p. 455. Towards the end of the reign it was

Revision.

composed, as was natural, of the most convinced supporters of the Marian policy among the clergy, was engaged at this time, not in considering the new draft Service-book, but in protesting against any change, and in passing Five Articles<sup>1</sup> defining its position: the first three dealing with Mass and being the identical theses of the Disputation at Oxford in 1554 which brought Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley to the stake: the fourth affirming the Papal Supremacy, and the fifth denying to laymen 'the authority of handling and defining the things belonging to faith, sacraments, and discipline ecclesiastical.' To meet this opposition, the Government may well have desired to be first fortified with the Act of Supremacy and may well therefore have thought it wise to postpone the liturgical questions till by that Act the ancient jurisdiction had been restored to the Crown, and all foreign power repugnant to it had been abolished.<sup>2</sup> When this bill was well under way a new Uniformity Bill was introduced (April 18, 1559) to re-establish the Second Edwardine Book with certain specified amendments.<sup>3</sup> It was read on three consecutive days and sent

Parliament sanctions the Book with the Royal amendments.

supposed that this had been done in the case of the Prayer Book. See *State Papers, Dom.* Elizabeth, vii. 46, 47.

<sup>1</sup> See them in Strype, *Annals*, i. ch. ii. 56. Cp. Dixon, v. 89-93.

<sup>2</sup> See the Act in Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*, p. 9, or Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, LXXIX. Its history is intricate; a Supremacy bill containing the title 'Supreme Head' passed before the Easter recess: but subsequently another bill with the title 'Supreme Governor' was passed instead (Ap. 10-29).

<sup>3</sup> The statute (1 Eliz. c. 2, April 28, 1559) repealed the Act of Mary, which had repealed the Act (5 and 6 Ed. VI. c. 1) 'to the great decay of the due honour of God, and discomfort to the Professors of the

truth of Christ's religion' (§ 1); and thus the second Prayer Book of Edward VI. was re-established, 'with one alteration, or addition of certain Lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year, and the form of the Litany altered and corrected, and two sentences only added in the delivery of the Sacrament to the communicants, and none other or otherwise' (§ 2). With the further proviso, 'that such ornaments of the church and of the ministers thereof shall be retained and be in use, as was in the Church of England, by authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of K. Edw. VI., until other order shall be therein taken, by the authority of the Queen's majesty with the advice of her com-

up to the House of Lords. Two strong speeches made there, one by Feckenham, Abbat of Westminster, and the other by Scott, Bishop of Chester, have been preserved and show the quality of the opposition.<sup>1</sup> They both alike regarded the matter as a choice, not merely between two books, but between the old and the new religion, and both alleged a good deal that was untrue against the Prayer Book. At the third reading nine bishops and nine temporal peers voted against the Act; the remaining bishops seem to have been absent. But this by itself gives an inadequate idea of the actual position of things, for the Bill was passed by a majority of three only.<sup>2</sup>

The following variations<sup>3</sup> of the Elizabethan from Edward's second Prayer Book were noted by Archbishop Parker<sup>4</sup> for the Lord Treasurer Burghley. The first rubric now directed 'the Morning and Evening Prayer to be used *in the accustomed place* of the church, chapel, or chancel,' instead of '*in such place as the people may best hear.*' The second rubric, which had forbidden all ecclesiastical vestments but the *rochet* and the *surplice*, gave way to the rule of the Act that '*the minister at*

Revision.

Alterations made in 1559.

Abp. Parker's note of the alterations.

Rubrics.

missioners appointed and authorized under the great seal of England for causes ecclesiastical, or of the metropolitan of this realm' (§ 13), and that further rites or ceremonies may be ordained and published by the same authority. See the act in Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*, p. 22, or Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, LXXX. The books printed in this year (1559) differ from each other in small particulars, chiefly in the collects at the end of the Litany. See *Liturg. Services of Q. Eliz.* (Parker Soc.), and Mr. Clay's Pref. pp. xii.-xv.

<sup>1</sup> Printed in Strype, *Annals*, i. Orig. ix. and x. and in Cardwell, *Conferences*, pp. 98-117. Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, also spoke strongly. *State Papers, Spanish*, i. 66.

<sup>2</sup> Feria's despatch of May 10 to King Philip, *State Papers, Spanish*, i. 67; or K de Lettenhove, *Relations Politiques des Pays Bas et de l'Angleterre*, i. 346.

<sup>3</sup> They are considerably more than are specified in the Act. Some further changes were made under the authority granted by the Act to the Queen, acting with the Ecclesiastical Commission or the Metropolitan, such as a new Calendar in 1561, an alteration in the collect for S. Mark's Day, probably not later than 1564, and some inconsiderable verbal additions, certainly not later than 1572. Clay, *Liturg. Serv. of Q. Eliz.*, p. xv.

<sup>4</sup> Clay, *ibid.* p. xiv. Lansd. MS. 120, printed in Strype, *Annals*. i. iv. p. 84.

Alterations  
made in 1559.

Litany.

Communion  
Service.

The Ordinal.

*the time of Communion, and at all other times in his ministrations, shall use such ornaments in the church as were in use by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of K. Edward VI.* In the Litany the words, 'from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities,' were finally omitted; the suffrage for the Queen was altered by the addition of the words, *strengthen in the true worshipping of thee, in righteousness and holiness of life*; the prayers for the Queen, and for the clergy and people, with the collect, 'O God, whose nature and property, &c.,' were now placed at the end of the Litany: of two collects for time of Dearth, one was omitted, as also was the note to the Prayer of S. Chrysostom, 'and the Litany shall ever end with this collect following.'<sup>1</sup> In the Communion Service the words used at the delivery of the Sacrament to the communicants combined the forms of Edward's first and second Books.<sup>2</sup>

Further it is important to note that the Declaration touching kneeling at the Communion was omitted.<sup>3</sup>

The Ordinal<sup>4</sup> differed from that of 1552 only in the form of the oath. It is styled 'The Oath of the Queen's sovereignty,' instead of 'The Oath of the King's supremacy'; and it is directed 'against the power and authority of all foreign potentates,' instead of 'against the usurped power and authority of the Bishop of Rome.'

The restoration of the Prayer Book met with surprisingly little opposition. Already by the end of the

<sup>1</sup> These alterations had all been anticipated in the Litany of Jan. 1, 1559. See p. 96. The suffrage for the Queen was in fact more altered than Parker noted.

<sup>2</sup> The early Elizabethan books vary greatly (especially in the additions to the Litany), and it is not clear what edition Parker used in making the foregoing incomplete summary. See

Clay *u. s.* xii—xv.

<sup>3</sup> Though omitted from the Prayer Book, this Declaration was not forgotten: Bishops Grindal and Horne in 1567 say that it continued to be 'most diligently declared, published, and impressed upon the people.' *Zurich Letters*, LXXV. vol. 1. p. 180. (Parker Soc.)

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 115.

Acceptance  
of the book.

previous year in some places the greater part of the people had 'entirely renounced the Mass,' and were beginning in January to bring back the Prayer Book, while in others devout congregations still flocked to the Latin Mass.<sup>1</sup> While Parliament was prolonged through interminable disputes, a further step was taken in the Royal Chapel, where, on Easter Day, 'Mass was sung in English according to the use of King Edward,' and after it the celebrant took off his vestments and gave Communion in both kinds, vested only in a surplice, to the Queen and many peers.<sup>2</sup>

The Act of Uniformity specified the feast of the Nativity of S. John Baptist as the day on which the revised Prayer Book was to be used. Parliament was dissolved May 8; on the Whitsunday following (May 14) the Queen caused the Edwardine service to be read in her chapel, while a number of parish churches and the monks at Westminster made haste to follow suit<sup>3</sup>; and on the following Wednesday it was read before 'a very august assembly of the court' at S. Paul's,<sup>4</sup> which was otherwise the only London church which retained the Latin Services up till June 11.<sup>5</sup>

Thus the actual transition was very quietly accomplished. The resistance of the bishops and principal clergy was both strenuous and solid, but this does not seem to have been the case ultimately with the rank and file, though no doubt a large body of them deprecated change.<sup>6</sup> Still, of the whole body of clergy, it

<sup>1</sup> *State Papers, Venetian*. Westminster have already changed spatches of Jan. 2, Jan. 8, and Feb. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 57. In view of Easter a proclamation was issued, authorizing but not enforcing communion in both kinds. (March 22.) See Gee, *Eliz. P. B.*, p. 255.

<sup>3</sup> Wriothesley, II. 145. *State Papers, Foreign*, May 28, 1559. 'The most part of the monks at

Westminster have already changed their coats.' The book had been in use even earlier. See *State Papers, Spanish*, I. 66, 69.

<sup>4</sup> Strype, *Grindal*, p. 24.

<sup>5</sup> Despatch of Il Schifanoia, May 30. *u. s.* p. 94. *State Papers, Spanish*, I. 76. Cp. Machyn, 200.

<sup>6</sup> For a specimen of the opposition, see *State Papers, Spanish*, I. 79, 82, 89.

The Prayer Book generally accepted by the clergy.

Acceptance  
of the book.

appears that not more than some 200 were deprived during the years 1558–1564, a state of things which is in marked contrast with the wholesale policy of deprivation by which the Marian ecclesiastical policy was carried through.<sup>1</sup>

Royal  
Visitation.

In the summer of this year a Royal Visitation was ordered, with the intention of carrying out the new ecclesiastical policy and requiring subscription to the settlement of religion as provided for in the Supremacy Act, the Uniformity Act, and the Visitation Injunctions. These last were drawn mainly from the Edwardine Injunctions, revised up to date and enlarged by the addition of new matter since 1547.<sup>2</sup> Some of these new

The Injunctions.

Injunctions dealt especially with the burning questions of the hour, e.g. the Royal Supremacy,<sup>3</sup> which was still viewed by the country with misgiving, and the destruction of altars, which had been going on in riotous and unauthorised fashion, and was now to be regulated.

Removal of  
Altars.

There was great difficulty in prevailing upon the Queen to accede to this under any terms; and she would not order their removal unconditionally.<sup>4</sup> A long string of reasons was prepared, *Why it was not convenient that the Communion should be ministered at an altar*,<sup>5</sup> and had apparently the effect of overcoming the Royal opposition. An Order<sup>6</sup> was subjoined to the Injunctions, declaring that the matter seemed to be of no

<sup>1</sup> The whole of this subject has been fully investigated by Dr. Gee in his *Elizabethan Clergy* with the above result. See there p. 251, and Frere, *Marian Reaction*, p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* XLIII. or (as collated with the Edwardine Injunctions) in Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, LXXVIII. or *Elizabethan Clergy*, pp. 46 and ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cecil was responsible for this.

*Letter of Abp. Parker to Lord Burghley* (April 11, 1575), 'Whatsoever the [Queen's] ecclesiastical prerogative is, I fear it is not so great as your pen hath given it in the Injunctions.' *Parker Corr.* p. 479.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Tonstal's letter on the subject in August, 1559. *S. P. Dom.* VI. 22. Gee, *Eliz. P. B.* 144.

<sup>5</sup> Strype, *Annals*, I. ch. xii. p. 160.

<sup>6</sup> For its authority see below, p. 365.

Royal  
Visitation.

'great moment, so that the Sacrament be duly and reverently ministered; yet for uniformity . . . it is ordered that no altar be taken down but by oversight of the curate of the church and the churchwardens . . . and that the holy table in every church be decently made and set in the place where the altar stood,' and at Communion time should be so placed within the chancel that the minister might be conveniently heard, and the communicants conveniently communicate.

This Royal Order, however, did not quell the controversy. In the next year the bishops drew up a paper of '*Interpretations and further considerations*,'<sup>1</sup> upon the meaning of these Injunctions, for the guidance of the clergy; where they direct 'that the table be removed out of the choir into the body of the church, before the chancel-door, where either the choir seemeth to be too little, or at great feasts of receivings, and at the end of the Communion to be set up again, according to the Injunctions.' By a similar order, overriding the rubric or explanatory of it, wafers were to be used for sacramental bread, and careful regulation was made that they should be larger and thicker than before. On the question of vestments and ornaments the Act of Uniformity had fixed upon the second year of Edward VI. as the standard, thereby disallowing the Puritanical bareness of ornament which had marked Edward's second Book, and which Guest himself would have continued.

Many were of Guest's opinion and rebelled against the rubric; others wished to abolish even the surplice. To cover such rebellion a plea was put forward<sup>2</sup> that the rubric had in view not ceremonial but royal spoliation. Accordingly a fresh spoliation followed both official and unofficial, until within a few months many of the

<sup>1</sup> Strype, *Annals*, I. ch. xvii. p. 213;

<sup>2</sup> 'Our gloss upon this text,' said Dr. Sandys in a letter to Dr. Parker

The Bishops  
interpretation  
of the  
Injunctions.



Royal  
Visitation.

rubrical ornaments were rarely in use or even retained.<sup>1</sup> The new bishops on coming into power could do no more to stem the devastation than stipulate in their 'Interpretations' of the Injunctions for the use at least of the surplice and cope.

Chanting  
and  
Psalmody.

These Injunctions also regulate the use of music in worship. In collegiate and some parish churches there were bequests for the maintenance of a choir. This laudable service of music was to be retained; the old plainsong music of the church is prescribed for general use in these terms—'a modest and distinct song so used in all parts of the common prayers in the church, that the same might be as plainly understood as if it were read without singing.' This no doubt also included simple harmonized services; but, besides this distinct song, 'music'—that is, florid music in distinction to plain-song—was permitted in the form of a hymn or such like song, to be sung at the beginning or end of the Morning or Evening Prayers 'in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence of the hymn may be understood and perceived.'<sup>2</sup>

In 1560 the Book of Common Prayer was published

of April 30, 1559, 'is, that we shall not be forced to use them, but that others in the mean time shall not convey them away, but that they may remain for the Queen.' Parker *Genevan* fashion 'they sang *Pater noster* in English both preachers and other, and . . . of a new fashion.' So Machyn recorded (p. 193) with a similar entry in September. See his *Diary*, p. 212, quoted in Strype's *Grindal*, p. 27) 'which custom was about this time brought also into S. Paul's.' See also *ibid.* p. 37. Cp. Reynolds, *Chapter Acts of Exeter Cathedral*, 1891. p. 53. See Additional Note II. p. 125.

<sup>1</sup> The crucifix, candles and vestments were for a time removed from the royal chapel, but they were brought in again almost immediately on Oct. 9, 1559, *State Papers, Spanish*, i. 105, and the crosses were ordered elsewhere. *Ibid.* 126, 128. For the Ornaments rubric see below, p. 362.

<sup>2</sup> The same technical use belongs to the word 'musique' in French, in

contradistinction to the old plain chart. Genevan psalmody also came in under this proviso. On April 7, 1559 at a funeral conducted in Genevan fashion 'they sang *Pater noster* in English both preachers and other, and . . . of a new fashion.' So Machyn recorded (p. 193) with a similar entry in September. See his *Diary*, p. 212, quoted in Strype's *Grindal*, p. 27) 'which custom was about this time brought also into S. Paul's.' See also *ibid.* p. 37. Cp. Reynolds, *Chapter Acts of Exeter Cathedral*, 1891. p. 53. See Additional Note II. p. 125.

in Latin, upon the petition of the Universities, and with the Royal Letters Patent authorising its use among the learned. Walter Haddon has been called the author of this version;<sup>1</sup> but he followed a translation of the book of 1549, by Alexander Aless, to such an extent that it cannot be considered a faithful rendering of its presumed English counterpart.<sup>2</sup>

In Ireland, as it has been pointed out, the use of the Book of Common Prayer, at the death of Edward VI., rested on the Royal Prerogative only, and insecurely at best; the book of 1552 was not ordered for observance there during the short period in which it was used in England. No Act was passed in Ireland in Queen Mary's reign to prohibit the use of the English Service-book; however, it was disused from the death of Edward VI. until August 30, 1559, when the English Litany was sung in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, on the occasion of the Earl of Sussex taking the oaths as Lord-Deputy. Part of his instructions were 'to set up the worship of God as it is in England, and to make such statutes next Parliament as were lately made in England.' Therefore, on the meeting of the Irish Parliament, in January 1560, the second business which they took in hand was to pass in the face of great opposition<sup>3</sup> an Act of Uniformity, following almost verbatim the English Act of the preceding year, and authorizing the Prayer Book which had been put forth in England.<sup>4</sup> All other books of service were set aside; and the Parliament was then confronted with the difficulty of supplying the Irish churches with Prayer Books—a diffi-

<sup>1</sup> Heylyn, *Hist. Ref.* 2 Eliz. § 19. But see Clay, *Liturgies of Elizabeth* (ed. Parker Soc.) p. xxiv.

<sup>2</sup> See Additional Note I. to this chapter, p. 116.

<sup>3</sup> *State Papers, Spanish*, i. 128.

<sup>4</sup> Stephens, *MS. Book of Common Prayer for Ireland* (Eccl. Hist. Soc.) Introd. pp. viii. clii.; *Mant. Hist. of the Church of Ireland*, i. p. 258.

Latin  
Version.*Liber Pre-  
cum Com-  
munium.**Service in  
the Irish  
Church.**Irish Act of  
Uniformity.*

Irish Act of Uniformity.

Common Prayer in Ireland allowed to be in Latin.

Additional Services.

culty arising from the circumstance that in most places the priests did not understand English, that there was no Irish printing-press, and that few could read the Irish letters. Their strange expedient was, by a special additional clause, to sanction the use of all common and open prayer in the Latin tongue.<sup>1</sup> And it appears that Haddon's Latin version was completed with this object; for it comprehends the Occasional Offices, which would not have been required if it were only for the use of college chapels.<sup>2</sup>

In this year also appeared the first of a long series of Additional Services. It was 'to be used in common prayer thrice a week for seasonable weather and good success of the common affairs of the realm.' Such additions to the usual service were frequently ordered during this reign, and were not held to be infringements of the Act of Uniformity:<sup>3</sup> the practice is, indeed, far older than the English Prayer Book; but, as one of the means of bringing prayers in the English tongue into use, it was now specially adapted to interest the people

<sup>1</sup> 'And forasmuch as in most places in Ireland there could not be found English ministers to serve in the churches or places appointed for Common Prayer, or to minister the Sacraments to the people, and if some good mean were provided for the use of the Prayer, Service, and Administration of Sacraments set out and established by this Act, in such language as they might best understand, the due honour of God would be thereby much advanced; and for that also, that the same might not be in their native language, as well for difficulty to get it printed, as that few in Ireland could read the Irish letters:' it enacted, 'That in every such church or place where the common minister or priest had not the use or knowledge of the English tongue, he might say and use the

Mattins, Evensong, Celebration of the Lord's Supper, and Administration of each of the Sacraments, and all their common and open Prayer, in the Latin tongue, in the order and form mentioned and set forth in the book established by this Act.' Stat. 2 Eliz. c. 2. (Ir.); Stephens, *MS. Book of Common Prayer for Ireland*, pp. xi. and clxiv. and ff.

<sup>2</sup> Part of the Prayer Book had been translated into Latin for this purpose as early as 1551. The translator was a Mr. Smyth, who is said to have received twenty pounds for his labour. (*Original Letters and Papers*, edited by E. P. Shirley, Lond. 1851, pp. 47, 48.)

<sup>3</sup> In the volume of *Liturgical Services of Elizabeth* (Parker Soc.), Mr. Clay has reprinted forty such Elizabethan Occasional Forms of Prayer.

in the public worship generally, when it was thus applied to some pressing necessity.<sup>1</sup>

One point specified in the Act of Uniformity, in which a change had been introduced into the Prayer Book of 1559, is the 'addition of certain lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year.' The Kalendar (1549) contained the chapters to be read at the daily Mattins and Evensong; the Proper Psalms and Lessons for Feasts were given with the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels. In 1552 the 'Proper Psalms and Lessons for divers feasts and days, at Morning and Evening Prayer,' were placed before the Kalendar. In 1559 this part of the book assumed more of its present shape, having Proper Lessons to be read for the First Lessons, both at Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer on the Sundays throughout the year, and for some also the Second Lessons,' in addition to the 'Lessons proper for Holy Days,' and the chapters for ordinary days in the Kalendar. All was not, however, quite satisfactory. On January 22, 1561, a letter was issued to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners,<sup>2</sup> directing them 'to peruse the order of the said Lessons throughout the whole year, and to cause some new Kalendars to be imprinted, whereby such chapters or parcels of less edification may be removed, and other more profitable may supply their rooms.'<sup>3</sup> This commission was also to consider the decays of churches, and unseemly keeping of chancels, and to order the Commandments to be set up at the east end of the chancel, to be not only read for edifica-

The Kalendar.

Successive changes in the Kalendar of Lessons.

Commission to amend the Kalendar.

<sup>1</sup> Strype, *Cranmer*, i. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Appointed under the Act (see above, p. 100). See *Doc. Ann. XLV\**. In this letter (*Doc. Ann. LV.*), Matthew (Parker) archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund (*Grindal*) bishop of London,

Dr. William Bill the Almoner, and Walter Haddon, one of the Masters of Requests, were especially named, two of whom were to be always present.

<sup>3</sup> Cardwell, *Doc. Ann. LV.*

The Kalendar.

tion, but also to give some comely ornament and demonstration that the same is a place of religion and prayer: to secure uniformity in Cathedrals and parish Churches and a right use of the Latin Prayer Book in Colleges. With regard to the lectionary little was in fact done, for only the First Lessons for Whit-Sunday were changed, and one error corrected.<sup>1</sup> No further alteration in the Kalendar was directed in the Queen's letter; yet we find that it was revised in other respects.<sup>2</sup> Tables of the Movable Feasts, and for determining Easter, were added: and the names of saints, which had been omitted from the First Edwardine Prayer Book, were inserted almost as they stand in our present Kalendar.<sup>3</sup>

Names of Saints inserted.

Subsequent history of the book.

The Elizabethan compromise was never fairly accepted: the Ornaments' rubric was from the first set aside, and the authorities found that they had all that they could do in enforcing the use of the surplice and cap.<sup>4</sup> In spite of such concessions the Puritan party

<sup>1</sup> Deut. xvi. and Wisd. i. were substituted for Deut. xvii. and xviii. as the First Lessons for Whitsunday; and for Evensong of the eleventh Sunday after Trinity, 4 Kings xix was corrected into 4 Kings ix. A few further changes were made at a later date. Clay, Preface to *Liturgical Services of Q. Eliz.*, p. xv. Perhaps less care was taken in revising the lists of daily Lessons from the discretion which was allowed of reading other chapters than those appointed. The clergy were enjoined to use this discretion in the Admonition prefixed to the Second Book of Homilies (1564). And Abbot, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury (1611), writes that in his time it was 'not only permitted to the minister, but commended in him, if wisely and quietly he do read canonical Scripture where the apocryphal upon

good judgment seemeth not so fit; or any chapter of the canonical may be conceived not to have in it so much edification before the simple as some other part of the same canonical may be thought to have.' Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* I. p. 294, note.

<sup>2</sup> See the reprint in *Lit. Services of Q. Elizabeth*, p. 435.

<sup>3</sup> With the Festivals of our Lord, the Purification and Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, the festivals of S. John the Baptist, the Apostles and Evangelists, S. Michael, All Saints, and Holy Innocents, the Kalendar (1559) had contained only the names of S. George and S. Lawrence, Lammass, and some editions also S. Clement. For the full discussion of the Kalendar, see below, pp. 321—341.

<sup>4</sup> The Advertisements issued by the Archbishop in 1566, without the Queen's authority but with some

Subsequent History.

became more and more hostile: some conformed, some remained in the Church as non-conforming members, while others, deserting the true Puritan position, went out to form various sects; but the history of Elizabeth's reign is to a considerable degree the history of a relentless conflict between Puritanism and Churchmanship, with the Prayer Book as its chief battle ground. Moreover, there were recusants and separatists on the Conservative side as well as on the Reform side, and in the fight between the English Church and those who clung to the Roman obedience, the Prayer Book was again an important battle ground. In the early days of the reign there is good reason for believing that the Pope Pius IV. was prepared to recognize the Prayer Book in return for a recognition of his own supremacy:<sup>1</sup> but the conflict became more and more embittered as the Roman authorities declared against all attendance at the English Services,<sup>2</sup> and when Pope Pius V. published his Bull of excommunication (1570): from that time all prospect of conciliation on that side was shut out of view.

On the other side the attack was constant and unrelenting, and the disobedience was obstinate and widespread. The origin of it lies back in the history of the Marian Exiles, to which reference has already been made. The dislike of the Prayer Book, which led to scandalous scenes among the English exiles at Frankfort, and which was emphatically expressed by Knox and those who owned his leadership, was increased by the natural results of so bitter a dispute. The noisiest of

Puritan Opposition.

measure of Royal approval, attempted to enforce as vestments only the surplice in parish churches, and the Cope at the Eucharist in collegiate and cathedral churches. Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, LXXXI. *Doc. Ann.* LXV.

<sup>1</sup> Recent research tends to confirm this old tradition. See Morris, *Church Hist. Soc. Tract*, LIX.

<sup>2</sup> The decision (Oct. 2, 1562), is printed in *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, xv. 531. (July 1900),

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the malcontents were compelled to leave Frankfort, and carried off with their party the honours of martyrdom for the Protestant religion. Supported by the authority of Calvin, himself a host in a battle of opinion, their ideas of a fitting Christian service became more clearly developed, and were embodied in Knox's Genevan 'Form of Prayers.'<sup>1</sup> Hence, when the exiles were able to return to England after the death of Mary, the Genevan faction, or, as we may now begin to call them, the Puritan party, was the more prepared to find fault both with the Liturgy and with Episcopacy. And their annoyance must have been great, when the revision of the Prayer Book at the opening of Elizabeth's reign went in all respects directly contrary to their wishes, sweeping away several of the Puritan portions of Edward's Second Book, and bringing back some of the discarded ceremonies and vestments of earlier times.

In Convoca-  
tion.

As early as 1562 a determined attempt was made in Convocation to abolish the ceremonies against which Puritan opposition was to wage such a lengthy contest. Lay baptism, the Cross in baptism, kneeling at communion, every sort of vestment from copes and surplices to gowns and caps, and, in fact, the prescribing of any ceremonial at all, alike met with condemnation at the hands of an influential party, headed by Bishop Sandys, Dean Nowell of S. Paul's and other men of weight.<sup>2</sup>

Eventually, six articles were submitted to the lower house for the abolition of all festivals except Sundays and the feasts of our Lord, organs, the Cross in baptism,

<sup>1</sup> *The Form of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments, &c., used in the English congregation at Geneva, and approved by the famous and godly-learned man, M. John Calvin.* First published both in Latin and in Eng-

lish at Geneva in 1556. For its later history see below, pp. 132, 143: and for the whole subject see Spratt and Leishman *The Book of Common Order*, pp. xiv. xv. 237-241.

<sup>2</sup> Dixon, v. 384 and ff.

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and compulsory kneeling at communion, all vestments except the surplice, and the facing of the minister away from the people: after a great contest these revolutionary proposals were lost by only one vote.<sup>1</sup>

In 1571 a bill was brought into Parliament by Mr. Strickland 'for Reformation of the Book of Common Prayer,' mainly aimed, as it seems, against the disputed ceremonies. The house was warned that ceremonial matters were reserved to the Queen's authority, and in a few days Strickland was called before the Council for infringing the Royal prerogative; it was only after some days and after some protests from the House, that he was allowed to resume his place in it.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of such an exhibition of Royal displeasure, another like attempt was made in the following year. A bill for Rites and Ceremonies was read three times in the Commons, and referred to a committee: but two days later a Royal message ordered 'that from henceforth no bills concerning religion shall be preferred or received into this house unless the same should first be considered and liked by the clergy.'<sup>3</sup> The agitation against the Prayer Book was at this time going on all over the country, and six months later drew from the Queen 'A proclamation against the despisers or breakers of the orders prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer.'<sup>4</sup>

On the other side there appeared the two celebrated 'Admonitions to the Parliament,' which, with the 'Books of Discipline,' marked a new stage of the contest<sup>5</sup>; in this the Puritan party advanced from a position of mere criticism of ceremonies and details to a general

<sup>1</sup> Cardwell, *Conf.*, p. 117. Strype, *Book V.*, pp. 33, 237. *Ann.*, i. ch. XXIX. p. 335.

<sup>2</sup> Strype, *Annals*, II. ch. VII. pp. 125. D'Ewes, 207, 213. 64 and ff.; D'Ewes, 166-168, 175, 176. Paget, *Introduction to Hooker*,

<sup>3</sup> Strype, *Annals*, II. ch. XIV. p.

<sup>4</sup> *Doc. Ann.* LXXIX.

<sup>5</sup> Frere, *Engl. Ch.* V. 178.

In Parliam-  
ent.  
First  
Attempt.Second  
Attempt.

Subsequent  
History.

assault upon Episcopacy, and the whole Church system, coupled with insidious attempts to introduce secretly the whole Presbyterian system of discipline in its place.<sup>1</sup> In the *First Admonition* the Prayer Book was described as 'an unperfect Boke, culled and picked out of that Popishe dunghil the Portuise and Masse boke, full of all abominations,' and twelve pages were devoted to a detailed attack upon it.<sup>2</sup> After this it could only be expected that the Puritan party, as it grew in strength and boldness, would make some deliberate effort to supersede it by another book.

Third  
Attempt.

Undeterred by the fear of infringing Royal prerogative or of usurping the clergy's right of initiative, further opposition to the Prayer Book appeared in Parliament in 1584, and a petition from the Commons to the Lords complained among other things that Ministers were 'molested . . . for omitting small portions or some ceremony prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer,' and asked that 'such Ministers, as do use the Book of Common Prayer . . . and none other, be not from henceforth called in question for the omission or change of some Portion or Rite as is aforesaid, so their doings therein be void of contempt.' To this petition the Archbishop of Canterbury gave answer, and utterly disallowed the article in question. In connexion with these petitions two attempts were made to procure the authorization of another Prayer Book, the first in this parliament by Dr. Turner, and the second in the ensuing parliament by Mr. Cope. The proposed book and the accompanying petition were in neither case read to the house, but on the second occasion (Feb. 27, 1584), the proposal found much support and was being dis-

<sup>1</sup> See Paget, *l. c.*; Ch. 2, "The Puritan Position." Frere, *l. c.* 231. LXXII. <sup>2</sup> See the reprint in C.H.S. Tract

Subsequent  
History.

cussed when the house rose: three days later Cope and his three chief supporters were sent to the Tower by the Council. The Queen sent for both of the sets of proposals, and the house was instructed that 'her Majesty had for divers good causes best known to herself thought fit to surpress the same, without any further examination thereof.'<sup>1</sup> This was not by any means the end of the book, for it was already in secret use among bodies of separatists in one or other form, and, probably in the interval between the two Parliaments, had appeared in print.<sup>2</sup> But after these failures, Puritan opposition became more humble in tone and more secret in its methods. The disloyalty to the Prayer Book went on, both as regards the services and ceremonies, and also as regards the whole system of discipline. Emasculated editions of the Book were published, and no doubt used, though illegally;<sup>3</sup> but in spite of all such secret attempts, nothing formal was done until the reign of Elizabeth was at an end.

In conclusion a curious attack on the legal position of the Ordinal must be recorded, devised by Bonner in 1564. On being summoned by Bishop Horne to take the oath of Supremacy, he refused, alleging in defence many legal technicalities to prove that in the eye of the law Horne was no bishop. His strongest plea was that the Ordinal, being a separate book from the Book of Common Prayer, was not legal, as it was not expressly mentioned in the Act of Uniformity. These technicalities were held to be so far real, that it was decided in 1566 to pass an indemnifying Act to end the case, by declaring the consecrations good and perfect in the eye of the law, and the Ordinal of Edward to be in force.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> D'Ewes, *Journals*, 339, 410-412.

<sup>2</sup> See Additional Note v. p. 131.

<sup>3</sup> See Additional Note vi. p. 133.

<sup>4</sup> Dixon vi. 29 and ff. : 146 and ff.

## ADDITIONAL NOTES.

## I.—VERSIONS OF THE PRAYER BOOK.

THE 'Order of the Communion' (March 1548) was sent to Frankfort, as soon as it was published. There Miles Coverdale translated it into German, and also into Latin; the Latin copy was sent to Calvin, with some idea that he would approve and cause it to be printed.<sup>1</sup> This, however, does not seem to have been done. Another translation was made, and was immediately printed in London.<sup>2</sup> The initials of the translator are 'A. A. S. D. Th.,' which are those of Alexander Aless, or Alane, a Scotch divine and physician of known reformed opinions in the time of Henry VIII.,<sup>3</sup> who afterwards translated the entire Prayer Book of 1549. This was published at Leipsic on January 5, 1551, the same day on which Bucer's *Censura* was finished<sup>4</sup>: the object of the translation was to make known the progress of the reformed doctrines and practices '*pæne patriæ ipsius*,' among the foreigners with whom he had lived, '*vel ad exemplum, vel consolationem, vel etiam dolorem aliquorum*'; and it was published at that particular time when a convention to debate upon ecclesiastical matters was expected to be held under the auspices of the Emperor Charles V.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Orig. Lett.* xix. Coverdale to Calvin (March 26, 1548).

<sup>2</sup> *Ordo distributionis sacramenti altaris sub utraque specie et formula confessionis faciendæ in regno Angliæ. Hæc Londini (? Lipsiæ) evulgata sunt octavo die Martii anni MDXLVIII.*

<sup>3</sup> Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, v. 378.

<sup>4</sup> Aless's work appeared with two forms of title, one omitting parts of what was given in the other, thus:— '*Ordinatio Ecclesiæ, seu Ministerii Ecclesiastici, in [florentissimo] Regno Angliæ, conscripta sermone patrio et in Latinam linguam [bona fide] conversa, et [ad consolationem Ecclesi-*

*arum Christi, ubicunque locorum ac gentium, his tristissimis temporibus,] edita ab Alexandro Alesio, Scoto, [Sacrae Theologiæ Doctore.] Lipsiæ, M.D.LI.' It was reprinted with the *Censura* in Bucer's posthumous *Scripta Anglicana*, p. 370, but was not connected with it, unless, perhaps, it supplied the editor with a suggestion as to the title to be prefixed to the *Censura*. See Dixon, III, 284.*

<sup>5</sup> Proemium Alesii, in Bucer's *Scripta Anglicana*, p. 375. *Liturgical Services of Queen Elizabeth* (Parker Soc.), pp. xxiv. and ff.

Latin Versions.  
The Order of Communion translated by Coverdale;

and by Alexander Aless.

The First Prayer Book also.

As to the work itself, it cannot be said to come up to those expressions of good faith and of simple honesty as a translation which Aless put forth in his title-page and preface. Some portions, which had been altered in translating from the Missal, are given in their old Latin words (*e.g.* among the Collects, that for S. Stephen's Day, Second Sunday in Lent, &c.), some clauses are interpolated (*e.g.* in the Collect for the Purification, the words, '*justusque Simeon mortem non vidit priusquam Christum Dominum videre mereretur*'); some phrases are curiously changed (*e.g.* in the Collect for S. Thomas's Day, 'suffer to be doubtful' is rendered *dubitantem confirmasti*, and in the Collect for S. Philip and S. James, the words, 'as thou hast taught S. Philip and other the Apostles,' are rendered *id quod sancti Apostoli tui Philippus et Jacobus crediderunt et docuerunt*); and some parts must be called compositions of the translator (*e.g.* Collect for S. Luke's Day). Similar variations are found in other parts of the book.

The opening of the Litany is thus given :

Cantores.	} Chorus.
2. <i>Pater de cælis Deus.</i>	
2. <i>Fili redemptor mundi Deus.</i>	
2. <i>Spiritus sancte Deus, ab utroque procedens.</i>	} <i>Miserere nobis.</i>
<i>Sancta Trinitas, unus Deus.</i>	

The petition, 'to give to all nations,' is rendered *Ut omnibus Christianis pacem, &c.*

In the Communion Office, the second Collect for the King is almost entirely an independent composition: *Omnipotens æterne Deus, in cujus manu corda sunt Regum, qui es humilium consolator, et fidelium fortitudo, ac protector in te sperantium, da Regi nostro Eduardo sexto ut super omnia, et in omnibus, te honoret et amet, et studeat servare populo suæ Majestati commisso pacem, cum omni pietate et honestate, per Christum Dominum nostrum.* Then in the rubric, 'the priest, or he that is appointed, shall read the Epistle,' is *Sacerdos aut subdiaconus*; and 'the priest, or one appointed to read the Gospel,' is *Sacerdos aut diaconus*. 'The most comfortable Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ,' is *Sacramentum plenum consolationis, Hoc est, corpus et sanguinem Christi.* The whole sentence beginning, 'And if any man have done wrong to any other, &c.,' is omitted; it was inserted in 1549, and Aless in this part retained his translation of the office of 1548. The rubric directing communicants to 'tarry still in the quire . . . the men on the one side, and the women on the other side,' is rendered, *Tunc*

Latin Versions.

Variations of Aless's Version from the Prayer Book (1549).

## Latin Versions.

*communicaturi pervenient in chorum, vel locum vicinum, viri a dextris, mulieres a sinistris separatim et disjunctim genuflectant.* The rubric directing the preparation of the elements is, *Tunc sacerdos tot hostias calici aut corporali imponet*, i.e., 'so much bread . . . laying the bread upon the corporas, or else in the paten, or in some other comely thing prepared for that purpose.' The Absolution widely differs from the English, which is our present form: *Dominus noster Jesus Christus, qui suam potestatem dedit Ecclesiae, ut absolvat penitentes a peccatis ipsorum, et reconciliet caelesti Patri eos, qui suam fiduciam collocant in Christum, misereatur vestri*, &c.: this Aless took from Hermann's 'Simplex ac pia Deliberatio'.<sup>1</sup> The form of words at the delivery of the elements is rendered, *Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quod traditum est pro te, conservet corpus tuum, et perducat animam tuam ad vitam aeternam. Sanguis . . . qui pro te effusus est, conservet animam tuam ad vitam aeternam.* The second clause of the concluding blessing is omitted, since Aless retained the short form of his previous version of the office of 1548. In the Office of Baptism all mention is omitted of the anointing after putting on the chrysom.

These notices of the carelessness of Aless in his version of the Prayer Book of 1549 are more than historical curiosities. The English Book was much altered, as we have seen, in 1552, and was again revised at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. Then it was advisable that the revised book should appear also in Latin, in accordance with a privilege reserved to the Universities, in the First Act of Uniformity, which allowed public service other than the Eucharist to be performed in Greek, Latin, or Hebrew in the chapels of colleges.<sup>2</sup> In 1560 there was issued the Elizabethan Latin Prayer Book, and prefixed to it were Royal Letters Patent dated April 6, which gave permission that the whole of the services, including the Eucharist, might be said in such chapels in Latin, provision being also made for an *English Service* and Communion, at least on festivals. And all ministers were exhorted to use this Latin form privately on those days on which they did not say the public prayers in English in their churches.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, LXIX. p. 364.

<sup>3</sup> Reprinted in *Liturgical Services of Queen Elizabeth*, pp. 299 and ff. and the letters patent in *Doc. Ann.*

L. Doubts have been cast on the genuineness of these letters patent: there is no trace of them in the Public Records, but the book was acknowledged by the Queen as authorized by the Crown in a Commission of Jan.

The Universities and the Latin Service.

## Latin Versions.

Walter Haddon (1560) follows Aless's version of the Prayer Book (1549).

Haddon's Version (1560) compared with Aless's (1549), and with the English Prayer Book (1559).

The authorship of this Latin version has been given to Walter Haddon.<sup>1</sup> He was probably editor, or one of the editors;<sup>2</sup> but the real basis of the work was the old translation of the Prayer Book of 1549 by Aless. And so little care seems to have been taken to bring the Latin into agreement with the revised English Book, that it has been suspected that this apparent carelessness was intentional, and that, by means of this Latin version, the Universities and public schools, and the clergy in their private devotions, would become reconciled to the observances of the First Book of Edward VI.<sup>3</sup>

The book is entitled, *Liber precum publicarum, seu ministerii Ecclesiasticæ administrationis Sacramentorum, aliorumque rituum et caeremoniarum in Ecclesia Anglicana. Cum privilegio Regiæ Majestatis.* The letters patent of Elizabeth stand in the place of the Act of Uniformity. The 'Preface' is Aless's, with a few verbal corrections of Latinity, and omitting, as not suiting the intention of the book, the directions for Daily Prayer in the parish churches, and the permission to clerks to say the Morning and Evening Prayer privately in any language they understand. The Kalendar has a name attached to almost every day:<sup>4</sup> and a chapter is added, *De anno et partibus ejus.* The Athanasian Creed is placed after Morning Prayer, instead of after Evening Prayer, which was its position in the English Book. The opening of the Litany is correctly given. Of the Collects, that for S. Stephen's Day, which Aless had taken from the Missal, Haddon altered partially, as also that for S. Mark's Day. In those for the Annunciation, and the 8th and 11th Sundays after Trinity, Haddon retains Aless' variation from the English. That for S. Andrew's Day Aless had given rightly enough from his copy; but a new Collect was substituted in 1552: Haddon's Latin, however, remains as a transcript from Aless.

In the Communion Office, the rubric after the Decalogue, 'The Priest standing up, and saying,' is rendered, *Tunc per ministrum, stantem ad sacram mensam, legetur. . .*, determining the Priest's position by these additional words to be the same as that directed by the fourth rubric before the Office, *ad mensæ septen-*

Communion Service.

22, 1562. See Strype's *Parker*, II. Pref. pp. xxi. and ff. The letters Doc. xv., Dibdin, *Reservation* (Ed. Franey, 1899), p. 53.

<sup>1</sup> Heylyn, *Hist. Ref.* 2 Eliz. § 19.

<sup>2</sup> Collier, *Ecc. Hist.* VI. 299.

<sup>3</sup> See Clay, *Eliz. Liturgical Services*, pp. 337-341.

patent, however, call the book 'convenientem cum Anglicano nostro publicarum precum libro.'

<sup>4</sup> For the Kalendar see below,

## Latin Versions.

Haddon's Version (1560) compared with Aless's (1549), and with the English Prayer Book (1559).

*trionalem partem.* The rubric before reading the Epistle agrees neither with the English, nor with Aless's Latin, but is a translation of that of 1549: *Post has Collectas, sacerdos, seu quis alius minister ad id deputatus, legat Epistolam, in loco ad id assignato, et sic incipiat.* The Absolution is taken from Aless, *Dominus noster Jesus Christus, qui suam potestatem dedit Ecclesie, ut absolvat . . . misereatur vestri . . .*, but the words *Per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum* are added, making the conclusion resemble the English without regard to what has gone before. The proper Prefaces remain as Aless had taken them from the Missal, without noticing the omissions or changes of the English; yet, in that for Easter, where Aless has '*Ipse enim verus est Agnus,*' Haddon gives *Ipse enim esse vere Agnus.*

Visitation of the sick.

In the Office of Visitation of the Sick, the opening versicle 'Send him help from the holy place,' taken from the Sarum Ordo, '*Mitte ei Domine auxilium de sancto,*' had been rendered by Aless '*Mitte ei Domine angelum de sanctuario,*' which Haddon retained, adding *tu* as a correction from the English; a blunder was made in printing, so that the sentence is, *Mitte eum Domine angelum de sanctuario tuo.* In the exhortation, the words, 'that Almighty God is the Lord of life and death,' are rendered as they were by Aless, *Christum esse Dominum mortis et vite:* and the directions about making a will, declaring debts, &c., are arranged as they stand in Aless' version. The rubric allowing a special confession is worded so as to direct a private confession: *Si ægrotus sentit suam conscientiam gravatam esse aliqua in re, de illa sacerdoti privatim confiteatur;* still following Aless. The office of 1549, which Aless translated, ended with a form for anointing, if the sick person desired it: and after the prayer followed the words, '*Usquequo Domine?* Psalm xiii.' Aless omitted all mention of the anointing, and the prayer which was to accompany it when used; and gave in its place his own direction, '*si videtur commodum, dicatur etiam hic Psalmus, pro usitata ante hæc tempora unctione.* 14. *Usquequo Domine,*' &c. This ceremony was omitted in 1552, and of course did not appear in the English Book of 1559, yet Haddon concludes his office with Aless's direction, changing, however, his word '*unctione,*' '*si videtur commodum, dicatur etiam hic Psalmus, pro usitata ante hæc tempora visitatione. Psalmus xiii.*'

Reservation of the Holy Sacrament,

In the Office of Communion of the Sick, the error of the press, of giving notice *postridie*, is continued from Aless, and the following rubrics are drawn from the same source: '*Quod si contingat eodem die Cœnam Domini in ecclesia celebrari, tunc sacerdos in cœna*

Latin Versions. — and Private Celebration.

*tantum Sacramenti servabit, quantum sufficit ægroti: et mox finita cœna [Missa, Aless] una cum aliquot ex his qui intersunt, ibit ad ægrotum, et primo communicabit cum illis [eos, Aless] qui assistunt ægroti [ægro, Aless] et interfuerunt cœnæ, et postremo cum infirmo [infirmum, Aless]. Sed primo fiat generalis confessio, et absolutio, cum Collecta, ut supra est præscriptum. Sed si infirmus illo die petat Communionem, quo non celebratur cœna, tunc sacerdos in loco decenti, in domo ægroti, celebrabit cœnam hoc modo.*

Oremus. Omnipotens æterne Deus, &c.

*Epistola.* Heb. xii. Fili mi, &c.

*Evangelium.* Joan. v. Amen, amen dico vobis, &c.

*Minister.* Dominus vobiscum.

*Responsio.* Et cum spiritu tuo.

*Minister.* Sursum corda, &c.

*usque ad finem, ut supra dictum est.*

We cannot help noticing that Haddon has altered Aless's Latinity, and substituted *cœna* for *missa*; which shows that the reappearance of this rubric in 1560 was not the mere result of carelessness, but that the attempt was made to give these directions to the clergy for their guidance in administering the Communion to the Sick, at least within the walls of the colleges. The English Office also merely gives a Collect with its Epistle and Gospel, without any further directions; which leaves the whole matter in an ambiguous position. (See further on this subject below, p. 628.)

If the Service of Visitation and Communion were used at one time, the minister was directed to omit the concluding verse and benediction of the Visitation Service, and to go straight to the Communion: but nothing was said about beginning otherwise than at the commencement of the Communion Office. In this Latin form, however, Haddon still follows Aless, and, by ending his rubric with the words *hoc modo*, directs the service of private Communion to begin with the proper Collect, and Epistle and Gospel; and then, by adding '*Dominus vobiscum,*' and '*Sursum corda; usque ad finem, ut supra dictum est,*' directs the Communion Office to be taken up at those words, proceeding to the Preface, Prayer in the name of the Communicants, Prayer of Consecration, Distribution of the Elements, and so on to the end; thereby omitting the Confession and Absolution, which occur in a previous part of the service. In giving this direction, Aless had correctly rendered the service of 1549; but the position of its several parts had been changed, and



## Latin Versions.

Haddon's Version (1560) compared with Aless's (1549), and with the English Prayer Book (1559).

Appendix to Haddon's Version.

'Celebratio Cæne Domini in Funebribus.'

the same direction in 1560 was without meaning. This part of Haddon's work is a careless transcript of Aless, though the insertion of the above-mentioned rubric cannot have this excuse.

In the first of the rubrics at the end of the Office, directing the order in which those who are present are to receive the Sacrament, Haddon alters Aless's Latin, and omits the second and fourth rubrics. The second was perhaps dropped on the plea that the book was intended for learned societies, whose members did not need the curate's instruction: and possibly, the fourth, permitting the priest alone to communicate with the sick person in time of contagious sickness, may have been omitted from a charitable hope that in such fraternities the sick man would not be quite deserted; or because the order for communicating the sick with the reserved Sacrament made such a stipulation less necessary.<sup>1</sup>

The *Celebratio cæne Domini in funebribus, si amici et vicini defuncti communicare velint*, and a service '*In commendationibus Benefactorum*,' form an Appendix to the book, opening with a quotation from S. Augustine (*De Civit. Dei*, i. 12): '*Curatio funeris, conditio sepulturae, pompa exequiarum, magis sunt vivorum solatia, quam subsidia mortuorum.*' A proper Collect, Epistle and Gospel are appointed for communion at funerals. The Collect is the original form of the present second Collect at the end of the Burial Service; the Epistle, 1 Thess. iiiii. [13—18], and the Gospel, Joan. vi. [37—40]. This was transcribed from Aless's version of the Service of 1549. A second Gospel was now added '*vel hoc Evangelium.*' Joan. v. [24—29.]

The Commemoration Service ran as follows. A form, analogous to it is still used in college chapels and elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> L'Estrange justifies this order (*Alliance*, p. 300), because learned societies would be less prone to error and superstition; as he also justifies the permission to celebrate the Eucharist at funerals (p. 304), because the whole book was compiled for men of discerning spirits. But we can hardly avoid Mr. Clay's observation (*Elizabethan Liturg. Services*, Pref. p. xxviii.): 'Was this design, or the result of haste and inattention? Did Haddon mean (of course in obedience to command) to prepare a book which

should allow of such reservation; or did he merely transcribe what Aless had previously, and correctly, given? Many reasons induce us to think that, if Haddon was careless (and he cannot be wholly excused), he ever remembered what he was about, and still fulfilled his appointed task.'

<sup>2</sup> An English form, which differs slightly from that here given, both in its materials and their arrangement, was prescribed in 1570 by Elizabeth for the use of colleges in the University of Cambridge. It

## 'In commendationibus Benefactorum.

*Ad cujusque termini finem, commendatio fiat fundatoris, aliorumque clarorum virorum, quorum beneficentia Collegium locupletatur. Ejus hæc sit forma. Primum recitetur clara voce Oratio dominica. Pater noster, &c. Deinde recitentur tres Psalmi, 144, 145, 146.*

*Posthæc legatur cap. 44 Ecclesiastici. His finitis sequatur concio, in qua concionator Fundatoris amplissimam munificentiam prædicet: quantus sit literarum usus ostendat: quantis laudibus afficiendi sunt, qui literarum studia beneficentia sua excitent: quantum sit ornamentum Regno doctos viros habere, qui de rebus controversis vere judicare possunt: quanta sit scripturarum laus, et quantum illæ omni humanæ auctoritati antecedant, quanta sit ejus doctrinæ in vulgus utilitas, et quam late pateat: quam egregium et regium sit (cui Deus universæ plebis suæ curam commisit) de multitudine ministrorum verbi laborare, atque hi ut honesti atque eruditi sint, curare: atque alia ejus generis, quæ pii et docti viri cum laude illustrare possint. Hac concione perorata, decantetur, Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel.*

*Ad extremum hæc adhibeantur.*

*Minister.* In memoria æterna erit justus.

*Responsio.* Ab auditu malo non timebit.

*Minister.* Justorum animæ in manu Dei sunt.

*Responsio.* Nec attinget illos cruciatus.

Oremus. Domine Deus, resurrectio et vita credentium, qui semper es laudandus, tam in viventibus, quam in defunctis, agimus tibi gratias pro fundatore nostro N. cæterisque benefactoribus nostris, quorum beneficiis hic ad pietatem et studia literarum alimur: rogantes, ut nos his donis ad tuam gloriam recte utentes, una cum illis ad resurrectionis gloriam immortalem perducamur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.<sup>3</sup>

The object of this Latin Book, as expressed in Elizabeth's letters patent, authorizing or enjoining its use, was such as not to require the Occasional services, except those for the Visitation of the Sick, and Burial. However, it appears that when the book was first printed, it contained the Occasional Offices, but added out of their

will be found in chap. 50 of her Statutes, entitled 'De ordinationibus Collegiis præscriptis.' See also the '*Service appointed for Obiit Sunday*,' used once in every quarter in S.

George's Chapel, Windsor, for the Companions of the Most Honourable and Noble Order of the Garter, in Blunt, *Annotated Prayer Book*, p. 302 [p. 484, ed. 1884].

## Latin Versions.

In commendationibus Benefactorum.

## Latin Versions.

The Occasional Services added to Haddon's Version for use in Ireland.

Two editions of Haddon's Version printed in 1560.

A correct Version published in 1571.

order after the Burial Service; from which we may suppose that it was at first intended to end the volume at this point. The reason for this addition is conjectured<sup>1</sup> to have been a clause in the first Irish Act of Uniformity, passed in January of this year, sanctioning the Latin tongue in places where the common minister or priest had not the use or knowledge of the English tongue.<sup>2</sup> And Haddon's Latin version, which had been prepared, and, it may be, printed for the use of the learned in England, hastily received the addition of the services of Public and Private Baptism, Confirmation, with the Catechism, Matrimony, and Churching of Women, that it might exhibit the necessary parochial services, for the use of the unlearned in Ireland. In any case, two editions of the book appear to have been printed in the same year; one containing these Occasional Offices, and the other with the above-mentioned Appendix in their place. In both editions, or forms of the edition, the Commination Service was omitted, although Aless had translated it, and no reason can be given for this omission.

The discrepancy between this Latin version and the English Book of Common Prayer was felt at the time. Strype<sup>3</sup> says that in 1568 'most of the colleges in Cambridge would not tolerate it, as being *the Pope's Dreggs*'; and that 'some of the Fellowship of Benet College went contemptuously from the Latin Prayers, the master being the minister then that read the same.' Whitaker, the Master of S. John's College, in 1569 dedicated a small Prayer Book in Greek and Latin<sup>4</sup> to his uncle, Dean Nowell, in which he endeavoured to account for this discrepancy, on the plea that it only arose from the expansion or contraction of the original in a translation.

In 1571 another Latin version was published, intentionally made to exhibit a close resemblance to the English Book in its complete state, with the new Kalendar prepared in 1561. The Act of Uniformity is prefixed; the Occasional Services are arranged in their order; and at the end is Munster's translation of the Psalms.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Clay, *Eliz. Services*, Pref. p. xxiii. *note*; it is strange in that case that it is not mentioned in the Letters Patent: but the Irish Act clearly contemplates some book, and it was actually in use. See Dwyer, *History of Killaloe*, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 108; Mant, *Hist. of the Church of Ireland*, i. 260.

<sup>3</sup> *Life of Parker*, p. 269.

<sup>4</sup> *Liber Precum Publicarum Ec-*

*clesiæ Anglicanæ in juventutis Græcarum literarum studiosæ gratiam, Latine Græceque editus.* Like the small English Prayer Books of the period, called 'Psalters,' it contained only the Morning and Evening Prayers, the Litany, the Catechism, and the Collects. Marshall, *Latin P.B. of Charles II.* p. 43; Clay, *Eliz. Services*, Pref. p. xxii.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. xxxi.

## Latin Versions.

In this book the peculiarities of Haddon's version (1560) are avoided; yet even here we find traces of Aless's original translation, and the *postridie* notice of Communion of the Sick, and the Collect for S. Andrew's day (altered in 1552), remained in Latin according to the form of 1549, through the whole reign of Elizabeth.<sup>1</sup>

The First Prayer Book (1549) was translated into French for the use of the King's subjects in Calais and the Channel Islands; and care was taken to amend the translation in 1552, so that the French version should still represent the English book of Common Prayer in its altered state.<sup>2</sup>

The Prayer Book first appeared in Welsh in 1567,<sup>3</sup> and in Irish for the first time in 1608.<sup>4</sup>

## II.—MUSICAL SERVICES.

The only musical book which can claim any sort of official position is a collection printed by John Day in 1560, with the title *Certain Notes set forth in foure and three parts to be song*, and again in 1565 called *Morning and Evening Prayer and Communion, set forth in foure partes to be song in churches*. It contains services by Causton, Heath, and Knight, and a collection of Anthems, 'Prayers' &c. by Tallis, Hasyhton, R. Johnson, Shepherd and Okeland. The settings of the Communion Service comprise not only *Sanctus* and *Gloria in Excelsis*, showing that the bad custom of singing only the first part had not yet come in, but an Offertory sentence as well. The *Venite* is set anthem-wise, for Anglican Chants were not yet invented for many years to come and the old Gregorian tones to the Psalms went on almost without a rival to the end of the XVIIth century.

<sup>1</sup> Clay, *Eliz. Services*, Pref. p. xxxii. 'In 1615, if not before, an abridgment of this Latin Prayer Book appeared, entitled *Liber Precum Publicarum in usum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Christi, Oxon.* It contains the Morning Service, the Athanasian Creed, the Evening Service, the Litany and its Collects, followed by the Psalter: then come four prayers (Pro officio totius Ecclesiæ in communi, Pro Rege, Tempore pestilentiae, Pro Docilitate, of which the last two were taken from the

after the Litany, introduced in 1604 and 1662, is still daily used for short Latin prayers during term time.'

<sup>2</sup> The first Prayer Book was translated into French by command of Sir Hugh Paulet, governor of Calais. This was corrected by the English revised Book, 'in all the alterations, additions, and omissions thereof,' at the instance of Goodrich, the Bp. of Ely and Lord Chancellor. Strype, *Cranmer*, ii. 251. See Collier, vii. 705.

<sup>3</sup> Translation by W. Salesbury and Bp. Richard Davies: Marshall, *Latin Prayer Book of Charles II.* p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Brit. Mus. *Catalogue*, ii. 975. Below p. 143.

Translated into French.

## III.—BOOKS OF PRIVATE DEVOTION.

The old custom of the English Church, in having Books of Private Devotion for the people, following in a great measure the order of the public services, but containing also forms of more constant prayer, was still retained in the early period of the Reformation.

We may consider that there were two series of reformed Primers. The one derives from that of Henry VIII. (1545),<sup>1</sup> the other from the Edwardine Primer of 1553. The first was often reprinted with successive alterations, showing the steady advancement of religious opinion. Edward's first Primer (1547) was a republication of this ;<sup>2</sup> so also was that of 1549, with the Litany as amended for the Book of Common Prayer by the omission of the invocations of the Virgin Mary, the angels, and the patriarchs. Alterations of this sort were ordered by the Act of Parliament (3 and 4 Edward VI.) 'for the abolishing and putting away of divers books and images,' which provided that any person might use any Primers, in English or Latin, set forth by the late king, 'so that the sentences of Invocation or Prayer to Saints be blotted or clearly put out of the same.' The edition of 1551 omitted the 'Hail Mary,' with other questionable passages, though many strong doctrinal statements still remained. This was reprinted in 1551, with the addition of the Catechism, and again at the commencement of Elizabeth's reign in 1559 and subsequently.<sup>3</sup>

The Primer of 1553<sup>4</sup> was not an improved edition, but rather a new publication, the first of a distinct series of Primers. 'An order of private prayer for morning and evening, every day in the week, and so throughout the whole year,' was substituted for the divisions of prayer according to the seven Canonical Hours ; the prayers were taken from the Book of Common Prayer, with a selection of Psalms, one or two for each service, and short lessons from Scripture, or from the Book of Ecclesiasticus ; thus forming a course of

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> But simultaneously another edition was published which omitted the invocation of Saints (Nov. 30, 1547). Hoskins, No. 188 and p. 245.

<sup>3</sup> Reprinted in *Elizabethan Private Prayers* (Parker Soc.). (See Clay's

introduction for the whole question.)

Following Henry's Book, it contains the Prayers for the dead. See Lathbury, *Hist. of P. B.*, p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> Printed in *Liturgies and Documents of the Reign of Ed. VI.* (Parker Soc.), p. 357.

Books  
of Private  
Devotion.

Two series  
of Reformed  
Primers ;  
one dating  
from 1545,  
continued  
until 1575.

The other  
from the  
Reformed  
Primer of  
1553.

devotion for a week. With the seven Hours of Prayer, the ancient Hymns were omitted, and the Penitential Psalms, as well as the Dirge and the Commendations, with everything touching upon prayers for the dead, or the efficacy of the saints' prayers. The Catechism and Graces, and a Preparation for prayer were placed at the beginning, and a collection of 'Sundry godly prayers for divers purposes' at the end of the book. This was reprinted in the reign of Elizabeth several times, and its descendants appeared in the XVIIth, XVIIIth and XIXth centuries.<sup>1</sup>

These reformed Primers were accompanied by their more learned counterparts in Latin. When Henry put forth his famous Primer in 1545, he 'provided the self-same form of praying to be set forth in Latin also,' to the intent that he would 'be all things to all persons, and that all parties may at large be satisfied.' The title of the Latin Book of Private Devotion, which was substituted for the older 'Horæ,' was, *Orarium, seu libellus precationum, per regiam majestatem et clerum latine editus*: 1546. This title was taken for the Latin Book of Private Prayer, which was compiled at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, as companion to the Primer of the older series (1559), and published in 1560.<sup>2</sup> The 'Orarium,' however, was not a mere version of that Primer. Besides smaller variations, the Kalendar is full of names of saints ; it has the short Catechism ; and it has not the Dirge and Commendations.

In 1564, or early in 1565, another Latin book of devotion was published under the title, *Preces privatae, in studiosorum gratiam collectæ et Regia autoritate approbatæ*.<sup>3</sup> This differs from the preceding 'Orarium' mainly in substituting an order of Morning and Evening Prayer in the place of devotions for the 'Hours' ; still retaining, however, some of the Hymns, Antiphons, Psalms and Lessons of the 'Orarium.' For instance, the course of Morning Prayer begins with the Sentences, then follows the Confession, a prayer of Absolution, the Lord's Prayer, 'Domine, labia mea aperies,' 'Venite,' an Antiphon, the Hymn 'Jam lucis orto sidere,' three Psalms, an Antiphon, 1st Lesson, concluding with the clause used at the termination of a lection from the prophets, 'Hæc dicit Dominus, convertimini ad me, et salvi eritis,' and followed by 'Te

<sup>1</sup> See Clay, *Elizabethan Private Prayers*, Pref. p. ix. An elaborate

and detailed classification of all these various books is given by Hoskins in his *Primers*, extending from p. 235

to p. 308. <sup>2</sup> Reprinted in *Elizabethan Private Prayers*, pp. 115-208.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 209-428.

Books  
of Private  
Devotion.

The 'Ora-  
rium' of  
Hen. VIII.

The 'Ora-  
rium' of  
Elizabeth.

The 'Preces  
Privatæ.'

Deum': then the Service passes to *Lauds*, 'Deus in adjutorium,' 'Gloria Patri,' an Antiphon, 'Jubilate,' 'Benedicite,' 'Laudate Dominum de cœlis' (Psalm 149), an Antiphon, 2nd Lesson, the Hymn 'Consors paterni luminis,' 'Benedictus,' the Creed, Lord's Prayer, Versicles, Collects, and the Litany. After a similar course of Evening Prayer, and a short devotion for night, follow select Psalms, Lessons, and Prayers adapted to the great Festivals, the seven Psalms, other select Psalms, 'Flores Psalmorum, quos Psalterium Hieronymi appellant' (selected versicles from the Psalms), Pious Meditations concerning death and the resurrection, Prayers gathered from Scripture, 'Precationes Piæ variis usibus, temporibus, et personis accommodatæ,' Graces, and some devotional Poems, or Hymns. This book was reprinted in 1573 with the addition of the 'XV. Psalms or Prayers taken out of Holy Scripture,'—devotional exercises composed by Fisher, bishop of Rochester, during his year's imprisonment (1534-5) before his execution,—and some short sentences from the New Testament, supposed to have been collected by Sir Thomas More under the same circumstances.<sup>1</sup>

Thus there were four series of books prepared for private devotion, and published with the royal authority in the reign of Elizabeth. To these may be added a fifth series of devotional works, published without authority, containing prayers and meditations for sundry occasions: and books of this character gradually displaced those which were formed upon the plan either of the Canonical Hours, or of the Morning and Evening Services of the Prayer Book. They seem to have originated with some compositions of Ludovicus Vives, which were translated by Bradford,<sup>2</sup> and Becon's 'Flower of godly Prayers,' and 'Pomander of Prayer.'<sup>3</sup> Then at the close of Mary's reign came 'The Pomander of Prayer' of 1558, containing among other things Vives's prayers, S. Augustine's Meditations, the XV. Oes and a Marian form of the English Litany, differing from that mentioned above. Then as Elizabethan books of devotion, we have Bull's 'Christian Prayers and Meditations' in 1566,<sup>4</sup> in 1569 a considerable volume with the same title, and with illustrations,<sup>5</sup> and in 1578 'Christian

<sup>1</sup> See Clay, *Eliz. Private Prayers*, p. 318, note. <sup>3</sup> Becon, *Prayers, &c.* (Parker Soc.), pp. 1 and 72.

<sup>2</sup> Bradford, *Sermons and Meditations* (Parker Soc.), pp. 230-242; and the Latin Prayers of Vives, *ib.* pp. 572 and ff. <sup>4</sup> Reprinted for the Parker Society. <sup>5</sup> See Clay's *Elizabethan Private Prayers*, Pref. pp. xvi. and ff.

Prayers and Meditations collected out of the ancient writers,'<sup>1</sup> in which Bradford's translations and the 'XV. Oes of S. Bridget' are joined with prayers from Genevan sources and from Knox's 'Book of Common Order.

IV.—'A DESCRIPTION OF THE LITURGY, OR BOOK OF SERVICE THAT IS USED IN ENGLAND.'

(*Troubles at Frankfort*, pp. xxviii.—xxxiv.)<sup>2</sup>

Some extracts from this curious description will show how obnoxious the Prayer Book was to an extreme section of Protestants in the early years of the Reformation. Their objections were not raised merely against a few isolated particulars, such as the use of the surplice, or the cross in baptism, but against the whole genius and structure of the book: it was to them 'a huge volume of ceremonies' (p. xli.). The description was drawn in Latin by Knox,<sup>3</sup> Whittingham, and others at Frankfort, and sent to Calvin 'for his judgment therein,' or for an expression of his known opinion touching the matter in dispute; which was, whether Knox should minister to the English exiles according to the Genevan fashion, or whether Dr. Cox and Horne should read the service in the congregation of their countrymen according to the Book authorized by the last Edwardine Parliament of England. The objections therefore apply to the Second Book of Edward VI., or to the Prayer Book at its greatest distance from Romanism.

After a short summary of the Daily Prayer, which is given with some fairness, the Litany is thus described: 'Besides, upon every Sabbath-day, Wednesday, and Friday, there is yet in use certain suffrages devised of Pope Gregory, which beginneth after this manner, *O God, the Father of Heaven, have mercy upon us, miserable sinners; O God the Son, Redeemer of the World, &c.*: only leaving out the invocation of saints; otherwise we use a certain conjuring of God, *By the mystery of his incarnation, By his holy nativity and circumcision, By his baptism, fasting and temptation, By his agony and bloody sweat, &c.* Yea, it comprehendeth in plain

*The Litany.*

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *Elizabethan Private Prayers*; see Pref. p. xxii. <sup>3</sup> Knox's unreserved opinion is given in a Letter to Anna Lock

<sup>2</sup> 'A Brieffe discours off the troubles begonne at Frankford in Germany, A. D. 1554. Above the Booke off Common Prayer and Ceremonies, &c. M. D. LXXV.' Reprinted, Lond. 1846. (April 6, 1559): *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign*,—*Elizabeth*, No. 504. His language makes the Frankfort description seem a friendly delineation of the Prayer Book.

Description  
of the  
Liturgy.

words a prayer to be delivered from sudden death: the people answering to the end of every clause, either *Spare us, good Lord*; or else, *Good Lord, deliver us*; or *We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord. O Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world*, is thrice repeated. Then, *Lord have mercy upon us*, thrice; and then the Lord's Prayer, with this prayer also, *O Lord, deal not with us after our sins*, to the same adjoined; passing over some things lest we should seem to sift all those drosses which remain still among us.'

Communion  
Office.

'Now the manner of the Supper is thus. The number of three at the least is counted a fit number to communicate; and yet it is permitted (the pestilence or some other common sickness being among the people) the minister alone may communicate with the sick man in his house.' . . . 'Every holyday hath his Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, which fill seventy-five great leaves of the book, when the rest fill scarce fifty. For all holydays are now in like use among us as were among the papists, only very few excepted.' The portion following the prayer for the State of the Church militant is described as 'a long heap and mixture of matters, until they come, after a certain confession of sins, to *Lift up your hearts* . . . Now, about the end the Lord's Prayer is used again, the minister saying it aloud, and all the people following; to conclude, they have a giving of thanks in the end, with *Glory to God in the highest*, as it was used among the papists. . . .'

Baptism.

In Baptism the points mentioned are the questions addressed to the godfathers, the action of baptism by dipping warily and discreetly, and the making a cross upon the child's forehead.

Confirmation.

Confirmation is especially obnoxious: 'Afterward, sending away the godfathers and godmothers, he chargeth them that they bring the child to be confirmed of the Bishop as soon as he can say the Articles of the Faith, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. And seeing there be many causes, as the book saith, which should move them to the Confirmation of children, this forsooth of all others is the weightiest, that by imposition of hands they may receive strength and defence against all temptations of sin and the assaults of the world and the devil, because that when children come to that age, partly by the frailty of their own flesh, partly by the assaults of the world and the devil, they begin to be in danger. And lest any should think any error to be in this Confirmation, therefore they take a certain pamphlet of a Catechism, which consisteth of the Articles of the Faith, the Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments, and all this is despatched in less than two leaves.'

Description  
of the  
Liturgy.

Matrimony

The description of their 'manner of marriage' passes over 'many petty ceremonies,' and fixes upon 'these follies,'—the ring, and the form of words which accompany it, the 'kneeling before the Lord's Table,' and 'being brought to The Lord's Supper.'

After a very short mention of the Offices of Visitation of the Sick, Burial, and Thanksgiving of Women, which is 'common with the papists and Jews,' this description of our Prayer Book thus concludes: 'Other things, not so much shame itself as a certain kind of pity, compelleth us to keep close; in the mean season nothing diminishing the honour due to those reverend men, who partly being hindered by those times, and by the obstinacy and also multitude of adversaries (to whom nothing was ever delightful besides their own corruptions) being as it were overflowed, did always in their mind continually, as much as they could, strive to more perfect things.'<sup>1</sup>

Conclusion.

#### V.—PURITAN SUBSTITUTES FOR THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER.<sup>2</sup>

So early as 1567, the more violent of the Puritans began to separate themselves from the worship of the Church, and to meet in private houses, where they had ministers of their own. 'And at these meetings,' says Strype,<sup>3</sup> 'rejecting wholly the Book of Common Prayer, they used a Book of Prayers framed at Geneva for the congregation of English exiles lately sojourning there; which book had been overseen and allowed by Calvin and the rest of his divines there,<sup>4</sup> and indeed was, for the most part, taken out of the Geneva form.' And again, in the year 1571, 'The Puritans, however they were not allowed to officiate in public, and had their licences (if they had any before) disallowed and annulled, yet did still in their own or other churches, or in private houses, read prayers different from the established Office of Common Prayer; using the Geneva form, or mingling the English Book.'<sup>5</sup>

Private  
Meetings for  
Worship.

Their services were however to take more definite shape. The book which in 1584 was presented to Parliament with the hope

<sup>1</sup> Calvin in his reply says, 'In *Liturgica*, vol. 1. Introd. pp. viii.—*Anglicana Liturgia*, qualem describitis, multas video fuisse tolerabiles ineptias.' *Opp.* VIII. *Evist. et Responsa*, p. 98. *Brief Discourse*, p. xxxv.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Grindal*, ch. xii. p. 114.  
<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 112 n.  
<sup>4</sup> *Life of Parker*, bk. iv. ch. v.

<sup>5</sup> See Rev. P. Hall, *Reliquia* p. 325.

Puritan  
Substitutes  
for the  
Prayer Book.

A Book of  
Prayer pre-  
sented to  
Parliament.

of approval and legal sanction, and of its being substituted for the Book of Common Prayer, was about the same time printed as *A Booke of the Forme of Common Prayers, Administration of the Sacraments, &c.*<sup>1</sup> It was altered before its publication, so far as regards the acknowledgment of the office and authority of the magistrate in matters of religion:<sup>2</sup> for the liberty in worship hitherto claimed, and apparently conceded, by the Puritans in the *Book of Discipline*, they had not intended to allow, had the *Forme of Common Prayer* obtained the sanction of the law.

Bancroft writes,<sup>3</sup> 'In the Parliament (27 of her Majesty, as I remember), the Brethren having made another Book, termed, at that time, *A Booke of the Forme of Common Prayers, &c.*, and containing in it the effect of their whole pretended Discipline: the same book was penned altogether statute and law-like, and their petition in the behalf of it was, viz. *May it therefore please your Majesty, &c. that it may be enacted, &c. that the Book hereunto annexed, &c. intituled A Booke of the Forme of Common Prayers, Administration of Sacraments, &c. and everything therein contained, may be from henceforth authorized, put in use, and practised throughout all your Majesty's dominions.*' He further speaks of a second Book, containing many alterations, published in the next year, and of a third with further alterations within another year also submitted for authorization by public authority.<sup>4</sup> No doubt it was this third book which Mr. Cope submitted in 1586-1587. The earliest known edition is that printed in London by Waldegrave, without date, but doubtless either in 1584, or the early part of 1585; for it was prohibited by an order of the Star Chamber in June 1585: no other English edition is known, but an edition, somewhat altered in arrangement, appeared at Middleburgh (where a company of English merchants resided under the ministry of Cartwright) in 1586, an exact reprint of this but much neater in appearance in 1587, and a fresh edition with additions in 1602.

The *Booke of the Forme of Common Prayers* was simply drawn from Knox's Genevan Service-book and his later Scottish book called *The Book of Common Order*. Behind both lay Calvin's Genevan Liturgy. It had no connexion at all with the English

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. Catalogue, II. 983.

<sup>2</sup> Bancroft, *Survey of Holy Discipline*, p. 66, and *Dangerous Positions*, p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, bk. III. ch. x. pp. 96

and ff. Paget *Introduction*, p. 253.  
<sup>4</sup> *Sermon preached at Paul's Cross*, Feb. 9, 1588, in Hickeys' *Tracts*, i. 287.

The Middle-  
burgh Book  
of Prayer.

Prayer Book except in so far as it contained one or two portions of the Second Edwardine Prayer Book, which were all that Knox incorporated into his Genevan Service-book.<sup>1</sup>

#### VI.—PURITAN EDITIONS OF THE PRAYER BOOK.

When war was openly declared by the 'Admonitions to Parliament' and kindred documents between the Puritans and the Catholics in the Church, the former, disappointed of an open victory, set to work to accomplish their end by secret means. They failed to gain for themselves any mitigation of the law, which forbade any Public Service in England except that which was prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly an attempt seems to have been made to bring the book itself into conformity with their views, not indeed by urging any further authoritative revision, which was hopeless, but by printing it in a somewhat altered form. A series of such Prayer Books appeared between 1578 and 1640. What we may call the first Puritan edition (Barker, 1578) varies from the authorized book in the following particulars. It commences with the Table of Proper Lessons, 'For Morning,' 'For Evening,' being put in the place of *Mattins, Evensong*: *Minister* is printed throughout for *Priest*: from the Communion Service the first four rubrics are left out; but the reader is expressly referred for them to the *Great Booke of Common Prayer*. Private celebration of the Sacraments was discarded; hence the phrase *great number* was substituted for *good number*, in the second rubric at the end of the Communion Service: in the Office of Public Baptism, the introductory rubric was omitted, which concludes with allowing children, if necessity

<sup>1</sup> See above pp. 93, 94, III, 112 and below p. 143. A reprint of this book is in the first volume of the Rev. P. Hall's *Fragmenta Liturgica*, xi. A collation of the Middleburgh editions of 1586 and 1602 is in the first volume of his *Reliquia Liturgica*.

<sup>2</sup> A request was made by some eminent members of foreign churches in behalf of their English friends; but the Queen replied, 'That it was not with her safety, honour, and credit, to permit diversity of opinions in a kingdom where none but she

and her council governed, not owning either imperial or papal powers, as several of the princes and states there did, and were glad to compound with them.' Strype, *Annals*, i. ch. iv. p. 87. Later when the Emperor made a similar request, she replied in a similar strain, adding to her prudential reasons that she saw no 'cause why she should grant it, seeing England embraced not new or strange doctrine, but the same which Christ commanded, and what the primitive and Catholic Church had received, and was approved by the ancient fathers.' *Ibid.* I. ch. xi. p. 148.

Puritan Edi-  
tions of the  
Prayer Book.

Variations  
from the  
authorized  
Prayer  
Book.

so require, to be at all times baptized at home: the whole service for Private Baptism was omitted: and only the third rubric was retained in the Communion of the Sick. Confirmation, with all the rubrics touching upon it, was omitted, as was also the service for the Churching of Women.<sup>1</sup> A Calendar was also compiled, rather as an addition to that of the Church than as a substitute for it, each monthly portion being placed under the authorized Kalendar. It seems that this was too bold an experiment; or the party could not agree in any uniform practice. Afterwards, we find the book brought into a form much more nearly resembling the original. In 1589, the rubric at the end of Public Baptism, the service for Private Baptism, that for Churching of Women, and the address before the Catechism, were restored to their places. And in these services, the word *Priest* remained unchanged; which may perhaps be regarded as a silent but intelligible sign, that these services were added for apparent conformity, but that the use of them was to be discouraged. A later edition, belonging rather to the next reign, differs from the authorized book merely by putting, *For Morning, For Evening, and Minister*, instead of *Mattins, Evensong, and Priest*; *Priest*, however, remained still unaltered in the services for Private Baptism and the Churching of Women. In this shape we may suppose that this Prayer Book continued to be printed until 1616, *i.e.* as long as the Geneva version of the Bible was printed, to which every scriptural quotation had been adjusted. During the next twenty-five years, we find copies of a small size, in which *Minister* very often stands for *Priest*, and in which occasionally they are alternated in a most extraordinary manner. These books were always printed by the houses which had the right of printing the Book of Common Prayer, no doubt as part of their exclusive privilege, and usually they were joined to the Geneva Bible: just as some editions of the Bishops' Bible were accompanied by the Prayer Book in its authorized form. It is not certain what was the actual intention, or use made, of these books. They could not be publicly used in the church without risk of penalties; yet even from the size of some editions we cannot say that less than this was aimed at. It is certain also that the Puritans did not conduct their ministrations strictly according to the authorized form; and that the Bishops' Bible was not the only Bible used in the public service.<sup>2</sup> The folio edition of

<sup>1</sup> See *Brief Discourse*, quoted above, p. 131. <sup>2</sup> Abp. Whitgift's Articles (1584); Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* xcix.

the Geneva Bible of 1578 (like the folio editions of the Bishops' Bible, 1568 and 1572) has two Psalters in parallel columns,—*The translation according to the Ebrewes*, and *The translation used in Common Prayer*; this latter being divided into the portions for Morning and Evening Prayer. This looks like a provision for the public service, and seems to give the same character to the altered Prayer Book at the beginning of the volume.<sup>1</sup>

#### VII.—ABRIDGED PRAYER BOOKS.

The custom of issuing the Prayer Book in an abridged form began as early as August, 1549, when there appeared for the benefit of parish clerks a book containing The Psalter, followed by Mattins and Evensong given fairly fully: then the Litany (placed for the first time in this position) and then 'All that shall apperteigne to the clerks to saie or sing at the ministration of the Communion and when there is no Communion; at Matrimony, Visitation, Burial, Purification and the first day of Lent.'<sup>2</sup> This 'Psalter' was the first of a series of such books.

At a later date the abridgment was made with the object of binding up the most necessary parts of the services with the Bible. An edition published by Cawood in 1560 or 1561 contains the following parts of the Prayer Book prefixed to the Bible:—The opening Tables, Kalendar, &c., Morning and Evening Prayer, the Litany, the Collects throughout the year; and of the Order for Communion only the Collects for the Queen, the Confession, the Prayer of humble access, the Thanksgiving, the Blessing and the Collects to be said after the Offertory when there is no Communion. Some of the later editions do not include any part of the Communion Service.

<sup>1</sup> Clay, *Elizabethan Liturgical Services*, Pref. pp. xv.—xix.; Lathbury, *Hist. of Convoc.* p. 188. <sup>2</sup> Some interesting light is thrown upon the rubrics by this volume: *e.g.* the Epistle is assigned to the Clerk, but not the Confession. A reprint of it has been issued by the H. Bradshaw Society (vol. xxv., ed. J. W. Legg).

## CHAPTER VI

THE PRAYER BOOK FROM THE ACCESSION OF JAMES I.  
TO THE DEATH OF CHARLES I.

[A.D. 1603—1649.]

Puritan  
Objections.The Millenary  
Petition.Puritan ob-  
jections to  
the Prayer  
Book.

\* UPON the accession of King James I. (March 24, 1603), the earliest measure adopted by the general body of the Puritans was to present to him (in April) the famous Millenary petition,<sup>1</sup> so called from the number of ministers who were said to have consented to it.<sup>2</sup> Their chief grievances were four: The Church Service, Church ministers, Church livings and maintenance, Church Discipline. Upon the subject of the Prayer Book they urged that of these 'offences following, some may be removed, some amended, some qualified:—

'In the Church Service: that the cross in baptism, interrogatories ministered to infants, confirmation, as superfluous, may be taken away: baptism not to be ministered by women, and so explained: the cap and surplice not urged: that examination may go before the Communion: that it be ministered with a sermon: that divers terms of 'priests' and 'absolution' and some other used, with the ring in marriage, and other such like in the book, may be corrected: the longsomeness of service

<sup>1</sup> Printed in Gee and Hardy, *Statutes*, p. 213. *Documents*, LXXXVIII.; Prothero, <sup>2</sup> Gardiner, *Hist.* I. 148, note.

abridged: Church songs and music moderated to better edification: that the Lord's Day be not profaned: the rest upon Holy Days not so strictly urged: that there may be an uniformity of doctrine prescribed: no popish opinion to be any more taught or defended: no ministers charged to teach their people to bow at the name of Jesus: that the canonical Scriptures only be read in the church.'

'These, with such other abuses yet remaining and practised in the Church of England,' they declared 'we are able to show not to be agreeable to the Scriptures, if it shall please your Highness further to hear us, or more at large by writing to be informed, or by conference among the learned to be resolved.'<sup>1</sup>

The King acceded to the request for a Conference, as suited to his own fondness for such a debate, though contrary to the wishes of the universities and of the clergy generally. A proclamation<sup>2</sup> was issued (October 24), 'Touching a meeting for the hearing and for the determining things pretended to be amiss in the Church,' 'to be had before himself and his council of divers of the bishops and other learned men.' The meeting was at first intended to be held on the 1st of November, but was deferred till after Christmas. Meanwhile, Archbishop Whitgift sent to Hutton, Archbishop of York, certain queries of matters that might be debated at the Conference; among which these points were noted concerning the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments: '(i.) concerning lay baptism: (ii.) concerning the sign of the cross in the child's forehead made at its baptism: (iii.) concerning praying in the Litany to be delivered from sudden death, since

Puritan  
Objections.A Confer-  
ence pro-  
posed,and ordered  
by procla-  
mation.

<sup>1</sup> Cardwell, *Conferences*, pp. 131 and ff. Frere, *Engl. Ch.* V. 292. <sup>2</sup> *Doc. Ann.* CXVI.; *Conferences*, p. 148.



Conference at  
Hampton  
Court.

we ought so to live, that death should never find us unprepared.'<sup>1</sup>

The Conference was held at Hampton Court,<sup>2</sup> on the 14th, 16th, and 18th of January, 1604. The persons summoned to take part in the discussion, on the side of the Puritans, were Dr. Rainolds, Dr. Sparkes, Mr. Knewstubbs, and Mr. Chaderton, who had the reputation of being the most grave, learned, and modest of the party. The Conference, however, was not a discussion between the Episcopal and Puritan divines in the presence of the royal council, but a Conference first between the King and the bishops, and secondly between the King and the invited Puritan divines, concluded by the royal determination upon the points debated. On the first day the King assembled the lords of his council and nine of the bishops with the deans of the chapel royal and four cathedral churches; after an hour's speech he propounded six points, three of them in the Common Prayer Book, viz. the general absolution, the confirmation of children, and the private lay baptism: the two former were allowed, but some things in them were to be made clear. After a long discussion on private baptism, it was agreed that it should only be administered by ministers, yet in private houses if occasion required. Some other matters were debated, concerning the jurisdiction of bishops, and the civilization of Ireland.

On the second day, the Puritan representatives were called before the King and the council, in the presence of the bishops of London and Winchester, and the deans and doctors, who had been summoned to take part in the Conference. The Puritans propounded four points:—purity of doctrine: means to maintain it: church govern-

<sup>1</sup> Strype, *Whitgift*, p. 570; and *ences*, pp. 151 and ff. Appendix, XLIV. <sup>2</sup> Frere, *English Church*, V. 296.

Conference  
between the  
King and  
the bishops;  
on Satur-  
day Jan. 14.

Conference  
between the  
King with  
certain  
bishops and  
the Puritan  
divines, on  
Monday,  
Jan. 16.

Conference at  
Hampton  
Court.

ment: the Common Prayer Book. Concerning the book itself and subscription to it, there was much stir about all the ceremonies and every point in it; chiefly *Confirmation*, the *cross* in baptism, the *surplice*, *private baptism*, *kneeling* at the Communion, the reading of the *Apocrypha*, and *subscriptions* to the Book of Common Prayer and Articles. 'All that day was spent in ceremonies,' writes Dean Montague in a letter giving an account of what passed in his presence, and 'all wondered that they had no more to say against them.'<sup>1</sup> The conclusion was that there should be a uniform translation of the Bible, and one form of catechism over all the realm; that the *Apocrypha* should be read, but not as Scripture; and that any doubtful point of the Articles should be cleared.

On the third day, the bishops and deans, with certain civilians, attended at the court, and the Archbishop presented to the King a note of those things, both explanations to be added to the rubrics and other points, which had been referred to their consideration on the first day. These were: '1. Absolution, or remission of sins, in the rubric of absolution.<sup>2</sup> 2. In private baptism, the lawful minister present. 3. Examination, with confirmation of children. 4. *Jesus said to them*, twice to be put in the dominical Gospels, instead of *Jesus said to his disciples*.'

<sup>1</sup> Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 140. The opposition was soon seen to be very factious and futile. The King in a private letter revealed how much he had enjoyed the discomfiture which awaited the Puritans. 'We have kept such a revell with the Puritans here this two days as was never heard the like: quhaire I have peppered thaim as soundlie as yee have done the Papists thaire.' And a good bit more in a very racy strain; for which see Cardwell. *Conf.*, p. 161.

<sup>2</sup> 'I. Tell me I pray you why

some of your combination desired to have the Absolution termed a Remission. *N.* Because Absolution implyeth forgiving of sins with authority, Remission only by way of declaration; whereof this latter may be permitted to men, but the former is peculiar to God: and therefore you are in this point too much the apes of Popery.' Fisher's dialogue, *A Defence of the Liturgy*, p. 174, written circ. 1610 (see p. 14), but not published till 1630.

Alterations  
agreed to by  
the King  
and the  
bishops on  
Wednesday,  
Jan. 18.

Conference at  
Hampton  
Court.

With regard to Baptism, the King directed an alteration in the rubric of private baptism: instead of, 'They baptize not children,' it should be, '*They cause not children to be baptized*;' and instead of, 'Then they minister it,' it should be '*The curate, or lawful minister present, shall do it on this fashion.*' Then, after some discussion about the High Commission, the oath *ex officio*, and excommunication, and referring some points to special committees, Dr. Rainolds and his associates were called in, and the alterations agreed to were read to them. There was a little disputing about the words in the marriage ceremony, 'With my body I thee worship,' and it was agreed that they should be, '*worship and honour*,' if it were thought fit. There followed a discourse upon unity and peace from the King, and a vain complaint urged in behalf of some ministers in Lancashire and Suffolk, who would lose their credit if they were now forced to use the surplice and cross in baptism; to this it was curtly answered, that the general peace of the Church must be preferred to the credit of a few private men; and so the Conference ended with a joint promise of the Puritan representatives to be quiet and obedient, now they knew it to be the King's mind to have it so.<sup>1</sup>

Revision of  
the Prayer  
Book after  
the Confer-  
ence,

Certain alterations were thus agreed to by the King and the bishops at the Conference; but the particular form in which they should be expressed was referred with three other points to the bishops. A special commission<sup>2</sup> dealt with other decisions of the Conference, e.g., the reform of Church Government and the new translation of the Bible. To effect the liturgical changes the King issued his letters patent<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Cardwell, *Hist. of Conferences*, 'Letter of Dr. James Montague, dean of the Chapel Royal,' pp. 138 and ff.; and 'The Sum and Substance of the Conference, con-

tracted by Dr. William Barlow, dean of Chester,' *ibid.* pp. 167—212.

<sup>2</sup> *S. P. Dom.* vi. 18, 25.

<sup>3</sup> Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 217.

Conference at  
Hampton  
Court.

(February 9), specifying the alterations, and ordering the publication and the exclusive use of the amended Book. The authority for this action was the undefined power of the Crown in ecclesiastical matters, as well as the statutable power granted by the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity in 1559. And care was taken to call the alterations by the name of *explanations*, to bring them under the clause in Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity, which empowered the Sovereign, with the advice of Ecclesiastical Commissioners, to ordain further ceremonies, if the orders of the book should be misused.<sup>1</sup> It is to be noted, however, that these alterations had the sanction of Convocation, inasmuch as that body allowed this exercise of the prerogative, and ordered the amended book to be provided for the use of the parish churches.<sup>2</sup>

The following changes were made at this time (1604):—In the Kalendar: one more Black Letter Saint was

by the royal  
authority

and sanc-  
tioned by  
Convocation.

Kalendar.

<sup>1</sup> See the letters patent, in Cardwell. Also in a proclamation (March 5), the King says, 'We thought meet, with consent of the bishops and other learned men there present, that some small things might rather be explained than changed; not that the same might not very well have been borne with by men who would have made a reasonable construction of them, but for that in a matter concerning the service of God we were nice, or rather jealous, that the public form thereof should be free not only from blame, but from suspicion, so as neither the common adversary should have advantage to wrest aught therein contained to other sense than the Church of England intendeth, nor any troublesome or ignorant person of this Church be able to take the least occasion of cavil against it: and for that purpose gave forth our commission under our Great Seal of England to the Archbishop of Canterbury and others, according to the

form which the laws of this realm in like case prescribe to be used, make the said explanation, and to cause the whole book of Common Prayer with the same explanations to be newly printed.' Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 227, Gee and Hardy, *Doc. LXXXIX. Cp. S. P. Dom.* vi. 83. In the proclamation of Oct. 24 it was expressly stated that if the state of things 'deserved a review and amendment,' the King would proceed according to the laws and customs of this realm, by advice of the Council or Parliament or Convocation. See above, p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> Canon LXXX. (1604). '*Libri sacri in ecclesiis parandi.* Ecclesiarum et capellarum omnium economi et inquisitores librum publicarum precum, nuper in paucis explanatum ex auctoritate regia, juxta leges et majestatis sue hac in parte prerogativam, sumptibus parochianorum comparabunt.'

Changes made  
after  
the Hampton  
Court  
Conference.

Divine Ser-  
vice.

Gospels.

Baptism.

added, and lessons from canonical scripture were substituted for Tobit and Bel and the Dragon. Into the title of the Absolution were inserted the words, 'or Remission of Sins.' A prayer for the Queen, the Prince, and other the King's and Queen's children, was placed after the prayer for the King; and a corresponding petition was inserted in the Litany. Thanksgivings for particular occasions, for Rain, for Fair Weather, for Plenty, for Peace and Victory, and for Deliverance from the Plague, in two forms, were added to the Occasional Prayers in the end of the Litany, and were styled, 'An enlargement of thanksgiving for diverse benefits, by way of explanation.'

In the Gospels for the 2nd Sunday after Easter, and the 20th Sunday after Trinity, the words 'unto His disciples' were omitted, and 'Christ said' and 'Jesus said' were to be printed in letters differing from the text.

The main alteration was made in the rubrics of the Office of Private Baptism, and the administration was now restricted to the minister of the parish, or some other lawful minister. The title had been, 'Of them that be baptized in private houses in time of necessity'; now it became, 'Of them that are to be baptized in private houses in time of necessity, by the Minister of the parish, or any other lawful Minister that can be procured.' The 2nd rubric,—'that without great cause and necessity they baptize not children at home in their houses . . . that then they minister on this fashion . . .' was amended as it now stands, '. . . they procure not their children to be baptized . . .' The 3rd rubric, 'First, let them that be present call upon God for his grace . . . and one of them shall name the child, and dip him in the water, or pour . . .' was now, 'First, let the lawful Minister, and them that be present, call upon God for his grace, and say the Lord's Prayer, if the time will suffer. And then the

child being named by some one that is present, the said lawful Minister shall dip it in water, or pour water upon it. . . ' A corresponding alteration was made in the 4th rubric; and the inquiry—'Whether they call upon God for grace and succour in that necessity?'—was omitted, and the following precaution inserted in its place. 'And because some things essential to this sacrament may happen to be omitted through fear or haste in such times of extremity; therefore I demand further. . . .'

'Confirmation' was explained by adding the words, 'or laying on of hands upon children baptized, and able to render an account of their faith, according to the Catechism following.'

The concluding portion upon the Sacraments was added to the Catechism,<sup>1</sup> and is generally attributed to Overall, the prolocutor of the Convocation.<sup>2</sup>

In 1608 the Prayer Book was printed in Irish, having been translated by William Daniel, or O'Donnell, Archbishop of Tuam, who had in 1602 published the first Irish version of the New Testament.<sup>3</sup>

In Scotland the use of prescribed forms of prayer had long been a matter of controversy. The English Book had been in general use there between the years 1557 and 1564, but when Knox returned to Scotland in 1559 he brought with him his Genevan book,<sup>4</sup> which soon displaced the Prayer Book, and under the title of *The Book of Common Order* became the authoritative model<sup>5</sup> of worship. Under James I. a valid episcopacy was restored to Scotland in 1610,<sup>6</sup> and in 1616 he

<sup>1</sup> See the King's letter, commanding the alterations; Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 217. Hist. Soc. 1849). Introd. pp. xxix. and ff.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 600.

<sup>3</sup> See Stephens, *MS. Book of Common Prayer for Ireland* (ed. Eccl.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 112 n.

<sup>5</sup> Sprott and Leishman, *The Book of Common Order*, p. xv.

<sup>6</sup> Stephen, *Hist. Scot. Ch. II.* 202.

Changes made  
after  
the Hampton  
Court  
Conference.

Confirma-  
tion.

Catechism.

Irish  
Prayer  
Book.

In Scotland.

The English  
Prayer  
Book used  
for seven  
years.

The Prayer Book for Scotland.

The General Assembly sanctions a Liturgy and Canons.

obtained the sanction of the General Assembly at Aberdeen, that a Prayer Book should be compiled for the use of the church,<sup>1</sup> and the work was entrusted to one Peter Hewat, an Edinburgh minister, and three others. The result of this was a Form of Service<sup>2</sup> to be used before sermon, which lay in MS. and forgotten till 1871. It was professedly a revision of The Book of Common Order, and consisted mainly of an exhortation on the fourth commandment, a long confession of sins, a psalm and prayer, two chapters from the Gospels and Epistles respectively, another psalm, creed, and a long final prayer.

The King was set upon bringing Scotland into line with English customs, and in 1617 caused the English Prayer Book to be used in the chapel royal of Holyrood.<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile, he had sent to Scotland a set of Five Articles enforcing Kneeling at Communion, Private Baptism and Communion, four Holy Days corresponding to Christmas, Good Friday, Easter and Whitsunday, and an Episcopal Blessing of Children. The Scottish clergy resisted the Articles vigorously, and resented the King's English service; and when in 1618 the Articles were definitely submitted, by the King's desire, to the General Assembly at Perth, they were only adopted under great pressure, and by the vote of the lay nobility.<sup>4</sup> In 1621 they were confirmed by Parliament, but were not a whit more acceptable on that account.<sup>5</sup> The Perth Assembly appointed a Commission to revise the draft Service-book; but it seems that this was set aside in favour of a new draft which was ready early in 1619,<sup>6</sup> and

Service-books prepared,

<sup>1</sup> Collier, *Hist.* vii. 709; Stephen, *Sprott*, p. xxv.

ii. 219; Gardiner, *Hist.* iii. 221.

<sup>2</sup> 'Hewat's Form of Prayer,' printed in *Sprott's Scottish Liturgies of James VI.* (Edinburgh, 1871), pp. 119-140.

<sup>3</sup> Hall, *Rel. Lit.* introd. p. xxii;

<sup>4</sup> Gardiner, iii. 220 and ff. Stephen, ii. 223.

<sup>5</sup> Gardiner, vii. 274.

<sup>6</sup> A copy of this draft of the Prayer-Book for Scotland is in the British Museum: it is printed with a valua-

The Prayer Book for Scotland.

submitted by the Archbishop of S. Andrew's to the King.

In character it was a cross between the English Prayer Book and Knox's Book. The features of the former which were unpopular with the Puritans are omitted, but on the other hand some features appear which were retained in the later Scottish Book of 1637, and so found their way into the English Book of 1662. The Morning and Evening Prayer follow the lines of the Prayer Book, but all Versicles and Responses and variable Collects are omitted, except that five Collects are provided for the five 'Commemoration' days recognised by the Church corresponding to Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day, and Whitsunday. Special features were provided for Sundays, drawn largely from The Book of Common Order. The service of Baptism is the English Order altered on Puritan lines. The Confirmation service contains the Catechism drawn up by order of the Aberdeen Assembly in 1616. The Communion Order consists of a long exhortation and prayers, with the English acts of Consecration and Administration, with rubrics for the manual acts. Then follow the Marriage Service, Visitation Order (with the English exhortation to confession and form of absolution), and lastly a general direction as to Burial. It was revised, with the assistance of Young, Dean of Winchester, and then returned to Archbishop Spottiswoode, in whose hands it lay dormant for some time,<sup>1</sup> owing to the disturbed state of Scottish feeling, consequent upon the King's action in forcing the Canons upon the Kirk.

An Ordinal was adopted in 1620, based on the then

ble introduction in *Sprott*. See <sup>1</sup> It was in 1619 very near to publication, for a license to print it for *Introductio* p. xix; Stephen, ii. 216; nineteen years was then granted. *Gardiner*, vii. 282. *Sprott*, p. xxxiv.

but not used

The Ordinal.

The Prayer Book for Scotland.

New projects under Charles.

English Ordinal, but only recognising two orders—Bishops and Ministers.<sup>1</sup> But in the following year, when Parliament accepted the Articles, a promise was given that there should be no further innovation, and the liturgical movement was stayed.

The project, however, was revived early in the next reign. Negotiations began in 1629 between Maxwell (on behalf of the Scottish Bishops) and Laud as to a new Book. Maxwell had, at the King's request, brought a copy of the draft-book with him from Scotland. This did not commend itself to Laud, who wished the Scots to have the English Book; but Maxwell maintained that they would be much more likely to accept a book of their own.<sup>2</sup>

Four years later, when Charles visited Scotland, and was crowned at Edinburgh, the English customs were used. Gold and blue copes and a crucifix alarmed the Scottish mind, but there was more fighting over the surplice. The King, however, was unmoved and ordered the use of the English Book in the Royal chapel, with the Communion ministered every month in copes, with kneeling at reception enforced. Similar orders were directed to the Bishops and the University of S. Andrew's.<sup>3</sup> But, meanwhile, as a compromise between the conflicting desires for the Scottish draft-book of 1619 and the English book, the Bishops were instructed to draw up a new book, with the help of Laud, Wren, and Juxon.<sup>4</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> This very rare book has been reprinted in the Wodrow Miscellany, and by Mr. Forbes in his edition of the Works of Bp. Rattray (Burntisland, 1854), pp. 695—712 (i. 597—615): *The forme and manner of ordaining ministers: and consecrating of archbishops and bishops used in the Church of Scotland.* Edinburgh, 1620.

<sup>2</sup> Laud. *History of Troubles*, 168,

(*Works*, III. 427), cp. 109 (335) and ff.

<sup>3</sup> Collier, VIII. 760, gives the order in full, cp. Stephen, II. 238, Gardiner, VII. 385. Sprott, xlvii—xlix.

<sup>4</sup> Juxon, Bishop of London, being also Lord Treasurer, was at times too busily occupied to pay the requisite attention; so that the work was left to Laud and Wren. Collier, VIII. p. 767, Laud, *Works*, VI. 456.

The Prayer Book for Scotland.

work was done in the main by Bishops Maxwell and Wedderburn. Laud threw himself into it, when, against his judgment, it was decided on.<sup>1</sup> It was to be framed upon the English model 'as near as can be,'<sup>2</sup> and it seems clear that the draft of 1619 was discarded, and the English Book taken as a basis; but some modifications were adopted to meet the wishes of the Scottish Bishops.

After a new draft emanating from them had been set aside, even though it had been accepted and was in 1635 and 1636 already partly in print, another fresh start was made again on the basis of the English book; some modifications were adopted from a paper of 'Certain notes to be considered of,' sent to Archbishop Laud by Wedderburn, while others were rejected. The suggestion that the extracts from Scripture should be printed according to the last translation of the Bible was adopted, and also the proposal 'that every Prayer, or Office, through the whole Communion, should be named in the rubric before it, that it may be known to the people what it is.' Again it was conceded at the Eucharist that the Collect of Consecration and Oblation . . . and the Lord's Prayer should be said before the Communion'; but, in spite of a proposal to change, it was decided that the Invitation, Confession, Absolution, Sentences, Prefaces, and Doxology should be set in the same order they stand in the English Liturgy: and that the Prayer of humble access to the Holy Table might stand immediately before participation. Wedderburn's new Offertory Sentences were incorporated, and at his suggestion a rubric was inserted directing the

<sup>1</sup> See the account of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637, by Dr. Bright, in Blunt, *Annotated Prayer Book*, p. 580 [705, ed. 1884]; Dowden, *Annotated Scottish Communion Office*, pp. 29 and ff.; Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* VIII. 762.

<sup>2</sup> King Charles's letter to Spottiswoode, Oct. 20, 1634. Sprott, p. xlix., cp. Laud's note on p. xlvi.

Scottish proposals,

in the Communion Office.

manual acts in Consecration, which, though designedly omitted from the English Book since 1552, were considered by Laud "the practice of the Church of England." Further objections seem to have been raised to the keeping of Saints' days, the *Quicumque*, and probably the ceremonies of the ring and cross, which were the stock complaints of the enemy, but these met with less consideration. Fault was also found by Wedderburn with the Scottish Ordinal of 1620,<sup>1</sup> that the Order of Deacons was made no more than a lay office, and that 'in the admission to priesthood' 'the very essential words of conferring orders are left out.'<sup>2</sup> It was not till October 18, 1636, that it was decided to keep the English formula of ordination: at the same time the objections to the reading of lessons from the Apocrypha and to Saints' days were finally overruled. The Book both reached its final form and also was authorized by Royal warrant on October 18, 1636; it was then promulgated by Act of the Scottish Privy Council and by Royal Proclamation on December 20. It was not likely to win the Scots' approval. Not only did the new book prove ultimately to be merely a revision of the disliked English Book, and that too in the opposite

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> See the letter of April 20, 1636, printed in Prynne's *Hidden Works of Darkness brought to Light* (1645), p. 152 (Laud, *Works*, vi. 455), written by Laud to Wedderburn, informing him how many of the notes were allowed, and adding sundry directions from the King. These new alterations superseded those that had been formerly conceded, and were now written, chiefly in presence of the King, on the margin of a 4to English Prayer Book, with the following warrant for their adoption:—'CHARLES R., I give

the Archbishop of Canterbury command to make the alterations expressed in this book, and to fit a Liturgy for the Church of Scotland. And wheresoever they shall differ from another book, signed by us at Hampton Court, September 28, 1634, our pleasure is to have these followed: unless the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, and his brethren who are upon the place, shall see apparent reason to the contrary. At Whitehall, April 19th, 1636.' Hall, *Reliq. Lit.* Introd. pp. xxv. and ff. Sprout, lviii. and ff.

direction to that which the Scots would have wished, but the whole matter was grossly mismanaged by the Scottish Bishops, in spite of Laud's repeated warnings. The Book of Canons ordering the Book was allowed to appear before the Book and prepare for it a hostile reception. The clergy and the General Assembly were not consulted, and their attitude seems hardly to have been even considered. The book was foredoomed, in spite of its excellence.

When it appeared, the following were seen to be its more prominent characteristics.

In the Kalendar, by the King's express command, while the ordinary reading of the Apocrypha was given up, the first six chapters of Wisdom, and the 1st, 2nd, 5th, 8th, 35th, and 49th chapters of Ecclesiasticus, were placed among the Lessons to be read for certain Saints' days: and besides the names of the saints which were in the English Kalendar, some were inserted belonging to the northern part of the island. Throughout the book, by way of concession to the Scots' wishes, the words *Presbyter*, or *Presbyter or Minister*, or *Presbyter or Curate*, were used instead of *Priest or Minister*. In the Office of Baptism, the water in the font was ordered to be changed twice in a month at least; and on the occasion of the first baptism after the water had been changed, the *Presbyter or Minister* should add these words in the first prayer of the service, 'Sanctify this fountain of baptism, Thou which art the Sanctifier of all things.' In the Communion Office, some important changes were made in the expressions, and the arrangement of the prayers was brought more nearly into accordance with the first Book of Edward VI.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For fuller detail, see Bright's 'The Booke of Common Prayer and account in Blunt, *Annotated P. B.* Administration of the Sacraments,

The Prayer Book for Scotland.

The Book not used,

but not wasted.

This Book of Common Prayer for Scotland can hardly be said to have been used: it was silenced by a popular tumult, as soon as the attempt was made to introduce it, on the 23rd of July, 1637.<sup>1</sup> A new Ordinal is said to have been published in 1636, but no copy of it is known to exist. The Prayer Book itself ends with the Commination. The Psalter had already been printed in 1636.

The book over which Laud had spent such pains<sup>2</sup> was thus a failure: this was due, not to its own fault, but to the circumstances which surrounded its introduction. The pains were not wasted, for a good deal of the amendment introduced into the Scottish Book was afterwards

and other parts of Divine Service for the use of the Church of Scotland' (1637), is reprinted in vol. II. of P. Hall's *Reliquia Liturgicæ*. Its variations from the English Prayer Book are noted in L'Estrange's *Alliance of Divine Offices*, Keeling's *Liturgia*, and Parker's *First P. B.*

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, VIII. 312. Stephen, II. 250. Seven years afterwards a sort of remembrance of it was issued by the Kirk, at the same time that the Directory was published in England, entitled, 'The New Booke of Common Prayer, according to the forme of the Kirke of Scotland, our brethren in faith and covenant,' 1644, with 'C. R.' on the title-page. It was a brief abstract of Calvin's Geneva Prayer Book, derived from Knox's Book of Common Order. Hall, *Fragment. Lit.* I. pp. 85—98.

<sup>2</sup> This was not the only influence which this archbishop has been supposed to have exercised upon the Book of Common Prayer. He was accused by the Puritans of having caused some changes of words and phrases to be inserted in the editions printed under his supervision, in order to give support to doctrines and practices which were now called popish. And the accusation was made so

unscrupulously, that it was very generally believed, in spite of the archbishop's solemn denial, and notwithstanding the fact that no such alterations had been made—a fact which was patent to any who might choose to compare the printed books. Mr. Lathbury states, as the result of a comparison of editions from 1604 to 1642, that the word *priest* or *minister* was inserted by the printer at his own discretion, or as a matter of indifference. Moreover such charges were made at random: Prynne says the same of Cosin, that he had made alterations in our Common Prayer Book, and put *priests* for *ministers*. *Hist. of Convocation*, p. 270. Another charge against Laud was that *at* was printed for *in*, in the Epistle for the Sunday before Easter, where the phrase was, '*in the name of Jesus every knee shall bow*': the Archbishop replied that, if the alteration were purposely made by the printers, they followed the Geneva Bible (1557). The fact was that '*at*' was printed during the whole of the reign of Charles I., and the practice of bowing at the name of Jesus, which the word was supposed to sanction, had been required by the injunctions of Elizabeth. See Cardwell, *Conf.* ch. v.

The Prayer Book for Scotland.

In England. Parliamentary action.

Committee of the Lords on Church Reform.

adopted into the English Book in 1662,<sup>1</sup> and other good points, which the English Prayer Book has never yet been able to adopt, have found their way by means of the Scottish Liturgy into the Liturgy of the American Church; besides, the tradition of the Book of 1637 is preserved in the present Scottish Liturgy, which may fairly claim to be the best Liturgy in use in the Anglican Communion.<sup>2</sup>

From the opening of the Long Parliament at the end of 1640, it was manifest that a time of trouble was coming speedily upon the Church of England; Convocation, Liturgy, and Episcopacy were alike attacked, and after the Lords had attempted to suppress disturbances by commanding that the Prayer Book order should be observed<sup>3</sup> (January 16), attempts were made to lessen the hostility of the Puritans against the Prayer Book by introducing some important changes. On the 1st of March, the very day on which Archbishop Laud was sent to the Tower, the House of Lords appointed a committee,<sup>4</sup> 'to take into consideration all innovations in the Church respecting religion.' Archbishop Laud thus expresses his fears of the result: 'This committee will meddle with doctrine as well as ceremonies, and will call some divines to them to consider of the business. . . . Upon the whole matter I believe this committee will prove the national synod of England, to the great dishonour of the Church: and what else may follow upon it God knows.'<sup>5</sup> A sub-committee was appointed, more

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* the Manual Acts and the Offertory.

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.* the oblation before Communion and the Epiclesis. For the later history see below, p. 228.

<sup>3</sup> Gardiner, IX. 266.

<sup>4</sup> The committee consisted of thirty lay peers and ten bishops, to whom later the Bishop of Durham and two more lay peers were added; on

March 10, they were empowered to increase their number by calling in such learned divines as they pleased, and Archbishop Ussher, Prideaux, Warde, Twisse, and Hacket were especially named as suitable.

<sup>5</sup> Laud, *Diary*, p. 61; cp. p. 174 (*Works*, III. 241, 437). Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* bk. XI. p. 174.

readily to prepare matters for discussion; Williams,<sup>1</sup> Bishop of Lincoln and Dean of Westminster, presided and summoned other clergy to assist, representing both parties in the Church.<sup>2</sup> A memorandum was drawn up by seven of the members for the consideration of the body,<sup>3</sup> divided into three heads, 'Innovations in doctrine,' 'Innovations in discipline,' and 'Considerations upon the Book of Common Prayer.'

Among the ceremonies, or innovations in discipline, which the committee were invited to condemn, the following concern the arrangements of the public service:

The turning of the holy table altar-wise: Bowing towards it: Setting candlesticks on it: Making canopies over it: Advancing crucifixes and images upon the parafront, or altar-cloth, so-called: Compelling all communicants to come up before the rails, and there to receive: Reading some part of the Morning Prayer at the holy table when there is no Communion: Turning to the East when pronouncing the Creed: Reading the Litany in the midst of the church: Offering bread and wine by the Churchwardens before the consecration of the elements: Having a *credentia*, or side-table, besides the Lord's table, for divers uses in the Lord's Supper: Introducing an offertory before the Communion, distinct from the giving of alms to the poor: Prohibiting a direct prayer before sermon, and bidding of prayer. Singing the *Te Deum* cathedral-wise: Introducing 'Latin-Service in the Communion' at Cambridge and Oxford: Standing up at the hymns, and always at *Gloria Patri*: Carrying children from the baptism to the altar so called, there to offer them up to God.

<sup>1</sup> Though Williams for political causes fell in with the Puritans, yet he must be allowed the praise of getting the Prayer Book translated into French and Spanish. See Lathbury, *Hist. of Convoc.* p. 268.

<sup>2</sup> Laud's *History of Troubles*, p. 174 (*Works*, III. 437): they were Drs. Brownrigg, Featly, Hacket, Westfield, Burgess, with Messrs. Shute, Calamy, White and Marshall. Cp. Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 239; Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* VIII. 799; Gardiner, IX. 298. At the same

time other private meetings were held by Williams in which Bp. Sanderson had a part. See *Life* by I. Walton. This was no doubt on the conservative side: Sanderson like J. Taylor drew up a form of service for use when the P. B. was suppressed. See Jacobson, *Fragm. Illustr.* I—40, and Taylor's *Works*.

<sup>3</sup> Namely, Ussher, Williams, Prideaux, Ward, Brownrigg, Featly and Hacket. See Selborne, *Liturgy of the English Church*, p. 37.

The 'Considerations upon the Book of Common Prayer,' propounded the following queries for the consideration of the committee:

To expunge from the Kalendar the names of some departed saints and others: To set out the reading Psalms, sentences of Scripture, hymns, epistles, and gospels, in the new translation: To mend the rubric, where all vestments in time of Divine service are now commanded which were used 2 Edw. VI. To substitute canonical Scripture for the Apocrypha in the Kalendar: To repeat the Doxology always at the end of the Lord's Prayer: To read the Lessons and not sing them: Whether *Gloria Patri* should be repeated at the end of every Psalm: Instead of daily Morning and Evening Prayers, to read them only on Wednesday and Friday Morning, and in the afternoon on Saturday, with holyday eves: To omit the hymns, *Benedicite*, &c.: In the prayer for the clergy, to alter the phrase, 'which only worketh great marvels': To alter the rubric 'that such as intend to communicate shall signify their names to the curate over night, or in the morning before prayers': To clear the rubric, how far a minister may repulse a scandalous and notorious sinner from the Communion: To gather the alms when the people depart, instead of before the Communion begin: The confession to be said only by the minister, and then at every clause repeated by the people: Not to print in great letters the words in the form of Consecration, 'This is my body—This is my blood of the New Testament': To insert a rubric, touching kneeling at the Communion, that it is to comply in all humility with the prayer which the minister makes when he delivers the elements: Cathedral and collegiate churches to be bound to celebrate the Holy Communion only once in a month: In the first prayer at Baptism, to change the words, 'didst sanctify the flood of Jordan and all other waters,' into 'didst sanctify the element of water': Whether it be not fit to have some discreet rubric made to take away all scandal from signing the sign of the cross upon the infants after baptism: or, if it shall seem more expedient to be quite disused, whether this reason should be published, That in ancient Liturgies no cross was confined [?] consigned] upon the party but where oil also was used, and therefore oil being now omitted, so may also that which was concomitant with it, the sign of the cross: In Private Baptism the rubric mentions that which must not be done, that the minister may dip the child in water being at the point of death: To leave out the words in the rubric of Confirmation, 'and be undoubtedly



saved': To enlarge the Catechism: To take away the times prohibited for marriage: None to marry without a certificate that they are instructed in their Catechism: To alter the words, 'with my body I thee worship,' into 'I give thee power over my body': To mend the rubric, that new-married persons should receive the Communion the same day of their marriage, by adding, 'or upon the Sunday following, when the Communion is celebrated': In the Absolution of the Sick, to say, 'I pronounce thee absolved': To compose the Psalm of Thanksgiving of women after childbirth out of proper versicles taken from divers Psalms: May not the priest rather read the Communion in the desk, than go up to the pulpit? The rubric in the Communion leaves it doubtful whether the Liturgy may not be read in divers places in the church: To alter the words of Burial, 'in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life,' into 'knowing assuredly that the dead shall rise again': In the Litany, to put 'grievous sins' for 'deadly sin.' To mend the imperfections of the metre in the singing psalms and then to add lawful authority to have them publicly sung before and after sermons, and sometimes instead of the hymns of Morning and Evening Prayer.<sup>1</sup>

The sub-committee held a week of sittings in March, and the matter then went back to the committee, which closed its meetings on April 8. An allusion appears to it a month later, and then the whole question disappeared.

Meanwhile, motions were entertained in the House of Commons<sup>2</sup> which evidently showed that no changes in ritual or discipline would pacify opponents who sought the ruin of the Church, and who were rapidly increasing in power. The 'Protestation' of May 3 was an attack upon the Church under the specious guise of a promise to maintain 'the true reformed Protestant religion.'<sup>3</sup> The purpose however was plain, and under the circumstances the idea of making concessions, such as those suggested, was laid aside as useless: but it

<sup>1</sup> A Copy of the Proceedings of some worthy Divines, &c., 1641, printed in Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 270. Lathbury, *Hist. Convoc.* 269.

<sup>2</sup> The bill against deans and chap-

ters occasioned a misunderstanding amongst the divines, and broke up the meeting. Collier, VIII. 800.

<sup>3</sup> Gee and Hardy, *Doc.* xcviil.

was not forgotten by Nonconformists that such alterations had once been taken into consideration by persons of high name and station in the Church, and many of the objections reappeared in 1662.<sup>1</sup> When Parliament reassembled in the autumn, unanimity was at an end: the ecclesiastical question came again to the front, and it was the question of Prayer Book which divided the House of Commons into the two great parties which thenceforward contended to the death. A new iconoclastic campaign similar to those which disgraced the reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth was inaugurated, but a resolution against the defamers of the Prayer Book rent the House of Commons asunder; and meanwhile, it found itself in conflict with the Lords, who had already modified its iconoclastic zeal and now reasserted their own previous order of January 16, that the Prayer Book should be strictly observed and its disturbers punished.<sup>2</sup> After this the tide set wholly against the Church: the power of the Lords in her favour grew weaker: the bishops were ejected from Parliament<sup>3</sup> and imprisoned, and episcopacy was abolished.<sup>4</sup>

In 1643 (June 12) an Ordinance of Parliament summoned the Westminster Assembly,—a body designed as a substitute for Convocation, consisting both of lay members and divines, 'to be consulted with by the Parliament, for the settling of the government and Liturgy of the Church of England, and for vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the said Church from false aspersions and interpretations.'<sup>5</sup> In the same year (Sept. 25), the Scottish oath, called 'The Solemn League

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. Baxter's Preface to his Rejoinder to the Bishops in 1661; below, p. 191. And see Selborne, *Liturgy of the English Church*, 36.

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner, x. 14; Collier, VIII. 806; Gee and Hardy, *Doc.* c.—ciii.

<sup>3</sup> Gee and Hardy, *Doc.* civ.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* cv. cvi.

<sup>5</sup> Rushworth, *Hist. Collections*, Part III. Vol. II. p. 337. See Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* VIII. 823.

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The Di-  
rectory sub-  
stituted for  
the Prayer  
Book,

and enforced  
under penal-  
ties.

and Covenant,<sup>1</sup>—a deliberate pledge to overturn the Church—was subscribed by the remnant of the Parliament, and then was imposed upon all civil and military officers, and upon all those of the clergy who had hitherto been allowed to retain their benefices.<sup>2</sup> In 1645 (Jan. 3), the day on which the archbishop's attainder passed the Lords, an Ordinance of Parliament took away the Book of Common Prayer, and established in its stead the 'Directory for the Public Worship of God in the Three Kingdoms.'<sup>3</sup> This was followed (Aug. 23) by another Ordinance 'for the more effectual putting in execution the Directory.'<sup>4</sup> Henceforth to use the Book of Common Prayer in any 'public place of worship, or in any private place or family within the kingdom,' was punishable by a fine of five pounds for the first offence, ten pounds for the second, and for the third by 'one whole year's imprisonment without bail or mainprize': not to observe the Directory subjected the minister to a fine of forty shillings; while to do or say anything in 'opposition, derogation, or depraving of the said book,' might be punished by a fine of five pounds, or fifty pounds, at the discretion of the magistrate.<sup>5</sup>

This history does not require any account of those years of upheaval and violence, during which the voice of the Church of England was silenced, and Presbyterianism, after trying to bring a spiritual despotism into every parish and household, was in its turn obliged to

<sup>1</sup> Gee and Hardy, *Doc.* cvii.

<sup>2</sup> Hallam, *Constit. Hist.* II. 224 (164).

<sup>3</sup> Collier, VIII. 835. The Ordinance is printed with the Directory in Hall, *Rel. Lit.* III.

<sup>4</sup> Collier, VIII. 838.

<sup>5</sup> 'The Presbyterian State Church proved to be quite as intolerant, and to the majority of the people less

pleasant, than the Episcopalian had been. Assemblies of divines have never been celebrated for practical wisdom, moderation, or charity, and of all assemblies, that of Westminster, which sat for six years, and held 1163 sittings, showed the least of these qualities.' Skeats, *Hist. of Free Churches of England*, p. 51.

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yield to Independency,<sup>1</sup> a 'hydra of many heads.' 'Old sects revived, new sects were created, and there ensued a state of distraction and impiety, the natural tendency of which was to break up all minor distinctions, and to divide men into two large classes, one of them anxious to find terms of agreement, in order that religion might not be easily extinguished, and the other indifferent whether any form of religion remained.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hallam, *Constitutional Hist.* II.    <sup>2</sup> Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 244-270 (197).

## ADDITIONAL NOTE.

## THE DIRECTORY.

AN abridgment of Calvin's Form of Service, or rather of Knox's Book of Common Order, was presented to Parliament, and printed in 1641, and again in 1643;<sup>1</sup> and another adaptation of the same original, somewhat larger than the Middleburgh,<sup>2</sup> but much shorter than either that of Calvin or Knox, was presented to the Westminster Assembly, and printed in 1644.<sup>3</sup> The parliamentary divines, however, preferred to issue a work of their own composition. They had denounced the Book of Common Prayer as unfit to lead the devotions of the people; but they then suffered a year to pass by before they attempted to substitute anything in its place. Then came the ordination of Elders and Deacons by an Association of Ministers in London and other chief towns; and then the preparation of a Book of service. A committee was appointed to agree upon certain general heads for the direction of the minister in the discharge of his office before the congregation; these, being arranged in London, were sent to Scotland for approbation, and summarily established by Ordinance of Parliament (and denounced by a counter-proclamation from the King) as the Directory for Public Worship. This was not so much a Form of Devotion, as a Manual of Directions: the minister being allowed a discretion, either to make the most of what was provided for him in the

<sup>1</sup> *The Service, Discipline, and Poperie, Heresie, and Schisme, according to the Forme published by Administration of the Sacraments, the Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, and parallel'd to the best Geneva...1641.* The 2nd Edition was called, *The Reformation of the Discipline and Service of the Church, according to the best Reformed Churches...1643.* P. Hall's *Reliquiæ Liturgicæ*, Vol. III. p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 132.

<sup>3</sup> *The Settled Order of Church-Government, Liturgie, and Discipline, for the rooting out of all*

The Directory.

The Service and Discipline.

The Settled Order.

The Directory.

book, or to use his own abilities to supply what he considered needful.

A few of the variations, more especially directed against preceding usages, were,—the rejection of the Apocrypha; the discontinuance of Private Baptism; of godfathers and godmothers; of the sign of the cross; of the wedding ring; and of the administration of the Lord's Supper to the Sick at home; the removal of the communion-table into the body of the church; with the preference of a sitting or standing to a kneeling posture. All saints' days were discarded, and all vestments. No service was appointed for the Burial of the Dead: no Creed was recited, nor the Ten Commandments; though these with the Apostles' Creed were added to the Confession of Faith a year or two afterwards.<sup>1</sup>

This parliamentary form of Public Devotion is entitled, *A Directory for the Public Worship of God throughout the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Together with an Ordinance of Parliament for the taking away of the Book of Common Prayer, and the Establishing and Observing of this present Directory throughout the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales.*

It commences with a note 'Of the assembling of the congregation, and their behaviour in the Public Worship of God.' The minister is to begin with prayer, in a short form, for a blessing on the portion of the Word then to be read. All the Canonical Books are to be read over in order: ordinarily one chapter of each Testament at every meeting. After reading and singing, 'the minister who is to preach is to endeavour to get his own and his hearers' hearts to be rightly affected with their sins.' A long prayer is prescribed before the sermon. Then follows a long note of the manner and matter of preaching. After sermon follows a prayer of thanksgiving. The Lord's Prayer, as being not only a pattern of prayer, but itself a most comprehensive prayer, is recommended for use in the prayers of the Church.

*The Administration of the Sacraments; and first of Baptism.* It is to be administered only by a minister, 'in the place of Public Worship, and in the face of the congregation, where the people may most conveniently see and hear; and not in the places where fons in the time of Popery were unfitly and superstitiously placed.'

<sup>1</sup> See Hall, *Reliq. Liturg.* Introd. 23, 1645) in *Reliq. Liturg.* Vol. III., p. xl. Several editions of the Directory appeared during the years 1644, 1645, and 1646. It is reprinted with the Ordinances of Parliament (Jan. 3, 1644-5, and Aug.

Reading of Scripture.

Baptism.

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Directory.

The child, 'after notice given to the minister the day before, is to be presented by the father, or (in case of his necessary absence) by some Christian friend in his place.' 'Before Baptism, the minister is to use some words of instruction': that the seed of the faithful have right to Baptism: that they are Christians, and federally holy, before Baptism, and therefore are they baptized: that the inward grace of Baptism is not tied to the amount of its administration; and that it is not so necessary that through the want of it the infant is in danger of damnation, or the parents guilty. 'Prayer is to be joined with the word of institution, for sanctifying the water to this spiritual use.'

The Lord's  
Supper.

'The Communion, or Supper of the Lord, is frequently to be celebrated; but how often, may be considered and determined by the ministers and other church-governors of each congregation: 'We judge it convenient to be done after the morning sermon.' 'It is requisite that public warning be given on the Sabbath-day before the administration.' Therefore, after the sermon and prayers, follows a short exhortation: then, 'the table being before decently covered, and so conveniently placed that the communicants may orderly sit about it or at it, the minister is to begin the action with sanctifying and blessing the elements of bread and wine set before him.' The words of institution are next to be read out of the Evangelists, or 1 Cor. xi. 23-27: then the prayer, thanksgiving, or blessing, offered up to God, 'to vouchsafe his gracious presence, and the effectual working of his Spirit in us; and so to sanctify these elements, both of bread and wine, and to bless his own ordinance, that we may receive by faith the body and blood of Jesus Christ crucified for us, and so feed upon him that he may be one with us, and we with him, that he may live in us, and we in him and to him, who hath loved us, and given himself for us.' 'The elements being now sanctified by the word and prayer, the minister, being at the table, is to take the bread in his hand, and say in these expressions (or other the like used by Christ, or his Apostle, upon this occasion):—*According to the holy institution, command, and example of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, I take this bread; and having given thanks, I break it, and give it unto you.* (There the minister, who is also himself to communicate, is to break the bread, and give it to the communicants.) *Take ye, eat ye. This is the body of Christ, which is broken for you. Do this in remembrance of him.* In like manner the minister is to take the cup, and say . . . . *According to the institution, command, and example of our Lord Jesus Christ, I take this cup and give it unto you.* (Here he giveth

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it to the communicants.) *This cup is the New Testament, in the blood of Christ, which is shed for the remission of the sins of many; drink ye all of it.* After all have communicated, the minister may 'put them in mind of the grace of God in Jesus Christ held forth in this Sacrament': and he is to give solemn thanks to God.

'The collection for the poor is so to be ordered, that no part of the Public Worship be thereby hindered.'

Then follows a note 'Of the Sanctification of the Lord's-day.'

'The purpose of marriage between any persons shall be published by the minister three several Sabbath-days in the congregation.' And the marriage shall be publicly solemnized 'in the place appointed by authority for Public Worship, before a competent number of credible witnesses, at some convenient hour of the day, at any time of the year, except on a day of public humiliation. And we advise that it be not on the Lord's-day.'

Matrimony

The manner of marriage is first a prayer, a declaration of the institution, use, and ends thereof, a solemn charge, if they know any cause why they may not lawfully proceed to marriage, to discover it: then 'the minister shall cause, first, the man to take the woman by the right hand, saying these words: *I N. do take thee N. to be my married wife, and do, in the presence of God, and before this congregation, promise and covenant to be a loving and faithful husband unto thee, until God shall separate us by death.*' Then the woman shall take the man by his right hand, and say a like form, adding the word *obedient*. 'Then, without any further ceremony, the minister shall . . . pronounce them to be husband and wife according to God's ordinance; and so conclude the action with prayer.'

A notice is given of instructions 'Concerning Visitation of the Sick, and suitable topics of exhortation and prayer.'

Visitation of  
the Sick.

'Concerning Burial of the Dead,' all customs of praying, reading, and singing, both in going to and at the grave, are said to have been grossly abused. The simple direction is therefore given, 'When any person departeth this life, let the dead body, upon the day of burial, be decently attended from the house to the place appointed for public burial, and there immediately interred, without any ceremony.'

Burial.

Then follow directions 'Concerning Public Solemn Fasting,' 'Concerning the Observation of Days of Public Thanksgiving,' and 'Of Singing of Psalms'; concluding with 'An Appendix touching Days and Places for Public Worship'; in which it is ordered that only the Lord's-day, and days separated for Public

Holydays.

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Directory.  
Holy Places.

Fasting or Thanksgiving, shall be kept holy ; and the old churches are allowed to be used for the following reason : 'As no place is capable of any holiness under pretence of whatsoever Dedication or Consecration, so neither is it subject to such pollution by any superstition, formerly used and now laid aside, as may render it unlawful or inconvenient for Christians to meet together therein for the Public Worship of God. And therefore we hold it requisite that the places of public assembling for worship among us should be continued and employed to that use.'

Form of  
prayer for  
Sailors.

The Parliament, it seems, was not entirely satisfied with its own Directory, and soon found it necessary to publish a supplement for the use of the sailors. This is one of the most singular productions of that extraordinary period. It is called *A Supply of Prayer for the Ships that want Ministers to pray with them*. 'A reason of this work' is prefixed to the book ; and it states : 'Whereas there are thousands of ships which have not ministers with them to guide them in prayer, and therefore either use the old form of Common Prayer, or no prayer at all ; the former whereof for many weighty reasons hath been abolished, and the latter is likely to make them rather heathens than Christians : Therefore, to avoid these inconveniences, it has been thought fit to frame some prayers agreeing with the Directory established by Parliament.' There are certain directions for the use of the form ; 'The company being assembled, they may thus begin with prayer' : a short prayer follows, after which the Lord's Prayer is to be used, and we have this direction, 'After this, some psalms and chapters being read out of both Testaments (but none out of those books called Apocrypha), and a psalm being sung, a prayer may follow in this manner.' Two prayers follow, one being 'for the Church universal, and our united Churches and Kingdoms.'—The latter contains a petition for the King, though at the very time they were making war upon him : 'We pray thee for all in authority, especially for the King's Majesty, that God would make him rich in blessings, both in his person and Government, establish his throne in religion, save him from evil counsel, and make him a blessed and glorious instrument for the conservation and propagation of the gospel.' Next comes a direction, 'After this prayer a psalm may be sung, and the conclusion may be with a thanksgiving and blessing.' Then follows 'a prayer particularly fitted for those that travell upon the seas,' and 'a prayer in a storm.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lathbury, *Hist. of Convoc.* pp. 497 and ff.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE PRAYER BOOK IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II.

[A.D. 1660—1662.]

ESCAPING from the dismal period of rebellion, we pass on with the history of the Prayer Book to the year 1660, when the restoration of the monarchy brought freedom of conscience and worship to Churchmen. On the 1st of May letters from King Charles II., dated from Breda, were brought to the Houses of Lords and Commons, with a Declaration, in which the King 'declared a liberty to tender consciences' on the subject of religion, 'and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom ; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us for granting that indulgence.'<sup>1</sup> By a resolution of the Commons (May 8), the King was desired to make a speedy return to his Parliament, and on the same day was solemnly proclaimed : and on the 10th of May, on the occasion of a day of thanksgiving, the Common Prayer was read before the Lords.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile (May 4) a deputation from both Houses was sent to meet the King at the Hague. Reynolds,

<sup>1</sup> Gee and Hardy, *Doc.* cxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Whitlocke, *Memorials*, p. 703.

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Restoration  
of the  
Prayer Book.  
The King's  
Declaration  
from Breda.