

THE SWEDISH CHURCH  
AND OURS

HOWARD SWINSTEAD

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The Swedish church and ours





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CONSECRATION OF BISHOP SÖDERBLOM

*The Swedish Church and Ours*

*Frontispiece*



# THE SWEDISH CHURCH AND OURS

BY THE REV.  
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VICAR OF ST. PETER'S, BAYSWATER  
(FORMERLY CHAPLAIN TO H.B.M.'S LEGATION, STOCKHOLM)

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DEDICATED, BY SPECIAL PERMISSION,  
IN GRATITUDE FOR MUCH HELP AND SYMPATHY,  
TO  
HIS GRACE, THE MOST REVEREND,  
THE ARCHBISHOP OF SWEDEN,  
NATHAN SÖDERBLOM,  
CONSECRATED BISHOP OF UPSALA, 1914.

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## PREFACE

THIS book is substantially a reproduction of my Swedish work *Systerkyrkor*: but inasmuch as a full and exact translation of it seemed hardly suitable for publication in England, I have allowed myself to use great freedom in manipulating both text and subject-matter. Dr. Feltoe has kindly been at pains to help me considerably in making the requisite alterations without delay, because his time is "less fully occupied with other duties" than mine; and also he could perhaps tell better what information an ordinary English Churchman required in connexion with the Swedish Church and Rite, than one who like myself has but recently returned from several years' residence in Stockholm. I have, however, made no radically important changes, especially in passages where I express definite views which do not altogether coincide with others. Such a volume as this following upon Mr. Yelverton's translation of the Swedish *Manual*,<sup>1</sup> lately issued with notes (to which I have also contributed) may be timely and useful now that a great step forward in our relations with the Swedish Church has been taken by the Lambeth Conference (1920).

J. HOWARD SWINSTEAD.

<sup>1</sup> *The Swedish Rite*, S.P.C.K., 1921.

## NOTE ON THE CONTENTS OF THE PRAYER BOOK

THE English reader should observe that our Prayer Book contains the whole of our Services, excepting that of the Coronation.

If he wishes to obtain an equally complete conspectus of the Swedish Services, it will be necessary to use several besides the *Kyrkohandbok* (manual), namely :—

1. *Evangeliebok*, which gives Collects, Epistles and Gospels.
2. *Book of Concord*, which includes the Creed of St. Athanasius, The Articles and The Catechism, and in which much information may be obtained corresponding to our Act of Uniformity, Preface, “Concerning the Service of the Church,” “Of Ceremonies.”
3. *Predikotexter*, published separately, giving the passages of Scripture for Sermon texts, principally selected from Epistles and Gospels.

The Psalter, Tables of Lessons, Communion Service, Forms of Prayer at Sea and the Accession Service do not occur in any formularies of the Swedish Church.

# THE SWEDISH CHURCH AND OURS

## CHAPTER I

### SOME PRINCIPLES OF REFORM

IN this chapter I propose to indicate the leading principles which guided the Reformers, both in Sweden and in England, and to show that they are not subversive of the true Catholic tradition, which still underlies the formularies and services of the Church of Rome, though overlaid by much that seems to us liable to lead believers astray and to keep us all apart.

It is related of the Rev. Rowland Hill that he presented himself at the Holy Communion in a chapel where he was only a visitor, and not a regular member. One of the Deacons of the congregation asked him whether he was of their particular persuasion, and, receiving as answer that he was not, regretfully declined to admit the stranger to "*our* table": whereupon the humorous divine promptly apologised for intruding, with the remark, "I thought it was *The Lord's* Table."

Such an incident recalls us to the urgent need of unity, and indeed the name "Congregation of Christ's Church" is so generally adopted by Protestant Communions, that we may remind ourselves of the way in which the original Greek word for that idea has been preserved through many superficial changes. Starting from "*kuriaké*" (the Lord's), we find in German "*kirche*," in Swedish "*kyrka*"

(pronounced, "cheerka"), "church" in English, and "kirk" in Scots. Here we have the original hard gutturals softened, both in English, the first in Swedish, the second in German, but neither in Scots, which reverts to type. Without pressing the analogy of these changes unduly, we may accept them as a sort of parable, and boldly assert that the Protestant principles in the Communion named illustrate the truth that Christ's Congregation, though wearing several outward garbs, is one and undivided. It is not a reason for pride, but for humiliation, that all or any of their differences should sunder one member from others in the same body. And in seeking links that have always bound the Churches of various countries, we make no apology for an abundant hopefulness. May we not indeed abound in hope that unity is really at work among us whether we are conscious of it or not, and insist on the duty of unveiling likenesses that endure, at the expense of abandoning unlikenesses that are transient and local? It is easy, and requires little more than an infant's perception to point out differences: it is more important to bring resemblances and parallels into clear view.

Just as in a family the members of the various branches can be recognised by their features as belonging to one common stock, so also in National Churches, the lineal descent of each ought not to be seriously obscured, though a few surface unlikenesses may tend to mask the underlying identity. There has arisen a deep and lasting conviction that superficial contrasts between Churches are easily outweighed by their radical unity, and the spirit of reform in all countries has guarded this valued truth against violation, not least in those three that now concern us, England, America, and Sweden.

The parallelism that exists between these Churches is seen most conspicuously in their each insisting on the use of the vernacular, their love of historic continuity, and their



conservatism over liturgies. Wherever hurried or violent reformation threatened, reaction inevitably succeeded, and the steadfastness of the nation asserted itself: the abiding power of common sense and moderation not only steered safely past the Scylla of superstition, but also salvaged the partial wreck from the Charybdis of irreverence.

Roughly stated, the Church of Christ has completed four centuries of her life in America, ten in Sweden, and fifteen in Great Britain. But length of days, though an indication of permanence, is of light importance, compared with that tenacity of purpose which all three have shown in their assertions of independence and catholicity. This persistence has many times been tested at critical junctures. In illustration of this, Canon E. R. Bernard, of Salisbury, has drawn happy parallels; he compares, *e. g.*, the Synod of Whitby, 664, with that of Linköping, 1162, five centuries later; and again, the Church's work as a factor in bringing about national unity both in England and Sweden. With such a heritage, it would be indeed strange if the mother and daughter Churches did not exhibit strong likenesses to each other. Of these, the strongest are the insistence on the national language for national worship, the claim to direct succession of bishops from earliest times, and the repeated demand for self-government in practice and ritual.

Through all can be traced the fearless appeal to Holy Scripture, backed with the authority of the fathers of the Early Church who interpreted and applied it, as need arose.

The battle for our language was begun by Wiclif, whose translation, after 500 years, still maintains its influence in the 97 per cent. Anglo-Saxon words of the Bible which we still use. This was soon followed in Sweden, where, in 1474, a bishop saw the use of the vernacular becoming so popular that he enforced the use of the Latin version by inflicting fines; within fifty years, Olaus Petri buried his father "in Protestant wise," and his own wedding, in 1525,

was celebrated in the tongue of his forbears, as a quaint and joyful rhyme records. But his public claim to use Swedish for all who did not understand Latin was made in 1529, in his outspoken preface to the reformed ritual for the Mass, Baptism, and Visitation of the sick. He writes: "All that hath been done in the church hath been in a foreign tongue, clean against God's mind and meaning, taught by His elect Apostle Paul, that naught shall be in holy Christendom save for betterment . . . But it hath come to pass that little better than a fasting from God's Word and Sacrament hath arisen, and hate and great disdain, which could never have been where man had used the tongue generally understood. The priest hath spoken to god-parents in Latin that they in no wise understood, though they must answer, 'I renounce.' What other is this than a half-fasting? It shall go more luckily than erstwhile when the priest said, 'Oremus' ['Let us pray,'] if he now shall say, 'Let us now make all these petitions for the child,' or whatso may be in hand. For they who should say 'Amen' to his prayers, knew naught of what the prayer tended to—why, even the priest's self scarce knew! What other hath that been but a madness both before God and man? And when one takes counsel that it may be done in an understanding wise, we get for answer, 'Yea, there hath been such knowledgeable folk before! Thou shouldest have come earlier,'—or such other mocking get we for the good Christian rede we give. But they must allow that even before our time there have also been many simple folk: the understanding have ever been little heard of. Yet, be they never so wise and clever, it were a foolish counsel to answer the other in a strange tongue, in so serious a case as our soul's salvation . . . I have set forth a handbook in Swedish for none other cause than was taken in hand at the council holden this year (1529) at Örebro, but have not in all points closely followed

the Latin manual, for that it hath not inclined to Scripture as it behoved. Yet hope I that this shall better agree with God's Word than the other. Nor have I set so many prayers, for that God looketh not on the many words, but rather forbids us many, and He will have a good heart towards our petitions. Likewise have I put aside the ceremonies hitherto holden that have been against God's Word. We have uses enough when the Sacrament is administered ; thus man uses salt, chrisem, oil, candles, and white robes in baptism, which do more affect ornament than aught of especial power. For such they had not in earliest Christendom. I have also seen that the sick have been anointed unto death, and not unto life, clean contrary to the Apostles, who anointed none in the sense of a viaticum or charm against the devil, nor yet to take away sin. In like manner have I made an instruction as to what solace shall be given the sick, though it be somewhat late to teach them who lie on their last bed, especially if they refused to be taught when they were in health. The priest should teach his parish folk not to delay till their last hour, for it is too late, when they draw their breath hard. . . Another might do this book better : that would I gladly see, but ten can be found to condemn it, to one that will do like as good."

It was quite in harmony with Olaus Petri's views, that his contemporary and brother-apostle of the reformation,—Cranmer—only ten years later, 1539, stood for the same sturdy emancipation. His Preface to the Bible claimed no new thing in asserting the right of Britons to their own tongue, but roundly declares that the use of any other in reading the Scripture is itself the innovation. "And yet if the matter should be tryed by custome, wee might also too alledge the custome for the reading of the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, and prescribe the more auntiente custome. For it is not much above one hundred years agoe, since

Scripture hath not been accustomed to be read in the vulgar tongue: and many hundred years before that, it was translated in the Saxons' tongue, which at that time was our mother tongue, whereof there remain yet divers copies found in old abbies, of such antique maner of writing and speaking, that few men now been able to read and understand them. And when this language waned old and out of common usage, because folk should not lack the fruit of reading, it was again translated into the newer language, whereof many copies remain and bee daily found." After thus discussing the question of innovation, he takes up the subject on its own merits, and contents himself with quoting in a condensed form certain earnest exhortations of St. Chrysostom, addressed to his hearers, that they would at home consider and read in the Scriptures those things concerning which they heard sermons. After these citations he speaks of the uses of Scripture, and then treats of the misuse which unholy men might make of the liberty of reading the Word of God. Against this abuse he earnestly cautions his readers.

Reform both in England and Sweden, for the next century and more, ebbed and flowed between tendencies on one side to further innovations, on the other towards reversion to original type. The three great efforts in the English books of 1549, 1552, 1578,<sup>1</sup> afford striking illustrations of ill-timed violence and consequent reaction; and the Swedish publications did no less in 1531, 1541 (Laurentius Petri and Norman), 1557, 1571 (the Church Law), 1576 (the Red Book of Johan III, whose death in 1592 was followed with almost indecent promptitude by a complete reversal of his policy) and 1593; until at last calm waters were reached in 1614, when violent changes in both directions ceased.

<sup>1</sup> In 1578 appeared the first Puritan edition of B.C.P.: see Proctor and Frere, pp. 133 ff.

It was in this great period of settlement by gradual stages that the Apostolic Succession of bishops was most threatened, and most successfully vindicated in both Churches. Continuity, during the Roman domination and after it, was abundantly proved, and though not equally valued by all classes, the heritage was secured. Naturally enough, Canons of Church Law and Kyrkolag were worked out to suit the new life, and in both nations we find a blending of antique uses: Salisbury, York, Bangor, Hereford and Lincoln, in England; Linköping, Skara (Åbo) and Upsala, in Sweden. As surely as the spires and towers in these centres point alike to heaven in varied forms, so did their individual independence bring into reformed life, not disunion, but diversified catholicity.

In setting forth a right principle for amendment, the English Church, in the Preface to the Prayer Book of 1662, reviews her own course hitherto; this may well be taken to reflect the mind of other peoples, nay, translated into their languages, it would pass muster as expressing correctly the canons that have guided all right reform. We there discover ten heads briefly discussed. It runs thus: "The institutions of man, devised of godly intent, are turned to vanity and superstition: this is by (i) indiscreet devotion and (ii) a zeal that is without knowledge; winked at in the beginning, they grew to (iii) abuses more and more, and are worthy to be cut away and rejected; other there be which it is thought good to reserve still, as well for (iv) a decent order in the Church, as because they pertain to edification: the keeping or omitting in itself is but a small thing, yet the wilful and contemptuous breaking of a common discipline is no small offence, and no man ought to take in hand to appoint or alter, except he be lawfully called and authorised thereunto. In our time, some think it a great matter of (v) conscience to depart from the least of their ceremonies; some would be so new-fangled that they would innovate all

things, and so despise the old that nothing can like them but that is new. Some ceremonies are put away because (vi) the burden of them was intolerable. Of late days, this our excessive multitude was so great, and many of them so dark, that they did more confound than declare Christ's benefits, the freedom which is of the spirit ; being content only with those which do serve to a decent order, and (vii) stir up the mind of man, by some notable signification whereby he might be edified. The most weighty cause of the abolishment of certain ceremonies was that they were so far abused by the (viii) blindness of the rude and unlearned, and the insatiable avarice of such as sought their own lucre, that the abuses could not well be taken away, the thing remaining still. Those persons which peradventure will be offended for that some of the old ceremonies are retained still, if they think much, surely where the old may well be used they cannot reasonably reprove the old only for their age, without bewraying of their own folly. For they ought rather to reverence them for their (ix) antiquity, if they be more studious of unity than of innovation and new-fangleness, which is always to be eschewed. As those ceremonies were taken away which were most abused, so the other that remain are retained for (x) a discipline (which may be altered and changed), and are therefore not to be esteemed equal with God's law. They be neither dark nor dumb, but are so set forth that every man may understand what they do mean, and to what use they do serve. In these our doings we condemn no other nation, nor prescribe anything but to our own people only ; for every country should use as they think best to the setting forth of God's honour and glory, and to the reducing of the people to a most perfect godly living, without error or superstition ; and they should put away other things which from time to time they see to be most abused, as in men's ordinances it most often chanceth diversely in divers countries."

In this passage we find the same line of guidance as must now and always apply to revision ; for the reasons for dropping a ceremony (which of course more or less implies some dogma) are, (i) indiscreet devotion, (ii) zeal without knowledge, (iii) abuses, (vi) burdensomeness of detail, (viii) blindness and avarice ; on the other side of the account must be set motives for retaining, (iv) order, (v) avoiding of new-fangleness, (vii) edification, (ix) antiquity, (x) discipline. All reformed Churches meet on this ground.

A century and a quarter later, in 1789, the Convention of the United States definitely proclaimed itself a daughter Church of England, and while disclaiming all needless divergence, it distinctly quoted the Prayer Book as its precedent for reform and addition, saying that different forms and usages may without offence be allowed, provided the substance of the Faith be kept entire. " In every Church, what cannot be clearly determined to belong to Doctrine must be referred to Discipline ; and therefore by common consent and authority may be altered, abridged, enlarged, amended or otherwise disposed of, as may seem most convenient to the edification of the people, ' according to the various exigencies of the times and occasions . . . forms, rites and ceremonies being in their own nature indifferent and alterable.' Not only in her Preface, but also in her Articles and Homilies, the same Church has striven to ' keep the happy mean between too much stiffness in refusing, and too much easiness in admitting variations ' since the days of Edward VI., and has ' yielded to make alterations, . . . yet so that the main body . . . continued firm and unshaken,' and in such manner as to tend to ' peace and unity, . . . reverence, . . . piety, and devotion . . . and cutting off occasion . . . of cavil or quarrel against her liturgy.' " When these American States became independent, the different Christians were left at full and equal liberty to model their forms and discipline in such a manner as they

might judge convenient, consistently with the laws of their country and such alterations as became necessary in the prayers for civil rulers. A further review was undertaken, still without the intention to depart from the Church of England in any essential point of doctrine, discipline, or worship. It was hoped that "the whole would be received . . . with a meek, candid, and charitable frame of mind ; without prejudice or prepossessions ; . . . for it promulgated Christianity in the clearest, plainest, most affecting, and majestic manner."

Such a pronouncement leaves every private worshipper to order his private devotions to his own seeming, but to adopt in public prayer that which has been well and truly laid down by authority. Therefore, to limit freedom as little as possible, the worship declared to be essential is such that all may accept it as "necessary to salvation" short of which a man may not fall, if he would be loyal, not alone to the Church of his country, but to the Catholic ("universal," "allmännelig") Church. And the two first requirements to confront the faithful Protestant are, of course, Holy Baptism and Holy Communion. To degrade these is to become, not a Protestant, but non-Christian, for they are the fundamental tests of faithfulness to Jesus Christ, sealing as they do His demands for penitence, faith, and obedience ; in these two Sacraments, as observed by our three Churches, there is remarkable concord, while only the slightest variations occur in their versions of the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian Creeds.

We must be satisfied in the present essay, if we can elicit from the Sacrament of the Holy Communion (taking that as a typical basis) points of agreement likely to be obscured in the clouds of controversy. And it is here a disappointment to find, not the essential unity that pervades the whole, but the strange tendency to ignore that unity ; in those who would score a brief triumph over opponents, the



one unhappy bone of contention has too often been the method of God's own Mystery. They have treated the word Transubstantiation as a mere shibboleth, the be-all and end-all of the whole matter.

It was by insistence on such a method that the width of truth became neglected. In their feverish desire to win a debate over what must ever be left unexplained and mysterious—and it is the more spiritual for that—controversialists have been oblivious of common truths held by all. This narrowing of the great vision has been disallowed by the Church in our three countries; she has refused to be deprived of her power of a wider outlook and has thus reaped a harvest which would have been impossible, had it been confined to one small field. With this in view, the crucial test has been abandoned which was applied at Oxford in April, 1554, to our three persecuted bishops :

(i) Whether the natural Body of Christ be present in the Sacrament after the words spoken by the priest, or no ?

(ii) Whether in the Sacrament, after the words of consecration, any other substance do remain than that of the Body and Blood of Christ ?

(iii) Whether the Mass be a sacrifice propitiatory for the sins of the quick and the dead ?

This fractional view of orthodoxy became epidemic; camp-cries and pass-words were accepted as expositions of doctrine, rather than mere ways of avoiding error, actual or supposed. The conclusions reached over this profound mystery were as debatable as they were partial. The cause of comprehensiveness was discarded in the ambition to confute individuals. And even the three principal expositions of Protestant doctrine failed, so far as they merely focused down to a fine issue, instead of keeping their lenses ready for wider angles. The mystery is still left unexplained, for mysteries are *ipso facto* inexplicable; and we are left still

unsatisfied by the declarations of three great and notable inquirers :—

(i) Consubstantiation : the two substances were so united that the elements may either be called “ bread and wine ” or “ the Body and Blood ” (Luther).

(ii) Commemoration : the bread and wine are merely symbols (Zwingli and the Calvinists).

(iii) Real but not corporeal Presence : Christ’s Body and Blood are not “ locally ” present in the elements, but really and without figure received by the worthy communicants through faith (Bucer).

This curt restatement gives emphasis to that keen desire for distinctions which tended more to correct or demolish a fellow-labourer than to rediscover the unity of a wide heritage. It is little wonder that more simple minds (which were possibly no less perspicacious in spiritual things) took refuge in personally applying truths to their soul’s comfort, without presuming to forbid what can be permitted. Nor did this imply any dangerous liberties of private interpretation. The clear eye of faith accepts the blessing, though without the capacity to explain methods. It was a genuinely Catholic spirit, protesting against needless bondage, that comforted not only the author himself, but many who gratefully accepted the words<sup>1</sup> :—

“ Christ was the Word that spake it,  
He took the bread and brake it,  
And what that Word did make it,  
That I believe, and take it.”

Here, without disparaging the efficacy, or impairing the spiritual nature of the mystery, lies the real foundation for what has come down to us in the Liturgy of the Holy Communion, and in the bird’s-eye view of the Service appended may be found an identity and similarity, such as might well have been lost to us, had the edge of controversy

<sup>1</sup> They are attributed to Queen Elizabeth.

been allowed to keep its keenness. Our conspectus will show that the original Roman use survives in all the four "Protestant" Communions to a remarkable extent. Confession and Absolution answer to each other in the consciousness of sin ; the prayer for the whole estate of Christ's Church is re-echoed by the Angels' chorus of Peace and Good-will and Glory to God ; the faithful message of the one undivided Church is preserved intact in Collect, Epistle, Gospel, Creed and Sermon, with scarcely a deviation or displacement even in the order of using the set Collects. This surely is a jewel of priceless worth, gloriously set in its proper casket of Eucharist. The sermon, indeed, may justly reveal the individual mind, but not the irresponsible mind that pays no heed to prescribed limits of doctrine. Then follows the Offertory of Holy things, an Oblation to unite our hallowing with the One Perfect and Complete Sacrifice. The hearts of all these nations are uplifted in the *Sursum Corda* ; their Memorial of Christ's eternal Presence is treasured in the words of His Institution, prefaced with a solemn statement of "bounden duty," and it is to Him as Lamb of God they offer their prayer for Forgiveness and Peace ; to Him they utter their Thanksgiving.

Every name by which the Service is called necessarily makes only one feature prominent, but the Liturgy itself combines all those features as essential characteristics, in their due proportion. Each Branch of the Church of Christ herein perpetuates an Act of Obedience, a Holy Communion, a Sacrament and a Sacrifice, a Memorial and a Eucharist ; nor will any of these Reformed Churches allow their ancient inheritance to be curtailed.

It is a cause for gratitude that the Service which once produced so much disunion has thus regained its rebinding power. All talk about "rascally Jesuits" is foreign to the spirit ; the effects of political intrigue are as transient as

they are small ; the fear of Mariolatry is quite forgotten in the true honour of the mother of Jesus, to be loved and imitated, but not adored ; for she stands pre-eminent, though not divine, among women, and enriched by the hallowing circle of light from His relationship to her. She shares in His festivals, and keeps her own sacred day in the calendar, and her picture and statue are to be found in other than Roman churches as an inspiration, unsullied by misdirected worship.

Here was no compromise but a godly elasticity, and common sense sanctified.

The Swedish Church is even more faithful to type than her sisters in certain respects ; for she not only retains the crucifix *with* the figure (while the others mostly have the bare cross), but she preserves, in the same positions as she found them, some parts of the Eucharistic Service that the rest have either shifted elsewhere or abandoned altogether. Thus, a closer connexion with Rome is retained in having Gloria, Confession, and Absolution at the start, the Gradual after the Epistle, the Prayer for the Church before the Offertory, the Benedictus before the Institution and the Lord's Prayer with it, and the Agnus before the distribution of the elements. She claims direct power of Absolution, not in the Liturgy itself, but in the office of Confession (Skriftermål), both public and private ; and whereas other Protestants make this confession their preparation in the Service, Sweden emphasises its importance by demanding it at a separate time—an instance worthy of imitation by the others.

Lastly, to the complaint that the mere recital of the words of Institution without Invocation leaves a feeling of incompleteness in the Eucharist, Swedes reply, "Yes, but we immediately follow with the Lord's Prayer, and what invocation could be better? The use of the Lord's Prayer for special intention is no invention of ours." Archbishop Ekman uttered a weighty truth in the words, "A sacrifice

of thanksgiving does not earn atonement, but it comes from them who already are reconciled ; we have nothing against a Eucharistic Sacrifice, but only against regarding it as propitiatory."

In 1529 the English and Swedish Churches used practically the same Mass under the direction of Rome. Though divergencies have gradually crept in, many details are still identical, and common to all the branches of Christ's Church. A stranger, let us say a Mohammedan, fairly familiar with the language used, could instantly detect great similarities, and might well marvel that any member whatever of the One Holy Catholic Apostolic Church should fail to feel at home in any form of celebration of the Holy Communion.

A survey of the one form of Service prevalent in 1529, readily shows that likenesses are greater than dissimilarities ; in this respect Rome, Sweden, England, America and Scotland are obviously sisters, reproducing the family features to a remarkable extent.

As we examine the Mass one section after another, we meet the following five main features, of which several are common to the whole Church of Christ :—

(*a*) *Preparatio* was made by the Priest, either by himself or with one of his assistants, while they were robing before they approached the Altar : it consisted of a mutual confession and salutations, concluding with Our Father : (the form was the more severe according as the Priest emphasised his own unworthiness).

(*b*) *Introitus* included antiphons and responses : passages from the Old Testament pricked the conscience, and caused it to acknowledge the need of forgiveness. Then verses were read from the New Testament, proclaiming Christ, and promising that He should come to His bride, the Church. The deep necessities of the congregation are implied by this promise, under the form of Christ bearing their burden, as He did after the judgment of

Pilate. The worshippers respond to the heralding of Christ's Advent, although they are as yet unconscious of their sin, and their need for pardon. When the bridegroom's voice is heard, the people express themselves in the Kyrie ("Lord, have mercy upon us") nine times: thrice with the lips, thrice with the heart, thrice with the deed: (ore, corde, opere). In this manner, nine various kinds of sin are acknowledged, and the sense of shortcoming is as often repeated. By this time the congregation has found itself, and is in the right frame of mind. Prayer opens the gate of heaven, and peace and bliss come streaming down. The Priest and Choir sing "Gloria in Excelsis," and this salutation of the angels finds its thankful response in the people's cry, "Et in terra pax." The feeling of God's Presence expresses itself in "Laudamus, Benedicimus, Adoremus," and rises to the salutation "Pax vobiscum," with the loving reply, "Et cum spiritu tuo."

With this, *Preparatio* and the announcement end and God comes to His own in His Temple, by means of His Word. The doors of heaven are felt to open, and Christ's very approach is proclaimed in His Person, coming to the bride in the words of Scripture.

(c) *Lectiones*, preceded by a concise prayer, the collect, which gathers the thoughts, and passes to the meeting with the Saviour in His Word. The Epistle witnesses to Him by speaking of His saving Grace, and is responded to in the Gradual hymn which is a reply of gratitude for the Word that has been given. And now even the deaf can share in the glad tidings, for their eyes may behold the two lights which are lit. These may represent the Law and the Prophets which preceded the Gospel, and were fulfilled in it. Here is the climax: it is supremely important, and therefore is read from a unique place. Bishops doff their mitres, and when at last the Law and the Prophets have been fulfilled, the candles are extinguished.

The Confession of Faith is the answer of the people by which they acknowledge the truth, and affirm their belief in the Gospel. Then the Sermon, if it was preached during Mass and not beforehand, as was sometimes done, declared some message of good news from God's Word.

(*d*) Offertorium: After receiving the word of Salvation for the soul's health, the congregation exhibits the cardinal virtue of unselfishness by the spiritual offering which it makes in the prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church: and the oblation of the sacred elements indicates that Grace is instantly set in operation thereby. Here are set forth by symbols the faith which works by love (Gal. v. 6): The cup of salvation is prepared and placed upon the Altar, "in spiritu humilitatis"; the bond between these two parts of the Service became loosened at the Reformation, and, for a time, the prayer retained its place here with a new meaning; but like a ship after many stormy journeys, it finally found anchorage in the original harbour. Next comes Lavabo ("I will wash my hands in innocency") with a prayer that the priest, together with the congregation, might offer a sacrifice acceptable to God. The oratio secreta may be said still to survive in the Swedish Church, in the recital of "Our Father" silently, though not at this place in the Service.

(*e*) Canon Missæ is precluded by a cry of joy, to welcome the King as He comes, and concluded with a greeting similar to that of the Jews, when Jesus rode from the Mount of Olives. The Sursum Corda, and the Gratias ("Let us give thanks") suggest a parallel to the sympathy expressed in the Preface between mankind and the angels, in which God's host in heaven, and His warriors on earth, unite to declare their common worship. The Sanctus is the song of the whole company of heaven, responded to in the Benedictus which is the human shout of joy: then both combine in singing Hosanna ("Give salvation from

on high"), and this has its counterpart in the Gloria ("Glory be to God on high"), in which angels and men both took part at the first announcement of Christ's coming. Consecration: The Bridegroom is greeted in welcome by His Bride symbolically, in a solemn dedication of prayer and intercession. The Bride He loves is brought to Him. She is His whole Church, with its members, living and dead; working or resting from their labours. His Holy Spirit is called down (*Invocatio*) over the Bread and the Wine, so that they may become His Body and Blood for us; His actual words are quoted, in order that His Law may be obeyed, and His sacrifice commemorated; the Holy Elements of the Sacrament are raised with reverence (*Elevatio*), and that prayer which He Himself taught us to pray sets His seal of approval upon the whole matter, because His friends do whatsoever He commandeth them. The bread is broken (*fractio panis*) and is mingled with the wine (*commixtio*). The Communion binds the Priest and the people together in a renewal of love to the Saviour: "*Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum*"—"Et cum spiritu tuo": they who worship the Lamb which was slain from the beginning of the world, join in singing the *Agnus Dei*, and the Priest distributes the Communion to his assistants and the congregation. The book and the paten are kissed: this indicates that, if a wrong frame of mind previously hindered prayers, reconciliation has now been won. Thanksgiving for the inestimable benefit concludes the post-Communion, and the people are dismissed with a blessing.

Here we find the centre of gravity in our worship, where bold expression is given to the one great hope, and to the one only endeavour worth living for, love to God, and love to man.

Protestants have lightened the ship, by casting away needless weight, in order to make their harbour, and rest in peace. But they should take heed not to disburden the vessel so much that she loses her balance: then they may



rejoice in having saved her from error and superstition, and in having preserved so much that belongs to God, that all the faithful may be secure in their faith, and active in their obedience to the will of their Master.

When we feel troubled at outward signs of disunion, we may seek that "best of all cordials for drooping spirits"—history—in turning to the models adopted by various Churches; and then we find that it is not always the Churches, but sometimes only individual members, that cause the difficulty. Let us take a telling example. If casually asked what were the differences to be found in our central service, the Holy Communion, many answers could be given. Most of these would stoutly affirm that the Roman Catholic and the Protestant are totally dissimilar: for lack of further information the inquirer might sadly sigh that such is the case, and regret the disunion. Or he might rejoice to think that we have cast off the mischievous bondage of an erring Church.

But let him turn to the services themselves, and there he will find little or no cause for either regret or joy: for in no less than twenty-two important details, the inquirer will find practical identity in the service of the Mass at Rome, the Högmässa in Sweden, and the Holy Communion in England, Scotland, and America. When these identities are tabulated, they are almost startling. In order to estimate their value more clearly, it is perhaps best studiously to omit two considerations. (1) The differences between the branches of the Lutheran Church, which are of course by no means all alike. It would be well, for some purposes, if we could change the word "Lutheran" into "Reformed" or "Protestant." We should then see more plainly the definitions which mark off all Reformed Churches from the Roman, and we should cease to confuse all the Lutheran bodies in one rough grouping. They are not entirely distinguishable from other Protestant Churches, nor are they entirely in mutual accord. (2) The second intentional

omission should be the outward form of the Service recited. This external shape shows more often than not a local peculiarity which colours (or discolours) doctrines and practices. But the construction, source, and intention of all are clear beyond any doubt.

We find, then, twenty-two similarities, if not identities, in the great Altar Service, maintained by all the five Churches. From the table which follows, it can be seen that the points in common illustrate identity in form and unity in intention.

1. Preparation: variously performed, but still a preparation. The Roman use provides an interchange of confession between the Celebrant and his Assistants. The Swedish Church has a special form of preparation in "Skriftermål"; and we Saxons and Scots have "Our Father" and the prayer for purity.

2. The Kyrie: ours being after each commandment.

3. The Gloria: Rome, Sweden, immediately: we at the end of the service.

4. Laudamus.

5. The Salutation: "Pax vobiscum" of Rome, corresponds to "The Lord be with you" in Sweden and Scotland.

6. The Collect.

7. The Epistle.

8. The Gradual: Thanksgiving for the Epistle by Rome and Sweden: omitted by the others.

9. The Gospel.

10. The Creed.

11. The Sermon.

12. The Offertory.

13. The Prayer for the Church universal.

14. The Oblation of the sacred elements.

15. The Sursum Corda.

16. The Preface.

All five Churches observe this order, 6-16, with the doubtful exception of 14.



**A PREPARATION** of Priest and of the Altar.

*Service of Confession and Absolution*  
Priest stands at the Altar. **HVMNS**  
Priest and people kneel  
**CONFESSION**  
**ABSOLUTION** \*

Priest at north side, people kneel

Priest at right side, people kneel

Priest at the Altar, people kneel

"Confess your sins,"  
"Our help is in the Name"

*OUR FATHER, followed by PRAYER for PURITY*

**B. INTROITUS.**

1. Antiphons. Old Testament readings and New Testament
2. **KYRIE**

(Priest stands)  
**KYRIE** (Three-fold)

**TEN COMMANDMENTS** or the **GOSPEL SUMMARY**

(people still kneeling)

*KYRIE, after every several commandment*

Second collect from the end of the service, praying for grace to observe the commandments

**GLORIA**

**GLORIA TO GOD** (people stand)

4. **LAUDAMUS**

**LAUDAMUS**  
"The Lord is in His Holy Temple"  
"The Lord be with you."

Prayer for King and Nation

( Scots Liturgy ) "The Lord be with you" Prayer for King and Nation

"Peace be with you" And with thy Spirit

**C. THE GOSPELS**

1. **COLLECT**, quiet preparatory prayer
2. **EPISTOLA**
3. **GRADUAL** ("all laus, thanks for the Epistle")
4. **GOSPEL**, sung with special place at the Altar two lights
5. **SERMON** (during Mass on Gregory's day)
6. **CREDO**, conf-sion, "Veni, Amen, to the Gospel"

**COLLECT**  
**EPISTOLA**  
**GRADUAL HYMN**

**COLLECT**  
**EPISTOLA**

**COLLECT**  
**EPISTOLA**

**COLLECT**  
**EPISTOLA**

**SERMON** (during Mass on Gregory's day)

**CREDO**  
**SERMON**, preceded by a Hymn, and followed by a prayer for steadfastness

**CREDO** (6 flowers)  
**SERMON** or **HOMILIA**

**CREED** (by the notices: lauds, briefs, etc.)  
**SERMON**

**GOSPEL** (**GLORIA**)  
**GOSPEL** (**GLORIA** and thanks)  
**CREED**  
**SERMON** (Exhortation)

**D. OFFERTORIUM**

1. Offertion
2. **GENERAL CHURCH PRAYER**
3. **CHALICE** and **Paten** prepared and set on the Altar (Lavabo) Prayer "Secret" (habito secreto) (if silent)

**GENERAL CHURCH PRAYER** \*  
**OFFERTORY HYMN** (the Holy Offertory are set on the Altar)

**OFFERTORY SENTENCES** read, and **Agnus** presented at the Altar  
**ELEMENTS** placed on the Altar  
**PRAYER** for **CHRIST'S CHURCH MILITANT** \*

**E. CANON MISSAE**

"The Lord be with you"

"The Lord be with you"

**EXHORTATION, INVITATION, CONFES-SION, ABSOLUTION** \* and the **COMFORTABLE WORDS**

"The Lord be with you"

1. **SURSUM CORDA**

**SURSUM CORDA**

**SURSUM CORDA** and **PREFACE** with **SANCTUS**

**SURSUM CORDA** and **PREFACE** with **SANCTUS**

2. **PREFACE**

**PREFACE** (sung tacite followed by the words of the **INSTITUTION**)

Prayer of **Imbol's** words

**PRAYER** of **CON-SERVATION**, pleading the merits of Christ, making mention of the general and oblation, with the words of the **INSTITUTION** \*

3. **INSTITUTION**

**INSTITUTION** \*

during which the Priest lays **HYMN** sancti his hands on the elements to **TO THE FEAST** of **SANCTIFIED**

**PRAYER** of **CON-SERVATION** with mention of Christ's merits, making mention of oblation, **INSTITUTION** and prayer for **CHRIST'S CHURCH** \*

4. **COMMUNION**

**COMMUNION**

**OUR FATHER**

**OUR FATHER** IN **HEAVEN** (in **SESSION** of **OUR FATHER** \*)

5. **AGNUS DEI**

**AGNUS DEI**

**SANCTUS** and **BENEDICTUS**

**COMMEMORATION** of **THE TABLE** with **WOLVES** and **HUMORS** \*

6. **COMMUNION**

**COMMUNION**

**OUR FATHER**

**OUR FATHER** IN **HEAVEN** (in **SESSION** of **OUR FATHER** \*)

7. **AGNUS DEI**

**AGNUS DEI**

**OUR FATHER**

**OUR FATHER** IN **HEAVEN** (in **SESSION** of **OUR FATHER** \*)

8. **COMMUNION**

**COMMUNION**

**OUR FATHER**

**OUR FATHER** IN **HEAVEN** (in **SESSION** of **OUR FATHER** \*)

9. **AGNUS DEI**

**AGNUS DEI**

**OUR FATHER**

**OUR FATHER** IN **HEAVEN** (in **SESSION** of **OUR FATHER** \*)

10. **COMMUNION**

**COMMUNION**

**OUR FATHER**

**OUR FATHER** IN **HEAVEN** (in **SESSION** of **OUR FATHER** \*)

11. **AGNUS DEI**

**AGNUS DEI**

**OUR FATHER**

**OUR FATHER** IN **HEAVEN** (in **SESSION** of **OUR FATHER** \*)

12. **COMMUNION**

**COMMUNION**

**OUR FATHER**

**OUR FATHER** IN **HEAVEN** (in **SESSION** of **OUR FATHER** \*)

13. **AGNUS DEI**

**AGNUS DEI**

**OUR FATHER**

**OUR FATHER** IN **HEAVEN** (in **SESSION** of **OUR FATHER** \*)

14. **COMMUNION**

**COMMUNION**

**OUR FATHER**

**OUR FATHER** IN **HEAVEN** (in **SESSION** of **OUR FATHER** \*)

15. **AGNUS DEI**

**AGNUS DEI**

**OUR FATHER**

**OUR FATHER** IN **HEAVEN** (in **SESSION** of **OUR FATHER** \*)

16. **COMMUNION**

**COMMUNION**

**OUR FATHER**

**OUR FATHER** IN **HEAVEN** (in **SESSION** of **OUR FATHER** \*)

17. **AGNUS DEI**

**AGNUS DEI**

**OUR FATHER**

**OUR FATHER** IN **HEAVEN** (in **SESSION** of **OUR FATHER** \*)

18. **COMMUNION**

**COMMUNION**

**OUR FATHER**

**OUR FATHER** IN **HEAVEN** (in **SESSION** of **OUR FATHER** \*)

17. The Sanctus : postponed in Sweden till later in the service.

18. The words of Institution.

19. Our Father : postponed by us till after the distribution.

20. The Communion administered : in one kind only by Rome.

21. The Thanksgiving : in some cases before, in others after, receiving the Elements.

22. The Blessing.

Here are threads of the brightest but most harmonious colours, and of the most binding strength, inextricably woven into the fabric of our deepest adoration.

It may well and truly be said that the acceptation varies, and the interpretations are many; but no amount of individual variations (and Churches after all are only individuals in Christ's universal Church), and no obscurity of interpretation can do away with the one solid fact. The rock we all build on is the same : the Church we belong to is united in Him who prayed at His most solemn crisis for our unity. While we praise God that Nations and Churches keep their individual characteristics, let us adore Him for building the fortress of their common unity impregnably on the Communion of His Son's Body and Blood.

## CHAPTER II

### ARTICLES OF RELIGION

HAVING now discussed the main principles of reform which found liturgical expression in both the Anglican and Swedish Churches, and having seen how great the similarity between them is, and how comparatively small the break with the Roman Church on all essentials has been, we may go on to examine and compare the formal statements of doctrine of the two Churches as embodied in the English Thirty-nine Articles of 1571, and the Swedish version of the Augsburg Confession of 1530. We shall see that something similar has resulted there also.

The course of the Reformation in England is tellingly illustrated in brief by a study of the statements of doctrine which were successively published between 1536 and 1595. These all show excesses of reform and reaction, and the domination of party and sect in sequence. They also prove how slow was the process of digestion by which the English Church assimilated the food of her revived life. The balanced result that emerged at the end may safely be regarded as displaying the real mind of the English Reformed Church. While breaking from the past as little as purity of doctrine allowed, she constructed for herself by slow and painful stages an enduring body of belief.

In this she gathered strength and aid from other Churches. Religious bodies in the sixteenth century threw off their allegiance to Rome, and disowned many points in the system of the medieval Church. The procedure is simply negative and is called Protestant. The unsettled conditions gave

rise to wild speculation and practice, which in their turn forced on men the need to discover other bonds of Christian unity. Reformed bodies were bound to declare positively the faith and constitution they recognised. These positive statements resulted in a series of "Confessions" which sharpened definitions against Rome, and welded links of reconstruction in the chain of reform. The earliest and chiefest was THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION of 1530, subsequently enlarged and amended as THE WÜRTTEMBERG CONFESSION, 1552. Drawn up by Melancthon, and approved by Luther, at a time when reconciliation with Rome seemed possible, its purpose was to moderate the excesses of extremists. This, the first careful and authoritative statement of doctrine, deeply affected the English Articles. We find five main sections in its framework—

(i) Sacramental Grace is real, efficacious, and must be spiritually received.

(ii) The Church has the authority to ordain rites and ceremonies, and claims the right of preaching the Word, the power of the Keys, and the administration of the Sacraments.

(iii) While justification by Faith is emphasised, Predestination and Election are ignored.

(iv) Nothing in Luther's system is alien from Scripture and the Primitive Church.

(v) The abuses protested against were—

(a) Refusal of the cup to the Laity.

(b) Compulsory celibacy of the Clergy.

(c) Monastic vows.

(d) The propitiatory sacrifice in the Mass.

(e) Compulsory confession.

(f) Papal supremacy.

(g) Distinction of meat.

(Cf. the Six Articles, 1539, in which the reaction in England reasserted four of these points.)

The effect of this was twofold—

(i) Every reformed body put out its own Confession.

(ii) Even the vassals of Rome were obliged to define their positions ; *e.g.*, in the decrees of the Council of Trent (1545-63), and Pope Pius IV's Creed.

The Church of England felt an especial need for a formal statement of her position ; for in 1533, when she cast off Papal supremacy, she declared that she did not intend to "vary from the congregation of Christ's Church," either in (*a*) "the very articles of the Catholic Faith," nor (*b*) "the things declared by Scripture to be necessary to salvation."

Her articles therefore do not profess to be exhaustive, but are confined to the points at that time brought into controversy. This provision was afterwards remarkably illustrated in her Prayer Book and in her limited adoption of the old ecclesiastical law. She asserts therefore in her articles a *via media* in relation (i) to Rome, (ii) to foreign movements of Reformation, (iii) to wholesale revolution and rash speculation, which were naturally aroused by great religious changes. This *via media* was arrived at by a series of declarations here briefly summarised.

1536. THE TEN ARTICLES (put forth by Henry VIII, and signed by Thomas Cromwell and many bishops). They were traditional, conservative, and issued to "establish peace and quietness."

1538. THE THIRTEEN ARTICLES. These indicated the result of a struggle between two rival parties : (i) Cromwell and Cranmer, inclining (with Lutherans), towards conservatism and episcopal government, in the face of Zwinglians and Calvinists ; (ii) Bishop Gardiner's party, consistently independent of Rome, but opposed to further change. Intended as a concordat with Lutherans rather than a formal body of doctrine, these articles never had



any leading force, and chiefly concern us as being the channel by which the Augsburg Confession affected the Thirty-nine Articles.

1539. THE SIX ARTICLES were a temporary victory for the party of reaction (won in spite of the stout resistance of Cranmer) with cruel penalties for infringement; they ineffectually stopped further changes under Henry VIII.

1552. THE FORTY-TWO ARTICLES (following the Prayer Book of Edward VI, whose accession marked a complete reversal in favour of the reforming party), were framed by Cranmer, who probably did not submit them to Convocation, but enforced them (by royal authority) on all beneficed clergy upon pain of deprivation. By the king's death they remained in abeyance through the reaction under Queen Mary. They show clearly the influence of the Augsburg Confession, and are the basis of the Thirty-nine Articles. In three particulars they reflect the progress of reform abroad; they meet Calvinistic tendencies on (i) Predestination, and (ii) Election; while on (iii) Justification, they showed a complete independence in respect of Lutheran principles.

1559. THE ELEVEN ARTICLES (simple, practical, and preliminary), were only in force pending the revision, under Elizabeth, of the Forty-two into THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES (1563). This revision was the work of Parker, who preserved the old basis as against the revolutionary ideas of Calvinism, and showed clearly the influence of the Württemberg Confession (1552). They eventually received the royal sanction, and were published both in Latin and English (1571). The title "for avoiding diversities of opinion, and for establishing consent touching true religion," claims a comprehensiveness and completeness to which no claim was made in 1552.

1595. THE LAMBETH ARTICLES failed to obtain authority; the attempt to impose them proves that Calvinism was

not embodied in those of 1563, and the failure shows that the tenets were formally submitted, deliberately rejected, and therefore form no part of the theology of the Church of England, as may easily be seen from Articles XV, XVI, and XVII.

The shape of the Liturgy, and the application of it to special needs would leave a tangle of doubt, if the Thirty-nine Articles and the Augsburg Confession were not unmistakably clear. Comparison in full detail is impossible here, but identities (too frequently overlooked) may easily be detected by following some of the more telling parallels. Both systems condemn the Pelagians who do "vainly talk" on Original Sin; and where the statements differ, as in diction they do, the older Lutheran must be exonerated from intentional variation. Both equally demand Justification by faith in Christ, not for our works, which must be the fruit, not the root of justification and faith. The "preaching of an unfruitful orthodoxy" has been denounced as much in Sweden as elsewhere. The pronouncement on Sacraments is substantially the same, with two notable exceptions: (i) Absolution and Penance form a third Sacrament in Sweden. (ii) The phrase, "The wicked do carnally and visibly press with their teeth the Body and Blood of Christ," has been misunderstood by Lutherans; for this phrase avers, with St. Augustine, not that there is less offered to the wicked than to the worthy, but that he who has no faith cannot spiritually feed on the Sacrament. Protest against Romish abuses is equally severe as well from the one as from the other.

In reconciling the Articles on the Church, care must be taken to avoid confusion. On one side the formularies (which suffer by being translations from translations) give no uncertain sound; that (1) the Church of Christ is the body of the faithful, (2) where the pure Gospel is preached, and (3) His sacraments rightly used, although (4) customs

need not be the same everywhere, (5) nor do unworthy ministers render Christ's Institution invalid. On the other side such outspoken statements give no countenance to individual divergencies of opinions and practices which violate or ignore the spirit and teaching of both churches. That is merely a question of private adherence to the standard, and loyalty to the doctrine as formulated. For the divergencies of individuals involve no one else in responsibility than themselves. It is a great error also to suppose that the appeal to Scripture in the Augsburg Confession excludes the authority of the Fathers or that of the Universal Church; this fallacy is at once exploded by the conclusion, which goes so far as to claim not only agreement with Scripture but "even also with the Roman Church as she was known of the ancient authors."

## THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES

(English Prayer Book)

and

## THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION

(Swedish Version translated into English)

compared Article by Article  
in parallel columns.

The Preface of the Augsburg Confession is here compared with Article XXI in the English Prayer Book (which is omitted from the American Prayer Book).

The address of the Ruling Princes to their peoples, presenting the Augsburg Confession, contains the following passage:—

"All the contentious Articles which caused disunion have been thoroughly and satisfactorily investigated, and unfolded according to God's Word, false teachings indicated

and rejected, and the truth of godliness purely and clearly acknowledged." With this compare our two sections—

*XXI. Of the Authority of General Councils.*

GENERAL Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of Princes. And when they be gathered together, (forasmuch as they be an assembly of men, whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and Word of God,) they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God. Wherefore things ordained by them as necessary to salvation have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared that they be taken out of Holy Scripture.

*From the English Prayer Book.*

*I. Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.*

THERE is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions; of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness: the Maker, and Preserver of all things both visible and invisible. And in unity of this Godhead there be three Persons, of one substance, power, and eternity: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

*THE RATIFICATION.*

*This Book of Articles before rehearsed, is again approved, and allowed to be holden and executed within the Realm, by the assent and consent of our Sovereign Lady ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, etc. Which Articles were deliberately read, and confirmed again by the subscription of the hands of the Archbishop and Bishops of the Upper-house, and by the subscription of the whole Clergy of the Nether-house in their Convocation, in the year of our Lord 1571.*

*From the Swedish of the Augsburg Confession.*

*I. Of God, and Three Persons in the Godhead.*

THE churches of God among us, with common consent, do teach and hold that the decree of the Nicene Synod concerning the unity of the divine essence and of the three persons is certainly true, and without all doubt to be believed and acknowledged; to wit, that there is one divine essence which is called and is God, eternal, without body, indivisible, of infinite power, wisdom, goodness, the Creator and Preserver of all things visible and invisible, and that yet there are in the same divine essence three persons of equal power, coeternal, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. And we use the name of person in the same signification as the ancient teachers in the church

have used it in this cause, to signify, not a part or quality in another, but that which properly subsists.

Therefore our church condemns all heresies which have sprung up against this Article, as the Manichæans, who devised two Gods, one good and one evil; in the same manner the Valentinians, Arians, Eunomians, Mohammedans, and other such like. The Samosatenes also are condemned, old and new; who, when they earnestly contend that there is but one person in the Godhead, do craftily and wickedly teach with clever words, about the Word and Holy Ghost, that they are not distinct persons, but that the Word signifieth only a vocal word, and the Spirit nothing else than created activity in living things.

#### IX. *Of Original or Birth-sin.*

ORIGINAL Sin standeth not in the following of *Adam*, (as the *Pelagians* do vainly talk;) but it is the fault and corruption of the Nature of every man, that naturally is ingendered of the offspring of *Adam*; whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit; and therefore in every person born into this world, it deserveth God's wrath and damnation. And this infection of nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated; whereby the lust of the flesh, called in the Greek, *Phronema sarkos*, which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire, of the flesh, is not subject to the Law of God. And although there is no

#### II. *Of Original Sin.*

ALSO it is taught that, after *Adam's* fall, all men begotten and born after the common course of nature are born with sin; that is, without the fear of God, without trust in Him, and with fleshly appetite; and that the same disease, or original fault, is truly sin, condemning and bringing eternal death now also upon all that are not born again by baptism and the Holy Spirit.

Here are condemned the *Pelagians*, and others, who deny this original fault to be any sin; and who, so as to lessen the glory which appertains to the merits and benefits of Christ, argue that a man may, by his own strength and his natural reason, be justified before God.

condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, yet the Apostle doth confess, that concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin.

*XV. Of Christ alone without Sin.*

CHRIST in the truth of our nature was made like unto us in all things, sin only except, from which he was clearly void, both in his flesh, and in his spirit. He came to be the Lamb without spot, who, by sacrifice of himself once made, should take away the sins of the world, and sin, as Saint *John* saith, was not in him. But all we the rest, although baptized, and born again in Christ, yet offend in many things; and if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.

*II. Of the Word or Son of God, which was made very Man.*

THE Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, and of one substance with the Father, took Man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance: so that two whole and perfect Natures, that is to say, the Godhead and Manhood, were joined together in one Person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God, and very Man; who truly suffered, was crucified, dead and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for all actual sins of men.

*III. Of the going down of Christ into Hell.*

As Christ died for us, and was buried, so also is it to be believed that he went down into Hell.

*III. Of the Person, Office and Benefits of Christ.*

ALSO it is taught that the Word, that is, the Son of God, took unto Him man's nature in the womb of the Virgin Mary, so that there are two natures, the divine and the human, joined together in unity of person; one Christ, true God and true man: who was born of the Virgin Mary, truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, that he might reconcile the Father unto us, and might be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for all actual sins of men; who also descended into hell, and truly rose again the third day. Afterward He ascended into the heavens, that he might sit at the right hand of the Father; and reign for ever, and have dominion over all creatures; might sanctify those that believe in Him, by sending the Holy Spirit into their hearts, who shall rule, comfort,

IV. *Of the Resurrection of Christ.*

CHRIST did truly rise again from death, and took again his body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of Man's Nature; where-with he ascended into Heaven, and there sitteth, until he return to judge all Men at the last day.

V. *Of the Holy Ghost.*

THE Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one substance, majesty and glory, with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.

VIII. *Of the Three Creeds.*

THE Three Creeds, *Nicene* Creed, *Athanasius's* Creed, and that which is commonly called the *Apostles' Creed*, ought thoroughly to be received and believed: for they may be proved by most certain warrants of holy Scripture.

XI. *Of the Justification of Man.*

WE are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by Faith, and not for our own works or deservings: Wherefore, that we are justified by Faith only is a most wholesome Doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification.

XIX. *Of the Church.*

THE visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.

and quicken them, and shall defend them against the devil, and the power of sin.

The same Christ shall also openly come again, to judge the quick and the dead, and so forth, according to the Apostles' Creed.

IV. *Of Man's Justification.*

Also it is taught that men cannot be justified before God by their own powers, merits, or works; but are justified without any merit for Christ's sake through faith, when they believe that they are received into grace, and their sins forgiven for Christ's sake, who by His death paid satisfaction for our sins. This faith doth God impute for righteousness before Him, Rom. iii. and iv.

V. *Of Faith and the Ministry of the Church.*

For the obtaining of this faith, the ministry of teaching the Gospel and administering the Sacraments was instituted.

For by the Word and Sacraments, as by instruments and means, the Holy Spirit is given:

As the Church of *Jerusalem*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, have erred; so also the Church of *Rome* hath erred, not only in their living and manner of Ceremonies, but also in matters of Faith.

XXIV. *Of speaking in the Congregation in such a tongue as the people understandeth.*

It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the custom of the Primitive Church, to have publick Prayer in the Church, or to minister the Sacraments in a tongue not understood of the people.

XXXV. *Of the Homilies.*

THE second Book of Homilies, the several titles whereof we have joined under this Article, doth contain a godly and wholesome Doctrine, and necessary for these times, as doth the former Book of Homilies, which were set forth in the time of *Edward* the Sixth; and therefore we judge them to be read in Churches by the Ministers, diligently and distinctly, that they may be understood of the people.

*Of the Names of the Homilies.*

1 Of the right Use of the Church.

2 Against peril of Idolatry.

3 Of repairing and keeping clean of Churches.

4 Of good Works: first of Fasting.

5 Against Gluttony and Drunkenness.

6 Against Excess of Apparel.

7 Of Prayer.

8 Of the Place and Time of Prayer.

9 That Common Prayers and Sacraments ought to be ministered in a known tongue.

who worketh faith, where and when it pleaseth God, in those that hear the Gospel, to wit, that God, not for our merit's sake, but for Christ's sake, doth justify those Who believe that they for Christ's sake are received into grace.

Here are condemned the Anabaptists and others, who imagine and allege the Holy Spirit is given to men without the preaching of the word, through their own due preparations and works alone.



10 Of the reverend estimation  
of God's Word.

11 Of Alms-doing.

12 Of the Nativity of Christ.

13 Of the Passion of Christ.

14 Of the Resurrection of Christ.

15 Of the worthy receiving of  
the Sacrament of the Body and  
Blood of Christ.

16 Of the Gifts of the Holy  
Ghost.

17 For the Rogation-days.

18 Of the State of Matrimony.

19 Of Repentance.

20 Against Idleness.

21 Against Rebellion.

#### VI. *Of the Sufficiency of the holy Scriptures for salvation.*

HOLY Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation. In the name of the holy Scripture we do understand those canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church.

#### *Of the Names and Number of the Canonical Books.*

Genesis,

Exodus,

Leviticus,

Numbers,

Deuteronomy,

Joshua,

Judges,

Ruth,

The First Book of Samuel,

The Second Book of Samuel,

The First Book of Kings,

The Second Book of Kings,

The First Book of Chronicles,

The Second Book of Chronicles

The First Book of Esdras,  
 The Second Book of Esdras,  
 The Book of Esther,  
 The Book of Job,  
 The Psalms,  
 The Proverbs,  
 Ecclesiastes, or Preacher,  
 Cantica, or Songs of Solomon,  
 Four Prophets the greater,  
 Twelve Prophets the less.

And the other Books (as *Hierome* saith) the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine; such are these following:

The Third Book of Esdras,  
 The Fourth Book of Esdras,  
 The Book of Tobias,  
 The Book of Judith,  
 The rest of the Book of Esther,  
 The Book of Wisdom,  
 Jesus the Son of Sirach,  
 Baruch the Prophet,  
 The Song of the Three Children,  
 The Story of Susanna,  
 Of Bel and the Dragon,  
 The Prayer of Manasses,  
 The First Book of Maccabees,  
 The Second Book of Maccabees.

All the Books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive, and account them Canonical.

#### VII. *Of the Old Testament.*

THE Old Testament is not contrary to the New: for both in the Old and New Testament everlasting life is offered to Mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator between God and Man, being both God and Man. Wherefore they are not to be heard, which feign that the old Fathers did look only for transitory promises. Although the Law given from God by Moses, as touching Ceremonies and Rites, do not bind

Christian men, nor the Civil precepts thereof ought of necessity to be received in any common-wealth; yet notwithstanding, no Christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the Commandments which are called Moral.

#### XII. *Of Good Works.*

ALBEIT that Good Works, which are the fruits of Faith, and follow after Justification cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of God's Judgment; yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively Faith; insomuch that by them a lively Faith may be as evidently known as a tree discerned by the fruit.

#### XIII. *Of Works before Justification.*

WORKS done before the grace of Christ, and the Inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the School-authors say) deserve grace of congruity: yea rather, for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin.

#### XIV. *Of Works of Supererogation.*

VOLUNTARY Works besides, over and above, God's Commandments, which they call Works of Supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety: for by them men do declare that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his sake,

#### VI. *Of Good Works.*

Also it is taught that this faith should bring forth good fruit, and that we ought to do the good works commanded of God, and that too for God's will and commandment, and not in any confidence of meriting justification before God by such works.

For remission of sins and justification is received or apprehended with faith, as also Christ's own words witness: "When ye have done all these things, say, We are unprofitable servants."

The same also do the ancient writers of the Church teach; for Ambrose saith: "This is ordained of God, that he that believeth in Christ shall be saved, without work, by faith alone, freely receiving remission of sins."

than of bounden duty is required : whereas Christ saith plainly, "When ye have done all that are commanded to you, say, We are unprofitable servants."

#### XIX. *Of the Church.*

THE visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.

As the Church of *Jerusalem*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, have erred ; so also the Church of *Rome* hath erred, not only in their living and manner of Ceremonies, but also in matters of Faith.

#### XXXIV. *Of the Traditions of the Church.*

It is not necessary that Traditions and Ceremonies be in all places one, or utterly like ; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversities of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's Word. Whosoever through his private judgement, willingly and purposely, doth openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the Word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly, (that others may fear to do the like,) as he that offendeth against the common order of the Church, and hurteth the authority of the Magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of the weak brethren.

Every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish, ceremonies

#### VII. *Of the Church of Goa.*

ALSO it is taught that there is one holy Church which also shall continue for ever. And the Church of God is the communion of saints in which the Gospel is purely taught and the Sacraments are rightly administered.

And unto the true unity of the Church of God it is sufficient to agree concerning the pure doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments. Nor is it necessary that human ordinances, Church rites, or ceremonies instituted by men should be alike everywhere, as St. Paul saith : "There is one faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of all."

or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying.

XXVI. *Of the Unworthiness of the Ministers, which hinders not the effect of the Sacrament.*

ALTHOUGH in the visible Church the evil be ever mingled with the good, and sometimes the evil have chief authority in the Ministration of the Word and Sacraments, yet forasmuch as they do not the same in their own name, but in Christ's, and do minister by his commission and authority, we may use their Ministry, both in hearing the Word of God, and in the receiving of the Sacraments. Neither is the effect of Christ's ordinance taken away by their wickedness, nor the grace of God's gifts diminished from such as by faith and rightly do receive the Sacraments ministered unto them; which be effectual, because of Christ's institution and promise, although they be ministered by evil men.

Nevertheless, it appertaineth to the discipline of the Church, that inquiry be made of evil Ministers, and that they be accused by those that have knowledge of their offences; and finally being found guilty, by just judgement be deposed.

XXVII. *Of Baptism.*

BAPTISM is not only a sign of profession, and mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened, but it is also a sign of Regeneration or new Birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive Baptism rightly are grafted into the Church; the promises of the forgiveness of sin,

VIII. *Of the Power of the Ministry.*

THOUGH the Church of God be properly the communion of saints and true believers, yet seeing that in this life many hypocrites and evil persons are mingled with it, it is lawful to use the Sacraments administered by evil men according to the very words of Christ (Matt. xxiii. 2:) "The Scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat; all therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works." And the Sacraments and the Word are effectual, by reason of the institution and commandment of Christ, though they be proclaimed and delivered by evil men.

Here are condemned the Donatists and such like, who deny that it is lawful to use the ministry of evil men in the Church, and hold that the ministry of evil men is evil and without effect.

IX. *Of Baptism.*

OF Baptism it is taught that it is necessary to salvation, and that by Baptism the grace of God is offered and given, and that small children are to be baptized, who, by Baptism being entrusted to God, are received by God into grace.

Here are condemned the Anabaptists who allow not the

and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed; Faith is confirmed, and Grace increased by virtue of prayer unto God. The Baptism of young Children is in any wise to be retained in the Church, as most agreeable with the institution of Christ.

XXVIII. *Of the Lord's Supper.*

THE Supper of the Lord is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves one to another; but rather it is a Sacrament of our Redemption by Christ's death: insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith, receive the same, the Bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ; and likewise the Cup of Blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ.

Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of Bread and Wine) in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by holy Writ; but it is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions.

The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is Faith.

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.

XXXIII. *Of excommunicate Persons, how they are to be avoided.*

THAT person which by open denunciation of the Church is

Baptism of children, and affirm that children can be saved without Baptism.

X. *Of the Lord's Supper.*

OF the Supper of the Lord it is taught that the body and blood of Christ are truly present and are communicated in the Lord's Supper to all those that eat and drink there. Therefore they also are disapproved and rejected that teach otherwise.

XI. *Of Confession and Absolution.*

Concerning confession, it is taught that private absolution be retained in the churches, though

rightly cut off from the unity of the Church, and excommunicated, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful, as an Heathen and Publican, until he be openly reconciled by penance, and received into the Church by a Judge that hath authority thereunto.

*XVI. Of Sin after Baptism.*

NOT every deadly sin willingly committed after Baptism is sin against the Holy Ghost, and unpardonable. Wherefore the grant of repentance is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after Baptism. After we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given, and fall into sin, and by the grace of God we may arise again, and amend our lives. And therefore they are to be condemned, which say, they can no more sin as long as they live here, or deny the place of forgiveness to such as truly repent.

*XVIII. Of obtaining eternal Salvation only by the Name of Christ.*

THEY also are to be had accursed that presume to say, That every man shall be saved by the Law or Sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that Law, and the light of Nature. For holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the Name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved.

enumeration of all offences be not necessary; for it is impossible, according to Psalm xix.: "Who can tell how oft he offendeth?" and further "Forgive me my secret faults."

*XII. Of Penance and Amendment.*

TOUCHING repentance, it is taught that such as have fallen into sin after Baptism may find remission of sins, at whatsoever times they are converted, and that the Church of God should pronounce absolution and remission of sins unto such as return to repentance.

Now a right amendment consisteth properly of these two parts: One is heartfelt contrition, or terrors stricken into the conscience through the acknowledgment of sin; the other is faith, which is conceived by the Holy Gospel and absolution, and doth believe that for Christ's sake sins be forgiven, and comforteth the conscience, and freeth it from terrors. Then should follow good works, which are the fruit or repentance.

Here are condemned the Anabaptists, who deny that men once justified can lose the Holy Spirit of God, and likewise those who contend that some men may attain to such a perfection in this life that they cannot sin. The Novatians are also condemned, who would not suffer that those who had fallen into sin after Baptism, and afterwards returned to repentance should be taken into favour. They also who teach that remission of sins is not obtained by faith, and who

XXV. *Of the Sacraments.*

SACRAMENTS ordained of Christ be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession, but rather they be certain sure witnessess, and effectual signs of grace, and God's good will towards us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our Faith in him.

There are two Sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord.

Those five commonly called Sacraments, that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and extreme Unction, are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures; but yet have not like nature of Sacraments with Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.

The Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them. And in such only as worthily receive the same they have a wholesome effect or operation; but they that receive them unworthily purchase to themselves damnation, as Saint Paul saith.

XXIII. *Of Ministering in the Congregation.*

IT is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of publick preaching, or ministering the

command us to merit God's grace by our own satisfactions, are likewise rejected.

XIII. *Of the Use and Benefit of the Sacraments.*

CONCERNING the use and benefit of the Sacraments, it is taught that they were ordained, not only to be marks of profession by which the faithful could be outwardly known from other men, but that they should be signs and witnessess of the will of God towards us, and ordained to stir up and confirm the faith in such as use them. Therefore men must use Sacraments so as to keep the faith in them which believe the promises of God that are offered and set before our eyes by the Sacraments.

Wherefore they are condemned that teach that the Sacraments do justify us *ex opere operato* (that is, only by reason of the pains taken when one goes to the Sacraments yet without faith) and do not teach that faith which believes the remission of sins is requisite in the use of Sacraments.

(Cf. Apologia, VII, Therefore baptism, the Lord's supper and absolution (which is the sacrament of repentance) are real sacraments.

XIV. *Of Ecclesiastical Orders.*

CONCERNING Ecclesiastical Orders it is taught that no man should in God's Church publicly teach and preach, nor yet ad-



Sacraments in the Congregation, before he be lawfully called, and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have publick authority given unto them in the Congregation, to call and send Ministers into the Lord's vineyard.

minister the Sacraments, except he be lawfully called thereto.

XXXVI. *Of Consecration of Bishops and Ministers.*

THE Book of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, and Ordering of Priests and Deacons, lately set forth in the time of *Edward* the Sixth, and confirmed at the same time by authority of Parliament, doth contain all things necessary to such Consecration and Ordering: neither hath it any thing, that of itself is superstitious and ungodly. And therefore whosoever are consecrated or ordered according to the rites of that book, since the second year of the forenamed King *Edward* unto this time, or hereafter shall be consecrated or ordered according to the same Rites; we decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered.

XX. *Of the Authority of the Church.*

THE Church hath power to decree Rites or Ceremonies, and authority in Controversies of Faith: And yet it is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's Word written, neither may it so expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore, although the Church be a witness and a keeper of holy Writ, yet, as it ought not to decree any thing against the same, so besides the

XV. *Of Ceremonies or Church laws established by men.*

CONCERNING Ecclesiastical rites it is taught that those rites are to be observed which may be observed without sin, and are profitable for peace and good order in God's Church; such as fixed holidays, feasts, and the like. Yet concerning such ordinances, men are admonished that consciences are not to be burdened as if such ceremonies were a worship necessary to salvation.

same ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of Salvation.

### XXI. *Of the Authority of General Councils.*

GENERAL Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of Princes. And when they be gathered together, (forasmuch as they be an assembly of men, whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and Word of God,) they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God. Wherefore things ordained by them as necessary to salvation have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared that they be taken out of holy Scripture.

### XXXII. *Of the Marriage of Priests.*

BISHOPS, Priests, and Deacons, are not commanded by God's Law, either to vow the estate of single life, or to abstain from marriage : therefore it is lawful also for them, as for all other Christian men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness.

### XXXVII. *Of the Civil Magistrates.*

THE King's Majesty hath the chief power in this Realm of *England*, and other his Dominions, unto whom the chief Government of all Estates of this Realm, whether they be Ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be, subject to any foreign Jurisdiction.

Where we attribute to the King's Majesty the chief government, by which Titles we under-

They are also admonished that all human ordinances, instituted to propitiate God, to merit His grace, and pay satisfaction for sins, are clean opposed to the Holy Gospel and the doctrine of the faith. Wherefore monastic vows and ordinances concerning divers foods and days, and such like, devised to merit grace and make satisfaction for sins, are quite useless and contrary to the Holy Gospel.

### XVI. *Of Civil Government.*

CONCERNING civil government, it is taught that all such civil ordinances as are lawful are good works of God ; that Christians may bear civil office, administer law and justice, determine matters by the imperial laws of one's own country, appoint just punishment for misdoings, engage in just war, act as soldiers, make legal bargains and contracts, manage property, take oaths when the authorities lawfully require them, marry a wife, or be given in

stand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended ; we give not to our Princes the ministering either of God's Word, or of the Sacraments, the which thing the Injunctions also lately set forth by *Elizabeth* our Queen do most plainly testify ; but that only prerogative, which we see to have been given always to all godly Princes in holy Scriptures by God himself ; that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evildoers.

The Bishop of *Rome* hath no jurisdiction in this Realm of *England*.

The Laws of the Realm may punish Christian men with death, for heinous and grievous offences.

It is lawful for Christian men, at the commandment of the Magistrate, to wear weapons and serve in the wars.

#### XXXVIII. *Of Christian men's Goods, which are not common.*

THE Riches and Goods of Christians are not common, as touching the right, title, and possession of the same, as certain Anabaptists do falsely boast. Notwithstanding, every man ought, of such things as he possesseth, liberally to give alms to the poor, according to his ability.

#### XXXIX. *Of a Christian man's Oath.*

As we confess that vain and rash Swearing is forbidden Christian men by our Lord Jesus Christ, and *James* his Apostle, so we judge, that Christian Religion doth not prohibit, but that

marriage, etc. The Anabaptists are condemned who forbid Christians these civil offices and callings. Also those also are condemned that teach that the perfection of the Gospel consists not in the fear of God and in faith, but in forsaking one's own calling and civil offices, inasmuch as the Holy Gospel teacheth an everlasting righteousness of the heart alone. Yet the Gospel doth not disallow civil and household government, but requireth especially the preservation and maintenance thereof, as of God's own ordinances, and that in such conditions we should show Christian love. Christians, therefore, must necessarily obey their authorities and laws ; but when they command any sin, we must obey God rather than men (Acts v. 29 )

a man may swear when the Magistrate requireth, in a cause of faith and charity, so it be done according to the Prophet's teaching, in justice, judgement, and truth.

#### IV. *Of the Resurrection of Christ.*

CHRIST did truly rise again from death, and took again his body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of Man's nature; where-with he ascended into Heaven, and there sitteth, until he return to judge all Men at the last day.

#### XVII. *Of Predestination and Election.*

PREDESTINATION to Life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) he hath constantly decreed by his counsel secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honour. Wherefore, they which be endued with so excellent a benefit of God be called according to God's purpose by his Spirit working in due season: they through Grace obey the calling: they be justified freely: they be made sons of God by adoption: they be made like the image of his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ: they walk religiously in good works, and at length, by God's mercy, they attain to everlasting felicity.

As the godly consideration of Predestination, and our Election in Christ, is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of the

#### XVII. *Of the Last Judgement.*

ALSO it is taught that, at the last day, Christ shall manifestly come to judge, and shall raise up all that are dead, and shall give unto the godly and elect eternal life and everlasting joy; but the ungodly and the devils he shall condemn to be pained and plagued without ceasing.

The Anabaptists are here condemned who think that ungodly and lost men and the devils shall have an end of their punishment and torments. Others also are condemned, who now scatter Jewish opinions, that, before the resurrection of the dead, the godly shall enter into the kingdom of the world, when they have everywhere rooted out the wicked.

Spirit or Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh, and their earthly members, and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things, as well because it doth greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal Salvation to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle their love towards God: So, for curious and carnal persons, lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's Predestination, is a most dangerous downfall, whereby the Devil doth thrust them either into desperation, or into wretchlessness of most unclean living, no less perilous than desperation.

Furthermore, we must receive God's promises in such wise, as they be generally set forth to us in holy Scripture: and, in our doings, that Will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto us in the Word of God.

#### X. *Of Free-Will.*

THE condition of Man after the fall of *Adam* is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith, and calling upon God: Wherefore we have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us, when we have that good will.

#### XIII. *Of Works before Justification.*

WORKS done before the grace of Christ, and the Inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive

#### XVIII. *Of Man's Free-Will.*

CONCERNING free-will, it is taught that man's will hath some liberty to work outward righteousness, and to choose such things as it by reason can reach unto; but that it hath no power without the Spirit of God to work the righteousness which avails before God, or a spiritual righteousness; because that the natural man cannot receive the things of the Spirit of God. But spiritual righteousness is wrought in the heart when the Spirit of God is received through the Word.

These things are in like words affirmed by St. Augustine, in *Hypognosticon*, lib. iii.: "We confess," he says "that there is in all men a free-will, which hath indeed a natural judgement; not

grace, or (as the School-authors say) deserve grace of congruity: yea rather, for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin.

that it is thereby fitted, without God's help, either to begin or to perform any thing in matters pertaining to God, but only in works belonging to this present life, whether they be good or evil. By good works, I mean those which come of the goodness which nature enables; as to will to labour in the field, to desire meat or drink, to desire to have friends, to desire apparel, to desire to marry a wife, to nourish cattle, to learn the art of divers useful things, to desire any good thing pertaining to this present life; all which cannot be without God's merciful aid, for they truly are, and had their beginning from him and by him. By evil things, I mean such as to will to worship images, to will manslaughter, and such like."

Here are condemned the Pelagians and others, who teach that by our natural powers alone, without the aid of the Spirit of God, we are able to love God above all things, and to keep the commandments of God, both in body and soul. For although man be able in some part outwardly to keep God's commandments (for he is able to hold his hands from theft and murder, etc.) yet he cannot work the inward obedience, such as the fear of God, trust in God, chastity, patience, and such like.

#### IX. *Of Original or Birth-sin.*

ORIGINAL Sin standeth not in the following of *Adam*, (as the *Pelagians* do vainly talk;) but it is the fault and corruption of the Nature of every man, that naturally is ingendered of the offspring of *Adam*; whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined

#### XIX. *Of the Cause of Sin.*

TOUCHING the cause of sin, it is taught that, although God doth create and preserve nature, yet the true cause of sin is the will of the wicked, to wit, of the devil and ungodly men; which will turneth itself from God, without God's aid or instigation, etc., as Christ saith in John viii.: "When

to evil, so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit ; and therefore in every person born into this world, it deserveth God's wrath and damnation. And this infection of nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated ; whereby the lust of the flesh, called in the Greek, *phronema sarkos*, which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire, of the flesh, is not subject to the Law of God. And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, yet the Apostle doth confess, that concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin.

the devil speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own."

#### XV. *Of Christ alone without Sin.*

CHRIST in the truth of our nature was made like unto us in all things, sin only except, from which he was clearly void, both in his flesh, and in his spirit. He came to be the Lamb without spot, who, by sacrifice of himself once made, should take away the sins of the world, and sin, as Saint *John* saith, was not in him. But all we the rest, although baptized, and born again in Christ, yet offend in many things ; and if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.

#### XII. *Of Good Works.*

ALBEIT that Good Works, which are the fruits of Faith, and follow after Justification, cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of God's Judgement ; yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively Faith ; insonmuch that by them a lively Faith may be as evidently known as a tree discerned by the

#### XX. *Of Righteousness and Good Works.*

To us it is falsely imputed that we forbid good works. For the writings of our teachers upon God's Ten Commandments, and other writings of the same doctrine do bear witness and testify that they have given good admonition concerning every kind of calling and duty which please God and what good works in every estate

fruit. (cf. also Art. XIII., Swedish VI. and XVIII.).

God demands. Of which things preachers in former times taught little; only they urged on the people childish and needless works; as stated holy days, set fasts, fraternities, pilgrimages, worshipping of saints, rosaries, monastic life, and such like. Now our adversaries, having had warning from us, do now begin to surcease and acknowledge these as wrong, and do not belaud so highly these unprofitable works, as they were wont. Besides, they begin now to make mention of faith, concerning which nothing at all was formerly preached. Albeit they do not yet turn from obscuring the doctrine concerning faith, while they allow consciences to be doubtful, and urge that man by good works can deserve the forgiveness of sins, and do not teach that by faith alone we shall certainly obtain the forgiveness of sins for Christ's sake.

Whereas, therefore, the doctrine of faith, which should be the chief one in God's Church, hath been so long unknown, as all men must needs grant, that nothing was said about the righteousness of faith in their sermons, but only the doctrine of good works is pressed in the church; for this cause our divines have thus taught and instructed God's Church concerning faith—

Firstly, that our works cannot reconcile us with God, or deserve remission of sins, God's grace and justification, but that these we obtain by faith only, when we believe that we are received into grace for Christ's sake, who alone is appointed the Mediator and Propitiator, by whom the Father is reconciled. He, therefore, that trusteth by his works to merit God's grace, doth despise the



merit and grace of Christ, and seeketh a way to God by his own power, without Christ; whereas Christ hath said expressly of himself in John xiv. : "I am the way, the truth, and the life."

This doctrine of faith is proclaimed and taught by Paul the Apostle everywhere: as in Eph. ii. 8, 9: "By grace ye are saved through faith, and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God; not of works lest any should boast." But lest any here should cavil, that we have devised some new interpretation of Paul's words, this whole matter is sustained by testimonies of the Fathers; for Augustine doth in many volumes defend grace, and the righteousness of faith, against the merit of works. The like doth also Ambrose teach in his book, *De Vocatione Gentium*, and elsewhere. For thus he saith of the calling of the Gentiles: "The redemption made by the blood of Christ would be despised, and the deserving of man's works would not be smaller than the mercy of God, if the justification which is by God's grace were imputed to merits going before; and righteousness would not be a gift made to us, but the wages for our labour."

And though this doctrine of faith be contemned by the untaught and the unskilful, yet godly and fearful consciences find by experience that it bringeth very great comfort: because that consciences cannot be quieted by any works, but by faith alone, when they believe assuredly that they have a God who is propitiated for Christ's sake; as St. Paul teacheth in Rom. v. : "Being justified by faith, we have peace with God through Christ." And this doctrine of faith doth wholly

belong to the conflict of troubled consciences, and cannot be rightly understood without such a struggle of conscience. Wherefore, the unlearned and ungodly, who deem that Christian righteousness is naught else but an outward righteousness, are poor judges of this matter.

Men's consciences were formerly vexed with the doctrine of works, they did not hear any comfort from the Holy Gospel. Whereupon conscience drove some into the desert as hermits, some into monasteries, hoping there to merit God's grace by a monastic life. Others devised other works, whereby to merit God's grace, and to satisfy or pay for sin. There was, therefore, very great need to teach and declare this doctrine of faith in Christ: to the end that troubled consciences might not want comfort, but might know that grace, and forgiveness of sins, and justification, are received by faith in Christ.

The people also are warned that in this place the word Faith doth not only signify a knowledge of the history, which may be in the wicked, and in devils, but that it signifieth a faith which believeth, not only the history of Christ's suffering, but also the effect of the history; namely, the article of remission of sins; that is, that by Christ we have God's grace, righteousness, and remission of sins. Now he that knoweth that he hath a merciful Father through Christ, knoweth God truly; he knoweth that God taketh care of him; he loveth God and calleth upon him; and he is not without God, as the Gentiles are. For the devils and the wicked can never believe this article of the remission of sins; and therefore

they hate God as an enemy ; they do not worship him, nor do they look for any good thing from him. After this manner doth Augustine admonish the Christian reader concerning the word Faith, and teacheth that this word Faith is taken in Holy Scriptures, not for such knowledge as is in the wicked, but for trust, which doth comfort and uplift disquieted minds.

Moreover, our divines teach that it is necessary to do good works ; not that we may trust that we deserve God's grace by them, but because it is the will of God. By faith alone is apprehended remission of sins, God's grace, and quietness of conscience. And because the Holy Spirit is received by faith, the heart is renewed, and so gets new courage, so that it can bring forth good works. For thus saith Ambrose : " Faith is the mother of a good will and of just actions." For man's powers, without the Holy Spirit, are full of wicked affections, and are too weak to perform any good deed before God. Besides, they are under the devil's power, who driveth men into divers sins, into false opinions, and into open crimes ; as one sees to be the case with the heathen, who have earnestly tried to live honourably and blamelessly, and yet have not been able so to do, but have become tainted with many manifest sins. Such is the weakness of man, when he is without faith and the Holy Spirit, and is only ruled by human powers.

Hereby may be easily seen that this doctrine is not to be accused, as forbidding good works ; but rather is much to be commended, because it showeth us how we must do good works. For without

faith the nature of man can by no means perform good works as in the First or Second Table are commanded. Without Faith, it cannot call upon God, expect any good from God, be patient under the cross; but seeketh aid from man, and trusteth in man's help. So all lusts and human counsels now bear sway in the heart so long as faith and trust in God are absent. Wherefore, also, Christ saith, John xv. 5: "Without me ye can do nothing," and God's Church singeth: "Without the Holy Spirit's might is nothing in the power of man; everything has blot and stain."

XVIII. *Of obtaining eternal Salvation only by the Name of Christ.*

THEY also are to be had accursed that presume to say, That every man shall be saved by the Law or Sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that Law, and the Light of Nature. For holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved.

XXII. *Of Purgatory.*

THE Romish Doctrine concerning Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping and Adoration, as well of Images as of Reliques, and also invocation of Saints, is a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God.

ALL SAINTS' DAY.

THE COLLECT.

O ALMIGHTY God, who hast knit together thine elect in one

XXI. *Worship or Invocation of Saints.*

TOUCHING the worship of saints, it is taught that the memory of saints of God may be kept, that we may follow their faith and good works every one according to our calling; as a king may follow David's example in making war and driving away the Turks from his country; for both of them are kings. But the holy Scripture teacheth not to worship or invoke saints, nor to seek their help, because it setteth before us one Christ the Mediator, Propitiator, High Priest, and Intercessor. This Christ is to be invoked and he hath promised that he will hear our prayers, and approveth and commendeth such worship as when he is called upon in all afflictions. (2 John 1: "My children, this I write unto you that ye should not sin; but if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous.")

communion and fellowship, in the mystical body of thy Son Christ our Lord ; Grant us grace so to follow thy blessed Saints in all virtuous and godly living, that we may come to those unspeakable joys, which thou hast prepared for them that unfeignedly love thee ; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

#### XIX. *Of the Church.*

THE visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.

As the Church of *Jerusalem*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, have erred ; so also the Church of *Rome* hath erred, not only in their living and manner of Ceremonies, but also in matters of Faith.

#### XX. *Of the Authority of the Church.*

THE Church hath power to decree Rites or Ceremonies, and authority in Controversies of Faith : And yet it is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's Word written, neither may it so expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore, although the Church be a witness and a keeper of Holy Writ, yet, as it ought not to decree any thing against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of Salvation.

#### XXXIV. *Of the Traditions of the Church.*

IT is not necessary that Traditions and Ceremonies be in all

#### *Conclusion.*

THIS is about the sum of doctrine proclaimed among us, in which can be seen that there is nothing which is discrepant with the Holy Scripture, or with the Church Catholic, or even with the Roman Church, so far as that Church is known from the writings of the Fathers. This being the case, they judge us harshly who insist that we shall be regarded among heretics. But the dissension and strife is concerning a mass of abuses, which without any reason or foundation have crept into God's Church ; and, even if there were some difference herein, yet the popish bishops ought to be so humane for the sake of the Confession which we have now presented, as to suffer us to be brothers in the faith, since not even the Canons and old Church Laws are so severe as to demand the same rites everywhere, nor yet were the rites of all churches at any time the same, although among us in large part the ancient rites are diligently observed. For it is a calumnious falsehood, that all the ceremonies, all the Church Laws of old, are abolished in our churches. But the general complaint was that certain abuses depend upon the rites in common use. These, because they could not with good conscience be approved, have to some extent been corrected.

places one, or utterly like ; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversities of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's Word. Whosoever through his private judgement, willingly and purposely, doth openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the Word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly, (that others may fear to do the like,) as he that offendeth against the common order of the Church, and hurteth the authority of the Magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of the weak brethren.

Every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish, ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying.

#### XXIX.

THE Wicked, and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth (as Saint *Augustine* saith) the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ : but rather, to their condemnation, do eat and drink the sign or Sacrament of so great a thing.

#### XXX. *Of both kinds.*

THE Cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the Lay-people : for both the parts of the Lord's Sacrament, by Christ's ordinance and commandment, ought to be ministered to all Christian men alike.

#### *Abuse III. (24 Art.)*

BUT St. Paul severely threatens those who partake unworthily of the Lord's Supper, when he says (1 Cor. xi. 27) :

“ Wherefore, whosoever shall eat this bread and drink this cup, unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord.”

#### *Abuse I. (22 Art.)*

THAT they have taken away one part of the Supper of the Lord.

To laymen are likewise given both parts in the Supper of the Lord, for that custom is commanded by the Lord, in St. Matt. xxvi. : “ Drink ye all of this ;” there Christ manifestly commands

that all shall drink. And in order that no man may quibble herein that it appertains only to the priests, St. Paul sets forth in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. xi. a clear instance from which it is evident that the whole church of God has used the Supper of the Lord under both kinds.

XXXI. *Of the one Oblation of Christ finished upon the Cross.*

THE Offering of Christ once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction, for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; and there is none other satisfaction for sin, but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said, that the Priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits.

*Abuse III. (24 Art.)*

THE opinion has arisen, and has increased private Masses to such an extent that they are infinite, that Christ by his suffering has made satisfaction and redemption for original sin, and then ordained the Mass, in which offering should be made for daily sins, both those that are heinous, and those that are committed from weakness. Hence the general opinion has issued that the Mass is an act which abolishes the sins both of the living and of the dead, *ex opere operato*, that is, for the sake of the trouble taken in seeing or hearing Mass. Next arose the discussion whether a Mass said for many can be as effective as a Mass said for one. From this discussion have sprung the endless number of Masses.

Concerning these opinions our teachers have observed that they run counter to Holy Scripture and lessen the honour that belongs to Christ for his passion and death. For Christ's suffering was a sacrifice and complete recompense not only for original sin, but also for all other sins, as is written in Heb. x. 10: "We are sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all," and (verse 14): "By one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified."

## CHAPTER III

### THE CHURCH YEAR IN COLLECTS, EPISTLES, AND GOSPELS

It will next be well to examine the way in which the Church Year and its seasons are treated in the Swedish and Anglican Churches with especial reference to the use of Holy Scripture.

Holy Scripture has always held a prominent place in the public worship of Christ's Church. As early as 140 A.D. Justin Martyr spoke of "Memoirs of the Apostles" being read at Holy Communion. And there is a reliable tradition that a series of Epistles and Gospels was in use in 342, when St. Jerome is said to have compiled a *Lectionary* now usually called "Comes Hieronymi." The selections contained in this series are identical with those of the English Prayer Book for the twenty-five Sundays after Trinity, whereas the Roman list differed from it in the older use, and still more so in the modern. This is interesting as clearly showing first the common origin of both, then the independence of one from the other, in spite of their close relationship.

That the Word of God is an essential part of the celebration of the mysteries is also demonstrated by the use of Psalms as Introits (so called from their use as the priest entered the Sanctuary). But more marked reverence and sanctity was imparted to the Gospel, if not to the Epistle, by the lighting of candles and ringing of a bell, and by the singing of the Gradual Hymn after the Epistle (a custom still permitted in the Swedish Church), while the Gospel was introduced with the singing of the Antiphon, "Glory



be to Thee, O God," and was followed by a similar response, "Thanks be to Thee for this Thy Holy Gospel"; both of these Antiphons are in use, though not ordered by rubrics in all churches.

The Epistles are not invariably extracts from the writings of the Apostles, for some are taken from the Prophets, and others from the Book of the Acts.

More than one series are arranged in Sweden for use at different Services, a custom that prevails in the Roman, and to some extent in the American and Scottish Rites, on the greatest Festivals, but in the English only for Ordination Services; the Swedish Church provides three complete sets for each Sunday covering the space of three years.

Often framed upon the message thus given, the collects focus the teaching of the day very concisely, and concentrate it into an act of devotion before the recital of the Scripture: in the same way the Creed crystallises the doctrine in an act of faith. The essential points in a collect are five:

1. The Invocation of God, *e. g.* "Almighty and everlasting God."

2. The ground upon which we are encouraged to make the special petition (often absent), *e. g.* "Who hatest nothing that Thou hast made: and dost forgive the sins of all them that are truly penitent."

3. The petition, *e. g.* "Create and make in us new and contrite hearts."

4. The object aimed at in the petition (not always found), *e. g.* "That we worthily lamenting our sins and acknowledging our wretchedness, may obtain of Thee the God of all mercy, perfect remission and forgiveness."

5. A pleading of Christ's merits, or ascription of praise, *e. g.* "through Jesus Christ our Lord." (Collect for Ash Wednesday.)

It is noticeable that no collect is directly addressed to

the Holy Spirit, and only three to God the Son (Third Sunday in Advent, St. Stephen, and First Sunday in Lent). At or since the Reformation in England only twenty-one have been newly framed, those for first Three Sundays in Advent, Christmas Day, Sixth Sunday after Epiphany, Quinquagesima, Ash Wednesday, First Sunday in Lent, Easter Even, First and Second Sundays after Easter, St. Andrew, St. Thomas, St. Matthias, St. Mark, St. Barnabas, St. John Baptist, St. Peter, St. Matthew, SS. Simon and Jude, and All Saints.

Even if the origin may not be older, the sources of our collects may be found in the Sacramentaries, which go by the names of Leo (464), Gelasius (494), and Gregory (590). The earliest forms may be recognised by their brevity and succinctness (*e. g.* Sexagesima and Fifth Sunday after Trinity). It is the later collects that are fuller and more flowing. By their daily use throughout the week the memory of the Sunday Communion is perpetuated and its blessings are continued.

In classifying the subjects of Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, the year may be divided into four sections, relating to :

1. The Incarnation (Advent to Epiphany; the Lenten Fast, and Passion of Christ, culminating in Good Friday, and Easter Eve). Christmas is attended by three Saints' days and its octave is the Circumcision. Epiphany is followed by one to six Sundays, in which a consecutive choice of Scripture may be traced. These are followed by three Sundays preparatory to Lent, which begins in the English Church with Ash Wednesday, and in the Swedish Church on the Sunday before.

2. The Resurrection (Easter and five Sundays after, in which the passages chosen are again consecutive).

3. The Ascension (Ascension Day and the Sunday following; Whitsun Week; and Trinity Sunday).

4. The non-festal season (comprising nearly half the year, during which the doctrine of the Festivals is illustrated by selections of Scripture which enforce the practical results in Christian life).

No invocation or worship of saints is even hinted at. The persons commemorated are restricted to those found in Scripture, and the victory over their imperfections by the grace of God is emphasised. The Swedish Church has reduced these holy days to five: the Annunciation and St. John the Baptist (which are always kept on the actual date), and the Purification, Michaelmas, and All Saints (which are observed on the following Sundays if they fall on a weekday). And in addition to Rogation Sunday, the fifth after Easter, four days are specially set apart, called Rogation Days, and devoted to the subjects of Penitence, Reformation, Missions, and Thanksgiving. In marking the four natural seasons of the year, Rogation Days compare with the English Ember Days. Other names for Holy Week in Sweden are Påsk Veckan (Paschal Week, so called by anticipation<sup>1</sup>), Stora Veckan (the Great Week), Stilla Veckan or Dymmel Veckan (so called from the church bells being silent), and Maundy Thursday bears the name Skär Torsdag, from the ancient custom of cleansing the ashes from the head at the end of the fast. Hence, curiously enough, the previous day has acquired the name of Ask-Onsdag, being the last Wednesday on which the ashes were borne on the head.

The Gospel for Holy Week in the Swedish Church consists of a consecutive account of Christ's Passion harmonised from all four Evangelists, and divided into six sections, one for each day. This affords a clearer conspectus of the events than is provided by taking each Evangelist separately, as in England.

The vigils or eves appointed in the English-speaking

<sup>1</sup> This is quite in accordance with ancient use.

Churches seem to find a parallel in the Swedish Church in two ways :

1. The greater festivals are observed as public holidays, which commence on the evening before.

2. At the early morning service (*Otte-sång*) the special prayers appointed for the festival are used in anticipation of the ordinary service (*Hög-mässa*) later in the day.

Palm Sunday, and not Maundy Thursday, is the day selected in the Swedish Church for commemorating annually the Institution of the Lord's Supper.

The Collects, Epistles, and Gospels often coincide, both in substance and dates, with the originals ; and the Churches here considered exhibit so few divergencies from each other, that a very slight readjustment would render them all uniform again. The main causes of difference are these three—

i. The Roman Church counts its Sundays after Whitsunday, and not after Trinity, and this throws the numbering one forward.

ii. The Collect for the Third Sunday after Trinity has been dropped both in the Roman and Swedish books : and in the latter it has been inserted at the Nineteenth after Trinity.

iii. Rome has shifted the Fourth Gospel after Trinity to the First Sunday after Whitsunday, and reads on the Fourth Sunday after Whitsunday the Gospel which is read on the Fifth after Trinity in the other Churches ; thus the Gospels from Third to Twenty-fourth Sundays after Trinity come in the Roman series a fortnight too soon.

If we allow for these changes, the amount of coincidence is remarkable. A selection of collects will illustrate the close adherence to the original both in Sweden and in England ; and the forcible presentation of certain leading doctrines emerges with especial clearness in such Swedish collects as those for the Annunciation, Easter Day, etc.

*Christmas Day.*

Almighty God, Who hast given us Thy only-begotten Son to take our nature upon Him, and as at this time 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 Thee and the same Spirit, ever one God, world without end. Amen.

*Circumcision of Christ.*

Almighty God, Who 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, we may in all things obey Thy blessed will: through the same Thy Son, Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

O Almighty, everlasting God, govern our doings according to thy will, that we may be rich in good works, through thy beloved Son, who ever liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost from everlasting to everlasting. Amen.

(Compare E. P. B. Ninth Sunday after Trinity)

O Lord God, Who madest thy Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ subject to the law for our sakes and didst have him circumcised in his flesh: Grant us thy grace that our hearts may be circumcised from every sinful desire and passion, through the same thy Son, Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

*Sunday after New Year's Day.*

O Lord God, Who art the strength of those that call upon thee, look mercifully upon our prayer, and whereas the weakness of man without thee availeth naught, help us with thy grace that we may fulfil thy commandments and please thee both in words and deeds: through thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

(Compare E. P. B. First Sunday after Trinity)

*First Sunday in Lent.*

O Lord, Who 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,

Grant us, O Lord, that the course of the world may be ordered for us according to thy Holy Providence and that thy Church may rejoice in one peaceful

we may ever obey Thy godly motions in righteousness, and true holiness, to Thy honour and glory, Who livest and reignest with the Father and the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. Amen.

*Good Friday.*

Almighty God, we beseech Thee graciously to behold this Thy family, for 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 now liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghost, ever one God, world without end. Amen.

*Easter Day.*

Almighty God, Who 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 into 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 with Thee and the Holy Ghost, ever one God, world without end. Amen.

*Trinity Sunday.*

Almighty and everlasting God, Who 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

godliness: through thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

(Compare Swedish Collect  
Fourth, English Collect  
Fifth, Sunday after  
Trinity)

Lord God, heavenly Father, Who in thy fatherly mercy hast not spared thy only-begotten Son, but hast given him up to the death of the cross for our sakes: We beseech thee, give thy Holy Spirit into our hearts, that we may be comforted by this his grace, may hereafter watch against sin, and may patiently suffer whatsoever it pleaseth thee to lay upon us and through him may with thee attain eternal life. Amen.

O Almighty, eternal God, Who, as at this time, didst bring thy people out of Egypt by the hand of Moses and command them yearly to keep the passover and eat the passover lamb: Bring us also, O Heavenly Father, out of the spiritual Egypt, that we may partake of the true passover lamb, which is thy Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, who on this day hath triumphed over death and opened unto us the way to everlasting life, and who now liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost from everlasting to everlasting. Amen.

O Almighty, eternal God, Who hast given to us, thy poor servants, the right faith, that we can acknowledge thee to be one true Trinity of persons, and yet in the Divine Essence one real Unity, we beseech thee, that with the same

Unity: We beseech Thee, that thou wouldst keep us stedfast in this faith, and evermore defend us from all adversities, Who livest and reignest, one God, world without end. Amen.

*First Sunday after Trinity.*

O God, the strength of all them that put their trust in Thee, mercifully accept our prayers; and because through the weakness of our mortal nature we 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. Amen.

*Second Sunday after Trinity.*

O Lord, Who never failest to help and govern them whom Thou dost bring up in Thy stedfast fear and love: Keep us, we beseech Thee, under the protection of Thy good providence, and make us to have a perpetual fear and love of Thy Holy Name: through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

*Twenty-fourth Sunday after Trinity.*

O Lord, we beseech Thee, absolve Thy people from their offences; that through Thy bountiful goodness we may all be delivered from the bands of those sins, which by our frailty we have committed: Grant this, O heavenly Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our blessed Lord and Saviour. Amen.

*Twenty-fifth Sunday after Trinity.*

Stir up, we beseech thee, O Lord, the wills of Thy faithful

faith we may be shielded from everything that can be harmful to us: through thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

O God, Who art the strength of them who hope in thee: Mercifully look upon our prayers, for without thee man can do no good thing; grant us thy grace that we may do the thing which thou commandest and be well pleasing unto thee both in words and deeds: through thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

O Lord God, inasmuch as thou never failest to govern them who hold fast to thee in faith: Grant that we may fear and love thy holy name: through thy Son, Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

O Almighty, everlasting God, let thy mercy encompass us poor sinners, that we who have deserved nothing but evil, may in thy goodness receive mercy and not judgement: through thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

(Compare Collects for Septuagesima and Fourth Sunday in Lent, E. P. B.)

Stir up, O Lord God, our hearts and minds to that which is

people ; that they, plenteously bringing forth the fruit of good works, may of Thee be plenteously rewarded : through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

¶ *If there be any more Sundays before Advent Sunday, the Service of some of those Sundays that were omitted after the Epiphany shall be taken in to supply so many as are here wanting. And if there be fewer, the overplus may be omitted : Provided that this last Collect, Epistle, and Gospel shall always be used upon the Sunday next before Advent.*

*Twenty-sixth Sunday after  
Trinity.*

*Twenty-seventh Sunday after  
Trinity.*

*Purification of Saint Mary  
the Virgin.*

Almighty and everliving God, we humbly beseech thy Majesty, that, as thy only-begotten Son was this day presented in the Temple in substance of our flesh,

good, that we may ever follow thy mind and will, and receive the fruit that ensues : through thy Son, Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

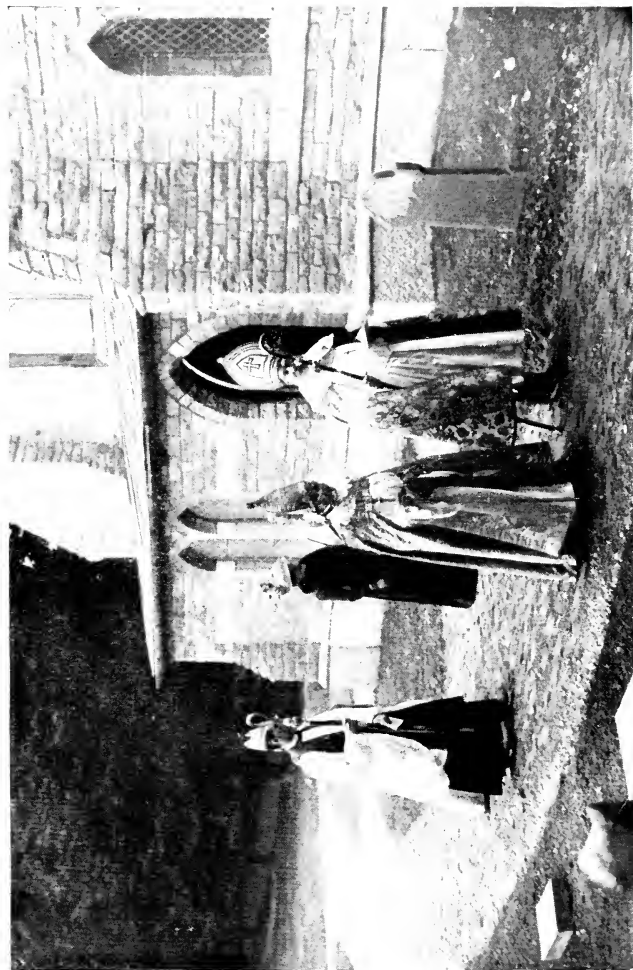
*(The converse of this rubric occurs in Sweden : when there are Six Sundays after Epiphany, the sixth collect, etc., are supplied from the last Sundays after Trinity, but the last before Advent is always the same.)*

O Lord God, govern our hearts and thoughts by thy Holy Spirit, that we may ever be mindful of our last end and of thy righteous judgment, and may thereby be quickened to lead a godly life here, that there we may live evermore with thee : through thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Grant us, Lord God, not to sleep in sin, like the foolish virgins ; but, without ceasing, to watch and pray, that we may enter into everlasting glory : through thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

O Almighty, everliving God, Whose only-begotten Son was this day presented in the Temple in substance of our flesh : Grant us, thy poor children, grace that,





CONSECRATION OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH, STOCKHOLM, AFTER REBUILDING, 1913



so we may be presented unto thee with pure and clean hearts, by the same thy Son, Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

cleansed from all our sins, we may ever come into thy holy presence free from fear and well-pleasing unto thee: through thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

*Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.*

We beseech thee, O Lord, pour thy grace into our hearts; that as we have known the incarnation of thy Son Jesus Christ 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 Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

God, Who of thy sole grace and mercy for our salvation didst send thine only Son, who was born of thee in eternity, to be in this life conceived in the Virgin Mary's womb, and born of her: Grant unto us, dear Heavenly Father, to be thankful for this so great a benefit, and ever with love to follow thy holy will: through the same thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

*Saint John Baptist's Day.*

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 repentance: 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. Amen.

O Lord God, Who didst send John Baptist thy elect friend to prepare the way for thy Son, Jesus Christ, by his preaching and baptizing: Grant us thy grace, according to his teaching, to amend our sinful lives and constantly to hold fast to him whom he foretold: through thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

*Saint Michael and all Angels.*

O everlasting God, Who hast ordained and constituted the services of Angels and men in a wonderful order: Mercifully grant, that as thy holy Angels alway do thee service in heaven, so by Thy appointment they may succour and defend us on

O God, Who in thy unfathomable wisdom hast constituted thy holy angels to serve thy elect friends for their salvation; Grant, dear Heavenly Father, grace to the end that by their service we may manfully overcome our enemy the devil, with all the

earth: through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

harm he bringeth upon us: through thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

*All Saints' Day.*

O Almighty God, Who hast knit together Thine elect in one communion and fellowship in the mystical body of thy Son Christ our Lord: Grant us grace so to follow Thy blessed Saints in all virtuous and godly living, that we may come to those unspeakable joys which thou hast prepared for them that unfeignedly love thee: through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Vouchsafe, Almighty God, that the pattern and example of thy saints may awaken us to a better life, and that, as we keep their memorial, we may also follow after them in faith and good works; through the same thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

In addition to Sundays (when ordinary labour is so completely discontinued that it is difficult to get a hot bath or have a button sewn on) many days preparatory to Festivals are still observed in Sweden. As in England, these are doubtless survivals of Vigils and Eves, and religious in their origin. But, as in England again, the religious character has been blurred by customs which anticipate the Festival, either by elaborately preparing for it, or antedating the joy of its occurrence. Yet it is in the national life, and firmly rooted. When a man shuts his shop, or gives his employé's holiday for a Festival or its Eve, he is following and setting the ancient example. Time is allowed and opportunity given for religious exercises. It matters not whether the time is spent in Church, or in a social party, on a steamboat, or in a restaurant. There is freedom, and the excuse for the freedom is originally religious. If a Jew dances round a Christmas tree or eats an "Easter-egg," he is falling in with a Christian custom. So, consciously or unconsciously, an Englishman or a Swede is perpetuating the Church's custom by giving or accepting leisure time at a religious

Festival. Severe critics may call it acting under false pretences to use Good Friday in "joy rides" or football matches. But, criticism or not, the holiday is a clear relic of the Holy Day. The charwoman who will not scrub your floor on such a day is preserving an ancient custom, quite as significantly as if the Lord Mayor or Vice-Chancellor were to attend divine worship on Corpus Christi Day. The English Protestant who wears a surplice has no right to wonder at the Swedish priest who administers the wafer at Holy Communion. They are both keeping old Church customs.

So it is that Sweden gives whole holidays on the Holy Days of the Annunciation, the Epiphany, the Ascension and St. John Baptist's Day, and it might be well for England if she revived the same excellent customs. The result in Sweden is that the teaching is not forgotten, but remains indelible in the nation's memory. In England we come very near to the suppression of the leading facts of Christianity by refraining from the national observance of these Holy Days.

The same has been the case with Candlemas, Michaelmas and All Saints: by disregarding their observance when they fall between Sundays, England as a nation has sat too lightly to the old truths, and lost heavily in consequence; whereas Sweden, by postponing these Festivals to the following Sundays, has kept the names of the Feasts, and thereby perpetuated in the mind of the nation the sacred truths they convey.

But Sweden has, on the other hand, failed in one regard: she has not retained the Festivals of Apostles, Evangelists and Holy Innocents nor the Fast of Ash Wednesday. She has something to recover from the example of our Church, as we have from hers.

Our observance of Ember Days at the turn of the four seasons in the year is not found in Sweden, but there is

a very similar custom in her use of "Special Days of Rogation or Intercession" (Böndagar). For these, special instructions are issued by authority at stated times, ordering the use of special Prayers and special Scriptures. The subjects invariably selected are :

1. Penitence (in March).
2. Reformation Festival (in May).
3. Missions (in July).
4. Thanksgiving (in October).

On the other hand there are some Holy Days which both Anglican and Swedish Churches observe in common.

ALL Sundays, and ten other days, namely :

- Jan. 1. New Year's Day (Circumcision).  
 Jan. 6. Epiphany (Twelfth Night, Trettondedagen).  
<sup>1</sup> Feb. 2. Candlemas (the Purification of B. V. M. and Presentation).  
 Mar. 25. Lady Day (the Annunciation of B. V. M.).  
 GOOD FRIDAY IS OBSERVED AS A FAST.  
 EASTER MONDAY.  
 ASCENSION DAY.  
 WHITSUN MONDAY.  
 June 24. St. John Baptist.  
<sup>1</sup> Sep. 29. St. Michael and All Angels.  
<sup>1</sup> Nov. 1. All Saints.  
 Dec. 25. Christmas.  
 Dec. 26. St. Stephen.

THE FESTIVAL OF TRANSFIGURATION is observed variously, in Sweden on the Seventh Sunday after Trinity, in Scotland and America on August 6 (which is the date first fixed and still kept by the Roman Church). England is likely soon to revive this festival on August 6.

<sup>1</sup> These three are observed in Sweden on the Sunday preceding or following.

HOLY DAYS (Swedish "Helgdagar") are to be distinguished from those Bank Holidays for which no Church Services are authorised: *e.g.*, May 1 in Sweden, and the first Monday of August in England.

Of Holy Days still retained by the Anglican Churches, fourteen are still preserved by name in the Swedish Almanac, though they are no longer observed as Church Festivals, since they were suppressed in Sweden on November 4, 1772, by Royal Proclamation. These are :—

Paulus . . . . .	Jan. 25	Matteus . . . . .	Sept. 21
Mattias . . . . .	Feb. 24	Lukas . . . . .	Oct. 18
Markus . . . . .	April 25	Simon . . . . .	Oct. 28
Filip . . . . .	May 2 (not May 1)	Anders . . . . .	Nov. 30
Petrus . . . . .	June 29	Tomas . . . . .	Dec. 21
Jakob . . . . .	July 25	Johannes . . . . .	Dec. 27
Bartolomeus . . . . .	Aug. 24	Holy Innocents . . . . .	Dec. 28

From this list it will be seen that since 1772 (when many Holy Days were withdrawn) the Swedish Church has discontinued the observance of all Holy Days which commemorate Apostles, Evangelists, or other Saints, excepting only three, the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. John Baptist and St. Stephen. The others are still retained, but only as included in the comprehensive Festival of All Saints. Until 1772, the collect for St. Thomas's Day was used for other Apostles and Evangelists, but not for all. Reasons for these distinctions are not clear, but further research will probably discover why this course was pursued.

The following six Holy Days are entirely omitted in Sweden, both from the Church regulations and from the Almanac :—

Ash Wednesday (incorrectly, but very generally, spoken of as occurring in the week before Easter).

Easter Eve.

Easter Tuesday.

SS. Philip and James (May 1).

Whitsun Tuesday.

St. Barnabas (June 11).

Of the sixteen Vigils still retained for observance in Anglican Churches, Sweden keeps as public half-holidays five, viz. :—The Eves of New Year, Epiphany, Easter, St. John Baptist, Christmas.

It is interesting to note that in many cases the Almanac, though keeping the original date, obscures the old Church form of the name under its more modern and more familiar dress ; thus Andreas has become Anders : Filippus, Filip : Jakobus, Jakob : Petrus, Per : Stefanus, Stefan.

This tendency to discard ancient names in favour of modern ones, is exceedingly noticeable in the dedication of Churches. For whereas in England the title is generally taken from a biblical Saint, or one of the Early Church, it is quite common in Sweden to find the buildings dedicated to national heroes such as Engelbrekt, Vasa, Oscar, Adolf Fredrik, Gustaf Adolf, Olaus Petri ; and modern Queens are also honoured in the dedications of Sofia, Hedvig Eleanora.

The four EMBER SEASONS (retained in England as special weeks of prayer on behalf of Ordinands, just before they enter the Ministry), find their counterpart in Sweden in the notice given from the pulpit before the day of Ordination. Both countries have special prayers appointed for this purpose, but the times kept in England (Lent, Whitsun Week, the week after September 21, and the week before Advent 4), are regular according to the ancient custom, as also is the order for fasting on the Wednesday, Friday and Saturday of each of these weeks. Four similar periods are prescribed in the Swedish Church, but they have a different purpose.

The Sunday before Ascension is Rogation Sunday in both countries (Bönsondagen) ; the days between that Sunday and the Ascension are no longer observed as they



used to be by processions round farms and fields, with prayers for blessing on the crops. No trace can be found of any revival of this ancient custom similar to the movement in many parts of England, where Bishops sometimes issue special forms of service for the Rogation Days.

As to Selections of Scripture for Reading in Church, it may roughly be stated that there are three distinct systems in vogue amongst us. The first, and most simple, is consecutive reading through the Bible year by year. Thus the English Church, and with some variations the Scottish and American, begin the Old Testament on January 1, and finish it at the end of October, concluding the year with selections from the Apocrypha, and most of the prophet Isaiah. The whole of the New Testament is read in a similar manner twice every year; but care is taken that, if an Evangelist is read in the morning, the Acts, or an Epistle, are appointed for evening use.<sup>1</sup> The one exception is the Book of the Psalms, the whole of which is read once a month.

The second system is that which follows the Sundays through the cycle of the year, more or less closely retaining the ancient selections of Epistles and Gospels; this is probably the primitive Christian method and has been preserved by all Churches. But two variations may here be noted. The English-speaking Churches have added Morning and Evening Lessons in a consecutive series, so that those who attend regularly on Sundays obtain in a condensed form the vital truths of Scripture.<sup>2</sup>

Sweden provides three series of Epistles and Gospels, but these are not like the Lessons in the other Churches,

<sup>1</sup> A new Lectionary on a different principle has been drawn up by Convocation, but it is not yet (1920) officially authorised for use in Church.

<sup>2</sup> A special feature of the American Prayer Book is that a series of Lessons is provided for the whole of Lent.

being only used as substitutes to give variation over the space of three years. The attempts to bring about this arrangement covered a century and a half (1700 to 1863), and were mainly directed, on the one hand by pietists who wished to break the chains of compulsion; and on the other hand by rationalists, in their endeavour to teach a purely ethical system. Thus the Swedish Church, like her sisters, stands midway between two extremes: (1) the "Lectio continua" which still prevails in the Greek Church, and (2) the Scottish Presbyterian Church, which ignores all authority and system for Festivals and Sundays alike.

The third system is that which includes "Lectio propria," or special selections for Festivals, Feasts, and other Holy Days. This was in vogue as early as the fourth century, and in the course of time has been found inconvenient in the one respect that it clashes, on movable Holy Days, with the fixed rota that is set for the whole year. It has been elaborated more in the American and Scottish Churches than in the English, and has been left almost entirely to the discretion of priests in the Swedish Church; where only five such Festivals are observed on weekdays (Christmas, New Year, Epiphany, Annunciation, and St. John Baptist), and the great Fast of Holy Week with its six consecutive<sup>1</sup> readings from the harmonised evangelists.

The three prominent Festivals of Candlemas, St. Michael and All Angels, and All Saints Day, are celebrated duly on the Sunday preceding or following the actual date; but the omission of all the writers of Holy Scriptures from the list of Swedish commemorations is remarkable.

<sup>1</sup> Not read as the Gospel, but at Evensong instead of the Epistle. Three of the Gospels in Lent deal with evil spirits, when the three sections of *The Story of Christ's Passion* allowed as alternatives are used.

The value of the Old Testament is fully recognised in the other Churches as impressing facts of history, eliciting points of doctrine, and foreshadowing Christ by types. The Swedish Church seems to exercise no control over this matter, but to leave the entire direction in the hands of individual priests.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE POSTURES SUITABLE FOR DIVINE WORSHIP

A CERTAIN amount of light is thrown upon our subject by considering the postures in use in the two Churches during the conduct of Divine Worship.

Sven Baelter, formerly Dean of Växjö, has treated the matter so fully in "Kyrkocaerimonierna" (3rd edition, with additions according to the Church Manual of Sweden, 1809), that a summary of his chapter will serve to elucidate the principles, which have regulated men's demeanour at their devotions from the first.

Attitude interprets the heart in its humility, gladness and penitence. Therefore not only the heart and mouth, but also actions of the body are to be considered.

The earliest Christians faced the east ; but of this there is no trace in the writings of the Apostles : Tertullian is the first authority who mentions it, and the heathen supposed that Christians worshipped the rising sun : they did indeed keep the attitude, but with a meaning of their own ; for they meant to turn in spirit to "Him who was the Sun of Righteousness" : to turn again to the Paradise lost by sin, but regained by the Saviour. At Baptism, when the devil was renounced, the people faced west ; and conversely, the dedication of the candidate to Christ was performed eastward. When, in 1608, King Karl IX. rebuked priests for facing the altar with their backs to the people, "Not so," said they : "we turn with the people towards the east."

Standing was a mark of gladness and a reminder of Christ's Resurrection: it was therefore ordered in the primitive Church that on all Sundays, and fifty days from Easter to Whitsuntide, all should stand; Peter of Alexandria, for instance, who died by martyrdom in 311, states that on Sundays worshippers stand in glad memory of Christ's rising from the dead. In 1159 the Pope forbade all kneeling on Sundays except at Ordinations; but by the thirteenth century the custom of kneeling at Holy Communion was so general that standing went gradually out of use. Yet, during the singing of Psalms, especially at the Gloria, as well as at the reading of the Gospel, and even for the sermon, all stood.

Kneeling for the six weekdays was a reminder of Adam's fall and our inherited sin, but the grace and salvation by Jesus Christ was commemorated on Sundays by standing. Therefore prayer was offered kneeling, all the year round, excepting on Sundays and the fifty days after Easter. The hours of prayer and watchings (*schiltwakter*) were observed kneeling. Hence the law of 1686, which is still in force, enjoins both kneeling and standing as suitable postures, "When the Gospel and the Epistle are read, the Creed and 'We praise Thee, O God,' sung, the whole congregation, man and woman, high and low, shall stand up; but when the confession of sins, the words of the Institution, and 'Our Father' are said, all shall fall upon their knees, and thus both with heart, mouth, and posture serve and adore the great and almighty God."

It was the custom for penitents to fall on their faces prone to the ground before the faithful to prove their penance. The blessing was received with bowed head. But to sit while praying has never been accepted among Christians. As Tertullian remarks, "If it is improper to sit before a person you wish to honour, how much more disrespectful is it to do so in the presence of God? It is

naught else than to give Him to know that prayer falls burdensome and wearying upon us." During the sermon, sit; but not at prayer nor in the Holy Communion: why, in some places people stand throughout the Service!

Among the Jews, men kept their heads covered, and the women (apart in an enclosure where they were not seen) threw off their head-coverings. St. Paul, writing to the Corinthians, reversed this and bade the adoption of the Gentile custom, thus distinguishing Christian from Jewish worship; and Tertullian observes that thus men were willing to show their Christianity without shame, whereas women honoured their heads by keeping their heads covered.

Uplifted eyes and hands outstretched betokened that thoughts and desires were ascending heavenwards, and the Emperor Constantine the Great is said to have had his portrait executed in this manner to imply his devotion to things above.

The arms crossed represented Christ crucified, and the sign of the cross was not uncommon: clasped hands were quite a late innovation, not occurring before 860 A.D. They indicated that thoughts were collected in prayer. Beating the breast is mentioned by Augustine as a sign that what is hidden in the heart and its secret sins are being punished.

The laying-on of hands (a Jewish custom when praying over another, from the days of Jacob to the time of Christ) was used in receiving converts and disciples, in the seal of Baptism (or Confirmation), in giving Absolution, in taking oaths, in giving a priestly or episcopal blessing. This custom remains in the Swedish Church, in Baptism, Ordination, Consecration to the Episcopate, and Instituting to a cure of souls, signifying what it always has meant, that God's grace is invoked upon the person over whom prayer is made with laying-on of hands.

The kiss of peace, exchanged at the end of a Service,

was a token that the devotions had been free from all hate or contention.

The regulations for kneeling given above appear to admit of extension. For, in addition to adopting that attitude at the general confession of sins, and the words of Institution, instructions are given in the Manual for kneeling at a Wedding, at Thanksgiving of Women after childbirth, Absolution, at all the Consecration Services, at the Institution of a Rector to the cure of souls, and at Confirmation. The directions given are not always clear as to when the people or priest rise from their knees, and vice-versa ; *e. g.*, a Bishop at his Consecration, and a Rector at his Institution, are instructed to kneel at "Our Father," and apparently keep kneeling until the end of the Service ; but a priest just ordained, is kneeling for the Lord's Prayer and the petition that follows, after which he is to stand ; but no regulation for kneeling again at the Blessing is given. From the rubrical instructions in the full Morning Service of Sundays (Högmässa), it is quite certain that the congregation kneels for the Confession, the Kyrie, and the Gloria, it is equally clear that they stand for the "Laudamus," and sit for "The Lord be with you" : but no direction is given for the Collect ; after that, however (by Cap. II. 12, in the Swedish Church Law) all are to stand for the Epistle, Gospel, and Creed. There our certainty ends : for no change of attitude in the people is ordered for the Sermon, Notices, General Church Prayer, Litany, nor Offertory Hymn ; but they stand (for the Preface) kneeling again at the Words of Institution and "Our Father" ; and presumably they kneel still at the Sanctus, Agnus, Distribution of the Elements and Thanksgiving Prayer : the final brief but magnificent Act of Praise is sung standing. At the Blessing no order is given.

One special point may be touched on : of the two Services which lack the Lord's Prayer (Confession—

skriftermål and Churching of Women), the latter has very precise guidance as to standing and kneeling, and in the Service of Private Confession a kneeling-hassock is mentioned.

The same lack of minute directions is found, when the English Prayer Book is closely examined ; but here, as in the Swedish regulations, general principles must be the guide. These of course are : (i) Kneel to pray, (ii) stand to praise, (iii) sit to listen. And on those lines it may be assumed that all worshippers will take their full part actively in the Service. Nevertheless, the rubrics are less complete than we might expect ; kneeling is explicitly directed at the Morning but not at the Evening Collect. No direction is given to sit for Lessons, Exhortations, or Sermons. No order is found for standing at the Psalms, nor for kneeling during the Litany and Prayer for Christ's Church Militant ; yet no one can doubt what the proper attitude is on main principles. This, however, does not hold good in all cases. "Let us pray" is fairly interpreted as "Let us kneel and pray." But the absence of explicit information causes doubt at least in two places, both in the Holy Communion :—

(a) After kneeling at the Collect, should the people sit for the Epistle, as if listening to a lesson ? Or are they to stand, as is ordered in the Swedish Church, in anticipation of the honour due to the Gospel ?

(b) After kneeling for the thanksgiving prayers (having received the Communion, are they to kneel also for the *Gloria in excelsis*, as if it were a prayer (as for the *Gloria Patri* in the Litany and Communion). Or is it more proper (as is ordered in the American Church) to stand, on the assumption that the final act of adoration before the blessing is one of pure praise ? This assumption is of course correct with regard to the first and third paragraphs, but in the second there is a change from praise to prayer.



## CHAPTER V

### THE THREE CREEDS

THE various ways of using the Confessions of Faith are likewise of interest as shedding light upon the peculiar characteristics of the several nations.

According to her Article VIII., the English Church uses (and recites, people joining with priest aloud) all Three Creeds. The original form of teaching the *Apostles' Creed* is faintly preserved and echoed in the shape of questions put and answers given at Baptism. Here is a relic of the first method of handing down truth, by oral tradition, long before committing it to written words (cf. 1 Pet. iii. 21, 22).

And this personal touch between teacher and taught is again reflected in the tradition (no longer accepted) of the origin of the *Te Deum* (which in vv. 14-19 is a creed of the Incarnation of our Lord); for the story goes that it was actually composed by SS. Ambrose and Augustine at the baptism of the latter, each Saint contributing a verse in turn. Such a custom is doubtless derived from passages like the examination of the eunuch by Philip the deacon (in Acts viii. 36, 37), and again in that of the jailer at Philippi by Paul and Silas (Acts xvi. 30-33).

The act of faith is most accurately shown in the Latin text *Credo in Deum*, which has a deeper significance than *Credo Deum* ("I believe in God's existence"), and than *Credo Deo* ("I believe God as trustworthy"). There is a point in *Credo in Deum* ("I trust myself to God") not reached

by the two other phrases; the three stages may be usefully interpreted as rising from the intellect to faith in revelation, and passing on to a climax of surrender in heart and will.

The Swedish Rite in regard to the Baptismal Creed gives instruction in the case of a child ("Låtom oss höra den kristna tro") and demands profession of faith in the case of an adult ("Avlägg nu din trosbekännelse"). This latter and the occasions when a bishop, or priest, are hallowed in their offices, are the only times clearly specified for the recital of the Creed by any other than the officiating priest, who then does not join in the recital. At other times it seems that the congregation is silent, while the priest speaks in their name as well as in his own (Vi tro).

The English Church, on the other hand, uses the Creed as an act of worship audibly uttered by all present. Alternatives for "He descended into hell," in the American Church are (1) omission of the words, (2) "He went into the place of departed spirits." (Cf. Swedish, "nederstigen till dödsriket.")

The so-called *Nicene Creed* retains the place assigned to it in the Holy Communion ever since the sixth century. There it is kept by the American and English Churches; and there (as is now permitted) it stands as an alternative for the Apostles' Creed in the Swedish Kyrkohandbok of 1917. But the American Church also allows it as an alternative at Mattins and Evensong—a happy innovation by which those who persistently absent themselves from Holy Communion, may become acquainted with this Creed.

Ever since its introduction into the worship of the Church, in the West as in the East, it has been intended as a condition for participation in the full privilege of the Eucharist. In this way it has been of priceless value, although, as the outcome of conflict with heresy, it bears the stamp of controversy, asserting as it does with great

precision those truths which had been called in question by Arius and others. This was prominent in the very first word used by the Council of Nicaea, 325 A.D. "Credimus," *we* believe; *we* the assembled Bishops, the collective voice of Christendom. When used, as now, for a personal profession of faith, the singular form is more appropriate, "*I* believe," for each man must believe for himself in the depths of his own spirit; the faith of the Church to which we belong may guide us, but it will not save us, nor even comfort us in our spiritual distresses: only by laying hold of Christ in the inner man can we do that; and therefore we say, "*I* believe in one God."

From that we pass to the still more controversial *Athanasian Creed*, or Hymn. The American Church ignores it, perhaps for three reasons, (1) that the necessity of combating these particular heresies is past; (2) that the Services of the Church should be as free as possible from echoes of controversy; (3) that some of its statements deal out unduly harsh condemnation. Possibly for the two latter reasons the Swedish Church omits the public recital of the Athanasian Creed, though accepting it as a formula of belief. The English Church, in distinction to both, not only accepts it, but also at present recites it no less than thirteen times in the year. The number of occasions was increased by Cranmer from the original six Great Festivals, by adding to them seven other Holy Days. This he did because he felt the need of rebutting Anabaptists and others, who repeated history with views closely allied to those of the primitive heresies. And by those to whom the utility of the Creed does not seem to have grown out of date, its recital has ever since been upheld, because it tends to teach succinctly, clearly, and unflinchingly the way of salvation; old heresies are met and fresh ones are prevented.

The severity of tone has excited opposition. And yet

these same opponents quietly acquiesce when the same severity is pronounced in parallel passages of Scriptures publicly read. These passages are the authority for the "warning clauses" of the Athanasian Creed. It is addressed to professing Christians: "Quicumque vult salvus esse ("Whosoever wishes to be safe"); and its warnings are taken directly from Scripture, or are easily proved by Scripture. They do not wrest, nor even explain, Bible teaching, they merely state it. If the great learning, astuteness, and popularity of Arius were so powerful as to lead the Emperor Constantine to intervene for him, and if the danger was so great that even the Archbishops of Constantinople and Alexandria resolutely refused to obey their Emperor's wish to re-admit Arius to Communion, then surely the terms in which they stated their reasons—embodied for Western Christendom, some two centuries later, in the Athanasian Creed—may serve as solemn warnings to later generations, including our own. The first outcome of that old fierce struggle was fearlessness in the Church's leaders. A second was the enrichment of the whole Church by this honest statement of doctrine. Our national Churches do well to treasure this storehouse of truth as a perpetual witness to past faithfulness, and to use it as a bulwark of defence against attacks on the fortress of the One Faith.

The English Church has never been afraid of using the grand old word "Catholic," which is steadily preserved in her use of the Creeds, and in her prayer "for all sorts and conditions of men." The title-page of her Prayer Book claims to administer "the sacraments and other rites and ceremonies of the Church" (*i. e.* Ecclesia Catholica), but she adds the words, "according to the use of the Church of England." She does not, like Rome, presume to say she is THE Catholic Church, but only a true member of it; nor does she admit that others are right in so naming one

part, tacitly excluding all others as non-catholic or un-catholic, *i. e.* heretics. In some passages, nevertheless, the English Prayer Book adopts translations or explanatory phrases; *e. g.* in the Litany, the Prayer for the Church Militant, and the first Ember Collect, "Thy holy Church universal" ("din helig allmännelig kyrka").<sup>1</sup>

#### NOTE ON THE "RESURRECTION OF THE FLESH"

This phrase is noteworthy, occurring as it does only in the three Anglican forms of Baptism and Sick Visitation, those Services where alone the Creed is put in the form of question and reply. These four Services are also concerned directly with the flesh (in health and in sickness). Here there are two points united (Baptismal teaching and the faith as affecting the flesh) to which parallels may be found in some passages of Scripture where they are also combined. In 1 Pet. iv. 1, 2, 6, we find the essential idea of spiritual quickening through judgement in the flesh. St. Peter, alone among New Testament writers, extends this process even to certain souls in Hades, namely those suddenly cut off in the days of Noah (1 Pet. iii. 19-20), and there follows immediately afterwards its spiritual application (vv. 21, 22) to Baptism; for in Baptism it is no longer a "putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ Who is gone into Heaven and is on the right hand of God." Here in close connection, to illustrate their aptness in a Baptismal Service, we may perhaps have the minimum that we require, (1) the purification of soul and body, (2) the formal profession of conscientious faith, (3) the kernel of a formal Creed. The sense of the passages quoted and the meaning of *ἐπερώτημα* (förpliktelse) are illustrated by Rom. x. 9, and

<sup>1</sup> In the *Te Deum* "the Holy Church throughout all the world" represents the Latin *per orbem terrarum sancta ecclesia*.

Heb. x. 22 : "With the *heart* man trustfully believeth unto the attaining of Salvation in God's sight, but with the *mouth* man maketh confession unto the formal possession of salvation." The definite act of confession in Baptism objectively seals the salvation thus wrought.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [On this clause Swete, *Apostles' Creed*, pp. 90ff. (esp. pp. 97 f.) has some judicious remarks; see also Chap. V. in the same author's *The Life of the World to Come* ("the Risen Body").]

## CHAPTER VI

### OPTION AND THE CHOICE OF ALTERNATIVES

ONE more point of comparison between the two Churches may be usefully considered, and that is the amount of variation in the Services which is left to the discretion of the clergy. It will at once strike the reader that the English Church has given but little freedom to her priests in that respect; they are bound by rubrics and other regulations to use the contents of the Prayer Book only as directed. If they wish to add or omit, permission must be first obtained from "the Ordinary." This has had a good and a bad result. It is right and useful to avoid discrepancies in doctrine and discipline, but when severely strained this excellent purpose has led to a certain lack of elasticity, and a shyness in making suitable variations. Many an English congregation has therefore lost much advantageous variety, merely because their priest has felt diffident about asking an overworked bishop to permit some innovation which need be no less valuable because it is novel. And congregations have inopportunately tightened their grip by expressing surprise (and sometimes annoyance) when they have heard or seen something which—though absolutely correct—is not in the usual place or the familiar order. It is very slight exaggeration to say, that beyond the selection of hymns, musical settings, and the subject of his sermon, an English priest has no option. This has produced a mechanical feeling much to be deplored. To some worshippers it naturally becomes irksome to know beforehand

exactly what they are about to hear and how it will be delivered; and being but human they are tempted to forsake their own parish churches to seek elsewhere music and preaching which is more to their taste because it is novel. They think themselves justified by the plea that the formularies they use are still the same wherever they go to worship. But that brings us back again to the strength of uniformity; for when there is one rule and norm there are no variations which lead to error.

The Swedish Church has exercised more freedom in providing alternatives, and in leaving choice to the option of the priest. Every year her *Böndagsplakat* gives four distinct messages. She has three series of Epistles and Gospels for each Sunday, the Collects of the week are supplemented by other prayers to be used at discretion, her special prayers on high days, and her "occasional prayers" cover a wider field than those in the English Prayer Book; and, outside the Celebration, few Services can be discovered in which the priest is given no option. The line is drawn somewhat more rigidly in confining sermons to specified passages, but this, too, has one advantage, because it restricts that excessive freedom which some Anglicans exercise—at times preaching on subjects with which the Service just held has no connection whatever.

Finally, the Swedish use of the Litany seems reasonably to follow the purpose of a very solemn and searching devotion; eight times only in the year is the Litany prescribed; other occasions are chosen according to special times of crisis or trial. By its very frequent use (thrice a week at least) the English Litany is apt to suffer a painful loss in solemnity, in suitability, and in its appealing power.



## CHAPTER VII

### SOME DIFFERENCES

MANY of the variations noted in the following summary might appear at first sight to indicate grave differences. On further investigation, the student will rejoice to find that they lie only on the surface, and penetrate very slightly into actual administration, and not at all into Doctrine.

It cannot be too strongly emphasised that differences here set forth are those which are authorised by the Church books themselves; they do not arise from the disobedience of priests, nor the defection of congregations. The most careful and pious worshippers in our respective churches need show no disloyalty if they observe all the points mentioned.

#### I. CONTENTS OF SERVICE BOOKS.

##### *Swedish Church.*

Four separate books, *e.g.* Kyrkohandbok, Evangeliebok, Katekes, Psalmbok, have to be procured.

The Psalmbok is authorised by Kyrkomöte.

Ottesång, Aftonsång on Sundays are distinct from weekday prayers.

For böndagar special annual instructions are issued.

For Baptism of converts as distinct from adults, a special form of service is provided.

Baptism at home may be substituted for that in church.

##### *English Church.*

The whole is included in one volume.

No hymn book is authorised by the Convocations.

Morning and Evening Prayer are the same in form for Sundays and weekdays.

For Rogation Days no provision is made: beyond the two collects for Ember days there is no observance.

All adults (whether converts or children of Christian parents) are baptized with the same formula.

Private baptism is to be followed by admission at the Font in Church.

Skriftermål (both private and public) is prescribed, but not, as in the Roman Church, obligatory.

No authorised Service for Ordination of Deacons is extant.

For civil marriages a Service of Church blessing is used.

The story of Christ's Passion, Resurrection and Ascension is harmonised from all four Evangelists.

Services for legal assizes are authorised.

Not found in the Swedish books.

No private confession and absolution is formulated; it is permitted for conscience' sake.

Ordination to the Diaconate is obligatory as preliminary to Priesthood.

The Prayer Book makes no such provision.

These central facts are simply extracted from Evangelists without any co-ordination.

For "Assize" sermons no form is authorised: but Bidding Prayers are ordered before *all* Sermons (Canon LV.).

{ The consecutive reading of almost the whole Bible and Psalter, the three exhortations to Holy Communion, Services for Ash Wednesday, Visitation of the Sick, Service at Sea: the complete *Te Deum*, Coronation and Accession, Day Services, (Daily Prayers in Parliament, authorised but not included in the Prayer Books), and the American Visitation of Prisoners, Annual Day of Thanksgiving, Family Prayers.

## 2. CEREMONIES.

Sign of the Cross in Baptism not mentioned.

Laying on of Hands in Baptism, not Confirmation.

Kneeling, when specially ordered (as in Our Father, Confession, Words of Institution of Holy Communion, and parts of certain special Services); at private Absolution a "hassock" is mentioned.

Standing: at Epistle.

Sitting.

Prescribed in English, optional in American Prayer Book.

In Confirmation, not Baptism.

Kneeling of people is prescribed for all prayers addressed to God; the Priest sometimes is to stand: neither are ever told to sit. All kneel for Ps. li. (on Ash Wednesday) and for *Veni Creator* (at Ordinations). Otherwise hymns and psalms are sung standing.

No attitude is ordered at the Epistle.

Only when listening to Lessons or Sermons. Due and lowly reverence is ordered to be at the Name of the Lord Jesus (Canon XVIII.).

## 3. THE AUDIBLE SHARE OF THE CONGREGATION.

Certain times when "Amen" occurs: Credo when sung; "Our Father," never.

N.B.—"Our Father" always contains the Doxology, which is the common custom in the Eastern rites.

Every Amen, Creed, and Lord's Prayer: also the General Confession and the Responses.

"Our Father" has the Doxology during those parts of the service which denotes joy, thanksgiving, or completion of an act. There is no Doxology when the Service suggests grief, penitence, intercession.

## 4. INTRODUCTIONS TO SERVICES.

The Invocation of the Trinity regularly.

At Holy Communion and Consecration of a Church: Holy, Holy, Holy.

Weekday Services, "Grace be with you and peace."

Only before the Sermon (but not ordered).

This beautiful commencement is not found.

Visitation of the sick, "Peace be to this house." (Luke x. 5.)

Not found in English Services.

## 5. CONCLUSION OF SERVICES.

Most usually the Aaronic Blessing (Num. vi. 23-26), and "In the Name of the Trinity."

"*Gloria Patri* . . ." after all Baptisms.

"The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ" (2 Cor. xiii. 14) at Public Confessions.

"The Lord lead thee in his truth" . . . (Ps. xxv. 5): after Churching (and also in Holy Matrimony after the Gospel).

This form only on Ash Wednesday, and at the Visitation of the Sick.

Most usually "the peace of God" (Phil. iv. 7, etc.), and blessing in the name of the Trinity.

This beautiful ending is not used.

At Morning and Evening Prayer, Litany, Services at Sea, and Burial.

This very suitable ending is not found.

The endings of (1) Baptism; (2) Holy Matrimony; (3) Churching of Women are abrupt: because they are intended to be followed by other Services: (1) by Evening Prayer; (2 and 3) by Holy Communion.

## 6. ALTERNATIVES.

Two series of Collects, three of Epistles and Gospels.

A very rich and complete variation of Prayers for special occasions.

One Bible Lesson on Sundays and weekdays, chosen by the priest at his discretion.

One series only of Collects, Epistles, and Gospels (except the American alternatives on Christmas and Easter Days, and a choice of Epistles and Collects at the Ordination of Priests and Deacons and Consecration of Bishops).

Two Bible Lessons according to the Calendar at Morning and Evening Prayer daily.

## 7. ORGANISATION.

Church open seldom in the week: scarcely ever for private devotions; only for Services.

Frequency of Communion; seldom more than once a month, often in the evening.

Festivals are in honour of the Trinity, the Incarnate Life of Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Virgin, St. John the Baptist, Angels, All Saints, and Stephen the Deacon.

Church mostly open some hours in every day both for Services and private devotions. Priests who do not at least offer a Celebration every Sunday and also on other Holy Days, are scarcely conforming to the intention of the Prayer Book.

Experience in England proves that frequent Celebrations encourage communicants who cannot all make it convenient to attend at one time. Evening Communion is unusual, but not forbidden; Communion before breakfast (generally 7 or 8 a.m.) is popular, with no Sermon.

In addition to these the English Church still retains those in honour of all the Apostles, the Evangelists, and the Holy Innocents.

## 8. DECORATION OF THE CHURCH.

Symbolic emblems; the Sche-chinah: the Eye of God.

Images: the Crucifixion; the Saviour, "Come unto Me."

Lights (commonly two, the two natures of Christ); (3) the Trinity; (4) the Evangelists; (5) the five wounds; (7) the seven Gifts of the Spirit.

Scarcely ever used.

Only pictured in windows; but on the altar a cross without the figure is very general.

Two or more on the altar (none are prescribed).

Flowers and plants for weddings and funerals.

Flowers at any Sacrament, or on any Festival; but not appropriate in the penitential seasons of Lent or Advent.

#### 9. ROBES, SERMONS, VISITATION.

Robes: the chasuble is retained, but surplices though legal are not worn except at Ordination. The "Luther's coat" is an evident relic of the cassock.

Surplice and hood are ordered by Canon LVIII. Cassock and stole or scarf are very commonly worn as well. Full Eucharistic vestments are used in some churches. The seasons of the Church Year are often marked by change of colour, both in the stole and the embroideries of the altar, etc.

Test sermon before the appointment to a cure.

Scarcely ever heard of; never publicly announced.

Duties in the parish vestry supply the priest with opportunities for knowing his parishioners.

Visitation from house to house by the priest gives him personal touch with all.

Systematic visitation is unusual.

This summary must not be supposed to be exhaustive. But it suggests one of the most hopeful means of drawing National Churches together--the method of mutual exchange. Imitation of each other's good points if practised would lay both under a loving obligation: it would also lead to experiments which, though a little venturesome in new surroundings, have stood the test of long usage elsewhere; and thus by blending antiquity with novelty, the Church Universal would in her several branches bring forth from her storehouse "treasures new and old" and thereby copy her Master's perfect Example.

## APPENDIX A

### SOURCES OF THE SWEDISH PRAYER BOOK

FROM the earliest introduction of the Faith into Sweden traces may be found in the formularies of her Church to show the very strong connection with England which was brought about by missionaries, such as Sigfrid (at Husaby and Växjö) David (at Vesterås), Henry (at Upsala and Åbo), Breakspear (at Linköping). The late Dean of Upsala, H. Lundström, writes: "In spite of striking differences, investigation reveals agreements, inherited through centuries, between the rituals of Sweden and England." Two slight, but picturesque, details may be mentioned to illustrate this: in Holy Matrimony, the ring was first placed on the thumb, and then transferred successively from one finger to another until it was left on the one next the smallest; and the bridal canopy was held over the married couple. Whatever the symbolism, these points were probably derived from St. Osmund, who died 1099, in the Sarum Use, which prevailed in our country.

Differences in local "uses" are easily proved by such special Services as occur in *The Linköping Manual*, Baptism in *Skara Breviary* 1493, Matrimony in *Åbo Manual* 1522—these are still preserved and show independence of, and even opposition to, Roman tradition. The beautiful prayer at vesting (still in use at Upsala) is quite distinct from the Roman form: "Exue me veterem hominem domine, cum actibus suis, et indue me novum hominem qui secundum Deum creatus est in justitia et sanctitate

veritatis." Uniformity with Rome was in early days assumed by the silence of Papal Legates who made no reference to any variations, yet scarcely two missals showed absolute identity anywhere, but formed small curves off the straight line; and so great were later divergencies that a Swedish Bishop in 1474 sternly insisted on uniformity with Rome, under pain of fine or imprisonment. But the distinctive marks of nationality were not to be obliterated; for, only half a century later, 1529, a manual was published defying the force of this injunction and boldly "casting off the foreign tongue." This was the work of Olaus Petri, a reformer as radical as Luther and permeated by his influence; his book was concerned with principles rather than with the shape their presentation took, and the changes he made were dogmatic rather than liturgical. Olaus Petri was already marked as a daring reformer by his publishing in 1521 a form for Communion of the Sick and for Burial, and also by having his own wedding celebrated in Swedish (1525). The fact that his Prayer Book of 1529 was completed in two months, from February to April, proves that a long preparation had preceded it. Its date, 1529, proves that the book stands independent of other Lutheran reformed books; because by then there were no others available except the Taufbüchlein (1523-6).

*The Service Book of 1529* (Olaus Petri) is so distinctively Swedish that it sets a pattern for future revisions from which they never entirely departed. Careful conservatism as well as resolute reform is visible in all the alterations made, in successive editions of the Manual: for example, in the Order of Baptism and Holy Matrimony.

*The Handbook of 1541* was produced by Laurentius Petri under the guidance of G. Norman, the king's favourite after Olaus Petri's fall: being in official hands the introductory matter had less personal reference, and it was very thorough.

Baptism : renunciation by godparents omitted, as were both anointings ;

Godparents were exhorted to teach *Our Father, the Creed, the Decalogue* to the baptized person.

Matrimony : address in the Service—not at home, nor at the church door ; only the *Veni Creator* was used in blessing the home.

Visitation of the Sick : more definite in directions given ; the address abbreviated ; the Absolution more formal ; the Institution more precisely set forth ; unction and final exhortation omitted.

Hallowing a corpse : “the priest is [formerly ‘must be’] at the place” : the priest gives words of solace ; the addresses are shortened.

Burial : alternative readings allowed.

Visitation of the condemned criminal ; comforting admonition left to the priest’s choice of words ; the conclusion was omitted.

Litany : for the first time published in Sweden ; almost a translation from the German (cf. that of Luther, 1529), sung parts are clearly marked ; alternative prayers are given at the end.

*Revision of 1548* : Tautology was avoided, and spelling unaltered.

(a) Mass included Introitus, Graduals, Collects, Epistles, Gospels.

(b) Baptism—

(1) Public : the concluding admonition was extended to parents.

(2) Private : in the confirmation of private baptism there was to be no uncertainty such as “if unbaptized, then I baptize thee



now." ["Icke medh sådana tviffels ords 'om tu äst döpt doper jag tigh icke' o.s.v. som en part oförståndeliga göra, utan antingen rett döpa eller ock icke döpa, eftersom han förnimmer at saken haffver sigh med barnet."]

The breast and face were signed with the Cross ; exorcism was omitted ; renunciation retained. While held over the font, the child is bound over to confess the faith. Traces of the abandoned ritual are found in phrases like "tear apart the devil's bands," "give thee the salt of wisdom."

- (c) Matrimony ;
- (d) Churching of Women ;
- (e) Visitation of the Sick ;
- (f) How a corpse is taken from a house—
  - (1) comfort to the mourners.
  - (2) St. John xi.
  - (3) Address.
  - (4) Prayers.
- (g) Burial.
- (h) Visitation of criminals before their execution .
- (k) Litany.

*Revision of 1557*, as in 1548, omitting (f) but retaining the Collect and an abbreviated Exhortation ; in (g) the passage St. John xi. 20–27 was added. Introductorium in Latin was inserted, consisting of eleven chapters of instructions to priests in the method of pastoral work according to each service.

*Revision of 1576* : "Liber Suecanæ Ecclesiæ catholicæ et orthodoxæ conformis." The Latin and Swedish

were in parallel columns. Mass, preparation, pp. 1-21 ; Liturgy, pp. 22-75 (rubrics and annotations in Latin); pages now numbered for the first time.

*Revision of 1586*: Abbreviations and the improvement of the Mass clearly show fresh editorship. Liturgical directions [by Laurentius Petri?] have become fuller.

*Revision of 1614*: Baptism ; the sign of the cross on face and breast ; kneeling for *Our Father* ; Private Baptism was confirmed, eight questions being asked and answered.

Mass for Sundays and other Holy Days ; Exhortation, Confession, Prayer for Absolution ; threefold Kyrie, Gloria in excelsis, Salutatio, Prayers, Collect, Epistle, Gradual, Gospel, Credo (either Nicene or Apostolic—“ena kristeliga kyrkio”):

From the pulpit : Psalm, Sermon, Preparation for Communion, Confession (prayer) absolution (not a prayer but a declaration of forgiveness). Admonition, Thanksgiving, Prayer, Litany or Prayers (alternative), with special intercessions if they are asked for ; *Our Father* ; Notices.

Psalm : Holy Communion ; concluding with dismissal psalm and prayer for the King.

A rubric is given to show how the Service is concluded when no Holy Communion is held :

Before Sermon : Psalm, Nicene Creed, Invocation of Holy Spirit, Sermon, Psalm suitable for the day, Blessing.

Holy Matrimony.

Churching of Women : (1) after legitimate childbirth ;  
(2) unmarried : private confession  
and absolution by confessor.

Visitation of the Sick : Burial, Visitation of criminal before execution, Litany, errata (5).

## APPENDIX B

### THE ORDER FOR THE CORONATION SERVICE IN SWEDEN

ORDER FOR THE CORONATION OF AND HOMAGE TO  
HIS SWEDISH MAJESTY KING OSCAR II, JULY 18, 1873

ON the Saturday next before the Coronation, His Majesty shall have brought to the Royal Palace, by means of the Office for Crown Estates (Kammarråd) in court carriages, from the Treasure Chamber, the Royal Regalia, the Royal Crowns, which are to be used by Their Majesties the King and Queen, likewise the Horn of Anointing. One of the King's Grooms of the Stole shall be sent the same day in a court carriage to the Archbishop, with the Horn of Anointing. The same day the Royal Standard is to be brought.

When everything is in order, the Lord Chamberlain shall notify the Lord High Steward, who shall humbly announce it to His Majesty the King, who will then give the order for the procession to start.

On the entrance of the procession into the Church, the music begins, and continues until Their Majesties have taken their seats, and all those taking part in the procession occupy the places appointed for them.

At the door of the Church, the King is received by the Archbishop in his robes, accompanied by the Bishops of Linköping and Strängnäs and the First Chaplain in Ordinary and the Pastor Primarius in their copes, and there the Archbishop greets His Majesty with these words :

“Blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord.” And the Bishop of Linköping reads the following prayer: “O Lord God, Heavenly Father, Who knowest that no man can be well established of his own power, grant Thy grace that this Thy servant, whom Thou hast set as a Ruler over Thy people, may be strengthened by Thy divine help, to the solace and comfort of all that are subjected to his rule: through Thy Son, our Lord Jesus Christ.”

Thereafter the Archbishop shall go with half the number of his assistants into the Choir, where he stands before the Altar, with one on either side. The Bishop of Strängnäs and the Pastor Primarius remain standing at the Church door to receive Her Majesty the Queen.

The King then takes his seat in the Choir to the right of the Altar.

Upon entering into the Church, Her Majesty is received by the Bishop of Strängnäs, with the words: “Blessed is she that cometh in the Name of the Lord.” Whereupon the Pastor Primarius reads the following prayer:

“O Lord God, Heavenly Father, Who knowest that no man can be well established of his own power, grant Thy grace that this Thy servant, whom Thou hast set as Queen over Thy people, may be strengthened by Thy divine help, to the solace and comfort of all the subjects of the realm.”

The Bishop of Strängnäs and Pastor Primarius then go back to the Choir and take their places at the Altar.

The Queen takes her seat in the Choir to the left of the Altar. When all have taken their places, the music shall cease, and Their Majesties kneel on the faldstools provided therefor, to make their prayer.

Then the Lords who bear the regalia and mantles advance and lay them upon the Altar, and afterwards take the position and seats appointed for them.

Thereupon the Service proceeds, being begun by the Arch-

bishop with the words of praise: "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God," etc., after which the Creed is recited by the Bishop of Linköping, and Hymn No. 132 is sung:

"Thou Holy Spirit, come to us."

During the Hymn, the Bishop of Vesterås goes to the Pulpit and preaches the sermon in accordance with the text appointed by the King.

Ps. xxv., vv. 4 and 5. "O Lord, shew me Thy ways, and teach me Thy paths. Lead me in Thy truth, and teach me; for Thou art the God which helpeth me. I call daily upon Thee."

After the Sermon the Litany is read from the Pulpit. Then the music is resumed, and at the words concluding the first portion of the music: "Mayest Thou crown with honour and blessing the beloved noble Queen of Sweden," the King advances to the throne, which stands on a dais before the Altar.

The Lord Chamberlain-in-waiting assisted by the Grooms of the Stole, takes the Royal Mantle off the King, and lays it upon the Altar.

The King removes his Royal Crown and hands it to the Lord High Steward, who places it upon the Altar.

Lieutenant-General Wrede and the Archbishop take the kingly mantle from the Altar and lay it on the King's shoulders, after which His Majesty kneels at the prayer-desk placed before the throne, on which the Bible lies, where the Archbishop finds the First Chapter of the Gospel according to St. John.

His Excellency the Lord High Chancellor receives from the Secretary of State for Home Affairs the formula for the King's Oath, which is dictated by the Prime Minister and is sworn by the King, holding three fingers on the Bible.

The King bares his breast, and the Archbishop takes

the Horn of Anointing, and anoints His Majesty on the forehead, the breast, the temples, and the wrists, saying

“May the Almighty Everlasting God pour His Holy Spirit into your soul and mind, purpose of heart and undertakings, by Whose gift you may so guide the country and realm that it may serve to the praise and honour of God, to the strengthening of justice and righteousness, to the welfare of country and people.”

When the King has ascended and seated himself upon the throne, His Excellency the Lord High Chancellor shall bring the Royal Crown from the Altar, and together with the Archbishop place it upon His Majesty's head, whereupon the Archbishop shall read this prayer :

“May Almighty God, Lord of Heaven and Earth, Who hath given you the Crown of the Realm, strengthen you in all Royal and Christian virtues, that the country and kingdom may thrive and improve by your good and prosperous rule and that after your temporal and transitory kingdom you may partake of that which is Eternal, and there obtain the Crown which God has laid up for all the righteous.”

Then His Excellency the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs brings the Sceptre from the Altar. By His Excellency and the Archbishop it is delivered to the King, whereupon the Archbishop reads this prayer :

“The Almighty God, Who has placed you to rule over His people with kingly power, and has commanded you righteously to rule and judge this nation, grant you grace always to conform to the will of the Eternal King, Whose Sceptre is a righteous Sceptre ; always to love righteousness and hate ungodliness : through our Lord Jesus Christ.”

The Secretary of State for Home Affairs then brings the Orb, and together with the Archbishop delivers it to the King, who takes the Sceptre in his left hand and receives the Orb with his right hand, whereupon the Archbishop reads this prayer :

“God, Who has appointed you to be King over the Swedes, Goths, and Wends, grant you His grace to keep the kingdom in full power and prosperity, to His praise and glory, to your honour, and to the welfare, peace and unity of this country and its people.”

The Chancellor of the Exchequer goes to the Altar and brings the Key, which he and the Archbishop deliver to the King, who hands the Orb to the Secretary of State to hold.

Here the Archbishop reads this prayer :

“The Almighty God, Who by His divine providence has raised you to this kingly honour, grant you grace to open the treasures of wisdom and truth to your people, to banish all confusion, iniquities and vice from your realm, and to prepare happiness and advancement for the industrious, ease and comfort for the suffering and distressed.”

The Secretary of State for War brings the Sword, which he with the Archbishop delivers unsheathed to the King ; then His Majesty hands the Key to a Secretary of State ; and the Archbishop reads this prayer :

“May God, Who has entrusted the Sword to you, that you may therewith protect the pious and right-minded, but punish wrongdoers who observe not law and justice and wish to cause injury to yourself or the country, grant you His Holy Grace that you may always be of good courage to strive manfully and to perform your duty to the glory of God, to the peace of your conscience, and to the welfare of your subjects : through Jesus Christ our Lord.”

The Archbishop then returns to the Altar.

The King hands the Sword to a Secretary of State, who holds it unsheathed and erect, and the King takes the Sceptre again in his right hand and the Orb in the left.

The Regalia, the Sword, and the Key, are then held on the left side of, and close by, the throne.

The Lord High Steward gives a sign to the Earl Marshal,

who advances and takes up his position on the uppermost step of the throne and proclaims :

“ Now is Oscar the Second crowned King of the Swedes, Goths, and Wends, he and none other ! ”

After the proclamation is made, the Earl Marshal and the other heralds raise their sceptres, when the drums and trumpets begin to sound, and the Congregation answers :

“ Long live King Oscar the Second ! ”

Thereupon the Orchestra join music with a Chorus to the words of 1 Sam. x. 24, *God save the King*.

After which is sung the first verse of Hymn 300 :

“ Hail to thee, thou blessed and prosperous King.”

As soon as the heralds' proclamation is made, the Lord High Steward gives a signal for the salute, which is performed by forty-two shots fired from the Skeppsholm Battery and a like number from the Battery on Kastellholm, in conformity with the King's order to the Military Governor.

After the hymn has been sung, the Archbishop reads this prayer :

“ O Eternal, Almighty God, Who hast power over the kingdoms of men and in Whose hand all dominions are, eternal praise and glory be unto Thee for that Thou hast placed a Christian and good King over us. Pour upon him, O merciful Father, the strength, power, and wisdom of Thy Holy Spirit ; send, O Lord God, to Thy anointed, help from the Sanctuary, and hear him in Thy Holy Heaven : That he may with grace aid Thy People, rule them with justice, and protect them with success and victory. Shower upon him goodness and faithfulness, that they may preserve him, and that his years may be many from generation to generation. Let his crown flourish upon him, O Lord, and establish his throne before Thee eternally, that Thy divine Name may



be praised and exalted, Thy Holy Christian Church may be enlarged and protected, and that during his reign righteousness, peace, and blessing may abide and increase in all the land : through Thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord."

The Benediction is given by the Archbishop, after which the music recommences.

The King now returns to his chair as follows : first, the Lord High Steward, and after him is carried the Key, and next the Sword naked and erect ; the King follows, clad in the Royal Mantle, the Crown on his head, the Sceptre in his right hand and the Orb in the left.

When the music has ceased, the Lord High Steward gives a signal for the Oath of Allegiance to be taken, when the Earl Marshal takes up a position opposite the throne and proclaims :

" Good Gentlemen and Men of both Houses, take your Oath to the King."

The Members of Parliament then rise, and with two fingers raised take the Oath, which is administered by the Lord High Chancellor.

After this the King returns and resumes his chair, while the Sword and the Key are borne in front of His Majesty as before, and with the Royal Standard and the Banner of the Order of the Seraphim carried after him to their former places. Then is sung the first verse of Hymn 272 :

" Now thank we all our God."

The music recommences, and the procession leaves the church in the same way and in the same order as it entered, only with this difference—that their Excellencies the Ministers of State surround His Majesty the King ; and the Gentlemen who carried the Regalia and the Robes, which the King and Queen themselves are now wearing, take their proper places amongst the Royal Orders immediately after the Banner of the Order of the Seraphim.

When the procession arrives at the Palace, the Regalia are returned to their former places, but the Royal Crowns, which Their Majesties the King and Queen wore to the Church, as also the Horn of Anointing, are fetched after the close of the ceremony, and the Royal Robes are taken charge of by the Steward of the Household.

## APPENDIX C

### CHURCH LIFE AMONG SWEDES IN AMERICA

(Translated, from a pamphlet in Swedish by R. Mott Williams, Bishop of Marquette, U.S.A.)

SWEDISH travellers often settle in communities which are already largely inhabited by their own countrymen. There they find spiritual life expressed in forms which they at least partially recognise. But it occasionally happens that Swedes, newly arrived, find their home in places where Christianity meets them in a form quite different from the one they are accustomed to from their childhood. In Sweden only a few Roman Catholics are to be found, and not so many different Protestant Sects by far, as here in America. Both here and there alike, Methodists and Baptists are found. Of these, the former show less divergencies from what is peculiar to the religious life within the national Church of Sweden.

In America, too, there is a very large number of Lutherans, but they are separated from each other in several different Synods which are divided off from other Lutheran Communion, by questions of doctrine and systems of worship. The Swedish Church displays quite another picture. Although she was reformed under Lutheran influence, she still maintained the standard of the early Church in doctrine, order of worship, and form of government. The Swedish Church Reformation is therefore considered as most conservative, and in certain respects

most remarkable. In this regard it is very similar to the Reformation in England.

The work of Reformation in Sweden may be said to have reached its climax in the decisions of the Upsala Convocation, 1593. At this epoch-making crisis, it was decided, among other things, that the Swedish Church should be national, independent of the Papacy, Biblical, liturgical, and episcopal. She was reformed, as has been already observed, under Lutheran influence, but she did not alter her name in order to be called after a mortal man. She continued to be "The Swedish Church," with a prayer book, catechism, and Church System, so arranged that every person in the realm was under the supervision of a clergyman, and every clergyman under a Bishop. She has retained the three original confessions of faith; the two Sacraments of the New Testament, and Confirmation. Her endeavour has been to exercise a hallowing influence on all the activities of life, by preaching the pure and true Gospel of Christ. Her Episcopacy is the same as that which was introduced long before the Reformation, and which is derived from the same sources as that of the English Church.

The Protestant Communions of America are in general not episcopal, although some few of them have Bishops who cannot lay claim to possess the Apostolic Succession from the earliest Church. In this respect they are different from the Bishops of the Swedish Church. These American Communions offer in doctrine, form of worship, and order of Church Administration, little that recalls the Swedish Church.

The Swedish Church is national. So also is the English. The conception of a State Church is not understood in quite the same way in both countries; but it does imply that an Englishman should belong to the Church of his country, and the Swede to his. Now there is no State

religion in America, but we have here a Church which is in fact identical both with that in England, and that in Sweden. Ever since 1790 the official name of our Church has been The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, for brevity's sake commonly termed The Episcopal Church.

English travellers founded the English Church in Virginia in 1607. The Swedish began its work on the banks of the Delaware in 1630. At that time it was hoped that a Swedish colonial power would come into being in America. The Swedes, however, lost their territory under pressure from the Dutch, who in their turn had to yield to the English ; but nevertheless the Swedish Church continued its missionary work for a succession of years. The friendly intercourse, between Swedish and English Bishops, led the Swedish congregation, when no Priest was obtainable, to have recourse to those of the English Church, for the maintenance of the preaching of God's Word, and the administration of the Sacraments. When the English congregations were similarly placed, they were served by Swedish Priests wherever it was possible. This mutual help was given under the advice of the Bishops responsible in England and Sweden. This caused surprise to members of neither Church, because both were Biblical, liturgical, episcopal, independent of the Papacy, and prescribed the administration of Baptism and Holy Communion in a manner recognisable to the Swedes, as agreeing with the faith of their childhood. When, after a number of years, no real Swedish immigration took place, a condition arose which led Swedish congregations in America to summon English Priests, ordained in the Episcopal Church, to take charge with pastoral care.

When the American Revolution broke out, the members of the English Church who sympathised with it, were placed in a difficult position, because no one of their

Bishops was settled in America. But after the conclusion of peace, four American Priests were consecrated as Bishops (one in Scotland, and three in England), and after that the Church in America continued its mission as a free Church in a free country, but with the same doctrine, aims, and traditions, as in England.

The Church in England had the same battle to fight as that in Sweden. She had to encounter attacks from the State, unwelcome Calvinistic tendencies, Papal reaction, and all kinds of influences which threatened to kill spiritual life, suppress important truths, and lead to the neglect of weighty duties. Like the Swedish Church, the English went victoriously through these battles, and now—three centuries after—emerges clearer and clearer the similarity of the fundamental principles of the Reformation, and its development of the close affinities which exist between these two sister churches.

If Swedish Immigrants were familiar with only a part of the letters which were written by leading Bishops of Sweden, soon after the Upsala Convocation, they would find that the views of these prominent prelates agreed with what was taught and practised in the English Episcopal Church. The American Episcopal Church did not sanction anything in doctrine or practice which can be considered diverse from that of either Sweden or England; this, quite simply, is the result of her founding (as the Swedish and English Church did) her doctrine and practice on the Bible and the Primitive Church.

A member of the Swedish Church, who carefully reads through the translation of The Book of Common Prayer, will certainly say (as so many others have said before him): "It contains just the same as our own Hymn Book and Manual." He finds the Catechism founded on the Scripture, just as he had learned it himself; and he sees that the Sacraments are administered in a manner which many

Swedish theologians have declared to be at least as satisfactory as their own. He also finds that communicants, formerly of the Swedish Church, on becoming members of the Episcopal Church, need not for that cause renounce any of their ancestral faith, nor accept anything discordant from the creed of the Swedish Church. But it is possible, that when the translation in question is compared with the original, some may be surprised that the word "Allmännelig" in the Apostolic and Nicene Creeds, is rendered "Catholic" in the English text. This surprise, however, disappears when it is explained that the language of the English Church has no word more suitable than "Catholic," for its counterpart "Allmännelig." Both words have exactly the same signification in their contexts. They are therefore extremely important to those who acknowledge themselves (whether in Swedish or in English) to belong to the universal Church which has kept the faith of the Apostles.

The members of the American Church, therefore, feel convinced that when their fellow Christians of Sweden have learned to know the Episcopal Church more closely, they will perceive that she is what their own Mother Church would probably be if entirely independent of the State. The efforts in our day to bring about a union between kindred Churches would possibly tempt our Swedish brothers to surrender their national inheritance (Episcopacy, etc.) which made the Reformation in Sweden unique; but we consider it would be a mistake to yield to such a temptation. The Episcopal Church is deeply indebted to many reformers, English, German, French, and Swiss. Yet none of her members have ever proposed that she should be named after any Reformer. Next after God, it is Laurentius Petri more than any one else, that the Swedish Church has to thank for her freedom; but in spite of that she never adopted his name. The Church of Christ is divine, and too large to be named after any human being.

It is remarkable that none of the Churches of Europe has been called after the man who had most to do with the establishment of the Confession of Augsburg, Philip Melancthon, a personality known and acknowledged no less by us Anglicans than by many other Christians.

Travellers who have received their spiritual upbringing in the venerable Church of Sweden, may easily feel at home in the American Episcopal Church, where they have full freedom to retain the faith of their childhood and to use the Christian Sacraments. And they will find a warm welcome amongst us, especially from those who, however remotely, are descended from the Scandinavian race.



## APPENDIX D

### THE USE OF THE LORD'S PRAYER

THE model given by Jesus Christ to be followed by His disciples has been applied in different ways.

The Swedish Church includes it in all her services except those of Confession (*skriftermål*) and the Churching of Women. The most usual place for the prayer is immediately before the Blessing, from which, however, it is separated at Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer by Canticles (*Benedictus* and *Magnificat*): and in the Confirmation Service (*Ungdoms första nattvardsgång*), an intercession intervenes between the Lord's Prayer and the Blessing. This close connexion with the act of benediction shows that the Saviour's model is intended to sum up the previous devotion, and also to set Christ's seal upon and make Christ's own claim of the worship that has gone before.

In another way the Swedish Church sets peculiar value on the use of this comprehensive Prayer. Hands are laid on the person baptized into the Church, upon him who is ordained a Priest, upon a Rector instituted into the cure of souls, and on a Bishop at his consecration; two persons consent in Holy Matrimony; a newly built church is hallowed, its altar is dedicated; and a burial ground is consecrated. In all these cases, the Great Prayer is used at the culminating point, in order to devote the person or property to the service of Almighty God. Moreover, when the last mortal remains of one who has passed hence have been sprinkled with earth, the same Prayer is used, but with this distinction, that a prayer and passages from Scripture are read both before and after the Lord's Prayer.

It must be observed that the same importance is attached to it in the Celebration of the Eucharist, where after the recital of the words of Institution, instead of any other words to consecrate the holy elements, *Our Father* is used as the supreme consecrating Prayer.

The congregation is never, so far as is prescribed, to say aloud with the Priest nor to respond "Amen" to the Lord's Prayer.

The English Church Services, and with them those of America and Scotland, keep in view this prominent idea which is so well exemplified in the Swedish Church, for they use the Lord's Prayer similarly at the culminating point, but rather as an act of thanksgiving to seal a blessing already received, than as a prayer of consecration before its reception. It follows the Absolution at Morning and Evening Prayer; it follows also the reception of the consecrated elements in the Holy Communion, and the first utterance of the congregation after a baptized child has been received or, if he is an adult, of the baptized person himself, is the Lord's Prayer—a privilege not allowed by the early Church to the unbaptized. In one other Service—that of Thanksgiving of Women after Childbirth—this great Prayer is the connecting link between a psalm and an expression of praise and thankfulness to God. It should be noticed that when "Our Father" is thus closely connected with ascriptions of praise, it concludes with the doxology, which is found in some MSS. of St. Matthew's Gospel; whereas at other times the Prayer leads naturally to petitions for special needs, or to expressions of penitence. On these occasions (which are clearly defined in the Litany, the Communion service, Visitation of the Sick, Confirmation, the second part of the Morning and Evening Prayer, Holy Matrimony, and at the beginning of the Holy Communion) the doxology is omitted, as it also is in the Catechism.

The principle, however, by which this distinction seems

to be governed apparently breaks down in two instances: for (1) the Prayers at Sea (drawn up in 1661) include the doxology in the midst of petitions that show not thanksgiving, but anxiety and the deepest need for immediate succour: (2) in the Sacrament of Baptism, immediately before the thanksgiving, the Lord's Prayer is shorn of its doxology: this exception may possibly be explained by the fact that the appointed place for Baptism is after the second lesson and then the prayers that follow are not so much of the nature of praise or thankfulness as requests for definite needs.

Thus the doxology is not so pre-eminently suitable here as it is at other times when the note is one of gratitude.

A rubric in the Morning Prayer orders that the whole of the Lord's Prayer is to be said by "the Priest, the people also kneeling and repeating it with him, both here and wheresoever else it is used in Divine Service." At the beginning of the Holy Communion the priest is accustomed to recite it alone, though it is not so prescribed: this is a survival from the use of the prayer in the Priest's private preparation, when he said it secretly, in a subdued voice; and it was also the custom at other times for him to say the prayer alone as far as "temptation," after which the people took up the last phrase, "but deliver us from evil;" hence the present order to use the petitions all through in common with a "loud voice."

Objection has been made to repeating the Lord's Prayer more than once at a Service, on the score of using vain repetitions like the heathen. But our Lord's warning was directed not against quantity but against insincerity. If we made a certain number of repetitions a strict point of observance upon which efficacy depended (as is the case when the Roman Church prescribes "Paternosters" and "Aves" by number), then much if not all earnestness might be expected to disappear; but the occurrence at a

special place brings to the Prayer a special appropriateness in that place, with a special intention. For instance, introducing the praise of Morning and Evening Prayer, it sets a model for all that is to follow, and gives honour to our Lord by quoting His actual words. Before the particular supplications which follow the Creed, it marks the spirit in which we ask for the needs of the day or night; in the Litany it gathers up succinctly all the suffrages that preceded: and in the words "Give us this day our daily bread" it strikes the note of spiritual Communion at the outset of the central service, being repeated as an utterance of praise in the post-Communion.

Such repetitions make for intensity and reverence, which (assuming the devout intent of the worshipper) are helped, not hindered, by reasoned reminders. Nor do we in this way look on the Prayer as revealing a new page of truth, nor even another part of the same page; but we find it in a light of different colour, and rekindled brilliance is cast upon the sacred petitions. It will be time enough to complain of "repetitions" when we have said every part of it with all the earnestness we can command; and not before we have seized the opportunity given to amend any guilty neglect when we said it "vainly" before, may we say we have used the noble words enough.

The Swedish Church avoids the use of the Lord's Prayer more than once at any service. Yet, before the sermon, a silent Lord's Prayer is almost universal. The distinction therefore is between repetition by the Priest aloud, or repetition under the breath; this distinction does not concern the people, who are not expected to say it aloud at all. When several children are baptized in one service, the Lord's Prayer is said over each separately and aloud, but no Godparent would say that it was uttered vainly.

Quietude is specially noticeable in the Swedish Church during the Lord's Prayer.

## APPENDIX E

### THE ORDERING OF DEACONS

THIS ancient degree, used by the universal Church as a preliminary to the Priesthood, has fallen into disuse in Sweden. This has been without any definite authority, nor have the principles of the Swedish Church ever been against the ordering of Deacons, as Bishop Wordsworth has pointed out. The Augsburg Confession in describing "The Ministry of the Word and Sacraments" no more excludes the Diaconate from being a sphere of training for Priesthood, than it opposes Episcopacy or the Priesthood.

Archbishop Levaeus (the great contemporary and fellow-worker of Rudbeckius), spoke in 1653 as follows to the Ambassador of Cromwell (Whitelocke): "When one is presented for that calling, if he is found fit, the Bishop doth first ordain him to be a Deacon, and in that office he makes trial of his gifts for preaching, and so continues until he be admitted to a benefice, and upon such admission he is made a Priest."

The Swedish Church has lost much by the disuse of the Diaconate :—

1. Pastoral training has been missed.
2. The discipline of routine, with its correction of mistakes, and supply of short-comings, has been also wanting.
3. A serious departure from primitive example has been permitted.
4. The partial substitutes now in use seem to cover only a part of the ancient duties and privileges of the Deacon, because they forbid him especially those two functions

(Baptism and Preaching) which alone we are certain were practised by St. Philip and St. Stephen, the first in prominence as in time among Deacons.<sup>1</sup>

The Anglican Churches are far from restricting the scope of a Deacon to "serving of tables," though they release the Priest from many minor details by assigning subordinate duties to the Deacon. These duties are explicitly stated in the Ordination Service as:—

1. To assist the Priest—

(a) In Divine Service.

(b) Especially giving him help at the distribution in Holy Communion.

(c) In reading Holy Scriptures and Homilies in the church.

2. To instruct children in the Catechism.

3. To baptize infants, in the absence of the Priest.

4. To preach, if the Bishop licenses him to do so.

5. To seek out the sick, poor, and infirm, so that they may be relieved with alms.

In actual practice, however, the Deacon is not excluded from performing many Services, or portions of Services, which the rubrics assign to Priests only.

It might appear from the rubrics that the Deacon has only a place where the word "Minister" is used; and yet that word covers two meanings—

1. The minister responsible for the parish, *i. e.* the Incumbent.

2. An ordained person.

The first excludes, the second includes, "Deacon"; but he cannot ever be referred to in the rubrics as "Priest," much less "Curate" (the responsible person who has the cure of souls).

<sup>1</sup> That is, if we accept the view that the Seven were Deacons of the Church in the later sense: see *Early Hist. of Ch. and Min.*, pp. 81 f., etc.

In the Engström collection of MSS. at Stockholm (B. x. 1, 38) is the following quotation, written consecutively, on pages and in handwriting which bear every mark of being the uninterrupted work of one scribe.

*Forma obligationis ministrorum verbi Dei*

I. Ego N : promitto quod velim sincere & fideliter docere verbum secundum gratiam quam dederit mihi Dominus, exhortari ad paenitentiam, consolari & admonere, atque ad gloriam Dei & aedificationem Ecclesiae omnes meos in verbo Dei labores conferre.

II. Quod velim fugere pravas opiniones tam veteres quam recentes & quascunque superstitiones cum verbo Dei pugnantes, summaque fide & diligentia ijs resistere.

III. Quod velim fideliter secundum institutionem Christi sacramenta administrare, baptismum & caenam Domini, eorumque verum usum Ecclesiae explicare.

IV. Quod velim diligenter pietatis studia colere, vacare lectioni, meditationi & orationi—nihil ex proposito praetermittere, quod ad officium requiri intellexero.

V. Quod velim regiae maiestati et omnibus ijs debitam exhibere obedientiam, quibus me verbum Dei obtemperare iubet, in omnibus rebus licitis et ad utilitatem Ecclesiae et politiae spectantibus.

VI. Quod velim pie, sobrie & iuste vitam & mores instituere, atque in omni sermone et conversatione scandalis viam proscindere, ne propter me verbum Dei male audiat, aut ministerium in contemptum deveniat.

*Obligatio ministrorum verbi Dei antequam Ecclesijs  
praeficiantur*

Ego N : vocatus ad officium pastoris in Ecclesia N : hoc meo chirographo testor et obligo me veram de Deo et filio ipsius D. n. Je. Ch. & aeterna salute nostra doctrinam, quae in Verbo, in Symbolis & in Confessione Augustana

ac ordinantia Ecclesiarum huius regni comprehensa—in Concilio Wpsaliensi anno [15]93 approbata est, amplecti & constanter velle retinere inque meo ministerio fidelem & diligentem fore. Palam etiam profiteor me ab omnibus, papistarum, calvinistarum & aliorum quorumcunque fanaticorum hominum falsis opinionibus verbo Dei damnatis abhorrere, eorumque errores cum expresso verbo Dei pugnantes constanter taxabo, plenitudinem fidei & certitudinis verae doctrinae in auditorum mentibus confirmare studebo, vitam & mores publice & privatim ita instituere per Dei gratiam conabor, ut omnibus sim bono exemplo, nec ulli scandalum praebeam. Promitto etiam me semper publicae pacis & coniunctoriis (*sic*)<sup>1</sup> ac concordiae cum collegis & omnibus aliis tuendae studiosissimum fore meosque auditores & alios ad praestandam legitimo magistratui debitam obedientiam summa qua decet fide & diligentia exhortaturum, et filium Dei D. n. J. Ch. oro ut vitam consilia & actiones meas omnes Spiritu Sancto suo gubernet ad suam gloriam & Ecclesiae salutem. Amen.

Which may be translated :—

*Form of Vow for the Ministers of the Word of God*

I. I, N., promise that I am willing sincerely and faithfully to teach the Word according to the grace which God has given me, to exhort to penitence, to console and admonish, and to devote all my work in the Word of God to His glory and the edification of the Church.

II. That I am willing to flee from wrong tenets, both ancient and modern, all superstitions that are repugnant to the Word of God, and to resist them with all faithfulness and diligence.

III. That I am willing to administer the Sacraments of Baptism and the Supper of the Lord according to the

<sup>1</sup> Read “coniunctionis.”



institution of Christ and to expound to the Church the true use of them.

IV. That I am willing diligently to cultivate the studies of piety, to give time to reading, meditation and prayer, and to omit nothing purposely which I shall understand as demanded by my office.

V. That I am willing to show obedience to His Royal Majesty and to all those to whom the Word of God commands my submission, in all things lawful and tending to usefulness in Church and State.

VI. That I am willing to order my life and conduct piously, soberly, and justly, and in all my speech and behaviour to stop the way to offences, lest the Word of God be defamed by me or the ministry come into contempt.

*Vow for the Ministers of the Word of God before they are preferred in Churches*

I, N., called to the office of minister in the church N., testify and bind myself by this my sign-manual to embrace and constantly wish to maintain the true doctrine of God and His Son our Lord Jesus Christ, and of our eternal salvation, which is approved in the Word, in the Creeds, and in the Augustan Belief, and the statutes of the Churches of this realm comprised and adopted in the Council of Upsala in the year 1593, and to be faithful and diligent in my ministry. Moreover, I openly profess that I abhor all the false opinions of Papists, Calvinists, and other fanatics whosoever, condemned by the Word of God, and I will constantly oppose their errors, which are repugnant to the express Word of God. I will study to confirm in the minds of my hearers the fulness of the faith and of the certainty of the true doctrine, I will strive by God's grace so to order my life and morals in public and in private that I may be a good example to all, and cause a stumbling-block to none. I promise also that I will be always most eager to preserve

public peace and unity, and concord with my colleagues and with all others, and with the greatest faithfulness and diligence as is meet will exhort my hearers and others to render due obedience to lawful authority, and I pray the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, to govern my life, my purposes and all my actions by His Holy Spirit, to His glory and the safety of the Church. Amen.

*Prayer at the Ordination of Deacons*

O alzmecktlige, enige och barmhertige Gudh wårs Herres Jesu Christi Fader, af huilkom kom(m)er all wissheett, förstandh, skickeligh(et) och alla goda gåfvor, wij bidie tigh ödmjuckeligen aff alltt hierta att thu werdigas för thin kära Sons Jesu Christi wårs Herres skull milddeliga höra wåra böner, och gif tesse personer som thill thins helga ewangelium och christeliga församllingstienst och prädikoembethett emnoden ähro, thin Helge Andes nådh och gåfvor, att the alltidh må wexa thill i thinom kunskap och dagligen wthi alla andeliga gåfvor förmeras och förbettras att the medh thiden thill thin helga tienst och prädikoembetett tienlige warda: genom samma thin son Je. Christum wår Herra. Amen.

“O Almighty, everlasting and merciful God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom cometh all wisdom, understanding, skill, and all good gifts: We humbly beseech thee with all our hearts, that thou wilt vouchsafe, for thy dear Son Jesus Christ our Lord’s sake, graciously to hear our prayers, and grant to these persons, who are purposed for the service of the Holy Gospel and Christian Church and for the ministry of preaching, that they may grow ever more into the knowledge of thee, and daily increase and advance in all spiritual gifts, that in time they may be profitable to thy holy service and ministry of preaching: through the same thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.”

From this prayer it may be concluded that the office of

Deacon in 1593 was a stage or degree leading to a higher ministry which is described as "holy service." The "ministry of preaching" seems to belong both to the inferior degree of Deacon and to the superior degree of Priest.

Bishop R. Mott Williams (Marquette, U.S.A.) makes the following note on the "ministry of preaching":

"The Swedish version of the Augsburg Confession describes the Prediko-embet as the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments. The words Prestembet and Prediko-embet are used interchangeably through the long preface to the Ordinal of 1521. At the conclusion of the above described Service occurs this announcement and prayer which is to precede it:

"'Announcement and prayer which, after the Sermon, just before the Lord's Prayer, is read from the pulpit, the day when the Prestwigning shall occur.'"

Prestwigning is therefore an exact synonym for Inwigning till Predikoembet. (V and W are interchangeable in the old Swedish spelling.)

The Swedes have a right to interpret their own language. Predikoembet and Prestembet are exact dictionary equivalents, and any suggestion of a difference in their meaning is met in Sweden with the greatest surprise. If the Ordinal is taken alone, and dislocated from the rest of the Handbook, it undoubtedly lacks explicit reference to sacramental functions. But it is merely Chapter XIV. of a book full of sacramental functions to be performed by the Priest, and unlawful for any one else. Besides this, the Priest receives at the time of Ordination a very explicit Prestbref (or Letter of Orders) in which all his functions are described.

However, the Ordinal of 1809 has been criticised in this regard, and efforts have been made by the Swedish Church to remove any just cause of criticism; some very material changes have subsequently been introduced.

Dr. Nicholson has published an elaborate argument justifying the description of the Priest's office by any one of its undoubted functions. Preaching, he says, peculiarly belongs to the Priest. The Deacon *may* preach, but only by licence. It *belongs* to the Priest. But there seems no need of this as the Swedish Church has defined *Predikoembet* as a Sacramental Ministry.

We may add that Bishop Wordsworth came to the conclusion that the Swedish Church has never definitely rejected the Diaconate as an Order of the Ministry.

## APPENDIX F

### CONFIRMATION AND THE LAYING ON OF HANDS

IN Sweden, the order prescribed for the Service, which takes place after long and careful preparation of the candidates, is as follows:—

Hymn.

A short address, followed by the examination of candidates on what they have learned. (At the discretion of the minister, this may take place on some day before, but even then only in the presence of parents, church officials, etc.)

Then the priest says :

“Dear children, you have just briefly rendered an account of your insight into the teaching, which our Lord Jesus Christ has revealed to us in His Holy Word, and which is declared and acknowledged in His Church. This is also the teaching into which you were baptized. I now exhort you to answer and confess before God and this congregation :

(*The Creed.*) Do you believe in God the Father Almighty? Yes.

Do you believe in Jesus Christ, His Only-Begotten Son? Yes.

Do you believe in the Holy Ghost? Yes.

(*Vows.*) Are you willing, by God’s grace, to set forth this belief in your life, and also to walk worthily of the Gospel of Christ in love to God and to your neighbour? Yes.

Are you willing for that end, by God’s help, with watching

and prayer to use God's Word and to seek your Saviour in His Holy Communion? Yes."

The priest continues :

"Dear children, before God, the all-knowing and the everywhere present, you have now made your confession with your own mouths; and I hereby declare that you have admission to the Holy Communion of the Lord, in the Name of God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. May the Lord grant by His mercy that all your life and all your powers may be hallowed to His will and service in Christ Jesus."

The candidates kneel and the priest continues :

"May the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ grant you, according to the riches of His glory, by His Spirit to increase in power in the inner man and become filled with all the fulness of God. Amen."

The priest, facing the children, kneels and prays :

"Our Father, etc."

Then the priest rises and says :

"Let us now unite in faithful intercession for these children.

"Almighty, merciful God, Heavenly Father, who be-  
ginnest and completest every good thing in us, we beseech  
Thee for these children, in whom by the laver of the new  
birth Thou hast begun Thy good work, and whom Thou  
hast now brought to such knowledge that they have them-  
selves declared before Thy congregation Thy grace and  
truth in Jesus Christ our Lord; complete the good work  
Thou hast begun in them. Teach their hearts more and  
more to learn the value of the salvation, which Thy  
Only-Begotten Son has prepared for them. They are  
weak; confirm Thou them with Thy might. They will  
walk through a perilous world; shield them with Thy  
power. Temptations will meet them; strengthen them to  
fight and to conquer. Give them the Grace of Thy Holy

Spirit for the blessed enjoyment of the Holy Communion. Help them in word and dealing boldly to acknowledge Thy Name before the world, always to watch and pray, and trust fully with all Thy faithful ones to look for the coming of Thy dear Son, and finally with Him to attain everlasting life. Amen."

The service concludes with the Blessing.

On some subsequent Holy Day, when the candidates together attend the Supper of the Lord, a short address is to be given with reference to the occasion and suitable to it.

When compared with our service, this form reveals certain points which we have not. They are:—

1. Confirmation by a priest.
2. The examination of the children in the church.
3. The emphasis laid by separate answers upon the vows taken—
  - (a) Belief in each Person of the Trinity severally.
  - (b) The acceptance of this belief as the rule of conduct.
  - (c) The intention to use the Word of God and to become a communicant.
4. The announcement that the confirmed have a right to communicate.
5. The omission of all reference to laying on of hands.
6. The special use of the Lord's Prayer, all kneeling, as a culminating act of devotion.
7. The absence of any claim to following the pattern set by the Apostles.
8. The sevenfold gifts of the Holy Spirit are implied, not enumerated.

The history of the Church of Sweden is here illustrated on two of its sides, the combative and the wary. She stoutly upheld the importance of the Word and Sacraments against their belittlement which she suspected in Rome.

To reserve, therefore, the rite of Confirmation as the especial duty and privilege of bishops, was (so she thought) to elevate that rite above Baptism, giving to it more honour than to the essential sacrament. To this she has added, since the days when Chemnitz taught all the Lutherans, that the episcopal body is unable, owing to the extent of their dioceses and the number of the population, to acquire much personal knowledge of confirmands. Hence Confirmation by priests.

It may be observed that even in Sweden Baptism is accounted valid when administered by a lay person, and no disparagement ensues. The Swede will reply: "True, but we require certification from the proper sources, before the person privately baptized is admitted in the Church by the appointed service." To which a simple rejoinder may be given: "Similar certification is rendered to the bishop when a priest presents candidates for Confirmation."

The fact seems to be that wariness of an undue kind holds back the Swedish Church from fully imitating the example of the Apostles, unless that example is clearly suggested by our Lord's own act. Thus, the laying on of hands takes place at Baptism, Ordination, and Consecration in Sweden, in imitation of Jesus Christ Himself. But they draw away from combining Confirmation with laying on hands, relying on the fact that "confirming" in the Acts of the Apostles has no indication of any ceremony being attached to it. Yet they must admit that laying on of hands is associated with the gift of the Holy Ghost, and was practised by the Apostles for that purpose subsequent to Baptism.

While allowing that Confirmation is an advancement, progressive upon Baptism, the Swedes permit no idea of its superiority to that sacrament, and they seem to suggest the question: "In England, priests are not allowed to lay hands on the confirmed, and yet they join in the laying on



of hands in the consecration of priests. The less is forbidden, the greater allowed; why?" Finally, laying on of hands at Confirmation is not prohibited. It is simply not mentioned. And custom varies in consequence. Many Swedish priests *do* use the manual act, and no one says them nay.

We have another prohibition which Sweden has not; no unconfirmed person in England, has *the right* to communicate in our Church. The Swedish book says nothing of such a forbiddal. It merely declares that right to the confirmed.

In two details we might with advantage borrow from the Swedish rite. (1) We derive little benefit from our disuse of public examination and catechizing the children in Church. It is prescribed by our rubric, by which we are bound. And it may be a fruitful inquiry whether our Catechism was not originally framed for this actual purpose—a form of service for children. Some have ventured to use it so, kneeling for the Commandments (with the Kyrie sung), standing for the Creed, and kneeling again for the Lord's Prayer and the Desire. When all the children make answer to all the questions, including the recital of the Decalogue, the effect startlingly suggests the question: "Did our reformers intend this for our Children's Service of instruction and devotion?"

(2) The definite promise to become communicants, made by the confirmands at their Confirmation, would be no small aid to them and their teachers.


One omission is noticeable both in the Swedish Church and ours. No exhortation or instruction seems to be given to confirmands about almsgiving. Alms are not collected at a Confirmation Service, and it is difficult to recall any reference to the grace of giving our money to God in any Confirmation Address made by our bishops.

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