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KING EDWARD THE SIXTH

AND

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Church Service Society

THE SECOND PRAYER BOOK OF
KING EDWARD THE SIXTH
(1552)

WITH HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY THE

REV. H. J. WOTHERSPOON, M.A.

OF ST OSWALD'S, EDINBURGH

AND

THE LITURGY OF COMPROMISE

USED IN THE

ENGLISH CONGREGATION AT FRANKFORT

FROM AN UNPUBLISHED MS.

EDITED BY THE

REV. GEORGE W. SPROTT, D.D.

OF NORTH BERWICK

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS

EDINBURGH AND LONDON

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THE SECOND PRAYER BOOK

OF

KING EDWARD THE SIXTH

(1552)

PREFACE TO INTRODUCTION.

THE reprint of the Prayer-Book of 1552 here given does not include the Ordinal, which was authorised in 1550, and which was never used in Scotland. The text is that of the Parker Society, for which Grafton's first and second editions were collated with Whitchurch's first, and apparently (p. 189) with another of Whitchurch's editions: the only deviation made here is in the correction of a few misprints. The collations given as notes in the Parker Society volume are omitted, as practically the readings vary only in spelling or printing. The editions referred to are,—of Knox's Works, that of Mr David Laing (Bannatyne Society), Edinburgh, 1846; of the "Frankfort Troubles," that of 1846; of Dr Thomas M'Crie, that of 1871, 4 vols.; of Spottiswoode's History, that of London, 1677; and of Calderwood's History, that of 1678. I have to express great obligation to Dr Sprott of North Berwick for much kind assistance and for numerous references; to the Right Reverend Bishop Dowden, to Professor Cooper, and to Mr Andrew Lang for obliging references; and to the Rev. R. S. Kirkpatrick of Govan for his kindness in revising proof-sheets.

EDINBURGH, *May* 23, 1905.

INTRODUCTION

TO

SECOND PRAYER-BOOK OF EDWARD VI.

I.

TILL the death of Henry VIII. (January 28, 1547), the public services of the Church of England were still celebrated in the Latin of the Breviary and Missal. The Holy Scriptures had been issued in the vulgar tongue (Great Bible, 1539), and "authorised to be used and frequented in every church of the Kingdom"; and various *prymers*, containing the Creed, Lord's Prayer, Commandments, &c., in English had been published for private use. But in public ministries there had been no change from medieval uses. The issue of service-books in English began with the nominal reign of Edward VI. In 1548 a Commission was issued by the Protector (Somerset), whose care it was "to keep the heady people of both persuasions from running into exorbitancies" (Strype), to a Committee of Bishops and Divines,¹ for the preparation of a Book of Common Prayer in the vernacular. A short office in English was meantime issued for present use,

¹ A list of them is given by Neale, 'Hist. of Puritans,' i. 42, edition 1759. But see Gasquet, 'Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer,' pp. 136-148.

while MS. translations of the Mass into English were not unknown in particular churches.¹ The Reformed Service-Book prepared by this Committee does not seem to have been submitted to Convocation, but by Act of Parliament (January 15, 1549) was ordered for use on and after Pentecost (June 9) of that year. Its Catholic and conservative tone contrasted with the type of worship adopted by the Continental Reformed, and practised at Glastonbury by Pollanus and his congregation of Walloon refugees; by à Lasco and the Dutch and German Protestants at Austin Friars, London;² and by the French congregation at Threadneedle Street; and it was disliked by the party in the Church of which Hooper was leader, which favoured the Continental model of Reformation, and whose influence was increased by the settlement of Continental divines in England, as Bucer in the Divinity Chair of Cambridge, Peter Martyr at Oxford, and others.³ The fall of Somerset gave this party their opportunity. The new Protector (Warwick),⁴ although on his death-bed he declared himself a Romanist, and confessed that he had never been other, depended on the support of the objectors to vestments and ceremonies, and it was his policy to court the Continental reformers.⁵ At the meeting of Parliament and Convocation (1550) the question of liturgical revision was raised, and referred to a fresh Committee of Divines, who entered at once on the work. Discussion of the doctrine of the presence of our Lord in the Eucharist occupied much of their attention. On the meeting of Parliament,

¹ *E.g.*, St Michael's, Cornhill, Accounts, 1547; referred to in A. and M. Lib., 'First Prayer-Book,' *Introd.*, p. viii.

² Established 1550.

³ 1547; Neale, i. 41.

⁴ John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, created Duke of Northumberland, 11th Oct. 1551.

⁵ See Letters to Bullinger from Hooper and from John at Ulmis, 1550.

January 23, 1552, they were nearly ready to report. The revised book was submitted to Cranmer, and by Act of April 6th it was ordered for use in all churches on and after All-Saints' Day.

The Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI. shows extensive changes from the First Book, both in matter and rubric. The vestments are forbidden,—rochet or surplice only to be used. The "table" is to stand "in the body of the church, or in the chauncell," and the word "table" everywhere takes the place of "altar." In the Communion Service much is omitted, and the recitation of the Decalogue is introduced. In the Daily Offices considerable adaptations are made from the Reformed uses. Unction disappears from the Visitation of the Sick, and prayer for the departed from the Burial Service.¹

These and other changes do not, however, seem to have sufficed to meet the views of the party now dominant. The long interval fixed between the confirmation of the new Book and the date appointed for its coming into use probably points to their desire for further modification in the direction of safeguard for their opinions. The question of posture in receiving the consecrated elements in Holy Communion was in controversy; and the controversy was brought to an issue by a sermon preached by one of the Royal chaplains before the King (October 1552), in which he "inveighed with great freedom against kneeling at the Lord's Supper, which is still retained here by the English."² The chaplain referred to, "a Scotsman by nation,"³ may be certainly identified as John Knox, at that time stationed at Newcastle, and probably fetched to Court by the extreme party for the purpose of thus bringing

¹ See Note A, p. 56.

² Letter of Utenhovius to Bullinger, of date Oct. 12, 1552. Quoted, Lorimer, *Knox in England*, p. 98.

³ *Ibid.*

the question of posture into public notice. The First Book had been silent on the subject, at least as regards the communicants,¹ and is not explicit as regards the celebrant. In the "notes" appended to it, it is said that "as touching, kneeling, crossing, holding up of handes, knocking upon the brest, and other gestures: they may be used or left, as euery man's deuocion serueth without blame," and nothing forbade that this should be understood to apply to communicants in receiving the Sacrament, though it may be doubted whether that application was contemplated. The Second Book, on the other hand, when it appeared, contained an express rubric that the Communion in both kinds should be delivered "to the people in their hands kneeling." That is to say, that it had become necessary, if the practice of kneeling communion was to be maintained, to secure it by explicit direction. The party favouring the Continental model had in these three years gained much in influence. And the disuse of this gesture was among the points on which they laid stress. With regard to the vestments, they had prevailed,—alb and cope were by the new rubric laid aside. But the same division of parties which existed as to the use of vestments existed as to the posture of communicants. Hooper and à Lasco desired that the matter should be at least left open,² and on this question Cranmer, and the conservative reformers generally, were less willing to yield. The final revision lay with

¹ The priest is directed to "knele down" at the prayer of Humble Access, and there is no suggestion that his posture be changed when he proceeds to communicate. Nothing is said of the posture of the people at their Communion.

² "John à Lasco . . . did not please the Court prelates because he took part with Hooper, and writ against the Popish garments, and for the posture of sitting rather than kneeling at the Lord's Supper."—Neale, i. 58.

Cranmer, and the addition of the rubric directing kneeling was probably his act; and with this rubric, unqualified and unexplained, the Book had already come into circulation, though not into use, when Knox was called to preach before the Court. Knox's own convictions on the subject had long been formed and declared. His teacher in the Reformed doctrine had been Wishart; and Wishart's residence in Switzerland had inclined him to the Calvinistic rather than to the Lutheran plan of reformation. Under Knox's ministry, in the Castle of St Andrews (1546) the Sacrament had been observed "in the same puritie that now [1566] it is ministrat in the churches of Scotland"¹—that is to say, after the Genevan manner. And at Berwick in 1550 he appears to have ventured not only to avail himself of the silence of the then authorised First Book in the matter of posture, but to have used instead a form of Communion Service adapted from Continental sources.² At Newcastle in the following year, he tells us,³ he and his congregation "feared not to go before Statutes and Laws" in such matters—which may be understood to mean that he continued there what had been his practice at Berwick. In preaching, therefore, as he did before King Edward, his words had the weight of consistency as well as of conviction. The immediate result was the issue of an Order of

¹ Works of Knox, i. 201: for date, see Laing, i., xxviii.

² See Lorimer's *Knox and the Church of England*, pp. 290-292. "Part of it is translated from the Office of the Church of Zurich . . . and part from the German Office" ('The Scottish Reformation,' Prof. Mitchell, p. 77). Dr Mitchell thinks that this office was "almost certainly derived from Wishart," and that it may be the same which had been used at St Andrews.

³ The First Book of Edward had not been introduced in the Northern Dioceses, and a discretion existed of which Knox availed himself. "Where no law, no transgressor." (Lorimer, *Knox in England*, p. 30.)

Council arresting the issue of the new Book "until certain faults therein be corrected." Correspondence between the Council and Cranmer followed,¹ Cranmer supporting his rubric. As a result a compromise was arrived at: the rubric was left as at first, but a lengthy note ("the Black Rubric") defining the intention of the posture of kneeling, repudiating the purpose of adoration and the doctrine of a local presence of "Christ's naturall fleshe and bloude," was agreed to. It was inserted as a slip in the copies already on sale, and appended to the text of those further printed, but appears in them without the paragraph mark with which each of the original "notes" begins. At the same time a modification was secured in the "Articles of Religion," which were in preparation. As drafted by Cranmer, the 38th of these required assent to the ceremonies of the new Book as "in nothing repugnant to the wholesome liberty of the Gospel," but honestly agreeable thereto, — phraseology which secured for the practice of kneeling more than the toleration which the new rubric implied. On the remonstrance of certain of the Royal chaplains, to whom the Council referred the draft, including Knox, this article was deleted.²

Under these circumstances Knox was prepared to think well of the Book,³ and advised the congregation at Berwick to conform to its directions.⁴ What his own practice may have now been does not appear, but half a year later it seems to have been suspected that disaffection on this point was one of his reasons

¹ Hume Brown, *John Knox*, i. 128, 129.

² See Note B, p. 59.

³ *Works*, iv. 43.

⁴ "Letter to the Congregation of Berwick." — Lorimer, *John Knox and the Church of England*, pp. 261, 262.

for refusing preferments.¹ He was required by the Council to say both why he refused and whether he judged the kneeling in Communion to be indifferent. It is sufficient for the present purpose to note that, as put into circulation and use, Edward's Second Book was so modified by Knox's influence and at his instance that, although he retained his personal objection to this and other ceremonies, he was able "to think well of it," and to advise the congregation at Berwick, for which he counted himself especially responsible, to yield it obedience. It represented a compromise of which he was not prepared to advise the rejection.

The Book came into force on Nov. 1, 1552, only three days after the adoption of the final rubric: Edward VI. died on July 6 of the following year. It is improbable that it was ever widely used in public service in England. The First Book had been fairly popular. The influence of the extreme Reforming party was rather at the Court and universities than among the people. There was no eagerness through the Church generally to make the change. In the closing months of Edward's brief life, the Council had enough to think of without pushing measures to enforce compliance with the new Act of Uniformity. With his death the question lapsed, and the return of Romanism became imminent. The Book was abolished by Act of Parliament in 1553, and never revived—though it, and not the First Book, was taken as the basis of the Elizabethan revision of 1558. Its further history lies not in England, but on the Continent and in Scotland.

¹ Calderwood, *History* (Introd., p. 3), gives a different version of evidently the same letter. Quoted by Hume Brown, i. 137.

II.

On the accession of Mary, a considerable exodus of the Reformed from England to the Continent took place. The number emigrating is reckoned at from eight hundred to a thousand or more. Great difficulties were experienced by them in finding hospitality in the cities of the Empire. The Eucharistic controversy between Lutherans and Reformed had recently become again acute; and the Treaty of Passau (1552) had just established a peace which the Protestant cities were unwilling to hazard. Among others, the small French or Walloon congregation, which under Edward VI. had been allowed to worship at Glastonbury, crossed the Channel, and after being refused a settlement in place after place, were received at Frankfort. There Lutheranism was for the time in the ascendant; but a considerable Calvinist party existed, and counted among its adherents Johann von Glauber, one of the magistrates. By his influence Vallerand Pullain,¹ the pastor of the twenty-four Walloons, obtained from the Senate permission for himself and them to reside at Frankfort, with liberty "for their whole ecclesiastical ministry, both of the Word and Sacraments."² Moreover, a church (that of the Cistercian Nuns, or White Ladies³) was assigned for their use.

¹ Probably a native of Brabant; Pastor of Church of Foreigners at Strassburg; compelled by Interim to remove with his flock to England, 1550; settled by Somerset at Glastonbury, in the disused Monastery there; published and dedicated to Edward his service translated into Latin; on accession of Mary removed with his flock to Frankfort.

² Zurich Letters, p. 110 (quoted by Hume Brown).

³ This picturesque building is still in use as a Lutheran church.

In June 1554 a number of English refugees arrived in the city in four companies, led respectively by Edmond Sutton, William Williams, William Whittingham,¹ and Thomas Wood. Congregations had already been formed at Strassburg, Zurich, Embden, and elsewhere, which seem to have been composed of adherents of the Cranmer School in the Church of England, and to have followed the order established in their native country previous to Edward's death, desiring to conserve it in view of the hope of re-establishment of the Reformation there. The refugees who came to Frankfort, on the other hand, belonged in the main to the party led by Hooper and Ridley, which favoured the Continental model and scrupled at some things in the Common Prayer. There appears to have been a certain consciousness of purpose in their thus gathering to a common centre, and some thought of developing there in the liberty of their exile a model of worship and discipline, which should be distinctively English and churchly, but more markedly of the Continental Reformed type than had been permitted under Edward's Council; and that they too had in view the future of the Reformation on English soil, if happier times should permit a return to it. They were heartily welcomed by the French congregation. On the evening of their arrival (June 27) Pullain waited upon them and represented that the grant of liberty of worship and of a church, which the Walloons

¹ Fellow of Christchurch; studied at Orleans and Paris, in Germany, and at Geneva; returned to England about 1553-54; retired to France and then to Frankfort; went to Geneva, 1556; was ordained there; one of the translators of the Geneva Bible; returned to England in second year of Elizabeth; Dean of Durham, 1563; was presented as incapable of holding preferment, because not episcopally ordained; died while the suit was in dependence, 1579.

had obtained, was not for themselves only, but “in the name of all suche as shuld come owte off Englande for the Gospelle,” inviting them to coalesce with his congregation. This, however, was not in the line of the English refugees’ purpose, and the offer was declined “forsomuche as fewe off them vnderstoode the french tonge.” The influence of Glauberg was nevertheless put at their service, and they received from the magistracy permission to remain in the city, and to use the Weissen Frauen Kirche as they should arrange with the Walloons for its alternate occupation, but on condition that they “shulde not discent from the french men in doctrine or ceremoneyes, lest they shulde thereby minister occasion of offence,” and that they should “approue and subscribe” the Confession of Faith presented by the French: to which they consented.

The agreement “not to dissent” in ceremonies from those used by Pullain and his flock was not, however, held to imply an absolute uniformity; and the English proceeded to consider what form of worship they should use. They were agreed that many features of “the Englishe order” (*i.e.*, of Edward’s Second Book) would be incongruous with the general practice of the Reformed among whom they found themselves, and would, in fact, constitute such a dissent as they had promised to avoid; and that therefore responses, the litany, the surplice, “and many other thinges,” should be laid aside. In its place the following order was adopted: A Confession, of more effect than that in the Prayer-Book, and also framed according to the state and time; a Psalm in metre to a plain tune;¹ Prayer for the assistance of the Holy Spirit; Sermon; and after Sermon a general prayer for all estates and for their country of England; the

¹ *I.e.*, to an adaptation of one of the old plain-song melodies.

Lord's Prayer; the Creed; another Psalm "as before"; and the Benediction. There was also omission of sundry things unspecified, as "superstitious and superfluous," in the sections regarding the Sacraments. This order seems to have been taken from some source already existing, as the prayer for all estates is said to have been "devised"—from which it would appear that the rest did not need to be devised; and this source may in all likelihood have been the 'Liturgia Sacra' of Pullain, published by him in England in 1551 as that of his Glastonbury congregation, and dedicated by him to Edward VI. in terms which make it evident that he hoped its publication might influence future liturgical revision, being itself a revision of Calvin and Farel's services "modified and supplemented."¹ The draft thus prepared was privately printed, and a few copies circulated among the Frankfort exiles with a view to consideration and adoption, and possibly reappears later as "the Order of Geneva" (as distinguished from the "Genevan Order" of Calvin), which in revised and extended form became the Book of Common Order introduced into Scotland in 1563-64.² A form of discipline such as "in their owne countrie coulde neuer be obtained," was also drawn up, and its acceptance made a condition of admission to their congregation. A "minister and deacons to serue for a time" were chosen.

By the end of July their organisation was complete, and they proceeded to communicate the fact to the congregations of refugees at Strassburg, Zurich, Embden, and other cities of the Empire. The circular letter sent to them informs them of the grant of a church and of liberty of worship at Frankfort, and of the security

¹ Mitchell's Scot. Ref., p. 127.

² See Note C, p. 59.

and friendliness found there; and urges a concentration of the exiles to that place; at the same time reflecting severely on the motives of persons who might hesitate to join them. The circular is full of reminiscence of previous disagreement, and has the tone of a summons rather than of an invitation. No reference is made to the condition as to conformity with the use of the French congregation, by which their grant of privilege was limited. The answers received were not encouraging. That from Strassburg somewhat flip-pantly professes to understand the circular as a request to be furnished with a pastorate, and makes suggestions of suitable persons: Grindall at the same time exerting himself to find them a "Superintendent,"—an office not contemplated by the Frankfort congregation, which intended to be governed by collegiate pastors of equal authority, "as is accustomed in the beste reformed Churches." The reply from Zurich, on the other hand, deals seriously with the question of removal to Frankfort, but desires assurance that the liberty of worship secured extends to the use of "the order laste taken in the Church of England" (*i.e.*, of Edward's Second Book), which they refer to as "prescribed," intimating that they are "fully determined to admitt and vse no other." This assurance the Frankfort exiles did not see their way to give. They respond with a brief and earnest repetition of their suggestion, and conclude with a demand for the help of their brethren at Zurich, not only to the building of God's temple, but also "to let the false workmen and underminers." This second letter moved the Zurich exiles to send to Frankfort Richard Chambers to ascertain the facts of the position there. His letter of credentials guarantees his full powers to treat, and pledges his constituents to remove to Frankfort if he obtain certain assurance that the united congregation will use the

“order of service concerninge religion whiche was in Englande laste set forthe by Kinge Edward.” The Frankfort exiles pleaded that they could not assure “the fulle use of the Englishe booke” without infringing the condition on which they held their place of worship—that, namely, of general conformity to the French Reformed practice.

Meantime a call had been addressed to Knox at Geneva, desiring him to come to Frankfort, with a view to election as one of their pastors. This call refers to a good and godly enterprise which they have taken in hand, for the glory of God and the profit of His congregation and the poor sheep of Christ dispersed abroad, whom his presence would help to attract to Frankfort and to be of one fold, whereas they were then wandering as lost sheep without a guide: which appears to be an invitation to become their leader in moulding an English congregation on the Continental Reformed lines, and in developing it as a model for the Church of England in the future. Knox was unwilling to accept the call, and accepted it only in deference to Calvin’s commandment.¹ He had concurred in the Edwardian settlement, but in his view, as in that of others of the same tendency of mind, that settlement had come to an end with the Marian legislation, and he might easily feel justified in assisting measures directed to secure a more thorough policy in the future. At the same time, there are evidences throughout the Frankfort incident of a certain reluctance in his mind, and that he was rather accepting a duty than following inclination.² He appears to have

¹ *Historie, Works, i. 232.*

² Knox evidenced at Frankfort self-restraint and dignity. The Coxians, by their provoking and “unbrotherly” actings, seem to have been largely responsible for the completeness of his change of feeling as to the Common Prayer.

reached Frankfort in time to take part in the conferences with Chambers. His hand is evident in the letter which Chambers carried back to Zurich, both in the phraseology and in a new directness of statement. They too, the letter declares, desire the execution of the Book, "so farr as God's worde dothe commende it"; but as for the unprofitable ceremonies, Chambers and they are agreed that these be not used. Although they were tolerable, as some of them are not, their use at Frankfort is impracticable, and for all interests undesirable. As to the feeling which existed, that not to use Edward's Service-Book to the full were a disloyalty to the Reformed who were suffering in England for adherence to it, or to the memory and authority of Edward himself, it is pointed out that the Book is itself much altered from its predecessor, issued by the same authority, and would have given place to a yet simpler revision if Edward and Cranmer had continued in power.¹

The reply sent to Strassburg was of the same tenor. The learned men of Strassburg rejoined by pointing out that it was improbable that the friendly magistracy of Frankfort would forbid them to use "the Godly order sett forthe and receaved in England," and intimated that the congregations of exiles at Zurich, Embden, and elsewhere agreed with them in desiring it. They indicate that any radical alteration of the Book would seem to condemn its authors, who were suffering and ready to die for their work of reformation. They hint that such alteration would not induce, but would prevent, the concourse of the exiles generally to Frankfort. In case this advice is accepted, they suggest

¹ Bullinger is given as authority for the statement that Cranmer had actually drafted such a book "an hundreth tymes more perfect," but could not introduce it, because of the clergy and Convocation and "other enymies."—*Troubles*, p. 1.

such an assemblage in the following spring. This letter was brought by Grindall, accompanied by Chambers, representing the consensus of the refugees at Zurich with those at Strassburg. Grindall stated frankly that their object was to maintain the use of Edward's Second Book. While not insisting on its complete reception in all details, if these would be offensive to their German protectors, they insisted on its "substance and effects," and desired a clear answer to the question what parts of the Book the Frankfort exiles were willing to retain. The only reply obtainable was that they would practise it so far as God's Word did assure it, and the state of Germany permit: necessarily omitting certain ceremonies, but with as little alteration as possible.

Pending further conference, for which the Strassburg exiles could fix no date, the Frankfort congregation were minded meantime to follow the draft already printed, though not published—that, namely, later known as the Order of Geneva—and with this to proceed to the celebration of the Holy Communion. To this, however, Knox in his turn refused consent, until the congregations of exiles in other German cities should be consulted. Neither would he use the Book of Common Prayer, of which two years before he had thought well, and to which he had counselled the congregation of Berwick to conform. Circumstances had changed since then. In 1552 the Second Book, qualified by the rubric as to kneeling which he had himself obtained, represented the utmost obtainable by the Continental party in the Church from Cranmer and the Council: resistance to it might have checked the Reformation in England, and Knox had accepted the compromise. Edward's death and Mary's accession had thrown everything into the melting-pot. It was now, in the liberty of their exile, unrestrained

by the Crown, that the party once led by Hooper might hope to develop their system against the day when they should be recalled to carry the Reformation to triumph on English soil. Knox had been invited to Frankfort to take the leadership of their movement, and he had undertaken the responsibility. In these circumstances his old scruples revived, and he had no reason for minimising them. There were things in that Communion Service, he now alleged, which had only man's authority and no Scriptural warrant, and which had been occasions of superstition in the Mass; therefore he would not use it. Nor would it serve even that an order which (since he afterwards introduced it into Scotland to supersede Edward's Second Book there) he may be supposed to have found entirely to his mind, should be adopted by Frankfort only, while Strassburg, Zurich, Embden, and the rest stood aloof. The object was not to find an order for a handful of worshippers at Frankfort, but for a Protestant England in a better day to come,¹ and with that view to draw into agreement the exiled witnesses for English Protestantism. Precipitance at Frankfort would have meant the abandonment of that hope. Declining, therefore, though for different reasons, to use either of the competing orders, he proposed for the present to "minister the Sacraments according to his con-

¹ Compare the petition of Knox's supporters to the Senate of Frankfort after the final failure of negotiations: "Yff theis men armed by your authoritie shall do what they liste, this euell shalbe in time established by yow and neuer be redressed, nether shall there for euer be anie ende of this controversie in Englande." But if their request is granted, and the matter referred to the five arbitrators, "not we alone, but oure whole posteritie, yea oure whole englishe nation, and all good men, to the perpetuall memorie off your names, shall be bownde unto yow for this great benefit."—Troubles, pp. xlii, xliii.

science"; or if that standard of worship could not be accepted, he desired that his colleagues should minister the Sacraments, and he preach only; or else that he be allowed to return to Geneva. As he was not so allowed, matters had come to a deadlock. Neither was his colleague, Lever,¹ permitted to experiment with a third form of his own devising, which he had suggested should be tried, as independent both of the Edwardian and Geneva forms.

This suggestion from one in Lever's position seems, though defeated, to have alarmed Knox and Whittingham. It was a beginning of compromise which might "growe to somewhat."² They resolved therefore to consult Calvin, whose authority with their party was enormous. They sent him, not the book itself, but a "platt" or analysis of it, in Latin,³ and desired his

¹ Master of St John's Coll., Camb.; chaplain-in-ordinary to Edward; to Zurich, 1553; called to be one of the pastors of exiles at Frankfort; under Elizabeth obtained preferment at Durham, but was ejected for nonconformity. Lever had been invited from Zurich at the same time as Knox from Geneva. As soon as he arrived he stipulated that his pastorate should be for a limited "time of trial" only. The order which he submitted was refused as "not altogether such as was fit for a right reformed Church"; and as the division of parties became more acute, he adhered to that opposed to Knox.

² *Troubles*, p. xxviii. It is apparent that by this time the earlier unanimity of the Frankfort exiles no longer existed. In the course of the conferences with the Strassburg and Zurich deputies a section of the congregation had probably been influenced by their views. See pp. xxxvi, xxxvii.

³ A translation is given in the '*Troubles*,' pp. xxviii-xxxiii. A note is added to call attention to the favourableness of the representation of the book which is given—a feature which would not, it may be admitted, be likely otherwise to impress the reader. Every ceremonial feature is emphasised, sometimes with ridicule. And it is hinted that worse could be told, were it not that pity rather than shame imposed silence. (This may refer to Roman

judgment upon it, indicating that its importance lay in the fact that some of the exiles (they might have said all but certain of themselves at Frankfort) insisted on it, and would accept no other; pointing out as well that it was "an order most absolute" (*i.e.*, not a mere Directory), and that in the case of the Reformation being restored in England (the recurrence of this point is to be noticed), an effort would be made to re-establish it there.

Calvin's reply begins by hinting blame to both parties. Controversy among exiles for a common cause he thinks peculiarly unseemly, especially as to forms and ceremonies. At the same time, constancy in a just cause may be meritorious. For himself, he is accustomed to "behave himself gentle and tractable" in such matters, though he cannot always yield to unreasonable conservatism. As for the Book, it appears to him to contain many bearable affectations (*tolerabiles ineptias*¹),—things which might pass at the beginning of reform, but were doubtless unsuitable to their present position of liberty and task of reconstituting Church order. He advises those of his own mind to patience, and the supporters of the Book to concession, and assures them that they would not thereby incur the imputation of slighting the English Reformation or of offending those who in England suffer for it.

practices, locally continued, though not sanctioned in the rubric—"the usage of the booke in many churches"). It is significant that Calvin is told nothing of the willingness of Chambers and Grindall, as representing its supporters, to be content with its "substance and effects," and to omit ceremonies and other things "which the country could not bear." Full Latin text in Corp. Ref., xliii. 337-344. See Hume Brown, p. 174, note.

¹ Hume Brown translates, "trifles that may be put up with" (Life, p. 176).

In the spirit of this injunction the Frankfort congregation, now evidently divided into clearly opposed camps, remitted it to Foxe,¹ Whittingham, Gilby, and Cole to prepare an order "meete for their state and time"; with the result that these submitted, not a new order, but, probably with some modification, that already rejected.² This step led to no progress. A fresh committee, representative of both parties, consisting of Knox, Whittingham, Parry,³ and Lever,⁴ was then intrusted with the duty, and on Knox's initiative struck out a new line of conciliation, using the Common Prayer as basis with omissions, and adding from other sources, probably the printed draft, "as the state of that Church required." It was agreed to use this order experimentally for three months (till the end of April 1555), and if differences should arise as to it, to refer these to Calvin and other learned men of the Continental Reformed. To this all consented: a thanksgiving was appointed, and the Holy Communion at last celebrated.

This arrangement, however, was not destined to stand. But half of those three months had run when a fresh incident emerged and entirely changed the

¹ Friend and tutor in the Howard family; deacon, 1550; in 1554 to Strassburg and Frankfort; supported Knox, but remained at Frankfort till Nov. 1555, when he went to Basle; returned to England 1559, and was ordained priest by Grindall; prebendary of Salisbury, and held lease of vicarage of Shipton from 1563; died 1587.

² "Beinge the same order of Geneva whiche is now in print" (Troubles, p. xxxvii). Compare p. xxvii, "the order of Geneva which then was alreadie printed in Englishe."

³ Chancellor of Salisbury, 1547; deprived, 1553; came to Frankfort with Cox; restored to his Chancellorship, 1559; died, 1571.

⁴ These two latter tended to the use of the Edwardian Book, and ultimately adhered to it.

position. A fresh party of exiles, direct from England, arrived, led by Richard Cox,¹ formerly Chancellor of Oxford, and intimately associated as Cranmer's friend and Edward's tutor with the policy which the Calvinist party at Frankfort were set to reverse—a man of moderate views, but of strong will and with the habit of domination. It is impossible to resist the conclusion that this accession was of design, and was the counter move of the Anglican party to the action of the Calvinists in summoning Knox, the protagonist of the controversy on kneeling in 1552, from Geneva. It is apparent that Cox and he had old scores to settle, and that Knox had come to be regarded with suspicion and dislike by the Edwardian and Cranmerite school of Reformers whom Cox typified. For this we must seek the reason in Knox's activity between the spring of 1554, when he left England, and the autumn of the same year, which found him in Geneva. During this time, while oscillating between Dieppe and Switzerland, he had exercised himself and others, Calvin and Bullinger especially, with questions of the limits of the duty of subjects to their princes when considerations of conscience intervene, and the lawfulness in such cases of resistance.² From Dieppe, immediately after leaving England, he had written his "Godly Letter to the Faithful in London,"

¹ Chaplain to Henry VIII. ; chaplain and intimate of Cranmer's ; tutor and almoner to Edward ; one of the Liturgical Commission for Edward's First and Second Books ; Dean of Westminster, 1549 ; Chancellor of Oxford, 1552 ; friendly to the foreign Divines, and was instrumental in bringing Peter Martyr and others to Oxford ; called "Cancellor" of the University for his zeal as Visitor in purifying Colleges, &c. ; after exile, Bishop of Ely ; scrupled Elizabeth's cross and candle ; resigned see, 1580 ; died, 1581.

² Works, iii. 235 ; Hume Brown, i. 153-158.

in which these questions were raised; and in May, having returned to the Norman town from Switzerland, he had written, once and again, pointing out that Civil Statute does not always coincide with lawfulness or justice, nor is everything that ungodly persons call treason sin before God. From such letters he proceeded in July of the same year to the publication of his "Faythfull Admonition unto the professours of God's truthe in England," in which the approaching marriage of Philip and Mary is denounced, and Mary herself accused of treachery to England in singularly unmeasured terms. Whether his presence on the French coast had any connection with active conspiracy on the part of the many English refugees there, it is impossible to be certain.¹ In any case such a publication, coming from their midst at such a juncture, must have been alarming to Mary and her supporters, and hazardous for the leaders of the Reformation who filled her prisons. From their point of view and that of their friends, Knox's action must have seemed in the last degree reckless of their position. To them it seemed more than coincidence that, so soon after its issue, the policy of the Council was changed:² the prisoners were brought to trial and execution. Rightly or wrongly, the subsequent severities were connected in men's minds with Knox's attack on Mary and her marriage.³ In the letter

¹ Mr Hume Brown thinks it may have had such a connection (Life, i. 159, note).

² Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were committed to the Tower, November 1553, and condemned for heresy on April 20, 1554. The "Faythfull Admonition" is dated July 20, 1554. The Bill to revive the statutes against heresy was introduced in the next session of Parliament, which met Nov. 12. The first execution under it (that of Rogers) took place on Feb. 4, 1555.

³ "In casting such a pamphlet into England at the time he did, he indulged his indignation, in itself so natural under the circum-

addressed to Calvin by the English exiles at Frankfort (Sept. 20, 1555), they refer to this "outrageous pamphlet" as having added much oil to the flames of persecution in England: "before its appearance not one of our brethren had suffered death, but as soon as it came forth, we doubt not but that you are well aware of the number of excellent men who have perished in the flames," to say nothing of the risk to others of property and life, "upon the sole ground of either having had this book in their possession or having read it." In her conversation with Knox in the autumn of 1561, Mary of Scots accused him, among other things, of having been "the cause of great sedition and of great slaughter in England." Knox answered by denying that there had been "baith sedition and mutinie" at any of the places where he was stationed in England, "during the time that I was there."¹ Laing thinks that to ascribe the change of policy entirely to the publication of the "Faythfull Admonition" would be to ascribe too much importance to it, but that "there can be no hesitation in believing" that its terms may have contributed in no small degree to evoke the spirit of persecution;² and this is probably a fair statement of the case. The new-comers to Frankfort, at all events, fresh from the scene of the burnings and palpitating with indignation, appear to have been actuated by a bitter feeling to-stances, at no personal risk, while he seriously compromised those who had the strongest claims to his most generous consideration. As we shall see, it was afterwards made a reproach to him that his unmeasured language was the main cause of the executions for heresy which began shortly after the publication of his pamphlet. This was, of course, the exaggeration of theological rancour; but the very fact that the charge could be made proves the inconsiderate zeal of Knox in speaking at the time and in the manner he did."—Hume Brown, *Life*, i. 161.

¹ *Historie*, Works, ii. 277.

² Laing, iii. 256.

ward Knox—to have regarded his presence at Frankfort with resentment, as part of a policy which had already sufficiently injured the English Reformation. They refused, in terms which seem sufficiently arbitrary, to be bound by the agreement under which the Liturgy of Compromise had been adopted. “They said that they would do as they had done in England, and that they would have the face of an English Church.”¹ They accordingly in the Public Service supplemented the form in use by making responses where these occur in Edward’s Book, and on the Sunday one of them took possession of the pulpit and read the Litany, the rest of the party answering aloud. A full account of the subsequent dispute is given in Dr Sprott’s Introduction to the Liturgy of Compromise in the second part of this volume, and need not be detailed here. On the failure of the final conference between the two parties, the minority led by Knox and Whittingham appealed to the magistracy, who ordered that the French practice in both doctrine and ceremonies should be adopted by both parties, on pain of forfeiting the use of the Carmelite Church. It is notable that Dr Cox advised his friends to accede, and that this order was at once put in use. It was, he said, in his opinion, “bothe good and godly in all points.”² To follow it temporarily in the circumstances did not compromise their relation to the English Book or prejudice re-adoption of that book in England, as agreement to its mutilation would have done. Cox and his friends, however, while submitting to the magistrates’ order, did not accept the rebuff without retaliation. They delated Knox as the author of the “Faythfull Admonition,” furnishing quotations, which sufficed to convince the

¹ *Troubles*, p. xxxviii.

² *Ibid.*, p. xliii.

magistracy that Knox's continued presence at Frankfort was safe neither for him nor them.¹

From Frankfort Knox passed to Geneva (March-April 1555), and after spending the summer of that year there, proceeded to Scotland, apparently at the instance of his friend Mrs Bowes, who had planned a marriage for him with her daughter.² After a year spent in promoting the steadily advancing Reformation there, he received an invitation from the congregation of English exiles which had in the interval been formed at Geneva, to return to that city as their pastor—an invitation which he at once accepted. He continued at Geneva in that capacity (with Goodman for colleague) from September 1556 until February 1559, the only break in his pastorate being that occasioned by his abortive visit to Dieppe (September 1557—March 1558), during which the 'First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women' was written. The Service-Book adopted by the English congregation³ at Geneva was substantially that draft first printed at Frankfort in the summer of 1554, before the Troubles there had begun (*ante*, pp. 14-16), and afterwards recommended for adoption by successive committees appointed there after Knox's arrival (*ante*, p. 21, 'Troubles,' pp. xxvii-xxxvii). During those two years at Geneva Knox had this form in constant use in his ministrations. It was associated in his mind with the only quiet, and probably the only happy, years of his life. The Prayer-Book of Edward VI. was, on the other hand, associated with the controversies at

¹ Troubles, p. xlv. "Fearing that the said Johnne should fall in the hands of his accusatouris, by one meane or by other."—*Historie, Works*, i. 232.

² Dr Leishman believes that a private marriage had taken place previous to Knox's flight from England (Lee Lecture, 1897, p. 11, note).

³ Apparently during Knox's absence in Scotland.

Frankfort, which had left him a bitter sense of irritation and resentment. It is not difficult to understand that when the death of Mary Tudor and the accession of Elizabeth broke up his beloved English congregation at Geneva, when to him almost alone of the exiles return to England was forbidden, and when he turned instead to Scotland for a sphere of activity, he should have carried with him to his native country a strong prejudice against the Book of which he had once thought well and which he had helped to mould, and a warm preference for the "Order of Geneva" which he brought thither with him as the use approved by Calvin and by the Consistory of the city which was giving to the whole world an example of perfected Reformation.

III.

It was, however, the Second Book of Edward which Knox on his arrival in Scotland in 1559 found established in the current use of the Reforming party. That party had from the beginning been identical with the party which supported the English interest; and their movement, so far as religious, was understood by themselves as an extension to Scotland of the English revolt from the Papacy.¹ Up to that point its tendency had been to follow the English rather than the Continental model.² Harlaw³ and

¹ Camb. Mod. His., ii. 591; Hume Brown, Knox, i. 39-41.

² Hume Brown, p. 92 *seq.* (as to Knox's earlier leanings towards Lutheran rather than Calvinistic influences).

³ Born *cir.* 1500. Originally a tailor in Edinburgh; went to England; was ordained Deacon and preached under Edward's settlement; after Edward's death returned to Scotland; began to preach in Edinburgh, 1556; preached at Perth, 1559, and was denounced as rebel; minister at St Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, 1560, till his death, 1578.

Willock,¹ who, with Paul Methven,² were the religious leaders of the movement before Knox's intervention, had both been in the ministry of the Church of England until Mary's accession. It was to England that the Reformers in Scotland looked for support.³ They seem to have been financed from England. They could in need summon English arms to their aid. Liturgically, Scotland was accustomed to follow English use. That of Sarum had been its standard of devotion, since earlier Celtic formularies had been abandoned; and it was only natural that the English reform of the medieval standard should in turn be followed. No trace exists of any currency in Scotland of Edward's First Book; but the revision of 1552, produced under Calvinistic auspices and marked by the influence of so well known a Scotsman as Knox, seems to have obtained immediate approval and acceptance in the Northern

¹ Native of Ayrshire; a Friar, either Franciscan or Dominican; went to England, and was preacher at St Catherine's, London, and chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, who presented him to the living of Loughborough; on Mary's accession fled to Embden and practised as a physician; visited Scotland for purposes of commerce, 1555 and 1556; settled there, 1558, and became a preacher of reformation, while retaining his living of Loughborough; superintendent of Glasgow and the West, 1561; was in England, 1567; recalled to Scotland by the Assembly, 1568, and was Moderator in July and December of that year; soon after returned to Loughborough and died there, 1585.

² Baker in Dundee; turned preacher; one of the leaders in the "pulling down of nests," 1558-59; minister at Jedburgh, 1560; deposed and excommunicated for adultery, 1563; repented and supplicated for absolution, 1566, but being unable to bear the "form of his declaration of repentance" prescribed, fled to England.

³ Croft to Cecil, June 13, 1559 (Laing, vi. 29). Cecil to Percy, July 4, 1559 (*ibid.*, 39).

Kingdom. The fact that Knox had advised the congregation at Berwick to conform to it, even in the one point (of kneeling at Communion) to which he decidedly objected, and generally his "good opinion" of it, would be well known in Scotland,¹ and would go far to commend the Book there. It appears to have been adopted by "the Congregation" as part of the apparatus of their movement, as the English translation of the Scriptures (the Great Bible of 1539) had been.² Its withdrawal in England on Mary's accession would, of course, not interfere with this. It continued to be in Scotland the accepted standard and manual of reformed worship during the years of activity and stress which led up to the crisis of 1560, and it continued to hold the field for some years later, until Knox's increasing authority and greater boldness enabled him to secure instead the Assembly's sanction for the Order which he had found accepted in the use of the English congregation at Geneva, and had brought thence with him.

In 1557 John Rough³ (once Knox's co-chaplain to the garrison of St Andrews Castle) acknowledged in his deposition before Bonner that, "in some places where godly people were assembled, he did read the prayers of the Communion Book set forth in the reign of King Edward the VIth. And being asked what his judgment was of the said Book, he confessed, That

¹ In 1552 Northumberland wrote to Cecil of the "family of Scots inhabiting in Newcastle" chiefly for Knox's fellowship, and that many resorted to them out of Scotland (M'Crie, i. 470).

² Scots Acts of Parl., Herkless, 'Beaton,' p. 274.

³ Assistant priest to the chaplain of St Andrews Castle. After the murder of Beaton, ministered to the garrison; went to England before the surrender and preached at Carlisle, Berwick, and Newcastle; beneficed during Edward's reign; retired to Friesland, and became trader; arrested, London, 1557; burnt Smithfield, Nov. 21 of that year.

he did approve the same, as agreeing in all points with the word of God.”¹ The “said Book” would certainly be that of 1552; and it is probable that Rough in his answer expressed not his own mind only with regard to it, but that of Scottish reformers generally.

On December 3 of the same year the Reforming nobles and barons entered into their first “Bond” for mutual support,² and adopted resolutions, of which the first runs: “It is thought expedient, devised, and ordeaned, that in all parochines of this Realme the Common Prayeris be read owklike on Sonnday and other festuall dayis, publictlye in the Paroche Kirkis, with the Lessonis of the New and Old Testament,³ conform to the ordour of the Book of Common Prayeris: and yf the Curattis of the parochynes be qualified, to cause thame to reid the samyn; and yf thai be nott, or yf thai refuse, that the maist qualified in the parish use

¹ Spottiswoode, *Hist.*, p. 87.

² The signatories are Argyll, Glencairn, Morton, Lorne, Erskine of Dun, “*Et cetera*,” which Knox explains as “many otheris.”—*Works*, i. 274.

³ A good deal has been made of this, as though the specification of the “Old and New Testaments” had been meant “expressly” to exclude the lessons from the Apocrypha (Thos. M’Crie, i. 355; C. G. M’Crie, ‘*Pub. Worship of Presb. Scot.*’ p. 98). But this is to ascribe to the Barons a critical scrupulousness which is improbable. The lessons were to be read “conform to the Order of the Book of Common Prayer.” “In the Book itself, Old and New Testament are the only two divisions acknowledged in the rubric, though Apocryphal chapters are in a small proportion set down as Old Testament lessons. So there was no express confining or excluding; nor was such a thing likely in that age” (MS. of the late Rev. Dr Leishman). The Geneva Bible (1560) contains the Apocrypha: there is a prefatory note that these “were not received by common consent to be red and expounded publicly in the Church,” but the title-page bears simply “The Bible and Holy Scriptures contained in the Olde and Newe Testament.”

and read the same.”¹ This, of course, was not legislation. It was the adoption of a policy to be enforced so far as the influence of the subscribers and their constituency should extend. But the phraseology of the resolution has an air of authority and confidence which shows how extensive a response could be reckoned upon.

The Reformation, in fact, was already far advanced in Scotland, and was spreading constantly. As early as 1551, John at Ulmis, after a visit to the Scottish border, writes concerning the people of Scotland: “As to the commonalty, it is the general opinion that greater numbers of them are rightly persuaded as to true religion than here among us in England.”² In 1555 Knox had been astonished at the hold which the movement had taken. “Gif I had not sene it with my eyis in my awn contry, I culd not have believit it. . . . The fervencie heir doith far exceid all utheris that I have sene.”³ In the spring of 1556, just before he left the country, when he celebrated the Holy Communion at the House of Dun, there “war partakariss the moist parte of the gentilmen of the Mernse.”⁴ In July 1558, a summons of the preachers to Edinburgh resulted only in a demonstration of their strength and the discharge of the summons. It is significant of the extent which the new principles had reached, that a levy of “Westland” men passing through Edinburgh from the Border should have contained so “many faythfull men” that it at once took up the preachers’ quarrel, and was with difficulty pacified. The shocking execution of Walter Mill in the following August, so far from intimidating the Reformers, brought them a

¹ *Historie, Works, i. 275.*

² *Original Letters (Parker Society), p. 434.*

³ *To Mrs Bowes, Nov. 4, 1555 (Works, iv. 217).*

⁴ *Works, i. 250.*

wide popular support.¹ By the end of the year Knox's friends in Scotland could write to him at Geneva "that Christ is publicly taught throughout the whole Kingdom, and has so taken possession of men's hearts that they have cast aside all fear and dare to be present at public worship celebrated in the vernacular, and to have the Sacraments duly administered without the impure ceremonies of Antichrist"; nay, that the Queen herself was meditating a reformation of religion.² The publication of the 'Beggars' Summonds' (January 1, 1559) shows how certain the Congregation was of its strength, and its resolution to bring matters to an immediate crisis. On the 1st of July of the same year, Kirkaldy of Grange writes to Sir Henry Percy, "The Duk, with allmost the hole Nobillite, has declaret to the Quene that they are of the same religioun that the Congregation is of, and will tak part with them in that behalf."³ The state of mind prevalent throughout the country is further illustrated by the fact that, within little more than a year, on the departure of the French troops in 1560, "the Roman Catholic worship was almost universally deserted throughout the Kingdom, . . . the Reformed service was peaceably set up, . . . Parliament had little else to do but to sanction what the nation had previously done."⁴

Although, then, the "Heads concluded" by the Lords of the Congregation may not have had the force of law, it may well be that they were certain of wide obedience. On June 23, 1559, Knox writes to Mrs Locke from St Andrews: "The Kirk of Dundie (was) reformed before my arrivall: publict prayers were in other places. . . . They (the whole multitude

¹ M'Crie, *Life of Knox*, i. 114, 115.

² *Ibid.*, Cole to Bp. Bale.

³ *Works*, vi. 33.

⁴ M'Crie, *Life of Knox*, i. 159, 160.

and number of brethrine) departed to Sanct Johnstoun, whilk late before had receaved the Order of Common Prayers.”¹ We learn from the letter of Kirkaldy, already quoted, that the “manner of the proceedings in Reformation” of the Congregation, which had reached Edinburgh by way of St Andrews from Perth on the day before, was this: “They pulle doune all maner of Freryes, and some Abayes, which willyngly resavis not ther reformatioun. As to Paroys Churchis, they cleyns them of ymages and all other monumentis of ydolatrie, and commandis that no Messis be said in them; in place therof, the Booke sett fourthe be godlye Kyng Edward is red in the same Churches.” A week later (July 9), Cecil writes to Throckmorton: “The Protestants be at Edynborough . . . and have receved the Service of the Church of England, according to King Edward’s Book.”² In the same year we find the French garrison of Leith “forcibly abolishing the Service of the Common Prayers, which was ordinarily used” in the “Abbey Church”—that is to say, at Holyrood.³

On March 1, 1559, a provincial Council met at Edinburgh to consider the position of affairs in view of the Convention summoned for the 7th of the same month. Protestant Commissioners submitted to it articles, one of which craved that religious service should be performed in the vulgar tongue; and, more

¹ Works, vi. 22.

² Forbes, State Papers, i. 155, quoted by M’Crie. Laing, with much probability, thinks this merely a reference to Kirkaldy’s letter.

³ Spottiswoode, p. 129. Knox’s account of the matter is that “Schort eftir hir [the Queen Regent’s] coming to the Abbay of Halyrud-house . . . sche dischargit the Commoun Prayeris, and foirbad to gif ony portioun to sick as war the principall young men quha redd thame” (Works, i. 391). But the point is that up to that time the Common Prayers were in use at Holyrood Abbey.

significant, a remonstrance was presented from the section who, while adhering to the Roman obedience, desired a measure of reform, in which it was craved that at all celebrations of the Sacraments some explanation given in the vernacular be prefaced, and "that the Common Prayers and Litanies should be read in the vulgar language"¹—which, in view of the circumstances, may seem to imply that they too desired sanction for the regular use of Edward's Book, for at all events the daily offices. We find it not only "received at Sanct Johnstoun" and ordinarily used at Holyrood, but in the West of Scotland as well. "In 1560 a Frenchman, whom Randolph took to Church in Glasgow, and who had previously been in Elizabeth's Chapel, saw great differences, but heard few, for the Prayers of the English Book were said."² And in the Mearns its use was apparently considered to be compliance with established order: on May 27, 1560, Sir James Archibald, vicar of Lintrathin, raises a summons for payment of his teinds, on the plea that he is "lauchfullie be the lawis and practik of our realme, observit in tymes past, of the said Vicarage, and hes bene in possessioun of the samyn thir divers yeris bigane, and hes causit the Common Prayeris and homilies be red owklike to the parrochinaris of the said parrochin, and utherwyiss is content to abyde sik reformatioun as the Lordis of our Secreit Counsale plesis mak thairintill, and als is adjoinit to Goddis Congregatioun, and takis part with the saidis Lordis in setting fordwart the commone caus, to the gloir of God and commone weill of our realme."³ These facts speak to an extensive use of the "book of England," and imply at least a general understanding

¹ Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv. 207, 208, quoted by M'Crie.

² *Camb. Hist.*, ii. 591.

³ Spalding, *Misc.*, iv. 120; quoted Mitchell, *Scot. Ref.*, p. 128.

that, so far as the Reformation was organised and in process of orderly advance, this use was accepted as part of the process.¹ Disused in the country of its origin, Edward's Second Book was in a fair way to become in natural course the rule of worship for a reformed Scotland,—very much as the Directory and other Westminster Standards, so soon abandoned in their native England, have survived and are authoritative in Scotland, to which they are exotic.

It is noticeable that this adoption of the Second Book had not been prevented by Knox's visit to Scotland in 1555-56, nor disturbed by the correspondence by which, between that date and 1559, he believed himself² to be directing the Reforming policy there. In his "wholesome Counsell" (July 7, 1556) which he left on his departure, he suggests an order of worship for the "Assemblies of brethren" which is not that of Edward's Book; he makes no reference to any manual. In his subsequent letters, written in 1557 from Dieppe to the Nobility, the brethren, the Lords and others professing the truth, and in that to the Commonalty written in 1558 from Geneva, the subject is ignored. One gathers that in this point there was disagreement between him and his Scottish friends, for his contentings at Frankfort must have been well known in Scotland; and when the banded Lords adopted their resolution of December 1557, they must have done so in disregard of his opinion in the matter of Edward's Book; none the less that in the following March they invited him to

¹ Besides the explicit references quoted, there are instances of allusion to "Common Prayers," which point in the same direction. The phrase may be regarded as more or less specific and technical. See Note D, p. 61.

² *Historie*, Works, i. 272, 273.

join them.¹ They were willing to use Knox against the Friars; but their understanding with England was of more value to them than his support, and the idea of allowing his prejudice against the Book of England to interfere with its adoption in Scotland does not seem to have occurred to any one.

Nor did Knox himself, when he finally drifted to Scotland in the spring of 1559, attempt to raise the question. His position with parties was at that time far from strong. Elizabeth, and Elizabeth's ministers, regarded him with great disfavour.² His "First Blast had blowne from him all his friends in England. . . . England had refused him."³ Cecil took no notice of his repeated letters from Dieppe (between February and the end of April) for permission to pass through that country to Scotland, and could not be tempted (even by Knox's proposal to communicate to him in passing such things as he would not list to commit to paper, nor to the knowledge of many) to give him that opportunity "to frequent the Court or of any continuance to remaine in Englande,"⁴ which Knox was careful to explain he did not desire. There is nothing to show that the invitation of 1555 from Scotland had been repeated. The Regent was on the point of asserting her authority against the Congregation, and it was to England that

¹ M'Crie, i. 355, follows Anderson (Countryman's Letter, p. 69) in thinking that the invitation of March shows the resolution of three months before to have meant little. But while the invitation was given, the resolution was carried into effect.

² "Owing to it (the 'Blast') . . . thenceforward Elizabeth regarded him as the incarnation of everything in religion and politics which her soul most loathed." — Hume Browne, *Life*, i. 244.

³ Letter to Mrs Bowes, Laing, vi. 14, 15.

⁴ Works, vi. 20.

it must look for support: ¹ Knox's presence with the Congregation was not likely to commend its cause with the English Court. There are indications that Knox was at this time coldly looked on in various other quarters which commanded respect, and that he felt it. In 1558 Foxe had written to expostulate with him as to the 'Blast,' and in reply he admits his "rude vehemencie and inconsidered affirmations, which may appear rather to proceed from coler than of zeal and reason." In June of the same year Francois Morel, pastor of the Calvinists at Paris, wrote to Calvin complaining of Knox's activity at Dieppe and of his dangerous teaching as to the government of women and the right of armed resistance, and adds, "Vereor ne Scotiam sui furoris impleat."² From Dieppe Knox wrote to Mrs Locke in terms that show a sense of isolation: "Of nature I am churlish and in conditions different from many. Yet one thing I ashame not to affirme, that familiaritie once throughlie contracted was never yet brocken on my default."³ Calvin had been at pains to repudiate sympathy with the 'Blast': "I had no suspicion of the book, and for a whole year was ignorant of its publication. When I was informed of it by certain parties, I sufficiently showed my displeasure that such paradoxes should be published."⁴

¹ Cambridge Hist., ii. 574.

² Corpus Reformatorum, xlv. 541, quoted by Mr A. Lang. It is presumably to this letter that Mr Maitland refers (Camb. Mod. Hist., ii. 573): "Francis Morel, too, the French Reformer, implored Calvin to keep this firebrand out of England, lest all should be spoilt." But one rather gathers that it is Knox's "sodalis" (surmised by the editors of the Corp. Ref. to be Whittingham) who is to be kept out of Dieppe.

³ April 6, 1559; Laing, vi. 11.

⁴ Zurich Letters, quoted by Hume Brown, Life, i. 243. In 1559 (Nov. 8) Calvin apologises to Knox for neglect of a letter

Nor were the proceedings of the brethren after Knox joined them (May 4, 1559) at Perth, St Andrews, Crail, and elsewhere, likely to lessen any anxiety which attended his presence, or to commend him as a cautious adviser in devotional questions. Among the Reformers themselves he was "judged . . . too extream."¹

This is not surprising, if his public expressions were as vigorous as those which at this time he uses in his correspondence with Mrs Locke: he had quite ceased to think well of that book. Mrs Locke had written to him from Geneva with various questions as to compliance with its usage, and his answer (from Dieppe, April 6, 1559)² is distinct, though "he knows he will be judged extreme and rigorous." "Now it is no tyme to flatter nor to dissemble. Our Captain Christ Jesus, and Satan his adversarie, are now at plaine defyanche. Their banners be displayed and the Trumpets blow upon either partie, for assembling of their armies. Our Maister calleth upon his owne, and that with vehemencie, that they depart from Babylon; yea, severelie he threateneth death and damnation to such as, either in forehead or hand, beare the mark of the Beast. And a portion of his marke are alle these dregges of Papistrie which were left in your great

and that he had not written to Scotland to commend him, and adds rather mischievously, "I am not ignorant how energetic a counsellor you are, and how great readiness and power God has given you for acting such a part; and I have thought it superfluous to stir up the Brethren" (Works, vi. 95). He writes again (April 23, 1561): "In regard to ceremonies, I trust that your strictures, although it may displease many, will be regulated by discretion"; "certain things, though not approved, must be tolerated"—expressions which seem to refer to the 'Book of England' (Ibid., p. 124).

¹ Letter to Raylton (Works, vi. 105).

² Works, vi. 11.

Booke of England, any jote whereof I will never counsell any man to use. One jote, I say, of these Diabolical Inventiouns—viz., Crossing in Baptisme; Kneeling at the Lord's Table; mummelling, or singing of the Letanie, *a fulgure et tempestate: a subitanea et improvisa morte*, &c. The whole Order of your Booke appeareth rather to be devised for uphold- ing of massing priests, than for any good instruc- tion which the simple people can thereof receive. . . . Your ministers before, for the most part, were none of Christ's ministers, but Masse-munging priests. They were newlie created singers or sayers of Matins, Evensong, and of Communion; to church, or to purifie women, and to bury the dead with *Com- mendo cinerem cineri*, &c., whereof no point I find enjoynd to Christ's ministers. . . . And yet I think Mr Parson and Mr Vicar shall cause his chaplane mummill the Communion, &c. I appear to jest with yow." Mrs Locke had asked whether she might law- fully be present at Baptism ministered according to the Book of Edward, and whether if kneeling were not required at the Holy Communion and if the bread used were ordinary bread, but the words of the service were those of Edward's Book, the Sacrament were truly ministered, and it were lawful to communicate. And Knox's reply is equally clear: "With Mr Parson's pattering of his constrained prayers, and with the Masse-munging of Mr Vicar and of his wicked com- panions . . .¹ But consider, Sister, what I have affirmed, to wit, that wher Christ Jesus is not preached (mark well what I say, preached), that there hath the Sacrament neither life nor soule; and further, that I say, none can be a lawful minister of Christ's Sacra- ment who first is not a minister of his blessed Word. Now, Sister, if with good conscience yow may com-

¹ A blank in Calderwood's MS. (Laing, vi. 14).

municat with that which, in effect, is no sacrament, and if yow may honour him, as Christ's minister, who is but a bastard, yea Christ's plaine enemie als oft as he cometh there, to find favour of him, be judge yourself. I know that both yow, and others shall find this my judgement somewhat extreme. But, I answer, if any perish, I shall be guiltlesse of their blood. The matter is not of so small importance, as some suppose. The question is, whether that God or man ought to be obeyed in matters of religion. . . . Thus continuallie I can doe nothing but hold, and affirme all things polluted, yea execrable, and accursed, which God, be His Word, hath not sanctified in his religion." From St Andrews¹ (Oct. 15, 1559) he refers again to this letter: "From Deepe I did write my full judgement concerning the participatioun with a bastard religion, the summe wherof was this, as I can call to minde, That we ought not to justifie with our presence such a mingle-mangle as now is commaunded in your Kirks. . . . It is not the leaving off of the surplice, nather yit the removing of external monuments of idolatrie, that purgeth the Kirk frome superstitioun: for, peculiar services appointed for Sancts' dayes, diverse Collects as they falselie call them, in remembrance of this or of that Sanct, a fashioun to call upon God, not used by the prophets, nor commanded by Christ, nor found in the prayers of the Apostles, nather yit received in anie weill-reformed Kirk, are, in my conscience, no small portioun of Papisticall superstitioun.² What by [be]

¹ Works, vi. 83.

² His objection to the observance of the Christian year extended further than to saints' days. To Mrs Locke (May 6, 1562) he speaks of "that day which some call Good Fryday." And his marriage to Margaret Stewart was solemnised on Palm Sunday of 1563—a date that could hardly have been selected accidentally (Randolph to Cecil, March 18, 1563). It was doubtless not

the superfluous things yit used in the Lord's Supper amongst you, because I have not seene your Booke,¹ I cannot give other answeare than oft ye have heard of my mouth, that in the Lord's action nothing ought to be used that the Lord Jesus hath not sanctified, nather by precept nor practice."

For some time, however, after Knox's return to Scotland, circumstances were unfavourable for the enforcement of these views. The Congregation was wholly dependent on English support. Randolph was "talking" with Willock, Goodman, and Knox himself "to serche ther opinions howe a uniformity myght be had in religion in bothe these realmes." These seemed willing that so it should be; many commodities were alleged that might ensue thereof—though he found them so severe in profession and loath to concede, that he saw little hope thereof. Others, however, were more encouraging, and found the project of uniformity so expedient, that it should lack no goodwill on their part.² For the moment mutual conciliation was in the air. Knox himself was pleading with Cecil for permission to visit England, and urging his own labours in the cause of concord, "to which his eye had long looked." He desired license to repair towards him;³ but received no favourable answer,⁴ and was the less likely to receive it, if he should obtrude liturgical views, which by no means tended to "a perpetual concord betuix these two Realmes." Knox, in fact, was judged even "amongis ourselves" to be too extreme—"and be

without his approval that the Assembly of 1566 withheld itself in "this one thing" from complete adherence to the unity of the Reformed, which the Second Helvetic Confession was designed to demonstrate and establish (Works, vi. 547).

¹ The Elizabethan revision, then newly issued.

² Works, vi. 119.

³ Ibid., 32.

⁴ Ibid., 45.

reason therof I have extracted myself from all public assemblies to my privat study.”¹ So he writes from St Andrews, where he appears to have ministered for some part of the spring of 1560;² and this is probably his own explanation of his absence from the focus of affairs. He did not return to Edinburgh, and political activity, until the end of April,³ when the English forces had arrived to take up the siege of Leith.

A year later, however, his position in the counsels of the Congregation had changed. The death of the Regent, the signature of the treaty of Edinburgh (July 11, 1560), and the withdrawal of the French troops had relieved the situation. Knox’s influence had developed with the proceedings of the Convention of August, the acceptance of the Reformed Confession, and the meeting of the first Assembly of the Reformed Church. Then too Mary’s arrival from France (Aug. 19, 1561) had brought fresh anxieties for the friends of the new establishment, and they were more disposed than before to listen to active counsels. A week later Randolph was writing to Throckmorton, “John Knox . . . thonderethe owte of the Pulpit, that I feare no thyng so mucche, that one daye he wyll marre all. He rulethe the roste, and of hym all men stande in feare.”⁴ “The arrival of the Queen has interrupted the tranquillity of our affairs. For three days after her arrival, that idol of the Mass

¹ Letter to Raylton, January 29, 1560 (Works, vi. 105).

² “Ult., Mart. 1560. . . . John Knox beand at that tyme minister.”—Records of the Kirk-Session of St Andrews, *ap.* M’Crie, i. 164, note.

³ M’Crie, i. 164: “Records of Town Council of Edinburgh,” May 8, 1560. Knox was appointed minister at Edinburgh, and Goodman took his place at St Andrews (Historie, Laing, ii. 87).

⁴ Works, vi. 129.

was again set up.”¹ Knox could not but accuse himself that he did not more zealously gainstand it at the first erecting, and he doubtless endeavoured to atone for his slackness. “Men deliting to swim betwix two watters, have often compleaned upon my severitie ; fearing, as it seamed, that the same should trouble the quietness of brethren. But I do fear that that which with men terme lenitie and dulcenes, do bring upon thameselves and others mor fearfull distruction, than yit but ensewed the vehemency of any preacher within this Realme.”² Maitland indeed does complain to Cecil of “the vehemence off Mr Knox spriet, which cannot be brydled,” and of his lack of gentleness toward Mary, “being a young princess unpersuaded,” and of whose persuasion there were, as he thought, good hopes.³

These hopes were in fact assuming a form which created for Knox and those of his way of thinking a new alarm—viz., that Mary should accept the Reformation, but on the Anglican and not on the Genevan model. In the letter just quoted, Maitland speaks of Mary’s disposition to join with Elizabeth in tender amity, saying that if he and Cecil can bring that about, they shall be esteemed “happy instruments for our countreyes.” He thinks that Elizabeth shall be able to do much with her in religion, if they ever enter into a good familiarity. Randolph, in a letter of that time, refers to Jewel’s ‘*Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*,’ published in the same year. He is giving away copies, and it is “so well lyked, that there are dyvers wyshe that ther were manie of them in thys countrie, or at leaste one man that were hable to set forthe so profittable

¹ Knox to Calvin, Oct. 21, 1561 (Works, vi. 133). It was “in her owne chapelle,” for herself and attendants.

² Knox to Cecil, Oct. 7, 1561 (Works, vi. 131).

³ Maitland to Cecil, Oct. 15, 1561 (Works, vi. 136).

and neadfull a worke.”¹ In January Randolph reports to Cecil² a rumour, which he ascribes to Stewart, Commendator of Inchcolm, that on the advice of her uncle, the Cardinal of Guise, Mary is about “to imbrace the Religion of England.” He reports it with all reserve—it is, as he says, hard to believe. Nevertheless the rumour existed — “thys is now common in all men’s mouthes; maynie wyshe yt to be trewe.” All, however, did not. “Others thynke us so farre from the mark, that theie saye, as good never a whyte, as never the better.” Among these apparently were “Mr Knox and other mynesters . . . as wylfull as lerned”; which Randolph heartily lamented. A fortnight later he is still lamenting, for the same reason — namely, for “our preacher, more vehement than descryte or lerned. The lyttle brute that hathe beyne here of late, that thys Quene is advised by the Cardinall to imbrace the religion of Englande, maketh them rone allmoste wyld, of the which theis both saye and preache that yt is lyttle better than when it was at the warste. I have not so amplye conferred with Mr Knox in these matters as shortlye I muste, whoe, upon Sondaye laste, gave the Crosse and the Candle³ such a wype, that as wyse and lerned as hym selfe wysed hym to have hylde his peace. He recompenced the same with a mervelous, vehemente, and persinge prayer, in th’ ende of his sermond, for the contynuance of amytie and hartie love with Englande.”⁴ It is certainly hard to

¹ Works, vi. 138. The copy presented by Randolph to Moray is in the University Library, Edinburgh. The ‘Apology’ was on sale in Edinburgh in 1586: Inventory of Robert Gourlay (Scots Worthies, Craven, p. xiii).

² Ibid., Jany. 30, 1562.

³ *I.e.*, in Elizabeth’s Chapel; Camb. Hist., ii. 575.

⁴ To Cecil, Feby. 12, 1562.

believe that Guise had given such advice to Mary, or that Mary was likely to accept it, if given;¹ but Randolph must be taken for good enough evidence, both of the existence of the rumour and of its effect upon the members of the "Congregation"; he is writing in all confidence to his chief, and is obviously doing his best to give him facts, with full sense of their extraordinary nature. The incident is one of the most remarkable, as showing Knox's state of feeling at this time, if, as seems evident, it is Knox whom Randolph has mainly in view. Under the Edwardian settlement he had held preferment in the Church of England, and had signed the Articles of 1553. He had once thought well of the Second Book, and in spite of its rubrics had recommended compliance with it to the congregation of Berwick. At Frankfort he had been to the last willing to compromise on acceptance of its "substance." The Elizabethan revision did not contain his rubric as to the significance or absence of significance in kneeling at Communion—but otherwise it was little altered. Now, however, the Anglicans are so far from the mark, that "as good never a whit, as never the better" than their condition. Such Reformation as that of Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and the other martyrs is "little better than it was at the worst."²

¹ See, however, Sir John Skelton on the subject in 'Blackwood's Magazine,' Jany. 1888: "Upon the whole it rather appears that, but for the implacable animosity of the Calvinistic preachers, Maitland's scheme of a religious peace might have succeeded"; and generally on the question of probability. (Mr Andrew Lang, whose 'John Knox and the Reformation' appears while this is passing through the press, seems to be of Sir John Skelton's opinion—see pp. 206, 208.)

² See Note E, p. 63.

IV.

The first¹ intimation of a movement to displace Edward's Common Prayer by the Genevan Order occurs in the Book of Discipline prepared by Winram, Spottiswoode, Willock, Douglas, Row, and Knox² in the latter part of 1560. In this, under the Second Head "Of Sacramentis," the following occurs: "And albeit the Ordour of Geneva, quhilk now is used in some of oure Kirks, is sufficient to instruct the diligent reader how that boyth these Sacramentis may be rychtlie ministered; yit for ane uniformitie to be keptit, we have thocht gude to adde this as superaboundand."³ This language points to a recent introduction, and to an adoption incipient and sporadic. The book was procurable only from Geneva, and few copies are likely to have found their way thus early to Scotland. The reference in the Book of Discipline to its ritual has to be supplemented by description. In other passages, where the Catechism (a translation of Calvin's Catechism) attached to the Order of Geneva is commended for use in schools and also in Sunday catechisings, it

¹ Lesley (History, p. 292) states that during the negotiations for the Treaty of Edinburgh the Congregation "wald not ressave or admitt any other" than the Order and Discipline of Geneva—and as Knox was one of the ministers engaged in the matter, it is very probable that proposals for "uniformity of the realms," if made, would be resisted. Dr Mitchell (Scot. Ref., p. 129), in quoting this, parallels with it Randolph's remark to Cecil (Aug. 27, 1560, Laing, vi. 119): "I fynde them so severe in that they professe, so lothe to remytte anie thing of that that thei have received, that I see lytle hope" of uniformity; and italicises "*have received.*" But it amounts to no more than the statement of the Book of Discipline that the Order of Geneva was then already in use in "some of our kirks."

² Historie, Works, ii. 128.

³ Ibid., 186.

is described as "the Booke of our Common Ordour, callit the Ordour of Geneva," and "oure buke of Common Ordour."¹ The Book of Discipline was examined and passed, with certain abridgments, for submission to the Council by the Assembly, January 5, 1561, but was not enacted.² On January 27 it received the signatures of a number of the Council, but not the sanction of the Council itself; and in December it was definitely set aside. It was a theoretical "policy of the Kirk," and never became legislation, ecclesiastical or civil. As Mr C. G. M'Crie points out, "there is no formal sanctioning of this book of forms in any of the early Reformation documents just enumerated." He thinks, however, that it seems very evident "that it had gradually superseded the English Prayer-Book from the time of the return of John Knox to Scotland in 1559."³ If the meaning is that by December 1560 or January 1561, when the Book of Discipline was prepared and considered, the Order of Geneva "had superseded the Book of Edward," that would seem far from evident. The Book of Discipline suggests it as a model in celebration of the Sacraments, and commends its Catechism. No more is claimed for the "Ordour of Geneva" than that "it is now used in some of our kirks." And though in later references it is more boldly described as "the book of our common order," and finally as "our book of common order," this language can, in

¹ *Historie, Works*, ii. 210, 239.

² *Ibid.*, 257, 296. See Note F, p. 63.

³ Those enumerated are apparently the "Confession" of 1560, the First Book of Discipline, the Form and Order of the Election of Superintendents, and the Order for the Election of Elders and Deacons at Edinburgh. Of these, only the Book of Discipline refers to the Order of Geneva.—'Public Worship of Presbyterian Scotland,' p. 103.

the circumstances, only be taken as expressing the predilection of the authors. The Book of Discipline continues to speak of the "Common Prayers" as to be read with the Scriptures by the Readers, either "quhair no Ministeris can be haid presentlie," or where the function of Reader is combined with that of schoolmaster; ¹ to be used "in greit Tounis" every day where there is no Sermon; ² and in private houses "at morne and at nycht." ³ Reasons are given elsewhere ⁴ for venturing to disagree with Mr Laing (who is followed in this by Mr C. G. M'Crie) in supposing the phrase "Common Prayers" thus used to be a synonym for the Order of Geneva. ⁵ When that is spoken of it is described by its name, and distinguished once and again as "our" book. For sacramental and catechetic purposes, the Book of Geneva is desired; for the daily exercise of worship, existing practice is recognised.

During the following year (1562) a reprint of the Order of Geneva as used there, with additional prayers from the French, was issued by an Edinburgh printer, assisted by a grant from the General Assembly; and on the last day of that year the Assembly prescribed its use, but only for the administration of the Sacraments and solemnisation of marriages and burials. ⁶ It was not till Dec. 1564 that a revision adapted to Scotland was ready, and that its use was finally ordered in "prayers" as well. ⁷

¹ *Historie*, Works, ii. 196, 199.

² *Ibid.*, 238.

³ *Ibid.*, 242.

⁴ See Note D, p. 61.

⁵ Laing, ii. 196, note; M'Crie, *Public Worship*, &c., p. 102.

⁶ *Book of the Univ. Kirk*, Mait. Club, i. 30.

⁷ "In the General Assembly holden at *Edinburgh*, and beginning the twenty-fifth day of *December*, it was ordained that every Minister, Exhorter, and Reader shall have one of the *Psalme Books* lately printed in *Edinburgh*, and use the order contained therein in prayers, marriage, and ministration of sacraments." —Calderwood, *Hist.*, p. 39. Laing summarises the matter as

This order was probably obeyed, as few traces of the influence of Edward's Book are found later. The most notable of these is the "Forme and Maner of Buriall used in the Kirk of Montrois" (used in contravention of the Book of Common Order), which embodies in a slightly modified, but not weakened, form the prayer "Almighty God, in whom do live the Spirits of the just departed" (p. 130 of the text following).¹ It is perhaps another that the psalm which Darnley read with his page and servant on the night of his murder (Feb. 9th-10th 1567) was one of those "appropriated in the English prayer-book for the day that was dawning."² Knox himself, while the prayer for the sick, read by his bedside in his last illness, was that "as it is in the Psalmbuke," to the last used regularly the Psalms for the day.³ The use of the Common Prayers, at least in private, must have continued for a generation or thereby after the Order of Geneva had been legally substituted for it in public worship, as in 1579 Bassendyne had in stock "Six commoun prayers of England," which may have been

follows: "In the following year (1560), when the French troops were expelled from Scotland, and the Protestant cause was ultimately triumphant, we may conjecture that, in some measure swayed by the avowed dislike of Knox to the English service-book (as expressed in his letter to Mrs Locke in April 1557), the preference was given to the Forms of Geneva." This is accurate as regards the giving of preference—but the preference received effect only by a gradual process, completed in 1564.—Laing, vi. 279.

¹ Note G, p. 64. Wodrow, Soc. Misc., vol. i. p. 291.

² Prothero, *The Psalms in Human Life*, p. 164. It was Psalm 55, one of those allocated to the evening of the tenth day of the month.

³ "Certane psalmes, quhilk psalmes he passed through everie moneth once."—Richard Bannatyne's Account, Laing, vi. 634, 639.

either of 1552 or Elizabethan; and Robert Gourlay, at his death in 1586, had in stock "fortie-twa small prayer buickes coverit in parschemente," and also "a considerable quantity of other editions of the prayer book."¹

¹ Craven, *Scots Worthies*, p. xiii.

NOTE A.

ALTERATIONS MADE IN EDWARD'S SECOND BOOK FROM HIS FIRST BOOK.

1. In the Daily Offices the important change is the prefixing of Sentences, Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution to the *Morning Prayer* (only).

The Easter Alleluia is omitted from both Morning and Evening Prayer; the Benedicite is omitted, as in Lent an alternative to the *Te Deum*; Alternative Psalms are given for all the Canticles; and in Evening Prayer the word "suffrages" is altered (in a rubric) to "prayers."

With regard to the matter prefixed to the Order for Morning Prayer, there need be no doubt that the idea of this, as well as its general structure, was suggested by Continental models.¹ The Exhortation springs naturally from the wish to include "the Word preached" in a service in which the hortatory element was not previously recognised. Services of the Genevan type normally began with General Confession. Those of Vallerand Pullain and of à Lasco, as used at Glastonbury and Austin Friars, London, and published in England, began with Confession and Absolution. The Confession in Vallerand's '*Liturgia Sacra*'

¹ It is significant that the point at which the conference of Knox and Whittingham with Cox and Lever, referred to at p. 31, broke up, was the point of junction of this new matter with the service as in the First Book—at "*Domine labia*," "*Deus in adjutorium*," et "*Deum laudamus*": then began the tragedy.

(repeated after the minister) belongs to the type of that which Dr Sprott (*B. of Com. Order*, p. 201) calls "the Common Confession of the Reformed Liturgies." The Anglican General Confession follows the same line of spiritual action which Vallerand's follows, but cannot be called a version of it. Vallerand gives no form of Absolution; it is left to the pastor to recite to the people, in the Name of the Holy Trinity, "some sentence from the Holy Scripture of the remission of sins."

In the 'Forma ac Ratio' of à Lasco there is more to suggest that that was before Cranmer when drafting his prefixed matter. Proctor and Frere instance from his Confession:—

" . . . Neque amplius velis mortem peccatoris, sed potius ut convertatur et vivat . . . opem tuam divinam per meritum Filii Tui dilecti supplices imploramus . . . nobisque dones Spiritum Sanctum tuum . . . ut lex tua Sancta illi [cordi] insculpi ac per nos demum . . . tota vita nostra exprimi ejus beneficio possit."

And the Absolution:—

"Habemus certam et indubitam promissionem . . . quod omnibus vere poenitentibus (qui videlicet agnitis peccatis suis cum sui accusatione gratiam ipsius per nomen Christi Domini implorant) omnia ipsorum peccata prorsus condonet atque aboleat . . . omnibus, inquam, vobis qui ita affecti estis denuncio, fiducia promissionum Christi, vestra peccata omnia in coelo a Deo Patri nostro modis plane omnibus remissa esse."

Verbal coincidence is limited to a few phrases; but the general thought and the form of the Anglican Confession and Absolution are here.

2. For the much more important changes in the "Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion," we may find reasons in a general tendency to approximate more closely to the Continental model, in the rise of the controversy as to vestments, &c., and in the criticisms upon the First Book which had been invited from Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr, professors of Divinity at Cambridge and Oxford respectively. The doctrinal Proclamation which became the last rubric of that service was due to Knox's intervention (see p. 14). Gasquet and Bishop suggest that in the alterations there is an apparent intention to remove whatever Bishop Gardiner had welcomed "as evidence that the new Liturgy did not reject the old belief." The recitation of the Decalogue with responses may doubtless be traced to its recitation (immediately after the Absolution) in Vallerand Pullain's 'Liturgia Sacra,' where it is followed by a collect in which occurs the phrase,

“dignare cordibus nostris eam ita tuo spiritu inscribere, ut . . .”; as well as to a wish to retain the Kyries by finding a reason for them by which they should not be chargeable as a “vain repetition.” No reason can be given for the omission of the Introits, unless that of concession to a desire for simplification.

Bucer’s ‘Censura’ expresses the warmest commendation of the service of the First Book as a whole: “With regard to it, I thank God with all my power that He has granted it to be established, so pure, so religiously exact to the Word of God, and that especially considering the time when this was done. For, with the exception of a very few words and actions, I remark in it nothing at all which is not drawn out of the Divine Scriptures; if only all things be held forth and explained to the people as becoming to the religion of Christ.” His actual criticisms are, however, numerous, and in many details received effect. For example, he would desire the addition of sanction for the use of leavened bread as well as of the wafer; and the new rubric declares that “it shall suffice that the bread be such as is usual to be eaten at the table with other meats.” He objects to Eucharistic vestments; and the same vestments are now ordered for “the minister at the time of the Communion and all other times in his ministration.” He objects to the rubric as to the delivery of the Elements into the mouth of the communicant; and now it is “to the people in their hands.” He objects to the rubric ordering that only “so much Bread and Wine as shall suffice for the persons appointed to receive the Communion” to be placed upon the Table; and that rubric disappears. He objects to the Commendation of the faithful departed to the Divine mercy, and to the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, and to the use of the Sign of the Cross in the Consecration, and to the reference to the Ministry of Angels in the Prayer of Oblation—and all of these are removed. Other of his suggestions—such as that the Manual acts and the recitation of the Institution should be abolished—were, however, disregarded.

The transference of the Intercessions to the beginning of the service (immediately after the Offertory), of the Preparation for Communion to a place before the Consecration, the curtailment of the Tersanctus, the postponement of the Prayer of Oblation till after Communicating, the change of the words of delivery, and the like alterations, were doubtless for doctrinal reasons.

3. Changes in other services, as in Baptism the beginning of the service at the Font instead of at the church door, the omission of Exorcism, putting on the white robe, anointing, and trine immersion; in Confirmation, of the Sign of the

Cross and of the accompanying prayer and declaration (for which a new prayer is substituted); of Unction in the Visitation of the Sick, reservation for the Communion of the Sick, and of mention of the Chrysom in the Churching of Women, may generally be traced to the strictures in Bucer's 'Censura,' or to the general inclination to diminish ceremony.

This note generally follows Proctor and Frere, 'New History of the Book of Common Prayer.' Gasquet and Bishop, 'Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer,' also deal with its subject.

NOTE B.

THE BLACK RUBRIC.

In the disputation with Latimer, Oxford, April 1554, Dr Weston (prolocutor) said:—

"A runnagate Scot dyd take awaye the adoration or worshipping of Christe in the Sacrament; by whose procurement that heresie was put in the last Communion Booke: so much prevailed that one man's authoritie at that tyme."—Quoted, Laing, iii. 80, from Foxe's 'Acts and Monuments,' p. 1388, ed. 1576.

Knox himself writes:—

"And also God gave both reason and knowledge to the Court of Parliament to take awaye the rounde clipped God, wherein standeth al the holines of Papistes, and to commaunde common breade to be used at the Lordes table; and also to take awaye the moste parte of superstitions (kneling at the Lordes Supper excepted) whiche before prophaned Christes true religion" ('Faythfull Admonition').—Laing, iii. 279.

NOTE C.

THE RIVAL ORDERS OF WORSHIP AT FRANKFORT.

In the University Library, Glasgow, there is preserved a copy of 'LITURGIA SACRA, seu Ritus Ministerii in Ecclesia peregrinorum Francofordiae ad Moenum. Addita est Summa Doctrinae seu Fidei professio ejusdem Ecclesiae.' Printed at Frankfort, 1554. The Epistle to the Christian Reader expresses gratitude to the Senate of that city for the Christian liberty and peace which the Church of Foreigners enjoyed there; and this is dated the Kalends of September 1554. The Confession of Faith is signed for the French by Vallerandus Pollanus, Pastor; Joannes Murellius, D.;

Georgius Haupas; Jacobus Crucius; Ludovicus Castellio. By "Englishmen, exiles for the Gospel, in name of their whole Church,"—Joannes Makbraeus,¹ M.; Joannes Stanto; Vuilliermus Hamonus; Joannes Bendallus; Guil. Vuhytinghamus. (Described by Laing, iv. 145.²)

Dr Laing recognises in this the Confession of Faith which the Frenchmen presented to the English exiles, "which they were then [July] abowte to put in printe," and which the English "did subscribe" (Troubles, p. 6); with the form of service then adopted by their mutual consent. He describes this as Vallerand Pullain's 'Liturgia Sacra,' published by him at London, 1551, "with some changes" (Works, iv. 144).

Dr Mitchell (Scot. Ref., p. 127, editor's note) expressed his "strong conviction that the words and matter of Knox's Latin Prayer-Book of 1556 were derived directly from the 'Liturgia Sacra' of Pollanus." On this point he entertained "no doubt whatever."

But in the 'Troubles,' the form of service proposed at

¹ The only Scotsman, who signs "A gentleman of Galloway," styled Canon of Glenluce (but Glenluce was Cistercian); imprisoned at Hamilton as a heretic, 1550; a preacher in England; escaped to the Continent, 1553; at Frankfort, 1554; signed call to Knox; later supported Cox; pastor of a congregation in Lower Germany; Vicar of St Nicholas, Newcastle, 1568; died, 1584.

² The copy of the Frankfort edition of the 'Liturgia Sacra' at Glasgow is bound with four other tractates in a thick duodecimo, and consists of 92 pages with title-page and flyleaves. After a prefatory letter to the reader, which is quoted in the text, the Liturgy follows and occupies pp. 6-57; Admonitio ad pium lectorem pro Liturgia, pp. 57-66; Professio fidei Catholicæ quam omnes publice approbare ac subscriptione confirmare oportet priusquam aut Ecclesiæ accenseantur, aut sacramentis ulla in parte communicent in Ecclesia peregrinorum Francofordia, occupies pp. 70-92. After a brief preface (Quid Fides, &c.) the Professio begins with the Apostles' Creed (in larger type), with an exposition of it, article by article (pp. 70-86). Then follows on Vocation to the Church as a mark of Election; then four notes of the Church: 1, Ministry of the Word and doctrine; 2, The Worship of the one God and only Christ; 3, The Sacraments—Baptism, Infant Baptism, and the Lord's Supper; 4, Church Discipline—a double ministry, Ecclesiastical of the Word and Sacraments, and for correction of morals—and Civil, having the sword and administration of justice. Then renunciation of all churches falsely so called, and abjuration of all other doctrine and religion, as of Mohammedans, Anabaptists, Libertines, Mennonists, Davidists, Marcionites, Arians, and the like; also of the Pope, transubstantiation, invocation of saints, justification by other righteousness than Christ's, freewill, purgatory, other satisfaction or sins besides Christ's blood, worship of images, and other human inventions. Then the signatures, as given in text.

I understand that the Rev. Professor Cooper, D.D., is engaged in preparing a new edition of this Order and its Confession.

Frankfort in December 1554 is described as "the Order of Geneva, whiche was then already printed in Englishe and some copies then among them" (p. xxvii).¹ And again the "Order which was verie well liked of manie," which was drawn forth by Knox, Whittingham, Gilby, Foxe, and Cole, and offered to the Congregation in January 1555, is also described as "beinge the same order off Geneva whiche is now in print" (p. xxxvii).

If Dr Mitchell is right, and if the Order of Geneva of 1556 was in words and matter directly derived from Pullain's 'Liturgia Sacra,' the two last-named forms which were the connecting links between the 'Liturgia' and the Order of Geneva must have been simply the form originally adopted in agreement with Pullain's congregation by the earliest English arrivals at Frankfort—with perhaps some further modification, but so substantially the same that in each case it is described by reference to the Order of Geneva in print in 1575. The controversy then appears as throughout a controversy which of two Service Books—Edward's or that—should be adopted, in the first place for the Frankfort exiles, but eventually for the England of the future.

NOTE D.

THE EXPRESSION: "COMMON PRAYERS."

Besides explicit references to Edward's Book, there are allusions—notably in the First Book of Discipline, but elsewhere as well—to "Common Prayers." The Lords of the Congregation, for example, in their petition to the Regent early in 1557, desire it to be lawful that they convene publicly or privately "to our Commoun Prayeris, in our vulgar tongue" ('Historie,' Laing, i. 304);² and we know, from their resolution of the previous December, what the phrase meant to them. Does it not in other cases carry, more or less consciously and explicitly, the same meaning? The Book of Discipline proposes that to the Kirks where no ministers could be had presently there should be appointed the most apt men that distinctly could read the Common Prayers; Mr Laing explains, "That is, the prayers that were usually printed with the Book of Common Order, and the Psalms in metre" (note, Knox's *Historie*, Works, ii. 196). But

¹ Whitchurch had printed 'The Form of Common Prayer used in the Churches of Geneva' at London in 1550: it may be this which is meant.

² Spottiswoode paraphrases this: "That their Ministers might be permitted, in conceiving of publick prayers, . . . to use the vulgar tongue"; but he is certainly mistaken.—*Hist.*, p. 119.

in 1560 the Book of Common Order was not "usually printed." It had been printed once at Geneva in 1556, and possibly again in 1558—no doubt in editions suitable to the demand of the single and very small congregation¹ which used it—but was not printed in Scotland till two years later. It cannot have been generally accessible, and seems unlikely to have been named for general use in recommendations for which immediate enforcement was urgently desired.

The phrase "Common Prayers" was not one employed in vague senses. It did not come to the language out of pre-Reformation use. It came from England, where it had been introduced with the earlier liturgical changes (1547),² and had become familiar as the leading title of Edward's First and Second Books. In Scotland it can have grown current solely with the currency of the Second Book, and must at the date in question (1560) have carried the suggestion of its use.

Against these considerations may be set the fact that Knox in his "Letter of Wholesome Counsell" (July 7, 1556) speaks of the duty to make the family partakers "in readyng, exhorting, and in *making of Common Prayers*," which he would have used in every house at least once a-day. And it may be thought that he is unlikely to have intended to recommend the use of the English book; but possibly he knew that it was used where any manual was used, and speaks to things as they existed. In his next paragraph, where he deals with weekly conventions (at which a minister or qualified leader might be more probably present), he says nothing of Common Prayers, but advises that their beginning be from confession of their offences and invocation of the spirit of the Lord Jesus.

And it should also be said that "Another Confession and Prayer, commonly used in the Church of Edinburgh *on the Day of Common Prayer*," appears in the First Book of Common Order, 1562. But it was not in the Geneva Book, and in any case is scarcely evidence for the use of the phrase "Common Prayers" in 1560 to mean the Genevan Order. With the formal adoption of that Order the phrase "Common Prayers" disappears.

¹ Lorimer says that it numbered "nearly a hundred souls" (Knox in England, p. 224).

² Gasquet, 'Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer,' p. 54, note.

NOTE E.

KNOX'S CHURCHMANSHIP.

The expressions quoted by Randolph must be regarded as more or less rhetorical. When the first Puritan secession from the Church of England took place (1566)—a number of the clergy who had been deprived for nonconformity having separated and adopted the Order of Geneva “that the great Mr Calvin had approved of”—it was reported to Grindall, by a “party” returning to conformity from among the Seceders, that Knox was “flat against them and condemned all their doings.” He disapproved of much that was required by the Prayer-Book, but of schism more. “God forbid (he had written to them) that we should damn all for false prophets and heretics that agree not with us in apparell and other opinions, who yet preach the substance of doctrine and salvation in Christ Jesus” (Lorimer, ‘Knox in England,’ pp. 233, 234).

Throughout his life Knox showed a similar dislike of what was, from his point of view, disorderly. One of Northumberland's reasons for wishing him to be appointed Bishop of Rochester was that “he would be a great confounder of the Anabaptists lately sprung up in Kent” (M'Crie, i. 470). In 1556, when Protestant congregations were being formed, Ninian Winzet relates that some lords and gentlemen ministered the Sacrament of the Supper to their own household servants and tenantry, and that Knox blamed the persons who did it, saying that they had “gretumlie failzeit” (M'Crie, i. 112, note). In his letter to the Brethren in Scotland (from Dieppe, 1557) he is energetic in warning against the opinions of sectaries “maist horribill and absurd,” of whom he besought them to take heed; and bids them suffer no man, without trial and examination, take upon him the office of a preacher (Laing, ‘Works,’ iv. 270, 271). His treatise on Predestination, which Laing calls his most elaborate production, is “an Answer to a great number of blasphemous cavillations written by an Anabaptist.”

NOTE F.

THE BOOK OF DISCIPLINE AND THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

“The Assemblie of the Kirk laid some Heads of the policie of the Kirk upon everie man who was thought meet for the same; and after they had given in their travells, to be considered by the Brethren, they were either approven in that

whilk they had done, or els their inlaiks were supplied and doubtles opened up to them, that they might set down the head appointed to them more perfitelie; whilk by great pains, much reading, prayer, and meditation, earnestlie incalling the name of God, in end was finished, and by the allowance and approbation of the whole General Assemblie; after that some articles whilk were thought too long were abridged. The wholl policie of the Kirk was put in writ in a book and presented to the Nobilitie and Great Council of this Realme.”—Row, ‘Hist. of the Kirk of Scot.,’ Wodrow Soc., p. 16.

Dr M’Crie appears to identify the Assembly of which Row speaks with “that which Knox calls a Convention, held on the 5th of January 1561” (Life, i. 165). What Knox says is, that on the news of the death of Henry of France being noised abroad, “a generall Conventioun of the hail Nobilitie was appointed to be holdin at Edinburgh the fivetene [in another MS. “the fyft”] day of Januare following, in the which the Book of Discipline was perused newlie owre agane, for some pretended ignorance, be reason thai had not heard it. In that Assemblie was Maister Alexander Anderson, &c.” And again, “At this same Assemblie was the Lord James appoynted to go to France to the Quene oure Soverane; and a Parliament was appointed to begyn the twenty of Maij nixt following, &c.” (Laing, ii. 138, 142). The language scarcely makes it clear that a General Assembly of the Church is meant. Dr M’Crie adds, “The first General Assembly appointed a meeting to be held at that time (Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 3, MS. in Advocates’ Library), but there is no account of its proceedings in that or in any other register which I have had access to see.”

NOTE G.

THE MONTROSE BURIAL SERVICE.

“The Forme and Maner of Buriall” is written on the fly-leaves of a MS. of the beginning of the sixteenth century, and is undated. The editor for the Wodrow Society states that it is in a handwriting of the later years of that century, and places it before 1581 on the ground of its mentioning “Minister or Reader”—the office of Reader having been abolished by the Assembly in that year. But that does not tell us how late it may have continued in use. The Exhortation with which it begins is lengthy and full of Scriptural quotation from Tyndale’s translation, but does not show any reminiscence of the language of the Anglican service, from which the prayer only is taken.

THE
BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER
AND
ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS
AND OTHER
RITES AND CEREMONIES
IN THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND

1552

THE CONTENTS OF THIS BOOK.

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20. A Commination against sinners, with certain prayers to be used divers times in the year.
21. The form and manner of making and consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.

THE PREFACE.

THERE was never any thing by the wit of man so well devised, or so sure established, which (in continuance of time) hath not been corrupted : as (among other things) it may plainly appear by the common prayers in the Church, commonly called divine service : the first original and ground whereof if a man would search out by the ancient fathers, he shall find that the same was not ordained but of a good purpose, and for a great advancement of godliness. For they so ordered the matter, that all the whole Bible (or the greatest part thereof) should be read over once in the year : intending thereby, that the Clergy, and specially such as were ministers of the congregation, should (by often reading and meditation of God's word) be stirred up to godliness themselves, and be more able also to exhort other by wholesome doctrine, and to confute them that were adversaries to the truth ; and further, that the people (by daily hearing of holy scripture read in the Church) should continually profit more and more in the knowledge of God, and be the more inflamed with the love of his true religion. But these many years passed, this godly and decent order of the ancient fathers hath been so altered, broken, and neglected, by planting in uncertain stories, Legends, Responds, Verses, vain repetitions, Commemorations, and Synodals, that commonly when any book of the Bible was begun, before three or four chapters were read out, all the rest were unread. And in this sort the book of Esay was begun in Advent, and the book of Genesis in Septuagesima : but they were only begun, and never read through. After a like sort were other books of holy scripture used. And moreover, whereas saint Paul would have such language spoken to the people in the Church, as they might understand, and have profit by hearing the same, the service in this Church of England (these many years) hath been read in Latin to the people, which they understood not : so that they have heard with their ears only and their hearts, spirit, and mind, have not

been edified thereby. And furthermore, notwithstanding that the ancient fathers have divided the Psalms into seven portions, whereof every one was called a Nocturn; now of late time, a few of them have been daily said (and oft repeated) and the rest utterly omitted. Moreover, the number and hardness of the rules, called the Pie, and the manifold changings of the service, was the cause, that to turn the book only was so hard and intricate a matter, that many times there was more business to find out what should be read, than to read it when it was found out.

These inconveniences therefore considered, here is set forth such an order, whereby the same shall be redressed. And for a readiness in this matter, here is drawn out a kalendar for that purpose, which is plain and easy to be understanden, wherein (so much as may be) the reading of holy scriptures is so set forth, that all things shall be done in order, without breaking one piece thereof from another. For this cause be cut off Anthems, Responds, Invitatories, and such like things, as did break the continual course of the reading of the scripture. Yet because there is no remedy, but that of necessity there must be some rules, therefore certain rules are here set forth, which as they be few in number, so they be plain and easy to be understanden. So that here you have an order for prayer (as touching the reading of holy scripture) much agreeable to the mind and purpose of the old fathers, and a great deal more profitable and commodious, than that which of late was used. It is more profitable, because here are left out many things, whereof some be untrue, some uncertain, some vain and superstitious, and is ordained nothing to be read, but the very pure word of God, the holy scriptures, or that which is evidently grounded upon the same, and that in such a language and order, as is most easy and plain for the understanding, both of the readers and hearers. It is also more commodious, both for the shortness thereof, and for the plainness of the order, and for that the rules be few and easy. Furthermore, by this order, the curates shall need none other books for their public service, but this book, and the Bible: by the means whereof, the people shall not be at so great charge for books, as in time past they have been.

And where heretofore there hath been great diversity in saying and singing in Churches within this realm, some following Salisbury use, some Hereford use, some the use

of Bangor, some of York, and some of Lincoln : Now from henceforth, all the whole realm shall have but one use. And if any would judge this way more painful, because that all things must be read upon the book, whereas before, by the reason of so often repetition, they could say many things by heart, if those men will weigh their labour with the profit and knowledge, which daily they shall obtain by reading upon the book, they will not refuse the pain, in consideration of the great profit that shall ensue thereof.

And forasmuch as nothing can almost be so plainly set forth, but doubts may rise in the use and practising of the same : To appease all such diversity (if any arise), and for the resolution of all doubts concerning the manner how to understand, do, and execute the things contained in this book ; the parties that so doubt, or diversely take any thing, shall alway resort to the Bishop of the Diocese, who by his discretion shall take order for the quieting and appeasing of the same : so that the same order be not contrary to any thing contained in this book. And if the Bishop of the Diocese be in any doubt, then may he send for the resolution thereof unto the Archbishop.

Though it be appointed in the afore written Preface, that all things shall be read and sung in the Church in the English tongue, to the end that the congregation may be thereby edified ; yet it is not meant, but when men say Morning and Evening prayer privately, they may say the same in any language that they themselves do understand.

And all Priests and Deacons shall be bound to say daily the Morning and Evening prayer, either privately or openly, except they be letted by preaching, studying of divinity, or by some other urgent cause.

And the Curate that ministereth in every Parish Church or Chapel, being at home, and not being otherwise reasonably letted, shall say the same in the Parish Church or Chapel where he ministereth, and shall toll a bell thereto, a convenient time before he begin, that such as be disposed may come to hear God's word, and to pray with him.

OF CEREMONIES,

WHY^s SOME BE ABOLISHED, AND SOME RETAINED.

OF such ceremonies as be used in the church, and have had their beginning by the institution of man: some at the first were of Godly intent and purpose devised, and yet at length turned to vanity and superstition: some entered into the church by undiscreet devotion, and such a zeal as was without knowledge, and for because they were winked at in the beginning, they grew daily to more and more abuses; which not only for their unprofitableness, but also because they have much blinded the people, and obscured the glory of God, are worthy to be cut away, and clean rejected. Other there be, which although they have been devised by man, yet it is thought good to reserve them still, as well for a decent order in the church (for the which they were first devised) as because they pertain to edification; whereunto all things done in the church (as the Apostle teacheth) ought to be referred. And although the keeping or omitting of a ceremony (in itself considered) is but a small thing: yet the wilful and contemptuous transgression and breaking of a common order and discipline is no small offence before God.

Let all things be done among you (saith S. Paul) in a seemly and due order. The appointment of the which order pertaineth not to private men: therefore no man ought to take in hand, nor presume to appoint or alter any public or common order in Christ's church, except he be lawfully called and authorized thereunto.

And whereas in this our time, the minds of men are so diverse, that some think it a great matter of conscience to depart from a piece of the least of their ceremonies (they be so addicted to their old customs :) and again on the other side, some be so new fangled, that they would innovate all thing, and so do despise the old, that nothing can like them, but that is new: it was thought expedient, not so much to have respect, how to please and satisfy

either of these parties, as how to please God, and profit them both. And yet lest any man should be offended (whom good reason might satisfy) here be certain causes rendered, why some of the accustomed ceremonies be put away, and some retained and kept still.

Some are put away, because the great excess and multitude of them hath so increased in these latter days, that the burthen of them was intolerable; whereof S. Augustine in his time complained, that they were grown to such a number, that the state of Christian people was in worse case (concerning that matter) than were the Jews. And he counselled that such yoke and burthen should be taken away, as time would serve quietly to do it.

But what would S. Augustine have said, if he had seen the ceremonies of late days used among us? whereunto the multitude used in his time was not to be compared. This our excessive multitude of ceremonies was so great, and many of them so dark, that they did more confound, and darken, than declare and set forth Christ's benefits unto us.

And besides this, Christ's gospel is not a ceremonial law (as much of Moses' law was) but it is a religion to serve God, not in bondage of the figure or shadow, but in the freedom of spirit, being content only with those ceremonies, which do serve to a decent order and godly discipline, and such as be apt to stir up the dull mind of man, to the remembrance of his duty to God, by some notable and special signification, whereby he might be edified.

Furthermore, the most weighty cause of the abolishment of certain ceremonies was, that they were so far abused, partly by the superstitious blindness of the rude and unlearned, and partly by the unsatiable avarice of such as sought more their own lucre, than the glory of God; that the abuses could not well be taken away, the thing remaining still. But now as concerning those persons, which peradventure will be offended, for that some of the old ceremonies are retained still: if they consider that without some ceremonies it is not possible to keep any order or quiet discipline in the church, they shall easily perceive just cause to reform their judgments. And if they think much, that any of the old do remain, and would rather have all devised anew: Then such men granting some ceremonies convenient to be had, surely where the old

may be well used, there they cannot reasonably reprove the old only for their age, without bewraying of their own folly. For in such a case, they ought rather to have reverence unto them for their antiquity, if they will declare themselves to be more studious of unity and concord, than of innovations and newfangledness, which (as much as may be with the true setting forth of Christ's Religion) is always to be eschewed. Furthermore, such shall have no just cause with the ceremonies reserved to be offended. For as those be taken away, which were most abused, and did burthen men's consciences without any cause: so the other that remain are retained for a discipline and order, which (upon just causes) may be altered and changed, and therefore are not to be esteemed equal with God's law. And moreover, they be neither dark nor dumb ceremonies; but are so set forth, that every man may understand what they do mean, and to what use they do serve. So that it is not like that they in time to come should be abused as the other have been. And in these our doings we condemn no other nations, nor prescribe any thing, but to our own people only. For we think it convenient that every country should use such ceremonies, as they shall think best to the setting forth of God's honour or glory, and to the reducing of the people to a most perfect and godly living, without error or superstition: and that they should put away other things, which from time to time they perceive to be most abused, as in men's ordinances it often chanceth diversely in diverse countries.

THE
TABLE AND KALENDAR,
EXPRESSING THE
Order of the Psalms and Lessons,
TO BE SAID AT THE
MORNING AND EVENING PRAYER
THROUGHOUT THE YEAR,
EXCEPT CERTAIN PROPER FEASTS, AS THE RULES
FOLLOWING MORE PLAINLY DECLARE.

¶ The order how the Psalter is appointed to be read.

THE Psalter shall be read through once every month. And because that some Months be longer than some other be, it is thought good to make them even by this means.

To every Month shall be appointed (as concerning this purpose) just xxx days.

And because January and March hath one day above the said number, and February, which is placed between them both, hath only xxviii days: February shall borrow of either of the Months (of January and March) one day. And so the Psalter which shall be read in February, must begin the last day of January, and end the first day of March.

And whereas May, July, August, October, and December, have xxxi days apiece: it is ordered that the same Psalms shall be read the last day of the said Months, which were read the day before. So that the Psalter may begin again the first day of the next Months ensuing.

Now to know what Psalms shall be read every day, look in the Kalendar the number that is appointed for the Psalms, and then find the same number in this table, and upon that number shall you see, what Psalms shall be said at Morning and Evening Prayer.

And where the cxixth Psalm is divided into xxii portions, and is over long to be read at one time : it is so ordered, that at one time shall not be read above four or five of the said portions, as you shall perceive to be noted in this Table following.

And here is also to be noted, that in this table, and in all other parts of the Service, where any Psalms are appointed, the number is expressed after the great English Bible, which from the ixth Psalm unto the cxlviiiith Psalm (following the division of the Hebrues) doth vary in numbers from the common Latin translation.

The Table for the Order of the Psalms, to be said at Morning and Evening prayer.

	¶ Morning Prayer.	¶ Evening Prayer.
i.	1, 2, 3, 4, 5.	6, 7, 8.
ii.	9, 10, 11.	12, 13, 14.
iii.	15, 16, 17.	18.
iv.	19, 20, 21.	22, 23.
v.	24, 25, 26.	27, 28, 29.
vi.	30, 31.	32, 33, 34.
vii.	35, 36.	37.
viii.	38, 39, 40.	41, 42, 43.
ix.	44, 45, 46.	47, 48, 49.
x.	50, 51, 52.	53, 54, 55.
xi.	56, 57, 58.	59, 60, 61.
xii.	62, 63, 64.	65, 66, 67.
xiii.	68.	69, 70.
xiv.	71, 72.	73, 74.
xv.	75, 76, 77.	78.
xvi.	79, 80, 81.	82, 83, 84, 85.
xvii.	86, 87, 88.	89.
xviii.	90, 91, 92.	93, 94.
xix.	96, 97.	98, 99, 100, 101.
xx.	102, 103.	104.
xxi.	105.	106.
xxii.	107.	108, 109.
xxiii.	110, 111, 112, 113.	114, 115.
xxiv.	116, 117, 118.	119, Inde. 4.
xxv.	Inde. 5.	Inde. 4.
xxvi.	Inde. 5.	Inde. 4.
xxvii.	120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125.	126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131.
xxviii.	132, 133, 134, 135.	136, 137, 138.
xxix.	139, 140, 141.	142, 143.
xxx.	144, 145, 146.	147, 148, 149, 150.

The Order how the rest of holy scripture (beside the Psalter) is appointed to be read.

The Old Testament is appointed for the first Lessons at Morning and Evening prayer, and shall be read through, every year once, except certain books and chapters, which be least edifying, and might best be spared, and therefore be left unread.

The New Testament is appointed for the second Lessons at Morning and Evening prayer, and shall be read over orderly every year thrice, beside the Epistles and Gospels: except the Apocalypse, out of the which there be only certain Lessons appointed, upon divers proper feasts.

And to know what Lessons shall be read every day: find the day of the Month in the Kalendar following: and there ye shall perceive the books and chapters, that shall be read for the Lessons, both at Morning and Evening prayer.

And here is to be noted, that whensoever there be any proper Psalms or Lessons, appointed for any feast, moveable or unmoveable: then the Psalms and Lessons, appointed in the Kalendar, shall be omitted for that time.

Ye must note also that the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, appointed for the Sunday, shall serve all the week after, except there fall some feast that hath his proper.

This is also to be noted, concerning the Leap years, that the xxvth day of February, which in Leap year is counted for two days, shall in those two days alter neither Psalm nor Lesson: but the same Psalms and Lessons, which be said the first day, shall also serve for the second day.

Also, wheresoever the beginning of any Lesson, Epistle, or Gospel is not expressed, there ye must begin at the beginning of the chapter.

And wheresoever is not expressed how far shall be read, there shall you read to the end of the chapter.

PROPER PSALMS AND LESSONS

FOR DIVERS FEASTS AND DAYS, AT MORNING
AND EVENING PRAYER.

On Christmas day at Morning prayer.

Psalms xix. xlv. lxxxv. The first Lesson. Esay. ix. The
ii. Lesson. Luk. ii. *unto* And unto men a good will.

At Evening prayer.

Psalms lxxxix. cx. cxxxii. The first Lesson. Esa. vii.
God spake once again to Ahas. &c., *unto the end*. The
second Lesson. Tit. iii. The kindness and love. &c.
unto foolish questions.

On Saint Stephen's day, at Morning prayer.

The second Lesson. Acts. vi. and vii. Stephen full of
faith and power, *unto* And when forty years were. &c.

At Evening prayer.

The second Lesson. Acts. vii. And when forty years were
expired, there appeared unto Moses. &c. *unto* Stephen full
of the Holy Ghost.

On Saint John the Evangelist's day, at Morning prayer.

The second Lesson. Apocalyps i. The whole Chapter.

At Evening prayer.

The second Lesson. Apocalyps. xxii.

On the Innocents' day, at Morning prayer.

The first Lesson. Jeremie. xxxi. *unto* Moreover I heard
Ephraim.

On the Circumcision day, at Morning prayer.

The first Lesson. Genesis. xvii. The second Lesson.
Roma. ii.

At Evening prayer.

The first Lesson. Deut. x. And now Israel. &c. The second Lesson. Colos. ii.

On the Epiphany, at Morning prayer.

The first Lesson. Esay. lx.

The second Lesson. Luke iii. And it fortun'd, &c.

At Evening prayer.

The first Lesson. Esay. xlix. The second Lesson. John. ii. After this he went down to Capernaum.

On Wednesday before Easter, at Evening prayer.

The first Lesson. Ozee. xiii. xiv.

On Thursday before Easter, at Morning prayer.

The first Lesson. Daniel. ix.

At Evening prayer.

The first Lesson. Jeremie. xxxi.

On Good Friday, at Morning prayer.

The first Lesson. Genesis. xxii.

At Evening prayer.

The first Lesson. Esay. liii.

On Easter Even, at Morning prayer.

The first Lesson. Zachary. ix.

On Easter day, at Morning prayer.

Psalms ii. lvii. cxi. The first Lesson. Exodi. xii. The second Lesson. Ro. vi.

At Evening prayer.

Psalms cxiii. cxiv. cxviii. The second Lesson. Act. ii.

On Monday in Easter week, at Morning prayer.

The second Lesson. Math. xxviii.

At Evening prayer.

The second Lesson. Acts. iii.

On Tuesday in Easter week, at Morning prayer.

The second Lesson. Luke xxiv. *unto* And behold two of them.

At Evening prayer.

The second Lesson. 1 Corin. xv.

On the Ascension day, at Morning prayer.

Psalms viii. xv. xxi. The ii. Lesson. John. xiv.

At Evening prayer.

Psalms xxiv. lxxviii. cviii. The ii. Lesson. Ephe. iv.

On Whitsunday, at Morning prayer.

Psalms xlviii. lxvii. The second Lesson. Act. x. Then Peter opened his. &c.

At Evening prayer.

Psalms civ. cxlv. The second Lesson. Act. xix. It fortuned when Apollo went to Corinthum, &c. *unto* After these things.

¶ On Trinity Sunday, at Morning prayer.

The first Lesson. Gene. xviii. The second Lesson. Math. iii.

Conversion of Saint Paul, at Morning prayer.

The second Lesson. Acts. xxii. *unto* They heard him.

At Evening prayer.

The second Lesson. Acts xxvi.

Saint Barnabie's day, at Morning prayer.

The second Lesson. Acts. xiv.

At Evening prayer.

The second Lesson. Acts. xv. *unto* After certain days.

St John Baptist's day, at Morning prayer.

The first Lesson. Malachi. iii. The second Lesson. Math. iii.

At Evening prayer.

The first Lesson. Malachi. iv. The second Lesson. Math. xiv. *unto* When Jesus heard.

Saint Peter's day, at Morning prayer.

The second Lesson. Acts. iii.

At Evening prayer.

The second Lesson. Acts. iv.

All Saints' day at Morning prayer.

The first Lesson. Sapien. iii. *unto* Blessed is rather the barren. The second Lesson. Hebr. xi. xii. Saints by faith subdued. *unto* If you endure chastising.

At Evening prayer.

The first Lesson. Sapience. v. *unto* His jealousy also. The second Lesson. Apocalyps xix. *unto* And I saw an angel stand.

An Almanack for Nineteen Years.

The year of our Lord.	The Golden Number.	The Epact.	The Cycle of the Sun.	Dominical letter.	Easter day.
1552	14	4	21	C. B.	17 April.
1553	15	15	22	A.	2 April.
1554	16	26	23	G.	25 March.
1555	17	7	24	F.	14 April.
1556	18	18	25	E. D.	5 April.
1557	19	29	26	C.	18 April.
1558	1	11	27	B.	10 April.
1559	2	22	28	A.	26 March.
1560	3	3	1	G. F.	14 April.
1561	4	14	2	E.	6 April.
1562	5	25	3	D.	
1563	6	26	4	C.	
1564	7	17	5	B. A.	
1565	8	28	6	G.	
1566	9	9	7	F.	
1567	10	20	8	E.	
1568	11	1	9	D. C.	
1569	12	12	10	B.	
1570	13	23	11	A.	

JANUARY HATH XXXI DAYS.

MORNING PRAYER.

EVENING PRAYER.

Psalms.

		1 Less.	2 Less.	1 Less.	2 Less.
3 A Kalend. Circumcision.	1	Gene. 17	Roma. 2	Deut. 10	Colos. 2
b 4 No.	2	Gene. 1	Math. 1	Gene. 2	Roma. 1
11 c 3 No.	3	3	2	4	2
d Prid. No.	4	5	3	6	3
19 e Nonas.	5	7	4	8	4
8 f 8 Id. Epiphanie.	6	Esai. 60	Luke. 3	Esai. 49	John. 2
g 7 Id.	7	Gen. 9	Math. 5	Gen. 11	Roma. 5
16 A 6 Id.	8	12	6	13	6
5 b 5 Id.	9	14	7	15	7
c 4 Id.	10	16	8	17	8
13 d 3 Id. Sol in aqua.	11	18	9	19	9
2 e Prid. Id.	12	20	10	21	10
f Idus.	13	22	11	23	11
10 g 19 kl. Februarii.	14	24	12	25	12
A 18 kl.	15	26	13	27	13
18 b 17 kl. Term begi.	16	28	14	29	14
7 c 16 kl.	17	30	15	31	15
d 15 kl.	18	32	16	33	16
15 e 14 kl.	19	34	17	35	1 Cor. 1
4 f 13 kl.	20	36	18	37	2
g 12 kl.	21	39	19	39	3
12 A 11 kl.	22	40	20	41	4
1 b 10 kl.	23	42	21	43	5
c 9 kl.	24	44	22	45	6
9 d 8 kl. Con. Paul.	25	46	Act. 22	47	Acts. 26
e 7 kl.	26	48	Math. 23	49	1 Corin. 7
17 f 6 kl.	27	50	24	Exod. 1	8
6 g 5 kl.	28	Exod. 2	25	3	9
A 4 kl.	29	4	26	5	10
14 b 3 kl.	30	6	27	7	11
3 c Prid. kl.	1	8	28	9	12

FEBRUARY HATH XXVIII DAYS.

MORNING PRAYER.

EVENING PRAYER.

Psalms.

		1 Less.	2 Less.	1 Less.	2 Less.
d Kalend.	2	Exodi. 10	Mark. 1	Exodi. 11	1 Cor. 13
11 e 4 No. Puri. Mary.	3	12	2	13	14
19 f 3 No.	4	14	3	15	15
8 g Prid. No.	5	16	4	17	16
A Nonas.	6	18	5	19	2 Corin. 1
16 b 8 Id.	7	20	6	21	2
5 c 7 Id.	8	22	7	23	3
d 6 Id.	9	24	8	32	4
13 e 5 Id.	10	33	9	34	5
2 f 4 Id. Sol in Pisces.	11	35	10	40	6
g 3 Id.	12	Lev. 18	11	Lev. 19	7
10 A Prid. Id.	13	20	12	Num. 10	8
b Idus.	14	Nume. 11	13	12	9
18 c 16 kl. March.	15	13	14	14	10
7 d 15 kl.	16	15	15	16	11
e 14 kl.	17	17	16	18	12
15 f 13 kl.	18	19	Luk. di. 1	20	13
4 g 12 kl.	19	21	di. 1	22	Galath. 1
A 11 kl.	20	23	2	24	2
12 b 10 kl.	21	25	3	26	3
1 c 9 kl.	22	27	4	28	4
d 8 kl.	23	29	5	30	5
9 e 7 kl.	24	31	6	32	6
f 6 kl. S. Mathias.	25	33	7	34	Ephesi. 1
17 g 5 kl.	26	35	8	36	2
6 A 4 kl.	27	Deut. 1	9	Deut. 2	3
b 3 kl.	28	3	10	4	4
14 c Prid. kl.	29	5	11	6	5

MARCH HATH XXXI DAYS.

MORNING PRAYER.

EVENING PRAYER.

Psalms.

		1 Less.	2 Less.	1 Less.	2 Less.
3 d Kalend.	30	Deu. 7	Luk. 12.	Deu. 8	Ephe. 6
e 6 No.	1	9	13	10	Philip. 1
11 f 5 No.	2	11	14	12	2
g 4 No.	3	13	15	14	3
19 A 3 No.	4	15	16	16	4
8 b Prid. No.	5	17	17	18	Colos. 1
c Nonas.	6	19	18	20	2
16 d 8 Id.	7	21	19	22	3
5 e 7 Id.	8	23	20	24	4
f 6 Id.	9	25	21	26	1 Thessa. 1
13 g 5 Id. Equinoctium.	10	27	22	28	2
2 A 4 Id. Sol in ariete.	11	29	23	30	3
b 3 Id.	12	31	24	32	4
10 c Prid. Id.	13	33	John. 1	34	5
d Idus.	14	Josue. 1	2	Josue. 2	2 Thessa. 1
18 e 17 kl. Aprilis.	15	3	3	3	2
7 f 16 kl.	16	4	4	4	3
g 15 kl.	17	5	5	5	1 Timo. 1
15 A 14 kl.	18	6	6	6	2. 3
4 b 13 kl.	19	7	7	7	4
c 12 kl.	20	8	8	8	5
12 d 11 kl.	21	9	9	9	6
1 e 10 kl.	22	10	10	11	2 Timo. 1
f 9 kl.	23	12	11	20	2
9 g 8 kl. Annunciation.	24	21	12	22	3
A 7 kl.	25	23	13	24	4
17 b 6 kl.	26	Judic. 1	14	Judic. 2	Titus. 1
6 c 5 kl.	27	3	15	4	2. 3
d 4 kl.	28	5	16	6	Philem. 1
14 e 3 kl.	29	7	17	8	Hebre. 1
3 f Prid. kl.	30	9	18	10	2

APRIL HATH XXX DAYS.

MORNING PRAYER.

EVENING PRAYER.

Psalms.

		1 Less.	2 Less.	1 Less.	2 Less.
g Kalend.	1	Judic. 11	John. 19	Judi. 12	Hebre. 3
11 A 4 No.	2	13	20	14	4
b 3 No.	3	15	21	16	5
19 c Prid. No.	4	17	Actes. 1	18	6
8 d Nonas.	5	19	2	20	7
16 e 8 Id.	6	21	3	Ruth. 1	8
5 f 7 Id.	7	Ruth. 2	4	3	9
g 6 Id.	8	4	5	2 Regum. 2	10
13 A 5 Id.	9	1 Regum. 2	6	3	11
2 b 4 Id.	10	4	7	5	12
c 3 Id.	11	6	8	7	13
10 d Prid. Id. Sol. in tauro.	12	- 8	9	9	Jacobi. 1
e Idus.	13	10	10	11	2
18 f 18 kl. Maii.	14	12	11	13	3
7 g 17 kl.	15	14	12	15	4
A 16 kl.	16	16	13	17	5
15 b 15 kl.	17	18	14	19	1 Petri. 1
4 c 14 kl.	18	20	15	21	2
d 13 kl.	19	22	16	23	3
12 e 12 kl.	20	24	17	25	4
1 f 11 kl.	21	26	18	27	5
g 10 kl.	22	28	19	29	2 Petri. 1
9 A 9 kl. S. George.	23	30	20	31	2
b 8 kl.	24	2 Reg. 1	21	1 Reg. 2	3
17 c 7 kl. Mark Euan.	25	3	22	4	1 John. 1
6 d 6 kl.	26	5	23	6	2
e 5 kl.	27	7	24	8	3
14 f 4 kl.	28	9	25	10	4
3 g 3 kl.	29	11	26	12	5
A Prid. kl.	30	13	27	14	2. 3 Joh.

MAY HATH XXXI DAYS.

MORNING PRAYER.

EVENING PRAYER.

Psalms.

		1 Less.	2 Less.	1 Less.	2 Less.
11 b Kalend. Philip & Ja.	1	2 Re. 15	Act. 8	2 Re. 16	Judas. 1
c 6 No.	2	17	28	18	Roma. 1
19 d 5 No.	3	19	Math. 1	20	2
8 e 4 No.	4	21	2	22	3
f 3 No.	5	23	3	24	4
16 g Prid. No.	6	3 Regum. 1	4	3 Reg. 1	5
5 A Nonas.	7	2	5	2	6
b 8 Id.	8	3	6	4	7
13 c 7 Id.	9	5	7	9	8
2 d 6 Id.	10	9	8	10	9
e 5 Id. Sol in Ge.	11	11	9	12	10
10 f 4 Id.	12	13 *	10	14	11
g 3 Id.	13	15	11	16	12
18 A Prid. Id.	14	17	12	18	13
7 b Idus.	15	19	13	20	14
c 17 kl. Junii.	16	21	14	22	15
15 d 16 kl.	17	4 Re. 1	15	4 Re. 2	16
4 e 15 kl.	18	3	16	4	1 Cor. 1
f 14 kl.	19	5	17	6	2
12 g 13 kl.	20	7	18	8	3
1 A 12 kl.	21	9	19	10	4
b 11 kl.	22	11	20	12	5
9 c 10 kl.	23	13	21	14	6
d 9 kl.	24	15	22	16	7
17 e 8 kl.	25	17	23	18	8
6 f 7 kl.	26	19	24	20	9
g 6 kl.	27	21	25	22	10
14 A 5 kl.	28	23	26	24	11
3 b 4 kl.	29	25	27	25	12
c 3 kl.	30	1 Esdr. 1	28	1 Esdr. 2	13
11 d Prid. kl.	30	3	Mark. 1	4	14

JUNE HATH XXX DAYS.

MORNING PRAYER.

EVENING PRAYER.

Psalms.

		1 Less.	2 Less.	1 Less.	2 Less.
e Kalend.	1	1 Esdr. 4	Mark. 2	1 Esdr. 5	1 Cor. 15
19 f 4 No.	2	6	3	6	16
8 g 3 No.	3	7	4	7	2 Corin. 1
16 A Prid. No.	4	8	5	8	2
5 b Nonas.	5	9	6	10	3
c 8 Id.	6	2 Esdr. 1	7	3	4
13 d 7 Id.	7	4	8	5	5
2 e 6 Id.	8	6	9	8	6
f 5 Id.	9	9	10	13	7
10 g 4 Id.	10	Hester. 1	11	Hester. 2	8
A 3 Id.	11	3	Act. 14	4	Acts. 15
18 b Prid. Id.	12	5	Mar. 12	6	2 Corin. 9
7 c Idus. Sol in can.	13	7	13	8	10
d 18 kl. Julii.	14	9	14	Job. 1	11
15 e 17 kl.	15	Job. 2	15	3	12
4 f 16 kl.	16	4	16	5	13
g 15 kl. Term begin.	17	6	Luke. 1	7	Galat. 1
12 A 14 kl.	18	8	2	9	2
1 b 13 kl.	19	10	3	11	3
c 12 kl.	20	12	4	13	4
9 d 11 kl.	21	14	5	15	5
e 10 kl.	22	16	6	17. 18	6
17 f 9 kl.	23	19	7	20	Ephesi. 1
6 g 8 kl. John Baptist.	24	Mal. 3	Math. 3	Mal. 4	Math. 14
A 7 kl.	25	Job. 21	Luke. 8	Job. 22	Ephesi. 2
14 b 6 kl.	26	23	9	24. 25	3
3 c 5 kl.	27	26. 27	10	28	4
d 4 kl.	28	29	11	30	5
11 e 3 kl. S. Peter ap.	29	31	Acts. 3	32	Acts. 4
f Prid. kl.	30	33	Luke. 12	34	Ephesi. 6

JULY HATH XXXI DAYS.

MORNING PRAYER. EVENING PRAYER.

Psalms.

		1 <i>Less.</i>	2 <i>Less.</i>	1 <i>Less.</i>	2 <i>Less.</i>
19 g Kalend. .	1	Job 35	Luk. 13	Job 36	Philip. 1
8 A 6 No.	2	37	14	38	2
b 5 No.	3	39	15	40	3
16 c 4 No.	4	41	16	42	4
5 d 3 No.	5	Prouer. 1	17	Prouer. 2	Collos. 1
e Prid. No. Term end.	6	3	18	4	2
13 f Nonas. Dog days.	7	5	19	6	3
2 g 8 Id.	8	7	20	8	4
A 7 Id.	9	9	21	10	1 Thes. 1
10 b 6 Id.	10	11	22	12	2
c 5 Id.	11	13	23	14	3
18 d 4 Id.	12	15	24	16	4
7 e 3 Id.	13	17	John. 1	18	5
f Prid. Id. Sol in Leo.	14	19	2	20	2 Thes. 1
15 g Idus.	15	21	3	22	2
4 A 17 kl. Augustii.	16	23	4	24	3
b 16 kl.	17	25	5	26	1 Timo. 1
12 c 15 kl.	18	27	6	28	2. 3
1 d 14 kl.	19	29	7	30	4
e 13 kl.	20	31	8	Eccle. 1	5
9 f 12 kl.	21	Eccles. 2	9	3	6
g 11 kl.	22	4	10	5	2 Timo. 1
17 A 10 kl.	23	6	11	7	2
6 b 9 kl.	24	8	12	9	3
c 8 kl. James apo.	25	10	13	11	4
14 d 7 kl.	26	12	14	Jerem. 1	Titus. 1
3 e 6 kl.	27	Jerem. 2	15	3	2. 3
f 5 kl.	28	4	16	5	Phile. 1
11 g 4 kl.	29	6	17	7	Hebre. 1
A 3 kl.	30	8	18	9	2
19 b Prid. kl.	30	10	19	11	3

AUGUST HATH XXXI DAYS.

MORNING PRAYER.

EVENING PRAYER.

Psalms.

		1 Less.	2 Less.	1 Less.	2 Less.
8 c Kalend. Lammas.	1	Jere. 12.	John. 20	Jere. 13	Hebr. 4
16 d 4 No.	2	14	21	15	5
5 e 3 No.	3	16	Actes. 1	17	6
f Prid. No.	4	18	2	19	7
13 g Nonas.	5	20	3	21	8
2 A 8 Id.	6	22	4	23	9
b 7 Id.	7	24	5	25	10
10 c 6 Id.	8	26	6	27	11
d 5 Id.	9	28	7	29	12
18 e 4 Id. S. Laurence.	10	30	8	31	13
7 f 3 Id.	11	32	9	33	Jacobi. 1
g Prid. Id.	12	34	10	35	2
15 A Idus.	13	36	11	37	3
4 b 19 kl. Septembris.	14	38	12	39	4
c 18 kl. Sol in virgo.	15	40	13	41	5
12 d 17 kl.	16	42	14	43	1 Peter. 1
1 e 16 kl.	17	44	15	45. 46	2
f 15 kl.	18	47	16	48	3
9 g 14 kl.	19	49	17	50	4
A 13 kl.	20	51	18	52	5
17 b 12 kl.	21	Lamen. 1	19	Lamen. 2	2 Peter. 1
6 c 11 kl.	22	3	20	4	2
d 10 kl.	23	5	21	Ezech. 2	3
14 e 9 kl. Bartho. apo.	24	Ezech. 3	22	6	1 John. 1
3 f 8 kl.	25	7	23	13	2
g 7 kl.	26	14	24	18	3
11 A 6 kl.	27	33	25	34	4
b 5 kl.	28	Daniel. 1	26	Danie. 2	5
19 c 4 kl.	29	3	27	4	2, 3 Joh.
8 d 3 kl.	30	5	28	6	Jude 1
e Prid. kl.	30	7	Math. 1	8	Roma. 1

SEPTEMBER HATH XXX DAYS.

MORNING PRAYER.

EVENING PRAYER.

Psalms.

		1 Less.	2 Less.	1 Less.	2 Less.
16 f Kalend.	1	Danie. 9	Math. 2	Danie. 10	Roma. 2
5 g 4 No.	2	11	3	12	3
A 3 No.	3	13	4	14	4
13 b Prid. No.	4	Ozee. 1	5	Oze. 2. 3	5
2 c Nonas. Dog days end.	5	4	6	5. 6	6
d 8 Id.	6	7	7	8	7
10 e 7 Id.	7	9	8	10	8
f 6 Id.	8	11	9	12	9
18 g 5 Id.	9	13	10	14	10
7 A 4 Id.	10	Joel. 1	11	Joel. 2	11
b 3 Id.	11	3	12	Amos. 1	12
15 c Prid. Id.	12	Amos. 2	13	3	13
4 d Idus.	13	4	14	5	14
e 18 kl. Octobris.	14	6	15	7	15
12 f 17 kl. Sol in Libra.	15	8	16	9	16
1 g 16 kl.	16	Abdias. 1	17	Jonas. 1	1 Corin. 1
A 15 kl.	17	Jon. 2. 3	18	4	2
9 b 14 kl.	18	Miche. 1	19	Miche. 2	3
c 13 kl.	19	3	20	4	4
17 d 12 kl.	20	5	21	6	5
6 e 11 kl. S. Mathew.	21	7	22	Naum. 1	6
f 10 kl.	22	Naum. 2	23	3	7
14 g 9 kl.	23	Abacu. 1	24	Abacu. 2	8
3 A 8 kl.	24	3	25	Soph. 1	9
b 7 kl.	25	Soph. 2	26	3	10
11 c 6 kl.	26	Agge. 1	27	Agge. 2	11
d 5 kl.	27	Zacha. 1	28	Zac. 2. 3	12
19 e 4 kl.	28	4. 5	Mark. 1	6	13
8 f 3 kl. S. Michael.	29	7	2	8	14
g Prid. kl.	30	9	3	10	15

OCTOBER HATH XXXI DAYS.

MORNING PRAYER.

EVENING PRAYER.

Psalms.

		1 Less.	2 Less.	1 Less.	2 Less.
16 A Kalend.	1	Zacha. II	Mar. 4	Zach. 12	1 Cori. 16
5 b 6 No.	2	13	5	14	2 Corin. I
13 c 5 No.	3	Malac. I	6	Mal. 2	2
2 d 4 No.	4	3	7	4	3
e 3 No.	5	Tobi. I	8	Tobi. 2	4
10 f Prid. No.	6	3	9	4	5
g Nonas.	7	5	10	6	6
18 A 8 Id.	8	7	11	8	7
7 b 7 Id. Term begin.	9	9	12	10	8
c 6 Id.	10	11	13	12	9
15 d 5 Id.	11	13	14	14	10
4 e 4 Id.	12	Judith. I	15	Judit. 2	11
f 3 Id.	13	3	16	4	12
12 g Prid. Id. Sol in scor.	14	5	Luke. di. 6	6	13
A Idus.	15	7	di. I	8	Galat. I
b 17 kl. Nouembris.	16	9	2	10	2
9 c 16 kl.	17	11	3	12	3
d 15 kl. Luke Euan.	18	13	4	14	4
17 e 14 kl.	19	15	5	16	5
6 f 13 kl.	20	Sapie. I	6	Sapi. 2	6
g 12 kl.	21	3	7	4	Ephes. I
14 A 11 kl.	22	5	8	6	2
3 b 10 kl.	23	7	9	8	3
c 9 kl.	24	9	10	10	4
11 d 8 kl.	25	11	11	12	5
e 7 kl.	26	13	12	14	6
19 f 6 kl.	27	15	13	16	Philip. I
8 g 5 kl. Simon. & Jude.	28	17	14	18	2
A 4 kl.	29	19	15	Eccles. I	3
16 b 3 kl.	30	Eccles. 2	16	3	4
5 c Prid. kl.	30	4	17	5	Colossi. I

NOVEMBER HATH XXX DAYS.

MORNING PRAYER. EVENING PRAYER.

Psalms.

		1 Less.	2 Less.	1 Less.	2 Less.
d Kalend. All Saints.	1	Sap. 3	He. 11. 12	Sap. 5	Apoc. 19
13 e 4 No.	2	Eccle. 6	Lu. 18	Eccle. 7	Colos. 2
2 f 3 No.	3	8	19	9	3
g Prid. No.	4	10	20	11	4
10 A Nonas.	5	12	21	13	1 Thes. 1
b 8 Id.	6	14	22	15	2
18 c 7 Id.	7	16	23	17	3
7 d 6 Id.	8	18	24	19	4
e 5 Id.	9	20	John. 1	21	5
15 f 4 Id.	10	22	2	23	2 Thes. 1
4 g 3 Id.	11	24	3	25	2
A Prid. Id.	12	26	4	27	3
12 b Idus. Sol in Sa.	13	28	5	29	1 Timo. 1
1 c 18 kl. Decembre.	14	30	6	31	2. 3
d 17 kl.	15	32	7	33	4
9 e 16 kl.	16	34	8	35	5
f 15 kl.	17	36	9	37	6
17 g 14 kl.	18	38	10	39	2 Timo. 1
6 A 13 kl.	19	40	11	41	2
b 12 kl.	20	42	12	43	3
14 c 11 kl.	21	44	13	45	4
3 d 10 kl.	22	46	14	47	Titus. 1
e 9 kl. S. Clement.	23	48	15	49	2. 3
11 f 8 kl.	24	50	16	51	Phile. 1
g 7 kl.	25	Baruc. 1	17	Baruc. 2	Hebre. 1
19 A 6 kl.	26	3	18	4	2
8 b 5 kl.	27	5	19	6	3
c 4 kl. Term end.	28	Esai. 1	20	Esai. 2	4
16 d 3 kl.	29	3	21	4	5
5 e Prid. kl. Andrew ap.	30	5	Actes. 1	6	6

DECEMBER HATH XXXI DAYS.

MORNING PRAYER.

EVENING PRAYER.

Psalms.

		1 <i>Less.</i>	2 <i>Less.</i>	1 <i>Less.</i>	2 <i>Less.</i>
f Kalend.	1	Esai. 7	Actes. 2	Esai. 8	Hebr. 7
13 g 4 No.	2	9	3	10	8
2 A 3 No.	3	11	4	12	9
10 b Prid. No.	4	13	5	14	10
c Nonas.	5	15	6	16	11
18 d 8 Id.	6	17	6. 7	18	12
7 e 7 Id.	7	19	6. 7	20. 21	13
f 6 Id.	8	22	8	23	Jacob. 1
15 g 5 Id.	9	24	9	25	2
4 A 4 Id.	10	26	10	27	3
b 3 Id.	11	28	11	29	4
12 c Prid. Id. Sol in Ca.	12	30	12	31	5
1 d Idus.	13	32	13	33	1 Pet. 1
e 19 kl. Januarii.	14	34	14	35	2
9 f 18 kl.	15	36	15	37	3
g 17 kl.	16	38	16	39	4
17 A 16 kl.	17	40	17	41	5
6 b 15 kl.	18	42	18	43	2 Pet. 1
c 14 kl.	19	44	19	45	2
14 d 13 kl.	20	46	20	47	3
3 e 12 kl. Thomas apo.	21	48	21	49	1 John 1
f 11 kl.	22	50	22	51	2
11 g 10 kl.	23	52	23	53	3
A 9 kl.	24	54	24	55	4
19 b 8 kl. Christmas.	25	Esai. 9	Luk. 22	Esai. 7	Titus. 3
8 c 7 kl. S. Stephen.	26	56	Act. 6. 7	57	Act. 7
d 6 kl. S. John.	27	58	Apoca. 1	59	Apo. 22
16 e 5 kl. Innocentes.	28	Jer. 31	Act. 25	60	1 John. 5
5 f 4 kl.	29	Esai. 61	26	62	2 John. 1
g 3 kl.	30	63	27	64	3 John. 1
13 A Prid. kl.	30	65	28	66	Jude. 1

AN ACT FOR THE
UNIFORMITY OF COMMON PRAYER,
AND
ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS.

WHERE there hath been a very Godly order set forth by authority of Parliament, for common prayer and administration of the Sacraments, to be used in the mother tongue within this Church of England, agreeable to the word of God, and the primitive Church, very comfortable to all good people, desiring to live in Christian conversation, and most profitable to the state of this realm ; upon the which the mercy, favour, and blessing of Almighty God is in no wise so readily and plenteously poured, as by common prayers, due using of the Sacraments, and often preaching of the Gospel, with the devotion of the hearers : And yet this notwithstanding, a great number of people, in divers parts of this realm, following their own sensuality, and living either without knowledge or due fear of God, do wilfully, and damnably before Almighty God, abstain and refuse to come to their parish Churches and other places, where common prayer, administration of the Sacraments, and preaching of the word of God is used, upon the Sundays and other days, ordained to be holy days.

For reformation hereof, be it enacted by the King our sovereign Lord, with the assent of the Lords and commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from, and after the feast of All Saints next coming, all and every person, and persons, inhabiting within this realm, or any other the King's majesty's dominions, shall diligently and faithfully (having no lawful or reasonable excuse to be absent) endeavour themselves to resort to their Parish Church, or Chapel accustomed, or upon reasonable let thereof, to some usual place, where common prayer and such service of God shall be

used in such time of let, upon every Sunday, and other days, ordained, and used to be kept as holy days, and then, and there to abide, orderly and soberly, during the time of the common prayer, preachings, or other service of God, there to be used and ministered, upon pain of punishment by the censures of the Church.

And for the due execution hereof, the King's most excellent majesty, the lords temporal, and all the commons in this present Parliament assembled, doth in God's name earnestly require and charge all the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Ordinaries, that they shall endeavour themselves to the uttermost of their knowledges, that the due and true execution hereof may be had throughout their dioceses and charges, as they will answer before God, for such evils and plagues, wherewith Almighty God may justly punish his people, for neglecting this good and wholesome law.

And for their authority in this behalf, be it further likewise enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and singular the same Archbishops, Bishops, and all other their officers, exercising Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as well in place exempt, as not exempt, within their dioceses, shall have full power and authority by this act, to reform, correct, and punish, by censures of the Church, all and singular persons which shall offend within any their jurisdictions or dioceses, after the said feast of All Saints next coming, against this act and statute, any other law, statute, privilege, liberty, or provision heretofore made, had, or suffered, to the contrary notwithstanding.

And because there hath arisen in the use and exercise of the foresaid common service in the Church heretofore set forth, divers doubts for the fashion and manner of the ministration of the same, rather by the curiosity of the minister and mistakers, than of any other worthy cause : therefore as well for the more plain and manifest explanation hereof, as for the more perfection of the said order of common service, in some places where it is necessary to make the same prayer and fashion of service more earnest and fit to stir christian people to the true honouring of Almighty God : The king's most excellent majesty, with the assent of the lords and commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, hath caused the foresaid order of common service, entitled, *The book of common prayer*, to be faithfully and godly

perused, explained, and made fully perfect: and by the foresaid authority, hath annexed and joined it, so explained and perfected, to this present statute, adding also a form and manner of making and consecrating of Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, to be of like force, authority, and value, as the same like foresaid book, entitled, *The book of common prayer*, was before: and to be accepted, received, used and esteemed in like sort and manner, and with the same clauses of provisions and exceptions, to all intents, constructions and purposes, as by the act of Parliament made in the second year of the King's majesty's reign was ordained, limited, expressed, and appointed for the uniformity of service, and administration of the Sacraments throughout the realm, upon such several pains, as in the said act of Parliament is expressed. And the said former act to stand in full force and strength, to all intents and constructions, and to be applied, practised, and put in use, to, and for the establishing the book of common prayer, now explained and hereunto annexed: and also the said form of making of Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, hereunto annexed, as it was for the former book.

And by the authority aforesaid it is now further enacted, that if any manner of person, or persons, inhabiting, and being within this realm, or any other the King's majesty's dominions, shall after the said feast of All Saints, willingly, and wittingly, hear, and be present at any other manner, or form of common prayer, of administration of the Sacraments, of making of ministers in the Churches, or of any other rites contained in the book annexed to this act, than is mentioned and set forth in the said book, or that is contrary to the form of sundry provisions and exceptions, contained in the foresaid former statute, and shall be thereof convicted, according to the laws of this realm, before the Justices of Assize, Justices of Oyer, and Determiner, Justices of peace in their Sessions, or any of them, by the verdict of twelve men, or by his, or their own confession, or otherwise, shall for the first offence suffer imprisonment, for six months, without bail, or mainprise: and for the second offence, being likewise convicted, (as is above said,) imprisonment for one whole year: and for the third offence, in like manner, imprisonment during his, or their lives. And for the more knowledge to be given hereof, and better observation of this law: Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and singular Curates shall upon one

Sunday every quarter of the year, during one whole year, next following the foresaid feast of All Saints, next coming, read this present Act in the Church, at the time of the most assembly: and likewise once in every year following, at the same time, declaring unto the people by the authority of the Scripture, how the mercy and goodness of God hath in all ages been shewed to his people, in their necessities and extremities, by means of hearty and faithful prayers made to Almighty God, specially where people be gathered together with one faith and mind, to offer up their hearts by prayer, as the best sacrifices that Christian men can yield.

THE ORDER

WHERE

Morning and Evening Prayer

SHALL BE USED AND SAID.

¶ The morning and evening prayer shall be used in such place of the Church, Chapel or Chancel, and the Minister shall so turn him, as the people may best hear. And if there be any controversy therein, the matter shall be referred to the ordinary, and he or his deputy shall appoint the place, and the chancels shall remain, as they have done in times past.

And here is to be noted, that the Minister at the time of the communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use neither Alb, Vestment, nor Cope: but being Archbishop, or Bishop, he shall have and wear a rochet: and being a priest or Deacon, he shall have and wear a surplice only.

AN

Order for Morning Prayer

DAILY THROUGHOUT THE YEAR.

At the beginning both of morning prayer, and likewise of evening prayer, the Minister shall read with a loud voice some one of these sentences of the scriptures that follow. And then he shall say that, which is written after the said sentences.

Ezechie. xviii.

AT what time soever a sinner doth repent him of his sin from the bottom of his heart: I will put all his wickedness out of my remembrance, saith the Lord.

salm. li.

I do know mine own wickedness, and my sin is always against me.

salm. li.

Turn thy face away from our sins (O Lord) and blot out all our offences.

A sorrowful spirit is a sacrifice to God : despise not (O Psalm. li.
Lord) humble and contrite hearts.

Rent your hearts, and not your garments, and turn to Joel ii.
the Lord your God : because he is gentle and merciful, he
is patient and of much mercy, and such a one that is sorry
for your afflictions.

To thee, O Lord God, belongeth mercy and forgiveness : Danie. ix.
for we have gone away from thee, and have not hearkened
to thy voice, whereby we might walk in thy laws, which
thou hast appointed for us.

Correct us, O Lord, and yet in thy judgment, not in thy Jerem. ii.
fury, lest we should be consumed and brought to nothing.

Amend your lives, for the kingdom of God is at hand. Math. iii.

I will go to my father and say to him : Father, I have Luke xv.
sinned against heaven, and against thee, I am no more
worthy to be called thy son.

Enter not into judgment with thy servants, O Lord, for Psa. cxlii.
no flesh is righteous in thy sight.

If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and I John i.
there is no truth in us.

DEARLY beloved brethren, the scripture moveth us in
sundry places, to acknowledge and confess our manifold
sins and wickedness, and that we should not dissemble
nor cloke them before the face of Almighty God our
heavenly Father, but confess them with an humble, lowly,
penitent and obedient heart : to the end that we may
obtain forgiveness of the same by his infinite goodness
and mercy. And although we ought at all times humbly
to knowledge our sins before God : yet ought we most
chiefly so to do, when we assemble and meet together,
to render thanks for the great benefits that we have re-
ceived at his hands, to set forth his most worthy praise, to
hear his most holy word, and to ask those things which
be requisite and necessary, as well for the body as the
soul. Wherefore I pray and beseech you, as many as be
here present, to accompany me with a pure heart and
numble voice, unto the throne of the heavenly grace,
saying after me.

¶ A general confession, to be said of the whole congregation after
the Minister, kneeling.

ALMIGHTY and most merciful Father, we have erred
and strayed from thy ways, like lost sheep. We have

followed too much the devices and desires of our own hearts. We have offended against thy holy laws. We have left undone those things which we ought to have done, and we have done those things which we ought not to have done, and there is no health in us: but thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us miserable offenders. Spare thou them, O God, which confess their faults. Restore thou them that be penitent, according to thy promises declared unto mankind, in Christ Jesu our Lord. And grant, O most merciful Father, for his sake, that we may hereafter live a godly, righteous, and sober life, to the glory of thy holy name. Amen.

The absolution to be pronounced by the Minister alone.

ALMIGHTY God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he may turn from his wickedness and live: and hath given power and commandment to his ministers, to declare and pronounce to his people, being penitent, the absolution and remission of their sins: he pardoneth and absolveth all them which truly repent, and unfeignedly believe his holy Gospel. Wherefore we beseech him to grant us true repentance and his holy Spirit, that those things may please him, which we do at this present, and that the rest of our life hereafter may be pure and holy: so that at the last we may come to his eternal joy, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

¶ The people shall answer.

Amen.

¶ Then shall the Minister begin the Lord's prayer with a loud voice.

OUR Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation. But deliver us from evil. Amen.

¶ Then likewise he shall say.

O Lord, open thou our lips.

Answer. And our mouth shall shew forth thy praise.

Priest. O God, make speed to save us.

Answer. O Lord, make haste to help us.

Priest. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be : world without end. Amen.

Praise ye the Lord.

¶ Then shall be said or sung this Psalm following.

[Psalm xcv.]

¶ Then shall follow certain Psalms in order, as they be appointed in a Table, made for that purpose: except there be proper Psalms appointed for that day. And at the end of every Psalm throughout the year, and likewise in the end of *Benedictus*, *Benedicite*, *Magnificat*, and *Nunc dimittis*, shall be repeated :

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, &c.

¶ Then shall be read two Lessons distinctly with a loud voice, that the people may hear. The first of the old Testament, the second of the new. Like as they be appointed by the Kalendar, except there be proper Lessons assigned for that day: the Minister that readeth the Lesson, standing and turning him so, as he may best be heard of all such as be present. And before every Lesson, the Minister shall say thus: The first, second, third, or fourth Chapter of Genesis or Exodus, Matthew, Mark, or other like, as is appointed in the Kalendar. And in the end of every Chapter, he shall say :

Here endeth such a Chapter of such a Book.

And (to the end the people may the better hear) in such places where they do sing, there shall the Lessons be sung in a plain tune, after the manner of distinct reading: and likewise the Epistle and Gospel.

¶ After the first Lesson shall follow *Te deum Laudamus*, in English, daily through the whole year.

Te Deum.

We praise thee, O God: we knowledge thee to be the Lord.

All the earth doth worship thee, the Father everlasting.

To thee all Angels cry aloud, the heavens and all the powers therein.

To thee Cherubin and Seraphin, continually do cry.

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth.

Heaven and earth are full of the Majesty of thy glory.

The glorious company of the Apostles, praise thee.
 The goodly fellowship of the prophets, praise thee.
 The noble army of Martyrs, praise thee.
 The holy Church throughout all the world, doth know-
 ledge thee.

The Father, of an infinite Majesty.

Thy honourable, true, and only Son.

Also the Holy Ghost, the Comforter.

Thou art the King of Glory, O Christ.

Thou art the everlasting Son of the Father.

When thou tookest upon thee to deliver man, thou didst
 not abhor the virgin's womb.

When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death,
 thou didst open the kingdom of heaven to all believers.

Thou sittest on the right hand of God, in the glory of
 the Father.

We believe that thou shalt come to be our judge.

We therefore pray thee, help thy servants, whom thou
 hast redeemed with thy precious blood.

Make them to be numbered with thy saints, in glory
 everlasting.

O Lord, save thy people : and bless thine heritage.

Govern them and lift them up for ever.

Day by day we magnify thee.

And we worship thy name, ever world without end.

Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us this day without sin.

O Lord have mercy upon us : have mercy upon us.

O Lord, let thy mercy lighten upon us : as our trust is
 in thee.

O Lord, in thee have I trusted : let me never be con-
 founded.

¶ Or this Canticle, *Benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino.*

O ALL ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord : praise
 him and magnify him for ever.

O ye Angels of the Lord, bless ye the Lord : praise ye
 him and magnify him for ever.

O ye heavens, bless ye the Lord : praise him and mag-
 nify him for ever.

O ye waters that be above the firmament, bless ye the
 Lord : praise him and magnify him for ever.

O all ye powers of the Lord, bless ye the Lord : praise
 him and magnify him for ever.

O ye Sun, and Moon, bless ye the Lord : praise him and magnify him for ever.

O ye stars of heaven, bless ye the Lord : praise him and magnify him for ever.

O ye showers and dew, bless ye the Lord : praise him and magnify him for ever.

O ye winds of God, bless ye the Lord : praise him and magnify him for ever.

O ye fire and heat, bless ye the Lord : praise him and magnify him for ever.

O ye winter and summer, bless ye the Lord : praise him and magnify him for ever.

O ye dews and frosts, bless ye the Lord : praise him and magnify him for ever.

O ye frost and cold, bless ye the Lord : praise him and magnify him for ever.

O ye ice and snow, bless ye the Lord : praise him and magnify him for ever.

O ye nights and days, bless ye the Lord : praise him and magnify him for ever.

O ye light and darkness, bless ye the Lord : praise him and magnify him for ever.

O ye lightnings and clouds, bless ye the Lord : praise him and magnify him for ever.

O let the earth bless the Lord : yea, let it praise him and magnify him for ever.

O ye mountains and hills, bless ye the Lord : praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O all ye green things upon the earth, bless ye the Lord : praise him and magnify him for ever.

O ye wells, bless ye the Lord : praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye seas and floods, bless ye the Lord : praise him and magnify him for ever.

O ye whales and all that move in the waters, bless ye the Lord : praise him and magnify him for ever.

O ye fowls of the air, bless ye the Lord : praise him and magnify him for ever.

O all ye beasts and cattle, bless ye the Lord : praise him and magnify him for ever.

O ye children of men, bless ye the Lord : praise him and magnify him for ever.

O let Israel bless the Lord : praise him and magnify him for ever.

O ye priests of the Lord, bless ye the Lord : praise him and magnify him for ever.

O ye servants of the Lord, bless ye the Lord : praise him and magnify him for ever.

O ye spirits and souls of the righteous, bless ye the Lord : praise him and magnify him for ever.

O ye holy and humble men of heart, bless ye the Lord : praise him and magnify him for ever.

O Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, bless ye the Lord : praise him and magnify him for ever.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son : and to the Holy Ghost.

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be : world without end. Amen.

¶ And after the second Lesson shall be used and said, *Benedictus*, in English as followeth.

Benedictus.

BLESSED be the Lord God of Israel : for he hath visited and redeemed his people.

And hath raised up a mighty salvation for us : in the house of his servant David.

As he spake by the mouth of his holy Prophets : which have been since the world began.

That we should be saved from our enemies : and from the hands of all that hate us.

To perform the mercy promised to our forefathers : and to remember his holy covenant.

To perform the oath which he sware to our forefather Abraham : that he would give us.

That we being delivered out of the hands of our enemies : might serve him without fear.

In holiness and righteousness before him : all the days of our life.

And thou, child, shalt be called the Prophet of the highest : for thou shalt go before the face of the Lord, to prepare his ways.

To give knowledge of salvation unto his people : for the remission of their sins.

Through the tender mercy of our God : whereby the day-spring from on high hath visited us.

To give light to them that sit in darkness, and in the

shadow of death : and to guide our feet into the way of peace.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son : and to the Holy Ghost.

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be : world without end. Amen.

¶ Or else this Psalm.

Jubilate Deo. Psalm c.

¶ Then shall be said the *Creed*, by the Minister and the people, standing.

I BELIEVE in God the Father almighty, maker of heaven and earth. And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the virgin Mary : suffered under Ponce Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried, he descended into hell. The third day he rose again from the dead. He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father almighty. From thence shall he come to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost. The holy catholic Church. The communion of Saints. The forgiveness of sins. The resurrection of the body. And the life everlasting Amen.

¶ And after that, these prayers following, as well at evening prayer as at morning prayer : all devoutly kneeling. The Minister first pronouncing with a loud voice.

The Lord be with you.

Answer. And with thy spirit.

The Minister. Let us pray.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Christ, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

¶ Then the Minister, Clerks and people, shall say the Lord's prayer in English, with a loud voice.

¶ Our Father which art, &c.

¶ Then the Minister standing up shall say.

O Lord, shew thy mercy upon us.

Answer. And grant us thy salvation.

Priest. O Lord, save the King.

Answer. And mercifully hear us, when we call upon thee.

Priest. Endue thy ministers with righteousness.

Answer. And make thy chosen people joyful.

Priest. O Lord, save thy people.

Answer. And bless thine inheritance.

Priest. Give peace in our time, O Lord.

Answer. Because there is none other that fighteth for us, but only thou, O God.

Priest. O God, make clean our hearts within us.

Answer. And take not thine holy Spirit from us.

¶ Then shall follow three Collects. The first of the day, which shall be the same that is appointed at the Communion. The second for peace. The third for Grace to live well. And the two last Collects shall never alter, but daily be said at morning prayer, throughout all the year as followeth.

¶ *The second Collect for Peace.*

O GOD, which art author of peace, and lover of concord, in knowledge of whom standeth our eternal life, whose service is perfect freedom, defend us thy humble servants in all assaults of our enemies, that we surely trusting in thy defence, may not fear the power of any adversaries : through the might of Jesu Christ our Lord. Amen.

¶ *The third Collect for Grace.*

O LORD our heavenly Father, almighty and everlasting God, which hast safely brought us to the beginning of this day, defend us in the same with thy mighty power, and grant that this day we fall into no sin, neither run into any kind of danger : but that all our doings may be ordered by thy governance, to do always that is righteous in thy sight : through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

AN
Order for Evening Prayer

THROUGHOUT THE YEAR.

¶ The Priest shall say,

Our Father which, &c.

Then likewise he shall say.

O Lord, open thou our lips.

Answer. And our mouth shall shew forth thy praise.

Priest. O God, make speed to save us.

Answer. Lord, make haste to help us.

Priest. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be : world without end. Amen.

Praise ye the Lord.

Then Psalms in order as they be appointed in the Table for Psalms, except there be proper Psalms appointed for that day. Then a Lesson of the old Testament as is appointed likewise in the Kalendar, except there be proper lessons appointed for that day. After that, *Magnificat*, in English as followeth.

Magnificat.

My soul doth magnify the Lord :

And my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour.

For he hath regarded the lowliness of his handmaiden :

For behold from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed.

For he that is mighty, hath magnified me : and holy is his name.

And his mercy is on them that fear him : throughout all generations.

He hath shewed strength with his arm : he hath scattered the proud, in the imagination of their hearts.

He hath put down the mighty from their seat : and hath exalted the humble and meek.

He hath filled the hungry with good things : and the rich he hath sent empty away.

He remembering his mercy, hath holpen his servant Israel : as he promised to our forefathers, Abraham and his seed for ever.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

As it was in the, &c.

¶ Or else this Psalm.

Cantate Domino. Psalm xcviij.

Then a Lesson of the new Testament. And after that *Nunc dimittis* in English, as followeth.

LORD, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace : according to thy word.

For mine eyes have seen : thy salvation,

Which thou hast prepared : before the face of all people.

To be a light to lighten the Gentiles : and to be the glory of thy people Israel.

Glory be to the Father, &c. As it was in the, &c.

¶ Or else this Psalm.

Deus misereatur. Psalm lxxvij.

¶ Then shall follow the Creed, with other prayers as is before appointed at morning after *Benedictus*. And with three Collects : First of the Day : the second of Peace : Third for Aid against all perils, as hereafter followeth : which two last Collects shall be daily said at evening prayer without alteration.

The second Collect at Evening prayer.

O GOD, from whom all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works do proceed : give unto thy servants that peace, which the world cannot give : that both our hearts may be set to obey thy commandments, and also that by thee we being defended from the fear of our enemies, may pass our time in rest and quietness, through the merits of Jesus Christ our Saviour. Amen.

The third Collect, for aid against all perils.

LIGHTEN our darkness we beseech thee, O Lord, and by thy great mercy defend us from all perils and dangers

of this night, for the love of thy only Son our Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

¶ In the feasts of Christmas, the Epiphany, Saint Mathie, Easter, the Ascension, Pentecost, Saint John Baptist, Saint James, Saint Bartholomew, Saint Mathew, Saint Symon and Jude, Saint Andrew, and Trinity Sunday : shall be sung or said immediately after *Benedictus*, this Confession of our Christian faith.

WHOSOEVER will be saved : before all things it is necessary that he hold the catholic faith.

Which faith except every one do keep holy and undefiled : without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.

And the catholic faith is this : That we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in unity.

Neither confounding the persons : nor dividing the substance.

For there is one person of the Father, another of the Son : and another of the Holy Ghost.

But the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one : the glory equal, the majesty co-eternal.

Such as the Father is, such is the Son : and such is the Holy Ghost.

The Father uncreate, the Son uncreate : and the Holy Ghost uncreate.

The Father incomprehensible, the Son incomprehensible : and the Holy Ghost incomprehensible.

The Father eternal, the Son eternal : and the Holy Ghost eternal.

And yet they are not three eternal : but one eternal.

As also there be not three incomprehensibles, nor three uncreated : but one uncreated, and one incomprehensible.

So likewise the Father is almighty, the Son almighty : and the Holy Ghost almighty.

And yet they are not three almighties : but one almighty.

So the Father is God, the Son is God : and the Holy Ghost is God.

And yet are they not three Gods : but one God.

So likewise the Father is Lord, the Son Lord : and the Holy Ghost Lord.

And yet not three Lords : but one Lord.

For like as we be compelled by the Christian verity : to acknowledge every person by himself, to be God and Lord.

So are we forbidden by the Catholic religion : to say there be three Gods, or three Lords.

The Father is made of none : neither created nor begotten.

The Son is of the Father alone : not made nor created, but begotten.

The Holy Ghost is of the Father and of the Son : neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding.

So there is one Father, not three Fathers, one Son, not three Sons : one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts.

And in this Trinity, none is afore or after other : none is greater, nor less than another.

But the whole three persons : be co-eternal together and co-equal.

So that in all things, as is aforesaid : the unity in Trinity, and the Trinity in unity, is to be worshipped.

He therefore that will be saved : must thus think of the Trinity.

Furthermore, it is necessary to everlasting salvation : that he also believe rightly in the incarnation of our Lord Jesu Christ.

For the right faith is, that we believe and confess : that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and man.

God of the substance of the Father, begotten before the worlds : and man of the substance of his mother, born in the world.

Perfect God, and perfect man : of a reasonable soul, and human flesh subsisting.

Equal to the Father, as touching his Godhead : and inferior to the Father, touching his manhood.

Who although he be God and man : yet he is not two, but one Christ.

One, not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh : but by taking of the manhood into God.

One altogether, not by confusion of substance : but by unity of person.

For as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man : so God and man is one Christ.

Who suffered for our salvation : descended into hell, rose again the third day from the dead.

He ascended into heaven, he sitteth on the right hand of the Father, God almighty : from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

At whose coming all men shall rise again with their bodies : and shall give account for their own works.

And they that have done good, shall go into life everlasting : and they that have done evil, into everlasting fire.

This is the Catholic faith : which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son : and to the Holy Ghost.

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be : world without end. Amen.

¶ *Thus endeth the order of Morning and Evening prayer, through the whole Year.*

HERE FOLLOWETH THE

Litany

TO BE USED UPON

SUNDAYS, WEDNESDAYS, AND FRIDAYS,

AND AT OTHER TIMES, WHEN IT SHALL BE
COMMANDED BY THE ORDINARY.

O GOD the Father of heaven : have mercy upon us
miserable sinners.

*O God the Father of heaven : have mercy upon us
miserable sinners.*

O God the Son, Redeemer of the world : have mercy
upon us miserable sinners.

*O God the Son, Redeemer of the world : have mercy
upon us miserable sinners.*

O God the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and
the Son : have mercy upon us miserable sinners.

*O God the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and
the Son : have mercy upon us miserable sinners.*

O holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity, three persons and
one God : have mercy upon us miserable sinners.

*O holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity, three persons and
one God : have mercy upon us miserable sinners.*

Remember not, Lord, our offences, nor the offences of
our forefathers, neither take thou vengeance of our sins :
spare us, good Lord, spare thy people whom thou hast re-
deemed with thy most precious blood, and be not angry
with us for ever.

Spare us, good Lord.

From all evil and mischief, from sin, from the crafts
and assaults of the devil, from thy wrath, and from ever-
lasting damnation.

Good Lord, deliver us.

From all blindness of heart, from pride, vain-glory and hypocrisy, from envy, hatred and malice, and all uncharitableness.

Good Lord, deliver us.

From fornication and all other deadly sin, and from all the deceits of the world, the flesh and the devil.

Good Lord, deliver us.

From lightnings and tempests, from plague, pestilence and famine, from battle and murder, and from sudden death.

Good Lord, deliver us.

From all sedition and privy conspiracy, from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities, from all false doctrine and heresy, from hardness of heart, and contempt of thy word and commandment.

Good Lord, deliver us.

By the mystery of thy holy incarnation, by thy holy nativity and circumcision, by thy baptism, fasting, and temptation.

Good Lord, deliver us.

By thine agony and bloody sweat, by thy cross and passion, by thy precious death and burial, by thy glorious resurrection and ascension, and by the coming of the Holy Ghost.

Good Lord, deliver us.

In all time of our tribulation, in all time of our wealth, in the hour of death, and in the day of judgment.

Good Lord, deliver us.

We sinners do beseech thee to hear us, O Lord God, and that it may please thee to rule and govern thy holy church universally in the right way.

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to keep Edward the sixth thy servant, our King and governor.

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to rule his heart in thy faith, fear and love, that he may always have affiance in thee, and ever seek thy honour and glory.

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to be his defender and keeper giving him the victory over all his enemies.

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to illuminate all Bishops, Pastors, and ministers of the Church, with true knowledge

and understanding of thy word : and that both by their preaching and living they may set it forth and shew it accordingly.

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to endue the Lords of the council, and all the nobility, with grace, wisdom, and understanding.

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to bless and keep the Magistrates, giving them grace to execute justice, and to maintain truth.

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to bless and keep all thy people.

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to give to all nations unity, peace and concord.

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to give us an heart to love and dread thee, and diligently to live after thy commandments.

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to give all thy people increase of grace, to hear meekly thy word, and to receive it with pure affection, and to bring forth the fruits of the Spirit.

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to bring into the way of truth all such as have erred and are deceived.

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to strengthen such as do stand, and to comfort and help the weak hearted, and to raise them up that fall, and finally to beat down Satan under our feet.

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to succour, help and comfort, all that be in danger, necessity, and tribulation.

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to preserve all that travel by land or by water, all women labouring of child, all sick persons and young children, and to shew thy pity upon all prisoners and captives.

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to defend and provide for the fatherless children and widows, and all that be desolate and oppressed.

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to have mercy upon all men.

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to forgive our enemies, persecutors and slanderers, and to turn their hearts.

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to give and preserve to our use the kindly fruits of the earth, so as in due time we may enjoy them.

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to give us true repentance, to forgive us all our sins, negligences, and ignorances, and to endue us with the grace of thy holy Spirit to amend our lives according to thy holy word.

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

Son of God : we beseech thee to hear us.

Son of God : we beseech thee to hear us.

O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world:

Grant us thy peace.

O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world:

Have mercy upon us.

O Christ, hear us.

O Christ, hear us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Christ, have mercy upon us.

Christ, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Our Father, which art in heaven, &c.

And lead us not into temptation.

But deliver us from evil.

The Versicle. O Lord, deal not with us after our sins.

The Answer. Neither reward us after our iniquities.

Let us pray.

O GOD merciful Father, that despisest not the sighing of a contrite heart, nor the desire of such as be sorrowful: mercifully assist our prayers that we make before thee in all our troubles and adversities, whensoever they oppress us. And graciously hear us, that those evils, which the craft and subtilty of the devil or man worketh against us, be brought to nought, and by the providence of thy goodness they may be dispersed, that we thy servants being

hurt by no persecutions, may evermore give thanks unto thee in thy holy Church, through Jesu Christ our Lord.

O Lord, arise, help us, and deliver us for thy name's sake.

O GOD, we have heard with our ears, and our fathers have declared unto us, the noble works that thou didst in their days, and in the old time before them.

O Lord, arise, help us, and deliver us for thine honour.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost : as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be : world without end. Amen.

From our enemies defend us, O Christ.

Graciously look upon our afflictions.

Pitifully behold the sorrows of our heart.

Mercifully forgive the sins of thy people.

Favourably with mercy hear our prayers.

O Son of David, have mercy upon us.

Both now and ever vouchsafe to hear us, O Christ.

Graciously hear us, O Christ, Graciously hear us, O Lord Christ.

The Versicle. O Lord, let thy mercy be shewed upon us.

The Answer. As we do put our trust in thee.

Let us pray.

WE humbly beseech thee, O Father, mercifully to look upon our infirmities, and for the glory of thy name's sake turn from us all those evils that we most righteously have deserved : and grant that in all our troubles we may put our whole trust and confidence in thy mercy, and evermore serve thee in holiness and pureness of living, to thy honour and glory : Through our only mediator and advocate Jesu Christ our Lord. Amen.

For rain, if the time require.

O GOD, heavenly Father, which by thy Son Jesu Christ hast promised to all them that seek thy kingdom and the righteousness thereof, all things necessary to their bodily sustenance : send us, we beseech thee, in this our necessity, such moderate rain and showers, that we may receive the fruits of the earth to our comfort, and to thy honour : through Jesu Christ our Lord. Amen.

¶ *For fair weather.*

O LORD God, which for the sin of man didst once drown all the world, except eight persons, and afterward of thy great mercy didst promise never to destroy it so again: we humbly beseech thee, that although we for our iniquities have worthily deserved this plague of rain and waters, yet upon our true repentance thou wilt send us such weather whereby we may receive the fruits of the earth in due season, and learn both by thy punishment to amend our lives, and for thy clemency to give thee praise and glory: through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

¶ *In the time of dearth and famine.*

O GOD heavenly Father, whose gift it is that the rain doth fall, the earth is fruitful, beasts increase, and fishes do multiply: behold, we beseech thee, the afflictions of thy people, and grant that the scarcity and dearth (which we do now most justly suffer for our iniquity) may through thy goodness be mercifully turned into cheapness and plenty, for the love of Jesu Christ our Lord: to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost. &c.

¶ *Or thus.*

O GOD merciful Father, which, in the time of Heliseus the Prophet, didst suddenly turn in Samaria great scarcity and dearth into plenty and cheapness, and extreme famine into abundance of victual: Have pity upon us, that now be punished for our sins with like adversity, increase the fruits of the earth by thy heavenly benediction: And grant, that we receiving thy bountiful liberality, may use the same to thy glory, our comfort, and relief of our needy neighbours: through Jesu Christ our Lord. Amen.

In the time of War.

O ALMIGHTY God, king of all kings, and governor of all things, whose power no creature is able to resist, to whom it belongeth justly to punish sinners, and to be merciful to them that truly repent: save and deliver us (we humbly beseech thee) from the hands of our enemies: abate their pride, assuage their malice, and confound their devices, that we being armed with thy defence, may be preserved

evermore from all perils to glorify thee, which art the only giver of all victory, through the merits of thy only Son Jesu Christ our Lord.

¶ *In the time of any common plague or sickness.*

O ALMIGHTY God, which in thy wrath, in the time of king David, didst slay with the plague of pestilence lx and ten thousand, and yet remembering thy mercy didst save the rest: have pity upon us miserable sinners, that now are visited with great sickness and mortality, that like as thou didst then command thy angel to cease from punishing, so it may now please thee to withdraw from us this plague and grievous sickness, through Jesu Christ our Lord.

¶ And the Litany shall ever end with this Collect following:

ALMIGHTY God, which hast given us grace at this time with one accord to make our common supplications unto thee, and dost promise that when two or three be gathered in thy name, thou wilt grant their requests: fulfil now, O Lord, the desires and petitions of thy servants, as may be most expedient for them, granting us in this world knowledge of thy truth, and in the world to come life everlasting. Amen.

THE
Collects, Epistles and Gospels,
TO BE USED AT THE CELEBRATION OF THE
LORD'S SUPPER AND HOLY COM-
MUNION THROUGH THE
YEAR.

¶ *The first Sunday of Advent.*

The Collect.

ALMIGHTY God, give us grace that we may cast away the works of darkness, and put upon us the armour of light, now in the time of this mortal life, in the which thy Son Jesus Christ came to visit us in great humility; that in the last day, when he shall come again in his glorious majesty to judge both the quick and the dead, we may rise to the life immortal through him: who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost, now and ever. Amen.

The Epistle. Ro. xiii. [v. 8 to end.]

The Gospel. Mat. xxi. [v. 1—13.]

¶ *The second Sunday.*

The Collect.

BLESSED Lord, which hast caused all holy scriptures to be written for our learning: grant us that we may in such wise hear them, read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest them, that by patience and comfort of thy holy word, we may embrace and ever hold fast the blessed hope of everlasting life, which thou hast given us in our Saviour Jesus Christ.

The Epistle. Rom. xv. [v. 4—13.]

The Gospel. Luk. xxi. [v. 25—33.]

¶ *The third Sunday.**The Collect.*

LORD, we beseech thee give ear to our prayers, and by thy gracious visitation lighten the darkness of our heart, by our Lord Jesus Christ.

The Epistle. 1 Cor. iv. [v. 1—5.]

The Gospel. Math. xi. [v. 2—10.]

¶ *The fourth Sunday.**The Collect.*

LORD, raise up (we pray thee) thy power, and come among us, and with great might succour us: that whereas (through our sins and wickedness) we be sore let and hindered, thy bountiful grace and mercy, (through the satisfaction of thy Son our Lord,) may speedily deliver us: to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost be honour and glory world without end.

The Epistle. Phil. iv. [v. 4—7.]

The Gospel. John i. [v. 19—28.]

¶ *Christmas Day.**The Collect.*

ALMIGHTY God, which hast given us thy only-begotten Son to take our nature upon him, and this day to be born of a pure virgin; Grant that we being regenerate and made thy children by adoption and grace, may daily be renewed by thy holy Spirit, through the same our Lord Jesus Christ: who liveth and reigneth with. &c. Amen.

The Epistle. Hebre. i. [v. 1—12.]

The Gospel. John i. [v. 1—14.]

¶ *Saint Stephin's day.**The Collect.*

GRANT us, O Lord, to learn to love our enemies by the example of thy martyr Saint Stephin, who prayed for his persecutors to thee: which livest and. &c.

¶ Then shall follow a Collect of the Nativity, which shall be said continually unto new year's day.

The Epistle. Actes vii. [v. 55 to end.]
The Gospel. Mathew xxiii. [v. 34 to end.]

¶ *Saint John Evangelist's day.*

The Collect.

MERCIFUL Lord, we beseech thee to cast thy bright beams of light upon thy Church : that it being lightened by the doctrine of thy blessed Apostle and Evangelist John, may attain to thy everlasting gifts, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Epistle. I John i. [v. 1 to end.]
The Gospel. John xxi. [v. 19 to end.]

¶ *The Innocents' day.*

The Collect.

ALMIGHTY God, whose praise this day the young innocents thy witnesses hath confessed, and shewed forth, not in speaking, but in dying : mortify and kill all vices in us, that in our conversation our life may express thy faith, which with our tongues we do confess : through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Apo. xiv. [v. 1—5.]
The Gospel. Math. ii. [v. 13—18.]

¶ *The Sunday after Christmas day.*

The Collect.

ALMIGHTY God, which hast given us. &c. As upon Christmas day.

The Epistle. Gala. iv. [v. 1—7.]
The Gospel. Math. i. [v. 1 to end.]

¶ *The Circumcision of Christ.*

The Collect.

ALMIGHTY God, which madest thy blessed Son to be circumcised and obedient to the law for man : grant us the true circumcision of the spirit, that our hearts and all

our members being mortified from all worldly and carnal lusts, may in all things obey thy blessed will : through the same thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Rom. iv. [v. 8—14.]

The Gospel. Luke ii. [v. 15—21.]

If there be a Sunday between the Epiphany, and the Circumcision, then shall be used the same Collect, Epistle and Gospel, at the Communion, which was used upon the day of Circumcision.

¶ *The Epiphany.*

The Collect.

O GOD, which by the leading of a star didst manifest thy only begotten Son to the Gentiles : Mercifully grant, that we which know thee now by faith, may after this life have the fruition of thy glorious Godhead, through Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Ephe. iii. [v. 1—12.]

The Gospel. Math. ii. [v. 1—12.]

¶ *The first Sunday after the Epiphany.*

The Collect.

LORD, we beseech thee mercifully to receive the prayers of thy people which call upon thee : and grant that they may both perceive and know what things they ought to do, and also have grace and power, faithfully to fulfil the same, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Rom. xii. [v. 1—5.]

The Gospel. Luke ii. [v. 42 to end.]

The second Sunday after the Epiphany.

The Collect.

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, which dost govern all things in heaven and earth : mercifully hear the supplications of thy people, and grant us thy peace all the days of our life.

The Epistle. Rom. xii. [v. 6—16.]

The Gospel. John ii. [v. 1—11.]

The third Sunday.

The Collect.

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, mercifully look upon our infirmities: and in all our dangers and necessities stretch forth thy right hand to help and defend us, through Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Rom. xii. [v. 16 to end.]

The Gospel. Mat. viii. [v. 1—13.]

¶ *The fourth Sunday.*

The Collect.

GOD, which knowest us to be set in the midst of so many and great dangers, that for man's frailness we cannot always stand uprightly: Grant to us the health of body and soul, that all those things which we suffer for sin, by thy help we may well pass and overcome: through Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Ro. xiii. [v. 1—7.]

The Gospel. Mat. viii. [v. 23 to end.]

¶ *The fifth Sunday.*

The Collect.

LORD, we beseech thee to keep thy Church and household continually in thy true religion: that they which do lean only upon hope of thy heavenly grace, may evermore be defended by thy mighty power: through Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Colo. iii. [v. 12—17.]

The Gospel. Mat. xiii. [v. 24—30.]

The vi. Sunday (if there be so many) shall have the same Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, that was upon the fifth Sunday.

¶ *The Sunday called Septuagesima.*

The Collect.

O LORD, we beseech thee favourably to hear the prayers of thy people, that we which are justly punished for our offences, may be mercifully delivered by thy goodness, for

the glory of thy name, through Jesu Christ our Saviour :
who liveth and reigneth world without end.

The Epistle. 1 Cor. ix. [v. 24 to end.]

The Gospel. Math. xx. [v. 1—16.]

¶ *The Sunday called Sexagesima.*

The Collect.

LORD GOD, which seest that we put not our trust in any
thing that we do : mercifully grant, that by thy power we
may be defended against all adversity, through Jesus
Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. 2 Co. xi. [v. 19—31.]

The Gospel. Luk. viii. [v. 4—15.]

The Sunday called Quinquagesima.

The Collect.

O LORD, which dost teach us, that all our doings with-
out charity are nothing worth : send thy Holy Ghost, and
pour in our hearts that most excellent gift of charity, the
very bond of peace and all virtues, without the which
whosoever liveth, is counted dead before thee : Grant this
for thy only Son Jesus Christ's sake.

The Epistle. 1 Cor. xiii. [v. 1 to end.]

The Gospel. Luk. xviii. [v. 31 to end.]

¶ *The first day of Lent.*

The Collect.

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, which hatest nothing
that thou hast made, and dost forgive the sins of all them
that be penitent : Create and make in us new and contrite
hearts, that we worthily lamenting our sins, and know-
ledging our wretchedness, may obtain of thee, the God of
all mercy, perfect remission and forgiveness, through Jesus
Christ.

The Epistle. Joel ii. [v. 12—17.]

The Gospel. Math. xi. [v. 16—21.]

¶ *The first Sunday in Lent.**The Collect.*

O LORD, which for our sake didst fast forty days, and forty nights: Give us grace to use such abstinence, that our flesh being subdued to the spirit, we may ever obey thy godly monitions, in righteousness and true holiness, to thy honour and glory: which livest and reignest. &c.

The Epistle. 2 Cor. vi. [v. 1—10.]

The Gospel. Math. iv. [v. 1—11.]

¶ *The second Sunday.**The Collect.*

ALMIGHTY God, which dost see that we have no power of ourselves to help ourselves: keep thou us both outwardly in our bodies, and inwardly in our souls, that we may be defended from all adversities which may happen to the body, and from all evil thoughts which may assault and hurt the soul: through Jesus Christ. &c.

The Epistle. 1 Thess. iv. [v. 1—8.]

The Gospel. Math. xv. [v. 21—28.]

¶ *The third Sunday.**The Collect.*

WE beseech thee, almighty God, look upon the hearty desires of thy humble servants: and stretch forth the right hand of thy majesty, to be our defence against all our enemies: through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Ephesi. v. [v. 1—14.]

The Gospel. Luke xi. [v. 14—28.]

¶ *The fourth Sunday.**The Collect.*

GRANT, we beseech thee, almighty GOD, that we which for our evil deeds are worthily punished, by the comfort of thy grace may mercifully be relieved: through our Lord Jesus Christ.

The Epistle. Gala. iv. [v. 21 to end.]

The Gospel. John vi. [v. 1—14.]

¶ *The fifth Sunday.**The Collect.*

WE beseech thee, almighty God, mercifully to look upon thy people : that by thy great goodness they may be governed and preserved evermore both in body and soul, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Hebre. ix. [v. 11—15.]

The Gospel. John viii. [v. 46 to end.]

¶ *The Sunday next before Easter.**The Collect.*

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, which of thy tender love towards man, hast sent our Saviour Jesus Christ to take upon him our flesh, and to suffer death upon the cross, that all mankind should follow the example of his great humility : mercifully grant, that we both follow the example of his patience, and be made partakers of his resurrection : through the same Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Philip. ii. [v. 5—11.]

The Gospel. Ma. xxvi. [v. 1 to end.] [xxvii. v. 1—56.]

¶ *Monday before Easter.*

The Epistle. Esai. lxiii. [v. 1 to end.]

The Gospel. Mar. xiv. [v. 1 to end.]

¶ *Tuesday before Easter.*

The Epistle. Esai. l. [v. 5 to end.]

The Gospel. Mat. xv. [v. 1 to end.]

¶ *Wednesday before Easter.*

The Epistle. Hebr. ix. [v. 16 to end.]

The Gospel. Luk. xxii. [v. 1 to end.]

¶ *Thursday before Easter.*

The Epistle. 1 Cor. xi. [v. 17 to end.]

The Gospel. Lu. xxiii. [v. 1 to end.]

¶ *On Good Friday.**The Collects.*

ALMIGHTY God, we beseech thee graciously to behold this thy family, for the which our Lord Jesus Christ was contented to be betrayed, and given up into the hands of wicked men, and to suffer death upon the cross: who liveth and reigneth. &c.

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, by whose Spirit the whole body of the Church is governed and sanctified: receive our supplications and prayers, which we offer before thee for all estates of men in thy holy congregation, that every member of the same in his vocation and ministry may truly and godly serve thee: through our Lord Jesus Christ.

MERCIFUL God, who hast made all men, and hatest nothing that thou hast made, nor wouldest the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live: have mercy upon all Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Heretics, and take from them all ignorance, hardness of heart, and contempt of thy word. And so fetch them home, blessed Lord, to thy flock, that they may be saved among the remnant of the true Israelites, and be made one fold, under one shepherd Jesus Christ our Lord: who liveth and reigneth. &c.

The Epistle. Hebre. x. [v. 1—25.]

The Gospel. John xviii. [v. 1 to end.] [xix. v. 1 to end.]

¶ *Easter Even.*

The Epistle. 1 Petr. iii. [v. 17 to end.]

The Gospel. Mathew xxvii. [v. 57 to end.]

¶ *Easter day.*

¶ At Morning prayer, instead of the Psalm, O come let us. &c.
These Anthems shall be sung or said.

CHRIST rising again from the dead, now dieth not. Death from henceforth hath no power upon him. For in that he died, he died but once to put away sin: but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God. And so likewise, count yourselves dead unto sin, but living unto God in Christ Jesus our Lord.

CHRIST is risen again the firstfruits of them that sleep : for seeing that by man came death, by man also cometh the resurrection of the dead. For as by Adam all men do die, so by Christ all men shall be restored to life.

The Collect.

ALMIGHTY God, which through thy only begotten Son Jesus Christ hast overcome death, and opened unto us the gate of everlasting life : we humbly beseech thee, that as by thy special grace preventing us thou dost put in our minds good desires ; so by thy continual help we may bring the same to good effect, through Jesus Christ our Lord : who liveth and reigneth. &c.

The Epistle. Colo. iii. [v. 1—7.]

The Gospel. John xx. [v. 1—10.]

¶ *Monday in Easter Week.*

The Collect.

ALMIGHTY God, which through thy only begotten Son Jesus Christ hast overcome death, and opened unto us the gate of everlasting life : we humbly beseech thee, that as by thy special grace preventing us thou dost put in our minds good desires ; so by thy continual help we may bring the same to good effect, through Jesus Christ our Lord : who liveth and reigneth. &c.

The Epistle. Acts x. [v. 34—43.]

The Gospel. Lu. xxiv. [v. 13—35.]

¶ *Tuesday in Easter Week.*

The Collect.

ALMIGHTY Father, which hast given thy only Son to die for our sins, and to rise again for our justification : Grant us so to put away the leaven of malice and wickedness, that we may always serve thee in pureness of living and truth : through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Act. xiii. [v. 26—41.]

The Gospel. Lu. xxiv. [v. 36—48.]

¶ *The first Sunday after Easter.**The Collect.*

ALMIGHTY God, &c. *As at the Communion on Easter day.*

The Epistle. 1 John v. [v. 4—12.]

The Gospel. John xx. [v. 19—23.]

¶ *The second Sunday after Easter.**The Collect.*

ALMIGHTY God, which hast given thy holy Son to be unto us both a sacrifice for sin, and also an example of godly life: Give us the grace that we may always most thankfully receive that his inestimable benefit, and also daily endeavour ourselves to follow the blessed steps of his most holy life.

The Epistle. 1 Peter ii. [v. 19 to end.]

The Gospel. John x. [v. 11—16.]

¶ *The third Sunday.**The Collect.*

ALMIGHTY God, which shewest to all men that be in error the light of thy truth, to the intent that they may return into the way of righteousness: Grant unto all them that be admitted into the fellowship of Christ's religion, that they may eschew those things that be contrary to their profession, and follow all such things as be agreeable to the same: through our Lord Jesus Christ.

The Epistle. 1 Peter ii. [v. 11—17.]

The Gospel. John xvi. [v. 16—22.]

¶ *The fourth Sunday.**The Collect.*

ALMIGHTY God, which dost make the minds of all faithful men to be of one will: Grant unto thy people, that they may love the thing which thou commandest, and

desire that which thou dost promise: that among the sundry and manifold changes of the world, our hearts may surely there be fixed, where as true joys are to be found: Through Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. James i. [v. 17—21.]

The Gospel. John xvi. [v. 5—14.]

¶ *The fifth Sunday.*

The Collect.

LORD, from whom all good things do come: grant us thy humble servants, that by thy holy inspiration we may think those things that be good, and by thy merciful guiding may perform the same: through our Lord Jesus Christ.

The Epistle. James i. [v. 22 to end.]

The Gospel. John xvi. [v. 23 to end.]

The Ascension day.

The Collect.

GRANT, we beseech thee, almighty God, that like as we do believe thy only begotten Son our Lord to have ascended into the heavens: so we may also in heart and mind thither ascend, and with him continually dwell.

The Epistle. Acts i. [v. 1—11.]

The Gospel. Mar. xvi. [v. 14 to end.]

¶ *The Sunday after the Ascension day.*

The Collect.

O GOD, the King of glory, which hast exalted thine only Son, Jesus Christ, with great triumph unto thy kingdom in heaven: we beseech thee leave us not comfortless, but send to us thine Holy Ghost to comfort us, and exalt us unto the same place, whither our Saviour Christ is gone before: who liveth and reigneth. &c.

The Epistle. I Pete. iv. [v. 7—11.]

The Gospel. John xv. [v. 26, 27.] [xvi. v. 1—4.]

*Whitsunday.**The Collect.*

GOD, which as upon this day hast taught the hearts of thy faithful people, by the sending to them the light of thy Holy Spirit: Grant us by the same Spirit to have a right judgment in all things, and evermore to rejoice in his holy comfort, through the merits of Christ Jesu our Saviour: who liveth and reigneth with thee in the unity of the same Spirit, one God world without end.

The Epistle. Acts ii. [v. 1—11.]

The Gospel. John xiv. [v. 15—31.]

¶ *Monday in Whitsun week.**The Collect.*

¶ God, which. &c. (*As upon Whitsunday.*)

The Epistle. Acts x. [v. 34 to end.]

The Gospel. John iii. [v. 16—21.]

¶ *The Tuesday after Whitsunday.**The Collect.*

GOD, which. &c. (*As upon Whitsunday.*)

The Epistle. Act. viii. [v. 14—17.]

The Gospel. John x. [v. 1—10.]

¶ *Trinity Sunday.**The Collect.*

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, which hast given unto us thy servants grace by the confession of a true faith to acknowledge the glory of the eternal Trinity, and in the power of the divine Majesty to worship the Unity: we beseech thee that through the stedfastness of this faith we may evermore be defended from all adversity, which liveth and reignest, one God world without end. Amen.

The Epistle. Apoc. iv. [v. 1 to end.]

The Gospel. John iii. [v. 1—15.]

¶ *The first Sunday after Trinity Sunday.**The Collect.*

GOD the strength of all them that trust in thee, mercifully accept our prayers: and because the weakness of our mortal nature can do no good thing without thee, grant us the help of thy grace, that in keeping of thy commandments we may please thee both in will and deed: through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. 1 Joh. iv. [v. 7 to end.]

The Gospel. Luk. xvi. [v. 19 to end.]

¶ *The second Sunday.**The Collect.*

LORD, make us to have a perpetual fear and love of thy holy name: for thou never failest to help and govern them, whom thou dost bring up in thy stedfast love: Grant this. &c.

The Epistle. 1 John iii. [v. 13 to end.]

The Gospel. Luk. xiv. [v. 16—24.]

¶ *The third Sunday.**The Collect.*

LORD, we beseech thee mercifully to hear us, and unto whom thou hast given an hearty desire to pray: grant that by thy mighty aid we may be defended: through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. 1 Petri v. [v. 5—11.]

The Gospel. Luke xv. [v. 1—10.]

¶ *The fourth Sunday.**The Collect.*

GOD, the Protector of all that trust in thee, without whom nothing is strong, nothing is holy: increase and multiply upon us thy mercy, that thou being our ruler and guide, we may so pass through things temporal, that we finally

lose not the things eternal: grant this, heavenly Father, for Jesu Christ's sake our Lord.

The Epistle. Rom. viii. [v. 18—23.]

The Gospel. Luke vi. [v. 36—42.]

¶ *The fifth Sunday.*

The Collect.

GRANT, LORD, we beseech thee, that the course of this world may be so peaceably ordered by thy governance, that thy congregation may joyfully serve thee in all godly quietness: through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. I Petr. iii. [v. 8—15.]

The Gospel. Luke v. [v. 1—11.]

¶ *The sixth Sunday.*

The Collect.

GOD, which hast prepared to them that love thee, such good things as pass all man's understanding: Pour into our hearts such love toward thee, that we loving thee in all things, may obtain thy promises, which exceed all that we can desire: through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Rom. vi. [v. 3—11.]

The Gospel. Math. v. [v. 20—26.]

The seventh Sunday.

The Collect.

LORD of all power and might, which art the author and giver of all good things: graff in our hearts the love of thy name, increase in us true religion, nourish us with all goodness, and of thy great mercy keep us in the same: Through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Rom. vi. [v. 19 to end.]

The Gospel. Mar. viii. [v. 1—9.]

¶ *The eighth Sunday.*

The Collect.

GOD, whose providence is never deceived: we humbly beseech thee, that thou wilt put away from us all hurtful

things, and give those things which be profitable for us :
Through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Rom. viii. [v. 12—17.]

The Gospel. Mat. vii. [v. 15—21.]

¶ *The ninth Sunday.*

The Collect.

GRANT to us, Lord, we beseech thee, the spirit to think and do always such things as be rightful : that we, which cannot be without thee, may by thee be able to live according to thy will : Through Jesu Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. 1 Cor. x. [v. 1—13.]

The Gospel. Luke xvi. [v. 1—9.]

¶ *The tenth Sunday.*

The Collect.

LET thy merciful ears, O Lord, be open to the prayers of thy humble servants : and that they may obtain their petitions, make them to ask such things as shall please thee : through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. 1 Cor. xii. [v. 1—11.]

The Gospel. Luk. xix. [v. 41—47.]

The eleventh Sunday.

The Collect.

GOD, which declarest thy almighty power, most chiefly in shewing mercy and pity : Give unto us abundantly thy grace, that we running to thy promises, may be made partakers of thy heavenly treasure : through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. 1 Cor. xv. [v. 1—11.]

The Gospel. Lu. xviii. [v. 9—14.]

The twelfth Sunday.

The Collect.

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, which art always more ready to hear than we to pray : and art wont to give more

than either we desire or deserve : Pour down upon us the abundance of thy mercy, forgiving us those things whereof our conscience is afraid, and giving unto us that, that our prayer dare not presume to ask : through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. 2 Cor. iii. [v. 4—9.]
The Gospel. Mar. vii. [v. 31 to end.]

The thirteenth Sunday.

The Collect.

ALMIGHTY and merciful God, of whose only gift it cometh, that thy faithful people do unto thee true and laudable service : grant, we beseech thee, that we may so run to thy heavenly promises, that we fail not finally to attain the same : Through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Galat. iii. [v. 16—22.]
The Gospel. Luke x. [v. 23—37.]

The fourteenth Sunday.

The Collect.

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, give unto us the increase of faith, hope, and charity, and, that we may obtain that which thou dost promise, make us to love that which thou dost command, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Galat. v. [v. 16—24.]
The Gospel. Lu. xvii. [v. 11—19.]

The fifteenth Sunday.

The Collect.

KEEP, we beseech thee, O Lord, thy Church with thy perpetual mercy, and because the frailty of man, without thee, cannot but fall : keep us ever by thy help, and lead us to all things profitable to our salvation : through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Epistle. Galat. vi. [v. 11 to end.]
The Gospel. Math. vi. [v. 24 to end.]

*The sixteenth Sunday.**The Collect.*

LORD, we beseech thee, let thy continual pity cleanse and defend thy congregation : and because it cannot continue in safety without thy succour, preserve it evermore by thy help and goodness : through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Ephe. iii. [v. 13 to end.]

The Gospel. Luke vii. [v. 11—17.]

¶ *The seventeenth Sunday.**The Collect.*

LORD, we pray thee that thy grace may always prevent and follow us, and make us continually to be given to all good works : through Jesu Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Ephe. iv. [v. 1—6.]

The Gospel. Lu. xiv. [v. 1—11.]

¶ *The eighteenth Sunday.**The Collect.*

LORD, we beseech thee, grant thy people grace to avoid the infections of the devil, and with pure heart and mind to follow thee, the only God : through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. 1 Corin. i. [v. 4—8.]

The Gospel. Mat. xxii. [v. 34 to end.]

¶ *The nineteenth Sunday.**The Collect.*

O GOD, forasmuch as without thee we are not able to please thee : Grant that the working of thy mercy may in all things direct and rule our hearts : Through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Ephe. iv. [v. 17 to end.]

The Gospel. Math. ix. [v. 1—8.]

¶ *The twentieth Sunday.**The Collect.*

ALMIGHTY and merciful God, of thy bountiful goodness keep us from all things that may hurt us : that we being ready both in body and soul, may with free hearts accomplish those things, that thou wouldest have done : Through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Ephesi. v. [v. 15—21.]

The Gospel. Mat. xxii. [v. 1—14.]

¶ *The twenty-first Sunday.**The Collect.*

GRANT, we beseech thee, merciful Lord, to thy faithful people pardon and peace, that they may be cleansed from all their sins, and serve thee with a quiet mind : Through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Ephes. vi. [v. 10—20.]

The Gospel. John iv. [v. 46 to end.]

¶ *The twenty-second Sunday.**The Collect.*

LORD, we beseech thee to keep thy household the Church in continual godliness : that through thy protection, it may be free from all adversities, and devoutly given to serve thee in good works, to the glory of thy name : Through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Philip. i. [v. 3—11.]

The Gospel. Mathew xviii. [v. 21 to end.]

¶ *The twenty-third Sunday.**The Collect.*

GOD our refuge and strength, which art the author of all godliness, be ready to hear the devout prayers of the Church : and grant that those things which we ask

faithfully, we may obtain effectually : through Jesu Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Philip. iii. [v. 17 to end.]

The Gospel. Mat. xxii. [v. 15—22.]

¶ *The twenty-fourth Sunday.*

The Collect.

LORD, we beseech thee, assoil thy people from their offences : that through thy bountiful goodness, we may be delivered from the bands of all those sins, which by our frailty we have committed : Grant this. &c.

The Epistle. Colossi. i. [v. 3—12.]

The Gospel. Math. ix. [v. 18—26.]

¶ *The twenty-fifth Sunday.*

The Collect.

STIR up, we beseech thee, O Lord, the wills of thy faithful people : that they plenteously bringing forth the fruit of good works, may of thee be plenteously rewarded : through Jesu Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Jer. xxiii. [v. 5—8.]

The Gospel. John vi. [v. 5—14.]

¶ If there be any more Sundays before Advent Sunday, to supply the same shall be taken the service of some of those Sundays that were omitted between the Epiphany and Septuagesima.

¶ *Saint Andrew's Day.*

The Collect.

ALMIGHTY God, which didst give such grace unto thy holy apostle Saint Andrew, that he readily obeyed the calling of thy Son Jesus Christ, and followed him without delay : Grant unto us all, that we being called by thy holy word, may forthwith give over ourselves, obediently to follow thy holy commandments : through the same Jesu Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Roma. x. [v. 9 to end.]

The Gospel. Mat. iv. [v. 18—22.]

¶ *Saint Thomas the Apostle.**The Collect.*

ALMIGHTY everliving God, which for the more confirmation of the faith, didst suffer thy holy Apostle Thomas to be doubtful in thy Son's resurrection: grant us so perfectly, and without all doubt to believe in thy Son Jesus Christ, that our faith in thy sight never be reproved: hear us, O Lord, through the same Jesus Christ: to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost be all honour. &c.

The Epistle. Ephe. ii. [v. 19 to end.]

The Gospel. John xx. [v. 24 to end.]

¶ *The Conversion of Saint Paul.**The Collect.*

GOD, which hast taught all the world, through the preaching of thy blessed Apostle Saint Paul: grant, we beseech thee, that we which have his wonderful conversion in remembrance, may follow and fulfil thy holy doctrine that he taught: through Jesu Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Act. ix. [v. 1—22.]

The Gospel. Mat. xix. [v. 27 to end.]

¶ *The Purification of Saint Mary the virgin.**The Collect.*

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, we humbly beseech thy Majesty, that as thy only begotten Son was this day presented in the Temple, in substance of our flesh; so grant that we may be presented unto thee with pure and clear minds: By Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Epistle.

¶ The same that is appointed for the Sunday.

The Gospel. Luke ii. [v. 22—27.]

*Saint Mathie's day.**The Collect.*

ALMIGHTY God, which in the place of the traitor Judas didst choose thy faithful servant Mathie to be of the num-

ber of thy twelve Apostles : Grant that thy church, being always preserved from false Apostles, may be ordered and guided by faithful and true pastors : Through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Act. i. [v. 15 to end.]
The Gospel. Math. xi. [v. 25 to end.]

The Annunciation of the virgin Mary.

The Collect.

WE beseech thee, Lord, pour thy grace into our hearts, that as we have known Christ thy Son's incarnation, by the message of an Angel ; so by his cross and passion, we may be brought unto the glory of his resurrection : Through the same Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Esai. vii. [v. 10—15.]
The Gospel. [Luke i. v. 26—38.]

¶ *Saint Mark's Day.*

The Collect.

ALMIGHTY God, which hast instructed thy holy Church, with the heavenly doctrine of thy Evangelist Saint Mark : give us grace so to be established by thy holy gospel, that we be not, like children, carried away with every blast of vain doctrine : Through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Ephe. iv. [v. 7—16.]
The Gospel. John. xv. [v. 1—11.]

Saint Philip and James.

The Collect.

ALMIGHTY God, whom truly to know is everlasting life : grant us perfectly to know thy Son Jesus Christ, to be the way, the truth, and the life, as thou hast taught Saint Philip, and other the apostles : Through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. James. i. [v. 1—12.]
The Gospel. John. xiv. [v. 1—14.]

¶ *Saint Barnabe Apostle.**The Collect.*

LORD almighty, which hast endued thy holy Apostle Barnabas, with singular gifts of thy Holy Ghost: let us not be destitute of thy manifold gifts, nor yet of grace, to use them alway to thy honour and glory: Through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Act. xi. [v. 22 to end.]

The Gospel. John. xv. [v. 12—16.]

¶ *Saint John Baptist.**The Collect.*

ALMIGHTY God, by whose providence thy servant John Baptist was wonderfully born, and sent to prepare the way of thy Son our Saviour by preaching of penance: make us so to follow his doctrine and holy life, that we may truly repent, according to his preaching, and after his example constantly speak the truth, boldly rebuke vice, and patiently suffer for the truth's sake: through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Esay. xl. [v. 1—11.]

The Gospel. Luke. i. [v. 57 to end.]

¶ *Saint Peter's Day.**The Collect.*

ALMIGHTY God, which by thy Son Jesus Christ hast given to thy Apostle Saint Peter many excellent gifts, and commandest him earnestly to feed thy flock: make, we beseech thee, all Bishops and Pastors diligently to preach thy holy word, and the people obediently to follow the same, that they may receive the crown of everlasting glory: through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Acts xii. [v. 1—11.]

The Gospel. Mat. xvi. [v. 13—19.]

¶ *Saint James the Apostle.**The Collect.*

GRANT, O merciful God, that as thy holy Apostle Saint James, leaving his father and all that he had, without

delay, was obedient unto the calling of thy Son Jesus Christ, and followed him: So we, forsaking all worldly and carnal affections, may be evermore ready to follow thy commandments: through Jesu Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Acts xi. [v. 27 to end.] [xii. v. 1—3.]

The Gospel. Math. xx. [v. 20—28.]

Saint Bartholomew.

The Collect.

O ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, which hast given grace to thy Apostle Bartholomew truly to believe and to preach thy word: grant, we beseech thee, unto thy church, both to love that he believed, and to preach that he taught: through Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Acts v. [v. 12—16.]

The Gospel. Luke xxii. [v. 24—30.]

† *Saint Mathew.*

The Collect.

ALMIGHTY God, which by thy blessed Son didst call Mathew from the receipt of custom to be an Apostle and Evangelist: Grant us grace to forsake all covetous desires, and inordinate love of riches, and to follow thy said Son Jesus Christ: who liveth and reigneth. &c.

The Epistle. 2 Cor. iv. [v. 1—6.]

The Gospel. Math. ix. [v. 9—13.]

† *Saint Michael and all Angels.*

The Collect.

EVERLASTING God, which hast ordained and constituted the services of all Angels and men in a wonderful order: mercifully grant, that they which alway do thee service in heaven, may by thy appointment succour and defend us in earth: through Jesus Christ our Lord. &c.

The Epistle. Apoc. xii. [v. 7—12.]

The Gospel. Mat. xviii. [v. 1—10.]

¶ *Saint Luke the Evangelist.**The Collect.*

ALMIGHTY God, which calledst Luke the physician, whose praise is in the gospel, to be a physician of the soul: it may please thee by the wholesome medicines of his doctrine to heal all the diseases of our souls: through thy Son Jesu Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. 2 Tim. iv. [v. 5—15.]

The Gospel. Luke x. [v. 1—7.]

¶ *Simon and Jude Apostles.**The Collect.*

ALMIGHTY God, which hast builded thy congregation upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesu Christ himself being the head corner stone: grant us so to be joined together in unity of spirit by their doctrine, that we may be made an holy temple acceptable to thee: through Jesu Christ our Lord.

The Epistle. Jude i. [v. 1—8.]

The Gospel. John xv. [v. 17 to end.]

¶ *All Saints.**The Collect.*

ALMIGHTY God, which hast knit together thy elect in one communion and fellowship, in the mystical body of thy Son Christ our Lord: grant us grace so to follow thy holy Saints in all virtues, and godly living, that we may come to those inspeakable joys, which thou hast prepared for them that unfeignedly love thee: Through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

The Epistle. Apoc. vii. [v. 2—12.]

The Gospel. Math. v. [v. 1—12.]

THE
ORDER FOR THE ADMINISTRATION
OF THE
LORD'S SUPPER
OR
HOLY COMMUNION.

SO many as intend to be partakers of the holy Communion, shall signify their names to the Curate over night, or else in the morning, afore the beginning of morning prayer, or immediately after.

And if any of those be an open and notorious evil liver, so that the congregation by him is offended, or have done any wrong to his neighbours, by word or deed: The Curate having knowledge thereof, shall call him, and advertise him, in any wise not to presume to the Lord's Table, until he have openly declared himself to have truly repented, and amended his former naughty life, that the congregation may thereby be satisfied, which afore were offended: and that he have recompensed the parties, whom he hath done wrong unto, or at the least declare himself to be in full purpose so to do, as soon as he conveniently may.

¶ The same order shall the Curate use with those, betwixt whom he perceiveth malice and hatred to reign, not suffering them to be partakers of the LORD'S table, until he know them to be reconciled. And if one of the parties so at variance be content to forgive, from the bottom of his heart, all that the other hath trespassed against him, and to make amends for that he himself hath offended: and the other party will not be persuaded to a godly unity, but remain still in his frowardness and malice: The Minister in that case ought to admit the penitent person to the holy Communion, and not him that is obstinate.

¶ The Table having at the Communion time a fair white linen cloth upon it, shall stand in the body of the Church, or in the chancel, where Morning prayer and Evening prayer be appointed to be said. And the Priest standing at the north side of the Table, shall say the Lord's prayer, with this Collect following.

ALMIGHTY God, unto whom all hearts be open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid : cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love thee, and worthily magnify thy holy name : through Christ our Lord. Amen.

¶ Then shall the Priest rehearse distinctly all the Ten Commandments : and the people kneeling, shall after every Commandment ask God's mercy for their transgression of the same, after this sort.

Minister. God spake these words, and said : I am the Lord thy God. Thou shalt have none other Gods but me.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister. Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, nor in the water under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them : for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, and visit the sin of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, and shew mercy unto thousands in them that love me and keep my commandments.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister. Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain : for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our. &c.

Minister. Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath day. Six days shalt thou labour and do all that thou hast to do, but the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God. In it thou shalt do no manner of work, thou and thy son and thy daughter, thy man servant, and thy maid-servant, thy cattle, and the stranger that is within thy gates : for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day. Wherefore the Lord blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our. &c.

Minister. Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our. &c.

Minister. Thou shalt do no murther.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our. &c.

Minister. Thou shalt not commit adultery.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our. &c.

Minister. Thou shalt not steal.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our. &c.

Minister. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his servant, nor his maid, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is his.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and write all these thy laws in our hearts we beseech thee.

¶ Then shall follow the Collect of the day, with one of these two Collects following for the king: the Priest standing up and saying.

¶ Let us pray.

Priest.

ALMIGHTY God, whose kingdom is everlasting, and power infinite: have mercy upon the whole congregation, and so rule the heart of thy chosen servant Edward the sixth, our king and governor, that he (knowing whose minister he is) may above all things seek thy honour and glory: and that we his subjects (duly considering whose authority he hath) may faithfully serve, honour, and humbly obey him, in thee, and for thee, according to thy blessed word and ordinance: Through Jesus Christ our Lord, who with thee, and the Holy Ghost, liveth, and reigneth ever one God, world without end. Amen.

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, we be taught by thy holy word, that the hearts of kings are in thy rule and governance, and that thou dost dispose, and turn them as it seemeth best to thy godly wisdom: we humbly beseech thee, so to dispose and govern the heart of Edward the sixth, thy servant, our king and governor, that in all his thoughts, words, and works, he may ever seek thy honour and glory, with study to preserve thy people committed to his charge, in wealth, peace, and godliness. Grant this, O merciful Father, for thy dear Son's sake Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

¶ Immediately after the Collects, the Priest shall read the Epistle, beginning thus.

¶ The Epistle written in the. Chapter of.

And the Epistle ended, he shall say the Gospel, beginning thus.

The Gospel, written in the. Chapter of.

And the Epistle and Gospel being ended, shall be said the Creed.

I BELIEVE in one God, the Father almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible, and invisible : And in one Lord Jesu Christ, the only begotten Son of God, begotten of his Father before all worlds : God of Gods, light of light, very God of very God : begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father, by whom all things were made : who for us men and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost, of the virgin Mary, and was made man : and was crucified also for us, under Pontius Pilate. He suffered and was buried, and the third day he arose again according to the scriptures : and ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father. And he shall come again with glory, to judge both the quick and the dead : Whose kingdom shall have none end. And I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father and the Son, who with the Father and the Son together, is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the Prophets. And I believe one Catholic and Apostolic church. I acknowledge one Baptism, for the remission of sins. And I look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Amen.

After the Creed, if there be no sermon, shall follow one of the homilies already set forth, or hereafter to be set forth by common authority.

After such sermon, homily, or exhortation, the Curate shall declare unto the people whether there be any holy days or fasting days the week following : and earnestly exhort them to remember the poor, saying one or more of these Sentences following, as he thinketh most convenient by his discretion.

LET your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven. *Math. v.*

Lay not up for yourselves treasure upon the earth, where the rust and moth doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal : But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither rust nor moth doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through and steal. *Math. vi.*

Whatsoever you would that men should do unto you, even so do unto them : for this is the law and the Prophets. *Math. vii.*

Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven : but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven. *Math. vii.*

Zache stood forth, and said unto the Lord : Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor, and if I have done any wrong to any man, I restore fourfold. *Luk. xix.*

Who goeth a warfare at any time of his own cost ? who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof ? Or who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock ? *1 Cor. ix.*

If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great matter, if we shall reap your worldly things ? *1 Cor. ix.*

Do ye not know, that they which minister about holy things, live of the sacrifice ? They which wait of the altar, are partakers with the altar ? Even so hath the Lord also ordained, that they which preach the gospel, should live of the gospel. *1 Cor. ix.*

He which soweth little shall reap little, and he that soweth plenteously shall reap plenteously. Let every man do according as he is disposed in his heart, not grudging, or of necessity : for God loveth a cheerful giver. *2 Cor. ix.*

Let him that is taught in the word, minister unto him that teacheth, in all good things. Be not deceived, God is not mocked : for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he reap. *Gal. vi.*

While we have time, let us do good unto all men, and specially unto them, which are of the household of faith. *Gala. vi.*

Godliness is great riches, if a man be contented with that he hath : for we brought nothing into the world, neither may we carry any thing out. *1 Tim. vi.*

Charge them which are rich in this world, that they be ready to give, and glad to distribute : laying up in store

for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may attain eternal life. *1 Tim. vi.*

God is not unrighteous, that he will forget your works and labour that proceedeth of love : which love ye have shewed for his name's sake, which have ministered unto saints, and yet do minister. *Hebr. vi.*

To do good, and to distribute, forget not : for with such sacrifices God is pleased. *Hebr. xiii.*

Whoso hath this world's good, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him? *1 Joh. iii.*

Give alms of thy goods, and turn never thy face from any poor man, and then the face of the Lord shall not be turned away from thee. *Tob. iv.*

Be merciful after thy power. If thou hast much, give plenteously : If thou hast little, do thy diligence gladly to give of that little : for so gatherest thou thyself a good reward in the day of necessity. *Tob. iv.*

He that hath pity upon the poor, lendeth unto the Lord : and look what he layeth out, it shall be paid him again. *Pro. xix.*

Blessed be the man that provideth for the sick and needy, the Lord shall deliver him in the time of trouble. *Psal. lxi.*

¶ Then shall the Church wardens, or some other by them appointed, gather the devotion of the people, and put the same into the poor men's box : and upon the offering days appointed, every man and woman shall pay to the Curate the due and accustomed offerings: after which done, the Priest shall say.

Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth.

ALMIGHTY and everliving God, which by thy holy Apostle hast taught us to make prayers and supplications, and to give thanks for all men : we humbly beseech thee most mercifully to accept our *alms, and to receive these our prayers which we offer unto thy divine Majesty : beseeching thee to inspire continually the universal church with the spirit of truth, unity and concord : and grant that all they that do confess thy holy name, may agree in the truth of thy holy word, and live in unity and godly love. We beseech thee also to save and defend all Christian Kings, Princes, and

* If there be none alms given unto the poor, then shall the words of accepting our alms be left out unsaid.

governors, and specially thy servant, Edward our King that under him we may be godly and quietly governed : and grant unto his whole council, and to all that be put in authority under him, that they may truly and indifferently minister justice, to the punishment of wickedness and vice, and to the maintenance of God's true religion and virtue. Give grace (O heavenly Father) to all Bishops, Pastors and Curates, that they may both by their life and doctrine set forth thy true and lively word, and rightly and duly administer thy holy Sacraments : and to all thy people give thy heavenly grace, and especially to this congregation here present, that with meek heart and due reverence they may hear and receive thy holy word, truly serving thee in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life. And we most humbly beseech thee of thy goodness (O Lord) to comfort and succour all them which in this transitory life be in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity : Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only mediator and advocate. Amen.

Then shall follow this exhortation at certain times when the Curate shall see the people negligent to come to the holy Communion.

WE be come together at this time, dearly beloved brethren, to feed at the Lord's supper, unto the which in God's behalf I bid you all that be here present, and beseech you for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, that ye will not refuse to come thereto, being so lovingly called and bidden of God himself. Ye know how grievous and unkind a thing it is, when a man hath prepared a rich feast, decked his table with all kind of provision, so that there lacketh nothing but the guests to sit down : and yet they which be called, without any cause most unthankfully refuse to come. Which of you, in such a case, would not be moved? Who would not think a great injury and wrong done unto him? Wherefore, most dearly beloved in Christ, take ye good heed, lest ye withdrawing yourselves from this holy supper, provoke God's indignation against you. It is an easy matter for a man to say, I will not communicate, because I am otherwise letted with worldly business : but such excuses be not so easily accepted and allowed before God. If any man say, I am a grievous sinner, and therefore am afraid to come : wherefore then do you not repent and amend? When God calleth you, be you not ashamed to say you will not come?

When you should return to God, will you excuse yourself and say that you be not ready? Consider earnestly with yourselves how little such feigned excuses shall avail before God. They that refused the feast in the gospel, because they had bought a farm, or would try their yokes of oxen, or because they were married, were not so excused, but counted unworthy of the heavenly feast. I for my part am here present, and according unto mine office, I bid you in the name of God, I call you in Christ's behalf, I exhort you, as you love your own salvation, that ye will be partakers of this holy Communion. And as the Son of God did vouchsafe to yield up his soul by death upon the Cross for your health: even so it is your duty to receive the Communion together in the remembrance of his death, as he himself commanded. Now if you will in no wise thus do, consider with yourselves how great injury you do unto God, and how sore punishment hangeth over your heads for the same. And whereas ye offend God so sore in refusing this holy Banquet, I admonish, exhort, and beseech you, that unto this unkindness ye will not add any more. Which thing ye shall do, if ye stand by as gazers and lookers on them that do communicate, and be no partakers of the same yourselves. For what thing can this be accounted else, than a further contempt and unkindness unto God. Truly it is a great unthankfulness to say nay when ye be called: but the fault is much greater when men stand by, and yet will neither eat nor drink this holy Communion with other. I pray you what can this be else, but even to have the mysteries of Christ in derision? It is said unto all: Take ye and eat. Take and drink ye all of this: do this in remembrance of me. With what face then, or with what countenance shall ye hear these words? What will this be else but a neglecting, a despising, and mocking of the Testament of Christ? Wherefore, rather than you should so do, depart you hence and give place to them that be godly disposed. But when you depart, I beseech you, ponder with yourselves from whom you depart: ye depart from the Lord's table, ye depart from your brethren, and from the banquet of most heavenly food. These things if ye earnestly consider, ye shall by God's grace return to a better mind, for the obtaining whereof, we shall make our humble petitions while we shall receive the holy Communion.

¶ And sometime shall be said this also, at the discretion of the Curate.

DEARLY beloved, forasmuch as our duty is to render to Almighty God our heavenly Father most hearty thanks, for that he hath given his Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, not only to die for us, but also to be our spiritual food and sustenance, as it is declared unto us, as well by God's word as by the holy Sacraments of his blessed body and blood, the which being so comfortable a thing to them which receive it worthily, and so dangerous to them that will presume to receive it unworthily: My duty is to exhort you to consider the dignity of the holy mystery, and the great peril of the unworthy receiving thereof, and so to search and examine your own consciences, as you should come holy and clean to a most Godly and heavenly feast: so that in no wise you come but in the marriage garment, required of God in holy scripture; and so come and be received, as worthy partakers of such a heavenly table. The way and means thereto is: First to examine your lives and conversation by the rule of God's commandments, and whereinsoever ye shall perceive yourselves to have offended, either by will, word, or deed, there bewail your own sinful lives, confess yourselves to almighty God with full purpose of amendment of life. And if ye shall perceive your offences to be such, as be not only against God, but also against your neighbours: then ye shall reconcile yourselves unto them, ready to make restitution and satisfaction, according to the uttermost of your powers, for all injuries and wrongs done by you to any other: and likewise being ready to forgive other that have offended you, as you would have forgiveness of your offences at God's hand: for otherwise the receiving of the holy Communion doth nothing else, but increase your damnation. And because it is requisite that no man should come to the holy Communion but with a full trust in God's mercy, and with a quiet conscience: therefore if there be any of you which by the means afore said cannot quiet his own conscience, but requireth further comfort or counsel; then let him come to me, or some other discreet and learned minister of God's word, and open his grief, that he may receive such ghostly counsel, advice, and comfort, as his conscience may be relieved; and that by the ministry of God's word he may receive comfort and the benefit of

absolution, to the quieting of his conscience, and avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness.

Then shall the Priest say this exhortation.

DEARLY beloved in the Lord: ye that mind to come to the holy Communion of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, must consider what S. Paul writeth to the Corinthians, how he exhorteth all persons diligently to try and examine themselves, before they presume to eat of that bread, and drink of that cup: for as the benefit is great, if with a truly penitent heart and lively faith we receive that holy Sacrament, (for then we spiritually eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood, then we dwell in Christ and Christ in us, we be one with Christ, and Christ with us;) so is the danger great, if we receive the same unworthily. For then we be guilty of the body and blood of Christ our Saviour. We eat and drink our own damnation, not considering the Lord's body. We kindle God's wrath against us, we provoke him to plague us with divers diseases, and sundry kinds of death. Therefore, if any of you be a blasphemer of God, an hinderer or slanderer of his word, an adulterer, or be in malice or envy, or in any other grievous crime, bewail your sins, and come not to this holy Table, lest after the taking of that holy Sacrament, the devil enter into you, as he entered into Judas, and fill you full of all iniquities, and bring you to destruction, both of body and soul. Judge therefore yourselves, brethren, that ye be not judged of the Lord. Repent you truly for your sins past, have a lively and stedfast faith in Christ our Saviour. Amend your lives, and be in perfect charity with all men: so shall ye be meet partakers of those holy mysteries. And above all things ye must give most humble and hearty thanks to God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for the redemption of the world by the death and passion of our Saviour Christ, both God and man: who did humble himself, even to the death upon the Cross, for us miserable sinners, which lay in darkness and shadow of death, that he might make us the children of God, and exalt us to everlasting life. And to the end that we should always remember the exceeding great love of our Master and only Saviour Jesu Christ, thus dying for us, and the innumerable benefits (which by his precious blood shedding he hath obtained to us,) he hath instituted and ordained holy mysteries, as pledges of his love, and

continual remembrance of his death, to our great and endless comfort. To him therefore with the Father and the Holy Ghost, let us give (as we are most bounden) continual thanks: submitting ourselves wholly to his holy will and pleasure, and studying to serve him in true holiness and righteousness all the days of our life. Amen.

¶ Then shall the Priest say to them that come to receive the holy Communion.

You that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins, and be in love and charity with your neighbours, and intend to lead a new life, following the commandments of God, and walking from henceforth in his holy ways: Draw near, and take this holy Sacrament to your comfort: make your humble confession to almighty God before this congregation here gathered together in his holy name, meekly kneeling upon your knees.

¶ Then shall this general confession be made, in the name of all those that are minded to receive the holy Communion, either by one of them, or else by one of the ministers, or by the Priest himself, all kneeling humbly upon their knees.

ALMIGHTY God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Maker of all things, Judge of all men, We knowledge and bewail our manifold sins and wickedness, which we from time to time most grievously have committed, by thought, word and deed, against thy divine Majesty; provoking most justly thy wrath and indignation against us: we do earnestly repent, and be heartily sorry for these our misdoings: the remembrance of them is grievous unto us, the burthen of them is intolerable: have mercy upon us, have mercy upon us, most merciful Father, for thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ's sake: forgive us all that is past, and grant that we may ever hereafter serve and please thee, in newness of life, to the honour and glory of thy name: Through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Then shall the Priest or the Bishop (being present) stand up, and turning himself to the people, say thus.

ALMIGHTY God our heavenly Father, who of his great mercy hath promised forgiveness of sins to all them, which with hearty repentance and true faith turn unto him: have mercy upon you, pardon and deliver you from all your sins, confirm and strength you in all goodness, and

bring you to everlasting life : through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then shall the Priest also say.

Hear what comfortable words our Saviour Christ saith, to all that truly turn to him.

COME unto me, all that travail and be heavy laden, and I shall refresh you. So God loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, to the end that all that believe in him should not perish, but have life everlasting.

Hear also what saint Paul sayeth.

This is a true saying, and worthy of all men to be received, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners.

Hear also what Saint John sayeth.

If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins.

¶ After the which, the Priest shall proceed, saying.

Lift up your hearts.

Answer. We lift them up unto the Lord.

Priest. Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.

Answer. It is meet and right so to do.

Priest. It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord holy Father, almighty everlasting God.

¶ Here shall follow the proper Preface, according to the time, if there be any specially appointed : or else immediately shall follow : Therefore with Angels. &c.

PROPER PREFACES.

¶ *Upon Christmas day, and seven days after.*

BECAUSE thou didst give Jesus Christ, thine only Son, to be born as this day for us, who, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, was made very man, of the substance of the Virgin Mary his mother, and that without spot of sin, to make us clean from all sin. Therefore. &c.

Upon Easter day, and seven days after.

BUT chiefly are we bound to praise thee, for the glorious resurrection of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord, for he is

the very Paschal lamb, which was offered for us, and hath taken away the sin of the world, who by his death hath destroyed death, and by his rising to life again hath restored to us everlasting life. Therefore. &c.

¶ *Upon the Ascension day, and seven days after.*

THROUGH thy most dear beloved Son, Jesus Christ our Lord : who after his most glorious resurrection manifestly appeared to all his Apostles, and in their sight ascended up into heaven, to prepare a place for us, that where he is, thither might we also ascend, and reign with him in glory. Therefore with. &c.

¶ *Upon Whitsunday, and six days after.*

THROUGH Jesus Christ our Lord, according to whose most true promise, the Holy Ghost came down this day from heaven, with a sudden great sound, as it had been a mighty wind, in the likeness of fiery tongues, lighting upon the Apostles, to teach them, and to lead them to all truth, giving them both the gift of divers languages, and also boldness with fervent zeal, constantly to preach the gospel unto all nations, whereby we are brought out of darkness and error into the clear light and true knowledge of thee, and of thy Son Jesus Christ. Therefore with. &c.

Upon the feast of Trinity only.

IT is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks to thee, O Lord, almighty and everlasting God, which art one God, one Lord, not one only person, but three persons in one substance : for that which we believe of the glory of the Father, the same we believe of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, without any difference or inequality. Therefore with. &c.

After which preface, shall follow immediately.

¶ Therefore with Angels and Archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious name, evermore praising thee, and saying :

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts : heaven and earth are full of thy glory : glory be to thee, O Lord most high.

Then shall the Priest, kneeling down at God's board, say in the name of all them that shall receive the Communion, this prayer following.

WE do not presume to come to this thy table (O merciful Lord) trusting in our own righteousness, but in thy manifold and great mercies: we be not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under thy table: but thou art the same Lord, whose property is always to have mercy: grant us therefore (gracious Lord) so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood, and that we may evermore dwell in him, and he in us. Amen.

Then the Priest standing up shall say, as followeth.

ALMIGHTY God our heavenly Father, which of thy tender mercy didst give thine only Son Jesus Christ, to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption, who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, and did institute, and in his holy Gospel command us to continue, a perpetual memory of that his precious death, until his coming again: Hear us, O merciful Father, we beseech thee: and grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesu Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood: who, in the same night that he was betrayed, took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying: Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you. Do this in remembrance of me. Likewise after supper he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying: Drink ye all of this, for this is my blood of the new Testament, which is shed for you and for many, for remission of sins: do this as oft as ye shall drink it in remembrance of me.

¶ Then shall the minister first receive the Communion in both kinds himself, and next deliver it to other ministers, if any be there present (that they may help the chief minister), and after to the people in their hands kneeling. And when he delivereth the bread, he shall say.

Take and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith, with thanksgiving.

¶ And the minister that delivereth the cup, shall say.

Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.

¶ Then shall the Priest say the Lord's prayer, the people repeating after him every petition.

¶ After shall be said as followeth.

O LORD and heavenly Father, we, thy humble servants, entirely desire thy fatherly goodness, mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving : most humbly beseeching thee to grant, that by the merits and death of thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in his blood, we and all thy whole church may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his passion. And here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto thee : humbly beseeching thee, that all we which be partakers of this holy Communion, may be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction. And although we be unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto thee any sacrifice : yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Jesus Christ our Lord : by whom and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. Amen.

¶ Or this.

ALMIGHTY and everliving God, we most heartily thank thee, for that thou dost vouchsafe to feed us, which have duly received these holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious body and blood of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, and dost assure us thereby of thy favour and goodness toward us, and that we be very members incorporate in thy mystical body, which is the blessed company of all faithful people, and be also heirs through hope of thy everlasting kingdom, by the merits of the most precious death and passion of thy dear Son : we now most humbly beseech thee, O heavenly Father, so to assist us with thy grace, that we may continue in that holy fellowship, and do all such good works as thou hast prepared for us to walk in, through Jesus Christ our Lord :

to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

¶ Then shall be said or sung.

GLORY be to God on high. And in earth peace, good will towards men. We praise thee, we bless thee, we worship thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks to thee, for thy great glory. O Lord God heavenly king, God the Father almighty. O Lord, the only begotten Son Jesu Christ: O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us: Thou that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer. Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father, have mercy upon us. For thou only art holy: Thou only art the Lord. Thou only, O Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father. Amen.

Then the Priest or the Bishop, if he be present, shall let them depart with this blessing.

THE peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of his Son Jesu Christ our Lord: and the blessing of God almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be amongst you, and remain with you always. Amen.

Collects to be said after the Offertory, when there is no Communion, every such day one. And the same may be said also as often as occasion shall serve, after the Collects, either of Morning and Evening prayer, Communion, or Litany, by the discretion of the minister.

ASSIST us mercifully, O Lord, in these our supplications and prayers, and dispose the way of thy servants toward the attainment of everlasting salvation: that among all the changes and chances of this mortal life, they may ever be defended by thy most gracious and ready help: through Christ our Lord. Amen.

O ALMIGHTY Lord and everliving God, vouchsafe, we beseech thee, to direct, sanctify and govern both our hearts and bodies, in the ways of thy laws, and in the works of thy commandments: that through thy most

mighty protection, both here and ever, we may be preserved in body and soul : through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

GRANT, we beseech thee, Almighty God, that the words which we have heard this day, with our outward ears, may through thy grace be so grafted inwardly in our hearts, that they may bring forth in us the fruit of good living, to the honour and praise of thy name : through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

PREVENT us, O Lord, in all our doings, with thy most gracious favour, and further us with thy continual help, that in all our works begun, continued, and ended in thee, we may glorify thy holy name, and finally by thy mercy obtain everlasting life : through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

ALMIGHTY God, the fountain of all wisdom, which knowest our necessities before we ask, and our ignorance in asking : we beseech thee to have compassion upon our infirmities, and those things which for our unworthiness we dare not, and for our blindness we cannot ask, vouchsafe to give us for the worthiness of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

ALMIGHTY God, which hast promised to hear the petitions of them that ask in thy Son's name : we beseech thee mercifully to incline thine ears to us that have made now our prayers and supplications unto thee ; and grant that those things which we faithfully asked according to thy will, may effectually be obtained, to the relief of our necessity, and to the setting forth of thy glory : through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

¶ Upon the holy days, if there be no Communion, shall be said all that is appointed at the Communion, until the end of the Homily, concluding with the general prayer, for the whole state of Christ's church militant here in earth : and one or more of these Collects before rehearsed, as occasion shall serve.

¶ And there shall be no celebration of the Lord's Supper, except there be a good number to communicate with the Priest, according to his discretion.

¶ And if there be not above twenty persons in the Parish, of discretion to receive the Communion : yet there shall be no Communion, except four, or three at the least communicate with the Priest. And in Cathedral and Collegiate churches, where be

many Priests and Deacons, they shall all receive the Communion with the minister every Sunday at the least, except they have a reasonable cause to the contrary.

- ¶ And to take away the superstition, which any person hath, or might have in the bread and wine, it shall suffice that the bread be such, as is usual to be eaten at the table with other meats, but the best and purest wheat bread, that conveniently may be gotten. And if any of the bread or wine remain, the Curate shall have it to his own use.
- ¶ The bread and wine for the Communion shall be provided by the Curate, and the churchwardens, at the charges of the Parish, and the Parish shall be discharged of such sums of money, or other duties, which hitherto they have paid for the same, by order of their houses every Sunday.
- ¶ And note, that every Parishioner shall communicate, at the least three times in the year: of which, Easter to be one: and shall also receive the Sacraments, and other rites, according to the order in this book appointed. And yearly at Easter, every Parishioner shall reckon with his Parson, Vicar, or Curate, or his, or their deputy or deputies, and pay to them or him all ecclesiastical duties, accustomedly due, then and at that time to be paid.

Although no order can be so perfectly devised, but it may be of some, either for their ignorance and infirmity, or else of malice and obstinacy, misconstrued, depraved, and interpreted in a wrong part: And yet because brotherly charity willeth, that so much as conveniently may be, offences should be taken away: therefore we willing to do the same. Whereas it is ordained in the book of common prayer, in the administration of the Lord's Supper, that the Communicants kneeling should receive the holy Communion: which thing being well meant, for a signification of the humble and grateful acknowledging of the benefits of Christ, given unto the worthy receiver, and to avoid the profanation and disorder, which about the holy Communion might else ensue: lest yet the same kneeling might be thought or taken otherwise, we do declare that it is not meant thereby, that any adoration is done, or ought to be done, either unto the sacramental bread or wine there bodily received, or to any real and essential presence there being of Christ's natural flesh and blood. For as concerning the sacramental bread and wine, they remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored, for that were Idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians. And as concerning the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ, they are in heaven and not here. For it is against the truth of Christ's true natural body, to be in more places than in one at one time.

THE
MINISTRATION OF BAPTISM
TO BE USED IN THE CHURCH.

IT appeareth by ancient writers, that the Sacrament of Baptism in the old time was not commonly ministered, but at two times in the year: at Easter, and Whitsuntide. At which times it was openly ministered, in the presence of all the congregation. Which custom (now being grown out of use) although it can not for many considerations be well restored again, yet it is thought good to follow the same as near as conveniently may be: wherefore the people are to be admonished, that it is most convenient that Baptism should not be ministered but upon Sundays, and other holy days, when the most number of people may come together, as well for that the congregation there present may testify the receiving of them that be newly baptized into the number of Christ's Church, as also because in the Baptism of infants every man present may be put in remembrance of his own profession made to God in his Baptism. For which cause also, it is expedient that Baptism be ministered in the English tongue. Nevertheless (if necessity so require) children may at all times be baptized at home.

PUBLIC BAPTISM.

¶ When there are children to be baptized upon the Sunday, or holy day, the Parents shall give knowledge over night, or in the morning, afore the beginning of Morning prayer to the Curate. And then the Godfathers, Godmothers, and people, with the children, must be ready at the Font, either immediately after the last lesson at Morning prayer, or else immediately after the last lesson at Evening prayer, as the Curate by his discretion shall appoint. And then standing there, the Priest shall ask whether the children be baptized or no. If they answer, no : then shall the Priest say thus.

DEARLY beloved, forasmuch as all men be conceived and born in sin, and that our Saviour Christ saith, none can enter into the kingdom of God, except he be regenerate, and born anew of water, and the Holy Ghost : I beseech you to call upon God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, that of his bounteous mercy, he will grant to these children, that thing which by nature they cannot have, that they may be baptized with water and the Holy Ghost, and received into Christ's holy church, and be made lively members of the same.

Then the Priest shall say.

¶ Let us pray.

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, which of thy great mercy didst save Noe and his family in the Ark, from perishing by water : and also didst safely lead the children of Israel, thy people, through the Red Sea, figuring thereby thy holy Baptism ; and by the Baptism of thy wellbeloved Son Jesus Christ, didst sanctify the flood Jordan, and all other waters, to the mystical washing away of sin : We beseech thee for thy infinite mercies, that thou wilt mercifully look upon these children, sanctify them and wash them with thy Holy Ghost, that they being delivered from thy wrath, may be received into the Ark of Christ's church, and being stedfast in faith, joyful through hope, and rooted in charity, may so pass the waves of this troublesome world, that finally they may come to the land of ever-

lasting life, there to reign with thee, world without end : through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

ALMIGHTY and immortal God, the aid of all that need, the helper of all that flee to thee for succour, the life of them that believe, and the resurrection of the dead : We call upon thee for these infants, that they coming to thy holy Baptism, may receive remission of their sins by spiritual regeneration. Receive them, O Lord, as thou hast promised by thy wellbeloved Son, saying : Ask and you shall have, seek and you shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you. So give now unto us that ask. Let us that seek find. Open the gate unto us that knock, that these infants may enjoy the everlasting benediction of thy heavenly washing, and may come to the eternal kingdom, which thou hast promised by Christ our Lord. Amen.

¶ Then shall the Priest say : Hear the words of the Gospel, written by Saint Mark in the tenth Chapter.

At a certain time they brought children to Christ that he should touch them, and his disciples rebuked those that brought them. But when Jesus saw it, he was displeased, and said unto them : Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not ; for to such belongeth the kingdom of God. Verily I say unto you : whosoever doth not receive the kingdom of God, as a little child, he shall not enter therein. And when he had taken them up in his arms, he put his hands upon them, and blessed them.
Mark x.

After the Gospel is read, the Minister shall make this brief exhortation upon the words of the Gospel.

FRIENDS, you hear in this Gospel the words of our Saviour Christ, that he commanded the children to be brought unto him : how he blamed those that would have kept them from him : how he exhorteth all men to follow their innocency. You perceive how by his outward gesture and deed he declared his good-will toward them. For he embraced them in his arms, he laid his hands upon them, and blessed them. Doubt not ye therefore, but earnestly believe, that he will likewise favourably receive these present infants, that he will embrace them

with the arms of his mercy, that he will give unto them the blessing of eternal life, and make them partakers of his everlasting kingdom. Wherefore we being thus persuaded of the good-will of our heavenly Father, toward these infants declared by his Son Jesus Christ, and nothing doubting but that he favourably alloweth this charitable work of ours, in bringing these children to his holy Baptism: Let us faithfully and devoutly give thanks unto him, and say.

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, heavenly Father, we give thee humble thanks, that thou hast vouchsafed to call us to the knowledge of thy grace and faith in thee: increase this knowledge, and confirm this faith in us evermore. Give thy holy Spirit to these infants, that they may be born again, and be made heirs of everlasting salvation, through our Lord Jesus Christ: who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Spirit, now and for ever. Amen.

¶ Then the Priest shall speak unto the Godfathers and Godmothers, on this wise.

WELLBELOVED friends, ye have brought these children here to be baptized; ye have prayed that our Lord Jesus Christ would vouchsafe to receive them, to lay his hands upon them, to bless them, to release them of their sins, to give them the kingdom of heaven, and everlasting life. Ye have heard also that our Lord Jesus Christ hath promised in his Gospel to grant all these things that ye have prayed for: which promise he for his part will most surely keep and perform. Wherefore after this promise made by Christ, these infants must also faithfully for their part promise by you that be their sureties, that they will forsake the devil and all his works, and constantly believe God's holy word, and obediently keep his commandments.

¶ Then shall the Priest demand of the Godfathers and Godmothers these questions following.

DOST thou forsake the devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world, with all covetous desires of the same, the carnal desires of the flesh, so that thou wilt not follow, nor be led by them?

Answer. I forsake them all.

Minister. Dost thou believe in God the Father almighty, maker of heaven and earth? and in Jesus Christ his only-begotten Son our Lord, and that he was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the virgin Mary, that he suffered under Poncius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, that he went down into hell, and also did rise again the third day, that he ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father almighty, and from thence shall come again at the end of the world, to judge the quick and the dead?

And dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the flesh, and everlasting life after death?

Answer. All this I steadfastly believe.

Minister. Wilt thou be baptized in this faith?

Answer. That is my desire.

Then shall the Priest say.

O MERCIFUL God, grant that the old Adam in these children may be so buried, that the new man may be raised up in them. Amen.

Grant that all carnal affections may die in them, and that all things belonging to the Spirit may live and grow in them. Amen.

Grant that they may have power and strength to have victory and to triumph against the devil, the world and the flesh. Amen.

Grant that whosoever is here dedicated to thee by our office and ministry, may also be endued with heavenly virtues, and everlastingly rewarded through thy mercy, O blessed Lord God, who dost live and govern all things world without end. Amen.

ALMIGHTY everliving God, whose most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, for the forgiveness of our sins, did shed out of his most precious side both water and blood, and gave commandment to his disciples that they should go teach all nations, and baptize them in the name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Regard, we beseech thee, the supplications of thy congregation, and grant that all thy servants which shall be baptized in this water, may receive the fulness of thy grace, and ever remain in the number of thy faithful and elect children, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

¶ Then the Priest shall take the child in his hands, and ask the name ; and naming the child, shall dip it in the water, so it be discreetly and warily done, saying.

¶ *N.* I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

And if the child be weak, it shall suffice to pour water upon it, saying the foresaid words.

N. I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Then the Priest shall make a cross upon the child's forehead, saying.

WE receive this child into the congregation of Christ's flock, and do sign him with the sign of the cross, in token that hereafter he shall not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified, and manfully to fight under his banner against sin, the world, and the devil, and to continue Christ's faithful soldier and servant unto his life's end. Amen.

Then shall the Priest say.

SEEING now, dearly beloved brethren, that these children be regenerate and grafted into the body of Christ's congregation : let us give thanks unto God for these benefits, and with one accord make our prayers unto almighty God, that they may lead the rest of their life according to this beginning.

Then shall be said.

¶ Our Father which art in heaven. &c.

Then shall the Priest say.

WE yield thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased thee to regenerate this infant with thy Holy Spirit, to receive him for thy own child by adoption, and to incorporate him into thy holy congregation. And humbly we beseech thee to grant that he, being dead unto sin, and living unto righteousness, and being buried with Christ in his death, may crucify the old man, and utterly abolish the whole body of sin : that as he is made partaker of the death of thy Son, so he may be partaker of his resurrection : so that finally, with the residue of thy holy congregation, he may be inheritor of thine everlasting kingdom : through Christ our Lord. Amen.

¶ At the last end, the Priest calling the Godfathers and Godmothers together, shall say this short exhortation following.

FORASMUCH as these children have promised by you to forsake the Devil and all his works, to believe in God, and to serve him, you must remember that it is your parts and duties to see that these infants be taught so soon as they shall be able to learn what a solemn vow, promise, and profession, they have made by you. And that they may know these things the better, ye shall call upon them to hear sermons. And chiefly ye shall provide that they may learn the Creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten Commandments in the English tongue, and all other things which a Christian man ought to know and believe, to his soul's health : and that these children may be virtuously brought up, to lead a godly and Christian life : remembering alway that Baptism doth represent unto us our profession, which is to follow the example of our Saviour Christ, and to be made like unto him ; that as he died and rose again for us, so should we which are baptized, die from sin, and rise again unto righteousness, continually mortifying all our evil and corrupt affections, and daily proceeding in all virtue, and godliness of living.

¶ The Minister shall command that the children be brought to the Bishop to be confirmed of him, so soon as they can say in their vulgar tongue the articles of the faith, the Lord's prayer, and the x. Commandments, and be further instructed in the Catechism set forth for that purpose, accordingly as it is there expressed.

OF THEM THAT BE
BAPTIZED IN PRIVATE HOUSES,
IN TIME OF NECESSITY.

¶ The Pastors and Curates shall oft admonish the people, that they defer not the Baptism of infants any longer than the Sunday, or other holy day next after the child be born, unless upon a great and reasonable cause declared to the Curate, and by him approved. And also they shall warn them, that without great cause and necessity, they baptize not children at home in their houses. And when great need shall compel them so to do, that then they minister it on this fashion.

First, let them that be present call upon God for his grace, and say the Lord's prayer, if the time will suffer. And then one of them shall name the child, and dip him in the water, or pour water upon him, saying these words.

¶ *N.* I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

And let them not doubt, but that the child so baptized, is lawfully and sufficiently baptized, and ought not to be baptized again in the Church. But yet nevertheless, if the child which is after this sort baptized, do afterward live: it is expedient that he be brought into the church, to the intent the Priest may examine and try, whether the child be lawfully baptized or no. And if those that bring any child to the church do answer that he is already baptized, then shall the Priest examine them further.

¶ By whom the child was baptized?

Who was present when the child was baptized?

Whether they called upon God for grace and succour in that necessity?

With what thing, or what matter they did baptize the child?

With what words the child was baptized?

Whether they think the child to be lawfully and perfectly baptized?

And if the Minister shall prove by the answers of such as brought the child, that all things were done as they ought to be: Then shall not he christen the child again, but shall receive him, as one of the flock of the true Christian people, saying thus.

I CERTIFY you, that in this case ye have done well, and according unto due order concerning the baptizing of this child, which being born in original sin and in the wrath of God, is now by the laver of regeneration in Baptism received into the number of the children of God, and heirs of everlasting life: for our Lord Jesus Christ doth not deny his grace and mercy unto such infants, but most lovingly doth call them unto him, as the holy Gospel doth witness to our comfort, on this wise.

At a certain time they brought children unto Christ that he should touch them, and his disciples rebuked those that brought them. But when Jesus saw it, he was displeased, and said unto them: Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for to such belongeth the kingdom of God. Verily I say unto you, whosoever doth not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein. And when he had taken them up in his arms, he put his hands upon them and blessed them.
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¶ After the Gospel is read, the Minister shall make this exhortation upon the words of the Gospel.

FRIENDS, you hear in this Gospel the words of our Saviour Christ, that he commanded the children to be brought unto him: how he blamed those that would have kept them from him: how he exhorted all men to follow their innocency. Ye perceive how by his outward gesture and deed he declared his good-will toward them. For he embraced them in his arms, he laid his hands upon them, and blessed them. Doubt ye not therefore, but earnestly believe, that he hath likewise favourably received this present infant, that he hath embraced him with the arms of his mercy, that he hath given unto him the blessing of eternal life, and made him partaker of his everlasting kingdom. Wherefore we being thus persuaded of the good-will of our heavenly Father, declared by his Son Jesus Christ towards this infant: Let us faithfully and devoutly give thanks unto him, and say the prayer which the Lord himself taught;

and in declaration of our faith, let us recite the articles contained in our Creed.

Here the Minister with the Godfathers and Godmothers shall say.

OUR Father, which art in heaven. &c.

Then shall the Priest demand the name of the child, which being by the Godfathers and Godmothers pronounced, the Minister shall say.

Dost thou in the name of this child forsake the Devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world, with all the covetous desires of the same, the carnal desires of the flesh, and not to follow, and be led by them?

Answer. I forsake them all.

Minister. Dost thou in the name of this child profess this faith, to believe in God the Father almighty, maker of heaven and earth: And in Jesus Christ his only-begotten Son our Lord: and that he was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the virgin Mary, that he suffered under Poncius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried: that he went down into hell, and also did rise again the third day: that he ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father almighty: and from thence he shall come again at the end of the world, to judge the quick and the dead?

And do you in his name believe in the Holy Ghost. The holy Catholic Church. The Communion of saints. The remission of sins. Resurrection, and everlasting life after death?

Answer. All this I stedfastly believe.

¶ Let us pray.

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, heavenly Father, we give thee humble thanks, for that thou hast vouchsafed to call us to the knowledge of thy grace and faith in thee: increase this knowledge and confirm this faith in us evermore. Give thy holy Spirit to this infant, that he being born again, and being made heir of everlasting salvation, through our Lord Jesus Christ, may continue thy servant, and attain thy promise, through the same our Lord Jesus Christ thy Son: who liveth and reigneth with thee in the unity of the same Holy Spirit everlastingly. Amen.

Then shall the Minister make this exhortation to the Godfathers, and Godmothers.

FORASMUCH as this child hath promised by you to forsake the devil and all his works, to believe in God, and to serve him : you must remember that it is your part and duty to see that this infant be taught so soon as he shall be able to learn, what a solemn vow, promise, and profession he hath made by you. And that he may know these things the better, ye shall call upon him to hear sermons : And chiefly ye shall provide that he may learn the Creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten Commandments in the English tongue, and all other things which a Christian man ought to know and believe, to his soul's health : and that this child may be virtuously brought up, to lead a godly and a Christian life : remembering alway that Baptism doth represent unto us our profession, which is to follow the example of our Saviour Christ, and be made like unto him ; that as he died and rose again for us, so should we which are baptized, die from sin, and rise again unto righteousness, continually mortifying all our evil and corrupt affections, and daily proceeding in all virtue, and godliness of living.

¶ And so forth, as in Public Baptism.

- ¶ But if they which bring the infants to the Church, do make an uncertain answer to the Priest's questions, and say that they cannot tell what they thought, did, or said in that great fear, and trouble of mind (as oftentimes it chanceth), then let the Priest baptize him in form above written concerning Public Baptism, saving that at the dipping of the Child in the Font, he shall use this form of words.

IF thou be not baptized already. *N.* I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

CONFIRMATION

WHEREIN IS CONTAINED A CATECHISM
FOR CHILDREN.

To the end that Confirmation may be ministered to the more edifying of such as shall receive it (according unto Saint Paul's doctrine, who teacheth that all things should be done in the Church to the edification of the same) it is thought good that none hereafter shall be confirmed, but such as can say in their mother tongue the articles of the faith, the Lord's prayer, and the x. commandments: and can also answer to such questions of this short Catechism, as the Bishop (or such as he shall appoint) shall by his discretion appose them in. And this order is most convenient to be observed for divers considerations.

First, because that when children come to the years of discretion, and have learned what their Godfathers and Godmothers promised for them in baptism, they may then themselves with their own mouth, and with their own consent, openly before the Church, ratify and confirm the same: and also promise that, by the grace of God, they will evermore endeavour themselves faithfully to observe and keep such things, as they by their own mouth and confession have assented unto.

Secondly, forasmuch as Confirmation is ministered to them that be baptized, that by imposition of hands and prayer they may receive strength and defence against all temptations to sin, and the assaults of the world, and the Devil: it is most meet to be ministered when children come to that age, that partly by the frailty of their own flesh, partly by the assaults of the world and the Devil, they begin to be in danger to fall into sundry kinds of sin.

Thirdly, for that it is agreeable with the usage of the Church in times past, whereby it was ordained that Confirmation should be ministered to them that were of perfect age, that they, being instructed in Christ's religion, should openly profess their own faith, and promise to be obedient unto the will of God.

And that no man shall think that any detriment shall come to children by deferring of their Confirmation, he shall know for truth, that it is certain by God's word, that children being baptized have all things necessary for their salvation, and be undoubtedly saved.

A CATECHISM,

THAT IS TO SAY,

AN INSTRUCTION TO BE LEARNED OF EVERY
CHILD, BEFORE HE BE BROUGHT TO BE
CONFIRMED OF THE BISHOP.

Question. WHAT is your name?

Answer. N. or M.

Question. Who gave you this name?

Answer. My Godfathers and Godmothers in my baptism, wherein I was made a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven.

Question. What did your Godfathers and Godmothers then for you?

Answer. They did promise and vow three things in my name. First, that I should forsake the devil and all his works and pomps, the vanities of the wicked world, and all the sinful lusts of the flesh. Secondly, that I should believe all the articles of the Christian faith. And thirdly, that I should keep God's holy will and commandments, and walk in the same all the days of my life.

Question. Dost thou not think that thou art bound to believe and to do as they have promised for thee?

Answer. Yes verily. And by God's help so I will. And I heartily thank our heavenly Father, that he hath called me to this state of salvation, through Jesus Christ our Saviour. And I pray God to give me his grace, that I may continue in the same unto my life's end.

Question. Rehearse the articles of thy belief.

Answer. I believe in God the Father almighty, maker of heaven and of earth. And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord. Which was conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the virgin Mary. Suffered under Ponce Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried, he descended into hell. The third day he rose again from the dead. He ascended into

heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty. From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost. The holy Catholic Church. The communion of saints. The forgiveness of sins. The resurrection of the body. And the life everlasting. Amen.

Question. What dost thou chiefly learn in these articles of thy belief?

Answer. First, I learn to believe in God the Father, who hath made me and all the world.

Secondly, in God the Son, who hath redeemed me and all mankind.

Thirdly, in God the Holy Ghost, who sanctifieth me and all the elect people of God.

Question. You said that your Godfathers and Godmothers did promise for you that you should keep God's commandments. Tell me how many there be?

Answer. Ten.

Question. Which be they?

Answer. The same which God spake in the xx. Chapter of Exodus, saying: I am the Lord thy God which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.

I. Thou shalt have none other gods but me.

II. Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, nor in the water under the earth: thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them. For I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, and visit the sins of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, and shew mercy unto thousands in them that love me, and keep my commandments.

III. Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain: for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain.

IV. Remember thou keep holy the Sabbath day. Six days shalt thou labour and do all that thou hast to do: but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God. In it thou shalt do no manner of work, thou, and thy son and thy daughter, thy man servant, and thy maid servant, thy cattle, and the stranger that is within thy gates: for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day.

Wherefore the Lord blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it.

V. Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

VI. Thou shalt do no murther.

VII. Thou shalt not commit adultery.

VIII. Thou shalt not steal.

IX. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

X. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his servant, nor his maid, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is his.

Question. What dost thou chiefly learn by these commandments?

Answer. I learn two things. My duty towards God, and my duty towards my neighbour.

Question. What is thy duty towards God?

Answer. My duty towards God is, to believe in him, to fear him, and to love him with all my heart, with all my mind, with all my soul, and with all my strength. To worship him. To give him thanks. To put my whole trust in him. To call upon him. To honour his holy name and his word, and to serve him truly all the days of my life.

Question. What is thy duty towards thy neighbour?

Answer. My duty towards my neighbour is, to love him as myself. And to do to all men as I would they should do unto me. To love, honour and succour my father and mother. To honour and obey the king and his ministers. To submit myself to all my governors, teachers, spiritual Pastors and masters. To order myself lowly and reverently to all my betters. To hurt no body by word nor deed. To be true and just in all my dealing. To bear no malice nor hatred in my heart. To keep my hands from picking and stealing, and my tongue from evil speaking, lying and slandering. To keep my body in temperance, soberness, and chastity. Not to covet nor desire other men's goods. But learn and labour truly to get mine own living, and to do my duty in that state of life, unto which it shall please God to call me.

Question. My good child, know this, that thou art not able to do these things of thyself, nor to walk in the commandments of God, and to serve him, without his special

grace, which thou must learn at all times to call for by diligent prayer. Let me hear therefore if thou canst say the Lord's Prayer.

Answer. Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation. But deliver us from evil. Amen.

Question. What desirest thou of God in this prayer?

Answer. I desire my Lord God our heavenly Father, who is the giver of all goodness, to send his grace unto me and to all people, that we may worship him, serve him, and obey him as we ought to do. And I pray unto God, that he will send us all things that be needful both for our souls and bodies. And that he will be merciful unto us, and forgive us our sins : and that it will please him to save and defend us in all dangers ghostly and bodily. And that he will keep us from all sin and wickedness, and from our ghostly enemy, and from everlasting death. And this I trust he will do of his mercy and goodness, through our Lord Jesu Christ. And therefore I say, Amen. So be it.

So soon as the children can say in their mother tongue, the articles of the faith, the Lord's prayer, the x. Commandments : and also can answer to such questions of this short Catechism, as the Bishop (or such as he shall appoint) shall by his discretion appose them in : then shall they be brought to the Bishop by one that shall be his Godfather, or Godmother, that every child may have a witness of his Confirmation.

¶ And the Bishop shall confirm them on this wise.

¶ CONFIRMATION.

Our help is in the name of the Lord.

Answer. Which hath made both heaven and earth.

Minister. Blessed is the name of the Lord.

Answer. Henceforth world without end.

Minister. Lord, hear our prayer.

Answer. And let our cry come to thee.

Let us pray.

ALMIGHTY and everliving God, who hast vouchsafed to regenerate these thy servants by water and the Holy Ghost,

and hast given unto them forgiveness of all their sins : strengthen them, we beseech thee, O Lord, with the Holy Ghost the Comforter, and daily increase in them thy manifold gifts of grace : the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and ghostly strength, the spirit of knowledge and true godliness : and fulfil them, O Lord, with the spirit of thy holy fear. Amen.

Then the Bishop shall lay his hand upon every child severally, saying.

Defend, O Lord, this child with thy heavenly grace, that he may continue thine for ever, and daily increase in thy Holy Spirit more and more, until he come unto thy everlasting kingdom. Amen.

Then shall the Bishop say.

ALMIGHTY everliving God, which makest us both to will, and to do those things that be good and acceptable unto thy Majesty : we make our humble supplications unto thee for these children, upon whom (after the example of thy holy Apostles) we have laid our hands, to certify them (by this sign) of thy favour, and gracious goodness toward them : let thy fatherly hand, we beseech thee, ever be over them : let thy Holy Spirit ever be with them ; and so lead them in the knowledge and obedience of thy word, that in the end they may obtain the everlasting life, through our Lord Jesus Christ : who with thee and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth one God, world without end. Amen.

Then the Bishop shall bless the children, thus saying.

The blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be upon you, and remain with you for ever. Amen.

The Curate of every Parish, or some other at his appointment, shall diligently upon Sundays, and holy days half an hour before Evensong, openly in the Church instruct and examine so many children of his parish sent unto him, as the time will serve, and as he shall think convenient, in some part of this Catechism.

And all Fathers, Mothers, Masters, and Dames, shall cause their children, servants, and prentices (which have not learned their Catechism) to come to the church at the time appointed, and obediently to hear, and be ordered by the Curate, until such time as they have learned all that is here appointed for them to

learn. And whensoever the Bishop shall give knowledge for children to be brought afore him to any convenient place, for their Confirmation: Then shall the Curate of every parish either bring or send in writing the names of all those children of his parish, which can say the Articles of their faith, the Lord's prayer, and the x. Commandments: and also how many of them can answer to the other questions contained in this Catechism. And there shall none be admitted to the holy Communion, until such time as he can say the Catechism, and be confirmed.

THE FORM OF
Solemnization of Matrimony.

First the banns must be asked three several Sundays or holy days, in the time of service, the people being present after the accustomed manner.

And if the persons that would be married dwell in divers Parishes, the banns must be asked in both Parishes, and the Curate of the one Parish shall not solemnize Matrimony betwixt them, without a certificate of the banns being thrice asked from the Curate of the other Parish. At the day appointed for Solemnization of Matrimony, the persons to be married shall come into the body of the church, with their friends and neighbours. And there the Priest shall thus say.

DEARLY beloved friends, we are gathered together here in the sight of God, and in the face of his congregation, to join together this man and this woman in holy matrimony, which is an honourable estate instituted of God in Paradise, in the time of man's innocency, signifying unto us the mystical union, that is betwixt Christ and his Church: which holy estate Christ adorned and beautified with his presence and first miracle that he wrought in Cana of Galilee, and is commended of Saint Paul to be honourable among all men, and therefore is not to be enterprised nor taken in hand unadvisedly, lightly or wantonly, to satisfy men's carnal lusts and appetites, like brute beasts that have no understanding; but reverently, discreetly, advisedly, soberly, and in the fear of God: Duly considering the causes for which Matrimony was ordained. One was the procreation of children, to be brought up in the fear and nurture of the Lord, and praise of God. Secondly, it was ordained for a remedy against sin, and to avoid fornication, that such persons as have not the gift of continence, might marry, and keep themselves undefiled members of Christ's body. Thirdly, for the mutual society, help and comfort, that the one ought to have of the other, both in prosperity and adversity. Into the which holy estate these two persons present come now to be joined.

Therefore, if any man can shew any just cause, why they may not lawfully be joined together : let him now speak, or else hereafter for ever hold his peace.

And also speaking to the persons that shall be married, he shall say.

I require and charge you (as you will answer at the dreadful day of judgment, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed) that if either of you do know any impediment why ye may not be lawfully joined together in Matrimony, that ye confess it. For be ye well assured, that so many as be coupled together otherwise than God's word doth allow, are not joined together by God, neither is their Matrimony lawful.

At which day of marriage if any man do allege and declare any impediment why they may not be coupled together in Matrimony, by God's law or the laws of this Realm : and will be bound, and sufficient sureties with him, to the parties, or else put in a caution to the full value of such charges as the persons to be married doth sustain to prove his allegation : then the Solemnization must be deferred unto such time as the truth be tried. If no impediment be alleged, then shall the Curate say unto the man.

N. Wilt thou have this woman to thy wedded wife, to live together after God's ordinance in the holy estate of Matrimony? Wilt thou love her, comfort her, honour, and keep her, in sickness and in health, and forsaking all other keep thee only to her, so long as you both shall live?

The man shall answer.

I will.

Then shall the Priest say to the woman.

N. Wilt thou have this man to thy wedded husband, to live together after God's ordinance in the holy estate of Matrimony? Wilt thou obey him and serve him, love, honour and keep him, in sickness and in health, and forsaking all other keep thee only unto him, so long as you both shall live?

The woman shall answer.

I will.

Then shall the Minister say.

Who giveth this woman to be married unto this man?

And the Minister receiving the woman at her father or friend's hands, shall cause the man to take the woman by the right hand, and so either to give their troth to other. The man first saying.

I *N.* take thee *N.* to my wedded wife, to have and to hold from this day forward, for better, for worse, for richer, for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love and to cherish, till death us depart, according to God's holy ordinance : And thereto I plight thee my troth.

Then shall they loose their hands, and the woman taking again the man by the right hand shall say.

I *N.* take thee *N.* to my wedded husband, to have and to hold from this day forward, for better, for worse, for richer, for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love, cherish, and to obey, till death us depart, according to God's holy ordinance : And thereto I give thee my troth.

Then shall they again loose their hands, and the man shall give unto the woman a ring, laying the same upon the book with the accustomed duty to the Priest and Clerk. And the Priest taking the ring, shall deliver it unto the man to put it upon the fourth finger of the woman's left hand. And the man taught by the Priest, shall say.

With this ring I thee wed : with my body I thee worship : and with all my worldly goods I thee endow. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Then the man leaving the ring upon the fourth finger of the woman's left hand, the Minister shall say.

¶ Let us pray.

O ETERNAL God, creator and preserver of all mankind, giver of all spiritual grace, the author of everlasting life : Send thy blessing upon these thy servants, this man and this woman, whom we bless in thy name, that as Isaac and Rebecca lived faithfully together, so these persons may surely perform and keep the vow and covenant betwixt them made, whereof this ring given and received is a token and pledge, and may ever remain in perfect love and peace together, and live according unto thy laws : through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then shall the Priest join their right hands together and say.

Those whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder.

Then shall the Minister speak unto the people.

FORASMUCH as *N.* and *N.* have consented together in holy wedlock, and have witnessed the same before God and this company, and thereto have given and pledged their troth either to other, and have declared the same by giving and receiving of a ring, and by joining of hands : I pronounce that they be man and wife together. In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

And the Minister shall add this blessing.

God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, bless, preserve, and keep you : the Lord mercifully with his favour look upon you, and so fill you with all spiritual benediction and grace, that you may so live together in this life, that in the world to come you may have life everlasting. Amen.

Then the Ministers or Clerks, going to the Lord's table, shall say or sing this Psalm following.

Beati omnes. Psalm cxxviii.

BLESSED are all they that fear the Lord : and walk in his ways.

For thou shalt eat the labour of thy hands : O well is thee, and happy shalt thou be.

Thy wife shall be as the fruitful vine : upon the walls of thy house.

Thy children like the olive branches : round about thy table.

Lo, thus shall the man be blessed : that feareth the Lord.

The Lord from out of Sion shall bless thee : that thou shalt see Hierusalem in prosperity all thy life long.

Yea, that thou shalt see thy children's children : and peace upon Israel.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

As it was in the, &c.

Or else this Psalm following.

Deus misereatur. Psalm lxxvii.

GOD be merciful unto us, and bless us : and shew us the light of his countenance, and be merciful unto us.

That thy way may be known upon the earth : thy saving health among all nations.

Let the people praise thee, O God : yea, let all the people praise thee.

O let the nations rejoice and be glad : for thou shalt judge the flock righteously, and govern the nations upon the earth.

Let the people praise thee, O God : let all the people praise thee.

Then shall the earth bring forth her increase : and God, even our God, shall give us his blessing.

God shall bless us, and all the ends of the world shall fear him.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

As it was in the, &c.

¶ The Psalm ended, and the man and the woman kneeling afore the Lord's table : the Priest standing at the table, and turning his face toward them, shall say.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Answer. Christ, have mercy upon us.

Minister. Lord, have mercy upon us.

¶ Our Father, which art in heaven, &c.

And lead us not into temptation.

Answer. But deliver us from evil. Amen.

Minister. O Lord, save thy servant, and thy handmaid ;

Answer. Which put their trust in thee.

Minister. O Lord, send them help from thy holy place.

Answer. And evermore defend them.

Minister. Be unto them a tower of strength.

Answer. From the face of their enemy.

Minister. O Lord, hear our prayer.

Answer. And let our cry come unto thee.

The Minister.

O GOD of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob, bless these thy servants, and sow the seed of eternal life in their minds, that whatsoever in thy holy word they shall profit-

ably learn, they may in deed fulfil the same. Look, O Lord, mercifully upon them from heaven, and bless them. And as thou didst send thy blessing upon Abraham and Sara to their great comfort : so vouchsafe to send thy blessing upon these thy servants, that they obeying thy will, and alway being in safety under thy protection, may abide in thy love unto their lives' end : through Jesu Christ our Lord. Amen.

This prayer next following shall be omitted, where the woman is past child birth.

O MERCIFUL Lord and heavenly Father, by whose gracious gift mankind is increased : we beseech thee assist with thy blessing these two persons, that they may both be fruitful in procreation of children, and also live together so long in godly love and honesty, that they may see their children's children, unto the third and fourth generation, unto thy praise and honour : through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

O GOD, which by thy mighty power hast made all things of nought, which also after other things set in order didst appoint that out of man (created after thine own image and similitude) woman should take her beginning : and knitting them together, didst teach that it should never be lawful to put asunder those, whom thou by matrimony hadst made one : O God, which hast consecrated the state of matrimony to such an excellent mystery, that in it is signified and represented the spiritual marriage and unity betwixt Christ and his church : Look mercifully upon these thy servants, that both this man may love his wife, according to thy word (as Christ did love his spouse the church, who gave himself for it, loving and cherishing it even as his own flesh ;) and also that this woman may be loving and amiable to her husband, as Rachel, wise as Rebecca, faithful and obedient as Sara, and in all quietness, sobriety and peace, be a follower of holy and godly matrons : O Lord, bless them both, and grant them to inherit thy everlasting kingdom : through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then shall the Priest say,

ALMIGHTY God, which at the beginning did create our first parents Adam and Eve, and did sanctify and join them

together in marriage: pour upon you the riches of his grace, sanctify and bless you, that ye may please him both in body and soul, and live together in holy love, unto your lives' end. Amen.

Then shall begin the Communion, and after the Gospel shall be said a sermon, wherein ordinarily (so oft as there is any marriage) the office of a man and wife shall be declared, according to holy scripture: or if there be no sermon, the Minister shall read this that followeth.

ALL ye which be married, or which intend to take the holy estate of matrimony upon you: hear what holy scripture doth say, as touching the duty of husbands toward their wives, and wives toward their husbands. Saint Paul (in his Epistle to the Ephesians the fifth chapter) doth give this commandment to all married men.

Ye husbands, love your wives, even as Christ loved the church, and hath given himself for it, to sanctify it, purging it in the fountain of water, through thy word, that he might make it unto himself a glorious congregation, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that it should be holy and blameless. So men are bound to love their own wives as their own bodies. He that loveth his own wife, loveth himself. For never did any man hate his own flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it, even as the Lord doth the congregation: for we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones.

For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh. This mystery is great, but I speak of Christ and of the congregation. Nevertheless, let every one of you so love his own wife, even as himself.

Likewise the same Saint Paul (writing to the Colossians) speaketh thus to all men that be married. Ye men love your wives, and be not bitter unto them. *Colo. iv.*

Hear also what Saint Peter the apostle of Christ, which was himself a married man, saith unto all men that are married. Ye husbands, dwell with your wives according to knowledge: giving honour unto the wife as unto the weaker vessel, and as heirs together of the grace of life, so that your prayers be not hindered. *1 Petri. iii.*

Hitherto ye have heard the duty of the husband toward the wife:

Now likewise ye wives hear and learn your duty towards your husbands, even as it is plainly set forth in holy scripture,

Saint Paul (in the forenamed Epistle to the Ephesians) teacheth you thus: Ye women, submit yourselves unto your own husbands as unto the Lord: for the husband is the wife's head, even as Christ is the head of the Church. And he is also the Saviour of the whole body. Therefore as the Church or congregation is subject unto Christ: so likewise let the wives also be in subjection unto their own husbands in all things. And again he saith, Let the wife reverence her husband. Ephesi. v. And (in his Epistle to the Colossians) Saint Paul giveth you this short lesson. Ye wives submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as it is convenient in the Lord. *Colo.* iii.

Saint Peter also doth instruct you very godly, thus saying: Let wives be subject to their own husbands, so that if any obey not the word, they may be won without the word, by the conversation of the wives, while they behold your chaste conversation coupled with fear: whose apparel let it not be outward, with broided hair and trimming about with gold, either in putting on of gorgeous apparel: but let the hid man which is in the heart, be without all corruption, so that the spirit be mild and quiet, which is a precious thing in the sight of God. For after this manner (in the old time) did the holy women which trusted in God apparel themselves, being subject to their own husbands: as Sara obeyed Abraham, calling him lord, whose daughters ye are made, doing well, and being not dismayed with any fear. *1 Petri.* iii.

The new married persons (the same day of their marriage) must receive the holy Communion.

THE ORDER FOR THE
VISITATION OF THE SICK.

¶ The Priest entering into the sick person's house, shall say.

Peace be in this house, and to all that dwell in it.

When he cometh into the sick man's presence, he shall say kneeling down.

REMEMBER not, Lord, our iniquities, nor the iniquities of our forefathers. Spare us, good Lord, spare thy people, whom thou hast redeemed with thy most precious blood, and be not angry with us for ever.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Christ, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Our Father, which art in heaven, &c.

And lead us not into temptation.

Answer. But deliver us from evil. Amen.

Minister. O Lord, save thy servant.

Answer. Which putteth his trust in thee.

Minister. Send him help from thy holy place.

Answer. And evermore mightily defend him.

Minister. Let the enemy have none advantage of him.

Answer. Nor the wicked approach to hurt him.

Minister. Be unto him, O Lord, a strong tower.

Answer. From the face of his enemy.

Minister. Lord, hear our prayers.

Answer. And let our cry come unto thee.

Minister.

O LORD, look down from heaven, behold, visit, and relieve this thy servant: Look upon him with the eyes of thy mercy, give him comfort, and sure confidence in thee: Defend him from the danger of the enemy, and keep him

in perpetual peace and safety : through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

HEAR us, almighty and most merciful God and Saviour. Extend thy accustomed goodness to this thy servant which is grieved with sickness : Visit him, O Lord, as thou didst visit Peter's wife's mother and the Captain's servant. So visit and restore unto this sick person his former health (if it be thy will), or else give him grace so to take thy visitation, that after this painful life ended, he may dwell with thee in life everlasting. Amen.

Then shall the Minister exhort the sick person after this form or other like.

DEARLY beloved, know this : that almighty God is the Lord of life and death, and over all things to them pertaining, as youth, strength, health, age, weakness, and sickness. Wherefore, whatsoever your sickness is, know you certainly, that it is God's visitation. And for what cause soever this sickness is sent unto you : whether it be to try your patience for the example of other, and that your faith may be found in the day of the Lord laudable, glorious, and honourable, to the increase of glory, and endless felicity ; or else it be sent unto you to correct and amend in you whatsoever doth offend the eyes of our heavenly Father : know you certainly, that if you truly repent you of your sins, and bear your sickness patiently, trusting in God's mercy for his dear Son Jesus Christ's sake, and render unto him humble thanks for his fatherly visitation, submitting yourself wholly to his will ; it shall turn to your profit, and help you forward in the right way that leadeth unto everlasting life.

If the person visited be very sick, then the Curate may end his exhortation in this place.

¶ TAKE therefore in good worth the chastement of the Lord : For whom the Lord loveth, he chastiseth. Yea (as Saint Paul saith) he scourgeth every son which he receiveth : if you endure chastisement, he offereth himself unto you as unto his own children. What son is he that the father chastiseth not ? If ye be not under correction (whereof all true children are partakers) then are ye bastards and not children. Therefore, seeing that when our carnal fathers do correct us, we reverently obey them :

shall we not now much rather be obedient to our spiritual Father, and so live? And they for a few days do chastise us after their own pleasure, but he doth chastise us for our profit, to the intent he may make us partakers of his holiness. These words, good brother, are God's words, and written in holy scripture for our comfort and instruction, that we should patiently and with thanksgiving bear our heavenly Father's correction, whensoever by any manner of adversity it shall please his gracious goodness to visit us. And there should be no greater comfort to Christian persons, than to be made like unto Christ by suffering patiently adversities, troubles, and sicknesses. For he himself went not up to joy, but first he suffered pain: he entered not into his glory, before he was crucified. So truly our way to eternal joy is to suffer here with Christ, and our door to enter into eternal life is gladly to die with Christ, that we may rise again from death, and dwell with him in everlasting life. Now therefore taking your sickness, which is thus profitable for you, patiently: I exhort you in the name of God, to remember the profession which you made unto God in your Baptism. And forasmuch as after this life there is account to be given unto the righteous Judge, of whom all must be judged without respect of persons: I require you to examine yourself, and your state, both toward God and man: so that accusing and condemning yourself for your own faults, you may find mercy at our heavenly Father's hand for Christ's sake, and not be accused and condemned in that fearful judgment. Therefore I shall shortly rehearse the articles of our faith, that ye may know whether you do believe, as a Christian man should, or no.

¶ Here the Minister shall rehearse the articles of the faith, saying thus,

DOST thou believe in God the Father Almighty?

¶ And so forth, as it is in Baptism.

¶ Then shall the Minister examine whether he be in charity with all the world: Exhorting him to forgive from the bottom of his heart all persons that have offended him; and if he have offended other, to ask them forgiveness: And where he hath done injury or wrong to any man, that he make amends to the uttermost of his power. And if he have not afore disposed his goods, let him then make his will. But men must be oft admonished that they

set an order for their temporal goods and lands, when they be in health. And also declare his debts, what he oweth, and what is owing unto him, for discharging of his conscience, and quietness of his executors.

- ¶ These words before rehearsed, may be said before the Minister begin his prayer, as he shall see cause.
- ¶ The Minister may not forget, nor omit to move the sick person, (and that most earnestly) to liberality toward the poor.
- ¶ Here shall the sick person make a special confession, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter. After which confession the Priest shall absolve him after this sort.

OUR Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his Church to absolve all sinners, which truly repent and believe in him, of his great mercy forgive thee thine offences: and by his authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

And then the Priest shall say the Collect following.

¶ Let us pray.

O MOST merciful God, which according to the multitude of thy mercies dost so put away the sins of those which truly repent, that thou rememberest them no more: open thy eye of mercy upon this thy servant, who most earnestly desireth pardon and forgiveness. Renew in him, most loving Father, whatsoever hath been decayed by the fraud and malice of the devil, or by his own carnal will and frailness: preserve and continue this sick member in the unity of thy church, consider his contrition, accept his tears, assuage his pain, as shall be seen to thee most expedient for him. And forasmuch as he putteth his full trust only in thy mercy, impute not unto him his former sins, but take him unto thy favour: through the merits of thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ. Amen.

Then the Minister shall say this Psalm.

In te Domine speravi. Psalm xxi.

¶ Adding this.

O SAVIOUR of the world, save us, which by thy cross and precious blood hast redeemed us, help us, we beseech thee, O God.

Then shall the Minister say.

THE Almighty Lord, which is a most strong tower to all them that put their trust in him, to whom all things in heaven, in earth, and under earth, do bow and obey: be now and evermore thy defence, and make thee know and feel, that there is no other name under heaven given to man, in whom, and through whom, thou mayest receive health and salvation, but only the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

THE COMMUNION OF THE SICK.

FORASMUCH as all mortal men be subject to many sudden perils, diseases and sicknesses, and ever uncertain what time they shall depart out of this life: Therefore, to the intent they may be always in a readiness to die, whensoever it shall please Almighty God to call them, the Curates shall diligently from time to time, but specially in the plague time, exhort their parishioners, to the oft receiving in the church of the holy communion of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ. Which if they do, they shall have no cause in their sudden visitation to be unquieted for lack of the same: but if the sick person be not able to come to the church, and yet is desirous to receive the communion in his house, then he must give knowledge over night, or else early in the morning to the Curate, signifying also how many be appointed to communicate with him. And having a convenient place in the sick man's house, where the Curate may reverently minister, and a good number to receive the communion with the sick person, with all things necessary for the same, he shall there minister the holy communion.

The Collect.

ALMIGHTY everliving God, Maker of mankind, which dost correct those whom thou dost love, and chastisest every one whom thou dost receive: we beseech thee to have mercy upon this thy servant visited with thy hand, and to grant that he may take his sickness patiently, and recover his bodily health (if it be thy gracious will), and whensoever his soul shall depart from the body, it may be without spot presented unto thee: through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Epistle. Hebr. xii.

MY son, despise not the correction of the Lord, neither faint when thou art rebuked of him: For whom the Lord loveth, him he correcteth, yea and he scourgeth every son, whom he receiveth.

The Gospel. John v.

VERILY, verily I say unto you, he that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come unto damnation, but he passeth from death unto life.

- ¶ At the time of the distribution of the holy Sacrament, the Priest shall first receive the communion himself, and after minister unto them that be appointed to communicate with the sick.
- ¶ But if any man, either by reason of extremity of sickness, or for lack of warning in due time to the Curate, or for lack of company to receive with him, or by any other just impediment, do not receive the Sacrament of Christ's body and blood: then the Curate shall instruct him, that if he do truly repent him of his sins, and stedfastly believe that Jesus Christ hath suffered death upon the cross for him, and shed his blood for his redemption, earnestly remembering the benefits he hath thereby, and giving him hearty thanks therefore, he doth eat and drink the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, profitably to his soul's health, although he do not receive the Sacrament with his mouth.
- ¶ When the sick person is visited, and receiveth the holy communion all at one time, then the priest for more expedition, shall cut off the form of the visitation at the Psalm, *In thee, O Lord, have I put my trust*, and go straight to the communion.
- ¶ In the time of plague, sweat, or such other like contagious times of sicknesses or diseases, when none of the parish or neighbours can be gotten to communicate with the sick in their houses, for fear of the infection, upon special request of the diseased, the minister may alone communicate with him.

THE ORDER FOR THE
BURIAL OF THE DEAD.

The Priest meeting the corpse at the Church stile, shall say : Or else the priests and clerks shall sing, and so go either unto the church, or towards the grave.

I AM the resurrection and the life, saith the Lord : he that believeth in me, yea though he were dead, yet shall he live. And whosoever liveth and believeth in me, shall not die for ever. *John xi.*

I KNOW that my Redeemer liveth, and that I shall rise out of the earth in the last day, and shall be covered again with my skin, and shall see God in my flesh : yea, and I myself shall behold him, not with other, but with these same eyes. *Job xix.*

WE brought nothing into this world, neither may we carry any thing out of this world. *1 Tim. vi.* The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away. Even as it hath pleased the Lord, so cometh things to pass : blessed be the name of the Lord. *Job i.*

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

MAN that is born of a woman hath but a short time to live, and is full of misery : he cometh up and is cut down like a flower, he flieth as it were a shadow, and never continueth in one stay. *Job ix.* In the midst of life we be in death : of whom may we seek for succour but of thee, O Lord, which for our sins justly art displeased? Yet, O Lord God most holy, O Lord most mighty, O holy and most merciful Saviour, deliver us not into the bitter pains of eternal death. Thou knowest, Lord, the secrets of our hearts, shut not up thy merciful eyes to our prayers : But spare us, Lord most holy, O God most mighty, O holy and

merciful Saviour, thou most worthy Judge eternal, suffer us not at our last hour for any pains of death to fall from thee.

Then while the earth shall be cast upon the body, by some standing by, the Priest shall say.

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, earth to earth, ashes, to ashes, dust to dust, in sure and certain hope of resurrection to eternal life, through our Lord Jesus Christ : who shall change our vile body that it may be like to his glorious body, according to the mighty working whereby he is able to subdue all things to himself.

¶ Then shall be said or sung.

I HEARD a voice from heaven, saying unto me, Write : from henceforth, blessed are the dead which die in the Lord. Even so saith the Spirit, that they rest from their labours.

Then shall follow this lesson, taken out of the xv. Chapter to the Corinthians, the first Epistle—[v. 20 to end.]

The lesson ended, the Priest shall say.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Christ, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

¶ Our Father which art in heaven, &c.

And lead us not into temptation.

Answer. But deliver us from evil. Amen.

The Priest. ALMIGHTY God, with whom do live the spirits of them that depart hence in the Lord, 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 : We give thee hearty thanks, for that it hath pleased thee to deliver this *N.* our brother out of the miseries of this sinful world : beseeching thee, that it may please thee of thy gracious goodness, shortly to accomplish the number of thine elect, and to haste thy kingdom, that we with this our brother, and all other

departed in the true faith of thy holy name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and soul, in thy eternal and everlasting glory. Amen.

The Collect.

O MERCIFUL God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the resurrection and the life, in whom whosoever believeth, shall live though he die ; and whosoever liveth and believeth in him, shall not die eternally : who also 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, that when we shall depart this life, we may rest in him, as our hope is this our brother doth ; and that at the general resurrection in the last day, we may be found acceptable in thy sight, and receive that blessing which thy wellbeloved Son shall then pronounce to all that love and fear thee, saying : Come, ye blessed children of my Father, receive the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world. Grant this we beseech thee, O merciful Father, through Jesus Christ our Mediator and Redeemer. Amen.

THE THANKSGIVING OF WOMEN
AFTER CHILD BIRTH,
COMMONLY CALLED
THE CHURCHING OF WOMEN.

The woman shall come into the church, and there shall kneel down in some convenient place, nigh unto the place where the table standeth : and the Priest standing by her, shall say these words, or such like as the case shall require.

FORASMUCH as it hath pleased almighty God of his goodness to give you safe deliverance, and hath preserved you in the great danger of child birth : ye shall therefore give hearty thanks unto God, and pray.

Then shall the Priest say this Psalm.

[Psalm cxxi.]

I HAVE lifted up mine eyes unto the hills : from whence cometh my help.

My help cometh even from the Lord : which hath made heaven and earth.

He will not suffer thy foot to be moved : and he that keepeth thee will not sleep.

Behold, he that keepeth Israel : shall neither slumber nor sleep.

The Lord himself is thy keeper : the Lord is thy defence upon thy right hand.

So that the Sun shall not burn thee by day : neither the Moon by night.

The Lord shall preserve thee from all evil : yea, it is even he that shall keep thy soul.

The Lord shall preserve thy going out, and thy coming in : from this time forth for evermore.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to, &c.

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever, &c.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Christ, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

¶ Our Father, which, &c.

And lead us not into temptation.

Answer. But deliver us from evil. Amen.

Priest. O Lord, save this woman thy servant.

Answer. Which putteth her trust in thee.

Priest. Be thou to her a strong tower.

Answer. From the face of her enemy.

Priest. Lord, hear our prayer.

Answer. And let our cry come unto thee.

Priest. ¶ Let us pray.

O ALMIGHTY God, which hast delivered this woman thy servant from the great pain and peril of child birth: Grant, we beseech thee, most merciful Father, that she through thy help may both faithfully live and walk in her vocation, according to thy will in this life present; and also may be partaker of everlasting glory in the life to come, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The woman that cometh to give her thanks, must offer accustomed offerings: and if there be a Communion, it is convenient that she receive the holy Communion.

A

Commination against Sinners,

WITH CERTAIN

PRAYERS TO BE USED DIVERS TIMES
IN THE YEAR.

¶ After Morning prayer, the people being called together by the ringing of a bell, and assembled in the Church, the English Litany shall be said, after the accustomed manner: which ended, the Priest shall go into the pulpit and say thus.

BRETHREN, in the primitive church there was a Godly discipline, that at the beginning of Lent such persons as were notorious sinners, were put to open penance and punished in this world, that their souls might be saved in the day of the Lord; and that others, admonished by their example, might be more afraid to offend. In the stead whereof, until the said discipline may be restored again (which thing is much to be wished), it is thought good, that at this time (in your presence) should be read the general sentences of God's cursing against impenitent sinners, gathered out of the xxvii. Chapter of Deuteronomy, and other places of scripture; and that ye should answer to every sentence, Amen. To the intent that you, being admonished of the great indignation of God against sinners, may the rather be called to earnest and true repentance, and may walk more warily in these dangerous days, fleeing from such vices, for the which ye affirm with your own mouths the curse of God to be due.

CURSED is the man that maketh any carved or molten Image, an abomination to the Lord, the work of the hands of the craftsman, and putteth it in a secret place to worship it.

And the people shall answer and say.

Amen.

Minister. Cursed is he that curseth his father and mother.

Answer. Amen.

Minister. Cursed is he that removeth away the mark of his neighbour's land.

Answer. Amen.

Minister. Cursed is he that maketh the blind to go out of his way.

Answer. Amen.

Minister. Cursed is he that letteth in judgment the right of the stranger, of them that be fatherless, and of widows.

Answer. Amen.

Minister. Cursed is he that smiteth his neighbour secretly.

Answer. Amen.

Minister. Cursed is he that lieth with his neighbour's wife.

Answer. Amen.

Minister. Cursed is he that taketh reward to slay the soul of innocent blood.

Answer. Amen.

Minister. Cursed is he that putteth his trust in man, and taketh man for his defence, and in his heart goeth from the Lord.

Answer. Amen.

Minister. Cursed are the unmerciful, the fornicators, and adulterers, and the covetous persons, the worshippers of images, slanderers, drunkards, and extortioners.

Answer. Amen.

The Minister. Now, seeing that all they be accursed (as the prophet David beareth witness) which do err and go astray from the commandments of God : let us (remembering the dreadful judgment hanging over our heads, and being always at hand) return unto our Lord God, with all contrition and meekness of heart, bewailing and lamenting our sinful life, knowledging and confessing our offences, and seeking to bring forth worthy fruits of penance. For now is the axe put unto the root of the trees, so that every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down, and cast into the fire. It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God : he shall pour down rain upon the sinners, snares, fire and brimstone, storm and tempest : this shall be their portion to drink. For lo, the

Ps. cxviii.

Mat. iii.

Hebr. x.

Psalm x.

Esa. xxvi.

Lord is coming out of his place, to visit the wickedness of such as dwell upon the earth. But who may abide the day of his coming? Who shall be able to endure when he appeareth? His fan is in his hand, and he will purge his floor, and gather his wheat into the barn: but he will burn the chaff with unquenchable fire. The day of the Lord cometh as a thief upon the night, and when men shall say peace, and all things are safe, then shall suddenly destruction come upon them, as sorrow cometh upon a woman travailing with child, and they shall not escape: then shall appear the wrath of God in the day of vengeance, which obstinate sinners, through the stubbornness of their heart, have heaped unto themselves, which despised the goodness, patience, and long sufferance of God, when he called them continually to repentance. Then shall they call upon me, saith the Lord, but I will not hear: they shall seek me early, but they shall not find me, and that because they hated knowledge, and received not the fear of the Lord, but abhorred my counsel, and despised my correction: then shall it be too late to knock, when the door shall be shut, and too late to cry for mercy, when it is the time of justice. O terrible voice of most just judgment, which shall be pronounced upon them, when it shall be said unto them: Go, ye cursed, into the fire everlasting, which is prepared for the devil and his Angels. Therefore, brethren, take we heed betime, while the day of salvation lasteth, for the night cometh when none can work: but let us, while we have the light, believe in the light, and walk as the children of the light, that we be not cast into the utter darkness where is weeping and gnashing of teeth. Let us not abuse the goodness of God, which calleth us mercifully to amendment, and of his endless pity promiseth us forgiveness of that which is past, if (with a whole mind and true heart) we return unto him: for though our sins be red as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; and though they be like purple, yet shall they be as white as wool. Turn you clean (saith the Lord) from all your wickedness, and your sin shall not be your destruction. Cast away from you all your ungodliness that ye have done, make you new hearts, and a new spirit: wherefore will ye die, O ye house of Israel? Seeing that I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth, saith the Lord God. Turn you then and you shall live. Although we have sinned, yet have we an advocate with the Father,

Mala. iii.
 Mat. iii.
 1 Thes. v.
 Rom. ii.
 Prove. i.
 Mat. xxv.
 2 Cor. vi.
 John ix.
 Mat. xxv.
 Esai. i.
 Ezechiel xxviii.
 1 John ii.

Jesus Christ the righteous: and he it is that obtaineth grace for our sins; for he was wounded for our offences, and smitten for our wickedness. Let us therefore return unto him, who is the merciful receiver of all true penitent sinners, assuring ourself, that he is ready to receive us, and most willing to pardon us, if we come to him with faithful repentance; if we will submit ourselves unto him, and from henceforth walk in his ways; if we will take his easy yoke and light burden upon us, to follow him in lowliness, patience, and charity, and be ordered by the governance of his Holy Spirit, seeking always his glory, and serving him duly in our vocation, with thanks giving. This if we do, Christ will deliver us from the curse of the law, and from the extreme malediction, which shall light upon them, that shall be set on the left hand: and he will set us on his right hand, and give us the blessed benediction of his Father, commanding us to take possession of his glorious kingdom, unto the which he vouchsafe to bring us all, for his infinite mercy. Amen.

Esai. liii.

Math. xi.

Mat. xxv.

Then shall they all kneel upon their knees: and the Priests and Clerks kneeling (where they are accustomed to say the Litany,) shall say this Psalm.

Miserere mei Deus. Psalm li.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Christ, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

¶ Our Father, which art in heaven, &c.

And lead us not into temptation.

Answer. But deliver us from evil. Amen.

Minister. O Lord, save thy servants.

Answer. Which put their trust in thee.

Minister. Send unto them help from above.

Answer. And evermore mightily defend them.

Minister. Help us, O God our Saviour.

Answer. And for the glory of thy name's sake deliver us, be merciful unto us sinners, for thy name's sake.

Minister. O Lord, hear our prayers.

Answer. And let our cry come unto thee.

Let us pray.

O LORD, we beseech thee mercifully hear our prayers, and spare all those which confess their sins to thee: that

they (whose consciences by sin are accused) by thy merciful pardon may be absolved: Through Christ our Lord. Amen.

O MOST mighty God and merciful Father, which hast compassion of all men, and hatest nothing that thou hast made: which wouldest not the death of a sinner, but that he should rather turn from sin, and be saved: mercifully forgive us our trespasses, receive and comfort us, which be grieved and wearied with the burthen of our sin. Thy property is to have mercy; to thee only it appertaineth to forgive sins: spare us therefore, good Lord, spare thy people whom thou hast redeemed. Enter not into judgment with thy servants, which be vile earth, and miserable sinners: but so turn thy ire from us, which meekly knowledge our vileness, and truly repent us of our faults; so make haste to help us in this world, that we may ever live with thee, in the world to come: through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

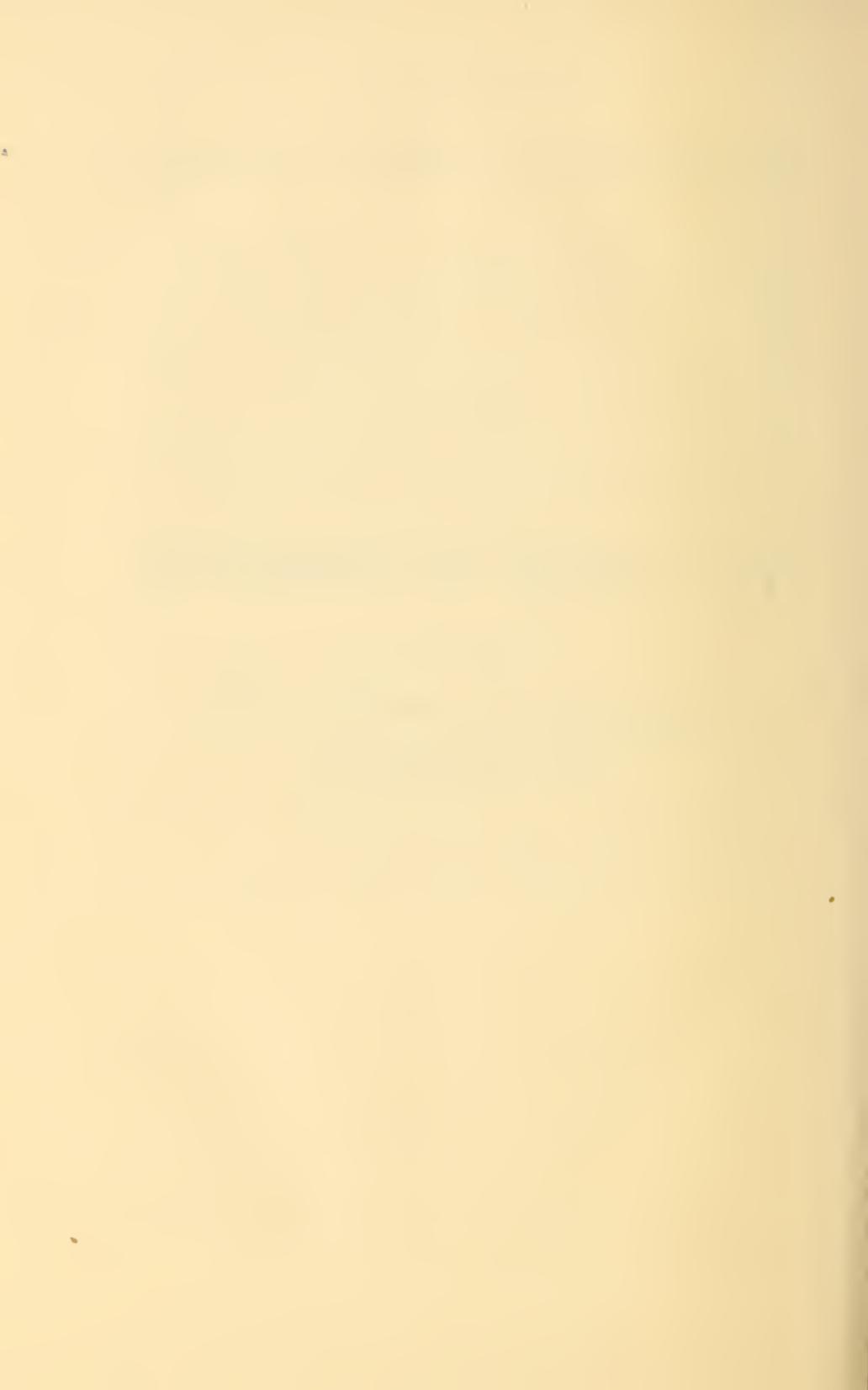
¶ Then shall the people say this that followeth, after the Minister.

TURN thou us, O good Lord, and so shall we be turned: be favourable (O Lord) be favourable to thy people, which turn to thee in weeping, fasting and praying: for thou art a merciful God, full of compassion, long suffering, and of a great pity. Thou sparest when we deserve punishment, and in thy wrath thinkest upon mercy. Spare thy people, good Lord, spare them, and let not thy heritage be brought to confusion: hear us (O Lord) for thy mercy is great, and after the multitude of thy mercies look upon us.

THE LITURGY OF COMPROMISE

USED IN

THE ENGLISH CONGREGATION
AT FRANKFORT



INTRODUCTION.

THE Liturgy of Compromise drawn up at Frankfort was not prepared for use in the Church of Scotland, but it is worthy of a place in this series from Knox's connection with it, and from the fact that it might have been the basis of a common order of service for both our national Churches.

The original sources of information regarding it are the History of the Troubles at Frankfort,¹ Knox's narrative of the proceedings of the congregation there in March 1555,² and some letters of the time. Knox was at Frankfort from November 1554, but the period with which we have specially to do dates from February 6, 1555, till the 26th of March following.

The Two Parties at Frankfort.

The state of parties at Frankfort is described as follows in a letter to Calvin from Dean Sampson,³ written at Strasburg on the 23rd of February 1555:—

“While some desire the Book of Reformation of the Church of England to be set aside altogether, others only deem some things in it objectionable, such as kneeling at the Lord's

¹ Reference T.

² Laing's Knox, iv. 41-49.

³ In 1552 Dean of Chichester; fled to Strasburg; went to Frankfort with Cox; left for Geneva during the first year of the Church

Supper, the linen surplice, and other matters of the kind ; but the rest of it, namely the prayers, Scripture lessons, and the form of the administration of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, they wish to be retained. Some contend for retaining the form, both because the Archbishop of Canterbury [Cranmer] defends the doctrine as sound, and also because the opposite party can assign no just reason why the form should be changed. They exclaim on the other hand that the sole object of these persons is the establishment of ceremonies."¹

This explains the whole situation, and it is evident that each party was working for the ultimate triumph of its principles in England.

The Liturgy of Compromise.

Knox and his party having failed to set aside the Prayer Book of Edward, and to introduce a version of the Genevan Liturgy, he with Whittingham, Parry, and Lever was appointed to "devise some order if it might be to end all strife and contention . . ." At this conference Knox said—

"Forasmuch as I perceive, that no end of contention is to be hoped for, unless the one part something relent, this will I do for my part that quietness may ensue. I will show my judgment how (as I think) it may be best for the edification of this poor flock, which if ye will not accept nor follow . . . I will cease and commit the whole matter to be ordered by you. . . . Whereupon after some conference an order was agreed upon, some part taken forth of the English Book, and other things put to, as the state of that Church required."²

there ; in 1557 became pastor of the exiles at Lausanne; on his return from exile refused the bishopric of Norwich because of his opposition to episcopacy and the ceremonies ; appointed to the Deanery of Christ Church, Oxford, in 1561 ; deprived for nonconformity in 1563 ; died at Leicester in 1589.

¹ Laing's Knox, iv.3.

² T., p. 37.

The order was approved by the congregation, and it was resolved on the 6th of February that it

“should continue to the last of April following, if any contention should arise in the meantime, the matter then to be determined by these 5 notable learned men, to wit Calvin, Musculus, Martyr, Bullinger, and Vyret. The agreement was put in writing. To that all gave their consent. The day was joyful. Thanks were given to God. . . . Yea, the holy Communion was upon this happy agreement also ministered.”¹

It had been omitted for three months—*i.e.*, from the time of Knox's arrival. Knox says that “the order by us appointed was used, well liked by many and by none reproved.” He and his friends had made good their promise of December 3, 1554, to the exiles at Strasburg.

“As for certain ceremonies which the order of the country will not bear we necessarily omit with as little alteration as is possible. . . . And as touching our [English] Book we will practice it so far as God's word doth assure it, and the state of the country doth permit.”²

The Agreement broken.

The peace lasted till the 13th of March, when Dr Cox and

“others with him came to Frankfort out of England, who began to break that order which was agreed upon first by answering aloud after the minister. . . . And being admonished thereof by the Seniors of the Congregation, he with the rest that came with him made answer, that they would do as they had done in England, and that they would have the face of an English Church.”³

¹ T., p. 38.

² T., pp. 25, 26.

³ T., p. 38.

Cox was supported by Lever, one of the pastors, who, says Knox,

“began to treat that the Litany which answered might be used. . . . The Sunday next following [March 17] . . . Mr Lever brought in one to preach who had been at mass in England, and had subscribed to blasphemous articles, who read the Litany in the pulpit, the people answering, and so the determination agreed and determined by the whole Church was broken (as appeareth) by subtle undermining of Mr Lever.”

It was Knox's turn to preach in the afternoon. While admitting that he had once thought well of the English Prayer Book, he now attacked it as containing “things both superstitious, impure, and imperfect,” and condemned the English Reformation as incomplete for want of discipline and because “one man was permitted to have 3, 4, or 5 benefices to the great slander of the gospel.” Among his hearers there were some who “had many livings in England, and he was very sharply charged and reproved as soon as he came out of the pulpit.”¹ Knox admits that “his sermon did exasperate the minds of men.” Still it was on his complaint of order and promise broken that the congregation was assembled the same night. He was then accused by Mr Lever and Dr Cox, but he “was suffered to say little for the shortness of the time,” and the meeting was adjourned till the Tuesday following.

Meeting of Congregation. Tuesday.

On that day there was a discussion as to whether Cox and the other new-comers should be allowed to take part, as they had not subscribed the Discipline. It was also urged that those who had been at mass in England

¹ T., p. 39.

“should show some sign of repentance before the congregation.” Knox, however, interposed, and in what has been called a “spirit of bravado” said—

“I know that your earnest desire to be received at this instant within the number of the congregation, is because that by the multitude of your voices you may justify a promise breaker and so overthrow my cause. Howbeit the matter is so evident, that ye shall not be able to do it. Wherefore I fear not your judgment, and therefore do I require that ye might be admitted.”

They were admitted accordingly, and contrary to Knox’s expectation Cox and his party had a majority of votes, and he was forbidden by them to preach or meddle any more in that congregation.

New Conference. Wednesday, March 20th.

The next day Whittingham informed the magistrates, who gave orders that there should be no sermon for the present, and commanded Valeran that two should be chosen from each side, and “that he and they should consult and agree upon some good order.” Cox and Lever were appointed to represent one section, and Knox and Whittingham the other. Knox’s account of the Conference is as follows. We consulted for

“two days in the house of Valeranus Polanus ; in the which reasoning what soberness was found in me I refer to these notes which Mr Valeran did take in writing of our agreement. But the third day when the order of Mattins to begin always with Domine labia, Deus in adjutorium et Deum laudamus,¹ and other prescript words not read in the Scripture,

¹ “Lord, open thou my lips, and my mouth shall show forth praise. O God, be ready to my help,” &c. “Then come and let us sing unto the Lord,” &c. English Liturgy as described to Calvin, T., p. 29.

was called an order borrowed of the Papists, and Papistical, then began the tragedy, and our consultation ended."

According to the History of the Troubles, when "they came to the order of Mattins, and that Dr Cox said, 'ego volo habere' [I will have it so], there could be no agreement among them, and so brake off." What further concessions Knox had made we do not know, but it would seem that everything had been arranged amicably except the services for morning and evening prayer, which had been reserved to the last, and that Cox's proposal to use the suffrages always and responsively, evoked the outburst of which Knox says, "If I was fervent, I was fervent for God."

Supplication to the Senate.

Knox's friends thereupon presented a supplication to the Senate, written, no doubt, chiefly by himself, in which it is said that "for peace and concord's sake we gave place to their will, and suffered them at their pleasure to pick out of their book the chiefest or best things upon this condition that the same should continue without alteration, at the least, until the last day of April. . . . Now of late days certain of our countrymen came to us who have endeavoured by all means to obtrude that huge volume of ceremonies upon us to break the covenant." They refer to "the foolish and fond things of the Book," and to the rochet and bishop's robe which Hooper, "whom we hear to be burned of late," was compelled to wear, as "proud things that fools marvel at." They say that if Cox and his party get their way the evil "shall never be redressed, neither shall there ever be an end of this controversy in England," and they ask that the dispute be referred to the five Divines mentioned in the agreement.¹

¹ T., p. 40.

French Order imposed.

On the 22nd of March the congregation was ordered by the magistrates henceforth to use the French Liturgy on pain of having the church doors shut against them. Cox at once commended this order as "both good and godly in all points," and it was "put in practice to the comfort and rejoicing of the most part. Nevertheless, such as would so fain have had the Book of England left not the matter thus."¹

Further attempts to get rid of Knox. Charge of Treason.

"During the time of these, our controversies," writes Knox, "one Mr Isaac² of Kent cometh to my house to move me to relent from my earnestness against the Book, and promiseth me favour; if not he threateneth somewhat to follow." We learn also from a letter to Calvin from Cox and others, that one of their number called upon an intimate friend of Knox [said to be Whittingham,³] urging the advisability of his leaving the city altogether, and that this friend complied and earnestly recommended Knox to go. These attempts having failed, some of Cox's supporters, as a last resource, charged Knox with treason. According to Knox's own account, "Mr Isaac, and one Parry,⁴ late Chancellor of Salisbury, by the council of Dr Cox, Dr Bale,⁵ Turner⁶ of Windsor, Jewell⁷ of Oxford, and

¹ T., p. 43.

² Sheriff of Kent.

³ Weber, *Gesch. der Kirchenref. in Grossbrit.*, ii. 487.

⁴ One of those who had drawn up the Liturgy of Compromise.

⁵ Dr Bale, Bishop of Ossory 1552; fled; signed Knox's call to Frankfort, 1554; went to Basel; on his return from exile made Prebendary of Canterbury. Author of 'Illust. Major. Brit. Scriptor. Summarium,' &c.

⁶ Richard Turner, Prebendary of Windsor; named by Cranmer for Archbishopric of Armagh; supported Cox at Frankfort; went to Basel.

⁷ Jewell, John. After the exile Bishop of Salisbury; author of the

others, accused [him] before the magistracy . . . of high treason against the Emperor, his son Philip, King of Spain, and the Queen of England."

The charge was founded on passages in a pamphlet entitled, "Admonition of Christians concerning the present troubles in England," published abroad by Knox under a feigned name in May 1554. In these extracts it is said that

'If Mary and her councillors had been sent to hell before these days her cruelty should not have so manifestly appeared to the world: Jezebel never erected half so many gallows in all Israel as mischievous Mary hath done within London alone. [She is] false, dissembling, . . . a breaker of promises, except such promises as she made to your God the Pope to the great shame and dishonour of her noble father. . . . An open traitoress to the Realm of England, . . . a wicked woman . . . that now reigneth in God's wrath . . . the Emperor who is no less enemy to Christ than was Nero."¹

On hearing this charge the magistrates sent for Whittingham, asked him concerning Knox, and bade him bring them a Latin translation of the extracts at one o'clock of that day, and after they had read it "they commanded that Knox should preach no more till their pleasure was farther known." After "I was commanded . . . to stay from preaching," Knox writes, "I went to the church the next day [Sunday the 24th], not thinking that my company would have offended any. But as soon as my accusers saw me, they, with Dr Cox and others,

'Apology for the Church of England,' and educator of Hooker. He seems to have been the preacher who read "the Litany which answereth," on the 17th of March, but his public confession of having been at mass and signed Popish articles must have been made on a different Sunday. T., 39.

¹ Knox's narrative.

departed from the sermon, some of them protesting with great vehemence that they could not tarry where I was present." He also states that Isaac and Jewell "laboured with the magistrates for sentence and judgment" in his case.

Knox ordered to leave Frankfort.

On Monday the 25th the magistrates "sent for Williams¹ and Whittingham, telling them that Knox should depart the city. For otherwise, as they said, they should be forced to deliver him, if the Emperor his council (which then lay at Augsburg) should upon like information send for him." On the evening of the 25th Knox preached a farewell sermon to about fifty of his friends in his own lodgings, and on the following day he left for Geneva, accompanied for three or four miles by some who had heard him the night before, and who now "with great heaviness of heart and plenty of tears committed him to the Lord."

Assembly of Divines and Learned Men. March 26th.

On the same day many learned Divines came to Frankfort from other cities of refuge, to assist in settling the peace of the church, and were presented to the magistrates, who, at their request, rescinded the recent decree imposing the French Order, and allowed the congregation to use such portions of the English Book as were desired. On the 28th, Cox assembled all who "had been Priests and Ministers in England" to inform them that the magistrates had granted them the use of their own Liturgy, and to consult as to the election of new office-bearers.

¹ Signed Knox's call to Frankfort; went to Geneva, and made one of the seniors of the Church.

Letter to Calvin from Cox and others.

On the 5th of April, ten days after Knox had left, Cox, &c., wrote Calvin.¹ After excusing themselves on account of the distance for not having consulted him as to the new settlement of their church affairs, and stating that "their controversy with certain brethren was altogether brought to a termination," they say,—

"When the magistrates lately gave us permission to adopt the rites of our native country, we freely relinquished all those ceremonies which were regarded by our brethren as offensive and inconvenient. For we gave up private baptisms, [episcopal] confirmation of children, saints days, kneeling at the Holy Communion, the linen surplices of the ministers, crosses, and other things of the like character. . . . We retain, however, the remainder of the form of prayer, and of the administration of the sacraments which is prescribed in our Book, and this with the consent of almost the whole church. . . . With the consent likewise of the same church there was forthwith appointed one pastor, two preachers, four elders, two deacons. . . ."

(Signed.) Richard Cox, David Whitehead,² Richard Al-

¹ Laing's Knox, iv. 55.

² Whitehead was recommended by Cranmer for the Archbishopric of Armagh; was one of the 175 who sailed with à Lasco from Gravesend, Sept. 17, 1553; went to Embden; then to Frankfort; took the side of Cox; chosen pastor after Knox left; resigned, Feb. 1556. After the exile refused the Archbishop of Canterbury, because of his opposition to Episcopacy and ceremonies. Dixon, in his history of the English Church, says that the authorship of the Troubles has been attributed to him with more probability than to Whittingham; but he died in 1571, four years before it was published, and he is mentioned in the Troubles as one of those who could never be brought to submit to the ceremonies of Elizabeth's reign. T., p. 115.

vey,¹ Thomas Becon,² Edwin Sandys,³ Edmund Grindall,⁴ John Bale, Robert Horn,⁵ Thomas Lever, Thomas Sampson.

A letter from Grindal to Bishop Ridley, written from Frankfort on the 6th of May, is extant, in which he says that the Church there is, "God be thanked, well quieted by the prudence of Master Cox and others which met here for that purpose."⁶

Calvin replied to Cox and the others on the 31st May. By that time he had heard Knox's account of his treatment, and had received communications from some of his sympathisers. In his letter Calvin animadverts on their zeal for the ceremonies of England, but "I refrain myself," he says, "lest I should seem to begin to move a new contention of that matter which, as you report, is well ended." He then refers to the election of pastors and other ministers, and in connection with this says: "But certainly this one thing I cannot keep secret, that Master Knox

¹ Alvey. Chaplain to Cranmer and Canon of Westminster in 1552. After the exile the canonry was restored to him, and he was made Master of the Temple.

² Becon. Chaplain to Cranmer, and Prebendary of Canterbury; Rector of S. Stephen's Walbrook; went to Strasburg; supported Cox at Frankfort; restored to his benefices after the exile.

³ Sandys. Master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, and Vice-Chancellor; fled to Continent in the same ship with Cox, May 1554; went to Frankfort to support Cox; after the exile, Bishop of Worcester, and of London, and Archbishop of York.

⁴ Grindall. Chaplain to Edward VI.; fled to Strasburg; supported Cox at Frankfort; in Elizabeth's reign bishop of London and Archbishop of Canterbury.

⁵ Horn. Dean of Durham; fled to Zurich; went to Frankfort, and was chosen pastor in succession to Whitehead; resigned and went to Strasburg; after the exile, Bishop of Winchester.

⁶ Grind. Remains, p. 238, Parker Society.

was, in my judgment, neither godly nor brotherly dealt with." ¹

History of the whole Affair.

Cox and his supporters did not attempt to justify themselves at the time, as Whittingham and nearly all Knox's friends were still members of the congregation, and to have discussed the subject would have revived the strife. But after they had left Frankfort, about the end of August, some for Basel, others for Geneva, Cox and his party gave Calvin what they call the history of the whole affair. In a letter of September 20, they say of their opponents—

"They falsely accuse us as if we wished to burden the Church with frivolous and useless ceremonies. We have the fewest ceremonies possible, and they are all not a little useful for promoting piety. But it is not wonderful that our ceremonies should appear to them too numerous and also burdensome, when they exclaim that the public reading of the Word of God is a troublesome [molestam] and useless ceremony. But it is quite evident from your words that our affairs are almost wholly unknown to you. For we have nothing which either in your judgment (we know well), or in that of any pious man, could appear either useless or noxious. We are ready whenever you wish to give you a reason for any of our ceremonies which we use here, and we think we have more to fear that their fewness rather than their multitude might be displeasing to many. . . . And now to turn to your other points. You say that all good men are of opinion that the pastor and the rest of the ministers should be elected by the common vote. . . . That such truly was our election here, we have God as witness, our own conscience, our whole Church, and the magistrates themselves, by whose authority and counsel we are always directed. . . . But to come to the

¹ T., p. 52.

business of Knox. . . . Certain parties in our Church . . . understood that Knox had published a certain book which they perceived would supply their enemies with just grounds for overturning the whole Church. For there were interspersed in this publication atrocious and horrible calumnies against the Queen of England. . . . When these men had read the infamous libel . . . they considered it neither profitable nor safe to ourselves that Knox should be received with favour by our Church. One of them therefore called upon the intimate friend of Knox, and pointed out to him that it would be most advisable for Knox to leave the Church and depart to some other place, and this he earnestly recommended him to do. Not succeeding in this, our friends having more closely considered the danger which without doubt was hanging over them, thought it right to proceed in a different way. The matter was at last brought before the magistrates with no other view than that Knox might be ordered to quit the place. When the magistrate was made acquainted with the case, and had also discovered that the Emperor was defamed in that pamphlet—considering that a man of this kind might easily occasion danger not only to our Church but also to his State, he ordered him to leave the city. Thus you have the whole affair as it really took place. . . . Our party had observed some other things in him . . . which induced them to desire his departure. But these clearly were the reasons which drove our friends to this step. . . . But what an occasion for disseminating falsehoods these authors of confusion thence laid hold of, what dreadful language they uttered, what disturbance they created, must be matter of wonder to every one who is unacquainted with their character. . . . If those who occasioned Knox's departure from hence had been in any way known to you, you would assuredly have dealt more gently with them, . . . when an account of what they had done was demanded of them by our pastor, they gave such a straightforward statement that he had nothing whatever to find fault with. . . . This we can assure you, that that outrageous pamphlet of Knox's added much oil to the flame of persecution

in England. For before the publication of that book not one of our brethren had suffered death, but as soon as it came forth, we doubt not but that you are well aware of the number of excellent men who have perished in the flames; to say nothing of how many other godly men besides, have been exposed to the risk of all their property, and even life itself, upon the sole ground of either having had this book in their possession or having read it. . . . We certainly hoped, indeed, when we wrote to you, that our reconciliation would have been lasting, and your friend Whittingham, with all the rest of his party, except three or four, had given in his adhesion to our Church. But oh, like true Proteuses, they now make subterfuges and shamefully desert us, under I know not what pretence. We know not whence this change of sentiment has arisen, but we leave you to judge what opinion must be entertained of those persons who tell you that they leave the Church solely on account of ceremonies, which even they themselves dare no longer affirm to be ungodly, or can prove to be at variance with the Word of God, or in any way unprofitable. . . .”

(Signed) David Whitehead, Pastor, Richard Cox, and others.¹

There could not be a more unexceptionable witness than Whitehead, who refused the highest post in the English Church after his return from exile, and died in obscurity because of his opposition to Bishops and ceremonies. He and others may have exaggerated the influence of Knox's book in kindling the fires of Smithfield, but even Dr Laing admits that “there can be no hesitation in believing that the obnoxious terms applied [by him] to Queen Mary and to her husband, as well as to Gardiner, Bonnar, and the Marquess of Westminster, may have contributed in no small degree in evoking that spirit of persecution which has so indelibly stamped the

¹ *Corpus Reformatorum*, xv. 776. The latter, but not the first part of the letter, is given in Laing's *Knox*, iv. 62.

character of blood on her reign.”¹ At all events, this was believed by those who had fled panic-stricken from England when the martyrdoms began, and explains their hostility, and that of Cox and others, to Knox.

What was said by the other side.

The partisans of Knox give quite a different impression of the state of matters, and as usual this arises from one party ignoring what the other exaggerated, and emphasising what the other omitted. Reference is made in the Troubles to the letter sent by Cox and others to Calvin on the 5th of April, but no mention is made of their declaration that they had given up all the ceremonies which were offensive to their brethren, while their letter of September 28th, giving an answer to the charges brought against them and the reasons for Knox's expulsion, is entirely ignored. It is stated, on the other hand, that Whittingham offered to the magistrates to prove that the Order which Cox and his friends sought to establish “ought not to take place in any Reformed Church”;² that Gilby³ and others appealed to the magistrates when they heard of the proposal to introduce the English Book, and were assured that “nothing should be used but that which is tolerable”; and that at the meeting on the 28th of March Goodman⁴ insisted that before the election of

¹ Laing's Knox, iii. 256.

² T., p. 46.

³ Left Frankfort for Geneva, and was chosen temporary pastor till return of Knox; after the exile, Rector of Ashby-de-la-Zouch in Leicestershire.

⁴ Lecturer in Divinity at Oxford; fled to Strasburg; subscribed letter to exiles at Frankfort, urging them to alter the English Book as little as possible; went to Frankfort to support Cox, but changed sides; went to Geneva, and was chosen joint pastor with Knox; published a book against Female Government which gave offence to Elizabeth; in consequence took refuge in Scotland, but recanted, and

office-bearers "they ought first to agree on some perfect and godly order," but "was answered that . . . it was already determined, and other order than the book of England they should not have."¹ It is obvious that there was no intention on the part of anybody to introduce the whole book, and that the meaning of the declaration made to Goodman was that it was to be followed, instead of either the French or Genevan Order. Again, the reasons which Whittingham and his party gave for their secession in the end of August were ²—

"1, The breach of promise ; 2, their orderless thrusting themselves to the Church ; 3, taking away the order of discipline established before their coming and placing no other ; 4, the accusations of Knox of treason and seeking his blood ; 5, their overthrowing of the Common Order [the French] commanded by the magistrates ; 6, the displacing of officers without any cause alleged ; 7, the bringing in of Papistical superstitions and unprofitable ceremonies which were burdens, yokes, and clogs.

Unfortunately they do not condescend upon the particular ceremonies. It is quite clear that Whittingham and his friends acquiesced in the arrangements made as to worship on the 27th of March, but this seems only to have been till their plans were matured for a secession. As early as the 10th of June following, Calvin communicated to the magistrates of Geneva the desire of some English to repair thither for the Word of God, and there can be little doubt that this was at the request of Knox. After the seceders left Frankfort the Congregation there was harassed with endless troubles about money matters and a new discipline, and this was, no doubt, one of the reasons which led Lever, Sampson, and so many more who

allowed to return to England in 1565, when he became Archdeacon of Richmond.

¹ T., p. 47.

² T., p. 58.

had opposed Knox, to join the exiles at Geneva in the following years.

Difference between "the Coxians" and "the Knoxians."

There was no difference in doctrine betwixt the two parties. They all sat at the feet of Calvin, "incomparably the greatest man," as Hooker says, "that ever the French Churches did enjoy." There was little difference among them as to Church Government. There were five deprived bishops among the exiles and a host of bishops to be; but notwithstanding the preface to the English Ordinal then bound up with Edward's Book there is no trace of the office being regarded as a separate Order by Divine right, though many on both sides believed that there was warrant in Scripture for superintendents, and some of them, and perhaps Knox himself, regarded the ministry of oversight as a Divine Ordinance.¹ The exiled bishops did not take the title, and neither confirmed² nor ordained in right of their office. At different times three of them were members of Knox's congregation at Geneva, and Bishop Coverdale³

¹ The General Assembly, as long as Knox lived, year after year petitioned the Government to appoint superintendents throughout the whole country and make provision for their support; and after the setting up of Titular Episcopacy petitioned that in the larger Dioceses superintendents might be appointed as suffragans. À Lasco, whose Discipline they so largely followed, says, "The Ministry of the Superintendent or Inspector is a Divine ordinance in the Church of Christ." See the Form and Manner of the Ecclesiastical Ministry: French edition, 1556, p. 8; Latin edition, 1550.

² Catechumens were admitted to the Communion before the Congregation, when they made profession of their faith.

³ Bishop of Exeter, 1551, and again after his return from exile; took part in the Consecration of Parker, habited in a black gown; in 1566 resigned his bishopric because of the resolution of the Government to enforce a strict observance of the Prayer Book.

was a member of his session, and godfather to one of his sons. They were all of one mind as to the expediency of Seniors of the people taking part with the clergy in the oversight of the flock.

The difference was liturgical, and it had been reduced to a minimum. The use of the Litany by the Minister alone, seems to have been allowed by Knox, and though he objected to some of the petitions, he had swallowed his scruples.¹ Nothing remained but the responses, and on this rock they split. But this was not

The cause of Knox's expulsion.

Many of his opponents were almost as hostile to ceremonies as he was, and suffered much for it after their return to England. Strype says, "They were anxious that so violent a man should be removed from any control over the Church, and hence their complaint to the magistrates," and Dr Lorimer was much of the same opinion.

"It was not worth while," he writes, "for Cox and so large a party of supporters to come to Frankfort to make so small an amount of changes, for upon their own showing to Calvin they had no wish to press for the restoration of any of the ceremonies which were offensive to some. . . . It was mainly

¹ In the description of the Litany sent by Knox to Calvin, it is said, "We use a certain conjuring of God." "Yea it comprehendeth in plain words a prayer to be delivered from sudden death." Bishop Ridley wrote to Grindal a little before his martyrdom, 16th October 1555: "Alas! that our brother Knox could not bear with our book of Common Prayer. . . . The reason he maketh against the Litany and the fault, *per sanguineum sudorem*, he findeth in the same, I do marvel how he can or dare avouch them before the English that be with you" (Laing's Knox, iv. 61).

to rid the church of the pastorate of Knox and the eldership of Whittingham. . . . The feeling of churchmen like Cox and his party no doubt was that the Church of England was ill represented in the Church of Frankfort—the principal church of the exiles—by men like Knox and Whittingham, men of the minority, not of the majority.”¹

They went to Frankfort with hostile intent, and Knox’s personal attack upon them from the pulpit added fresh fuel to the fire.

It is evident that he felt from the beginning the uncertainty of his position at Frankfort, and we find no trace of that “interlacing of merriment with earnest matters” for which he took credit to himself at other times. His expulsion, after having been held in high repute in England, and his concessions as to the use of so much of Edward’s Book, must have been a great mortification to him, and accounts in part for the scornful terms in which he spoke of that Book in after years. It changed the current of his life, and the results have been momentous and far-reaching. But for it there might have been no English Church at Geneva, and but one form of worship and polity in the two National Churches ever since the Reformation.

The Manuscript and its History.

The MS. has had a romantic history. It was lost for centuries till about forty years ago, when it was found in the secret drawer of an old cabinet by Mr and Mrs Collis, dealers in antique furniture at Leicester, and was deposited for a time in the library of Oscott College, Birmingham. The first account of it was given in the second report of the Historical MSS. Commission, 1871,

¹ MSS.

by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, S.J. It was tied up with contemporaneous documents, some of them in the handwriting of Dean Sampson, who died at Leicester in 1589, and it had no doubt been brought home by him and had been in his possession till his death. It was purchased from Mr and Mrs Collis by Mr C. H. Nevinson, a solicitor in Leicester, and in March 1878 I had a letter from Professor Lorimer in which he says—

“I hope to obtain a transcript ere long of an earlier liturgy of his [Knox's] which was drawn up for the use of the Congregation of Frankfort ; his I mean in the sense of his consenting to use it as pastor of the Congregation when the Form of Geneva drawn up by himself and Whittingham failed to obtain the concurrence of the party who would have preferred King Edward's Book.”

After Dr Lorimer's death I learned from his family that the MS. had been returned to Mr Nevinson, that he had made extracts from it and lectured upon it, and that his lectures on the Marian exiles were in the hands of Dr Dykes, and were soon to be published.

Dr Dykes allowed me to examine the MSS. on condition that I should make no literary use of them in the meantime, as it was thought that the account of the Liturgy would ensure the sale of the volume. Soon after, Professor Mitchell of St Andrews was entrusted with the MSS. with a view to their publication, and I heard from Dr Dykes (May 1883) that it was Dr Mitchell's intention at once to address himself to the task.

Years passed, and I asked Dr Dykes to release me from my promise, which he did in a letter of October 27, 1890, informing me at the same time that he had reason to believe that Dr Mitchell intended shortly to make a full use of his acquaintance with the MS., and that he had urged upon him that it should be given to the public without further loss of time. Being thus at liberty, I

wrote what I knew of the Liturgy in an article which appeared in 'The Scotsman,' September 8, 1890. In 1892 Dr M'Crie published his Book on 'The Public Worship of Presbyterian Scotland,' and in an Appendix gave a description of the MS., with extracts furnished him by Dr Mitchell.

Anxious as to the fate of the MS. itself, and believing that it would be of importance to publish it in full in this series, I went to Leicester in April 1900, when I learned that Mr Nevinson was dead, but that his brother lived near. Calling upon him, I had the privilege of seeing the MS. which had come into his possession, but on account of his age and the state of his health I could not press for permission to take a copy for publication. I also learned from him that Dr Lorimer's Lectures were then in the hands of the Rev. Dr Blair of Dunblane.

On September 20, 1901, Miss Nevinson wrote me that her father had died, and that the MS. was to be disposed of. I made some efforts to secure it for a Scottish library, but it was ultimately acquired by the British Museum. To the great kindness of Miss Nevinson I am indebted for permission to take a copy of the MS. and also photographs, one of which is in the Library of the General Assembly. To this the authorities of the Museum made no objection.

The MS. consists of twenty-six folio pages, and the print is verbatim and paginatim, with no change except the modernising of the spelling, and the insertion of a mark to show where the lines end in the original. Dr Lorimer was of opinion that the date of the MS. is somewhat later than the original copy, because the old discipline must have been taken from a MS. containing both the old discipline and the new, and in which the form of election of Ministers, being the same in both, was omitted in the first to prevent repetition. The abbrevia-

tions—*e.g.*, “as in the book,” would not be given in a draft written for the use of the officiating clergyman. Dr Lorimer seems to have had no doubt that the MS. is in other respects an exact transcript of that drawn up by Knox, Whittingham, Parry, and Lever.

A Historical Difficulty.

There are, however, two things in the MS. not consistent with this which he seems to have overlooked. In the Preface, it is said that “the *Pastor* and elders of this congregation, with the learned of the same, have collected this compendious order,” &c., out of Edward’s Book, having “omitted in respect of time, place, and . . . circumstances certain rules and ceremonies . . . as things of their own nature indifferent.” Now Lever and Knox were both *pastors* when the Liturgy of Compromise was first approved. Again, in the special Prayer for England, p. 23, reference is made to bishops who have lately “offered their bodies in sacrifice.” Hooper was burnt on the 9th of February 1555, but the next bishop to suffer was Ferrer of St Davids, the date of whose execution was March 30. These changes must have been introduced after Knox left, and the question arises, How far does the MS. represent the draft first accepted? So far as the evidence goes, it bears out the idea that they were the same, with slight exceptions. The chief purpose for which the divines from other cities came to Frankfort on the 26th of March was to assist in settling the order of service to be followed, and this was agreed upon before the 28th, the magistrates allowing the use of the English Book instead of the French, while Cox and his party promised to omit everything that was offensive to others.¹ Two at least of the

¹ In Ridley’s letter to Grindall of 16th October 1555, he says: “What ye say ye were by the magistrates required gently to omit

compilers of the first draft took part in this conference, viz., Lever and Parry. The agreement satisfied Whittingham and all his party,¹ except two or three fanatics such as those who objected to the reading of Scripture in Divine service. Thomas Cole, Dean of Sarum, who remained at Frankfort for a time after his friends had left for Geneva, writes :—

“They permit me to my conscience as touching their ceremonies. The cause I judge is not for that they bear less love to them than in times past, but that they perceive the sturdy defending of them to work . . . the decreasing of their company.”²

He speaks also of hearing a vehement sermon made for the purgation from man’s inventions, and of Mr Kent wishing a child baptised according to the French order . . . but “the pastor denied the christening unless two godmothers were had, after the order of the book.” This is the only example given of a difference about Divine service after the agreement of March 28. We learn from a letter of Whittingham, written after he left Frankfort, that Cox and his party promised to the magistrates and certain of the congregation “to prove by the Word of God so much of the Book as they would use, as also to set forth the same in writing, . . . but did neither the one because they could not, neither the other because they durst not.”³ The MS. may have been written out later in fulfilment of this promise. In the New Dis-

such things in your book as might offend their people, not as things unlawful, but to their people offensive, and so ye have done ; as to the wearing of surplices and kneeling, truly in that I cannot judge but that both ye and the magistrates have done right well.”

¹ T., p. 46. “To this Master Glauburg made answer that he was informed how that both parties were fully agreed and contented.” Also letter from Whitehead, &c., to Calvin of September 20th.

² T., p. 60.

³ T., p. 49.

cipline drawn up in 1557 the following article¹ is important :—

“We observe and keep the form and order of the ministration of the Sacraments and Common Prayer as it is set forth . . . in the last book of the English service, whereof notwithstanding in the respect of times, places, and other circumstances, certain rules and ceremonies appointed in the said book as things indifferent may be left out, as we at this present do.”

This is taken from the Preface to the MS.

Not forgetting the proverb that “A blank is better than a blot,” I venture to give it as my opinion that the MS., with the exception of the Preface and the reference to the martyred bishops, is a transcript of the Liturgy of Compromise drawn up by Knox, Lever, Whittingham, and Parry, and used from the 6th of February till the 13th of March.

Conclusion.

The publication of the MS. will, it is hoped, dispel some errors of long standing and serve the purpose of an Eirenicon. The English Prayer-Book will certainly be the basis of any common Liturgy that may be adopted by the English-speaking peoples, and it may open the eyes and shut the mouths of some people to learn that Knox used large portions of it before he was embittered by his expulsion from Frankfort and forbidden to enter England on his return from exile.

The Church of Scotland has in recent years returned in some measure to her Reformation position in the matter of worship, and the hope of reunion lies in a like return on the question of orders by the Church of

¹ T., p. 117.

England to the rock whence she was hewn, and the hole of the pit out of which she was digged.

I have to express my great obligations to Miss Nevins for the loan of the MS., to the Rev. B. M'Ewen, of Gladsmuir, for copying and photographing it, to the Rev. Dr Blair for the loan of Dr Lorimer's MS. Lectures, which are ultimately to go to Westminster College, Cambridge, and to other friends whom I have consulted.

G. W. S.

Thorde2 of comon praier2

The illustration of Christe holie Sacramentes
And of Christian Devotion w^{ch}. in the
Englische congregacion
Frankford

The Order of Common Prayer

The ministration of Christ's holy Sacraments
and of Christian discipline used in the
English congregation at
Frankfurt

Considering the saying of St Paul which is, that we have power given unto us to edifying, and not to destroying, it is thought profitable to signify unto all men, that although in the book of Common prayer last set forth by the authority of King Edward of most famous memory, we neither condemn judge nor refuse anything as wicked or repugnant to the true sense and meaning of God's word (which we the Pastor Elders and others of the learned sort in this congregation do testify by our subscription to this present,) yet notwithstanding we have omitted in respect of time, place, and such circumstances, certain rites and ceremonies appointed in the said book, as things of their own nature indifferent. Out of the which book the said Pastor and Elders of this congregation with the learned of the same, have collected this compendious order, whereunto a discipline is annexed with a Catechism, and have offered the same to the whole Congregation to observe and keep for the present time; The which said compendious order, discipline, and Catechism only, the said congregation and every of them, whose names are subscribed in the end of this book, do testify themselves to accept and receive and by their subscription do promise their conformity to the same.

*The Order of Common
Prayer at Morning and
Evening.*

Morning.

*First a Psalm sung by
the whole congregation, then
this following.*

The Minister.

At what time soever a sinner doth repent
him of his sins from the bottom of
his heart, I will no more remember. &c.

An Exhortation.

Dearly beloved brethren, the scripture &c.

A general confession.

Allmighty and most merciful Father.

The absolution.

Allmighty God, the Father of our Lord
Jesus Christ, which desireth not &c.

*Then shall the Minister
begin the Lord's Prayer
all the people saying with him.*

Our Father which art in heaven &c.

Then shall be said.

O Lord open Thou our lips &c.

*Then shall be said the psalms
after the order of the book,
and a Chapter of the Old
Testament and this psalm
of thanksgiving.*

We praise Thee O God. &c, or O all ye works &c.

Then the Creed.

I Believe in God the Father &c. *with the suffrages and prayers following or sometimes instead of this, the Litany.*

Evening Prayer.

Evening prayer shall be used according to the order of the book with one lesson &c.

The Communion.

The first Sunday in the Month on the Thursday before the which must be an exhortation by the Pastor or other Minister.

The Minister.

Allmighty God &c. *The Commandments as in the book. Then a prayer for the time, And for the whole state of Christ's church &c.*

Then the belief or Creed of Nice. Then one of the sentences that follow.

Then shall follow this exhortation at certain times when the Minister shall see the people negligent to come to the holy communion.

We come together at this time dearly beloved &c.

And sometimes shall be said this also at the discretion of the minister.

Dearly beloved forasmuch as our duty &c.

Then shall the Minister say this exhortation.

Dearly beloved in the Lord ye that mind to come to the holy Communion &c.

*Then shall the Minister say
to them that come to receive the
holy Communion &c.*

Ye that do truly & earnestly &c.

*Then shall the general
confession be made.*

Allmighty God the Father of our Lord Jesus &c.

*Then shall the Pastor
say this.*

Allmighty God our heavenly Father &c.

Then shall the Minister also say.

Hear what comfortable words our
Saviour Christ saith to all them that
truly repent.

*Then shall the Minister knee-
ling down at God's board
say in the name of all them
that shall receive the communion
this prayer following.*

We do not presume to come to this
thy table &c. *And so as followeth to the end.*

Public Baptism.

The Pastor shall say thus.

Dearly beloved forasmuch as all
men are born in sin &c.

Then the Minister shall say.

Let us pray.

Allmighty and immortal God &c.

Then shall the Minister say.

Hear the words of the gospel.

At a certain time they brought children &c.

*After the gospel is read
the Minister shall make this
brief exhortation upon
the words of the gospel.*

Friends you hear in this gospel &c.
Allmighty and everlasting God heavenly &c.
Forasmuch as you have brought this
child requiring to have it baptised
in the faith which Christ's Church
confesseth, it shall be expedient, that ye
openly confess the same faith as I
shall demand it of you.

*Then shall the Minister
demand of the godfathers
and godmothers these
questions following.*

Do you forsake the devil and
all his works?

Answer.

We forsake them.

Minister.

Do you believe in God the father &c.

Answer.

All this I stedfastly believe.

Minister.

Will you this child to be baptised
in this faith.

Answer.

That is our desire.

Then shall the Minister say.

O merciful God grant that the old Adam.

*Then the Minister shall
take the child in his hands
and ask the name and
naming the child shall
baptize it.*

N. I baptize thee in the name &c.

Then shall the minister say.

Seeing now dearly beloved brethren &c.

Then shall be said.

Our Father which art in heaven &c.

Then shall the minister say.

We yield Thee hearty thanks most
merciful father that it doth please
thee &c.

*At the last end the
Minister calling the father
of the child shall give
him some short exhortation
and charge for the godly
bringing up of the child
wherein also the godfathers
& godmothers shall be moved
to do their endeavours in
this form.*

Forasmuch as ye have in the childs
behalf required to have it baptized in
the faith of Christ it shall be fit and is
your bounden duty to see it brought up
in the Catechism to the end it may learn
so shortly as may be such things as a
christian ought to know & believe to his
soul's health and to lead a godly and
christian life, remembering always that
Baptism doth represent unto us our
profession which is to follow the example

of our Saviour Christ and to be made like unto him that as he died and rose again for us so should we which are baptized die unto sin and rise again unto righteousness, continually mortifying all our evil and corrupt affections, and daily proceeding in all virtue & godliness of living.

The Form of solemnization of Matrimony.

First the banns of Matrimony must be asked three several sundays in the time of service the people being present.

And the Minister shall then say.

Dearly beloved friends we are gathered &c.

And also speaking to the persons that shall be married he shall say.

I require and charge you &c.

Then the Minister shall say unto the man.

N. wilt thou have this woman &c.

Then shall the Minister say to the woman.

N. wilt thou have this man &c.

Then the Minister shall cause the man to take the woman by the right hand and the man first to say.

I N. take thee N. to my wedded wife &c.

Then they shall loose their hands and the woman taking again the man by the right hand shall say.

[I N. take thee N. to my wedded husband &c.

Then shall the Minister say.]

Those whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder.

*Then shall the Minister speak
unto the people.*

Forasmuch as N and N have consented together in holy wedlock and have witnessed the same before God and this company and thereto have given and pledged their troth either to other and have declared the same by joining of hands, I pronounce that they be man and woman [*sic*] wife together. In the name of the father &c.

*And so all the rest that followeth
unto the end.*

The Visitation of the sick.

*The Pastor with certain of the elders
and deacons and others of the congregation
shall visit the sick, when they shall
think it expedient, after the order of the
book, or in a more brief form as they
shall see occasion. ||*

*And the order for
burial as it is in the book.*

A Catechism

that is to say an instruction
to be learned of every child
before he be brought and admitted
to receive the Lord's Supper. /

Question.

What is your name?

Answer.

N or M.

Question.

Who gave you this name?

Answer.

My Godfathers & godmothers in my
baptism.

Question.

What is Baptism?

Answer.

Baptism is an holy sign or sacrament
ordained of Christ to testify the assurance
of God's grace for the forgiveness of sins.

Question.

Tell me more plainly what doth
Baptism represent & set before our eyes.

Answer.

That we are by the Spirit of Christ
new born, made God's children, and
cleansed from sin, that we be members
and parts of His church received in
to the Communion of Saints, that we
be dead unto sin and buried in Christ
that we should walk here in a new life
and that we shall be raised up again
after the burial of this body to an
everlasting life.

Question.

How cometh this to pass that you have need thus to be born anew and to be made God's children ?

Answer.

Because I am of my parents born but the child of Adam and so by that natural and first birth the child of God's wrath./

Question.

Was Adam and his offspring created the children of God's wrath ?

Answer.

Nay, for he was created after God's own likeness a most excellent & beloved creature but through disobedience unto God's holy will and commandment he defaced that image and likeness and brought upon him self a most corrupt & foul shape, contrary to the former and so hated of God./

Question.

Show what was that image after the likeness whereof Adam was created.

Answer.

That was most absolute righteousness and perfect holiness goodness wisdom, truth, innocency, and participation of the divine nature.

Question.

What was the earthly image which man by his disobedience made unto him self ?

Answer.

The earthly image is a corruption of the godly image, namely unrighteousness, guile, fleshly mind, deep ignorance,

of godly and heavenly things whereof grew / the weakness of our flesh whereof came / this corruption & disorder of lusts and / affections, whereof came the pestilent seed / and nourishment of sins called original / sin wherewith our whole nature is so infec/ted, corrupt and overthrown, that unless / the goodness & mercy of allmighty God / had holpen us by the medicine of grace, / even as in body we are thrust down / into wretchedness of death, so must it / needs have been, that all men of all / sorts should have been thrown as the / children of God's wrath into everlasting / punishment and fire of hell unquench/able. For all men by their first birth / which is of the flesh, are conceived in sin and born after this likeness and / therefore was it, needful to be born a/new by a spiritual conception and birth / which is by the only grace of God, / through his holy Spirit, by the death / and blood of our Saviour Christ, / whereby this earthly image is defaced / and the new image restored. And so / being born anew, we are made the / children of God as is said before, / whereof the sacrament of Baptism / is a sure seal & confirmation and / therefore it is also called the Sacrament / of new birth or regeneration. /

Question.

What doth God require of you now ye be born again by his holy Spirit through faith in the death of his son Christ?

Answer.

That I believe in him only, that I obey

his commandments forsaking the devil / and all his works, the vanities of the world / and all sinful lusts of the flesh, that I / invoke & call only on the name of God / for all things necessary either for body or / soul, and that I nourish and feed my soul with none other food, but with the spiritual / meat which cometh from heaven, that / is our saviour Jesus Christ.

Question.

Do you think that you are bound to / believe, and to do all these things.

Answer.

Yea verily so far forth as I can wherein / by God's help without the which I can do / nothing I will labour and exercise my / self diligently, and I heartily thank our / heavenly Father that he hath called me / to this state of Salvation through Jesus / Christ our Saviour. And I pray God to / give me His grace that I may continue / in the same unto my life's end.

Question.

Reharse the articles of the Belief?

Answer.

I believe in God the Father Almighty &c.

Question.

What dost thou chiefly learn in these / articles of thy belief.

Answer.

First I learn to believe in God the Father / which hath made me and all the world. / Secondly in God the Son who hath re / deemed me and all mankind. / Thirdly in God the holy Ghost, who / sanctifieth me and all the elect people of God.

Question.

You said that you should obey God's com- mandments, tell me how many there be?

Answer.

Ten.

Question.

[Which be they?

Answer.]

The same which God spake in the xxth chapter / of Exodus saying
I am the Lord thy God / which have brought thee &c.

Question.

What dost thou chiefly learn by these / commandments?

Answer.

I learn two things. My duty towards / God and my duty
towards my neighbour.

Question.

What is thy duty towards God?

Answer.

My duty towards God is, to believe in Him / to serve Him, and
to love Him with all / my heart, with all my mind with all my / soul
and with all my strength, to worship / him, to give him thanks, to
put my whole / trust in him, to call upon him, to honour / his
holy name and his word, and to serve / him truly all the days
of my life.

Question.

What is thy duty towards thy neighbour?

Answer.

My duty towards my neighbour is to / love him as my self, and
to do to all men / as I would they should do to me, to love /
honour and succour my father & mother, / to honour and
obey the king and his mi/-nisters, to submit myself
to all my / governors, teachers, spiritual pastors / and masters
to order myself lowly / & reverently to all my betters,
to hurt / no body by word, nor deed, to be true

and just in all my dealing, to bear no malice nor hatred in my heart, to keep my hands / from picking and stealing and my tongue / from evil speaking lying and slandering, to keep my body in temperance soberness & / chastity, not to covet nor desire other men's / goods, but learn & labour truly to / get my own living and to do my duty in that state of life unto which it shall please / God to call me.

Question.

My good child know this that thou art / not able to do those things of thy self, nor / to walk in the commandments of God and to serve him without his special grace / which thou must learn at all times to / call for, by diligent prayer, let me hear / therefore if thou canst say the Lords prayer./

Answer.

Our Father which art in heaven &c.

Question.

What desirest thou of God in this prayer.

Answer.

I desire my Lord God our heavenly father, / who is the giver of all goodness to send his / grace unto me and to all people, that we / may worship him, serve him, and obey / him as we ought to do. And I pray unto God, / that he will send us all things that be need/ful both for our souls & bodies. And / that he will be merciful unto us & forgive / us our sins, and that it will please him / to save and defend us in all our dangers / ghostly & bodily, and that he will keep / us from all sin and wickedness, and from / our ghostly enemy and from everlasting / death. And this I trust he will do of his mercy / & goodness through our Lord Jesus Christ.

Question.

Thus far thou hast declared the duty of

a new born babe in Christ, now shew what / is that same spiritual food or nourishment where/with thy soul is fed comforted & strengthened.

Answer.

It is as I said, the body & blood of our / Saviour Jesus Christ who is that lively / bread which came from heaven whereof / who feedeth shall not perish but live everlastingly.

Question.

How may we eat of this food?

Answer.

By faith, for that is the mouth of the soul, / whereby we receive this very heavenly meat full both of Salvation & Immortality / which is dealt among us by the means of the Holy Ghost.

Question.

Is there no means to be partakers of Christ's / body and blood but by faith?

Answer.

No verily, but Christ hath ordained means/whereby our faith may be helped & strength/ened to the receipt thereof.

Question.

Tell me what means that is?

Answer.

First the preaching of God's most holy / word, then the ministration of Christ's blessed Supper.

Question.

What is the Lord's Supper?

Answer.

An holy institution of Christ, wherein we / celebrate a certain thankful remembrance / of Christ's death, by breaking of bread / which representeth unto us, his body betrayed,

to be crucified for us, and by dividing the cup of wine amongst us which signifieth his blood plenteously to be shed for us assuring ourselves and confirming our faith that as by bread & wine our natural bodies are sustained and nourished so by the body, that is the blood & flesh of Christ, our souls are fed through faith & quickened to the heavenly receipt thereof and godly life.

Question.

How come these things to pass.

Answer.

These things come to pass by a certain secret mean and lively working of the Spirit, when we believe that Christ once for all, gave up his body & blood for us to make a sacrifice & most pleasant offering to his heavenly father
And also when we confess & acknowledge him our only Saviour the Bishop and Mediator & Redeemer to whom is due all honour & glory.

*The Order of discipline in
the English Church of
Frankfurt received.*

There be two parts of the order / of Discipline in the Church
The one pertaining to the whole congregation.
The other pertaining to the ministers and elders alone.

Of the first part.

In the discipline pertaining to the whole / church is first to be
appointed the order / of receiving men into the Congregation /
which is this.

*The manner of Receiving of all
sorts of persons into the
said congregation.*

First every one as well men as women
which desireth to be received shall make
a declaration or confession of their faith
before the pastor and elders, shewing
themselves fully to consent and agree
with the doctrine of the Church, and
submitting themselves to the discipline
of the same.

If any person so desirous to be received
into the congregation be notoriously
de/famed or noted of any corrupt or evil
opinion in doctrine or slanderous beha/viour
in life, the same may not by the pastor
and elders be admitted till he have either
purged himself thereof, or else have
de/clared himself to the pastor and elders
penitent for the same.

*The good behaviour &
godly conversation required
of such as are Received.*

Secondarily all the members of / the church so admitted & received shall / diligently observe and keep all such / godly discipline and orders appointed / within the Church, which tend to the / increase of knowledge and godly life, / as the appointed times of prayer prea/ching and hearing God's word, the / administration of the Sacraments with / submission to all other godly dis/cipline of the Church./

*How the young shall be
Catechised.*

Also for the increase of godly knowledge / and virtue all the young shall resort / to the Church every Saturday at two / of the clock at afternoon and when we / have a several church at one of the clock / on the Sunday at afternoon, there to be / instructed in the Catechism, and not to be / admitted to the Communion till they be / able to make profession of their faith / before the whole congregation. And also / to have an honest testimony of towardness / in godly conversation. And that every member / of the congregation do not refuse to render / a declaration of their faith before the / Pastor and elders, whensoever they shall / by them be thereunto required.

*The order of Correction for
private & privie offenders.*

Fourthly forasmuch as no church is so / perfect but offences may rise, for godly

charitable redressing and reforming of / such this order is to be observed,

First if any of the congregation be offensive / in manners or doctrine to any of the brethren / so that the offence be private and not publicly / known, there can no better order be devised / than that which Christ himself hath ap/pointed which is, first brotherly to admo/nish him alone, if that do not prevail / to call one or two witnesses, if that also / do not profit then to declare it to the pastor / and elders to whom the congregation hath given authority to take order in such cases / according to the quality & grievousness of / the offence or crime. /

*Of the order of correction
for public and common crimes.*

But if any person shall be a notorious / known offender so as he is offensive / to the whole congregation, then shall the / pastor and elders immediately call the / offender before them, and travail with him / to reduce him to true repentance and / satisfying of the congregation, which if / he obstinately refuse to do, then the pastor / shall signify his offence & contempt / to the whole congregation, desiring them / to pray for him. And further to assign / him a day to be denounced excommunicate / before the congregation, except in the mean / time the offender submit himself before / the Pastor & Seniors to the order of / discipline.

Finally, in case any person of this congrega/tion be known to be an hinderer / & defacer of any of the godly usages / now exercised in the same congregation, / either privily or apertly by word letter,

or deed, the same shall acknowledge his offence / with satisfaction
to the congregation, according to / the true order of discipline.

*The second part of dis
cipline concerning the ministers
and elders and their election.*

First for the election of Ministers & elders / the qualities
of the same are to be examined / and considered according
to the rule of St / Paul 1 Timoth 3 whereof this is the sum /
That no man be elected whose doctrine or life / can justly be
reproved & condemned.

As concerning the order and form of electing / the same form is to be observed
which hath / already been practised and is hereunto / annexed.

Of their offices & functions.

The pastor according to the com/mandment of the holy Ghost
in the Scriptures / ought with all pastoral care diligently /
to attend to his flock in preaching God's / word, in
ministering the Sacraments, in / example of good life, in
exhorting admo/nishing rebuking, and as the chief /
mouth of the Church to open & declare / all orders
taken by him and the elders / which are to be opened and
published, to / whom no man may in the face of the congre /
gation reply, but if any think himself / to have cause
to speak let him come before / the elders in the place
appointed for their / meeting and there to open his
minde and / to be heard with all charitable indifference. //

*The office of all preachers
and such as are learned
in the congregation.*

The office of preachers is to assist the / Pastor in preaching,
ministering the / sacraments and in all consultations & /
meetings of him and the elders specially / in causes
of doctrine and also at other times / when they shall be required.

The office of Elders.

The office of the elders is to be as it / were Censors & Overseers
of Manners / & disorders, and to be with the Pastor
in all consultations for the public
order of the Church, and that all correc-
-tions and exercises of discipline be done
with their common consent & counsel.

Deacons.

Considering also the present state of
the church here, it is thought requisite
that the deacons, besides the special office
appointed in the Acts of the Apostles in
caring and providing for the poor do
also visit the sick, and be assistent
in catechizing the young if they shall be
thereto required.

The same order and form is to be used
for reformation of offences and crimes
in ministers and elders which is described
afore for other offenders, and to be done
towards them rather with more severity.

A Prayer.

O allmighty and most merciful / Father, whose
property is to have mercy / and pity, hear the supplications
and prayers / of thy servants, Shew the light of / thy
countenance even for thy names sake, / upon the
Church of England which is / desolate, Look down from the
heavenly / seat of thy majesty, And behold to visit /
thy vineyard of England, The wild / boar out of the
wood doth root it ~~out~~ up / and the wild beasts out
of the field de / voureth it, Thy word O God and the
right / use of thy sacraments are banished our / realm
ungodly strangers enemies to / thy truth hath spoiled
and destroyed / our native country, Hypocrites rule at /
their pleasure, And false religion hath / place there, True
preachers be put to / silence, prisoned, banished, burnt & /
tormented, False prophets do teach lies / and gainsay thy
truth spitefully, And / these plagues hast thou poured
upon us / suddenly. Lest that if thou haddest
made / any longer delay we should have run / headlong
into all kind of ungodliness, / We have sinned and done
wickedly, And / now with sore sighs from the bottom
of / our heart we do humbly for thy Son / our Lord's
sake desire forgiveness of all / our offences, And though
there be nothing in / us to move thee unto mercy yet of thine /
own goodness help us we beseech thee, Consider / not that
which we have deserved to feel / and suffer but what of right
all people/might judge of thy mercy, Behold our/discomfort concerning
the place whereat we / have called upon thy name. Remember the
City / of London how godly foundations were there / laid of Religion.
Have mind upon the Uni / versities which nourished unto thee
many & / good ministers. Call to remembrance that /

Realm which being thine had received thy / gospel. O Lord
 forget not our brethren in / England which now lie in prison ready / to
 the slaughter for professing of thy name / but grant unto them that
 either by their / continuance in this life (if it be so thought / good unto
 thy heavenly wisdom) that they / may still profit thy congregation,
 or else / by constant professing & cheerful / bearing of thy
 cross they may patiently / to the end sustain the same
 to thy great praise / and glory, as others our faithful
 Bishops / brethren and sisters have lately done in / England
 through the special assistance / of thy grace, who constantly
 persevering / in the eternal verity of thy gospel to the end /
 have offered their bodies by Martyrdom / a Sacrifice of sweet
 smell unto thee in con/firmation of the same. For the which
 O / heavenly father we yield unto thee most / hearty thanks. Restore
 us O God (if it be thy / godly & good will) into our Country
 with / the faithful ministry of thy word. Raise / up them that be fallen
 And strengthen them / that do stand. In the meantime whilst /
 we be exiles give us quiet abiding-places. / And grant unto the
 City of Frankfurt / wherein we are, continual peace & long /
 prosperity. Save Rule & Keep the / Burgomasters & Magistrates
 thereof with / the true preachers of thy word, so that / we and all their
 people under them may / live in godly rest and holy quietness. / Mer-
 -fully look upon all the Churches in / Germany or elsewhere reformed
 and / namely the Church of Zurich with the / whole senate,
 officers, preachers and / people within the diction of the same,
 that as / in Religion they be most sincere, so they / may daily
 go forward and increase in all / virtue power and godliness
 to the terror / and discomfort of their adversaries, and praise / of
 thy most holy name. And to our parents

kinsfolks & friends grant Lord to believe / in heart and
 confess in word and works / thy Son Jesus Christ. And so
 direct & order / our prayers studies & diligence to their /
 edifying (that being delivered from the / cruel persecutions
 and tyranny of Idolatrous / Papists) they may receive
 special comfort / in evident and constant profession of pure /
 Religion to make their vocation and election / certain, and
 thy true honour and glory / known unto all men.
 Suffer us not at any / time to be disappointed of
 necessities lest / that we should be brought into despair
 of / thy fatherly providence and goodness but / that in all
 adversities we being patient and / content may be faithful
 applying our / vocation unto the setting forth of thy name /
 and by daily thanksgiving for thy / exceeding benefits
 glorify thee the ever/lasting father with thy son and the
 Holy Ghost / one only God for ever and ever. Amen.

*A prayer for King
 Philippe and Queen Marie.*

Allmighty and everlasting God / which dost dispose & turn
 the hearts / of kings as it seemeth best unto thy godly /
 wisdom and makest hypocrites rule for the / sins of
 the people, so rule and bow / the hearts of King Philip
 and Queen / Mary his wife, that they knowing whose /
 ministers they are may above all things / seek thy honour
 and glory. Give us mel/ting hearts good Lord that we may
 truly / know and feel that thou hast there placed / them for
 our unthankfulness and contempt / of thy most blessed
 word. That we acknow/ledging this thy just work and our
 desert / may not curse them but pray for them /

not seek their deaths but wish their speedy amendment that thy glory may be advanced and the days of their violent persecution shortened. Thou madest Manasseh of a wicked / idolater and most extreme persecutor of thy Church a true worshipper of thee, a favourer of thy law and a most earnest promoter of the same. So most merciful Lord God turn we beseech thee, the hearts of King Philip and Mary his Queen, that in England they may become of persecutors favourers, of hinderers promoters, and of blasphemers setters forth of thy name and gospel Give unto their councillors wisdom and thy true fear that they think not themselves to do thee good service in afflicting thy chosen, but rather both in labouring themselves, and also in bowing the princes' hearts thereto, seek the advancement of thy honour, with the supplanting & speedy overthrow of the contrary. Otherwise most mighty Lord, shorten their malice, confound their devices, and weaken their power the which they most shamefully abuse to the great discomfort of thy flock, the slander of thy word, and the intolerable blasphemy of thy most holy name, that we being once again delivered out of the devourers hands, and free with our brethren from cruel persecution, may in our native country glorify thee which art the only / giver of all victory through the merits / of thy only son Jesus Christ our Lord.

Amen.

NOTES TO FRANKFORT LITURGY.

1. *The Preface*.—The names of the subscribers are not given in the MS. The subscription seems to have been interrupted by the arrival of Cox and Co.

2. *Morning Prayer*.—This repetition of the Lord's Prayer by the people was not at that time enjoined by "the Book."

At first the exiles are said to have read the Psalms and chapters as in the Liturgy. In the injunctions of Edward, 1549, it was ordered that one chapter of the New Testament be read at Matins, and one of the Old at Evensong. Some of the exiles objected to the reading of Scripture in church, and the return to one chapter confirms the view that this is the draft as left by Knox.

"O Lord, open thou our lips, &c.," said by minister alone, so also "the suffrages" and "Litany," before Cox's arrival at Frankfort. In the first order at Frankfort, the ancient Hymns between the chapters and the Creed were laid aside for metrical Psalms; here those after 1st Lesson are restored.

3. *The Communion*.—The omission of Collects, Epistles, and Gospel, *sursum corda*, the Tersanctus and Prefaces, confirm the view that the order is that which Knox accepted. In a letter to Mrs Lock, of 15th October 1559, he says: "Peculiar services for Saints' days . . . are in my conscience no small portion of papistical superstition" (Laing's Knox, vi. 83). It was, no doubt, mainly owing to his influence that the Church of Scotland in approving the 2nd Helvetic Confession excepted the clause allowing the observance of Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension, and Whitsunday. "We dare not," they say, "religiously celebrate any other feast-day than what the Divine oracles have prescribed" (Laing's Knox, vi. 547).

There is no reference to kneeling at the Communion, which

was omitted by common consent. Knox classes it among "diabolical inventions" (Letter to Mrs Lock, April 6, 1559).

4. *Public Baptism.*—The changes made anticipate later Puritan objections to the form in Edward's Book. The godparents profess, renounce, and promise for themselves, expressing their desire that the child may be baptised in the faith of Christ. The Sign of the Cross (which Knox classed among diabolical inventions), and the words referring thereto, are omitted; in the prayer of Thanksgiving "it doth please Thee to regenerate this infant" is substituted for "it hath pleased Thee"; and the father of the child as well as the godparents is addressed in the final exhortation, as in other Reformed Liturgies.

5. The form for private baptism, which Edward's Book allowed in cases of "great need," is omitted. In Ridley's letter to Grindall of October 16, 1555, he says: "As for private baptism, it is not prescribed in the book, but when solemn baptism by lack of time and danger of death cannot be had, what would he [Knox] in that case should be done? Peradventure he will say, it is better let them die without baptism. For this his 'better,' what word hath he in Scripture?" (Laing's Knox, iv. p. 61).

6. *Matrimony.*—The giving of the ring and the words referring to it are omitted, also the rubric that the new married persons "the same day of their marriage must receive the Holy Communion"; but it was meant that marriage should be solemnised in church during Divine service on Sunday.

7. *The Visitation of the Sick.*—The form for the communion of the sick is omitted, although in Valeran's Liturgy there is a rubric as follows: "If sick persons desire the Eucharist, on that day on which the supper is celebrated by the Church, one of the ministers shall be sent with some pious people who may communicate with the sick."

8. *The Burial of the Dead.*—Valeran's Liturgy directs the minister to head the procession, and to give an address and prayer at funerals. The Book of Geneva omits the prayer, but directs the minister to go to the church, and "make some comfortable exhortation to the people touching death and resurrection." The Scottish Book of Common Order allows the minister to give an address "if he be present and required," and if "the church be not far off." Knox held that it was no part of a pastor's duty to conduct service at funerals.

9. The thanksgiving for women after childbirth is omitted. Knox objected to it. See Ridley's letter to Grindall, and Knox's letter to Mrs Lock of April 6, 1559.

10. *A Catechism.*—The two first questions, and those from the middle of the 13th page to the end of the 15th, are from Edward's Book. "What doth baptism represent, &c.," "What was the earthly image, &c. (partly), How may we eat of this

food," and from "What is the Lord's Supper," to the end are from the Catechism published by authority for the use of Schoolmasters, May 1553, of which Poynt, Bishop of Rochester, one of the exiles, is said to have been the author. The sources of the rest have not been traced.

11. *The Order of Discipline*.—This is the "old discipline" referred to in the complaint of Whittingham and others against Cox and his party, "Taking away the order of discipline established before their coming and placing no other." On the 1st of March 1557 the magistrates ordered it to be amended, and the "New Discipline" was drawn up. Both are printed in the History of the Troubles. There are a few verbal differences between the version in the History and that in the MS. Under the heading "The good behaviour, &c.," a section is added in the T. requiring all who had been at Mass in England to declare their penitence, with this marginal note, "This article I find razed in the copy. What they meant by it I know not." This could scarcely have been written by any one who had been at Frankfort.

On the subject of Catechising, in the New Discipline it is added, "For the further instruction of youth and servants, it is thought good that besides the examination of children in the Catechism ordinarily used . . . on Sundays at afternoon," the minister shall preach "a catechising sermon," and shall follow "the good order" of Calvin's Catechism, which had before that time been translated into English.

On p. 21 it is said, "As concerning the order and form of electing [ministers and elders], the same form is to be observed which hath already been practised and is hereunto annexed." The same words occur in the History. The form is given in the New Discipline, T. p. 125. It prescribes that all appointments except those of teachers and the ministers of the Word be made for a year, that the election be made by ballot, and that "imposition of hands with prayer be used at the institution of Ministers, Seniors and Deacons." In this it follows the Liturgies of Valeran and à Lasco. Of the French edition of the latter published at Frankfort in 1556 there is a copy in the Library of the General Assembly.

P. 22: Ministers other than pastors were members of session, but did not sit as "elders" or "seniors."

The "New Discipline" consists of 73 articles. "It affirms what the Old Discipline did not—the Presbyterian parity of the ministers of the Church." It allows Deacons if learned to preach as well as catechise, and makes provision for Deaconesses, though it does not call them by that name.

12. *A Prayer*.—This is called a "prayer for the time" in the Communion service. At the formation of the Church "a general prayer for all estates and for our country of England

was devised" to be read after sermon, and there is such a prayer also in the English Book of Geneva, but this does not resemble it.

13. *A Prayer for King Philip and Queen Mary.*—In England in 1554 an Act was passed against those who prayed for the Queen either that she might be turned from idolatry or that her days might be shortened. This prayer was of the sort aimed at, but it was so worded as to keep within the letter of the law. These two prayers were probably read after the sermon.

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