

CHAPTER XV.

THE OCCASIONAL SERVICES.

THE Occasional Services differ from the foregoing in that they are not properly speaking independent services but are designed wherever it is possible to be combined with the Holy Communion. This character will appear as they are discussed one by one in order.

SECT. I.—Solemnization of Matrimony.

The essence of Matrimony¹ is a natural compact not a religious ceremony. The blessing pronounced upon a marriage is subordinate to the contract made by the parties, and therefore, though religious rites have habitually accompanied the marriage ceremonies, they are always only secondary, and not essential to the matrimonial bond: but on the other hand a contract can hardly be called Holy Matrimony or Christian Marriage, which is not sealed by the Church's blessing. According to the old customs of Rome in heathen times a sacrifice accompanied the legal transactions of marriage: when Christian Matrimony began the Chris-

¹ For the whole of this section, see vi., and Duchesne, ch. xiv. Watkins, *Holy Matrimony*, esp. ch.

tian Sacrifice of The Eucharist with a solemn benediction took the place of the heathen rites, but otherwise the old transactions went on and continue down to the present time.

They fell into two parts, sometimes kept distinct and sometimes joined; first came (1) the *Sponsalia* or betrothal, at which the documents were signed and four symbolical ceremonies took place:—(a) the giving of presents (*arrhae*) or earnest representing the marriage settlement, (b) the kiss, (c) the ring, (d) the joining of hands: then followed (2) the wedding itself according to the ancient rites called *Confarreatio*.¹ The principal features of this were these; the bridegroom and bride in nuptial attire, both of them wearing crowns and the bride veiled with the nuptial veil, took part in the sacrifices, and especially partook in common of the *panis farreus* or sacrificial cake made for the purpose by the Vestal Virgins.

Already in the time of S. Ignatius it was recognised that the marriage of Christians needs the recognition of the Bishop,² and but little transformation was needed to make the foregoing ceremonies acceptable to the Christian conscience. The references to the rites of marriage in early Christian writers are few: but such as there are bear witness to the adoption of the customs of the old Roman law. Thus Tertullian speaks of the happiness of a marriage which is made by the Church, and confirmed by the Holy Sacrifice, and sealed by the Blessing, and reported by the angels, and ratified by the Father:³

¹ This form of marriage, the only one involving religious rites, had gone out of popular use among the pagan Romans in the second century, but was retained in a christianized form by the Church.

² *Ep. ad Polyc.* 5.

³ *Ad uxorem*, ii. 9. 'Unde sufficimus ad enarrandam felicitatem ejus matrimonii quod ecclesia conciliat, et confirmat oblatio, et obsignat benedictio, angeli renuntiant, Pater rato habet?'

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Early Christian custom.

Distinguishing feature.

Marriage primarily a natural compact; secondarily religious.

Roman marriage.

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and elsewhere he speaks of the veil, the kiss, and the joining of hands.¹

Later evidence.

No fuller description of the Western Rites² is forthcoming till the Reply of Pope Nicholas I. to the Bulgarians, given in 866, which shows the continuance of the old customs, and forms a link between the early days and the later mediæval Service-books.³

Mediæval

As to the nuptial mass, which at least from Tertullian's time took the place of the pagan sacrifices, it is found in the three early Roman Sacramentaries: in each case, besides the usual collects, a special preface⁴ and *Hanc igitur* clause were provided for the Canon, and further a form of nuptial Benediction, with collect prefixed, was inserted after the consecration: the Benediction, which corresponds to the old Roman ceremony of the veiling of the Bride, was originally in the form of a eucharistic prayer,⁵ prefaced by the Salutation and *Sursum corda*. The Sacramentaries⁶ vary one from another, and in particular the Benediction in the Gregorian differs from that which figures in the other two, but incorporates towards the end a number of its phrases.⁷

¹ *De Virg. Vel.* II. The crown is of later date. Warren, *A.-N. Liturg.* 138.

² For other earlier references see Watkins, *l.c.*

³ 'Nostrates siquidem tam mares quam femine non ligaturam auream vel argenteam aut ex quolibet metallo compositam quando nuptialia fœdera contrahunt in capitibus deferunt: sed post sponsalia, quæ futurarum sunt nuptiarum promissa fœdera, quæque consensu eorum, quæ hæc contrahunt, et eorum, in quorum potestate sunt, celebrantur, et postquam arrhis sponsam sibi sponsus per digitum fidei a se annulo insignitum desponderit, dotemque utrique placitam sponsus ei cum scripto

pactum hoc continente coram invitatis ab utraque parte tradiderit; aut mox, aut apto tempore . . . ambo ad nuptialia fœdera perducuntur. Et primum quidem in ecclesia domini cum oblationibus, quas offerre debent Deo per sacerdotis manum, statuuntur, sicque demum benedictionem et velamen cœleste suscipiunt. . . Post hæc autem de ecclesia egressi coronas in capitibus gestant, quæ semper in ecclesia ipsa sunt solite reservari.' Cap. iii. Harduin v. 354.

⁴ Except in the Leonine Sacr.

⁵ See above, p. 523.

⁶ Muratori, i. 446; i. 722; and ii. 244.

⁷ It is given below, p. 617.

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There is variation also in the other component parts: no lessons for the nuptial Mass are provided in the earliest forms of the *Comes*, and consequently, while the same Epistle is found in general use, different Gospels were adopted, and *e.g.* Sarum differs from York. No special chants were provided for a marriage in the old Antiphonal, and in consequence here again there is considerable variation.

In England the usual custom was to take the Votive Mass of the Trinity as the Mass of Marriage, and to use it in conjunction with the special lessons and prayers provided by the *Comes* and the Sacramentary, but dropping the old *Hanc igitur* clause and substituting the Trinity Preface in the place of the old special Preface:¹ but even in this there was no uniformity:² Sarum, Hereford and York all differed in details; and there were also other less defined local differences.³

Setting these aside and taking the Sarum service as representative of all, it is to be observed that it embodies (i) the old Roman ceremony of Espousal, followed by (ii) the Benediction and (iii) the nuptial Mass: this arrangement was closely followed in the First Prayer Book. The change was here all the less because it had long been customary to conduct a large part of the service in the vernacular: moreover the changes made subsequent to 1549 in the English service have been few and small, so that a simple comparison of the First Prayer Book with the Sarum service will put the reader in possession of all the main points of interest.

¹ For the curtailment of variation in these two respects, see above pp. 448, 489.

² York has a Trinity sequence, but Sarum one for Whitsuntide.

³ *Ordo ad faciendum Sponsalia*. Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* i. p. 42 [50].

The York Ordo is printed in the *York Manual* (Surtees Society) p. 24: the Sarum Ordo is in the Appendix, p. 17*; the Hereford Ordo, p. 115*; and other ancient Ordines, p. 157*.

and English custom.

The Sarum Service and the First Prayer Book.

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Final
warning,

The Latin service¹ began at the Church door² with the following final publication of banns, the parties standing there, the man at the right hand of the woman.³

'Lo brethren we are comen here before God and his angels and all his halowes in the face and presence of our moder holy Chyrche for to couple and to knyght these two bodyes togyder, that is to saye of this man and of this woman, that they be from this tyme forth but one bodye and two soules in the fayth and lawe of God and holy Chyrche, for to deserve everlastynge lyfe, what somer that they have done here before.'

and address.

This was enlarged in 1549 by the addition of an explanation of the purpose of marriage:⁴ and then

¹ The service runs thus in the Sarum Manual: the vernacular parts above are taken from the York Manual.

'In primis statuatur vir et mulier ante ostium ecclesie coram Deo, sacerdote, et populo, vir a dextris mulieris, et mulier a sinistris viri.

Tunc interroget sacerdos banna, dicens in lingua materna sub hac forma:

Ecce convenimus huc, fratres, coram Deo, et angelis, et omnibus sanctis ejus, in facie ecclesie, ad conjungendum duo corpora, scilicet hujus viri et hujus mulieris, Hic respiciat sacerdos personas suas, ut a modo sint una caro et due anime in fide et in lege Dei, ad promerendam simul vitam eternam quicquid ante hoc fecerint, Admoneo igitur vos omnes, ut si quis sit ex vobis qui aliquid dicere sciat quare isti adolescentes legitime contrahere non possint, modo confiteatur.

Eadem admonitio fiat ad virum et ad mulierem, ut, si quid ab illis occulte actum fuerit, vel si quid devoverint, vel alio modo de se noverint quare legitime contrahere non possint, tunc confiteantur.'

² 'Tunc lete hem come and wytnes brynge

To stonde by at here weddyng;

So openlyche at the chyrche dore
Lete hem eyther wedde othere.'

Myrk, *Instructions for Parish Priests*, p. 7 (ed. Early English Text Society).

³ The direction given above as to the position of the parties was not inserted in the Prayer Book till 1661. The ambiguity of the english rubric is made clear by the latin.

⁴ Comp. Hermann's *Consultation*, fol. ccxxviii: at the beginning of the ceremony there is an address, reciting from Gen. ii., Matt. xix., and Ephes. v., and then proceeding:—
'Out of these places the despoised persons and rest of the congregation must be warned that they learn and consider, first, how holy a kind of life and how acceptable to God Matrimony is. For by these places we know that God Himself instituted holy wedlock, and that in paradise, man being yet perfect and holy, and that he hath greatly blessed this copulation, and joineth Himself all those together which contract Matrimony in His name, and giveth the husband to be an head and saviour to the wife, as Christ is the Head and Saviour of the congregation, and furthermore giveth the wife a body and a help to the husband, that here in this world they may lead a godly,

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followed the address to the parties, also following the old lines.

'I charge you on Goddes behalfe and holy Chirche that, if there be any of you that can say any thynge why these two may not lawfully be wedded togyder at this tyme, say it nowe outhr pryuely or apertly in helpynge of your soules and theirs bothe. Also I charge you boythe and eyther be your selfe as ye will answer before God at the day of dome that yf there be any thinge done pryuely or openly betwene yourselfe, or that ye know any lawfull lettynge why that ye may nat be wedded togyder at this tyme say it nowe, or we do any more to this mater.'

The rubric dealing with any case where any impediment was alleged also is continued in the new service.¹

The espousal followed also in the vernacular:² first

honest, and joyous life together; and again, in the prayer after the ceremonies of the ring and joining of hands:—'Which also honoured Matrimony with His presence, and with the beginning of His miracles, and would have it to be a token and mystery of His exceeding love towards the congregation.' The three 'causes for which Matrimony was ordained' were commonplaces of scholastic theology: they are also found at considerable length in the Calvinistic services, and in the *Order of Matrimony* printed by Ant. Scoloker (circa 1548), Bodleian Libr., Arch. Bodl., A. i., 56. They have been omitted in the Irish and American Books, though there never was a time when plain speaking was more necessary and false modesty more to be deprecated than the present.

¹ 'Si vero aliquis impedimentum proponere voluerit et ad hoc probandum cautionem præstiterit, differantur sponsalia quousque rei veritas cognoscatur.'

² 'Postea dicat sacerdos ad virum

cunctis audientibus sic: N. vis habere hanc mulierem in sponsam, eam diligere, honorare, tenere, et custodire sanam et infirmam, sicut sponsus debet sponsam; et omnes alias propter eam dimittere, et illi soli adhærere quamdiu vita utriusque vestrum duraverit? Respondeat vir: Volo.

Item dicat sacerdos ad mulierem hoc modo: N. Vis habere hunc virum in sponsum, et ei obedire et servire; et eum diligere, honorare, ac custodire sanam et infirmum, sicut sponsa debet sponsum; et omnes alios propter eum dimittere, et illi soli adhærere quamdiu vita utriusque vestrum duraverit? Respondeat mulier: Volo.

Deinde detur femina a patre suo vel ab amicis ejus: quod si puella sit, discoopertam habeat manum: si vidua, tectam: quam vir recipiat in Dei fide et sua servandam, sicut vovit coram sacerdote, et teneat eam per manum dextram in manu sua dextra, et sic det fidem mulieri per verba de presenti, ita dicens docente sacerdote, &c.. as on p. 614.

The Espousal.

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the question addressed to each in turn in slightly varying form.

'N. Wylt thou have this woman to thy wyfe and love her and wirschipe her [*to the woman* and to be buxum to him, luf hym, obeye to him and wirschipe hym, serve hym] and kepe her in syknes and in helthe and in all other degrese be to her as husbände sholde be to his wyfe, and all other forsake for her, and holde thee only to her to thy lyves ende?'

Ans. 'I will.'

The following question came into the English service though there is no sign of it in the Sarum Manual but only in that of York 'Who gyves me this wyfe?'

The Pighting.

Then the pighting of troth is given in both uses in English: the Sarum form lies closer to that of 1549.

'I N. take thee N. to my wedded wife [husband] to have and to hold from this day forward for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, [to be bonere and buxum¹ in bed and at the board] till death us departe, if holy Church it will ordain; and thereto I plight thee my troth.'

When each of the parties had been plighted, the ring with gold and silver were produced by the bridegroom and there followed the blessing of the ring in Latin. This blessing was omitted in 1549 but the 'tokens of spousage' were still retained, only to be superseded in 1552 by the paying of 'the accustomed duty to the Priest and Clerk.' The formula of the ring ran thus:

'With this ring I thee wed, this gold and silver I thee give, and with my body I thee worship,² and with all my worldly chattels thee endow?'

¹ *i.e.*, faithful and obedient.

² *i.e.*, honour: Cp. Wiclif at S. Mat. xix. 19, 'worschipe thi fadir and modir;' and 1 Sam. ii. 30, in the old translation, 'him that worships me I will worship.' The phrase

was objected to by the Puritans in 1604, and again in 1661, conceiving it to mean divine worship or adoration; and on both occasions it was agreed, as a matter of indifference, that it might be, 'worship and hon-

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And while the invocation of the Holy Trinity was said, the ring was placed upon the thumb and fingers of the bride's right hand in order, and finally left upon her fourth finger. This ceremony was not expressly directed in 1549 or since, but the wording of the rubric referred to it and seemed to expect its continuance.¹

The closing part of the Espousal in the Latin service consisted of (i) a short blessing, (ii) part of a psalm, (iii) suffrages leading up to (iv) a collect and (v) a blessing. In the English service alterations were made: (i) a new prayer of the ring was inserted, based upon the language of the old collects² for the blessing of the ring,³ but turned into a blessing of the bride and bridegroom instead;⁴ and the man was directed to put the ring at once on the fourth finger of the woman's left hand instead of following the old custom: (ii) a solemn

our,' or 'with my body I thee honour.' The old word was, however, retained, as in Luke xiv. 10, and as it is still in common use in the phrase 'worshipful' for 'honourable.'

¹ 'Accipiens sacerdos anulum tradat ipsum viro: quem vir accipiat manu sua dextera cum tribus principalioribus digitis, et manu sua sinistra tenens dexteram sponsae docente sacerdote dicat:

With this ringe I the wed, &c.

Et tunc inserat sponsus anulum pollicis sponsae dicens: In nomine Patris: *deinde secundo digito dicens:* et Filii: *deinde tertio digito dicens:* et Spiritus Sancti: *deinde quarto digito dicens:* Amen. *ibique dimittat anulum: quia in medico est quaedam vena procedens usque ad cor: et in sonoritate argenti designatur interna dilectio, quae semper inter eos debet esse recens.'*

² 'Benedicat sacerdos anulum hoc modo, cum Dominus vobiscum, et cum Oremus. Oratio.

Creator et Conservator humani generis, dator gratiae spiritualis, largi-

tor aeternae salutis; tu, Domine, mitte benedictionem tuam super hunc anulum, ut quae illum gestaverit sit armata virtute caelestis defensionis, et proficiat illi ad aeternam salutem. Per Christum.

Oremus. Benedic, Domine, hunc anulum, quem nos in tuo sancto nomine benedicimus: ut quaecumque eum portaverit in tua pace consistat, et in tua voluntate permaneat, et in tuo amore vivat et crescat et senescat, et multiplicetur in longitudinem dierum. Per Dominum.

Tunc aspergatur aqua benedicta super anulum.'

³ But note the change in the ceremony of the ring.

⁴ The allusion to the 'tokens of spousage' of Isaac, which was part of the prayer in 1549, when the 'tokens' were still retained, was omitted from the prayer in 1552, when they ceased to be given. A similar modification was also made in the pronouncement of union which follows.

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joining of hands and (iii) a pronouncement of union were introduced next from the service in the *Consultation*:¹ finally (iv) the Espousal closed with the blessing taken from the Latin service.² The joining of hands with its formula and the pronouncement of the union were old customs in many places abroad, but they seem not to have been current in England till they came in to the Prayer Book through the medium of the *Consultation*.³

The Wedding.

The second part of the service, the *Nuptiæ* or wedding proper, now follows, comprising the benedictory prayers:⁴ the Prayer Book follows very closely the lines of the old service. (i) The psalm was retained, to be sung as the bridal procession moves into the choir,⁵ and

¹ 'Then, if perchance they have rings, let them put them one upon another's finger, and so let the Minister join their right hands together, and say: That that God hath joined, let no man dissever. And let the Pastor say moreover with a loud voice that may be heard of all men: Forasmuch as then this John N. desireth this Anne to be his wife in the Lord, and this Anne desireth this John to be her husband in the Lord, and one hath made the other a promise of holy and Christian Matrimony, and have now both professed the same openly, and have confirmed it with giving of rings each to other, and joining of hands, I the Minister of Christ and the congregation pronounce that they be joined together with lawful and Christian Matrimony, and I confirm this their Marriage in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen.' *Hermann's Consultation*, fol. ccxxx.

² 'Benedicatur vos Deus Pater, custodiat vos Jesus Christus, illuminet vos Spiritus Sanctus. Ostendat Dominus faciem suam in vobis et miseretur vestri. Convertat Dominus vultum suum ad vos: et det vobis pacem: impleatque vos omni bene-

dictione spirituali, in remissionem omnium peccatorum vestrorum ut habeatis vitam æternam, et vivatis in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.'

³ *Sarum Manual, Ordo ad faciend. Sponsalia*, Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* i. p. 49 [60]. In 1549 this was simply translated; the sign of the cross was omitted at the revision in 1552, and the blessing slightly altered to its present form. In the American Prayer Book the service ends at this blessing.

⁴ In some places the hands were tied together by the Priest's stole, and this is the present custom in many places under the Roman Rite. See Martene. *Lib. i. cap. ix.*, Ord. XII-XV.

And for a full discussion of the ceremonies, see S. Paul's *Eccles. Soc. Trans.* iii. 165 and ff.

⁵ Formerly the nuptials were often solemnized some time after the espousal. There is an instance of this *temp.* Charles I. quoted by Blunt, p. 452.

⁶ Ps. cxxviii. A second Psalm (lxvii.) was appointed in 1549, to be used when the language of the ancient Marriage-psalm is clearly unsuitable.

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the bride and bridegroom take their place, kneeling before the Lord's Table; (ii) The suffrages follow; (iii) the two first Latin prayers were compressed into one English prayer; (iv) the prayer for fruitfulness follows the old lines; but before (vi) the final blessing¹ there is interpolated in the English service (v) a third English Collect which represents the old nuptial benediction of the early sacramentaries which took place after the Canon in the nuptial Mass²: it was transferred

¹ 'Hic intrent ecclesiam usque ad gradum altaris: et sacerdos in eundo cum suis ministris dicat hunc Psalmum sequentem: Beati omnes sine nota, cum Kyrie eleison. Tunc prostratis sponso et sponsa ante gradum altaris, roget sacerdos circumstantes orare pro eis, dicendo: Pater noster. Et ne nos. Sed libera.

Salvum fac servum tuum et ancillam tuam.

Deus meus sperantes in te.

Mitte eis, Domine, auxilium de sancto.

Et de Syon tuere eos.

Esto eis, Domine, turris fortitudinis.

A facie inimici.

Domine exaudi orationem meam.

Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

Dominus vobiscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Oremus. Benedicat vos Dominus ex Syon, &c.

Oremus. Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Jacob, benedicite adolescentibus istos: et semina semen vitæ æternæ in mentibus eorum: ut quicquid pro utilitate sua didicerint, hoc facere cupiant. Per Jesum.

Oremus. Respice, Domine, de caelis, et benedicite conventionem istam. Et sicut misisti sanctum angelum tuum Raphaellem ad Tobiam et Saram filiam Raguelis, ita digneris, Domine, mittere benedictionem tuam super istos adolescentes: ut in tua voluntate permaneant: et in tua securitate persistent: et in

amore tuo vivant et senescant: ut digni atque pacifici fiant et multiplicentur in longitudinem dierum. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Oremus. Respice, Domine, propitius super hunc famulum tuum, et super hanc famulam tuam; ut in nomine tuo benedictionem cœlestem accipiant: et filios filiorum suorum et filiarum suarum usque in tertiam et quartam progeniem incolumes videant, et in tua voluntate perseverent, et in futuro ad cœlestia regna perveniant. Per Christum.

Oremus. Omnipotens sempiternus Deus, qui primos parentes nostros Adam et Evam sua virtute creavit, et in sua sanctificatione copulavit: Ipse corda et corpora vestra sanctificet et benedicat, atque in societate et amore veræ dilectionis conjugat. Per Christum.

Deinde benedicat eos dicens:

Oremus. Benedicatur vos Deus omnipotens omni benedictione cœlesti, efficiatque vos dignos in conspectu suo: superabundet in vobis divitias gratiæ suæ, et erudiat vos in verbo veritatis, ut ei corpore pariter et mente complacere valeatis. Per Dominum nostrum.

The mention of Tobit in the second prayer was preserved in 1549, but omitted in 1552.

² 'Oremus. Propitiare Domine &c. Oremus. Deus qui potestate virtutis tuæ de nihilo cuncta fecisti; qui dispositis universitatis exordiis, homini ad imaginem Dei facto

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to the present position in 1549 so that all the special ceremonies and prayers of Matrimony might be kept together and be distinct from the Eucharist, which was to be celebrated at the close of the marriage ceremonies in its usual form. The contents and scope of the prayer were at the same time altered. The old prayer had been designed as a solemn blessing especially of the Bride, while she was covered with the veil, which, according to Roman custom even in pagan times, was the symbol of her marriage. Indeed the whole ceremony, like the Mass itself, had the Bride and not the Bridegroom in view and was known as the *Velatio nuptialis*. In later times when the old Roman view was no longer current, the veiling of the Bride was so far modified that a veil or canopy was held over both Bride and Bridegroom, but the prayers still remained unaltered. The English Prayer Book carried the same line of development a stage further and altered the prayer so as to make it include the Bridegroom as well as the Bride; and thus to be both more suitable to its altered position and more agreeable to the altered ideas.

The Mass.

The nuptial Mass thus lost its special significance in 1549: it was still ordered that '*The new married per-*

inseparabile mulieris adiutorium
condidisti, ut femineo corpori de
virili dares carne principium, docens
quod ex uno placuisset institui,
nunquam liceret disjungi; *Hic
incipit benedictio sacramentalis:*
Deus, qui tam excellenti mysterio
conjugalem copulam consecrasti,
ut Christi et ecclesie sacramentum
præsignares in foedere nuptiarum;
Hic finitur benedictio sacramentalis:
Deus, per quem mulier jungitur
viro et societas principaliter ordinata
ea benedictione † donatur, quæ sola
nec per originalis peccati pœnam,

nec per diluvii est ablata sententiam;
respice propitius super hanc famulam
tuam quæ maritali jungenda est
consortio, quæ se tua expetit
protectione muniri. Sit in ea jugum
dilectionis et pacis: fidelis et casta
nubat in Christo: imitatrixque
sanctarum permaneat feminarum.
Sit amabilis ut Rachel viro: sapiens
ut Rebecca: longæva et fidelis ut
Sara... et ad beatorum requiem
atque ad cœlestia regna perveniat.
Per Dominum, &c. Per omnia
sæcula sæculorum. Amen.²

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*sons, the same day of their Marriage, must receive the Holy Communion:*¹ but this was altered in 1661, in compliance with the objection of the Presbyterians,² or more probably from a conviction that many persons would be married according to the rites of the Church, who were far from being in real communion with it.³

The Address which was provided in 1549 is of the nature of a homily, showing the relative duties of married persons. Until 1661 it was to be used as the homily in the Communion Service when no other took its place: and the present practice is an adaptation of this to the altered conditions.

The Address.

The service ends abruptly because it is in fact incomplete and should be followed by the Holy Communion.⁴ In the Irish Prayer Book some prayers are added which give a false idea of completeness: in the American Book there is no proper nuptial Benediction at all but only the first part of the service consisting of the Espousal.

¹ Although this is no longer the positive rule, yet the rubric still asserts that it is 'convenient' *i.e.* Marriage, but presumes (as well it may) that all persons marriageable ought to be also fit to receive the holy Sacrament; and Marriage being so solemn a covenant of God, they that undertake it in the fear of God will not stick to seal it by receiving the Holy Communion, and accordingly prepare themselves for it. It were more Christian to desire that those licentious festivities might be suppressed, and the Communion more generally used by those that marry: the happiness would be greater than can easily be expressed.' Cardwell, *Conferences*, pp. 331, 360.

² 'This rubric doth either enforce all such as are unfit for the sacrament to forbear Marriage, contrary to Scripture, which approves the Marriage of all men; or else compels all that marry to come to the Lord's Table, though never so unprepared; and therefore we desire it may be omitted, the rather because that Marriage-festivals are too often accompanied with such diversions as are unsuitable to those Christian duties, which ought to be before and follow after the receiving of that holy

Sacrament.' The Bishops reply to this, that it 'enforces none to forbear Marriage, but presumes (as well it may) that all persons marriageable ought to be also fit to receive the holy Sacrament; and Marriage being so solemn a covenant of God, they that undertake it in the fear of God will not stick to seal it by receiving the Holy Communion, and accordingly prepare themselves for it. It were more Christian to desire that those licentious festivities might be suppressed, and the Communion more generally used by those that marry: the happiness would be greater than can easily be expressed.' Cardwell, *Conferences*, pp. 331, 360.

³ This was necessarily the case before the Act of 1836 (6 and 7 Gul. IV. c. 85), which allowed a civil contract of Marriage to be made in the presence of a Registrar.

⁴ Hooker, *E.P.* v. lxxiii. 8. *Fragm. Illustr.* 93.

Matrimony.

*Marriages
forbidden
at certain
seasons.*

One or two general points remain which demand notice. First with regard to the occasion of a marriage it is to be observed that matrimony, being an occasion of rejoicing, as early as the fourth century was forbidden, together with other festivities, during the solemn fast of Lent;¹ and in the eleventh century at certain other seasons also, such as Advent and Rogation-tide. No such prohibition has been inserted in the Prayer Book,² but it still forms part of the Law of the Church, in spite of two attempts made in parliament to alter it. Dispensations may be granted by the authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury.³ But in practice both the law and the dispensing power have been much ignored, though custom has continued to discountenance marriage in Lent. Further the ceremony may only take place within certain hours of the day so that publicity may be ensured.

*Publication
of Banns.*

The rubrics of the Publication of Banns,⁴ in the earlier Prayer Books, directed that they should be *asked three several Sundays, or Holy Days, in the time of service, the people being present, after the accustomed manner.*⁵ In 1661 the time of service was explained to

¹ *Concil. Laodicense*, (circa 364) Can. LII. : "Οτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν τεσσαρακοστῇ γάμους ἢ γενέθλια ἐπιτελεῖν. Mansi, II. 571. Bruns. I. 78. Gratian, *Decr.* XXXIII. iv. 8.

² The following clause was proposed to the Convocation (1661), but was not inserted in the Prayer Book : — 'By the ecclesiastical laws of this realm there be some times in the year wherein marriages are not usually solemnized, as from Advent Sunday until eight days after the Epiphany : from Septuagesima Sunday until eight days after Easter ; from Rogation Sunday until Trinity Sunday.' See Cardwell, *Synodalia*, I. p. 134, n. Also for old English Rules the 18th

Canon of Eynsham (1009) in Hard. vi. 777 ; and for later customs Lyndw. iv. 3. and iii. 16.

³ Gibson, *Codex* XXII. viii. Ayliffe, *Parergon* 365. Blunt, *Annot. B.C.P.* 447.

⁴ A marriage license is an episcopal dispensation setting aside the necessity of Banns.

⁵ 'Non fidabit sacerdos nec consentiet ad fidationem inter virum et mulierem ante tertium dictum banorum. Debet enim sacerdos banna in facie ecclesie infra missarum solemniam cum major populi adfuerit multitudo, per tres dies solemnes et disjunctas interrogare : ita ut inter unumquemque diem solemnem cadat

Matrimony.

be *immediately before the sentences of the Offertory*;¹ and the form was also provided in which it should be done. In modern Prayer Books the rubric is often wrongly printed because the printers have altered it without authority on a mistaken interpretation of two Marriage Acts of later date.² These do not supersede but only supplement the rubric by providing for the publication of Banns in cases where there is no celebration of the Communion Service.

The Table of Prohibited Degrees forms no proper part of the Prayer Book but in conjunction with the XXXIX Articles of Religion it is often appended to the book and it deserves mention here. It was issued by Archbishop Parker in 1563 and sanctioned by the 99th Canon of 1603. It rests upon two broad principles : (i) that affinity, or relationship by marriage, is as much a bar to matrimony as consanguinity or relationship by blood, since man and wife are one flesh ; (ii) that marriage is not allowable within three degrees of relationship : *e.g.* an uncle and niece may not marry being related in the third degree since the grandparent of one is the parent of the other : but first cousins may legally marry being related in the fourth degree.³

In some places civil law has broken in upon this

ad minus una dies ferialis... Et si contrahentes diversarum sint parochiarum, tunc in utraque ecclesia parochiarum illarum sunt banna interroganda.' Sarum Manual, *Ordo ad faciendum Sponsalia* ; Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* I. p. 44 [54, ed. 1882]. The triple publication, *trina denunciatio*, was ordered by the Council of Westminster (1200) Can. XI. Hard. vi. 1961. See also Lyndw. iv. 3.

¹ The Marriage Act : (26 Geo. II. c. 33, and 4 Geo. IV. c. 76), say : — 'The said banns shall be published

upon three Sundays preceding the solemnization of Marriage, during the time of Morning Service, or of the Evening Service if there be no Morning Service in such Church or Chapel on any of those Sundays immediately after the Second Lesson.'

By the former Act the minister may require seven days notice of the names and addresses of the parties before the first publication of Banns.

² Blunt *Annot. B.C.P.* p. 447.

³ See Watkins, *Holy Matrimony*, ch. x.

*Prohibited
degrees.*

Matrimony.

principle and made exceptions, *e.g.*, in the case of the marriage of a deceased wife's sister; but the Church Law still upholds the clear and intelligible principle, and refuses to recognise exceptions.

SECT. II. *The Visitation of the Sick.*

Mediæval practice.

The Church has always been zealous in her care for the sick, the dying and the departed. The Apostolical example and the precept¹ that the sick man should 'call for the elders of the Church' was fully carried out in mediæval times² and the present *Order for the Visitation*³ follows closely the lines of the old service in the Sarum Manual.

The Sarum services.

The old order⁴ began with the recitation of the

¹ S. Mark vi. 13. S. James v. 14, 15.
² *Constitutiones Richardi Poore, Episc. Sar.* (circ. 1223), §. 94: 'Cum anima longe pretiosior sit corpore, sub interjectione anathematis prohibemus, ne quis medicorum pro corporali salute aliquid ægro suadeat, quod in periculum animæ convertatur. Verum cum ipsis ad ægrum vocari contigerit, ægrum ante omnia monent et inducunt, quod advocent medicos animarum; ut postquam fuerit infirmo de spiritali salute provisum, ad corporalis medicinæ remedium salubrius procedatur.' *Sarum Characters* 159. Wilk. i. 572 and ff.

³ Canon LXVII. (1603). 'When any person is dangerously sick in any parish, the Minister or Curate, having knowledge thereof, shall resort unto him or her (if the disease be not known, or probably suspected, to be infectious), to instruct and comfort them in their distress, according to the order of the Communion Book, if he be no preacher; or if he be a preacher, then as he shall think most needful and convenient.'

⁴ 'Psalmi septem. Ant. Ne reminiscaris Domine &c. See above p. 415. *Et cum intraverit domum*

dicat. Pax huic domui et omnibus habitantibus in ea: pax ingredientibus et egredientibus.

Deinde aspergat infirmum aqua benedicta, et statim sequatur: Kyrie eleison &c. *℣.* Et ne nos. *℞.* Sed libera. *℣.* Salvum fac servum tuum vel ancillam tuam. *℞.* Deus meus sperantem in te. *℣.* Mitte ei Domine auxilium de sancto. *℞.* Et de Syon tuere eum. *℣.* Nihil proficiat inimicus in eo. *℞.* Et filius iniquitatis non apponat nocere ei. *℣.* Esto ei Domine turris fortitudinis. *℞.* A facie inimici. *℣.* Domine, exaudi orationem meam. *℞.* Et clamor meus ad te veniat. Dominus vobiscum. Oremus . . .

Respice, Domine, de cælo, et vide et visita hunc famulum tuum N. et benedic eum sicut benedicere dignatus es Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob. Respice super eum, Domine, oculis misericordiæ tuæ: et reple eum omni gaudio et lætitia et timore tuo. Expelle ab eo omnes inimici insidias: et mitte Angelum pacis qui eum custodiat et domum istam in pace perpetua. Per.

Exaudi nos omnipotens et misericors Deus, et visitationem

Visitation.

Introduction.

penitential psalms and their antiphon on the way to the house, and when it was reached the salutation was given as our Lord ordered.¹ In 1549 only one psalm was retained with its antiphon and prescribed for use after the salutation in the sick man's presence. In 1552 the psalm was omitted and now only the antiphon 'Remember not' survives, with a response, which was added in 1661. The suffrages and collects which followed were in the old Order preceded by the sprinkling of Holy Water: this was omitted in the Prayer Book, but the suffrages were retained and two out of the nine collects provided in the Manual. The second of these went through considerable modification in 1552 and 1661.

The second division of the service then began which was designed to help the sick man to acts of faith and repentance especially in view of his communion and unction.² This was continued in the Prayer Book though the provision for the unction made in 1549 was omitted in 1552. The Latin Manuals contained

Testing of faith and repentance.

tuam conferre digneris super hunc famulum tuum N. quem diversa vexat infirmitas. Visita eum, Domine, sine murmure toleraveris, infert sicut visitare dignatus es socrum Petri, puerumque centurionis, et Tobiam et Saram, per sanctum angelum tuum Raphaellem. Restitue in eo, Domine, præstinam sanitatem: ut mereatur in atrio domus tuæ dicere, Castigans castigavit me Dominus, et morti non tradidit me salvator mundi. Qui . . .'

¹ S. Mat. x. 13.

² The following extracts will give a general idea of this part of the Latin service.

'Deinde priusquam ungetur infirmus, aut communicetur, exhortetur eum sacerdos hoc modo.

Frater carissime, gratias age omnipotenti Deo pro universis beneficiis suis, patienter et benigne

suscipiens infirmitatem corporis quam tibi immisit: nam si ipsam humiliter sine murmure toleraveris, infert animæ tuæ maximum præmium et salutem. Et, frater carissime, quia viam universæ carnis ingressurus es, esto firmus in fide . . .'

The priest then expounds at length the articles of the Faith and then asks for a profession of the sick man's faith thus. 'Carissime frater, credis Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum esse tres Personas et unum Deum, et ipsam benedictam atque indivisibilem Trinitatem creasse omnia creata visibilia, et invisibilia? Et solum Filium, de Spiritu Sancto conceptum, incarnatum, &c.?'

Deinde respondeat infirmus: Credo firmiter in omnibus, sicut sancta mater credit ecclesia . . .'

Visitation.

vernacular forms of exhortation for use at this point¹ and a similar provision was made in the Prayer Book. When the man's faith has been tested he is to be exhorted to charity and restitution, though no form is provided for this as was done in the Latin books.² Then his conscience is to be satisfied: in the old books it was taken for granted that he would make his confession:³ in the Prayer Book from 1549 onward it was left to his discretion whether he would or not, but in 1661 it was ordered that the Minister should move him to do so, if he felt his conscience troubled by any weighty matter. The form of absolution provided follows the old Latin form;⁴ and it is noticeable that when in 1661 the responsibility of moving the sick man to confession was laid upon the Minister the responsibility of desiring

¹ See Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* iii. pp. 350 [410] and ff.

² Then followed an exhortation to charity and restitution:

'Deinde dicat sacerdos: Carissime frater: quia sine caritate nihil proderit fides . . . Exerce ergo caritatis opera dum vales: et si multum tibi affuerit, abundanter tribue; si autem exiguum, illud impartiri stude. Et ante omnia si quem injuste læseris, satisfacias si vales: sin autem, expedit ut ab eo veniam humiliter postules. Dimitte debitoribus tuis et aliis qui in te peccaverunt, ut Deus tibi dimittat. . .'

³ *'Deinde stabilito sic infirmo in fide caritate et spe, dicat ei sacerdos, Carissime frater, si velis ad visionem Dei pervenire, oportet omnino quod sis mundus in mente et purus in conscientia: ait enim Christus in evangelio: Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt. Si ergo vis mundum cor et conscientiam sanam habere, peccata tua universa confitere. . .'* Then after his confession he urges him to alms deeds in lieu of penance, or if he recovers

to the due performance of penance itself.

'Deinde absolvat sacerdos infirmum ab omnibus peccatis suis, hoc modo, dicens: . . .'

Dominus noster Jesus Christus pro sua magna pietate te absolvat: et ego auctoritate ejusdem Dei Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et auctoritate mihi tradita absolvo te ab omnibus peccatis his de quibus corde contritus et ore mihi confessus es: et ab omnibus aliis peccatis tuis de quibus si tuæ occurrerent memoriae libenter confiteri velles: et sacramentis ecclesiae te restituo. In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

⁴ The relative sentence introduced at the beginning, "Who hath left, &c." is a reminiscence of the *Order of the Communion*. See above, p. 487. In 1549 this form was also prescribed for all private confessions: this direction was omitted in 1552, and the words 'after this form' were altered into their present phraseology, after this sort.

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absolution was laid upon the penitent.¹ The declaratory form of absolution is followed in the English as in the Latin by a prayer of absolution: this had been the principal form of absolution in use in the Western Church up to the XIIth century when for the first time a declaratory form of absolution began to be in use. It is found in the Gelasian Sacramentary as the solemn form used on Maundy Thursday at the Reconciliation of the penitents who have been excommunicate since the beginning of Lent.² With this prayer and two others accompanying it the Latin service of the Visitation ended and the service of Unction followed.

The psalm and antiphon which began that service³ are still retained, and the antiphon is used more or less in its proper way and not altered almost beyond recognition, as it is elsewhere in the Prayer Book.⁴ Instead of the elaborate unction of the mediæval service a simple ceremony with a single new prayer and the accustomed psalm were provided in 1549 as an optional addition to

Unction.

¹ In the American Book the rubric and declaratory absolution are omitted. See p. 245. In the Irish Book as formerly in the American, the absolution of the Communion Service is prescribed with a modified rubric. See p. 233.

² 'Deus misericors, Deus clemens, qui secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum peccata pœnitentium deles, et præteritorum criminum culpas venia remissionis evacuas: respice super hunc famulum tuum N. sibi remissionem omnium peccatorum suorum tota cordis contritione poscentem. Renova in eo, piissime Pater, quicquid diabolica fraude violatum est: et unitati corporis ecclesiae tuæ membrum infirmum, peccatorum percepta remissione, restitue. Misere, Domine, gemituum ejus: miserere lacrymarum: miserere tribulationum atque dolorum: et non habentem fiduciam nisi in tua misericordia ad sacramentum reconciliationis admitte. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.'

³ *Ep. Gelas. Sacr. 552.*

⁴ *'Priusquam ungetur infirmus incipiat sacerdos ant. Salvator mundi. Deinde dicatur psalmus In te domine speravi. Finito psalmo cum Gloria patri tota dicatur ant. Salvator mundi salva nos, qui per crucem et sanguinem redemisti nos: auxiliare nobis te deprecamur Deus noster.'*

⁵ *E.g., 'Remember not Lord' in the Litany and the opening of the Visitation.*

In the American Book the cxxxth psalm is substituted for the lxxixth.

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the service.¹ These were omitted in 1552, and thus the service ended after the antiphon with a form of blessing newly composed and based on scriptural texts.² This was felt to be inadequate in 1661 and the form of Aaronic blessing³ was added,⁴ together with four Occasional Prayers, *For a sick Child; For a sick Person, when there appeareth small hope of recovery; A commendatory Prayer for a sick Person at the point of departure; and A Prayer for Persons troubled in mind and conscience.*⁵

SECT. III.—*The Communion of the Sick.*

In the absence of any provision for Unction the Communion of the Sick stands alone as the service to

¹ *If the sick person desire to be anointed, then shall the Priest anoint him upon the forehead or breast only, making the sign of the cross, saying thus:—As with this visible oil thy body outwardly is anointed, so our heavenly Father, Almighty God, grant of His infinite goodness that thy soul inwardly may be anointed with the Holy Ghost, who is the Spirit of all strength, comfort, relief, and gladness: and vouchsafe for His great mercy (if it be His blessed will) to restore unto thee thy bodily health and strength to serve Him; and send thee release of all thy pains, troubles, and diseases, both in body and mind. And howsoever His goodness (by His divine and unsearchable providence) shall dispose of thee, we, His unworthy ministers and servants, humbly beseech the Eternal Majesty to do with thee according to the multitude of His innumerable mercies, and to pardon thee all thy sins and offences, committed by all thy bodily senses, passions, and carnal affections: Who also vouchsafe mercifully to grant unto thee ghostly strength by His Holy Spirit to withstand and over-*

come all temptations and assaults of thine adversary, that in no wise he prevail against thee, but that thou mayest have perfect victory and triumph against the devil, sin, and death, through Christ our Lord: Who by His death hath overcome the prince of death, and with the Father and the Holy Ghost evermore liveth and reigneth God world without end. Amen.

Usquequo Domine. Ps. xliii.

² Ps. lxi. 3: Phil. ii. 10, 11: Acts iv. 12.

³ Num. vi. 24.

⁴ In the XVIIth century part of the Visitation service was sometimes used after Divine Service in church when a sick person desired the prayers of the congregation. Blunt, 470. Cp. *Fragm. Illustr.* 95.

⁵ In the American Book three further forms are added: 1. *For all present at the Visitation.* 2. *In case of sudden surprise and immediate danger.* 3. *A thanksgiving for the beginning of a recovery.* The Irish Book has *A Prayer for a sick person when his sickness has been mercifully assuaged.*

which the Office of Visitation leads up.¹ In pre-Reformation times this was a very simple matter, for the Holy Sacrament was reserved for the sick according to the universal and primitive custom; also the administration was in the simplest form² and, according to the custom in later times prevalent, in one kind only.

The rubric of 1549, continuing the practice of Reservation, though with some restriction, directed that, if a sick person was to receive the Communion on the same day in which there was a celebration of the Holy Eucharist in the church, the Priest should reserve at the open Communion so much of the sacrament of the Body and Blood as should serve the sick person, and so many as should communicate with him, if there were any. The service to be used consisted of the general Confession, the Absolution with the Comfortable Words, the distribution of the Sacrament, and the Collect, 'Almighty and everliving God, we most heartily thank Thee, &c.'

If there was no open Communion on that day, the Curate was directed to visit the sick person afore noon, and to celebrate the Holy Communion in the following form:—

'O praise the Lord, all ye nations, laud Him, all ye people; for His merciful kindness is confirmed towards us, and the truth of the Lord endureth for ever. Glory be to the Father, &c.'

¹ The last hours of an Anglo-Saxon were thus occupied, according to the Leofric Missal: '*Incipit ordo in agenda mortuorum.* Mox autem ut eum viderint, ad extremum propinquare, communicandus est de sacrificio sancto etiam si comedisset ipsa die, quia communio erit ei defensor et adjuvor in resurrectione justorum et ipsa eum resuscitabit. Post communionem susceptam, legendæ sunt passiones dominicæ ante corpus infirmi seu a presbyteris, seu a diaconibus, usque egrediatur anima de corpore, Primitus enim ut anima de corpore egressa fuerit, ponatur super cilicium et canantur VII. psalmi penitentiales, et agenda et letania prout tempus fuerit. Finitis autem sanctorum nominibus, mox incipiatur R. *Subvenite, sancti Dei, occurrere angeli Domini.* (p. 198. Ed. Warren.)

² '*Interrogat eum sacerdos si recognoscat corpus et sanguinem DNJC sic dicendo: Frater credis quod sacramentum quod tractatur in altari est verum corpus et sanguis DNJC? Respondeat infirmus Credo. Deinde communicetur.*' A prayer and psalm civ. followed.

Communion of the Sick.

Communion with reserved Sacrament (1549).

The Celebration of the Holy Communion for the Sick (1549).

Communion
of the Sick.

Lord, have mercy upon us.
Christ, have mercy upon us. } *Without any more repetition.*
Lord, have mercy upon us. }

The Priest. The Lord be with you.

Answer. And with thy spirit.

Let us pray. Almighty and everlasting God, &c.

The Epistle. Heb. xii. My son, despise not, &c.

The Gospel. John v. Verily, verily, &c.

The Preface. The Lord be with you.

Answer. And with thy spirit.

Lift up your hearts, &c. *Unto the end of the Canon.*

If more sick persons were to be visited on the same day, the Curate was ordered to reserve a sufficient portion of the elements from the first consecration, and immediately to carry it and minister it unto them.

In 1552 the directions for reservation and for celebrating in the sick man's house were alike omitted: the Collect, Epistle and Gospel were retained, with a rubric authorizing the Curate to 'minister' the Holy Communion, provided there were *a good number to receive the Communion with the sick person*. Thus the Sacrament might be reserved, but no method was prescribed, the Curate was to carry it to the sick man, but he was not sufficiently instructed what service he was to use in administering it.¹

At the last revision in 1661, the number 'three, or two at the least,' was mentioned as requisite to form a company of communicants with the sick person;² and the direction was given to *celebrate the Holy Communion*

¹ Calvin. Epistle 361. (Aug. 12, 1561); Hill, *Communicant instructed* (1617) pp. 36, 37.

² Cp. the Scottish Book, 'a sufficient number, at least two or three.' It was suggested here by Wren. *Fragm. Illustr.* 97. The rule is the same as for a public Communion, that there must be three at the least to communicate with the Priest. The only exception to this rule is that, in a time of contagious sickness, 'upon the special request of the diseased, the Minister may only communicate with him: ' this rubric was added in 1552.

The Communion
of the Sick
(1552).The shortened
Communion of
the Sick
(1661).Communion
of the Sick.

in a shortened form beginning with the special Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, and then passing to the Communion Office at the Address to the Communicants, 'Ye that do truly and earnestly repent you, &c.'

If the Visitation Service is used at the same time, the Priest ends that service after the Prayer, 'O most merciful God, &c. ;' and, instead of the Psalm, proceeds to The Communion of the Sick.¹

The rubric which points to spiritual communion, as the consolation to be called to the attention of one who is unable to partake of the Sacrament,² is taken from the ancient office.³

This rubric does not imply that the actual participation of this sacrament is a matter of indifference. Like the other sacrament of Baptism, it must be received where it may be had. But a faithful Christian need not fear separation from the love of Christ, if 'either by reason of the extremity of sickness, or for want of warning in due time to the Curate, or for lack of company to receive with him, or by any other just impediment,' he do not receive the sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood in his last extremity.⁴

¹ The following was the shortened service ordered in 1549:—'The Anthem: Remember not, Lord, &c. Lord, have mercy upon us. &c. Our Father, &c. Let us pray. O Lord, look down from heaven, &c. *With the first part of the Exhortation and all other things unto the Psalm. And if the sick desire to be anointed, then shall the Priest use the appointed Prayer without any Psalm.*'

² See this subject treated, and suitable devotions provided, by Bishop Jeremy Taylor (*Worthy Communicant*, ch. vii. § 3, *Works*, viii. pp. 238, 239), and Bishop Wilson (*Instructions on the Lord's Supper*, Appendix. 'Concerning Spiritual Communion,' *Works*, II. pp. 130 & ff.).

³ 'Deinde communicetur infirmus nisi prius communicatus fuerit: et nisi de vomitu vel alia irreverentia probabiliter timeatur: in quo casu dicat sacerdos infirmo:—Frater, in hoc casu sufficit tibi vera fides, et bona voluntas: tantum crede, et manducasti.' Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* I. p. 89 [112], and cp. S. Austin. In *Joan.* Tr. xxv. 22.

⁴ Two additional rubrics appear in the American Book, one authorizing a still briefer service in the times of contagious sickness, the other sanctioning the substitution of the Collect, Epistle and Gospel of the day for those appointed above, in

Spiritual
Communion.

Burial of the Dead.

The Mediæval cycle of services.

SECT. IV.—*The Burial of the Dead.*

The tender care which the primitive and mediæval Church bestowed upon the departed is a natural sequel of its care for the sick and dying.¹ A continuous round of prayer was maintained. During the last agony psalms and litanies were said, ending with a solemn farewell in the name of the Blessed Trinity, the orders of angels and the company of saints, and a solemn series of petitions to God to deliver the soul of his servant from all dangers.² After death came the service of Commendation,³ consisting of Psalms with their antiphons, and collects at intervals; and during it the body was prepared for burial. Psalmody again accompanied the carrying of the corpse to the church. Then began the services connected with the Burial; first the Office of the

using this office with aged and bedridden persons, &c.

¹ The history of the early Church is full of tender evidence of a wealth of solicitude and prayer for those at rest. See Luckock, *After Death*, ch. vii., viii., ix.. The early sacramentaries have the prayers of the cycle of services for the sick, the dying, and the departed, and the English forms are derived from the Gregorian sacramentaries. The custom of the Anglo-Saxon Church is described in the Penitential of Archbishop Theodore (688), V. 1. :—'Secundum Romanam ecclesiam mos est monachos vel homines religiosos defunctos in ecclesiam portare, et cum chrisma ungere pectora eorum, ibique pro eis missas celebrare; deinde cum cantatione portare ad sepulturas; et cum positi fuerint in sepulcro, funditur pro eis oratio, deinde humo vel petra operiuntur.' Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 104.

² 'Proficiscere anima christiana de hoc mundo in nomine dei patris omnipotentis qui te creavit. Amen. &c.', thirteen petitions in all. 'Suscipe itaque domine servum tuum in bonum et lucidum habitaculum tuum. Amen. Libera domine animam servi tui, &c.', twelve petitions. Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* i. 102 [128].

³ 'Sequatur commendatio animarum, et dicatur in camera vel in aula sine nota juxta corpus, et omnia subsequenter similiter usque ad processionem ad hominem mortuum suscipiendum.' Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* i. pp. 104 [130]. This *Ordo Commendationis Anima* in a briefer form figures constantly as *The Commendations*, or *Psalms of Commendation*, or *The Commendations of the Souls*, in the English Primers and Horæ, appended to the Office of the Dead. *Mon. Rit.* ii. pp. 156 and ff. [III. 161]. *The Prymer* (E. E. T. S.) 79-89.

Burial of the Dead.

The adaptation in the Prayer Book.

In 1549.

dead (Evensong, Mattins and Lauds),¹ then the Requiem Mass,² then a short form of Commendation and the censing and sprinkling with holy water of the body,³ and lastly the actual Burial Service.⁴ After the funeral Memorial Services were said, both the Office of the Dead and the Requiem Mass, especially during the month immediately following, and on the anniversary.⁵

Compared with this the provision made in the Prayer Book is very meagre. A series of three antiphons represents the procession to the Church: the psalms and lesson, as now placed, may represent the Office of the Dead, the Eucharist has been omitted and its collect transferred to the short service at the grave.

The arrangement of the service has been much changed at the several revisions of the Prayer Book. In 1549, though it represented a great departure from the old lines, it had a character of its own, and consisted

¹ The *Officium pro Defunctis*, or *Vigilie Mortuorum*, or *Dirige*, consisted of two parts: the Evensong, or *Placebo*, so called from the antiphon with which the service commenced, — 'Placebo Domino in regione vivorum;' and the Mattins (with Lauds), also called *Dirige* from its first antiphon, — 'Dirige Domine Deus meus in co spectu tuo viam meam.' These offices were constantly said at other times, and as a private devotion, and thus formed a part of the Primer, (see Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* ii. pp. 110 and ff. [III. 115]; *The Prymer* (E. E. T. S.) 52 and ff.), and also of the Breviary (see Psalter, col. 271).

² *Missa pro Defunctis*, called also *Requiem*, from the beginning of the Introit, or *Officium*, 'Requiem eternam dona eis, Domine, et lux perpetua luceat eis.' *Miss. Sar.* col. 860*; *Brev. Sar.* Psalter, col. 521.

³ *Inhumatio Defuncti*, Maskell, i. p. 114 [142].

⁴ *Ibid.* 118 [146]. The foregoing

services may also be seen, and in some respects more plainly, in the York and Sarum Manuals. (Surtees Soc. vol. 63).

⁵ Thirty masses were said on as many different days, and this was called *Trigintale*, a Trental. Special collects were inserted in the office *in die tricennali*, or *in trigintalibus*; and also *in anniversario depositionis die*. 'Though the corpse had been buried, the funeral rites were not yet over. All through the month following, *Placebo*, and *Dirige*, and masses continued to be said in that church, but with more particular solemnity on the third, the seventh, and the thirtieth day; at each of which times a dole of food or money was distributed among the poor.' Rock, *Ch. of our Fathers*. ii. 516. Comp. the Penitential of Theodore, *ubi sup.*: 'Prima et tertia et nona necnon et tricesima die pro eis missa agatur et exinde post annum, si voluerint, servatur.'

Burial of the
Dead.
The service
of 1549.

of (i) a procession to the church or grave, (ii) the service of actual burial ; and to these there were added (iii) a brief form of Office of the Dead, and (iv) a special Eucharist.

I. *The priest, meeting the corpse at the church-stile, shall say, or else the priest and clerks shall sing, and so go either in to the church, or towards the grave,*

I am the resurrection, &c.
I know that my Redeemer, &c.
We brought nothing, &c.

II. *When they come at the grave, whiles the corpse is made ready to be laid into the earth, the priest shall say, or else the priest and clerks shall sing,*

Man that is born of a woman, &c.
In the midst of life . . . to fall from thee.

Then the priest, casting earth upon the corpse, shall say,

I commend thy soul to God the Father Almighty, and thy body to the ground, earth to earth, &c.

Then shall be said or sung,
I heard a voice from heaven, &c.

Let us pray. We commend into thy hands of mercy, most merciful Father, the soul of this our brother departed, N. And his body we commit to the earth, beseeching thine infinite goodness to give us grace to live in thy fear and love, and to die in thy favour : that when the judgment shall come, which Thou hast committed to thy well-beloved Son, both this our brother, and we, may be found acceptable in thy sight, and receive that blessing which thy well-beloved Son shall then pronounce, &c. (*as in the present last Collect*)

This Prayer shall also be added.

Almighty God, we give thee hearty thanks for this thy servant, whom thou hast delivered from the miseries of this wretched world, from the body of death and all temptation, and, as we trust, hast brought his soul, which he committed into thy holy hands, into sure consolation and rest : Grant, we beseech Thee, that at the day of judgment his soul, and all the souls of thy elect departed out of this life, may with us, and we with them, fully receive thy promises, and be made perfect altogether, through the glorious resurrection of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord.

III. *These Psalms, with other suffrages following, are to be said in the church either before or after the burial of the corpse.*

Ps. cxvi., cxxxix., cxlvi.

Burial of the
Dead.

Then shall follow this Lesson, 1 Cor. xv. [ver. 20 to end]¹

The Lesson ended, then shall the Priest say,

Lord, have mercy upon us, &c.

Our Father, &c.

Priest. Enter not, O Lord, into judgment with thy servant.

Answer. For in thy sight no living creature shall be justified.

Priest. From the gates of hell.

Answer. Deliver their souls, O Lord.

Priest. I believe to see the goodness of the Lord.

Answer. In the land of the living.

Priest. O Lord, graciously hear my prayer.

Answer. And let my cry come unto Thee.

Let us pray. O Lord, with whom do live the spirits of them that be dead ; and in whom the souls of them that be elected, after they be delivered from the burden of the flesh, be in joy and felicity :² Grant unto this thy servant, that the sins which he committed in this world be not imputed unto him, but that he, escaping the gates of hell and the pains of eternal darkness, may ever dwell in the region of light, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the place where is no weeping, sorrow, nor heaviness ; and when that dreadful day of the general resurrection shall come, make him to rise also with the just and righteous, and receive this body again to glory, then made pure and incorruptible : set him on the right hand of thy Son Jesus Christ, among thy holy and elect, that then he may hear with them these most sweet and comfortable words : Come to me, ye blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom, &c.

IV. *The Celebration of the Holy Communion when there is a Burial of the Dead.*³

Introit. Ps. xlii.

Collect. O merciful God, the Father of our Lord Jesu Christ,

¹ Part of this lesson is one of four elsewhere, viz., the Mass *De quinque vulneribus D. N. J. C.* : 'Te humiliter deprecamur, ut in die iudicii ad dexteram tuam statuti a te audire mereamur illam vocem dulcissimam, Venite, benedicti, in regnum Patris mei.' *Missale Sar.* col. 751.*

² This exordium is taken from the Gregorian prayer 'Deus apud quem mortuorum spiritus vivunt et in quo electorum animæ, deposito carnis onere, plena felicitate lætantur, &c.' : this, with the rest of the Gregorian prayers, figures in the later manuals : the remainder of the English prayer follows their language very closely, but is not drawn from any one of them directly. The end comes from

elsewhere, viz., the Mass *De quinque vulneribus D. N. J. C.* : 'Te humiliter deprecamur, ut in die iudicii ad dexteram tuam statuti a te audire mereamur illam vocem dulcissimam, Venite, benedicti, in regnum Patris mei.' *Missale Sar.* col. 751.*
³ This was a very ancient, if not a primitive, custom ; 'whereby the friends of the departed testified their belief that the Communion of the saints in Christ extended beyond the grave ;' Guericke, p. 278. See Bingham, *Antiq.* xxiii. 3 § 12.

The Com-
munion
Office at
Burials
(1549).

Burial of the
Dead.

who is the resurrection and the life . . . who also hath taught us by his holy apostle Paul not to be sorry as men without hope for them that sleep in him : we meekly beseech Thee O Father to raise us from the death of sin unto the life of righteousness ;¹ that when we shall depart this life we may sleep in him, as our hope is this our brother doth :² and at the general resurrection in the last day both we, and this our brother departed, receiving again our bodies, and rising again in thy most gracious favour, may with all thine elect saints obtain eternal joy. Grant this, &c.

The Epistle. 1 Thess. iv. [ver. 13 to end]

The Gospel. John vi. [ver. 37 to 40]

Changes
made in
1552.

In 1552 this clear structure was thrown into confusion : the Office of the Dead and the Eucharist were both given up :³ the prayers at the graveside were abolished and there were substituted for them some parts of the discarded sections, viz. the lessons, the Lord's Prayer and collect from the third section, and the collect from the fourth section. Three minor alterations were also made ; (i) the rubric after the lowering of the body into the grave was altered to its present terms,—‘ *Then, while the earth shall be cast upon the body by some standing by, the Priest shall say, &c.* : (ii) the commendation was altered to the

¹ Cp. a collect at the end of the *Dirige* in Bishop Hilsey's Primer, 1539 (Burton's *Three Primers*, p. 420), and in King Henry's Primer, 1545 (*ib.* p. 492) : ‘ O God, whiche by the mouth of St. Paule thyne apostle hast taught us, not to wayle for them that slepe in Christ : Graunt we beseeche the that in the comyng of thy sonne our lorde Jesu Christ, bothe we and all other faithful people beyng departed may be graciously brought unto the joys everlasting.’

² These expressions of thankfulness and hope were objected to by the Presbyterians in 1661 (above p. 128), but the Bishops simply replied, that ‘ it is better to be charitable, and hope the best, than rashly to condemn.’ Cardwell, *Conf.* pp. 333,

362. ‘ We are often said to hope that which we do only wish or desire, but have not particular grounds to believe ; only we are not sure of the contrary, or that the thing is impossible.’ Bennet, *Paraphr.* (1708) p. 236. These clauses are altered in the American Prayer Book :—‘ We give Thee hearty thanks for the good examples of all those Thy servants who, having finished their course in faith, do now rest from their labours :’ and the words, ‘ as our hope is this our brother doth,’ are omitted. See Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* v. 75, § 4.

³ The latter appears, however, in the Latin Prayer Book of 1560, together with the ‘ Commemoration of Benefactors’ as an appendix. See above, p. 122, and Additional Note I., p. 644.

Burial of the
Dead.

present declaration, so as to be a mere committal of the body instead of, as before, a commendation also of the soul : ‘ Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God of His great mercy to take unto Himself the soul of our dear brother, here departed, we therefore commit his body to the ground, &c.’ ;¹ (iii) the collects were recast in such a way that the beginning of the old prayer at the end of the third section was made the beginning of the new prayer in that section : while the end of it was tacked on to the collect which was now brought out of the fourth section. The object of all these changes was to exclude the direct prayers for the departed.

The old rubric remained as to proceeding to the church, but no direction was given which part of the service, if any, should be said in the church, nor was any Psalm

¹ Cp. Hermann's *Consultation*, fol. ccxxxix. ‘ *Another funeral Sermon.* Forasmuch as it has pleased Almighty God that according to His mercy He would take this our brother out of this world unto Himself. . . .’ The declaration, that ‘ it hath pleased God to take unto Himself the soul,’ was objected to by the Presbyterians in 1661, on the ground that it ‘ cannot in truth be said of persons living and dying in open and notorious sins’ (Cardwell, *Confer.* p. 333). But it is founded upon the Scriptural expression, concerning the death of every man, that ‘ dust returns to the earth as it was, and the spirit returns to God who gave it’ (Eccles. xii. 7) ; not necessarily to eternal life, but to His righteous judgment. Also the certain hope is of the resurrection, and of the change of our vile body ; referring not only to the general resurrection of true Christians to eternal life, but to the general resurrection of all mankind : compare the corresponding form, introduced in 1661, to be used *At the Burial of their Dead at Sea* ; ‘ We therefore commit

his body to the deep, to be turned into corruption, looking for the resurrection of the body (when the sea shall give up her dead), and the life of the world to come, through our Lord Jesus Christ ; who at His coming shall change our vile body that it may be like His glorious body. . . .’

In the American Office our two forms of burial are united : ‘ Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God, in His wise providence, to take out of this world the soul of our brother departed, we therefore commit his body to the ground ; earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust ; looking for the general resurrection in the last day, and the life of the world to come, through our Lord Jesus Christ ; at whose second coming in glorious majesty to judge the world, the earth and the sea shall give up their dead ; and the corruptible bodies of those who sleep in Him shall be changed, and made like unto His own glorious body ; according to the mighty working whereby He is able to subdue all things unto Himself.’

Burial of the Dead.

appointed: and in this state it continued until the last revision (1661); then the disorder was partly remedied: the lesson was taken from its anomalous position¹ and appointed to form with two psalms a brief Office of the Dead to be read in the church before proceeding to the grave.

The present office.

Turning now to review the present service, it is to be noted that the first rubric was added in 1661, directing that the office should not be used *for any that die unbaptized*,² or excommunicate, or have laid violent hands upon themselves. The interpretation which the law puts upon this rubric is certain; that valid baptism by any hand, however irregular, secures the Church's rites of burial; excommunication is a punishment which can only be inflicted by the sentence of a competent tribunal; and the question of suicide is determined by the coroner's inquest.³

The procedure.

The second rubric directs the Priest to meet the corpse *at the entrance of the churchyard*; ⁴ and then to go *into the church or towards the grave*; that is, into the church on all ordinary occasions; and to the grave, if the person has died of any infectious disease, or for some such reason.

The Anthems and psalms.

Of the texts which are said or sung in the procession, the first and second have long been used in some part of the funeral offices; the former was an Antiphon, the latter a Respond.⁵ The third sentence as it now stands

¹ The reading of the lesson at the grave-side was one of the practices to which the Puritans took exception. See above, p. 187.

² The Irish Book makes special provision for 'unbaptized, being infants.'

³ However painful may be the circumstances under which the Burial Service will at times be used, a clergyman may not treat an individual as a suicide, or excommunicate, without any previous legal sentence, or by

setting aside the verdict of an authorized, though perhaps mistaken, jury.

⁴ Comp. the injunctions of Edw. IV. (1547): Forasmuch as priests be public ministers of the Church. . . they shall not be bound . . . to fetch any corse before it be brought to the churchyard.' Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* II. § 30.

⁵ 'Antiphona: Ego sum resurrectio et vita, qui credit in me etiam si mortuus fuerit vivet, et omnis qui

Burial of the Dead.

is a revised edition of two texts which were first appointed in 1549. The present Psalms¹ were inserted in 1661, and did not form part of the older funeral services; but part of the lesson had been read as the Epistle in the Mass of the Dead.²

The Lesson.

The latter part of the sentences appointed to be said by the priest, or sung by the priest and clerks while the corpse is made ready to be laid into the earth, is taken from an Antiphon with Verses which was sung with the *Nunc dimittis* at Compline during a part of Lent.³

At the grave.

vivit et credit in me non morietur in aeternum.' *Man. Sar.* Inhumatio Defuncti; Maskell, I. p. 126 [155]; Vigiliæ Mortuorum, In Laudibus, *Brev. Sar.* Psalter, col. 281.

Resp. 'Credo quod Redemptor meus vivit: et in novissimo die de terra surrecturus sum. Et in carne mea videbo Deum salvatorem meum. *Vers.* Quem visurus sum ego ipse et non alius: et oculi mei conspecturi sunt. *R.* Et in carne mea, &c.' In Vigiliis Mortuorum, Ad Matutinas: post Lectionem primam Responsorium, *Brev. Sar.* Psalter, col. 274.

¹ The American Service has 'an Anthem,' or selected verses 'from the 39th and 90th Psalms.'

² 'He duæ sequentes epistolæ legantur per totum annum ad missam quotidianam pro defunctis alternis vicibus per hebdomadam. *Lectio libri Apoc. c. xiv. . . . I ad Corinthios, c. xv.* Fratres, Christus resurrexit a mortuis, primitiæ dormientium. Quoniam quidem per hominem mors: et per hominem resurrectio mortuorum. Et sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur: ita et in Christo omnes vivificabuntur. Unusquisque autem in suo ordine.' *Miss. Sar.* Officium Mortuorum. 'And for the consolation of the faithful in the Lord, and moving the zeal of godliness, it shall be convenient, when the corpse is brought to the burying-place, to pronounce, and declare before the people

gathered there together, the Lesson following: 1 Cor. xv., But now Christ is risen from the dead, &c., unto this place, What do we, &c.: or, from this place, This I say, brethren, that flesh and blood, &c., unto the end of the chapter.' *Hermann's Consultation*, fol. ccxlv.

³ 'Media vita in morte sumus: quem quærimus adiutorem nisi te Domine? qui pro peccatis juste irasceris. Sancte Deus: Sancte fortis: Sancte et misericors salvator: amarae morti ne tradas nos.' The verses are of later date, and are differently given in different places: the following are those of the Sarum antiphon. 'Vers. Ne proicias nos in tempore senectutis: cum defecerit virtus nostra, ne derelinquas nos, Domine. *R.* Sancte Deus, &c. *Vers.* Noli claudere aures tuas ad preces nostras. *R.* Sancte fortis, &c. *Vers.* Qui cognoscis occulta cordis parce peccatis nostris. *R.* Sancte et misericors, &c.' *Brev. Sar.* Psalter, *Ordo Completorii Dom. iii. quadr.* Cp. *Daniel, Thesaur. Hymnol.* II. 329. The composition of the anthem has been ascribed to Notker, the monk of S. Gall, who began the Sequences, and was at the head of the great School of S. Gall, in the IXth century. At any rate it probably belongs to that school and that date, and the use of the Trisagion probably points to Gallican influence. Cp. the reproaches sung on Good Friday. Upon this ancient

Burial of the Dead.

The Burial.

The practice of casting the earth¹ upon the body is a retention in its most simple form of an old ceremony which in the Latin Service followed a long series of psalms and collects and the form of hallowing the grave.²

The verse that follows (Rev. xiv. 13) was read as part of the Epistle in the Mass for the Dead but was not otherwise utilized in the service except that the first part was one of the antiphons in the Office for the Dead.³

SECT. V.—The Churching of Women.

This service of 'Thanksgiving of Women after Child-birth,' can be traced to early days of the Christian Church⁴ but is ultimately derived from the Jewish rite of The Purification.⁵ This name for the rite was preserved in

anthem Luther composed a German hymn, which was translated among Coverdale's *Ghostly Psalms*. (Parker Soc., 554); and this translation seems to have affected the version which was introduced here into the Burial service in 1549. See *Dict. Hymn*, 721; Schubiger, *Sängerschule St. Gallens*, 56; Dowden, *Workmanship*, ch. xv.

¹ *Finitis orationibus executor officii terram super corpus ad modum crucis ponat, et corpus thurificet et aqua benedicta aspergat: et dum sequens Psalmus canitur, corpus omnino cooperiatur, cantore incipiente antiphonam: De terra plasmasti me. Ps. Domine probasti me. Qua dicta dicat sacerdos sine Dominus vobiscum, et sine Oremus:*

Commendo animam tuam Deo Patri omnipotenti, terram terræ, cinerem cineri, pulverem pulveri, in nomine Patris, &c.' *Man. Sar. Inhumatio Defuncti*; Maskell, *Mon. Rit. I.* 124 [153].

² *Miss. Sar. Offic. Mortuorum,*

col. 863*. The first part of the verse was also the antiphon to *Magnificat* in *Placebo*. Maskell, *Mon. Rit. II.* 118 [III. 122]; *Brev. Sar. Psalter*, col. 272.

³ The custom of ringing a bell on the death of any person was very anciently observed in England. Bede speaks of it as common in his time: *Hist. Eccl. IV. c. 23*, 'notum campanæ sonum, quo ad orationes excitari vel convocari solebant, cum quis eorum de sæculo fuisset evocatus.' Canon (1603) LXVII.: 'When any is passing out of this life, a bell shall be tolled, and the Minister shall not then slack to do his last duty. And after the party's death there shall be rung no more but one short peal, and one other before the burial, and one other after the burial.'

⁴ It is referred to in the correspondence between S. Gregory and S. Augustine as to the services of the newly-founded English Church. Beda. *H.E. I.* xxvii. 8.

⁵ Lev. xii.; S. Luke ii. 22.

Churching of Women.

the Title of 1549 but disappeared when it was altered into the present form in 1552 owing to objections and mistakings.¹ The service follows very closely the mediæval line,² but opens with an explanatory address in the style of the reformation period.

The place of the service has been variously defined: in the Latin rubrics of the Manual as "*before the Church door*"; in 1549 as "*nigh unto the quire door*"; in 1552 as "*nigh unto the place where the Table standeth*"; in 1661 it was left to custom or special order to decide. At the same time it was directed that the woman should be *decently apparelled i.e.* "suitably"; and the reference is to the English custom of wearing a veil:³ this till then was not prescribed either in the Latin or English rubric: nevertheless it was not merely usual but was actually enforced by law, both ecclesiastical and civil, when the Puritans attempted to give it up.⁴

The old psalm (cxxi) was displaced in 1661 by two alternative psalms: the first (cxvi) is applicable to any

¹ Hooker *E.P. v.* lxxiv.

² '*Ordo ad purificandam mulierem post partum ante ostium ecclesie.*

Primo sacerdos et ministri ejus dicant f salmos sequentes: Ps. Levavi oculos meos. Ps. Beati omnes. Gloria Patri. Sequatur:

Kyrie eleison. Pater noster.

Ÿ. Domine salvam fac ancillam tuam:

Ry. Deus meus sperantem in te.

Ÿ. Esto ei Domine turris fortitudinis:

Ry. A facie inimici.

Ÿ. Domine exaudi orationem meam:

Ry. Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

Dominus vobiscum. Oremus.

Oratio. Deus qui hanc famulam tuam de parienti periculo liberasti, et eam in servitio tuo devotam esse

fecisti, concede ut temporali cursu fideliter peracto, sub alis misericordiæ tuæ vitam perpetuam et quietam consequatur: Per Christum Dominum.

Tunc aspergatur mulier aqua benedicta: deinde inducat eam sacerdos per manum dextram in ecclesiam dicens. Ingredere in templum Dei ut habeas vitam aeternam et vivas in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.' Maskell, *Mon. Rit. I.* 38 [46].

³ *Fragm. Illustr. 97.*

⁴ Case of Eliza Shipden, in James I's reign, Gibson *Codex. xviii.* 12, quoting Palmer *Reports*, 296. Hale, in his *Precedents and Proceedings*, pp. 237, 259, quotes other cases in 1613 and 1636. See Blunt *ad loc.* and Sparrow *Rationale* (Oxford, 1840), p. 286.

Rubrics.

Service.

Churching of
Women.

deliverance from peril and therefore concerns the woman, while Ps. cxxvii has more reference to the birth of the child. The suffrages and collect come direct from the Latin but the prayer was altered in 1661 so as to include a definite expression of thankfulness.

Relation to
the Eucha-
rist.

The service ends abruptly¹ because it is meant to precede the Holy Communion,² as was the case in pre-reformation times.³ This is not only pointed out by the closing rubric, but is involved in other places: the position assigned to the woman in 1552 near the altar is significant: also the choice in 1661 of psalm cxvi with the verse "What reward shall I give unto the Lord for all the benefits that He hath done unto me? I will receive the Cup of Salvation." The "accustomed offerings" appeared first in the rubric of 1549 together with the mention of the baptismal chrysom, which according to old custom was brought back to church at the churching. When the giving of this robe was omitted at Baptism, the mention of it disappeared here also, and only the reference to the offerings remained: they properly belong to the offertory in the Communion following,⁴ and form another link between the two services.⁵

¹ The Irish Book has again here as in the Marriage Service added a closing portion. The American Book has instead of psalms a 'hymn,' drawn from Ps. cxvi.; the suffrages are mutilated, the collect is altered, and more freedom of use is secured by rubrics.

² Sparrow, *Rationale*, 291.

³ Injunction of Bishop of Norwich in 1536, cited by Nicholls, *Comment on the B.C.P.* (1710), *Addit. Notes*, p. 66.

⁴ The American Book directs that

these shall be applied by the Minister and Churchwardens to the relief of distressed women in child bed.

⁵ The service should not be used for unmarried women, except where signs of penitence have been shown, or more strictly except when penance has been done. See Grindal's Injunction of 1571 (*Doc. Ann.* i. 370), and the reply of the Bishops at the Savoy, above, p. 187. For the method of penance see Nicholls, *Defence of the Doctrine and Discipline*, ed. 1715, p. 350.

The
Commination

SECT. VI.—*A Commination, or Denouncing of God's anger and judgments against sinners, with certain Prayers to be used on the first day of Lent, and at other times, as the Ordinary shall appoint.*¹

This addition to the ordinary service on Ash Wednesday is a memorial of the solemn public penitence, which formed so distinct a feature in the discipline of the early Church.² It is called a *Commination*, from the opening warning, or Exhortation to Repentance, in the course of which the curses of God which rest upon sin are solemnly recited.³ This address, like the similar forms in our other services, is a composition of the Reformers; the prayers which follow it are taken from those which were used on this occasion in the pre-Reformation Church, and go back to early days, as the solemn devotions of Ash Wednesday.⁴

Six solemn collects were said, prefaced by the peni-

¹ This title was added in 1661. In the First Prayer Book it was simply, '*The first day of Lent, commonly called Ash Wednesday*;' and in 1552, '*A commination against sinners, with certain prayers to be used divers times in the year*;' the alteration was made in accordance with a suggestion of Bucer, who wished this service to be used at least four times in the year. See above, p. 76. No special days, however, were appointed; but, in the reign of Elizabeth, Archbishop Grindal inquired whether it was used at divers times; and 'for order sake' named 'one of the three Sundays next before Easter, one of the two Sundays next before the feast of Pentecost, and one of the two Sundays next before the feast of the birth of our Lord, over and besides the accustomed reading thereof upon the first day of Lent.' *Visit. Art.* (1576)

§ 3; Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* i. p. 398. It does not seem that these very unsuitable occasions were widely adopted.

² Bingham, xviii. ch. i., ii. On the Penitential system of the Middle Ages, see Marshall, *Penitential Discipline*, in Anglo Cath. Library. Robertson, *Church Hist.* ii. 237; Hardwick, *Middle Age*, p. 307.

³ Comp. the *Form of the Greater Excommunication* (Sarum Manual) in Maskell *Mon. Rit.* ii. pp. 286-305 [iii. 309]. This was a long declaration of general curses, ordered to be read four times a year; Bishop Shaxton in 1538 ordered the reading of Deut. xxviii instead, and thus prepared the way for the *Commination*. Pocock's Burnet, vi. 212.

⁴ See e.g. *Gelas. Sacr.* 504. *Greg. Sacr.* 209, for four of the six Sarum Collects.

The
Jommiation.The Latin
service of
ashes.

tential psalms and a set of suffrages, and followed by the solemn absolution of the people at large. Then followed the blessing and distribution of ashes: while anthems were sung, a cross was marked with ashes on the foreheads of the people, and to each the solemn warning was given, 'Remember, O man, that thou art ashes and unto ashes shalt thou return.' Then, after two collects, those who were to be under penitential discipline during Lent were solemnly excluded from church by the bishop.

The Prayer
Book ser-
vice.
'O most
mighty God,
&c.

In the Prayer Book service only the fifty-first psalm was retained, followed by the suffrages and the first collect.¹ The beginning of the prayer following, 'O most mighty God, &c.' is taken from the form for blessing the ashes, and the remainder is formed from one of the preceding collects.²

¹ 'Post sextam in primis fiat sermo ad populum si placuerit: deinde prosternant se clerici in choro, et dicant septem Psalmos penitentiales cum Gloria Patri; et antiphona, Ne reminiscaris

Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison.
Kyrie eleison.

Pater noster.

Ÿ. Et ne nos inducas in tentationem.

R̄. Sed libera nos.

Ÿ. Salvos fac servos tuos et ancillas tuas.

R̄. Deus meus sperantes in te.

Ÿ. Mitte eis Domine auxilium de sancto.

R̄. Et de Sion tuere eos.

Ÿ. Convertere Domine usque quo:

R̄. Et deprecabilis esto super servos tuos.

Ÿ. Adjuva nos Deus salutaris noster:

R̄. Et propter gloriam nominis tui, Domine, libera nos, et propitius esto peccatis nostris propter nomen tuum.

Ÿ. Domine exaudi orationem

meam.

R̄. Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

Ÿ. Dominus vobiscum.

R̄. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Oremus. Exaudi, Domine, preces nostras, et confitentium tibi parce peccatis: ut quos conscientie reatus accusat, indulgentia tuæ miserationis absolvat. Per Christum.

Miss. Sar. 123, or Proc. Sar. 26.

² 'Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui misereris omnium, et nihil odisti eorum quæ fecisti

Domine Deus noster, qui offensione nostra non vinceris, sed satisfactione placaris: respice, quæsumus, super famulos tuos, qui se tibi graviter peccasse confitentur: tuum est enim absolutionem criminum dare, et veniam præstare peccantibus, qui dixisti pœnitentiam te malle peccatorum, quam mortem: concede ergo, Domine, his famulis tuis, ut tibi pœnitentiæ excubias celebrent, et, correctis actibus suis, conferri sibi a te sempiterna gaudia gratulentur. Per Christum.'

The general supplication, said by the people after the Minister, is closely connected with Joel ii., which formed the Epistle for Ash Wednesday and it has also reminiscences of the anthems sung at the distribution of the ashes in the ancient service.¹

The Aaronic blessing was added in 1661: till then the service ended abruptly because of the Communion service, which should follow.²

¹ 'Et interim cantentur sequentes antiphona. Exaudi nos, Domine, et Levitæ ministri Domini, dicentes: quoniam magna est misericordia tua: Parce, Domine, parce populo tuo; secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum respice nos Domine. Domine.'
. Alia antiphona. Juxta vesti-

bulum et altare plorabant sacerdotes et Levitæ ministri Domini, dicentes: Parce, Domine, parce populo tuo; et ne dissipes ora clamantium ad te, Domine.'
² *Fragm. Illustr.* 99.

The
Communion.The Suppli-
cations,
'Turn thou
us, &c.'

ADDITIONAL NOTES

I.—THE OFFICE OF THE DEAD.

The Office of
the Dead.

A form of this service appeared in the Primer of 1545, the Edwardian Primers of one type,¹ and again in the Elizabethan Primer of 1559. It was solemnly used as a 'Memorial Service' at the death of Henry II. of France on September 8 of that year in S. Paul's Cathedral. Parker, Barlow and Scory executed the service in surplices and hoods, and on the day following a sermon was preached by Scory, and a solemn communion was celebrated in copes, 'with a rich hearse,' and with six great personages to communicate.²

The '*Dirge*' consists of three parts: the first, corresponding to the old vespers of the dead, comprised three psalms (cxvi. 1-9, xli., cxlvi.), with anthems followed by versicles and two collects; the second, corresponding to the Mattins, comprised three psalms (v., xxvii., xlii.), with anthem, Lord's Prayer, and three lessons (Job x. 8-13, S. John v. 24-30, I Cor. xv. 51-58), each followed by an anthem, so-called; the third part corresponding to Lauds, comprised three psalms (xxx., Song of Hezekiah (Isaiah xxxviii. 10-20), lxxi.) with anthem, followed by Lesser Litany, Lord's Prayer, suffrages and three collects. The suffrages and collects are very explicit in their prayer for the dead,³ and are similar to those in the burial service of the First Prayer Book.

II.—FORMS OF PRAYER TO BE USED AT SEA.

These forms, which now stand in the Prayer Book, do not form a service in themselves, but are merely supplemental devotions, to be used as occasion requires at sea.

The first attempt at having special Forms of Prayer for use at sea was made under the Commonwealth, by the Parliament, as a supplement to the *Directory*, when it was found that the proscribed Book of Common Prayer was used in all ships in which there was

¹ See above, p. 126.² Heylyn, *Ecclesia Restaurata* (Parker Soc.), pp. 57-67. (ed. Eccl. Hist. Soc.), ii. 305.³ *Private Prayers of Q. Eliz.*Prayers
to be used at
Sea.

any observance of religion at all,¹ and that therefore some substitute must be provided.

At the Restoration therefore it was natural that some proper forms for use at sea should be added to the revised Prayer Book. They are not a complete office; nor are they arranged in any particular order: but as additions to the Common Prayer,² or as particular supplications, or thanksgivings for deliverance from the perils of the sea or from the enemy, they are well adapted to their several occasions.³

III.—A FORM OF PRAYER WITH THANKSGIVING TO ALMIGHTY GOD, TO BE USED IN ALL CHURCHES AND CHAPELS WITHIN THIS REALM, EVERY YEAR, UPON THE TWENTIETH DAY OF JUNE; BEING THE DAY ON WHICH HER MAJESTY BEGAN HER HAPPY REIGN.

Four special services⁴ were "annexed to" the Book of Common Prayer, until the year 1859, by the authority of a proclamation customarily issued at the commencement of each reign. This is indeed the only authority for the special service on the anniversary of the Sovereign's Accession, or for observing the day itself.⁵ The

The State
Holy Days¹ See above, p. 162; Lathbury, *relating to the same*, by the Rev. A. Hist. of Convoc. pp. 497, 498. P. Percival (1838).² The following is the first of the ARTICLES OF WAR:—'Officers are to cause Public Worship, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, to be solemnly performed in their ships, and take care that prayers and preaching by the chaplains be performed diligently, and that the Lord's day be observed.'³ These forms are retained in the American Prayer Book, with the necessary changes of expression, such as *ships of war* for *Her Majesty's Navy*, &c. The Irish revised Prayer Book also has the forms, but omitting all direct mention of the Navy, and shortening the first or daily Prayer, as for use in any single ship; yet retaining the Prayers to be said *before a Fight at Sea against an Enemy*.⁴ See *The Original Services for the State Holy Days with Documents* relating to the same, by the Rev. A. P. Percival (1838).⁵ There is no Act of Parliament enjoining the observance of this day; but it has been observed with special prayers in every reign since the Reformation. The Service (1576, 1578) is printed in *Elizabethan Liturgical Services* (Parker Soc.) pp. 548 and ff. Canon II. of 1640 enjoined the observance of the day, and recognised 'the particular form of prayer appointed by authority for that day and purpose' (Cardwell, *Synodalia*, i. p. 392; Percival, p. 25); but a later statute of 1661 (13 Car. II. c. 12) forbade the enforcement of these canons (Percival, p. 8). A new form was compiled by command of James II.; some considerable alterations were made in the time of Queen Anne; at the accession of George I. the Prayer for Unity was added, and the First Lesson, Josh. i. 1-9, was sub-

The Queen's
Accession.

Offices for
the three
days sanc-
tioned by
Convoca-
tion.

Altered by
Royal
authority.

observance of the three other days (Nov. 5, Jan. 30, May 29) rested upon Acts of Parliament and the services themselves had some ecclesiastical authority. The 5th of November was kept in memory of the Gunpowder Treason, or Papists' Conspiracy,¹ the 29th of May, in memory of the birth and return of the king, Charles II.;² and the 30th of January as a fasting day in memory of the murder of King Charles I.³ After the Convocation had been completed the revision of the Prayer Book, (1661) the service for the 5th of November, which had been put out by royal authority in 1606 and was now revised, and with it the offices for the 29th of May and the 30th of January,⁴ were sanctioned. But these offices were not sent to the Parliament, and when they were put forth in 1662 they had only the sanction of Convocation and the Crown.

In process of time changes were introduced into them. James II. ordered the 29th of May to be observed in a more general memory of the Restoration of the Royal Family, and accordingly altered the service which had been provided by Convocation for that day.⁵ And William III. ordered the 4th of November to be observed also in memory of his landing in England, and altered that service accordingly.⁶ Hence these offices, in the shape in which they were annexed to the Prayer Book,⁷ had only the authority of the Crown.

These services were all constructed upon one model. They

stituted for Prov. viii. 13—36. Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 385, note; Lathbury, *Hist. of Convoc.* pp. 387 and ff.

¹ Stat. 3 Jac. I. c. 1; Percival, p. 17.

² Stat. 12 Car. II. c. 14; *ib.* p. 20.

³ Stat. 12 Car. II. c. 30; *ib.* p. 19.

⁴ Two offices for the 30th of January had already appeared one in 1661 and one in January 1662. The former of these contained a petition in allusion to the martyrs: 'that we may be made worthy to receive benefit by their prayers, which they, in communion with the Church Catholic, offer up unto thee for that part of it here militant.' This was laid aside, and a second form was issued for use in 1662, which again was superseded when the Convoca-

tion issued their forms of service later on in the year. Cardwell, *Synodalia*, ii. 671. Lathbury, *Hist. of Convoc.* pp. 305 and ff., and *Hist. of Prayer Book*, p. 334. Blunt 703.

⁵ 'Some alterations were made in the services for the 30th of January and the 29th of May by the Bishops, by authority of the Crown, neither the Convocation nor the Parliament being consulted.' Lathbury, *Hist. of Convoc.* p. 313.

⁶ Percival, p. 15. It was revised by Patrick. See Lathbury, pp. 333, 334.

⁷ The particulars of the extensive changes introduced into these offices may be seen in Mr. Percival's comparative arrangement of them, as sanctioned by Convocation, and as commonly printed.

The Queen's
Accession.

Construction of the
Services

began with proper sentences of Scripture: a Canticle was appointed instead of *Venite*, compiled of single verses from the Psalms: Proper Psalms, and Lessons followed; additional suffrages were provided after the Creed, and long proper Collects instead of the Collect for the day with a long Prayer to be inserted at the end of the Litany: and a proper Collect, Epistle, and Gospel were appointed in the Communion Office.

The only special service now retained is that for the day of the Sovereign's Accession: the same authority which annexed the other three Forms to the Prayer Book has caused them to be removed from it, by a Royal Warrant dated the 17th day of January, 1859. New forms of service for the Accession Day were prepared by Convocation; in deference to a petition signed by a number of liturgical scholars, the old style of service was given up and three Forms of prayer were provided: the first provides psalms, lessons, and prayers which may be used at Mattins and Evensong: the second prescribes a special Collect, Epistle and Gospel to be substituted for those of the day: the third is an independent service consisting of the *Te Deum* with suffrages and collects. These Convocation rites were authorized by Royal Warrant on Nov. 9, 1901.

IV.—ADDITIONS TO THE AMERICAN PRAYER BOOK.

Before the Psalter, are inserted *A Form of Prayer for the Visitation of Prisoners*, taken from the old Irish Prayer Book; *A Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for the Fruits of the Earth, and all the other blessings of his merciful Providence; to be used yearly on the first Thursday in November, or on such other day as shall be appointed by the Civil Authority* (taken from the "Proposed Book"); and also, *Forms of Prayer to be used in Families*, taken from those composed by Bishop Gibson of London.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE ORDINAL.

SECT. I.—*The Early Days of the Ministry.*

Early
History.
In the New
Testament.

* IT is plain from the New Testament that our Lord Himself instituted a Ministry for His Church, and that those Apostles and others who first held a place in it derived their authority immediately from Him.¹ It is also clear that provision was made for the continuance of this ministry through the handing on of ministerial powers by those, who had the authority of the Church to do so, to others who were appointed to receive them in their turn.² The ministers of the Church had thus a double commission: they were from the earliest times selected or at least approved by the body of Church members,³ and at the same time, besides the human authorization from below, they received a divine commission, through this transmission to them in their turn of the divine gifts of ministerial power, with which our Lord had endowed the Church.⁴

It is equally clear that our Lord did not leave a definite form by which this function of ordination was to be

¹ S. John xx. 21, 22.

² Acts xiv. 23; 1 Tim. v. 22.

³ Acts vi. 1-6. Cp. 1 Tim. iii. 7 and ff.

⁴ See Gore, *The Church and the*

Ministry: ch. IV. especially, and ch. V. as to the Biblical question: ch. II. as to the meaning of Apostolic Succession.

carried out, as He had done in the case of Holy Baptism: nor was there any action of His own in the matter, so conspicuously impressed upon the mind of the Church, that it was an obvious model which the Church was bound to follow,—as was the case with the Holy Eucharist. But, in spite of this absence both of direct charge and of precedent, the Church was able at once to lay down a definite method of ordination, of which the essential features were (i) imposition of hands, and (ii) appropriate prayer. This comes out in the appointment of the deacons,¹ and the same points are pointed to by S. Paul in writing to S. Timothy as the prominent features of his ministerial commission, which he will do well to bear in mind.²

In the first age of the Church the three orders of the Ministry, now familiar, do not stand out with the clearness which afterwards was the case. This does not imply that men were free to take ministerial functions upon themselves, nor yet does it imply that there was no gradation in the ministry: some had powers that others had not:³ there was a definite commission and it involved 'differences of administration.' It was not any absence of method, but the richness of the Pentecostal gift, which was the cause of the variety of ministerial functions, and of the number of grades of ministry, which are seen to have been prominent in apostolic times. In later times, just as the gifts of the Spirit in general became confined to more normal forms, and the extraordinary gifts disappeared, so there disappeared

¹ Acts vi. 6. The laying of hands on SS. Barnabas and Paul at Antioch (Acts xiii. 3) is probably not to be regarded as an ordination service, but as a valedictory service.

² 1 Tim. iv. 14; cp. i. 18; and 2 Tim. i. 6.

³ The position of the deacons exemplifies this, and especially the restriction, which prevented S. Philip the Deacon from confirming those whom he had baptized, and rendered necessary the intervention of the Apostles. Acts viii. 12 and ff.

Early
History.

The essen-
tials.

In apostolic
times.

Great
variety and
richness

Early History.
settle into the normal triple ministry

Forms of Ordination.

Appearance of the Minor Orders.

also the extraordinary ministries (e.g. that of the prophet¹), and the normal type of ministry for the organized Christian Church became the three-fold form, with which Church history is familiar, comprising the episcopate, the priesthood and the diaconate.

The earliest forms of ordination, which are extant, correspond with what would be expected from the New Testament and from the history of the early days of the Church. The first are those of the Hippolytean Canons,² which are mainly remarkable because the same prayer is assigned for the consecration of a bishop and the ordination of a priest, with only a change of word, where mention is made of the grade which is being conferred.³ Other forms are to be found in *The Testament of our Lord*, the *Apostolic Constitutions* and the *Sacramentary of Serapion*. These show that, while the forms of prayer varied, the two features which were evident in apostolic times are still the two chief features of the service, viz. the imposition of hands and the appropriate prayer. They show also the existence in the Church of Minor Orders,⁴ that is of ministerial grades inferior to the diaconate, which have not come down from apostolic times, but have developed since then, and in different methods and degrees, to meet varying needs of the Church.⁵

¹ This comes next to the apostolate in S. Paul's list in 1 Cor. xii. 28.

² *Can. Hipp.* 7-42. For only the three sacred orders is a formula provided, and imposition of hands prescribed: but mention also is made of Reader, Subdeacon, and Virgin.

³ This is less remarkable if, as has been suggested, the Hippolytean Canons were really Alexandrine in their origin (see above, p. 313): for Alexandria was exceptional in this respect.

⁴ The *Sacramentary of Serapion* gives forms of ordination only for the three sacred orders, which it

reckons in accordance with the N. T., as being of divine institution.

But it mentions three minor orders. (*Journ. Theol. Stud.* i. 253 and ff.). The *Testament* gives also formulas for Widow, Subdeacon and Reader (chapters xli, xliv, xlv.): the *Apostolic Const.* for Deaconess, Subdeacon and Reader (viii. 19, 21, 22), and mentions Confessors, Virgins, Widows, and Exorcists as not ordained (*ibid.* 23-25) with imposition of hands.

⁵ For their history see Morin, *De Sacra Ord.* III. i. 2, 26. Gore, p. 171.

SECT. II.—*The Mediæval Latin Services.*

We do not get upon the direct line of ancestry of the actual formulas of the English Ordinal till the Latin Sacramentaries and *Ordines*¹ are reached in the VIth, VIIth and VIIIth centuries. The purely Roman documents (that is to say the Leonine and Gregorian Sacramentaries and the *Ordines*) present a certain contrast with the Gallican canons about ordination in the *Statuta Ecclesie Antiqua* and with Roman Service-books which have been modified under Gallican influence. It is the latter composite books which are here most in question, since the English services derived from the mixed use. The orders recognized in the Church are now seen to comprise five minor orders besides the three chief grades, viz (4) subdeacons (5) acolytes (6) exorcists (7) readers (8) porters: these had been so recognized at Rome ever since the middle of the IIIrd century;² and they therefore represent the orders current in the English Church from the earliest times down to the Reformation.

A broad distinction existed at first between the appointment to the minor orders and the ordination to the sacred orders; while the latter was effected by the imposition of hands with prayer, in the case of the former there was in the West no imposition of hands,³ and

¹ *Leonine Sacr.* pp. 421 and ff. *Gelasian Sacr.* pp. 512 and ff.; 619 and ff. *Gregorian Sacr.* pp. 357 and ff. *Missale Franc.* pp. 661 and ff. *Ordines*, viii. and ix. Later services are given in the Appendix to the Gregorian Sacramentary, pp. 405 and ff. The *Statuta Ecclesie Antiqua*, a collection of Gallican canons, dating from the beginning of the VIth century, gives the only pure

testimony extant as to the Gallican Rites. See Bruns, *Canones*, i. 140, where it is (as often) wrongly ascribed to the fourth Council of Carthage. For the whole of this part of the subject see Duchesne, *Origines*, ch. x.

² See letter of Pope Cornelius in Eusebius, *H. E.* vi. 43.

³ Compare the statement above, p. 650, note 4.

The Mediæval Services.

Early Latin Service-books. The Roman and Gallican Rites.

The Minor Orders.

The
Mediæval
Services.

The Roman
and

the Gallican
services.

no solemn prayer, but merely a symbolical ceremony—the handing to the candidate of some instrument representative of his function, as an authorization to him to exercise that function.¹ At Rome for example during the Mass² at the time of communion the acolyte was given a linen bag, the receptacle then in use for the Holy Eucharist, and the subdeacon was given a chalice: the “tradition of the instrument” appropriate to the office constituted the whole ceremony.³

In the Gallican rite the minor orders had meanwhile been dignified with a much greater service. To each candidate, as he received his instrument, a solemn charge was given, and this was followed by a bidding of prayer and a solemn benediction: in the case of each order all the three formulas employed were specially connected with the office and grade which was being conferred. At a later date these were adopted into the Roman series of ordination services; they ousted the simple old Roman rite and thus came to form the service for the minor orders in all the later mediæval Pontificals in England as well as elsewhere.⁴

This type of service also, as will be shown later, had

¹ This followed the analogy of civil life. Gore, 170.

² Minor orders were conferred at any time of the year: but the holy orders were restricted to solemn times of ordination, and eventually to the Ember Days. See above for them, p. 332.

³ For the ‘clerk’ or acolyte the Bishop ‘*porrigit in ulnas eius sacculum super planetam et prosternit se in terram cum ipso sacco: et dat ei orationem sic*’—Intercedente beata et gloriosa semperque virgine Maria et beato apostolo Petro, salvet et custodiat et protegat te Dominus. Amen.’ In the case of the Sub-

deacon, ‘*porriget ei archidiaconus vel episcopus calicem sanctum in ulnas foras planetam: et se in terra prosternet et dat ei orationem ut supra diximus*.’ The prayer thus is common to all the minor orders: probably it is a later addition to the ceremony. Ordo Romanus viii. 1 and 2. Migne. P. L. LXXVIII. 1000. It is not given in the Roman services as prescribed in the Leonine and Gregorian Sacramentaries. Duchesne, *Origines*, 339.

⁴ See p. 295, where a specimen is given of the services for admission to minor orders.

The
Mediæval
Services.

The Gallican
super-
sedes the
Roman,

or coalesces.

The Holy
Orders.
The Roman
Rite.

an influence on the development of the ordination services for the three sacred orders (as the Prayer Book reckons them) of Bishops,¹ Priests and Deacons.

When the Gallican rite was confronted with the Roman, the question of minor orders offered no difficulty, since the very slender Roman rite readily disappeared in favour of the Gallican rites: but in the case of the holy orders it was different, since there was a substantial Roman rite in possession of the field: the result was that here the two rites coalesced: and thus the ordination services of the latter middle ages were in the case of the minor orders wholly Gallican, and in the case of the sacred orders were the result of a fusion of Roman and Gallican rites.

The Roman rite for the ordination to each of the holy orders was made up of a series of four items inserted into the Mass:—(1) a bidding to prayer, (2) the litany, (3) the collect, which corresponded to the bidding and summed up the petitions of the Litany,² (4) the eucharistic prayer of consecration said by the Bishop. The candidates had previously been presented by the Archdeacon to the Bishop and a final opportunity had been given for any one to raise objections to their ordination. During the actual ceremonies after the Litany they knelt before the Bishop for the imposition of hands: when the consecratory prayer was ended, they saluted the Bishop and other clergy, and took their places with the other clergy of their

¹ In mediæval times the episcopate and priesthood were popularly reckoned as one order: and latterly the subdiaconate was reckoned with them among holy orders, thus making four minor orders and three holy orders; but all the Church’s rites and best traditions are in favour of making the episcopate a separate order: and of reckoning the subdia-

conate among minor orders. See Morin, *De Sacra Ord.* III. i. 2. 26: Gore, p. 105, for the first point.

² The Litany here occupied the interval (or most of it) which it was customary to leave for private prayer between the bidding and the collect. See above, p. 523. It included special clauses of intercession for the ordinands.

The
Medieval
Services.

The Galli-
can Rite.

order, each vested in the vestment appropriate to his new order.

The Gallican rite was similar in construction: (1) The bishop invited the people's approval of the candidates, and, when they had expressed it by the reply *Dignus est*, "He is worthy," the Bishop said (2) a bidding prayer and (3) the eucharistic or consecratory prayer with hand outstretched over the candidate's head; but the formulas were entirely different from the Roman formulas.¹ Further there were incorporated into the service as rubric the provisions of the Gallican lawbook called the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*² which laid down the ceremonial of ordination: and at the end of the ordination of priests (and later of deacons as well) there was added a prayer for the consecration of their hands with holy oil and chrism.³

The fusion
of the two.

The fusion of the Gallican and Roman rites is already found in the Gelasian Sacramentary, which is otherwise almost entirely Roman, and in the *Missale Francorum* which is mainly Gallican: it must have taken place as early as the VIIth century, and by the end of the IXth century it had become general. The method of the fusion was simple and in one respect was important: the Gallican bidding and consecratory prayer, was added after the Roman consecratory prayer, and the Gallican quotations from the *Statuta* were prefixed to the service

¹ Except the consecratory prayer for the episcopate, where the same prayer (in two forms) occurs in both uses: one original formula, either the Gallican or the Roman, has disappeared. *Origines*, 361. Possibly it is preserved in the prayer *Pater sancte, omnipotens, deus, qui per* DNJC. See below, p. 672.

² See above, p. 651, note 1.

³ This is given in the *Gelasian Sacr.* at the end of the Gallican appendix, containing the formulas for

the minor orders (p. 622), and not with the rest of the prayers for the priesthood (p. 514): but elsewhere it is in its right place, e.g. *Missale Franc.* 669 (two formulas) for the priesthood: *Egbert Pontifical* (Surttees Soc. Vol. 27), 21 for the diaconate. This MS. is not itself that of Archbishop Egbert (766), but is a later copy with additions dating from the Xth century.

For the whole of the services, see above, pp. 296 and ff.

The
Medieval
Services.

as rubric. In the case of the Deacon, Priest and Bishop these prescribed the imposition of hands and in the case of the Bishop a further ceremony as well, viz. the holding over his head of the gospel-book. The result of the incorporation of these provisions was, that at a later date the imposition of hands was transferred to this point of the service, and thus took place in silence and not in connexion with either of the consecratory prayers.

In course of time further developments took place. (1) Formulas were inserted in connexion with the vesting of the candidates in the vestment appropriate to their new order.¹ (2) The symbolical ceremony of "the tradition of the instruments," which had hitherto been the distinctive feature of admission to minor orders, was grafted on to the ordination services for sacred orders, probably in the XIth century: thus the gospel-book was handed to the deacon, with a charge to take it and read the Gospel: the paten and chalice, with hosts and wine prepared ready for use, were given to the priest, and he was charged to take authority to offer the Holy Sacrifice: similarly to the bishop at his consecration there was given the ring and pastoral staff, and he was charged to maintain discipline and to be sound in the faith. (3) The ceremonial unction and consecration of hands was amplified and there was added to it an anointing of the head also, drawn no doubt from the consecration of Aaron: but this did not survive into the later Pontificals except in the case of the

Later de-
velopments.

¹ The ninth Roman *Ordo* shows that the stoles in Rome were placed upon the 'confession' i.e., the tomb of S. Peter to hallow them, as is still done with the pallium. In later times a prayer of hallowing was said (see e.g. *Egbert Pontifical*, p. 16 *Leofric Missal*, p. 215), but these prayers did not survive into the later Pontificals. The formulas which did survive were words to be said at the investiture. See pp. 297, 299, 304. For the history of these additions, see Braun, *Die priesterlichen Gewänder*, pp. 79, 90, 110, 148; and *Die pontificalen Gewänder*, pp. 55, 85.

The
Mediæval
Services.

The English
Pontificals.

Bishop.¹ (4) Later still there was added an instruction in the duties of each order.

These represent the main features in the growth of the ordination services in mediæval times: they are common to all the English Pontificals,² but in other respects the books varied slightly from one another even down to the time of the Reformation: there was no printed edition of the Pontifical, and no uniformity, for each Bishop had his own book in MS. and followed such traditions as seemed best to him: but the ordination services were substantially the same, though differing in arrangement.³

SECT. III.—*The Ordering of Deacons and Priests.*

The following table gives an outline of the Latin service in its latest pre-Reformation shape: the old Roman and old Gallican elements are distinguished by different type from the later accretions. These latter are not inserted always in the same places in the various books: the order given here is that of the Sarum

¹ See Maskell *ad loc.* and *Egbert*, pp. 3, 24: Brit. Mus. Cotton MS., Claudius A. III. and the Pontificals of S. Dunstan and Robert of Jumieges, Abps. of Canterbury, in Martene, Lib. I. Cap. VIII. Ordo III. The ceremonies of unction were probably British in their origin: they are first mentioned in the VIth century by Gildas (*Epist.* 106), with regard to the hands. It was only subsequently to the IXth century that they were adopted at Rome, as Nicholas I. witnesses with regard to the hands, (Ep. 63, ad Rodulfum Bit., in Migne, *P.L.* CXIX. 884=Gratian, I. XXIII. 12), and Amalarius with regard to the head (*De Offic.* ii. 14).

² The Surtees Society has printed two, those of Abp. Egbert and of Abp. Bainbridge: the latter volume

contains a list and description of all the known MSS. The Exeter Pontifical of Bp. Lacy was printed in 1847 by R. Barnes; the Salisbury Pontifical was reproduced in large measure in Maskell's *Monumenta* with a collation of other books. A Scottish Pontifical of Bp. de Bernham was reprinted in 1885 by Chr. Wordsworth.

³ *E.g.* the position of the Litany varied: sometimes it was said before the admission to minor orders, but more commonly, according to Roman custom, before the ordination of deacons. Similarly different traditions were current as to the presentation of candidates: in some cases the candidates for the diaconate and priesthood were presented separately from the rest.

The Ordering
of Deacons
and Priests.

The revision
in the
Prayer
Book.

The Ordering
of Deacons
and Priests.

Pontifical as printed by Maskell and reproduced above.¹ Parallel with the outline of the Latin service is an outline of the present Prayer Book services for Deacons and Priests, combined as is commonly done in actual practice. When the Ordinal was first put out in 1550 the two services were not parallel in structure: the presentation of candidates for the priesthood with the Litany following was deferred till after the Gospel, instead of preceding the Communion Service, as in the case of deacons. The *Veni Creator* then preceded the Presentation. In 1661 the Presentation and Litany were in each case appointed to precede the Communion Service: further the *Veni Creator* was deferred till after the examination of the candidates, so that it preceded the solemn prayer. Another slight change was also made which affected both services: the special prayer for the candidates, which in 1550 was appended to the Litany, was in 1661 transferred from that position to become the Collect in the Holy Communion Service. These are the only structural alterations whereby the book of 1550 differs from that of 1661. Other variations in the successive books will be dealt with later.

THE PONTIFICAL.

1. [Eucharist begins.]
2. Presentation and Final Enquiry, Orders jointly.
3. Admission to Minor Orders.
4. Litany and Special Clauses.

THE PRAYER BOOK.

Presentation and Final Enquiry, Orders separately.

Litany and Special Clauses.

[Eucharist begins.]
Special Collect for each Order.

¹ See p. 294 where the same distinction of type is made, and the sections are numbered to correspond with this table. See also a table

giving in full the development of the service for the ordination of a priest in C. H. S. Tract XLI. *Priesthood in the English Church.*

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THE PONTIFICAL.	THE PRAYER BOOK.
5. Instruction of Deacons in their duties.	Examination and Instruction.
6. Imposition of hands in silence.	Imposition of hands and charge.
7. Bidding and Collect.	
8. Consecratory Prayer.	
9. Vesting with Stole.	
10. Tradition of Gospel Book.	Tradition of Book.
11. Bidding.	
12. Consecration.	
13. Vesting in Dalmatic.	
14. [The Gospel follows.]	[The Gospel follows.]
15. Instruction of Priests.	Instruction of Priests and Examination. Bidding, <i>Veni Creator</i> and Solemn Prayer.
16. Imposition of hands by Bishop and Priests in silence.	Imposition of hands and charge, <i>Accipe Spiritum Sanctum.</i> (See 26.)
17. Bidding and Collect.	
18. Consecratory Prayer.	
19. Vesting with Stole and Chasuble.	
20. Bidding.	
21. Consecration.	
22. <i>Veni Creator.</i>	
23. Blessing and Consecration of hands.	
24. Tradition of Instruments.	Tradition of Bible.
25. [Offertory to the Communion].	[Offertory to last Collect.]
26. Imposition of hands and charge, <i>Accipe Spiritum Sanctum.</i>	Solemn Prayers.
27. Kiss and Pax.	
28. Special Blessing	
29. Exhortation.	
30. [Postcommunion, &c.]	[Benediction.]

The general character of the reform in the Ordinal can easily be understood from the comparative table. Neither in 1550 nor in 1661 had the revisers the advantage of knowing the history of ordination in the way in which it is now known. In 1550 they could merely look at the Pontifical, as it lay before them, in the light of the current theories of the nature of Holy Order and in the light of Holy Scripture. Their main object was clearly set forth in the preface of the English Ordinal, viz. to 'continue' in valid succession the three orders of the ministry as they had been received 'from the apostles' times' by episcopal consecration: their method was to ensure the essentials of ordination as they are discernible in the New Testament, viz. 'public prayer with imposition of hands' by the Bishop. Having secured this, they had secured all that is essential. But in other respects the reform kept close to the old customs. The ordination was still to form part of the Holy Communion Service: the Litany with special clauses and the *Veni Creator* were retained, as well as a form of tradition of instruments. The last was a measure of some importance, for according to mediæval theory this ceremony was held to be the essential feature of ordination: it had been so defined by Eugenius IV. in 1439,¹ and the theory to a considerable extent held the field in Roman theology until the XVIIth century, when the ceremony was proved to be only an innovation made

¹ In his decree addressed to the Armenians at the Council of Florence. 'Sextum sacramentum est ordinis, cuius materia est illud per cuius traditionem confertur ordo: sicut presbyteratus traditur per calicis cum vino et patenæ cum pane porrectionem. Diaconatus vero per libri evangeliorum dationem.' Harduin. IX. 440. The 'matter' having been thus de-

finis, he continues: 'Forma sacerdotii talis est "Accipe potestatem offerendi sacrificium in ecclesia pro vivis et mortuis: in nomine, &c."' *ibid.* This definition was promulgated by Pole in the Marian times (1556) as the current doctrine. See Wilkins, *Conc.* IV. 121. The language is borrowed from Aquinas, *Expositio in articulos fidei.*

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of Deacons
and Priests.

The Principles
of the
revision.

The object

and method;

How far
conservative.

Tradition of
instruments.

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in the Xth century, and the theory was seen to be untenable.¹ The Revisers of 1549 therefore while securing the real essentials, viz. prayer and imposition of hands, were careful also to retain the tradition of instruments and not go against the current scholastic theories.

Imposition
of hands.

Another point of special interest is their treatment of the imposition of hands: it has been already shown how in mediæval times this had been transferred from its proper place and was no longer done in connexion with the great central prayers, but was done in silence at an earlier point in the service. In the ordination of priests there had been added to the Latin service at a late period a second imposition of hands accompanied by the charge 'Receive the Holy Ghost' (*Accipe Spiritum Sanctum* &c.) based on S. John xx. 22. The revisers restored the imposition of hands to its central position and accompanied it with the solemn words of a charge to the candidates authorizing them in their new order. In the ordination to the priesthood they brought together the two impositions of hands from the beginning and the end of the service into one central place, and took, as the words of the solemn charge accompanying it, the biblical formula already in use, 'Receive the Holy Ghost &c.' This action was very significant: it had the effect of bringing out the essentials of ordination, and concentrating into one brief moment the true significance of the whole service,² which was much less clear in the complex Latin rite, with its clumsy fusion of two original uses, overlaid with subsequent accretions.

How far
radical.

At the same time those who are familiar with the

¹ Morin begins his third book by disproving this theory. See Gore Archbishops (*Sapienter Officio*), p. 32. 61, 62, n.

² See the *Responsio* of the English

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old services will regret that the revisers abandoned the great consecratory prayer prefaced by the solemn bidding, the salutation and the *Sursum Corda*. The prayers themselves were fine, and there was nothing in them to which exception could be taken: and further it is now seen that the use of such a type of prayer as the central point of the service is a characteristic deep-rooted in the ancient services; such a prayer is in fact the central feature not only of the Liturgy proper, where it has been retained by us, but of other services such as Baptism, Ordination, where it has been lost, not to mention other ancient services, such as The Consecration of a Church, Churchyard or Altar, The Profession of Nuns, The Blessing of Abbat or Abbess, &c.,—services not known to the Prayer Book, but of which again this type of eucharistic prayer is the central feature. Such prayers were abandoned, no doubt, because of the wish to shorten, simplify and compress the ordination, coupled with the belief, generally held at the time, that it was the imperative formulas rather than the prayers, which were the crucial parts of the service.¹

Such results as these, which the comparative study of Service-books in modern days has brought out, were not present to the mind of the Revisers: on the other hand, there were present the results of other inquiries and questionings current at the time, and these have left their mark upon the Ordinal.

First there was a great desire to recover a wider and truer view of the functions of the ministry, to include the pastoral and prophetic side of the office as well as the specially sacerdotal side. Again it was felt very necessary, especially in such times of change, that candidates should be 'first called, tried, examined, and

¹ *Responsio*, p. 32.

Influence of
the affairs of
the time.

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The instructions
and examina-
tions.

known to have such qualities as were requisite.¹ It was for such reasons as these, that there were introduced into the services the instructions and the examinations. Neither of them were new features, for of late the Pontificals had included a brief description of the functions of each order: and an examination of the ordinand in the course of the service had long been a regular feature in the consecration of a bishop² and an occasional feature in the ordination of priests:³ but both of these features assumed quite new proportions.

Already in Germany these desires had found practical expression in Lutheran schemes and services,⁴ and the Revisers had before them a draft of Ordination Services drawn up by Martin Bucer probably for their special benefit. While they rejected Bucer's doctrinal standpoint, they accepted much of his plan, and drew largely upon him for the exhortations and examinations.

After this general description of the objects of the Revisers, which shows that they were in the main conservative, though not unwilling to give a fuller expression than had been customary to the needs and wishes of their time, it will be well to turn to the present service, and note in order the detailed points which call for notice, either (i) because they exemplify these general principles, or (ii) because they underwent revision in the successive changes from 1550 to 1661.

The Preface defines the purpose of the whole Ordinal: it went through some modification of language in 1661; (i) to make more abundantly clear the difference between the Ministry of the Church and the Ministries of the various sects, which had usurped its place under

¹ Preface to Ordinal.

² See below, p. 670.

³ See note on p. 664.

⁴ See e.g. Hermann's *Consultation*,

'Of the appointing and instituting of pastors,' fol. CCXXIII. and ff: where similar wishes are expressed.

The present
service.

Preface.

the Commonwealth: (ii) to raise the age for the diaconate from twenty-one to twenty-three:¹ (iii) to prescribe that ordinations should normally take place at the Ember Seasons in accordance with Canon xxxi.²

The opening rubrics of the Ordering of Deacons have been altered as regards the dress of candidates: in 1550 it was ordered that they should be in albs, this order was omitted in 1552, and when the rubrical directions were made more ample in 1661 it was provided that they should be 'decently habited.' Similar changes were made elsewhere in 1552 to agree with the lower standard then prescribed for the ornaments of the minister. The Sermon, Presentation, and Litany follow the line of the Latin service, but the final 'Si quis' inquiry, in the case of the priests, follows closely the service drafted by Bucer in 1549 for Ordination:³ the transference of the prayer after the Litany to form the Collect at the Eucharist has been already noticed, but the change of the word 'congregation' into 'church' may also be noted as it falls into line with similar changes made elsewhere in the book. The Oath of Supremacy has taken various shapes:⁴ it now is taken before the service⁵ in a very

¹ The age for orders has varied greatly at different times and places. See Blunt *ad loc.* Martene, I. viii. 3.

² For the ancient rules see Martene, I. viii. 4.

³ See above, p. 62. This was first printed in 1577, among his *Scripta Anglicana*, pp. 238-259, under the title, *De ordinatione legitima ministrorum ecclesie revocanda.*

The form there used is as follows: '*Finita evangelica lectione . . . mox primarius ordinator advocatis ordinandis ad mensam domine vel in alium locum . . . dicit populo: En hi sunt quos ad sacrum ecclesie ministerium proposuimus, adjuvante Domino, ordinare. Nam facta eorum*

canonica examinatione, deprehendimus eos . . . esse ad hunc functionem legitime et vocatos et probatos. Si autem adhuc quisque vestrum sciat eos aliquo teneri vel vitio vel crimine, propter quod ad hoc sanctum munus ordinare eos non conveniat, eum in Domino hortamur, si charam habeat gloriam Christi et ecclesie Christi salutem et honorem, ut id modo indicet vel uni ex nostris vel palam prout ei videatur, ne alienis et se et nos peccatis involvat.' *Ibid.* p. 256.

⁴ For Hooper's trouble about the form prescribed in 1549 see above, p. 61.

⁵ By the Clerical Subscription Act of 1865.

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Influence of
Bucer's
Draft.

simple form. The Epistles and Gospels in each of the services are proper to the occasion. Some of them were suggested by Bucer's draft, as were also the psalms appointed in 1550 for the Introit in the Ordering of priests.¹ Still more noticeable is the influence of that form upon the Examinations of the three orders in the Ordinal. Bucer made practically no distinction in the service for the three nominal grades of ministry which he recognised,² so that his draft is only a single service: but the influence of it may be traced in each of the three examinations in the English Ordinal.³

It is also conspicuous in the Bishop's exhortation preliminary to the examination of the candidates for priesthood,⁴ and in the prayer which follows upon

¹ *Ibid.* p. 255.

² 'Cum autem tres ordines sunt presbyterorum et curatorum ecclesiae . . . ita ordinatio quoque attemporatur ut, cum ordinetur aliquis, superintendens, id est episcopus, omnia aliquanto plenius et gravius gerantur et perficiantur quam cum ordinatur presbyter secundi ordinis vel tercii. Ita etiam fit nonnullum discrimen inter ordinationem presbyterorum secundi et tercii ordinis.' *Ibid.* p. 259 and cp. p. 238.

³ The eight questions in 'The Ordering of Priests' lie closest to Bucer's questions: the phraseology is modified, but the general scheme and method is followed; the ninth and last of Bucer's questions, exacting a promise from the ordinand that he will not desert his church except in response to a legitimate call, has no equivalent in the English service.

⁴ After the 'Si quis' follows this exhortation:

'Audistis fratres et in canonica vestri examinatione et nunc in concione atque in recitatis sacris lectionibus apostolicis et evangelicis, quantae sit dignitatis et molis munus hoc ad quod estis accessiti et nunc in nomine

Domini nostri Jesu Christi solemniter instituendi. Hortamur ergo in Domino vos et obtestamur per Dominum nostrum Jesum CHRISTUM, memores sitis in quantam vos ipse Filius Dei dignitatem evehat, ut illud ipsum munus administraretis ad quod ipse in hunc mundum venit, et mortem acerbissimam obiit, cuique regni dignitatem postposuit. Vocavit enim vos et nunc instituet vos uti oves ejus et dispersos in hoc perdito mundo filios Dei quaeratis ipsique in aeternum salvandos adducatis. Cogitate item continenter quantus sit thesaurus qui vobis committitur. Oves enim Christi sunt quas ille pretio animae suae sibi comparavit. Sponsa ejus et corpus est ecclesiae cui debetis ministrare et ad vitam aeternam [? adducere], quae si aliqua vestra culpa accipiat injuriam aut damnum, agnoscitis quanto vos scelere obligaturi sitis et quam horrendum vobis supplicium ipsi adducturi. Postremo voluite semper animis vestris et quis finis sit ac terminus hujus vestri ministerii erga hos fidei vestrae commendatos filios Dei, sponsam et corpus Christi. Nam antea de nullâ vobis est cogitandum remissione

it.¹ But here the similarity ends, and when the more crucial parts of the service are reached there is no sign of Bucer's influence.

solicitudinis, curae et operae vestrae, quam omnes eos, qui vestrae curae sunt commendati, adduxeritis administratione doctrinae et disciplinae Christi, vitaeque vestrae exemplis, ad eam fidei et agnitionis Filii Dei unitatem et perfectionem, ad eamque mensuram plenae adultae aetatis Christi, ut nullus omnino vel error in religione, vel vitio in vita, locus apud quemquam detur.

Cum itaque sit munus vestrum tantae simul et excellentiae et dignitatis et molis atque difficultatis, videtis quanta oporteat vos et curam et sollicitudine in illud incumbere ut et gratos vos ei Domino praestetis, qui tanto vos honore afficit tantamque vobis confert dignitatem, et nullum vobis ipsis et ecclesiae ejus damnum detis. Jam autem nihil potestis hujus ex vobis cogitare, omnis haec facultas a solo Deo datur; quantopere ergo pro bono Spiritu ejus orare vos sit necesse cernitis. Cumque nulla alia re tantum humanae salutis opus, quod vobis imponitur, possitis perficere, quam doctrina et exhortatione ex divinis Scripturis deprompta et vita huic doctrinae respondente, agnoscitis quanto etiam studio incumbere vos oporteat legendis et perdiscendis D. scripturis meditandis quoque et forandis moribus cum vestris tum vestrorum ad earundem scripturarum regulam. Et hac ipsa de causa quam procul etiam a vobis omnia mundi negocia et studia submovenda perspiciatis.

Haec vero omnia confidimus vos diu multumque et religiose ante cogitasse considerasse probeque ponderasse, atque ita vocationi Domini ad hoc munus obsequi, ejus confisos ope, sic decrevisse, ut velitis hoc unum totis viribus agere, cunctasque huc curas et cogitationes vestras conferre, ut et Spiritum Sanctum facultatem caelestem munus vestrum

sancte et salubriter obeundi a Patre Domini nostri Jesu CHRISTI per hunc unum mediatorem et propitiatorem nostrum indesinenter oretis et jugi vos ac religiosa D. scripturarum lectione et excussione ad hoc ipsum ministerium vestrum indies amplius instruatis et corroboretis: et vitam quoque vestram atque vestrorum sic laboretis quotidie sanctificare et ad CHRISTI doctrinam conformare, ut salutaria gregis Domini exemplaria vos et vestros praestetis. Et quo in ista omnia possitis et liberioribus animis atque feliciter etiam incumbere omnes hujus saeculi curas et negocia longe a vobis rejiciatis, sicut haec omnia in examinatione vestra freti Dei auxilio promissistis. Ut vero et praesens CHRISTI ecclesia de his mentem et voluntatem vestram quoque intelligat, et vos hoc vestra promissio etiam ecclesiae facta magis ad officium sollicitet, respondebitis clara voce ad ea quae de his ipsis officiis vestris vos ecclesiae nomine interrogabimus.' *Ibid.* 256.

¹ *Post haec jubetur etiam ecclesia eadem orare (pro) ordinandis in silentio, hisque precibus datur justum spacium, quo finito subjicit bri-marius ordinator.*

Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus. Deus omnipotens, Pater Domini nostri Jesu CHRISTI, gratias agimus Tuae divinae majestati et immensae in nos charitati et benignitati per hunc ipsum Filium Tuum Dominum et Redemptorem nostrum quod eum donasti nobis et Redemptorem et ductorem ad vitam beatam et sempiternam. Et voluisti ut postquam nostram morte sua redemptionem perfecisset et ad dexteram tuam in caelis consedisset instaurator omnium quae sunt in caelo et in terra daret nobis miseris et perditis hominibus, mitteretque, sicut tu eum misisti, Apostolos Prophetas Evangelistas

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In the Ordering of priests the *Veni Creator* follows the examination and precedes the prayer, and thus is placed in between two Bucerian sections, having been moved there from the beginning of the service in 1661. At the same time an alternative translation of the hymn was given, drawn from the collection of *Private Devotions* made by Bishop Cosin, which has already been noticed as influencing that revision:¹ and the older version was retouched.

The imperative
formulas.

The two formulas in the Ordering of Deacons for the imposition of hands and tradition of the New Testament call for no further comment: but with regard to the two corresponding formulas in the ordination of priests, it is to be noted that a change of some interest has been made in the wording of the charge based upon S. John xx. 22. In 1550 it was taken in

Doctores et Pastores, quorum ministerio dispersos in mundo filios tuos ipse ad te colligeret, eosque te eis, in semetipso manifestato, tibi ad perpetuam laudum nominis sancti tui regneret et renovaret. Inter quos placuit misericordiae tuae et nos tibi per eundem filium tuum et eodem sancto eius ministerio adduci et regenerari, hancque ex nobis, ut nunc adest coram te in tuo sancto conspectu, constitui ecclesiam. Pro his itaque tantis tam ineffabilibus aeternae bonitatis tuae beneficiis tum etiam pro eo quod praesentes famulos tuos ad idem salutis humanae ministerium vocare et nobis ad id ordinandos offerre es dignatus, quantas possumus agimus gratias teque laudamus et adoramus. Atque per eundem filium tuum supplices te rogamus et precamur ut Sanctum Spiritum tuum in nomine Filii tui opulente in hos ipsos tuos ministros effundas, eoque semper eos doceas et gubernes, quo tuo populo gregi boni pastoris nostri filii tui ministerium suum et fideliter

et utiliter praestent: ac eo quam plurimos gloriae tuae quotidie adducant: eosque quos adduxerint ad omnem tuam sanctam voluntatem indes perfectius instituant et conforment. Da quoque illis omnibus, quorum saluti vis istos ministrare, animos verbi tui capaces. Atque nobis omnibus hic et ubique nomen tuum invocantibus gratos nostros tibi semper praestare pro his et omnibus aliis beneficiis ejus: sicque quotidie in cognitione et fide tui et filii tui proficere per Spiritum Sanctum tuum, ut per hos ministros tuos et eos, quibus nos dare ministros voluisti, nosque omnes, nomen sanctum tuum semper amplius glorificetur et beatum regnum filii tui latius propagetur, potentiusque quocumque pervenerit obtineat. Per eundem filium tuum Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, Qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate ejusdem Spiritus Sancti per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.' *Ibid.* p. 258.

¹ Above, pp. 337, 343.

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its simple scriptural shape direct from the Latin rite, thus: 'Receive the Holy Ghost: whose sins, &c.,' *i.e.*, the passage descriptive of the priesthood: only there was added to the original clause, the second clause now in use, 'Be thou a faithful dispenser, &c.'¹ A similar formula was at the same time adopted in the consecration of bishops, 'Take the Holy Ghost: and remember that thou stir up, &c.,' *i.e.*, the passage from 2 S. Tim. i. 6, 7, which is descriptive of the work of a bishop. These very similar formulas were fastened on by the Puritans as an argument that no distinction was drawn by the Church between the episcopate and the priesthood. The plea was most insecure, as in reality the scriptural texts sufficiently made clear that in one case the reference was to the episcopate, and in the other to the priesthood. But to make the differentiation more abundantly clear these formulas were expanded in 1661, and there was introduced a definite mention of the particular 'office and work' 'now committed by imposition of hands.'²

The tradition of instruments in the case of the

¹ The reference here to Acts vi. 4 still more clearly defines the meaning of the formula as intended for the priesthood in contradistinction to the diaconate, while the idea of stewardship accords with S. Luke xii. 42, and 1 Cor. iv. 1.

In the American book an alternative is provided. 'Take thou authority to execute the office of priest, . . . hands. And be thou a faithful,' &c.

'Post hanc precem primarius ordinator cum presbyteris praesentibus imponit iis, qui ordinantur. in genua sua procumbentibus, manus et dicit.

'Manus Dei omnipotentis Patris Filii et Spiritus Sancti sit super vos, protegat et gubernet vos, ut eatis et

fructum vestro ministerio quamplurimum afferatis, isque maneat in vitam aeternam. Amen.'

² Objections have also been raised to these two formulas from the Romanist side, on the ground that it is essential that in the form of ordination the order conferred should be clearly determined: and it is no doubt true that some such determination is needed, so as to make clear what is being done: but it is not necessary that this should be done simultaneously with the imposition of hands: it is not so in the Roman rite, and the old ordination prayers are not all explicit on the point. There are plenty of passages all through the English Service which determine the

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of Deacons
and Priests.

The porrec-
tion of in-
struments.

Ceremonies
abolished.

The relic of
Concelebra-
tion.

deacon followed closely the Latin rite: in the case of the priest there was a change: instead of the chalice and paten prepared for use, he was given in 1550 the Bible in one hand and the chalice in the other: in 1552 the latter was omitted. The formula expressed his authorisation to do the work of a priest 'by administering the Holy Sacraments,' *i.e.*, in less narrow terms than the Latin formula, which only authorised him to say Mass.¹

The other ceremonies of the Latin rite disappeared, such as the anointing of hands and the vesting, and in their place there were provided solemn prayers for each order, to be said immediately before the close of the Communion Service,² where formerly there had been lately added to the Pontifical the second imposition of hands with a Benediction and a final charge.

The rubrical direction that the newly ordained priests 'shall remain in the same place where hands were laid upon them until such time as they have received the Communion' continues the custom of the Latin rite, but the actual wording seems to be drawn from Bucer's draft.³

order which is being conferred, and no possible room is left for doubt on the point. See *Priesthood in Engl. Ch.*: pp. 40, 41. *Responsio*, p. 23.

¹ Another Roman objection has been raised here on the ground that it is necessary that the formula, if it fails to mention priesthood, must allude to it as being the power of offering sacrifice. But it is clear that this is not necessary; for the oldest ordination prayers, such as those of the Hippolytean Canons and of Serapion, have no such explicit mention of offering sacrifice: and it may be further replied (i) that such mention was not originally part of the Roman rite: and (ii) that such powers are included as a matter of fact in the general phrase of the English formula. See *Priest-*

hood in the English Church, pp. 42 and ff. *Responsio*, p. 19.

² 'After the last collect and immediately before the Benediction.' The phrase is important, because it implies, what is not elsewhere stated, that one or more post-communion collects are said normally at the Eucharist after the *Gloria in Excelsis* and before the Blessing. Cp. the similar rubric prescribing two prayers 'for the last collect' in the Consecration of Bishops. See above, p. 498.

³ Contrast the form in Bucer's draft: '*His finitis, canit ecclesia Symbolum fidei et proceditur ad communionem, quam ordinati una sumant: qui etiam, dum communionem sumpserint, in eo loco manent ubi imposita eis manus sunt.*' Bucer, p. 259.

The custom has its roots far back in the history, and represents a survival of the old custom of the priests joining with the Bishop as concelebrants.¹

SECT. IV.—*The Consecration of Bishops.*

The general features of the history of this service are the same as those of the previous services, and have been described with them: there was the same fusion of Gallican and Roman rites, the same transference of the imposition of hands to the silent Gallican ceremony prescribed by the *Statuta Antiqua*: and further in this case the laying of the gospel-book on the head of the elect at his benediction: the same addition of further ceremonies, in this case the tradition of Pastoral Staff, Ring, and, at a later date, of Mitre and Gospel Book, and the putting on of the Gloves; the same enlargement of the ceremonies of unction including the anointing of the head as well as of the hands. But it is noticeable that the fusion of the two rites was less systematic: in many Pontificals the silence at the Gallican imposition of hands and of the gospel-book

¹ In describing the position of the newly ordained, after the ceremony of ordination is completed, the most ancient Roman *Ordines* show that they stood with the rest of the priests and took their part in the service: this meant at that date, that they held each one his paten with two hosts and joined with the Bishop, consecrating as he consecrated. The tradition that they should share in the consecration was kept up in the later middle ages, even after the practice had been given up of the priests joining habitually in the consecration with the Bishop: the question was much discussed as to whether there could be several consecrators with only one host as

had come to be the case: (see *e.g.* S. Thomas, *Summa* III. 82. 2.) but it was decided in the affirmative and the custom was accepted and universally used (as it is to this day in the Roman Pontifical), though it was not explicitly required in the English Pontificals. Thus the position of the newly ordained in standing before the altar throughout the consecration is a relic of the former custom of the priests participating in the Eucharistic consecration effected by the bishop as principal celebrant. See Morin, III. viii. on the question of concelebration and its survival at the ordination of priests and bishops. Also Georgi, *De Liturgia Rom. Pont.* iii. 1.

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Consecration
of Bishops.

Similarity
and contrast
to the pre-
ceding.

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of Bishops.

was broken at a late date by the addition of the words 'Receive the Holy Ghost' (*Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*) or by the singing of the *Veni Creator* at this point. It is noticeable also that there was great variety of use in the English Pontificals with regard to the additional and later ceremonies, their order and contents.¹

The exami-
nation.

But there is one special feature which distinguished the service of the consecration of a bishop from the other services, viz., the long and minute examination with which the service opened. The importance of the episcopal office made it necessary that additional precautions should be taken, both to ascertain and to assure the people of his worthiness to be consecrated. Thus, while the testing of candidates for other orders came to be less and less connected with the ordination, the testing of the bishop elect became more and more formally a part of the service. His election and the public confirmation of his election represent the legal and constitutional side of his appointment, while the testing in the service represents the theological and spiritual side.² The form which is found in the later pontificals seems to have taken shape as early as the IXth century,³ but it was freely adapted in different ways in different books.

¹ A comparative study of a number of the later English Pontificals shows that the service practically fell into two divisions: the first comprising the fused Gallican and Roman Rites as found in the earlier English books: in this division the amount of variation is small: the second comprising the ceremonies of unction and tradition of instruments of which only some small beginnings are to be seen in the earlier English books: in this the variation is extremely large.

² Regulations for the whole are found in the early Roman Ordo, VIII. ii. (Migne, *P.L.* LXXXVIII. 1001).

³ The form of examination beginning *Antiqua sanctorum Patrum* is in the Gregorian Sacramentary of the Vatican Library published by Rocca in 1605 and reprinted in S. Gregory's Works (see also Morin, pt. II. Ordo, 5.) and in Radbod's Pontifical (Martene, I. viii. Ordo, vi.) both of the IXth century.

Clifford's Pontifical at Corpus Christi Coll. Cambridge (MS. 79)

Consecration
of Bishops.
The revision.

The following table gives an outline of the service in its most fully developed English form, and parallel with it an outline of the service of the Prayer Book. The bracketed items are those which are least common. The fusion of rites is, as before, expressed by differences of type.¹

PONTIFICAL.	PRAYER BOOK.
	Eucharist up to Creed.
1. Examination.	Presentation and Oaths.
2. Eucharist up to Collect.	
[3. Instruction.]	
4. Bidding.	Litany and Prayer.
5. Litany.	Examination.
6. Imposition of hands and Gospel Book.	
[7. <i>Veni Creator.</i>]	<i>Veni Creator.</i>
8. Collect.	
9. First Consecratory Prayer.	
10. Uction of head.	
11. Second Consecratory Prayer.	Prayer.
12. Third Consecratory Prayer with out-stretched hands.	Imposition of hands and charge.
[13. Sevenfold Blessing.]	
14. Uction of head and hands (a) (b) (c) (d)	
[15. Putting on of the Gloves.]	
16. Tradition of Pastoral Staff (a) (b)	
17. Tradition of Ring (a) (b)	
[18. Of Mitre. (a) (b).]	
[19. Of gospel-book.]	Tradition of Bible and Charge.
20. Eucharist to the end.	Eucharist to last Collect.
	Prayer.
	Blessing.

¹ Cp. the service as printed above, p. 301.

Consecration
of Bishops.The old re-
dundancies

It is at once obvious that there is a great deal of reduplication in the service. Besides 9, the old Roman consecratory prayer, there are two other prayers in the same solemn form, viz. 11, which is in the ancient style, but does not occur in the older English Pontificals, and 12, which is very possibly the old Gallican consecration prayer, surviving in English pontificals,¹ though not in the Gallican-Roman services such as those of the Gelasian Sacramentary and the *Missale Francorum*. Again, the ceremonies of unction (10 and 14) are repeated several times over in the Salisbury Pontifical, from which this service is taken, though other Pontificals have generally only one or two of the alternatives.

curtailed.

In face of this reduplication and this multiplication of ceremonies it is natural to find that the revision made in the Prayer Book aimed at greater simplicity. The principles were those stated above. The examination was already there in the service, and did not need to be added: the solemn prayer, imperative formula² and imposition of hands were again made the central feature of the service, followed by a tradition of instruments. In the First Prayer Book this ceremony took a double shape: first, *The Archbishop shall lay the Bible upon his neck, saying 'Give heed unto reading,' &c.*; secondly, *Then shall the Archbishop put into his hand the pastoral staff, saying 'Be to the flock of Christ a shepherd,' &c.* These were combined, substantially in their present form, in 1552. At the same time the rule as to the vestments prescribed in 1550 was omitted:³ so when mention of

Changes in
the later
books.

¹ It is in the Dunstan, Jumieges, Leofric and later Pontificals. Possibly *vice versa*, 9 is Gallican and 12 Roman: see p. 654, note 1.

² See above, pp. 660, 661.

³ But the transference of the prayer after the Litany, to be the Collect at the Eucharist, effected in the other two services, was not effected here.

Consecration
of Bishops.

the surplices and copes with pastoral staves, as the ornaments of the bishops and the elect was gone, there was no rule given as to the dress of any of the persons until the present directions were inserted in 1661. Beyond the addition of another question to the examination and the alteration, already described, of the formula 'Take the Holy Ghost', the other changes then made were not of great magnitude.

CHAPTER XVII.

EPILOGUE.

IN the foregoing chapters it has been necessary to pass very rapidly over great tracts of history, partly concerned with the Prayer Book as a whole, and partly concerned with the individual rites which it contains: consequently very little attempt has been made to discuss the broad questions involved or the general principles which appear in the course of the history. But in conclusion a short chapter must be devoted to calling attention to some of the main features of the history, and of their bearing upon the interpretation of the Prayer Book.

Representative character of Prayer Book.

Perhaps the most prominent feature of all is the representative character of the Book: it has drawn from many sources: apart from the Bible, the old traditional Latin services of the English Church have provided by far the greater part of the contents: this is not merely true of actual bulk, but it is still more markedly true of the whole spirit and method of the Prayer Book: it has drawn also from other sources—Greek, Gallican, Lutheran and Swiss, in their measure: but nowhere is the Catholic temper of the Book better shown than in the treatment of the matter which is

adopted from 16th century sources, such as *The Consultation* or the suggestions of Bucer; and even when the borrowing has been most extensive, there are still the clear signs of careful editing, and the excision of what might sound out of tune with the old devotional temper preserved in the traditional prayers of the Church.¹

While thus the Prayer Book has combined 'things new and old,' it has also been comprehensive in another sense: it has attempted, and to a large extent been enabled, to combine together in common worship schools of thought, which, while united upon the fundamentals of the faith, differ, and even differ widely, on matters of theological opinion. This is no fortuitous result of the play of events, but was clearly the deliberate purpose alike of the original compilers of the Prayer Book, and of the Revisers who at the various stages carried on their work. It was no small testimony to the excellence of the First Prayer Book that it won acceptance and even some measure of approval from the leaders of the Old Learning.² In 1552 the object of the revision was to comprehend the opposite extreme, and the insertion of the Black Rubric shows how the State was anxious to outstrip the Church in comprehensiveness, and even make room for those who were really contending for views which were antagonistic to the Catholic Faith.³ When the choice had to be made at the opening of Elizabeth's reign between the two Edwardine Books, it was a choice between two different forms of comprehension: but even when it was seen that the Second Book would command more support in the country than the First, it was not adopted

Epiogue.

and comprehensive,

¹ For instances of such care see above, pp. 368, 488, 662-667.

² See p. 49.
³ See p. 83.

Epilogue.

without further attempts made to comprehend those who would like it least, *e.g.*, by the omission of the Black Rubric and the petition against the Pope, and by the addition of the Ornaments Rubric.¹

The Conferences at Hampton Court and at the Savoy were still more obviously designed to facilitate comprehensiveness: it is true that they failed to a great extent in reconciling the malcontents, but this circumstance also is illuminating: for the failure shows clearly the limits that must be set to comprehensiveness: and these too must be recognised. Compromise is an attractive way of dealing with difficult situations; but very rapidly compromise becomes compromising. The Church had to show that it would allow liberty of opinion and diversity of view and use, so far as such liberty and diversity did not prove dangerous: but also to show that it could draw a definite line of limitation, and refuse such compromises as would be derogatory either to the Catholic faith or to liturgical order and decency. Room could be made for considerable divergency of opinion, even on matters of so much importance as sacramental doctrine, so long as the minimum teaching of the Church as to the reality and efficacy of its sacraments was not denied²; ambiguous phraseology might (within the same limits) cover a good deal of divergence,³ but no toleration could be extended to attempts to tamper with the faith and discipline of the Church. Thus attacks upon the faith, such as those continually made in the interests of arians and deists, and growing

¹ See p. 102.

² Thus the book contains both the Prayer of Humble Access and the modified Black Rubric. But Zwinglian views are expressly excluded, implicitly by the whole service, and ex-

PLICITLY by the Catechism *inter alia*.

³ For examples, see the word 'oblations' (p. 482), or scrutinise the change of language in the closing section of the first Exhortation in the Communion Service.

but not compromising.

Epilogue.

in power from 1689 onwards, were uniformly resisted. Similarly the attack upon the disciplinary power of the Church in liturgical matters, which really underlay all the complaints of the Puritans as to ceremonies and uses both great and small, was continuously resisted.¹

The comprehensiveness of the Prayer Book therefore is distinguished not only by its large generosity in matters indifferent, but also by its clear limitations where matters of importance are called into question. The Church does not wish to overdrive the flock, but a clear distinction is maintained between the weak members who lag, and the wilful ones who stray.

It is too much to expect that a generous temper such as this will not be abused: of this abuse the Prayer Book history shows at least one long and continuous instance. The Puritan party from the days of Elizabeth to the present time has never honestly accepted the Prayer Book: its members have been too much of Churchmen to leave the Church, but too little of Churchmen to value its principles: they have thus remained in a false position, attempting to subvert the system to which they nominally conformed. It has been pointed out how openly the attempt was made in Elizabethan times²; and, though it has in God's good Providence failed all along to win any substantial recognition, it has been able at times to establish an evasive and false tradition of Prayer Book interpretation which has practically popularised and sought even to justify a system of disloyalty to the Prayer Book. The party has had its conflicts with the more loyal and whole-

¹ The Puritan wished (in theory fashion, but the Church will have at least) for nothing to be imposed none of such narrow and crude for which there was not an express reasoning. ² See pp. 110 and ff. descendant still argues in the same

The balance struck.

The Puritan rebelliousness.

Their evasive interpretation

Epilogue.

has set up a false tradition. Contest between Puritanism and loyalty;

still surviving.

hearted churchmanship, and the issues have hitherto not been finally decisive. The failure of the Elizabethan attempt to puritanize the Church inaugurated the period of loyalty of the early Stuart times: the success of this recovery was too rapid and too injudicious, and so the revenge came speedily; for a while sectarianism and puritanism had their way, until a short experience of their results under the Commonwealth produced a fresh reaction. The failure of the Puritans at the Savoy inaugurated another period of loyalty under the later Stuarts, but, when Church life was systematically crushed in the 18th century by Whig politicians and Latitudinarian bishops, the reign of the false tradition and the evasive, disloyal or merely torpid attitude to the rules of Church worship again set in; and those who tried to be loyal to the Church system, whether early followers of Wesley, Clapham Evangelicals or Oxford Tractarians, were all alike in turn charged with innovation, disloyalty, and even with Popery. The contest still survives: the Puritan party still works for a system, which is not the system of the Catholic Church or of the English Prayer Book, and defends its disregard of plain rubrics (*e.g.*, as to fasting or daily services), and its want of sympathy with the system (*e.g.*, as to the frequency and discipline of Communion) by appealing to the evasive tradition, which in the dark days of the history it has been able to form, and would like to fasten permanently upon the Church. Thus there is no feature more marked in the history of the Prayer Book than this contest between the Church system of worship expressed in the Prayer Book and the false interpretation which has grown up through a continuous tradition of evasion and rebellion.

In more recent times further confusion has been

Epilogue.

Another disastrous system of interpretation.

introduced into the question by a legal system of interpretation. The result of the attacks made in these last fifty years upon the more active and progressive side of Church life has been that law courts have been invoked to decide as to the meaning of the rubrics, partly as to doctrine and partly as to ceremonial. It might have been foreseen that the result would not be encouraging. Rubrics in their nature are not like statutes, which have one definite ascertainable force: they are merely a body of directions, varying greatly in lucidity, authoritativeness and completeness. Moreover, as has been shown, the Prayer Book is meant to be comprehensive, and many phrases and rules are designedly vague and patient of several interpretations. Thus the most characteristic features of rubric are just those which legal acumen cannot undertake to recognise. The tradition of the ecclesiastical courts differed from civil courts in this respect and their whole method of interpretation differed: they were therefore better able to deal with the circumstances of the case: and in old days the civil courts, when invoked in such matters, referred the interpretation at issue to the ecclesiastical authorities, and decided the legal consequences in accordance with the interpretation which the ecclesiastical authorities supplied.¹ But the anomalous position of the Privy Council, adjudicating in ecclesiastical matters, has apparently made such a wise procedure impossible; and the anomaly of the position has spread from the disputed jurisdiction of the Court of the Privy Council to

¹ The history of the case of *Eliza Shipden*, or of the varied fortunes of the attack on *Bp. John Cosin at Durham* are very illuminating. See for the former p. 639, and for the latter *Parker's Introduction*. Cp. in later days the action of the Queen's Bench in the *S. Paul's reredos case*. There has been no difficulty when civil courts have kept in their own proper spheres.

Epilogue.

the undisputed ecclesiastical courts, which are subject to it. The result is that the interpretation of the Prayer Book is a matter of great difficulty: not only are its provisions more than two hundred years old, and their application to present circumstances therefore very difficult, but the difficulty has been intensified by the unsatisfactory character both of the old traditional and of the new legal system of interpretation.

The power of liturgical custom acting independently of rule.

Against these forces, which, to say the least, make for stagnation and rigidity in days when progress and orderly freedom are most necessary, another great force is to be set, which also forms a conspicuous feature of the history, *viz.*, the power of rapid formation of liturgical custom. The rapidity with which usages are formed and fixed, often independently or even in defiance of express order, is seen conspicuously throughout. The rapidity with which Puritan customs overpowered the rules of the Prayer Book in Elizabeth's reign is paralleled by the rapidity with which the Prayer Book rules were recovered and additional un-rubrical customs arose, and became general, under the earlier or the later Stuarts. Some of the un-rubrical, but not necessarily unauthorised, restorations or innovations of the Caroline divines became part of the rubrical directions of the book of 1661, *e.g.*, the manual acts or ceremonial of the offertory¹: while others, such as turning to the east in the Creeds or the response before the Gospel,² have continued in use, though still un-rubrical.

Similarly the black gown has come and gone again, and it is only one instance out of many ceremonial observances, which have come and gone in independence or even in defiance of the rubrics.

¹ See p. 481.

² See pp. 152, 391, 479.

Epilogue.

Even the recent legal decisions have not prevented this free and rapid play of liturgical custom; for example, the directions of the Privy Council as to vestments are disregarded in nearly every church in England, from cathedrals downwards,¹ and even by those who profess to accept the ruling of the Court.

It is important to see the meaning of this fact: ceremonial observances are only relative things, and they depend upon time and place and character and even fashion. Liturgical customs are therefore always and of necessity in a state of flux: and attempts at enforcing uniformity, whether Anglican or Tridentine, have served to bring this fact out into prominence. It could hardly be otherwise: for worship that has no freedom is in imminent danger of becoming formalism.

On the other hand, there must be some check to prevent liberty from becoming licence, and to ensure that worship shall be orderly and intelligible: the controlling force must rest in the hands of the Living Church, for otherwise it will be a case of 'new wine in old bottles.' To secure this control is the object of the episcopal *jus liturgicum*: the Bishop is finally responsible for the discipline of worship, just as he is for all other parts of discipline in his diocese: and here, as in other respects, exercising his office constitutionally, that is with due regard to the rights of his clergy and laity on one side, and on the other side to those of his comprovincials, his metropolitan, his national synod, it may be, and ultimately to the whole Catholic Church, he is the appointed safeguard and the efficient authority in all matters liturgical.

It may be true that this method of liturgical order

¹ In most cathedrals copes are not worn, and in most parish churches stoles are.

This is necessary liberty, not lawlessness.

To be under living ecclesiastical control

Epilogue.

*Security lies
in that
Divine
Government
of the
Church.*

offers no ultimate finality in inveterate disputes, but that is true of all episcopal government: that bishops have made mistakes in the past or been untrustworthy, or that they are so now, or that they may be so in the future, is no valid objection to their liturgical authority. Such considerations, misgivings and fears will not justify either the people in refusing to obey the bishops' legal and honest commands, or the bishops in refusing the responsibility of making and enforcing them. But they necessitate a deep-seated belief in the reality of the Providence of God directing His Church, and in the guidance of the Holy Spirit as a power transcending all questions of ecclesiastical organization or policy, and overruling the administrative efforts of alike the best and the worst of human agents. And certainly few tracts of history can supply more cogent reasons for such a belief, or show more striking instances of the action of the Divine Providence in bringing order out of confusion, and truth out of conflicting errors, than the History of the English Book of Common Prayer.

*Which the
history of
the Prayer
Book con-
spicuously
exemplifies.*

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