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HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

TO THE

PRAYER BOOK.

THE Book of Common Prayer remained altogether unaltered for more than two centuries, the new Tables of Lessons of 1871 being the first change made since it was revised, after the great persecution of the Church by the Puritans, in 1661. But the various stages of its development from the ancient formularies of the Church of England extended through a period of one hundred and fifty years; and the history of that development is of the highest importance to those who wish to understand and use the Prayer Book, as well as of considerable interest to all from the fact of its being an integral part of our national history.

The Church of England has had distinctive formularies of its own as far back as the details of its customs in respect to Divine Worship can be traced. The earliest history of these formularies is obscure, but there is good reason to believe that they were derived, through Lyons, from the great patriarchate of Ephesus, in which St. John spent the latter half of his life. There was an intimate connection between the Churches of France and England in the early ages of Christianity, of which we still have a memorial in the ancient French saints of our Calendar; and when St. Augustine came to England, he found the same rites used as he had observed in France, remarking upon them that they differed in many particulars from those of Rome. It is now a well-established opinion that this ancient Gallican Liturgy came from Ephesus.¹ But there can be no doubt that several waves of Christianity, perhaps of Apostolic Christianity, passed across our island; and the Ephesine or Johannine element in the ancient Prayer Books of the Church of England probably represents but the strongest of those waves, and the predominating influence which mingled with itself others of a less powerful character.

It was in the sixth century [A.D. 596] that the great and good St. Augustine undertook his missionary work among the West Saxons. The mission seems to have been sent from Rome by Gregory the Great under the impression that the inhabitants of England were altogether heathen; and if he or Augustine were not unacquainted with what St. Chrysostom, St. Jerome, and others had said respecting the early evangelization of Britain, they had evidently concluded that the Church founded in Apostolic times was extinct. When Augustine arrived in England, he found that, although the West Saxons were heathen, and had driven the Church into the highlands of Wales by their persecution, yet seven bishops remained alive, and a large number of clergy, who had very strong views about the independence of the Church of England, and were unprepared to receive the Roman missionary except on terms of equality. The chief difficulty felt by St. Augustine arose from the difference just referred to between the religious system of Italy, the Church of which was the only one the missionary priests were at that time acquainted with, and the systems of France and England. This difficulty, a great one to a man so conscientious and simple-minded, he submitted to Gregory in the form of questions, and among them was the following one on the subject of Divine Worship: "Whereas the Faith is one, why are the customs of Churches various? and why is one manner of celebrating the Holy Communion used in the holy Roman Church, and

**St. Augustine and
the old English
Liturgy.**

¹ See PALMER'S *Origines Liturg.* i. 153. NEALE and FORBES' *Gallican Liturgies.* FREEMAN'S *Principles of Divine Service*, ii. 399.

another in that of the Gauls?" This diversity becomes even more prominent in the words which Augustine addressed to the seven Bishops of the ancient Church of England, when they met in conference at the place afterwards called St. Augustine's Oak. "You act," said he, "in many particulars contrary to our customs, or rather, to the customs of the universal Church, and yet, if you will comply with me in these three points, viz. to keep Easter at the due time; to perform the administration of baptism, by which we are born again to God, according to the custom of the holy Roman and Apostolic Church; and jointly with us to preach the Word of God to the English nation, we will readily tolerate all your other customs, though contrary to our own." The answer of St. Gregory contained wise and Catholic advice; and to it we owe, under Providence, the continued use of an independent form of Divine Worship in the Church of England from that day to the present. "You, my brother," said Gregory, "are acquainted with the customs of the Roman Church in which you were brought up. But it is my pleasure that if you have found anything either in the Roman or the Gallican or any other Church which may be more acceptable to Almighty God, you carefully make choice of the same; and sedulously teach the Church of the English, which is at present new in the Faith, whatsoever you can gather from the several Churches. For things are not to be loved for the sake of places, but places for the sake of good things. Select, therefore, from each Church those things that are pious, religious, and correct; and when you have made these up into one body, instil this into the minds of the English for their Use." [GREG. *Opera*, ii. 1151, Bened. ed.; BEDE'S *Eccles. Hist.* i. 27.] The Liturgy of the Roman Church spoken of in this reply is represented by the ancient Sacramentary of St. Gregory, to which such frequent references are given in the following pages: that of the Gallican Church is also partly extant,¹ and has been shewn (as was mentioned before) to be derived from the Liturgy of the Church of Ephesus. The words "any other Church" might be supposed to refer to an independent English Liturgy, but there is no reference to any in the question to which Gregory is replying, and he evidently knew nothing of England except through Augustine. From other writers it seems that the Liturgy of England or Britain before this time had been the same with that of France; but the native Clergy always alleged that their distinctive customs were derived from St. John.

Being thus advised by St. Gregory, the holy missionary endeavoured to deal as gently as possible with those whose customs of Divine Worship differed from his own; but his prepossessions in favour of the Roman system were very strong, and he used all his influence to get it universally adopted throughout the country.

Uniformity in all details was not, however, attainable. The national feeling of the ancient Church steadily adhered to the ancient rite for many years; while the feeling of the Church founded by St. Augustine was in favour of a rite more closely in agreement with that of Rome. As collision was the first natural consequence of this state of things, so some degree of amalgamation as naturally followed in course of time; that which was local, or national, mingling with that which was foreign in the English devotional system, as it did in the English race itself. Some attempts were made, as in the Council of Cloveshoo [A.D. 747], to enforce the Roman Liturgy upon all the dioceses of the country, but it is certain that the previous devotional customs of the land had an exceedingly tenacious hold upon the Clergy and the people, and that no efforts could ever wholly extirpate them.²

At the time of the Conquest another vigorous attempt was made to secure uniformity of Divine Service throughout the country, and with the most pious intentions. St. Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury, and Chancellor of England,³ collecting together a large body of skilled clergy, remodelled the Offices of the Church, and left behind him the famous Portiforium or Breviary of Sarum, containing the Daily Services; together with the Sarum Missal, containing the Communion Service; and, probably, the Sarum Manual, containing the Baptismal and other "occasional" Offices. These, and some other Service-books, constituted the "Sarum Use," that is, the Prayer Book of the diocese of Salisbury. It was first adopted for that diocese in A.D. 1085, and

¹ See the names Menard, Muratori, and Mabillon, in the List of Authorities. The Gregorian and Gallican Liturgies are also printed in HAMMOND'S *Liturgies, Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1878.

² See MASKELL'S *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England*, Preface, p. liv.

³ St. Osmund, who was canonized in A.D. 1456, was a nephew of William the Conqueror, being the son of the king's sister Isabella and Henry, Count of Séz. He was the second

Bishop of Salisbury [A.D. 1078-1099] after the foundation of that diocese by the consolidation of the Sees of Ramsbury and Sherborne in A.D. 1058 and 1075. St. Osmund was the principal builder of the Cathedral of Old Sarum, a small fortified hill a few miles distant from the present city. This cathedral was taken down, and that of New Sarum, or Salisbury, the existing cathedral, built in the place of it, in A.D. 1225: the remains of St. Osmund being removed thither.

was introduced into other parts of England so generally that it became the principal devotional Rule of the Church of England, and continued so for more than four centuries and a half: "the Church of Salisbury," says a writer of the year 1256, "being conspicuous above all other Churches like the sun in the heavens, diffusing its light everywhere, and supplying their defects."¹ Other Uses continued to hold their place in the dioceses of Lincoln, Hereford, and Bangor, and through the greater part of the Province of York; though in the diocese of Durham the Salisbury system was followed. At St. Paul's Cathedral, and perhaps throughout the diocese of London, there was an independent Use until A.D. 1414. For about a hundred and fifty years before the Prayer Book era there was some displacement of the Sarum Use by Roman customs in Monasteries, Monastic Churches (though not at Durham), and perhaps in Parish Churches served by Monastic clergy: but the "Use" itself was not superseded to any great extent even in these. The Salisbury Use, that of York, and that of Hereford, are well known to modern ritualists.² They appear to be traceable to a common origin; but they differ in so many respects from the Roman Breviary, and even from the Missal (with which a closer agreement might have been expected), that they clearly derive their common origin from a source independent of the Roman Church. And, whatever quarter they may have been derived from in the first instance, it is equally clear that the forms of Divine Service now known to us under these names represent a system which was naturalized so many ages ago, that it had been entitled to the name of an independent English rite for at least a thousand years.

During all this time the public Services of the Church were said in Latin, for Latin had been during some ages the most generally understood language in the world, and was spoken vernacularly in France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy (the modern languages of all which countries were formed from it) down to a comparatively late time, as it is now spoken in Hungary. In England the Latin language was almost as familiar to educated persons as it was upon the Continent; but the poor and uneducated knew no other tongue than their native English, and for these the Church did the best that could be done to provide some means by which they might make an intelligent use of Divine Service.

From the earliest periods we find injunctions imposed upon the Clergy that they should be careful to teach the people the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in their own tongue. Thus, in A.D. 740 there was a canon of Egbert, Archbishop of York, to the effect, "that every priest do with great exactness instil the Lord's Prayer and Creed into the people committed to him, and shew them to endeavour after the knowledge of the whole of religion, and the practice of Christianity."³ About the same time, in the Southern Province, it is ordered "that they instil the Creed into them, that they may know what to believe, and what to hope for."⁴ Two centuries later there is a canon of Ælfric, Archbishop of Canterbury, enjoining the clergy to "speak the sense of the Gospel to the people in English, and of the Pater noster, and the Creed, as often as he can, for the inciting of the people to know their belief, and retaining their Christianity."⁵ Similar injunctions are to be found in the laws of Canute in the eleventh century, the constitutions of Archbishop Peckham in the thirteenth, and in the canons of many diocesan synods, of various dates in the mediæval period. Many expositions of the Creed, Lord's Prayer, Ten Commandments, and other principal formulæ, are also to be found in English, and these give testimony to the same anxious desire of the Church to make the most use possible of the language spoken by the poor of the day.⁶ Interlinear translations of some, at least, of the Offices were also provided, especially of the Litany, just as the English and Welsh Prayer Book, or the Latin and English Missal of the Roman Catholics, are printed in parallel columns in modern times.

But in days when books were scarce, and when few could read, little could be done towards giving to the people at large this intelligent acquaintance with the Services except by oral instruction of the kind indicated. Yet the writing-rooms of the Monasteries did what they could towards multiplying books for the purpose; and some provision was made, even for the poorest, by means of horn-books, on which the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Angelic Salutation were written. The following is an

¹ At an even earlier date [A.D. 1200] the chronicler Brompton says that the Custom-book of Salisbury was used almost all over England, Wales, and Ireland. [BROMPTON'S *Chron.* 977.]

² These three English Uses alone were of sufficient importance to ensure the dignity of appearing in print while they were living rites. Hereford barely secured that honour, while Salisbury is represented by at least a hundred editions; the Sarum Breviary alone having been printed some forty or fifty times between 1483 and 1557.

³ JOHNSON'S *Eng. Canons*, i. 186.

⁴ *Ibid.* 248.

⁵ *Ibid.* 398.

⁶ It must be remembered that English was not spoken universally by the upper classes for some centuries after the Conquest. In 1362 an Act of Parliament was passed enjoining all schoolmasters to teach their scholars to translate into English instead of French.

engraving made from one of two which were found by the present writer under the floor of Over Church, near Cambridge, in 1857. It is of a late date, and has had "In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," in the place of the Angelic Salutation; but it is given as an illustration of the traditional practice, and because it is of special interest from being found in a church.



While these horn-books were thus provided for the poor, the Scriptorium of the Monastery also provided Prymers in English and Latin for those who could afford the expensive luxury of a book. The Latin Prymers are well known under the name of "Books of Hours." Vernacular Prymers exist which were written as early as the fourteenth century, and many relics of old English devotion of that date still remain.¹ These English Prymers contained about one-third of the Psalms, the Canticles, the Apostles' Creed, with a large number of the prayers, anthems, and perhaps hymns. They continued to be published up to the end of Henry VIII.'s reign,² and, in a modified form, even at a later date: and they must have familiarized those who used them with a large portion of the Services, even when they did not understand the Latin in which those Services were said by the clergy and choirs.

The style of the language in which these early English Prayer Books were written varies with the age, and the following specimens will shew how much change our native tongue has undergone in the course of the thirteen hundred years during which we can trace it.

¹ A still earlier Prymer in Latin and "Anglo-Saxon" is printed at the end of HICKES' *Letters*, etc. It probably dates from the tenth or eleventh centuries.

² Coverdale and Grafton the printer wrote to Cromwell on September 12, 1538, in favour of Regnault, the Parisian

printer, at whose press many of the Breviaries and Missals used in England were printed. They say that, among other books, he had printed English Prymers for forty years, that is, from the end of the fifteenth century. [*State Papers, Dom. Hen. VIII. i. 589.*]

THE LORD'S PRAYER IN ENGLISH OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

Fader usær thu arth in Heofnas sic gehalgad noma thin to cymeth ric thin, sie willo thin suæ is in Heofne and in Eortho. Hlaf userne oferwistlic sel us to dæg, and forgef us scyltha usra suæ use forgefon scylgum usum. And ne inlead usith in costnunge. Ah gefrig usich from yfle.

THE CREED IN ENGLISH OF THE NINTH CENTURY.

Ic gelyfe on God Fæder ælmihtigne, Scyppend heofon and eorþan; And on Hæland Crist, Sunu his anhican, Drihten urne; Se the wæs geacnod of tham Halgan Gaste, Acænned of Marian tham mædene; Gethrowad under tham Pontiscan Pilate, Gerod fæstnad, Dead and bebyrged; He arither astah to hel warum; Tham thriddan dæge he nasa fram deadum; He astah to heofonum; He sit to swyþran hand God Fæder wæs ælmihtigan; Thonan toward deman tha cucan and tha deadan. Ic gelyfe Tha halgan gelathunge riht gelyfdan; Halgana gemænysse; And forgyfnysses synna; Flæsces æriste; And thæt ece life. Si hit swa.

To these early specimens of devotional English may be added a few taken out of a volume of considerable size, the Primer which was in common use about a hundred years before the present English Prayer Book was constructed.¹

Pater Noster.

○URE fadir, that art in heuenes, halewid be thi name: thy rewme come to thee: be thi wille do as in heuene and in erthe: oure eche daies breed þyue us to day: and forþyue us oure dettis, as and we forþeuen to oure dettouris: and ne lede us into temptacioun: but delyuere us fro yuel. So be it.

Domine, Labia.

Lord, thou schalt opyne myn lippis.
And my mouth schal schewe thi prisying.
God, take heede to myn help:
Lord, hiþe thee to helpe me.
Glorie be to the fadir and to the sone and to the holy goost:

As it was in the bygynnyng and now and euer and in to the worldis of worldis. So be it.

Credo in.

I BILEUE in god, fadir almyȝti, makere of heuene and of erthe: and in iesu crist the sone of him, oure lord, oon aloone: which is conceyued of the hooli goost: born of marie maiden: suffride passioun undir pounce pilat: crucified, deed, and biried: he wente doun to hellis: the thridde day he roos aȝen fro deede: he steiȝ to heuenes: he sittith on the riȝt syde of god the fadir almyȝti: thenus he is to come for to deme the quyke and deede. I beleue in the hooli goost: feith of hooli chirche: communyng of seyntis: forþyuenesse of synnes: aȝenrisyng of fleish, and euerlastyng lyf. So be it.

Preie we. For the pees.

Deus a quo.

God, of whom ben hooli desiris, riȝt counceles and

THE LORD'S PRAYER IN ENGLISH OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

Fader oure that art in heve, i-halgeed bee thi nome, i-cume thi kinereiche, y-worthe thi wyll also is in hevene so be on erthe, oure iche-dayes bred þif us to day, and forþif us oure gultes, also we forþifet oure gultare, and ne led ows nowth into fondingge, auth ales ows of harme. So be it.

THE CREED IN ENGLISH OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

Hi true in God, Fader Hal-michttende, That makede heven and herdeth; And in Jhesu Krist, is ane lepi Sone, Hure Laverd; That was bigotin of the Hali Gast, And born of the mainden Marie; Pinid under Punce Pilate, festened to the rode, Ded, and dulvun; Licht in til helle; The thride dai up ras fra dede to live; Steg intil hevenne; Sitis on his Fadir richt hand, Fadir alwaldand; He then sal come to deme the quike and the dede. Hy troue hy theli Gast; And hely * * kirke; The samninge of halges; Forgifnes of sinnes; Uprisen of fleyes; And life withuten ende. Amen.

just werkis: þyue to thi seruantis pees that the world may not ȝeue, that in our heartis þouun to thi commandentis, and the drede of enemyes putt awei, owre tymes be pesible thurȝ thi defendyng. Bi oure lord iesu crist, thi sone, that with thee lyueth and regneth in the unitie of the hooli goost god, bi all worldis of worldis. So be it.

[Prayer for the Clergy.]

ALMYGHTI god, euerlastyng, that aloone doost many wondres, schewe the spirit of heelful grace upon bisschopes thi seruantis, and vpon alle the congregacion betake to hem: and ȝeete in the dewe of thi blessinge that thei plese euermore to the in trouthe. Bi crist oure lord. So be it.

[Collect for the Annunciation.]

LORD, we bisechen helde yn thi grace to oure inwittis, that bi the message of the aungel we knowe the incarnacioun of thi sone iesu crist, and by his passioun and cross be ledde to the glorie of his resurreccioun. Bi the same iesu crist oure lord, that with thee lyueth and regneth in oonhede of the hooli goost, god, bi alle worldis of worldis. So be it.

[Collect for Whitsun Day.]

GOD, that tauȝtist the hertis of thi feithful seruantis bi the liȝtninge of the hooli goost: graunte us to sauore riȝtful thingis in the same goost, and to be ioiful euermore of his counfort. Bi crist our lorde. So be it.

[Collect for Trinity Sunday.]

EUERLASTYNGE almyȝti god that ȝaue us thi seruantis in knowlechynge of verrei feith to

¹ It will be observed that Latin titles are prefixed to these, as is still done with the Psalms in the Prayer Book. These

titles were a guide to the ear when the prayers and psalms were being said or sung in Latin.

knowe the glorie of the endeles trinite, and in the miȝt of mageste to worchipe thee in oonhede: we bisechen that bi the sadness of the same feith we be kept and defendid euermore fro alle aduersities. Bi crist.

[Collect for St. Michael and all Angels.]

GOD, that in a merueilous ordre ordey nedist seruisys of aungels and of men, graunte thou mercifulli that oure liif be defendid in erthe bi hem that stonden ny; euermore seruyng to thee in heuvene. Bi crist.

The ancient formularies had, however, by change of circumstances, become unsuitable in several respects for the Church of England. They had grown into a form in which they were extremely well adapted (from a ritual point of view) for the use of religious communities, but were far too complex for that of parochial congregations. When monasteries were abolished it was found that the devotional system of the Church must be condensed if it was to be used by mixed congregations, and by those who were not specially set apart for that life of rule and continual worship for which monastic communities were intended. The Latin Services had, indeed, never been familiar to the people of England, any more than they are to the Continental laity at the present day. In the place of Service-books the laity were provided with devotional expositions of the Services; sometimes in English rhyme, like the "Lay Folk's Mass Book,"¹ and sometimes in prose, like "Our Lady's Mirror."² When manuscript English Bibles became common in the fourteenth century, they usually contained a list of the Epistles and Gospels, and similar lists are also found in a separate form.³ Such helps and guides would go far to remedy the inconvenience of a Latin Service to those who could or would use them: but probably the number of such persons was never very large.

There was, indeed, a popular service which was held about nine o'clock in the morning on Sundays and Festivals, consisting of the Aspersion with blessed, or holy, water, followed by the Bidding of Bedes, and a Sermon or Homily; and in this service the vernacular was used long before the disuse of Latin. The Aspersion Service, as given, with the musical notation, in a Breviary⁴ belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury, is as follows:—

"Remember your promys made in baptyem.

And chrystys mercyfull bloudshedyng.

By the wyche most holy sprynklyng.

Off all youre syns youe haue fre perdun.

Haue mercy uppon me oo god.

Affter thy grat mercy.

Remember your promys made in baptyem.

And chrystys mercyfull bloudshedyng.

By the wyche most holy sprynklyng.

Off all youre syns youe haue fre perdun.

And acordyng to the multytude of thy mercys.

Do awey my wyckydnes.

Remember your promys made in baptyem.

And chrystys mercyfull bloudshedyng.

By the wyche most holy sprynklyng.

Off all youre syns youe haue fre perdun.

Glory be to the father, and to the sun, and to the holy goost.

As hyt was yn the begynnyng so now and euer and yn the world off worlds. So be hytt.

By the wyche most holy sprynklyng.

Off all youre syns youe haue fre perdun."⁵

¹ This commentary on the Mass was published by the Early English Text Society in 1879 under the following title: "The Lay Folk's Mass Book; or, The Manner of hearing Mass, with Rubrics and Devotions for the People." It is admirably edited by the Rev. T. F. Simmons, Canon of York and Rector of Dalton Holme. The book is a mediæval "Companion to the Altar," and was written in the twelfth century.

² This was written about A.D. 1430, and printed in A.D. 1530. It was reprinted by the Early English Text Society in 1873, with the title, "The Myroure of oure Ladye, containing a devotional treatise on Divine Service, with a translation of the Offices used by the Sisters of the Brigittine Monastery of Sion at Isleworth, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Edited from the black-letter text of 1530, with Introduction and Notes, by John Henry Blunt," etc. It is a commentary upon the Hours, or Services for every day of the Week, and upon the Mass: the whole of the former, and the laymen's part of the latter, being translated.

In the library of St. John's College, Oxford, there is also a Processionale [MS. 167] with English rubrics, which once belonged to Sion, and was written in the middle of the fifteenth century. [*Mirror*, Introd. p. xlv.]

³ The following is the title of one of these books, and a specimen of the references is annexed:—

"Here begynneth a rule that tellith in whiche chapitris of the bible ye may fynde the lessouns, pistlis and gospels, that ben red in the churche after the vse of salisbury: markid with lettris of the a. b. c. at the begynnyng of the chapitris toward the myddil or eende: after the ordre as the lettris stonden in the a. b. c. first ben sett sundates and ferials togidre: and after that the sanctorum, the propre and comyn togider of al the year: and thanne last the commemoraciouns: that is clepid the temporal of al the yere. First is written a clause of the begynnyng of the pistie and gospel, and a clause of the endyng thereof."

"The first soneday of aduent."	} Rom. xiii. c.	} d. we knowen this	} ende. in the lord Ihs
}	} a. whanne ihs cam	} ende. osanna in high	
			}

⁴ This Breviary, perhaps the finest which has been preserved, belonged to the Parish Church of Arlingham in Gloucestershire, then in the Diocese of Worcester, and was written in the early part of the fifteenth century. The Aspersion Service was inserted at a later time, the writing being dated by experts of the highest authority as belonging to the middle of the century, from A.D. 1440 to 1460. There is a critical paper on this Aspersion by Mr., now Bishop, Kingdon, in the *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine* for 1879, pages 62-70, with a photograph of the words and music.

⁵ At a later date the Aspersion was followed by the dis-

While this anthem was being sung the priest, with the aquæ-bajulus, or holy water-bearer, and the choir walked in procession down the nave of the church, the former sprinkling the congregation with the water; and it is probable that the whole of the fifty-first Psalm was sung. After this followed the Bidding Prayer in English, several Collects in Latin, and then the Sermon.

But although this English Service was evidently in very general use, it does not seem as if the idea of entirely Vernacular Services spread very widely among the clergy and people of England until after the dissolution of the monasteries. Then the gradual but slow approximation to such a system received a great impetus, and Latimer found a very hearty response in the minds of the clergy when, speaking of baptism in his sermon before the Convocation of A.D. 1536, he exclaimed, "Shall we evermore in ministering it speak Latin, and not English rather, that the people may know what is said and done?" [LATIMER'S *Sermons*, i. 52, ed. 1824.] The assent to this change was in fact so unanimous among the clergy that Archbishop Cranmer wrote to Queen Mary respecting the Committee appointed for the revision of the Services by Henry VIII., that although it was composed of men who held different opinions, they "agreed without controversy (not one saying contrary) that the Service of the Church ought to be in the mother tongue." [JENKYN'S *Cranmer's Rem.* i. 375.] Ridley also writes to his chaplain that he had conferred with many on the subject, and "never found man (so far as I do remember), neither old nor new, gospeller nor papist, of what judgment soever he was, in this thing to be of a contrary opinion." [RIDLEY'S *Works*, p. 340.]

With this general inclination of the national mind towards the use of the national language alone in Divine Service there arose also that necessity for condensed services which has previously been referred to. There are no means of deciding how far the original Use of Salisbury differed from that which is known to us. The copies remaining belong to a much later period than the eleventh century, and there is reason to think that some accretions gathered around the ancient devotions of the Church of England from the prevalence of Continental influences during the reigns of the Norman and Angevin kings, and from the great increase of monastic establishments: the shorter and more primitive form of responsive public service being found insufficient, especially for those who formed themselves into societies for the purpose of carrying on an unceasing round of prayer and praise in the numerous Minsters which then covered the face of our land. But now that the "religious" of the Church were to be a separate body no longer, Divine Providence led her to feel the way gradually towards a return to the earlier practice of Christianity; the idea of a popular and mixed congregation superseded that of a special monastic one; and the daily worship being transferred from the Cloister to the Parish Church, its normal form of Common Prayer was revived in the place of the Prayers of a class or the solitary recitation of the Parish Priest. No blame was cast upon the former system for its complexity; by the times were changed, a new order of things was becoming established, and, although the *principles* of the Church are unchangeable, so entire a remoulding of society entailed of necessity a corresponding adaptation of her devotional *practice*, both for the honour of God and the good of souls, to the wants that had come to light.

Some slight attempts were made at a reformation of the Sarum Offices in editions of the Breviary which were printed in 1516 and 1531, and a Missal of 1509 is even described as "amended." There was little variation, indeed, from the old forms; but there was a distinct initiation of the principles which were afterwards carried out more fully in the Book of Common Prayer of 1549. The rubrics were somewhat simplified; Holy Scripture was directed to be read in order without omission; and in carrying out the latter direction the Lessons, which had been much shortened in actual use [see note to Table of Lessons], were restored to their ancient length.

tribution of the eulogia or blessed bread. The two are explained in the ninth of the Ten Articles of A.D. 1536 in the following words: "As concerning the rites and ceremonies of Christ's Church; . . . as sprinkling of holy water to put us in remembrance of our Baptism, and the blood of Christ sprinkled for our redemption upon the cross; giving of holy bread, to put us in remembrance of the Sacrament of the altar, that all Christian men be one body mystical of Christ as the bread is made of many grains, and yet but one loaf: and to put us in remembrance of the receiving the holy sacrament and body of Christ, the which we ought to receive in right charity: which in the beginning of Christ's Church, men did more often receive than they use nowadays to do." [LLOYD'S *Formul. of Faith*, p. 15.] The fourth of some injunctions issued by the King's Visitors in A.D. 1548, also

orders both rites to be used every Sunday, with the words given above. "And in like manner before the dealing of the holy bread these words:

'Of Christ's body this is a token,
Which on the cross for our sins was broken;
Wherefore of his death if you will be partakers,
Of vice and sin you must be forsakers.'

And the clerk in the like manner shall bring down the Pax, and standing without the church door shall say boldly to the people these words: 'This is a token of joyful peace, which is betwixt God and men's conscience: Christ alone is the Peacemaker, Which straitly commands peace between brother and brother.' And so long as ye use these ceremonies, so long shall ye use these significations." [BURNET'S *Reform.* v. 186, Pocock's ed.]

In 1531 this revised edition of the Salisbury Portiforium or Breviary was reprinted, and two years later a revised Missal was published; in the latter special care being taken to provide an apparatus for enabling the people to find out the places of the Epistles and Gospels. And though no authorized translation of the Bible had yet been allowed by Henry VIII., Cranmer and the other Bishops began to revise Tyndale's translation in 1534, and encouraged the issue of books containing the Epistles and Gospels in English, of which many editions were published between 1538 and the printing of the Prayer Book.¹ A fresh impulse seems thus to have been given to the use of the old English Prymers, in which a large portion of the Services (including the Litany) was translated into the vulgar tongue, and also a third of the Psalms, and to which in later times the Epistles and Gospels were added.

In 1540 the Psalter was printed by Grafton in Latin and English [Bodleian Lib., Douce BB. 71], and there seems to have been an earlier edition of a larger size about the year 1534. The Psalter had long been rearranged, so that the Psalms were said in consecutive order, in some churches at least, according to our modern practice, instead of in the ancient but complex order of the Breviary. [See *Intro. to Psalter.*]

In 1541 and 1544 other amended editions of the Salisbury Breviary were published, in the title-pages of which it is said to be purged from many errors. By order of Convocation [March 3, 1541] the Salisbury Use was now also adopted throughout the whole Province of Canterbury, and an uniformity secured which had not existed since the days of Augustine. Nor is it an insignificant circumstance that the book was now printed by Whitchurch (from whose press issued the Book of Common Prayer), instead of being printed in Paris as formerly.

That these revisions of the ancient Service-books were steps towards a Reformed English Breviary or Portiforium is confirmed by the course of events. Something in the nature of a confirmation is also afforded by a comparison of these attempts with others of a similar kind which were made abroad towards obtaining a Reformed Roman Breviary. Some years after the Convocation of the Church of England had issued the 1516 edition of the Salisbury Use, Leo X. gave directions to Zaccharia Ferreri de Vicence, Bishop of Guarda, in Portugal, to prepare a new version of the Breviary Hymns. This was done, and the volume published under the authority of Clement VII. in 1525, with this prominent announcement of a Reformed Breviary on the title-page: "*Breviarium Ecclesiasticum ab eodem Zach. Pont. longe brevius et facilius redditum et ab omni errore purgatum propediem exhibit.*" The promised reform was actually effected by Cardinal Quignonez, a Spanish Bishop, and was published under the same authority as the Hymnal, in 1535-36. But this Reformed Roman Breviary was intended chiefly, if not entirely, for the use of the clergy and monks in their private recitations; and its introduction in some places for choir and public use eventually led to its suppression in 1568. No provision whatever was made (as there had been in connection with the English reform) for adapting it to the use of the laity. During the whole forty years of its use there is no trace of any attempt to connect the Breviary of Quignonez with vernacular translations of Prayers or Scriptures. And, although it was undoubtedly an initiatory step in the same direction as that taken by our own Reformers (who indeed used the Breviary of Quignonez in their subsequent proceedings), yet it was never followed up, nor intended to be followed up; and the object of the Roman reform throws out in stronger light that of the English.²

A very decided advance towards the Prayer Book system had been made in 1536, when in the Province of York, and almost certainly in that of Canterbury also, an Archiepiscopal order was issued that "all curates and heads of congregations, religious and other, privileged and other, shall every holy-day read the Gospel and the Epistle of that day out of the English Bible, plainly and distinctly; and they that have such grace shall make some declaration either of the one or of both (if

¹ See the List of Printed Service-Books according to the ancient Uses of the English Church, compiled by Mr. F. H. Dickinson, and reprinted from the *Ecclesiologist* of Feb. 1850.

² The Reformed Breviary of Cardinal Quignonez was begun under Clement VII.—"ejusque hortatu et jussu"—who excommunicated Henry VIII. It was afterwards approved and recommended to the clergy by Paul III. in a Bull dated in a Paris edition of 1536 as issued on February 3, 1535, but in an Antwerp black-letter edition in the Bodleian Library as issued on July 3, 1536. It appears to have gone through at least seventeen editions, being printed at Paris, Lyons, Antwerp, and Rome, in folio, quarto, octavo, and duodecimo. The

latest edition was printed in 1566, and the Breviary was suppressed in 1568. The title-pages vary, and so do the prefaces, and if there are not two recensions of the Breviary, there certainly are two of the preface to it; which, as is shewn further on, was largely used by the writer of the Preface to the Prayer Book of 1549.

For a full account of Quignonez's Breviary, see CLAUDE JOLY's *De verbis Usuardi Dissertatio*, Senonis, 1669, pp. 93-103; ZACCAR. *Bibl. Rit.* i. 110, 113, 114; CLAUDII ESPENCÆI *Opp.*, Paris, 1619, *Digress.* I. xi. 156; CIACONII *Vit. Pontif. Roman.* III. 498, Rome, 1677; GUÉRANGER'S *Instit. Liturg.* i. 376, 383, and note B; *Christ. Rememb.* lxx. 299.

the time may serve) every holy-day."¹ In 1542 a further advance was made by the Convocation, which ordered that the Salisbury Breviary should be used all over England, a canon being passed which enacted "that every Sunday and Holy-day throughout the year, the curate of every parish church, after the Te Deum and Magnificat, shall openly read unto the people one chapter of the New Testament in English without exposition; and when the New Testament is read over then to begin the Old."²

But all the measures which had been hitherto taken by the ecclesiastical authorities of England were plainly regarded as being only of a temporary nature. No more Service-books were allowed to be printed than were absolutely necessary for the performance of Divine Worship, as it was seen that a much more thorough alteration of them must take place, and in this session of 1542-43 Convocation entered upon that course of Liturgical revision which resulted in the Book of Common Prayer.

At one of its early meetings the president read Letters of Business from the Crown, in which His Majesty directed "that all Mass-books, Antiphoners, Portuises, in the Church of England should be newly examined, corrected, reformed, and castigated from all manner of mention of the Bishop of Rome's name, from all apocryphas, feigned legends, superstitious orations, collects, versicles, and responses; that the names and memories of all saints which be not mentioned in the Scripture or authentical doctors should be abolished and put out of the same books and calendars, and that the service should be made out of the Scripture and other authentic doctors." [WILKINS' *Concil.* iii. 863.] The Convocation at once set to work on the business thus formally placed before them by the Crown; and so important was it considered, that no member was allowed to absent himself from their meetings without special leave of absence. A Committee was then appointed for carrying out the details of this work, the original members of it being Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, *ex officio* Precentor of the Province of Salisbury; Goodrich, Bishop of Ely; and six proctors of the Lower House. This Committee continued in existence for seven years, and its last work was the Book of Common Prayer published in 1549. But for part of the seven years its public action was restrained by the "Statute of Six Articles,"³ which, in point of fact, made such labours highly penal. There is good reason to think that Henry VIII. was himself the author of this statute, and it was certainly passed by his influence. The Bishops had vigorously opposed it in the House of Lords with an eleven days' debate, and their experience shewed them that any reformation of the ancient services must be carried on with extreme caution while this law was in operation under so despotic a monarch.⁴ But as soon as Convocation met, after the death of Henry, a resolution was passed, "That the works of the Bishops

¹ ABP. LEE'S *Injunctions in Burnet's Hist. of Reform.* vi. 199, Pocock's ed.

² WILKINS' *Concil.* iii. 863. It is most likely that the Gospels and Epistles were read in Latin first and then in English. There is an interesting anonymous letter to the Duke of Norfolk, which shews that Cranmer had become acquainted with this plan in Germany: "Although I had a chaplain yet could I not be suffered to have him sing Mass, but was constrained to hear their Mass which is but one in a Church, and that is celebrated in form following. The Priest, in vestments after our manner, singeth everything in Latin, as we use, omitting suffrages. The Epistle he readeth in Latin. In the mean time the sub-deacon goeth into the pulpit and readeth to the people the Epistle in their vulgar; after they peruse other things as our priests do. Then the Priest readeth softly the Gospel in Latin. In the mean space the Deacon goeth into the pulpit and readeth aloud the Gospel in the Almaigne tongue. Mr. Craumer saith it was shewed to him that in the Epistles and Gospels they kept not the order that we do, but do peruse every day one chapter of the New Testament. Afterwards the Priest and the quire do sing the *Credo* as we do; the secret and preface they omit, and the Priest singeth with a high voice the words of the Consecration. And after the Levation the Deacon turneth to the people, telling to them in Almaigne tongue a long process how they should prepare themselves to the Communion of the Flesh and Blood of Christ. And then may every man come that listeth, without going to Confession." This letter was written from Nuremberg about 1530. [ELLIS' *Orig. Lett.* III. ii. 192.]

³ The Statute of Six Articles was an Act of Parliament passed under the personal influence of Henry VIII., and against the persevering efforts of the Bishops in the House of Lords, in the year 1539. It made highly penal any denial of

either of six short statements which embodied the chief points of doctrine then brought into controversy. It formed the key of the position for the time; and, knowing this, Cranmer and other Bishops maintained the debate for eleven days in the hope of preventing the bill from passing, he himself arguing against it for three days. The penalties annexed to this Act were, for preaching or writing against the first article, burning (without pardon on recantation); imprisonment for life, with forfeiture, for preaching or writing against any of the others, with death for the second offence. In his reply to the Devonshire rebels, Archbishop Cranmer writes respecting this statute (which they wished to have restored), "If the King's Majesty himself had not come into the parliament house, those laws had never passed." [STYRPE'S *Cranmer*, ii. 515, *Ecl. Hist. Soc.*]

⁴ Yet Cranmer made a vigorous effort to persuade the King into authorizing the publication of their revision. On January 24, 1546, he sent Henry a draft of a letter to be addressed to himself by the King, in which it is referred to, and by which it was intended to put it in force. But the King would not adopt the suggestion. The Archbishop wisely pressed on these proposed reforms in the hope that they would be firmly rooted, if established by so vigorous a hand as that of Henry VIII. "It was better," he said to his Secretary in 1547, "to attempt such reformation in King Henry the Eighth his days than at this time, the King being in his infancy. For if the King's father had set forth any thing for the reformation of abuses, who was he that durst gainsay it?" He probably foresaw that there would be Roman and Puritan schisms, and thought that they might have been prevented by the Church, when backed by the concentrated power of Henry, while there was little hope of stemming their force under his successors.

and others, who by the command of the Convocation have laboured in examining, reforming, and publishing the Divine Service, may be produced, and laid before the examination of this house." This resolution was passed on November 22, 1547, and as some of the Clergy complained that it was not safe to do this while the Statute of Six Articles remained in force, Cranmer exerted himself, and successfully, to get it repealed, and so to set the Committee and the Convocation free.

The first efforts of the Committee had been to prune down the complexity and superabundance of the existing Rubrics. This was so great that some pages of the Service-books contained many more words of direction in red letters than of prayers in black. The whole ceremonial of Divine Service was involved in this inquiry, including the ancient and venerable practices of the Church, as well as numberless recent and often superstitious ones. In 1543 they prepared a long Canon on "The Ceremonies to be used in the Church of England, together with an explanation of the meaning and significancy of them."¹ How far this was published at the time is not clear; but it is highly probable that the investigation which resulted in this document was also the foundation on which the Rubrics of 1549 were constructed.

The reconstructors of our devotional offices acted wisely in reducing the number of Rubrics, and generally moderating the ceremonial system of the Church of England. They said that "the great excess and multitude of them hath so increased in these latter days, that the burthen of them was intolerable," and they spoke with the experience of practical men, who were familiarly acquainted all their lives with that about which they wrote. But one inconvenience has arisen out of the manner in which they did their work, from which later generations have suffered more than they could foresee. They went upon the principle of expressing only the most essential things in the Rubric, and left many others to tradition. As Bishop Cosin states it,² "The book does not every where enjoin and prescribe every little order, what should be said or done, but takes it for granted that people are acquainted with such common, and things always used already." Many of these usages are referred to in the subsequent pages of this volume, and need not be mentioned now. It is sufficient to say that some of them dropped out of memory altogether during the persecution of the Church and the suppression of the Establishment under the rule of the Commonwealth; that others, from want of written authority, have become the subject of controversy; and that the ritual tradition, to which the Reformers trusted so much when they put forth their condensed form of Rubric, has only been partially recovered even in our own time.

The next point to which Convocation turned its attention was the revision of the old English Litany, which had long been known in the Prymers, having been in use among the laity for about a hundred and fifty years. The Processional, which contained other Litanies, was also translated, and there exists an interesting letter from Cranmer to Henry VIII. respecting it which throws much light on the manner in which the work of translation and revision was carried on. The date of this letter is October 7, 1544. [JENKYN'S *Cranmer's Remains*, i. 315.]

"It may please your Majesty to be advertised, that, according to your Highness' commandment, sent unto me by your Grace's Secretary, Mr. Pagett, I have translated into the English tongue, so well as I could in so short a time, certain processions, to be used upon festival days, if after due correction and amendment of the same, your Highness shall think it so convenient. In which translation, forasmuch as many of the processions, in the Latin, were but barren, as me seemed, and little fruitful, I was constrained to use more than the liberty of a translator: for in some processions I have altered divers words; in some I have added part; in some taken part away; some I have left out whole, either for bycause the matter appeared to me to be little to purpose, or bycause the days be not with us festival days" [having been abrogated in 1537]; "and some processions I have added whole, because I thought I had better matter for the purpose than was the procession in Latin; the judgement whereof I leave wholly unto your Majesty: and after your Highness hath corrected it, if your Grace command some devout and solemn note to be made thereunto (as is to the procession which your Majesty hath already set forth in English), I trust it will much excitate and stir the hearts of all men unto devotion and godliness. But in mine opinion, the song that shall be made thereunto should not be full of notes, but as near as may be for every syllable a note; so that it may be sung distinctly and devoutly, as be the Matins and Evensong, *Venite*, the Hymns *Te Deum*, *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, *Nunc Dimittis*, and all the Psalms and Versicles; and in the Mass, *Gloria in Excelsis*, *Gloria Patri*, the Creed, the Preface, the *Pater Noster*, and some of the *Sanctus* and *Agnus*.³ As concerning the *Salve festa dies*, the Latin note, as I think, is sober and distinct enough;

¹ The original MS. is preserved in the British Museum [CLEOP. E. V. 259]; and it is printed in COLLIER'S *Ecl. Hist.* v. 104-122, ed. 1852; and in STRYKE'S *Ecl. Mem.* I. ii. 411, ed. 1822.

² COSIN'S *Works*, vol. v. p. 65.

³ The order in which the Canticles are here mentioned suggests that the English Mattins and Evensong had already been put together.

wherefore I have travailed to make the verses in English, and have put the Latin note unto the same. Nevertheless, they that be cunning in singing, can make a much more solemn note thereto. I made them only for a proof, to see how English would do in song. But by cause mine English verses lack the grace and facility that I would wish they had, your Majesty may cause some other to make them again, that can do the same in more pleasant English and phrase. As for the sentence" [the English sense], "I suppose it will serve well enough. Thus Almighty God preserve your Majesty in long and prosperous health and felicity. From Bekisbourne, the 7th of October.

"Your Grace's most bounden
"Chaplain and Beadsman,
"T. CANTUARIEN.

"To the King's most excellent Majesty."

From other transactions between the Archbishop and the King it may be inferred that the suggestion was first sent by the former, perhaps at the request of Convocation, to the latter, then returned in the form of an order from the Crown to the Archbishop as head of the Convocation; and that the above letter is the official reply to that order. It does not appear that the King permitted this English Processional to be published, and the MS. has not been discovered. The *previous* Procession alluded to by Cranmer in this letter was the English Litany nearly as it is now used, which received the final sanction of Convocation in March 1544, and was promulgated by a mandate of the Crown, dated June 11, 1544.¹

But the sanction and promulgation of the English Litany for public use was the utmost that Henry VIII. could be prevailed upon to undertake in the direction of a vernacular Prayer Book. For the last three years of his reign the work ceased; and at the time of his death, on January 28, 1547, the Services of the Church of England were still the Latin Services of the Salisbury Breviary, Missal, and Manual, with the exception that the Litany was said in English, that Lessons in English were read after the Latin Lessons, that the Gospels and Epistles were read in English after they had been read in Latin, and that the popular services of the Aspersion with Holy Water, the distribution of Holy Bread, and the Bidding of the Bedes, were entirely or almost entirely, said in English.

After the death of Henry VIII. and the accession of Edward VI. [January 28, 1547] much caution was observed by the authorities in Church and State on account of the King's extreme youth, and for eleven months no changes whatever were made in the devotional system of the Church of England as it was left by Henry VIII. His young son was crowned with the Sarum rite on February 13, 1547, and on the 24th of that month the Privy Council, Archbishop Cranmer being present, resolved that the Masses which the late King had ordered in his will to be offered up for the good of his soul should be duly said in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. On June 20, 1547, Archbishop Cranmer, assisted by eight other Bishops, offered a requiem Mass for Francis I., King of France, all the Bishops being in their full pontifical attire, and Bishop Ridley preaching the sermon. A set of thirty-seven Royal Injunctions respecting the Church and Clergy was promulgated on July 31, 1547, but only three alterations were made by them in the Services of the Church; the first in respect to Altar Lights, the second in respect to the Lessons at Mattins and Evensong, and the third as regards the Litany. The slight character of the first two of these changes may be best seen by placing side by side the respective customs as authorized in the two reigns.

1. ALTAR LIGHTS.

*From the 7th of Henry VIII.'s Injunctions of
A.D. 1538.*

"Ye . . . shall suffer from henceforth no candles, tapers, or images of wax, to be set before any images or picture, but only the light that commonly goeth about the cross of the Church by the rood-loft, the light before the sacrament of the altar, and the light about the sepulchre: which for the adorning of the Church and Divine Service, ye shall suffer to remain still."

*From the 4th of Edward VI.'s Injunctions of
A.D. 1547.*

"They . . . shall suffer from henceforth no torches nor candles, tapers, or images of wax to be set before any image or picture, but only *two lights upon the high altar, before the sacrament*, which for the signification that Christ is the very true Light of the world, they shall suffer to remain still."

¹ The Salisbury Processional was republished in Latin sometime in 1544, probably because the King would

not consent to have it used in English as proposed by Cranmer.

2. THE LATIN AND ENGLISH LESSONS AT MATTINS AND EVENSONG.

Canon of Canterbury Convocation, February 21, 1543.

From the 22nd of Edward VI.'s Injunctions of A.D. 1547.

"Every Sunday and Holy Day throughout the year the Curate of every Parish Church, after the Te Deum and Magnificat, shall openly read unto the people one chapter of the New Testament in English without exposition, and when the New Testament is read over then to begin the Old."

"Every Sunday and Holy Day they shall plainly and distinctly read, or cause to be read, one chapter of the New Testament in English, in the same place at Mattins, immediately after the Lessons: and at Evensong after Magnificat one chapter of the Old Testament. And to the intent the premisses may be more conveniently done, the King's Majesty's pleasure is, that when ix lessons should be read in the Church, three of them shall be omitted and left out, with the responds: and at Evensong time the responds with all the memories shall be left off for that purpose."

3. PROCESSIONAL LITANIES.

From the 24th of Edward VI.'s Injunctions of 1547.

"Also to avoid all contention and strife which heretofore hath arisen among the King's Majesty's subjects in sundry places of his realms and dominions, by reason of fond courtesy, and challenging of places in procession, and also that they may the more quietly hear that which is said or sung to their edifying, they shall not from henceforth, in any parish church at any time, use any procession about the church or churchyard or other place, but immediately before the High Mass the priests with other of the quire shall kneel in the midst of the church and sing or say plainly and distinctly the Litany which is set forth in English, with all the suffrages following. . . . And in the time of the Litany, of the Mass, of the Sermon, and when the priest readeth the Scripture to the parishioners, no manner of persons without a just and urgent cause shall depart out of the church."

The 20th of the same Injunctions directs that no person shall "alter or change the order and manner . . . of Common Prayer or Divine Service, otherwise than is specified in these Injunctions," until such changes shall be sanctioned by the authority of the Crown: and this was further enforced by a Proclamation of February 6, 1548, ordering the imprisonment and punishment of any person who should "change, alter, or innovate any Order, Rite, or Ceremony, commonly used and frequented in the Church of England, and not commanded to be left done at any time" in the reign of Henry VIII., or by Injunctions, Statutes, or Proclamations of his successor. [WILKINS' *Concil.* iv. 21.]

It was the second of these changes, that directed by the 22nd Injunction, which chiefly affected the Services of the Church: and its practical operation may be seen by the manner in which it was expanded by those to whom the Visitation of the various Dioceses was intrusted. The following directions, given by the Visitors of the Diocese of York, will illustrate this point. They appear never to have been printed, and are here copied (with the exception of the three last, which have no bearing on the subject) from Fothergill's MS. Collections in the Library of York Minster:—

"Injunctions given by the King's Majesty's Visitors in his Highness' Visitation to Robt. Holdgate Ld. A. B. the Dn. Chapter, and all other the Ecclesiastical ministers of and in the Cathedral Church of York, 26 8bris An. 1547.

[1] "Ye shall at all days and times when nine lessons ought or were accustomed to be sung, sing Mattins only of six Lessons and six Psalms with the song of Te Deum Laudamus or Miserere, as the time requireth, after the six Lessons: and that dayly from the Annunciation of our Lady to the first day of October ye shall begin Mattins at six of the clock in the morning, and residue of the year at seven of the clock.

[2] "*Item.* Ye shall sing and celebrate in note or song within the said Church but only one Mass, that is to say, High Mass only, and none other, and daily begin the same at nine of the clock before noon.

[3] "*Item.* Ye shall daily from the said feast of the Annunciation to the said first day of October, sing the Evensong and Complin without any responds: and begin the same at three of the clock in the afternoon. The residue of the year to begin at two of the clock, or half an hour after.

[4] "*Item.* Ye shall hereafter omit, and not use the singing of any hours, prime, dirige, or commendations; but every man to say the same as him sufficeth or he is disposed.

[5] "*Item.* Ye shall sing, say, use, or suffer none other Anthems in the Church but these hereafter following, and such as by the King's Majesty and his most Honourable Council hereafter shall be set forth.

Anthem.

"Like as Moses lift up the serpent in the wilderness, even so was our Saviour Jesus Christ lift upon the Cross, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have joy for ever. For God so loved the world, that He gave His only-begotten Son, that such as believe in Him should not perish, but have life everlasting.

"V. Increase, O Lord, our faith in Thee.

"R. That we may work His pleasure only.

Collect.

Let us pray.

"Most bountiful and benign Lord God, we, Thy humble servants, freely redeemed and justified by the passion, death, and resurrection of our Saviour Jesus Christ, in full trust of salvation therein, most humbly desire Thee so to strengthen our faith and illuminate us with Thy grace, that we may walk and live in Thy favour, and after this life to be partakers of Thy glory in the everlasting kingdom of Heaven, through our Lord Jesus Christ. So be it.

Another Anthem.

"Be it evident and known unto all Christians that through our Lord Jesus Christ forgiveness of sins is preached unto you, and that by Him all that believe are justified from all things from the which we could not be justified by the law of Moses. So be it.

"V. O Lord, for Christ's sake our Saviour.

"R. Accept and hear our humble prayer.

Let us pray.

"We sinners do beseech Thee, O Lord, to keep Edward the sixth, Thy Servant, our King and Governor; that it may please Thee to rule his heart in Thy faith, fear, and love; that he may ever have affiance in Thee, and ever seek Thy honour and glory. That it may please Thee to be his defender and keeper, giving him the victory over all his enemies, through our Lord Jesus Christ. So be it.

"The residue of the day ye shall bestow in virtuous and godly exercises, as in study and contemplation of God His most holy word.

"All which and singular Injunctions before mentioned the Lord Archbishop of this Church, his Chancellor, Archdeacons, or Official, shall publish and send, or cause to be published and sent and observed in to every Church, College, Hospital, and other ecclesiastical places within his Diocese.

[6] "*Item.* All Sermons, Collations,¹ and Lectures of Divinity hereafter to be had or made in visitations, Synods, Chapters, or at any other time or place, shall not be used in the Latin Tongue, but in the English, to the intent that every man having recourse thereunto may well perceive the same."

These remarkable Injunctions shew that the authorities were taking up the reform of the Liturgy exactly where it had been laid down through the refusal of Henry VIII. to sanction the English Processional: for what are here called "Anthems" are exactly similar in character to those parts of the Service which were printed for each Festival in the Latin Processional of Salisbury, the variable part of the Litany, by which it was adapted to the different seasons of the Christian year. They were also used in the "Hours," and seem to shew the original form of the "Anthem."²

When the Convocation of Canterbury met on November 5, 1547, it was well known that the Statute of Six Articles (grimly called "The Whip with Six Cords") would be repealed by Parliament, as it was, in fact, repealed by 1 Edw. VI. c. 12. Freedom of action being thus secured, Convocation at once began advancing towards the practical end of the Revision which had been in view for so many years. After two formal sessions on the day of meeting and on November 18th, the two Houses met for business on November 22nd, and the Clergy of the Lower House immediately sent up a petition to the Bishops requesting, among other things, the revival of the work of 1543. The words of the petition, so far as they concern this subject, are, "That whereas by the commandment of King Henry VIII. certain prelates and other learned men were appointed to alter the Service in the Church, and to devise other convenient and uniform order therein, who according to the same appointment did make certain books as they be informed; their request is, that the said books may be seen and perused by them, for a better expedition of Divine Service to be set forth accordingly."³

THE ORDER OF COMMUNION OF A.D. 1548.

It was more than a year before the "perusal," or revision, of these "books" ended in the publication of the Book of Common Prayer; but the Clergy had so far made up their minds about one great principle of that Book, the restoration of Communion in both kinds to the Laity, that the authorities were able to complete this act of reformation with great promptitude. Shortly before his death Henry

¹ These were devotional readings in the Chapter House, before Compline.

² See also the form of Aspersion given on an earlier page, and the Easter processional Anthem printed in the Notes on Easter Day.

³ The Acts of Convocation have been lost, but these are the words as given in Archbishop Cranmer's handwriting, and they are confirmed by a short Latin entry contained in his Register. [WILKINS' *Concil.* iv. 15; STILLINGFLEET'S *Irenicon*, p. 387; CARDWELL'S *Synodalia*, p. 420.]

VIII. had desired Archbishop Cranmer "to pen a Form for the alteration of the Mass into a Communion" [STRYPE'S *Mem. of Cranmer*, i. 311, Eccl. Hist. Soc. ed.], and the subject had therefore been under consideration for some time. Accordingly, on November 30, 1547, in its fifth session, "The Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation exhibited, and caused to be read publicly, a form of a certain ordinance delivered by the Most Reverend the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the receiving of the Body of our Lord under both kinds, viz. of bread and wine. To which he himself subscribed and some others." This does not appear to have been the Order of Communion itself, but simply a Resolution that the Cup should be restored to the Laity. Its final adoption was postponed until the next session, December 2nd, when the whole of those who were present, "in number sixty-four, by their mouths did approve the proposition made in the last session, of taking the Lord's Body in both kinds, *nullo reclamante*." [WILKINS' *Concil.* iv. 16; STRYPE'S *Mem. of Cranmer*, ii. 37.] This Act of Convocation was ratified by an Act of Parliament on December 24, 1547 [1 Edw. VI. c. i. § 7], and for a time the Clergy were left to use their own form of words for the administration of the Cup, the Sacrament being still celebrated according to the Sarum Missal. But it was soon found expedient that the principle of a Vernacular Service should be at once applied to the Communion of the Laity, and an "Order of Communion" was prepared in such a form that it could be used in combination with the otherwise unaltered Latin Service after the Communion of the priest. This "Order"—which is printed in the "Appendix to the Liturgy" further on in this volume—did not, of course, contain any form of consecration, but it anticipated some of the rubrical and hortatory parts of the English Communion Service; and there is reason to think that it was constructed by the Bishops and Clergy who were selected from among the members of Convocation for the full review and reconstruction of the Service-books. The new Service thus taking the form of a Canon of Convocation was (according to the settlement of 1534) promulgated by the Crown, this being done by a Proclamation dated March 8, 1548, soon after the rising of Parliament. Until the use of the Prayer Book itself was enforced by law on June 9, 1549, or permitted by law [see page 18] three weeks after its publication, the Holy Eucharist was still celebrated according to the ancient Use of Salisbury, but after May 8, 1548, with the English Form of Administration to the Laity superadded: this period comprehending the whole of the first and second years of Edward VI.'s reign, and four months of his third year; and thus for more than two years and four months the reforming Bishops and Clergy continued to use the ancient words, rites, and ceremonies of the unreformed Missal. [For further particulars, see the "Introduction to the Liturgy."] ¹

THE PRAYER BOOK OF A.D. 1549.

The Committee of Revision had now been considerably enlarged, and since it occupies so important a position in respect to the subsequent history of England, it will be well to give the names of its members as they stood in 1547-48, and in 1549.²

From the Upper House of Convocation.

Thomas Cranmer	Archbishop of Canterbury.
Thomas Goodrich	Bishop of Ely [afterwards Lord Chancellor].
Henry Holbech (or Randes)	Bishop of Lincoln.

¹ There is a curious and unique volume in the Library of the British Museum [Bible, O. T. Pss. C. 25 b.] which was printed about eight months before the Prayer Book of 1549, and which appears to have been intended as a temporary substitute for the Sarum Psalter or Daily Offices. The title of the book is "The Psalter or Boke of the Psalmes, where vnto is added the Litaney and certayne other deuout prayers. Set forth wyth the Kynges's moste gracious lycence. Anno Do. m. d. XLVIII. Mensis Julii." The Colophon is "Imprinted at London by me Roger Car for Anthonie Smyth dwelling in Paul's church yarde." The contents of this volume are—[1] The Psalms, in Coverdale's version: [2] The seven Canticles of the Sarum Psalter, with the Magnificat, Te Deum, and Quicunque Vult, the Magnificat and Te Deum being in the version of Marshall's Frymer, and the Quicunque Vult in that of Hilsey's Prymer: [3] The Litaney of 1544: [4] The Prayer of St. Chrysostom: [5] A prayer for men to say entering into battle: [6] A prayer for the King, the older and longer form of that now in use.

The special prayer relating to war suggests that the volume

may have been prepared for the Duke of Somerset and his army, to be used during their invasion of Scotland.

² This list of names is taken from a contemporary entry of a "Parson of Petworth" in a Prayer Book of 1632 which is full of manuscript notes by Bishops Andrewes and Gandy [Bodl. Lib. Rawl. 241]. Heylin makes a quotation from "The Register Book of the Parish of Petworth" which bears upon the subject of the change of service [HEYLIN'S *Hist. of Reform.* p. 64, fol. ed., i. 132, Eccl. Hist. Soc. ed.], but no information can now be obtained respecting this register. The same list, omitting the name of May, occurs on a printed broadside within the cover of MS. 44 in Cosin's Library, Durham. It is corrected in the handwriting of Bishop Cosin, who adds against Redmayne's name "dubito," and before that of Cox "Deest Decanus Sti Pauli quisquis erat max. opinor."

The lives of these and other "compilers" of the Prayer Book were written at some length by Samuel Downes, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, and were published by an ancestor of the publishers of the present work, Charles Rivington, in 1722.

George Day	Bishop of Chichester.
John Skip	Bishop of Hereford.
Thomas Thirlby	Bishop of Westminster.
Nicholas Ridley	Bishop of Rochester [afterwards of London].

From the Lower House of Convocation.

William May	Dean of St. Paul's.
Richard Cox	Dean of Ch. Ch. and Chanc. of Oxford Univ. [afterwards Bishop of Ely].
John Taylor	Dean of Lincoln [afterwards Bishop of Lincoln], Prolocutor.
Simon Heynes	Dean of Exeter.
Thomas Robertson	Archdeacon of Leicester [afterwards Dean of Durham].
John Redmayne	Master of Trin. Coll., Camb.

In what manner the Convocation of the Province of York was represented is not on record; but from the proceedings of 1661 (which would be founded on strict precedent) there can be no doubt that its co-operation was obtained in some way; and the names of the Archbishop of York and his Suffragans are indeed contained in a list of Bishops who were indirectly or directly mixed up with those above recorded. There can be no doubt also that they acted under a Royal Commission. No records of their meetings are known, but they are found together on one occasion during the progress of their work, namely, on Sunday, September 9, 1548, when Farrar was consecrated Bishop of St. David's by Cranmer, Holbech, and Ridley, in the Chapel of the Archbishop's house at Chertsey. On that day the Archbishop celebrated Mass by the old Office, and used English words of administration: and the Archiepiscopal Register records that "there communicated the Reverend Fathers, Thomas [Goodrich], Bishop of Ely; Thomas [Thirlby], Bishop of Westminster; Henry [Holbech], Bishop of Lincoln; Nicholas [Ridley], Bishop of Rochester; and Farrar, the new Bishop; together with William May, Dean of St. Paul's; Simon Hains, Dean of Exon; Thomas Robertson and John Redman, Professors of Divinity, and others."¹ Beyond this happy glimpse of these Divines we know nothing of their movements; nor have any records been discovered which throw any light upon the details of their work. It appears, however, to have occupied them for several months, notwithstanding their previous labours; and there is every mark of deliberation and reverence in the result. The foundation of their work, or rather the quarry out of which they extracted their chief materials, was the Reformed Salisbury Use of 1516 and 1541: but some other books were evidently used by them, and it may be safely concluded that they did not end their labours before they had gone through a large amount of liturgical research. The following list may be taken as fairly representing the principal books which the Committee of Convocation had before them as the materials for their work of revision:—

The Salisbury Portiforium,² Missal, Manual, and Pontifical.

The York and other Uses.³

The Mozarabic Missal and Breviary.⁴

The Reformed Breviary of Cardinal Quignonez. 1535-36.⁵

Simplex ac Pia Deliberatio of Hermann, Archbishop of Cologne. 1545.⁶

The same in English. 1548.⁷ (A previous edition also in 1547.)

¹ STRYPE'S *Cranmer*, ii. 105, *Eccles. Hist. Soc. ed.* In his Memorials Strype says that they met at Windsor in May. [STRYPE'S *Mem. Eccles.* II. i. 133.] Heylin says they met at Windsor on September 1st. [HEYLIN'S *Hist. Reform.* i. 132, *Eccles. Hist. Soc. ed.*]

² "Breviarium seu Portiforium secundum Morem et Consuetudinem Ecclesie Sarisburiensis Anglicane." It is called "*Salisbury Use*" in the Preface of our Prayer Book; and that term, or Sarum Use, is adopted generally for the Breviary, Missal, and other Service-books of the same origin.

³ Referred to in the Prayer Book Preface, as "*Hereford Use*, the Use of *Bangor*, *York Use*, and *Lincoln Use*."

⁴ "Missale Mixtum secundum regulam beati Isidori, dictum Mozarabes . . . impressum Toleti jussu D. Francisci Ximenes. 1500."

"Breviarium secundum regulam beati Isidori . . . impressum Toleti jussu D. Francisci Ximenes. 1502."

⁵ "Breviarium Romanum, ex sacra potissimum Scriptura,

et probatis Sanctorum historiis nuper confectum, ac denuo per eundem Authorem accuratius recognitum, eaque diligentia hoc in anno a mendis ita purgatum, ut Momi judicium non pertimescat. Lugduni. 1543."

⁶ "Simplex ac pia deliberatio de Reformatione Ecclesiarum Electoratus Coloniensis."

⁷ "A simple and religious consultation of us Hermann by the grace of God Archbishop of Colone and Prince Elector, etc., by what meanes a Christian reformation, and founded in God's worde, Of doctrine, Administration of Divine Sacraments, Of Ceremonies, and the whole cure of soules, and other ecclesiastical ministries, may be begun among men until the lord graunte a better to be appoynted, either by a free and christian counsaile, generall or national, or else by the states of the Empire of the nation of Germany, gathered together in the Holy Ghost. Perused by the translator thereof and amended in many places. 1548. Imprinted at London by Jhon Daye and William Seres dwellynge in Sepulchre's paryshe

The Prymer in English of various dates.¹

The "Great" Bible.²

How far the Book of Common Prayer was influenced by these works will be shewn in the margin and the footnotes of the following pages. But even a superficial glance at the latter will make it apparent that the new book was, substantially, as it still remains, a condensed reproduction, in English, of those Service-books which had been used in Latin by the Church of England for many centuries before.

The Reformation in Germany was in active progress at this time (not having yet lost the impetus given to it by the strong-handed leadership of Luther), and Cranmer had been much in correspondence with Melancthon and some other German divines during the reign of Henry VIII. But these foreign reformers had scarcely any influence upon the Prayer Book of 1549; and were probably not even consulted during its progress towards completion. Melancthon and Bucer assisted the Archbishop of Cologne in preparing his "Consultation" (one of the books referred to), and they probably used Luther's version of the ancient Nuremberg offices. But this volume contributed little to our Prayer Book beyond a few clauses in the Litany, and some portions of the Baptismal Service; and it is somewhat doubtful whether in the case of the Litany our English form was not in reality the original of that in Hermann's book. Most likely the latter was translated and brought before Convocation with the hope that it would have much influence; but the Committee of Revision were too wise and too learned in Liturgical matters to attach much importance to it.³

It is, in some respects, unfortunate that we cannot trace the book of 1549 into any further detail during the time when it was in the hands of the Committee. We cannot even form any definite conjecture as to the parts respectively taken by its members in the work before them; nor can one of the original collects which they inserted be traced back to its author. And yet there is some satisfaction in this. The book is not identified with any one name, but is the work of the Church of England by its authorized agents and representatives; and as we reverence the architects of some great cathedral for their work's sake, without perhaps knowing the name of any one of them, or the portions which each one designed, so we look upon the work of those who gave us our first English Book of Common Prayer, admiring its fair proportions, and the skill which put it together, and caring but little to inquire whose was the hand that traced this or that particular compartment of the whole.

Although thus unable to trace out the work of each hand in this great undertaking, we can, however, by means of internal evidence, and a comparison with the older formularies, find out the nature of their labours, and something of the manner in which they went about them.

Nature of the changes made in the Services.

It was made a first principle that everything in the new Prayer Book was to be in English; a principle respecting which, as has been shewn before, there seems to have been not the slightest doubt or hesitation. Their first labour was, then, that of condensing the old services into a form suitable for the object in view, and yet keeping up the spirit and general purpose of the original and ancient worship of the Church.

[1] A great step was made in this direction by substituting a Calendar of Lessons referring to the Holy Bible for the Lessons at length as they had been hitherto printed in the Breviary. This made it possible to combine the Breviary [daily services], the Missal [Holy Communion], Epistles and Gospels (etc.), and the Manual [Occasional Offices], in one volume. A precedent for this was offered by a practice which had been adopted in the fifteenth century of printing the Communion Service (though not the Epistles and Gospels) as part of the Breviary.⁴ The Marriage Service was also printed in the Missal, which was a precedent for introducing the other services of the Manual into the Prayer Book.

[2] The next step towards condensation was the adoption of a less variable system in the daily services, so that the Collect of the day, the Lessons, and the Psalms should be almost the only portions of Mattins and Evensong which needed to be changed from day to day, or week to week.

at the signe of the Resurrection, alytle aboue Holbourne Conduit. Cum gratia et privilegio imprimendum solum." This translation was probably the work of Coverdale.

¹ See MASKELL'S *Monumenta Rituality Ecclesie Anglicane*, vol. ii.; and BURTON'S *Three Primers of Henry VIII.*

² "The Byble in Englyshe, that is to saye, the content of all the holy scripture bothe of y^e olde and newe testament, truly translated after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke textes, by y^e dylygent studye of diverse excellent learned men, expert in the forsayde tonges. Printed by Rychard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. 1539."

³ It may be added that Cranmer had married a niece of Osiander, who is said to have prepared the Nuremberg for-

ularies for Luther, and who was also the original compiler of a Catechism for Nuremberg and Brandenburg, of which that of Justus Jonas is a Latin translation. John à Lasco is said to have had some influence with Cranmer, and he certainly lived with the Archbishop at Lambeth from September to February in the year 1548-49. But the Prayer Book was before Parliament on December 9, 1548, and was before the King in Council previously. It passed the Lords on January 15th, and the Commons on the 21st, 1549. Foreigners were very forward in interfering, but their suggestions were civilly put aside at this time.

⁴ They are so printed, for example, in Sarum Breviaries of 1499, 1507, 1510, 1514, 1535, 1541; in the British Museum and Bodleian Libraries.

[3] Lastly, the several hours of Prayer were condensed into two, Mattins and Evensong, with a third added on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, in the form of the Litany. The ancient arrangement of the day for Divine Service was as follows:—

Nocturns or Mattins; a service before daybreak.

Lauds; a service at daybreak, quickly following, or even joined on to, Mattins.

Prime; a later morning service, about six o'clock.

Tierce; a service at nine o'clock.

Sexts; a service at noon.

Nones; a service at three o'clock in the afternoon.

Vespers; an evening service.

Compline; a late evening service, at bedtime.

These services were often, if not generally, "accumulated" in the Mediæval Church as they are at the present day on the Continent; several being said in succession, just as Mattins, Litany, and the Communion Service have been "accumulated," in modern times, in the Church of England. But the different offices had many parts in common, and this way of using them led to unmeaning repetitions of Versicles and Prayers. This evil was avoided by condensing and amalgamating them, so that repetitions took place only at the distant hours of Morning and Evening. The services of Mattins, Lauds, and Prime, were thus condensed into Mattins; those for Vespers and Compline into Evensong. The three other hours appear (from a table of Psalms given in the Introduction to the Psalter) to have fallen out of public use long before the reformation of our offices; and they were probably regarded as services for monastic and private use only.¹ The general result of this process of condensation will be best seen by the following table, in which the course of the ancient Mattins, Lauds, and Prime, is indicated side by side with that of the Mattins of 1549; and in the same manner, Vespers and Compline are set parallel with Evensong. From this comparison it will be clearly seen that the Book of Common Prayer was framed out of the ancient Offices of the Church of England, by consolidation and translation of the latter, the same principles which have been above indicated being also extended to the Communion Service and the Occasional Offices. The details of the changes that were made will be found in the notes under each portion of the Prayer Book in the following pages.

THE ANCIENT DAILY SERVICES AND THOSE OF 1549.

SALISBURY USE.			PRAYER BOOK OF 1549.
<i>Mattins.</i>	<i>Lauds.</i>	<i>Prime.</i>	<i>Mattins.</i>
Invocation. Our Father. O Lord, open Thou. O God, make speed. Glory be. Alleluia. Venite, exultemus. Hymn. Psalms. Lessons. Te Deum	V̄. and R̄. O God, make speed. Glory be. Alleluia. Psalms. Canticle. Short chapter. Hymn. Benedictus. Suffrages. 1st Collect. 2nd Collect.	Invocation. Our Father. O God, make speed. Glory be. Alleluia. Hymn. Psalms. Athanasian Creed. Short chapter. Lesser Litany. Our Father. [Creed,] Suffrages, Con- fession and Absolution. 3rd Collect. Intercessory Prayers.	Our Father. O Lord, open Thou. O God, make speed. Glory be. Alleluia. Venite, exultemus. Psalms. 1st Lesson. Te Deum or Benedicite. 2nd Lesson. Benedictus. Creed. Lesser Litany. Our Father. Suffrages. 1st Collect. 2nd Collect. 3rd Collect.

¹ See also No. 4 of the Injunctions which are printed on p. 12.

THE ANCIENT DAILY SERVICES AND THOSE OF 1549—*continued.*

SALISBURY USE.		PRAYER BOOK OF 1549.	
	<i>Vespers.</i>	<i>Compline.</i>	<i>Evensong.</i>
	Invocation. Our Father. O God, make speed. Psalms. Short chapter. Hymn. Magnificat. Lesser Litany. Our Father. Suffrages. 1st Collect. 2nd Collect.	Invocation. Our Father. O God, make speed. Psalms. Short chapter. Hymn. Nunc Dimittis. Lesser Litany. Our Father. Suffrages, [Creed,] Con- fession and Absolution. 3rd Collect. Intercessory Prayers.	Our Father. O God, make speed. Glory be. Psalms. 1st Lesson. Magnificat. 2nd Lesson. Nunc Dimittis. Creed. Lesser Litany. Our Father. Suffrages. 1st Collect. 2nd Collect. 3rd Collect.

When these learned Divines had completed their work, the Prayer Book was submitted to Convocation (which met on November 24, 1548), that it might go forth with the full authority of the Church.¹ It was then communicated to the King in Council, and afterwards laid before Parliament on December 9, 1548, that it might be incorporated into an Act of Parliament [2nd and 3rd Edw. VI. cap. 1]. This Act (including the Prayer Book) passed the House of Lords on January 15, and the House of Commons on January 21, 1549. It was the first Act of Uniformity, and it enacted that the Prayer Book should come into use in all churches on the Feast of Whitsunday following, which was June 9, 1549. The Book itself was published on March 7, 1549, thus allowing three months' interval, during which the Clergy and Laity might become acquainted with the new Order of Divine Service. But where it could be procured earlier it was permitted to take it into use three weeks afterwards, and thus, in London churches, it was generally used on Easter-Day, April 21, 1549.

The Book of Common Prayer thus set forth with the full authority of Church and State may very fairly be called an expurgated and condensed English Version of the ancient Missal which was used for the celebration of the Holy Communion, the ancient Portiforium or Breviary which was used for the Daily Prayers, and the ancient Manual which was used for the Occasional Services, such as Baptism and Marriage: these ancient or Mediæval Services being themselves elaborated forms of much more primitive ones. The Committee of Revision having followed the directions given to them in 1542 the Mediæval books had been "castigated from all . . . feigned legends, superstitious orations, collects, versicles, and responses," the services provided for "all saints which be not mentioned in the Scripture or authentical doctors" were "abolished and put out of the same books," and what was retained was "the Service . . . made out of the Scripture and other authentic doctors." The Seven Daily Offices were condensed into two, the system for the use of Psalms and Lessons was

¹ Archbishop Bancroft, who was for many years Chaplain to Cox, Bishop of Ely, one of the Committee of Revision, writes that "the first Liturgy set forth in King Edward's reign was carefully compiled, and confirmed by a Synod." [COLLIER'S *Eccles. Hist.* vi. 277.] Archbishop Abbot says that "the more material parts were disputed and debated in the Convocation House by men of both parties." [ABBOT *against Hill*, p. 104.] Contemporary evidence respecting the confirmation of the Book by Convocation is also found in letters of the King and of the Privy Council.

[1] The Privy Council instructed Dr. Hopton, the Princess Mary's Chaplain, to say to her respecting the Prayer Book, "The fault is great in any subject to disallow a law of the King: a law of the realm by long study, free disputation, and uniform determination of the whole Clergy, consulted, debated, concluded." [FOX'S *Acts and Mon.* vi. 8, ed. 1838.]

[2] In the reply of Edward VI. to the demands of the

Devonshire rebels the King is made to say, "Whatsoever is contained in our book, either for Baptism, Sacrament, Mass, Confirmation, and service in the Church, is by our Parliament established, by the whole Clergy agreed, yea, by the Bishops of the realm devised, by God's Word confirmed." [FOX'S *Acts and Mon.* v. 734, ed. 1838.]

[3] The King and Council, writing to Bishop Bonner on July 23, 1549, say, "One uniform Order for Common Prayers and Administration of the Sacraments hath been and is most godly set forth, not only by the common agreement and full assent of the Nobility and Commons of the late session of our late Parliament, but also by the like assent of the Bishops in the same Parliament, and of all other the learned men of this our realm in their Synods and Convocations provincial." [FOX'S *Acts and Mon.* v. 726, ed. 1838.]

No doubt the Convocation of York co-operated in some way, as on subsequent occasions, with that of Canterbury.

greatly simplified; and although the ritual system in general was retained, the rubrics were condensed throughout, and many details of ritual omitted. When all the changes are taken into account it may still be said that about nine-tenths of what is contained in the Prayer Book of 1549 came from the old Latin Service-books of the Church of England: and that the principal alteration after the excision of Mediæval novelties was that of adapting the Services to general use by the Clergy and Laity together, instead of leaving them in the complex form which was only suitable for the use of the Clergy and of Monastic communities. If it was in one sense new, they who had been engaged upon it felt so strong a conviction that it was substantially identical with the old, that in after days Cranmer offered to prove that "the order of the Church of England, set out by authority of Edward the Sixth, was the same that had been used in the Church for fifteen hundred years past."¹

In the Act of Parliament which enacted the Book of Common Prayer, it was said to have been composed under the influence of the Holy Ghost; and there is, doubtless, an indication of this belief in the choice of the day on which it was enjoined to be used. So solemn were the views which those who arranged and set forth the Prayer Book took of their work, so anxious was their desire that it should be sealed with the blessing of God.

THE REVISED PRAYER BOOK OF A.D. 1552.

It was unfortunate for the peace of the Church of England that those who were in authority at this period were disposed to yield too much to the influence of foreigners whose principles were totally alien from those on which the English Reformation was based. That Reformation had been strictly Catholic in its origin and in its official progress, and the repudiation of foreign interference with the Church of England had been one of its main features. But foreign interference now arose from a different quarter, Calvin and his associates endeavouring, with characteristic self-assurance, to bias the mind of England towards Genevan Presbyterianism rather than Anglican Catholicity. Calvin himself thrust a correspondence upon the Protector Somerset, upon the young King, and upon Archbishop Cranmer.² A letter of his still exists in the State Paper Office, which was written to the Duke of Somerset on October 22, 1548, and in which he urges the Protector to push the Reformation further than it had hitherto gone. Others to the same purpose may be found in STRYPE'S *Memorials of Cranmer* [iii. 25]. Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer (neither of whom could understand the English language) were placed in the most important positions at Oxford and Cambridge by Somerset; John à Lasco, a Polish refugee, was quartered upon Cranmer for six months, and afterwards established in a schismatic position in London; and Poullain [Valerandus Pollanus] was, in a similar manner, established at Glastonbury.³ These appointments shew the manner in which the Church of England was sagaciously leavened with foreign Protestantism by those who wished to reduce its principles and practices to their own low ritual and doctrinal level; and they are but a few of the many indications which exist that the Puritanism by which the Church was so imperilled during the succeeding hundred and twenty years arose out of foreign influences thus brought to bear upon the young Clergy and the Laity of that generation.

These influences soon began to affect the Book of Common Prayer, which had been, with so much forethought, learning, and pious deliberation, prepared by the Bishops and other Divines who composed the Committee to which reference has so often been made. It had been accepted with satisfaction by most of the Clergy and the Laity;⁴ and had even been taken into use by many at Easter, although not enjoined to be used until Whitsunday, so desirous were they of adopting the vernacular service. It was, probably, the quiet acceptance of the Prayer Book by the Clergy which raised hopes in the foreign party of moulding it to their own standard of Protestantism. It is certain that an agitation had been

¹ BP. JEREMY TAYLOR'S *Works*, vii. 292.

² HEYLIN'S *Reformation*, i. 227, *Ecl. Hist. Soc.*

³ The same hospitable but unwise charity towards religious refugees was shewn by James I. in the case of Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro, and with most unfortunate results.

⁴ Even Bishop Gardiner's official reply to the Privy Council on the subject was favourable to the Prayer Book. "He had deliberately considered of all the Offices contained in the Common Prayer Book, and all the several branches of it: that though he could not have made it in that manner, had

the matter been referred unto him, yet that he found such things therein as did very well satisfy his conscience; and therefore, that he would not only execute it in his own person, but cause the same to be officiated by all those of his diocese." [HEYLIN'S *Reformation*, i. 209, *Ecl. Hist. Soc.*] Somerset, writing to Cardinal Pole, June 4, 1549, and sending him a Prayer Book, says that there was "a common agreement of all the chief learned men in the Realm" in favour of the new "form and rite of service." [*State Papers, Dom. Edw. VI.* vol. vii.] Edward VI.'s reply to the Devonshire rebels asserts the same thing.

going on, among the latter, from the very time when the Book of 1549 had been first brought into use. A Lasco, Peter Martyr, and Martin Bucer appear to have been continually corresponding about the Prayer Book, and plotting for its alteration, although they knew it only through imperfect translations hastily provided by a Scotchman named Aless, living at Leipsic, and by Sir John Cheke. Hooper, also, Chaplain first to the Duke of Somerset, then to the King, and afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, carried on a bitter opposition to it, having returned from Zurich, where he had been living for some years, just at the time that it came into use. Writing to Bullinger on December 27, 1549, he says: "The public celebration of the Lord's Supper is very far from the order and institution of our Lord. Although it is administered in both kinds, yet in some places the Supper is celebrated three times a day. . . . They still retain their vestments¹ and the candles before the altars; in the churches they always chant the hours and the hymns relating to the Lord's Supper, but in our own language. And that Popery may not be lost, the Mass priests, although they are compelled to discontinue the use of the Latin language, yet most carefully observe the same tone and manner of chanting to which they were heretofore accustomed in the Papacy." [*Parker Soc. Orig. Lett.* p. 72.] Preaching before Edward VI. in the following Lent, Hooper spoke of the Prayer Book as containing "tolerable things to be borne with for the weak's sake awhile,"² and urged immediate revision. He also told the King and Council that it was "great shame for a noble King, Emperor, or Magistrate, contrary unto God's word to detain and keep from the devil or his minister any of their goods or treasure, as the candles, vestments, crosses, altars." He also urged the young King to do away with kneeling at the Holy Communion, "sitting were in my opinion best for many considerations." [HOOPER'S *Works*, i. 534, 536, 554; *Orig. Lett.* p. 81.] Bucer was perhaps the most violent of all opponents of the Prayer Book, publishing a "Censure" of it in twenty-eight chapters just before his death in 1551, in which he condemns all ceremonies and customs derived from the ancient Services of the Church of England, from the Consecration of the Holy Eucharist to the ringing of church bells, of which, with the want of imagination and musical ear so common among his class of Reformers, he had a great abhorrence.

Meanwhile the Prayer Book had been brought under discussion in Convocation towards the end of the year 1550. The question was sent down to the Lower House by the Bishops, but was postponed until the next session. What was done further at that time does not appear, though it is probable that the consideration of the Thirty-nine Articles absorbed the whole attention of Convocation for several sessions, and that the proposition for a revised Prayer Book was set aside, as far as the official assembly of the Church was concerned. The young King had now, however, been aroused by the meddlesome letters of Calvin, by Hooper's preaching, and perhaps by some of the Puritan courtiers, to entertain a strong personal desire for certain changes in Divine Service; and not being able to prevail on the Bishops to accede to his wishes, he declared to Sir John Cheke—with true Tudor feeling, being then only a little over twelve years of age—that he should cause the Prayer Book to be altered on his own authority. [STRYPE'S *Cranmer*, ii. 663, *Eccl. Hist. Soc. ed.*]

No records remain to shew us in what manner or by whom this revision was ultimately made. It has been suggested by Dr. Cardwell [*Two Liturgies of Edw. VI.* xvii. n.] that the Convocation delegated its authority to a Commission appointed by the King, and that this Commission was the same with that which had set forth the Ordinal of 1550, consisting of "six Prelates, and six other men of this Realm, learned in God's law, by the King's Majesty to be appointed and assigned;" but of which only the name of Bishop Heath of Worcester is recorded. [See *Intro. to Ordin. Services.*] Archdeacon Freeman considers it to be "all but certain that it was the Ordinal Commission which conducted the Revision of 1552," especially because the Ordinal was affixed to the Act of Parliament by which the revised Book was legalized.³ There is no certain proof that the Prayer Book of 1552, commonly called the Second Book of Edward VI., ever received the sanction of Convocation; yet it is highly improbable that Cranmer would have allowed it to get into Parliament without it.⁴ Edward's

¹ So also on February 16, 1550, John Butler wrote to Thomas Blaurer that some blemishes in the Church of England, "such, for instance, as the splendour of the vestments, have not yet been done away with." [*Parker Soc. Orig. Lett.* p. 635.]

² This was Calvin's phrase, "In Anglicana Liturgia, qualem describitis, multas video fuisse tolerabiles ineptias."

[CALVIN, *Epp.* p. 98.]

³ See also HEYLIN'S *Reformation*, i. 228, 229.

⁴ It was sanctioned by Convocation *ex post facto* in the thirty-fifth of the forty-two Articles of 1553, which says: "The Book which of very late time was given to the Church

of England by the King's authority and the Parliament, concerning the manner and form of praying and ministering the Sacrament in the Church of England, likewise also the book of Ordering Ministers of the Church set forth by the foresaid authority, are godly and in no point repugnant to the wholesome doctrine of the Gospel, but agreeable thereunto, furthering and beautifying the same not a little: and therefore of all faithful ministers of the Church of England, and chiefly of the ministers of the Word, they ought to be received and allowed with all readiness of mind and thanksgiving, and to be commended to the people of God."

second Act of Uniformity [5 and 6 Edw. VI. ch. i.], with the revised Prayer Book attached, was passed on April 6, 1552, with a proviso that the book was to come into use on the Feast of All Saints following. Almost at the last moment, however, an attempt was made to carry the revision much further. Three editions of the book had been printed when, on September 27, 1552, an Order in Council¹ was passed forbidding any further issue of the book, ostensibly on the ground that many printer's errors had crept in. But the real reason is shewn by the Register of the Privy Council: for on the same day a letter was written to the Archbishop requesting him to correct the printer's errors, and directing him to call in several Divines for the purpose of perusing or revising the book once more, his attention being specially drawn to the rubric on kneeling at the Holy Communion. The letter itself is not preserved, but only the order directing the Secretary what to write: Cranmer's indignant reply is however among the State Papers [*Dom. Edw. VI. xv. 15*], and throws so much light on the circumstances under which the revised Prayer Book was issued that it is here printed at length, the italics, however, not being in the original, and the spelling being modernized:—

"After my right humble commendations unto your good Lordships.

"Where I understand by your Lordships' letters that the King's majesty his pleasure is that the Book of Common Service should be diligently perused,² and therein the printer's errors to be amended. I shall travaile therein to the uttermost of my power—albeit I had need first to have had the book written which was past by Act of Parliament, and sealed with the great seal, which remaineth in the hands of Mr. Spilman, clerk of the Parliament, who is not in London, nor I cannot learn where he is. Nevertheless, I have gotten the copy which Mr. Spilman delivered to the printers to print by, which I think shall serve well enough. And where I understand further by your Lordships' letters that some be offended with kneeling at the time of the receiving of the sacrament, and would that I (calling to me the Bishop of London, and some other learned men as Mr. Peter Martyr or such like) should with them expend, and weigh the said prescription of kneeling, whether it be fit to remain as a commandment; or to be left out of the book. I shall accomplish the King's Majesty his commandment herein:—albeit I trust that we *with just balance weighed this at the making of the book, and not only we, but a great many Bishops and others of the best learned within this realm appointed for that purpose.* And now the book being read and approved by the whole State of the Realm, in the High Court of Parliament, with the King's majesty his royal assent—that this should be now altered again without Parliament—of what importance this matter is, I refer to your Lordships' wisdom to consider. I know your Lordships' wisdom to be such, that I trust ye will not be moved with these *glorious and unquiet spirits³ which can like nothing but that is after their own fancy; and cease not to make trouble when things be most quiet and in good order. If such men should be heard—although the book were made every year anew, yet it should not lack faults in their opinion.* 'But,' say they, 'it is not commanded in the Scripture to kneel, and whatsoever is not commanded in the Scripture is against the Scripture, and utterly unlawful and ungodly.' But this saying is the chief foundation of the Anabaptists and of divers other sects. This saying is a subversion of all order as well in religion as in common policy. If this saying be true, take away the whole Book of Service; for what should men travell to set in order in the form of service, if no order can be got but that is already prescribed by Scripture? And because I will not trouble your Lordships with reciting of many Scriptures or proof in this matter, whosoever teacheth any such doctrine (if your Lordships will give me leave) *I will set my foot by his, to be tried by fire, that his doctrine is untrue; and not only untrue, but also seditious and perilous to be heard of any subjects, as a thing breaking their bridle of obedience and losing from the bonds of all Princes' laws.*

"My good Lordships, I pray you to consider that there be two prayers which go before the receiving of the Sacrament, and two immediately follow—all which time the people praying and giving thanks do kneel. And what inconvenience there is that it may not be thus ordered, I know not. If the kneeling of the people should be discontinued for the time of the receiving of the Sacrament, so that at the receipt thereof they should rise up and stand or sit, and then immediately kneel down again—it should *rather import a contemptuous than a reverent receiving of the Sacrament.* 'But it is not expressly contained in the Scripture' (say they) 'that Christ ministered the sacrament to his apostles kneeling.' Nor they find it not expressly in Scripture that he ministered it standing or sitting. But if we will follow the plain words of the Scripture *we should rather receive it lying down on the ground*—as the custom of the world at that time almost everywhere, and as the Tartars and Turks use yet at this day, to eat their meat lying upon the ground. And the words of the Evangelist import the same, which be *ἀνακείμεναι* and *ἀναπίπτω*, which signify, properly, to lie down upon the floor or ground, and not to sit upon a form or stool. And the same speech use the Evangelists where they sh(ew) that Christ fed five thousand with five loaves, where it is plainly expressed that they sat down upon the ground and not upon stools.

"I beseech your Lordships take in good part this my long babbling, *which I write as of myself only.* The Bishop of London is not yet come, and your Lordships required answer with speed, and therefore am I constrained

¹ "A letter to Grafton the printer to stay in any wise from uttering any of the books of the new Service, and if he have distributed any of them amongst his company; that then he give strait commandment to every of them not to put any of them abroad until certain faults therein be corrected." [*Privy Council Reg.*]

² The word "perused" has a technical sense, the force of which is shewn by the Act which authorized the Book of 1552.

in which it is said that the King had caused the former Book of 1549 to be "perused, explained, and made fully perfect." It thus meant more than the correction of clerical errors.

³ This seems to refer to Bishop Hooper. In the order for his execution at Gloucester a similar expression is used, "forasmuch as the said Hooper is, as heretics be, a *vain-glorious* person, and delighteth in his tongue." [*HOOPER'S Works, II. xxvii.*]

to make some answer to your Lordships afore his coming. And thus I pray God long to preserve your Lordships and to increase the same in all prosperity and godliness.

“At Lambeth, this 7th of October, 1552,
“Your Lordships to command,
“T. CANTR.”

What course Cranmer eventually took is not known, but the ultimate result is shewn by an entry in the Privy Council Register, dated October 27, 1552, which orders “a letter to the Lord Chancellor to cause to be signed unto the Book of Common Prayer, lately set forth, a certain Declaration signed by the King’s Majesty, and sent unto his Lordship, touching the kneeling at the receiving of the Communion.” [BURNET’S *Reform.* iii. 368, POCOCK’S Note 76.] The “Declaration” which has been commonly known as “the Black Rubric” was then inserted in some of the already printed copies on a fly-leaf, and the printing was again proceeded with. But this delay must have prevented the book from being circulated through the country for use at the time appointed, and as Edward died only eight months later, on July 6, 1553, it may be doubted whether the earlier Prayer Book, that of 1549, was ever superseded to any great extent except in London. The chief importance of the Book of 1552 is derived from the circumstance that it was made the basis of those further revisions which resulted in the Prayer Book of 1661.

THE REVISED PRAYER BOOK OF A.D. 1559.

The Acts of Uniformity passed in the reign of Edward were legally repealed by 1 Mary, sess. ii. c. 2, which was passed in October 1553. By this Act the Services of the Church of England were restored to the condition in which they were in the last year of Henry VIII. A proclamation was also issued, enjoining that no person should use “any book or books concerning the common service and administration set forth in English to be used in the churches of this realm, in the time of King Edward the VIth, commonly called the Communion Book, or Book of Common Service and Ordering of Ministers, otherwise called the Book set forth by the authority of Parliament, for Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments; but shall, within fifteen days bring or deliver the said books to the Ordinary, where such books remain, at the said Ordinary’s will and disposition to be burnt.” This Act and Proclamation were preceded, apparently, by an Act of Convocation of the same tenor; for the Upper House had been requested by the Lower (both being beyond doubt “packed” assemblies at the time) to suppress the “schismatical book called the Communion Book, and the Book of Ordering Ecclesiastical Ministers.” Thus the work which had been done with so much care and deliberation was, for a time, set aside; Divine Service was again said in Latin, and the customs of it reverted, to a great extent, to their mediæval form. As, however, the monasteries were not revived, the devotional system of Queen Mary’s reign must, in reality, have been considerably influenced in the direction of reformation. We have already seen that “the last year of the reign of Henry VIII.” (which was the standard professedly adopted) was a period when much progress had been made towards establishing the devotional system afterwards embodied in the Book of Common Prayer; and it seems likely that the services of the Church in the reign of Queen Mary were a modified form of, rather than an actual return to, the mediæval system which existed before the sixteenth century.

Queen Elizabeth succeeded to the throne on November 17, 1558, and for a month permitted no change to be made in the customs of Divine Service.

On December 27th of that year, a Proclamation was issued condemning unfruitful disputes in matters of religion, and enjoining all men “not to give audience to any manner of doctrine or preaching other than to the Gospels and Epistles, commonly called the Gospel and Epistle of the day, and to the ten commandments, in the vulgar tongue, without exposition or addition of any manner, sense, or meaning to be applied or added; or to use any other manner of publick prayer, rite, or ceremony in the Church, but that which is already used and by law received; or the common Litany used at this present in her Majesty’s own chapel;¹ and the Lord’s Prayer, and the Creed, in English, until consultation may be had by Parliament, by her Majesty and her three estates of this realm,² for the better

¹ The English Litany of Henry VIII. See *State Papers, Dom. Eliz.* i. 68.

² That is the Lords, the Commons, and the Clergy. But

see next note, which shews that this intention, as regards Convocation, could not have been carried out.

conciliation and accord of such causes as at this present are moved in matters and ceremonies of religion."

The first Act of Parliament in the reign of Queen Elizabeth restored to the Crown the supremacy over persons and in causes ecclesiastical, which had been taken away from it in the previous reign. But this does not seem to have been considered sufficient authority for dealing with the subject of Divine Service; nor does it seem to have been possible, at first, to place it in the hands of Convocation. An irregular kind of Committee was therefore appointed at the suggestion of Sir Thomas Smith, the Queen's Secretary, who were to meet at his house in Canon Row, Westminster, and who were "to draw in other men of learning and gravity, and apt men for that purpose and credit, to have their assents." This Committee consisted of the following persons:¹—

Matthew Parker,	subsequently	Abp. of Canterbury.
Edmund Grindal,	"	Bp. of London, Abp. of York, and Abp. of Canterbury.
James Pilkington,	"	Bp. of Durham.
Richard Cox,	"	Bp. of Ely.
William May,	appointed	Abp. of York, but died before consecration.
William Bill,	subsequently	Dean of Westminster.
Sir Thomas Smith,	"	Dean of Carlisle.
David Whitehead,	"	[Declined the Archbishopric of Canterbury.]
Edwin Sandys,	"	Bp. of Worcester, and Abp. of York.
Edmund Guest,	"	Bp. of Rochester, and of Salisbury.

The last two were summoned to attend upon the Committee after its first appointment. It has been supposed, from a vindication of the changes made which was sent by him to Cecil,² that Guest was the person chiefly concerned in the revision, and that he acted for Parker, who was absent through illness. Cox and May were on the Committee of 1542-49.

While this Committee was engaged on its labours, an attempt was made to reconcile the extreme Romanist party by a Conference of Divines held before the Privy Council and others in Westminster Abbey; but the attempt failed through the impracticable temper of the leading men on the Romanist side: and thus the way was made clear for a new Act of Uniformity on the basis of those passed in Edward's reign.

The Queen and Cecil both appear to have desired that the original Prayer Book, that of 1549, should be adopted as far as possible; but the second Book, that of 1552, was taken by the Committee of Divines, and with a few alterations of some importance, submitted to the Queen to be set before Parliament.

[1] A Table of Proper Lessons for Sundays was prefixed.

[2] The "accustomed place" or Chancel, instead of "in such place as the people may best hear," was again appointed for the celebration of Divine Service.

[3] The ancient "Ornaments of the Church and the Ministers which had been in use under the first Book of Edward, but had been reduced to a *minimum* by the second, were directed again to be taken into use.

[4] The present form for administering the consecrated Elements to the Communicants was substituted for that ordered by the Book of 1552, which was the latter half only of that now used. As the first half of the words is the form that was used in the Book of 1549, the new form was thus a combination of the two.

[5] The declaration respecting kneeling, which had been inserted on a fly-leaf at the end of the Communion Service in the Book of 1552, was now omitted altogether.

Thus altered, the Book was laid before Parliament, which (without any discussion) annexed it to a new Act of Uniformity [1 Eliz. c. 2]. This Act was passed on April 28, 1559, and it enacted that the revised Prayer Book should be taken into use on St. John the Baptist's day following. It

¹ None of these were Bishops at this time. Parker, Grindal, Cox, and Sandys were consecrated in December 1559, Guest in March 1560, and Pilkington in March 1561. There is a letter of Sir T. Wilson's, written in 1559 [*State Papers, Dom. Eliz.* vii. 46], which states that the alterations were made "by the Convocation consisting of the same Bishops" who had returned after Queen Mary's death "and the rest of the Clergy." But the Convocation which sat from January 24th

to May 8, 1559, was presided over by Bishop Bonner, with Nicholas Harpsfield, Dean of Canterbury, for Prolocutor. At the end of February 1559 they presented five Articles of the most Ultramontane character to the House of Lords, one of the Articles asserting Transubstantiation and another the Supremacy of the Pope: and such a Convocation would be too hostile to the Prayer Book to be intrusted with its revision.

² STRYPE'S *Ann.* i. 120; ii. 459. CARDWELL'S *Conf.* p. 48.

was used, however, in the Queen's chapel on Sunday, May 12th, and at St. Paul's Cathedral on Wednesday, May 15th. After the appointed day had passed, a Commission was issued [July 19, 1559] to Parker, Grindal, and others for carrying into execution the Acts for Uniformity of Common Prayer, and for restoring to the Crown its jurisdiction in Ecclesiastical matters. [*State Papers, Dom. Eliz.* v. 18.] A Royal Visitation was also held in the Province of York, under a Commission dated July 25th. [*Ibid.* iv. 62.] It then appeared that the Prayer Book was so generally accepted by the Clergy, that out of 9400 only 189 refused to adopt it; this number including those Bishops and others of the most extreme Romanist party who had been appointed in Queen Mary's reign on account of what in modern times would be called their Ultramontane principles.

It is worth notice, however, that the Book of Common Prayer as thus revised in 1559 was quietly accepted by the great body of Romanist laity; and also that the Pope himself saw so little to object to in it that he offered to give the book his full sanction if his authority were recognized by the Queen and kingdom. "As well those restrained," said Sir Edward Coke, "as generally all the papists in this kingdom, not any of them did refuse to come to our church, and yield their formal obedience to the laws established. And thus they all continued, not any one refusing to come to our churches, during the first ten years of her Majesty's government. And in the beginning of the eleventh year of her reign, Cornwallis, Bedingfield, and Silyarde, were the first recusants; they absolutely refusing to come to our churches. And until they in that sort began, the name of recusant was never heard of amongst us." In the same Charge, Coke also states as follows: That the Pope [Pius IV.] "before the time of his excommunication against Queen *Elizabeth* denounced, sent his letter unto her Majesty, in which he did allow the *Bible*, and Book of *Divine Service*, as it is now used among us, to be authentick, and not repugnant to truth. But that therein was contained enough necessary to salvation, though there was not in it so much as might conveniently be, and that he would also allow it unto us, without changing any part: so as her Majesty would acknowledge to receive it from the *Pope*, and by his allowance; which her Majesty denying to do, she was then presently by the same Pope excommunicated. And this is the truth concerning Pope Pius Quartus as I have faith to God and men. I have oftentimes heard avowed by the late *Queen* her own words; and I have conferred with some *Lords* that were of greatest reckoning in the *State*, who had seen and read the Letter, which the Pope sent to that effect; as have been by me specified. And this upon my credit, as I am an honest man, is most true."¹ It may have been with the object of making the Pope acquainted with the real character of the Prayer Book that it was translated into Latin in the same year; and it is, possibly, to the work of translation that a document in the State Paper Office [*Dom. Eliz.* vii. 46] refers which, on November 30, 1559, mentions the progress made by the Convocation in the Book of Common Prayer.² The Latin Version (differing in no small degree from the English) was set forth on April 6, 1560, under the authority of the Queen's Letters Patent.

The only other change that was made in the Prayer Book during the reign of Elizabeth was in the Calendar. On January 22, 1561, the Queen issued a Commission to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, Dr. Bill, and Walter Haddon, directing them "to peruse the order of the said Lessons throughout the whole year, and to cause some new calendars to be imprinted, whereby such chapters or parcels of less edification may be removed, and other more profitable may supply their rooms."³ This commission was issued by the authority given in the 13th clause of Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity, which is cited in its opening paragraph; and in the end of it there is a significant direction, "that the alteration of any thing hereby ensuing be quietly done, without show of any innovation in the Church." In the Calendar revised by these Commissioners the names of most of those Saints were inserted which are to be found in that of our present Prayer Book.

But although no further changes were made in the authorized devotional system of the Church during the remainder of the century, continual assaults were being made upon it by the Puritan party, extreme laxity was tolerated, and even sanctioned, by some of the Bishops (as, for example, at Northampton, by Bishop Scambler of Peterborough), and the people were gradually being weaned from their

¹ The LORD COKE, *his Speech and Charge*, London, 1607. See also CAMDEN, *Ann. Eliz.* p. 59, ed. 1615. TWYSDEN'S *Historical Vindication of the Church of England*, p. 175. *Validity of the Orders of the Church of England*, by HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX, D.D., 1688. BRAMHALL'S *Works*, ii. 85, ed. 1845. BP. BABINGTON'S *Notes on the Pentateuch; on Numbers vii.* COURAYER'S *Defence of the Dissertation on the Validity of*

English Ordinations, ii. 360, 378. HARRINGTON'S *Pius IV. and the Book of Common Prayer*, 1856.

² Sir John Mason, however, writes to Cecil, on August 11, 1559, that the Book of Common Service in Latin is ready to print: and also the little book of Private Prayers for children and servants. [*State Papers, Dom. Eliz.* vi. 11.]

³ Parker Correspondence, p. 132. [*State Papers*, xvi. 7.]

love for a Catholic ritual: while, in the meantime, a great number of the new generation were being trained, by continual controversy and by enforced habit, into a belief that preaching, either in the pulpit or under the disguise of extemporaneous prayer, was the one end and aim of Divine Service.¹ In 1592 the Puritans had grown so rancorous that they presented a petition to the Privy Council in which the Church of England is plainly said to be derived from Antichrist; the press swarmed with scurrilous and untruthful pamphlets against the Church system; and the more sober strength of this opposition may be measured very fairly by the statements and arguments of Hooker in his noble work, the *Ecclesiastical Polity*.

§ *Some slight Changes made in the Prayer Book of 1559 by James I.*

On the accession of James I. [May 7, 1603] the hopes of those who wished to get rid of the Prayer Book were strengthened by the knowledge that the King had been brought up by Presbyterians. A petition was presented to him, called the "Millenary Petition," from the number of signatures attached to it, in which it was represented that "more than a thousand" of his Majesty's subjects were "groaning as under a common burden of human rites and ceremonies," from which they prayed to be relieved by a reduction of the Prayer Book system to their own standard. The result of this petition was the "Hampton Court Conference," an assembly of orthodox and nonconforming Clergy, summoned by the King to meet in his presence at the Palace of Hampton Court, and discuss the grievances complained of. This Conference met on the 14th, 16th, and 18th of January, 1603-4, in the presence of the King and the Privy Council; but the former was so disgusted with the unreasonableness of the Puritan opponents of the Prayer Book, that he broke up the meeting abruptly on the third day, without committing the Church to any concessions in the direction they required. Under the same clause of the Act of Uniformity by which Queen Elizabeth had directed a revision of the Calendar, the King did, however, with the advice of a Commission of Bishops and Privy Councillors, cause a few changes to be made in the Prayer Book.²

Revision in the
reign of James I.

[1] The words "or remission of sins" were added to the title of the Absolution.

[2] The "Prayer for the Royal Family" was placed at the end of the Litany; and also some Other Thanksgivings.

[3] Two slight verbal changes were made at the beginning of the Gospels for the Second Sunday after Easter and the Twentieth Sunday after Trinity.

[4] An alteration was made in one of the Rubrics for Private Baptism. [See the Office.]

[5] The title of the Confirmation Service was enlarged.

[6] The latter part of the Catechism, respecting the Sacraments, was added.

[7] Some slight changes were made in the Calendar.

The book, as thus altered, was authorized by a Royal Proclamation dated March 5, 1604, and it was afterwards sanctioned by Convocation in the 80th of the Canons passed in the same year [A.D. 1604], which ordered that "the churchwardens or questmen of every Church and Chapel shall, at the charge of the parish, provide the Book of Common Prayer, lately explained in some few points by his Majesty's authority, according to the laws and his Highness' prerogative in that behalf, and that with all convenient speed, but at the furthest within two months after the publishing of these our Constitutions."

In the following year a petition was presented to the King from ministers in the Diocese of Lincoln, in which fifty "gross corruptions" in the Prayer Book were enumerated: and they demanded its total abolition as the only means by which the land could be rid of the idolatry and superstition which it enjoined. But although the Puritans continued to oppose the devotional system of the Church of England in this spirit during the whole of the reigns of James I. and Charles I., it was forty years before they succeeded in bringing about, and then for a few years only, that total abolition of the Prayer Book which they so ardently desired

§ *The Suppression of the Prayer Book by the Puritans.*

The temporary overthrow of the Church of England was effected by the Long Parliament, which met on November 3, 1640, and lasted until April 20, 1653; and the successive steps by which

¹ These foreign fashions and principles were pertinaciously maintained by those who had fled the country in Queen Mary's days, and returned with what Parker called "Germanical natures" in Queen Elizabeth's. [STRYPE'S *Parker*, i.

156. See also CARDWELL'S *Conf.* 117-120, for a strong illustration of this in Convocation.]

² The Letters Patent rehearsing the authority and enumerating the alterations are printed in CARDWELL'S *Conf.* p. 217-225.

this was accomplished are clearly stated by the Speaker of the House of Commons in the address which he made to the King from the bar of the House of Lords on May 19, 1662. "In order to this work," he said, "Church ornaments were first taken away; then the means whereby distinction or inequality might be upheld amongst ecclesiastical governors; then the forms of common prayer, which as members of the public body of Christ's Church were enjoined us, were decried as superstitious, and in lieu thereof nothing, or worse than nothing, introduced." [*Journ. House of Lords*, xi. 471.]

The first movements towards this end were taken in December 1640, when "a petition was brought complaining of the Church discipline in having Archbishops, Bishops, etc., using the cross in Baptism, kneeling at the Communion, as unuseful in the Protestant Church" [*Perfect Diurnal*, p. 12]; and when the House of Commons went to St. Margaret's Church as usual to receive the Holy Communion, they directed that the Communion Table should be brought down from the east end of the chancel and placed in the midst of them in the Presbyterian manner customary in Scotland. The House of Lords appointed a large Committee, consisting of ten Bishops and twenty lay peers, with power to add to their number, to consult respecting such alterations in the Prayer Book as would conciliate the Puritan ministers, who were persevering in their petitions for its abolition; but although this Committee held many sittings between March 1st and May 1641, their efforts at conciliation were soon found to be useless, a motion "to agree upon some alterations and new additions to be inserted in the Book of Common Prayer" being made and lost in September of the same year, and the opponents of the Church going steadily on with their measures for its destruction.¹ Shortly afterwards the House of Commons ordered that the Communion Table should everywhere be removed into the body of the church, that the rails should be taken away, and the raised east end of the chancel brought down to the same level as the rest of the church; and this was soon followed by "ordinances" against "innovations," as all the distinctive customs of the Church of England were called, which led to the removal of fonts from the churches, and to the wholesale destruction of Prayer Books, surplices, copes, organs, and all other "monuments of superstition," as these were called by the prevailing party in Parliament. Soon also, on December 29, 1641, most of the Bishops were thrown into prison, and in a few months the Puritans boasted that 8000 Clergy had already been turned out of their parishes. [*PIERCE'S New Discoverer*, p. 140.]

On July 1, 1643, the "Westminster Assembly of Divines" was convened by the Parliament, and after some negotiation with the General Assembly of the Scottish Kirk, it accepted from the latter the "Solemn League and Covenant," which was subscribed by the House of Commons in St. Margaret's Church on September 25th, and was afterwards sent to every parish in England and Wales to be used as a Test during the Reign of Terror which followed. This document, which was signed with the solemnities of an oath, pledged those who signed it to substitute Presbyterianism and the Scottish "Directory for Worship" for the Church of England and the Book of Common Prayer, in its first two Articles, which were as follows:—

"I. That we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour, in our several places and callings, the preservation of the reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, against our common enemies; the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the Word of God, and the example of the best reformed Churches; and shall endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church government, directory for worship and catechizing; that we and our posterity after us may as brethren live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

"II. That we shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy

¹ Izaak Walton, in his *Life of Bishop Sanderson*, having spoken of the discontent respecting the Prayer Book which had been excited in England by the Scotch Covenanters, writes that "their party in Parliament made many exceptions against the Common Prayer and Ceremonies of the Church, and seemed restless for a Reformation: and although their desires seemed not reasonable to the King and the learned Dr. Laud, then Archbishop of Canterbury, yet to quiet their consciences and prevent future confusion, they did in the year 1641, desire Dr. Sanderson to call two more of the Convocation to advise with him, and that he would then draw up some such safe alterations as should fit in the Service-Book,

and abate some of the Ceremonies that were least material, for satisfying their consciences. And to this end they did meet together privately twice a week at the Dean of Westminster's house for the space of three months or more. But not long after that time, when Dr. Sanderson had made the Reformation for a view, the Church and State were both fallen into such a confusion that Dr. Sanderson's Model for Reformation became then useless." [*WALTON'S Life of Sanderson*, sign. e 3.] But this statement must be looked upon with some suspicion, for it appears as if Walton were erroneously attributing to Sanderson the work of the Lords' Committee.

(that is, Church government by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy), superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness, lest we partake in other men's sins; and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues, and that the Lord may be one, and His Name one, in the three kingdoms."

This pledge was not carried out by Parliament for more than a year, the House of Lords proving for some time an obstacle in the way of the House of Commons, and there being some difficulty in agreeing upon the form which the Directory was to take. At length, on January 3, 1645, the Directory passed through the two Houses of Parliament, and was issued under the title of "A Directory for the Public Worship of God throughout the three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Together with an Ordinance of Parliament for the taking away of the Book of Common Prayer, and for establishing and observing of this present Directory throughout the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales."¹ This Ordinance repealed the Acts of Uniformity, and enacted that the Book of Common Prayer should be "abolished" and the Directory "established and observed in all the Churches within this kingdom." But as this was not so generally obeyed as was intended, another Ordinance "for the more effectual putting in execution of the Directory" was passed on August 23, 1645, which forbade the use of the Prayer Book in any "Church, Chapel, or public place of worship, or in any private place or family within the Kingdom of England," and required all copies of the book to be given up. This Ordinance also imposed some severe penalties, enacting that any person who used the Book of Common Prayer in public or private should, for the first offence, pay a fine of £5, for the second offence a fine of £10, and for the third offence "suffer one whole year's imprisonment without bail or mainprize." The refusal to adopt the rules of the Directory was visited with a fine of £2 for each offence, and those who did or said anything against it were to be punished with a fine of not less than £5, and not exceeding £50. These penalties, which are similar in character to those imposed by the Tudor Acts of Uniformity, were rigorously exacted, as is shewn by the Records of the period and by non-official histories.² For fifteen years the prayers of the Church of England could only be said in extreme privacy, and even then with danger of persecution to those who used them.³

¹ The Directory was a book of Rubrics and Canons and not of prayers, the very few forms that are given being only given as examples of the kind of prayer to be used by the minister. In the place of the Burial Service of the Prayer Book appears the following direction: "When any person departeth this life let the dead body, upon the day of burial, be decently attended from the house to the place appointed for public burial, and there immediately interred without any ceremony." This is still the custom of the Scottish Presbyterian Kirk.

² Instances will be found in the Calendars of State Papers, BISHOP KENNETT'S *Register*, and WALKER'S *Sufferings of the Clergy*.

³ It was the custom of some of those few Clergy who were permitted to retain their benefices to use the Prayer Book as their "Directory," introducing as much of its actual language as could be used with safety. This custom was vindicated by Bishop Sanderson in a letter to a friend in 1652, and entitled "Judgement concerning submission to Usurpers," in which he also explains that he only ceased to use the Prayer Book itself when he was deprived of it by a troop of soldiers who, "immediately after Morning Service ended," on a Sunday in November 1644, "seized upon the book and tore it all in pieces." [WALTON'S *Life of Sanderson*, 1678. SANDERSON'S *Cases of Conscience*, 1685, p. 157.] Bishop Jeremy Taylor published a "Collection of Offices" for the same purpose. The following narrative respecting Bishop Bull gives us a graphic picture of the course adopted by these good men:—

"The iniquity of the times would not bear the constant and regular use of the Liturgy; to supply, therefore, that misfortune, Mr. Bull formed all the devotions he offered up in public, while he continued minister of this place, out of the Book of Common Prayer, which did not fail to supply him with fit matter and proper words upon all those occasions that required him to apply to the throne of grace with the wants of his people. He had the example of one of the brightest lights of that age, the judicious Dr. Sanderson, to justify him in this practice: and his manner of performing

the public service was with so much fervour and ardency of affection, and with so powerful an emphasis in every part, that they who were most prejudiced against the Liturgy did not scruple to commend Mr. Bull as a person that prayed by the Spirit, though at the same time they railed at the Common Prayer as a beggarly element, and as a carnal performance.

"A particular instance of this happened to him while he was minister of St. George's, which, because it sheweth how valuable the Liturgy is in itself, and what unreasonable prejudices are sometimes taken up against it, the reader will not, I believe, think it unworthy to be related. He was sent for to baptize the child of a Dissenter in his parish, upon which occasion he made use of the office of Baptism, as prescribed by the Church of England, which he had got entirely by heart; and he went through it with so much readiness and freedom, and yet with so much gravity and devotion, and gave that life and spirit to all that he delivered, that the whole audience was extremely affected with his performance; and notwithstanding that he used the sign of the cross, yet they were so ignorant of the offices of the Church that they did not thereby discover that it was the Common Prayer. But after that he had concluded that holy action, the father of the child returned him a great many thanks, intimating at the same time with how much greater edification they prayed, who entirely depended upon the Spirit of God for His assistance in their extempore effusions, than those did who tied themselves up to premeditated forms; and that if he had not made the sign of the cross, that badge of Popery, as he called it, nobody could have formed the least objection against his excellent prayers. Upon which Mr. Bull, hoping to recover him from his ill-grounded prejudices, shewed him the office of Baptism in the Liturgy, wherein was contained every prayer which he had offered up to God on that occasion; which, with farther arguments that he then urged, so effectually wrought upon the good man and his whole family, that they always after that time frequented the parish church, and never more absented themselves from Mr. Bull's communion." [NELSON'S *Life of Bull*, p. 31.]

THE REVISED PRAYER BOOK OF A.D. 1662.

It was quaintly said by Jeremy Taylor, comparing the fate of the Book of Common Prayer to that of the roll sent by Jeremiah to Jehoiakim, "This excellent Book hath had the fate to be cut in pieces with a penknife and thrown into the fire, but it is not consumed" [TAYLOR'S *Coll. of Offices*, Pref.], and his faith and foresight were rewarded by seeing its full and complete resuscitation. When the Republican form of government collapsed upon the death of Cromwell, the restoration of the ancient Constitution of the country involved the restoration of its ancient Church, and consequently its ancient system of devotion as represented by the English Offices that had been in use for nearly a century before the Revolution. When the time drew near for the return of Charles II. to the throne of his fathers, Prayer Books were brought from their hiding-places, printers began to prepare a fresh supply, and its offices began to be openly used, as in the case of the good and great Dr. Hammond, who was interred with the proper Burial Service on April 26, 1660. Before the end of 1660 the demand for Prayer Books had been so great, notwithstanding the number of old ones which had been preserved, that five several editions in folio, quarto, octavo, and a smaller size are known to have been printed.¹

Charles II. landed in England on May 26, 1660, the Holy Communion having been celebrated on board the "Naseby" at a very early hour in the morning; probably by Cosin, the King's Chaplain, whose influence was afterwards so great in the revision of the Prayer Book. As soon as the Court was settled at Whitehall, Divine Service was restored in the Chapel Royal. On July 8th, Evelyn records in his Diary [ii. 152] that "from henceforth was the Liturgy publicly used in our Churches." Patrick is known to have used it in his church on July 2nd; and Cosin, who reassumed his position as Dean of Peterborough at the end of that month, immediately began to use it in his Cathedral. From Oxford, Lamplugh (subsequently Archbishop of York) writes on August 23, 1660, that the Common Prayer was then used everywhere but in three colleges,² shewing how general had been its restoration in the University Chapels, and perhaps also in the City Churches. By October 1661, Dean Barwick had restored the Choral Service first at Durham, and then at St. Paul's. The feeling of the people is indicated by several petitions which were sent to the King, praying that their ministers might be compelled to use the Prayer Book in Divine Service, the Mayor and Jurats of Faversham (for example) complaining that their Vicar, by refusing to give them the Common Prayer, is "thus denying them their mother's milk."³ The nonconforming ministers at first allowed that they could use the greatest part of the Prayer Book; yet when requested by the King to do so, with the concession that they should omit such portions as offended their consciences, they declined;⁴ but on the part of the Laity in general the desire for its restoration seems to have been much greater than could be supposed, considering how many had never (as adults) even heard a word of it used in church; and probably had never even seen a Prayer Book.

Before the King had left the Hague, a deputation of Presbyterian ministers, including Reynolds, Calamy, Case, and Manton, had gone over to him to use their influence in persuading him that the use of the Prayer Book having been so long discontinued, it would be most agreeable to the English people if it were not restored; and especially to dissuade him from using it and the surplice, in the Chapel Royal. The subsequent conduct of the House of Commons⁵ shewed that this was a very daring misrepresentation of the state of the public mind on the subject; but the King appears to have been aware that it was so, for he declined, with much warmth, to agree to the impertinent and unconstitutional request, telling them in the end of his reply, that "though he was bound for the present to

¹ The writer has examined eight copies of 1660 and one of 1661 in the Library of the British Museum, and also one of a very rare edition, similar to a copy which formerly belonged to Mr. Maskell [B. M. 3407, c], which was discovered at the bottom of the Parish Chest of Grasmere in the year 1878. The Museum Library possesses copies of all the sizes mentioned above.

Among the State Papers there is a record that John Williams and Francis Eglesfield printed an edition against the King's return, and what copies remained in their warehouse were seized by agents of Bill the King's printer on November 7, 1660. There is extant also a royal mandate to Bill, dated July 25, 1661, commanding him to restore to R. Royston, of Oxford, a quantity of Prayer Books which he had

seized by mistake, supposing them to be falsely printed. [*State Papers, Dom. Charles II.* xxxix. 87; xlvi. 67.]

² *State Papers, Dom. Charles II.* xi. 27.

³ *Ibid.* xxxii. 97, 109; l. 22.

⁴ KENNETT'S *Register*, p. 629.

⁵ The House of Lords proposed to insert a proviso in the Act of Uniformity making the use of the Surplice and Sign of the Cross optional as "things indifferent," but the House of Commons emphatically refused, on May 7, 1662, to accept this proviso, defending the use of it, and declaring that it was "better to impose no ceremonies than to dispense with any," and that it was very incongruous while settling uniformity to establish schism." [*House of Lords' Journ.* xi. 446.]

tolerate much disorder and indecency in the exercise of God's worship, he would never in the least degree, by his own practice, discountenance the good old order of the Church in which he had been bred."¹ As we have already seen, the Prayer Book was restored to use in the Chapel Royal immediately after the King's return.

On July 6, 1660, five weeks afterwards, there was a debate in Parliament respecting the settlement of religion. Some suggested that the restoration of the "old religion" was the only settlement required; but in the end it was agreed to pray the King that he would call an assembly of Divines for the purpose of considering the subject. The King, however, issued a "Declaration" on October 25, 1660, in which he refers to his letter from Breda, promising toleration to all opinions, and to the visit of the Presbyterian preachers; and complains of the intolerant spirit which is shewn towards himself by the Presbyterians in wishing to deprive him of the services in the Chapel Royal, and in much misrepresenting his words, acts, and motives. He states that it had been his intention to call a Synod at once to consider the affairs of the Church, but that personal feeling is so strong as to make such a step unwise for the present. Throughout this Declaration the King assumes that the Church is restored in its integrity; but promises that he will call an assembly of "learned Divines, of both persuasions," to review the "Liturgy of the Church of England, contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and by law established;" again exhorting those who cannot conscientiously use the whole of it, to use such portions as they do not object to.²

It was in fulfilment of this promise that a Royal Commission was addressed on March 25, 1661, to the following Divines, who constituted what is known as the "Savoy Conference," from its place of meeting, in the Master's lodgings at the Savoy Palace or Hospital in the Strand, the Master at that time being the Bishop of London:—

On the Church side

Accepted Frewen, Archbishop of York.
 Gilbert Sheldon, Bishop of London, afterwards
 Archbishop of Canterbury.
 John Cosin, Bishop of Durham.
 John Warner, Bishop of Rochester.
 Henry King, Bishop of Chichester.
 Humphry Henchman, Bishop of Salisbury, after-
 wards of London.
 George Morley, Bishop of Worcester, afterwards
 of Winchester.
 Robert Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln.
 Benjamin Laney, Bishop of Peterborough, after-
 wards of Lincoln and Ely.
 Brian Walton, Bishop of Chester.
 Richard Sterne, Bishop of Carlisle, afterwards
 Archbishop of York.
 John Gauden, Bishop of Exeter, afterwards of
 Worcester.

On the Presbyterian side.

Edward Reynolds, Bishop of Norwich.
 Anthony Tuckney, D.D., Master of St. John's,
 Cambridge.
 John Conant, D.D., Reg. Prof. Div., Oxford.
 William Spurstow, D.D.
 John Wallis, D.D., Sav. Prof. Geom., Oxford
 Thomas Manton, D.D. [offered Deanery of Ro-
 chester.]
 Edmund Calamy [offered Bishopric of Lichfield].
 Richard Baxter [offered Bishopric of Hereford].
 Arthur Jackson.
 Thomas Case.
 Samuel Clarke.
 Matthew Newcomen.

Coadjutors.

John Earle, Dean of Westminster, afterwards
 Bishop of Worcester and Salisbury.
 Peter Heylin, D.D., Subdean of Westminster.
 John Hacket, D.D., afterwards Bishop of Lichfield.
 John Barwick, D.D., afterwards Dean of St. Paul's.
 Peter Gunning, D.D., afterwards Bishop of Chi-
 chester and Ely.
 John Pearson, D.D.,³ afterwards Bishop of Chester.

Thomas Horton, D.D.
 Thomas Jacomb, D.D.
 William Bate.
 John Rawlinson.
 William Cooper.
 John Lightfoot, D.D.

¹ CLARENDON, *History of the Great Rebellion*, iii. 990.

² CARDWELL'S *Conf.* p. 286.

³ "And was after by Synod commissioned to review the

Common Prayer Book" [FOTHERGILL'S *MS.* York Minster Lib.]

Thomas Pierce, D.D.

John Collings, D.D.

Anthony Sparrow, D.D., afterwards Bishop of Exeter and Norwich.

Benjamin Woodbridge, D.D.

Herbert Thorndike, D.D.

William Drake.

As this Conference was the last official attempt to reconcile what was afterwards called the "Low Church party" and Dissenters to the cordial use of the Catholic offices of the Church, it will be desirable to give a short account of its proceedings. The Letters Patent authorized the Commissioners "to advise upon and review the said Book of Common Prayer, comparing the same with the most ancient liturgies which have been used in the Church in the primitive and purest times; and to that end to assemble and meet together from time to time, and at such times within the space of four calendar months now next ensuing, in the Master's lodgings in the Savoy in the Strand, in the county of Middlesex, or in such other place or places as to you shall be thought fit and convenient; to take into your serious and grave considerations the several directions, rules, and forms of prayer, and things in the said Book of Common Prayer contained, and to advise and consult upon and about the same, and the several objections and exceptions which shall now be raised against the same. And if occasion be, to make such reasonable and necessary alterations, corrections, and amendments therein, as by and between you the said Archbishop, Bishops, Doctors, and persons hereby required and authorized to meet and advise as aforesaid, shall be agreed upon to be needful or expedient for the giving satisfaction unto tender consciences, and the restoring and continuance of peace and unity in the Churches under our protection and government; but avoiding, as much as may be, all unnecessary alterations of the forms and liturgy wherewith the people are already acquainted, and have so long received in the Church of England."¹

This Commission met at the Savoy in the Strand on April 15th, and its sittings ended on July 24, 1661: the Session of Parliament and Convocation commencing on May 8th of the same year. "The points debated," writes Izaak Walton, "were, I think, many; some affirmed to be truth and reason, some denied to be either; and these debates being then in words, proved to be so loose and perplexed as satisfied neither party. For some time that which had been affirmed was immediately forgot or denied, and so no satisfaction given to either party. But that the Debate might become more useful, it was therefore resolved that the day following the desires and reasons of the Nonconformists should be given in writing, and they in writing receive answers from the conforming party." [WALTON'S *Life of Sanderson*, sign. l.] The "several objections and exceptions" raised against the Prayer Book were thus presented to the Bishops in writing, and they are all on record in two or three contemporary reports of the Conference, of which one is referred to in the footnote, being also printed at length in CARDWELL'S *Conferences on the Book of Common Prayer*. Some of these "exceptions" were of importance, one requiring that the whole of the responsive system of the Prayer Book should be abolished, even the Litany being to be made into one long prayer, and nothing said in Divine Service by any one except the Minister, unless it were Amen. Another required the abolition of Lent and Saints' Days. But most of the exceptions were of a frivolous kind, and the remarks which accompanied them were singularly bitter and uncharitable, as well as diffuse and unbusiness-like. It seems almost incredible that grave Divines should make a great point of "The Epistle is written in" being an untrue statement of the case when a portion of a prophecy was read and technically called an "Epistle;" or that they should still look upon it as a serious grievance when the alteration conceded went no further than "For the Epistle:" or again, that they should spend their time in writing a long complaint about the possibility of their taking cold by saying the Burial Service at the grave. Yet sheets after sheets of their papers were filled with objections of this kind, and with long bitter criticisms of the principles of the Prayer Book. The Bishops replied to them in the tone in which Sanderson's Preface to the Prayer Book is written, but they seem to have keenly felt what Sanderson himself expressed—mild and gentle as he was—when he long afterwards said of his chief opponent at the Savoy, "that he had never met with a man of more pertinacious confidence, and less abilities, in all his conversation."²

¹ CARDWELL'S *Conf.* 257-368. "Grand Debate between the most Reverend the Bishops and the Presbyterian Divines. . . . The most perfect copy." 1661. See also HERWOOD'S *Documents relating to the Settlement of the Church of England by the Act of Uniformity of 1662*, published in 1862.

² WALTON writes, Bishop Pearson "told me very lately that one of the Dissenters (which I could, but forbear to, name)

appeared to Dr. Sanderson to be so bold, so troublesome, and so illogical in the dispute as forced patient Dr. Sanderson, who was then Bishop of Lincoln and a Moderator with other Bishops, to say with an unusual earnestness, that he had never met with a man of more pertinacious confidence, and less abilities, in all his conversation." [WALTON'S *Life of Sanderson*, sign. l 3.]

Perhaps too they were reminded of Lord Bacon's saying respecting his friends, the Nonconformists of an earlier day, that they lacked two principal things, the one learning, and the other love.

The Conference was limited by the Letters Patent to four months' duration, but when that time had drawn to an end little had been done towards a reconciliation of the objectors to the use of the Prayer Book. Baxter had composed a substitute for it, occupying, as he states in his *Life and Times*, "a fortnight's time" in its composition; but even his friends would not accept it as such, and probably Baxter's Prayer Book never won its way into any congregation of Dissenters in his lifetime or afterwards. In Queen Elizabeth's time Lord Burleigh had challenged the Dissenters to bring him a Prayer Book made to fit in with their own principles; but when this had been done by one party of Dissenters, another party of them offered six hundred objections to it, which were more than they offered to the old Prayer Book. The same spirit appears to have been shewn at the Savoy Conference; and the principle of unity was so entirely confined to unity in opposition, that it was impossible for any solid reconciliation of the Dissenters to the Church to have been made by any concessions that could have been offered. After all the "exceptions" had been considered and replied to by the Bishops' side (replies again replied to by the untiring controversial pens of the opposite party), the result of the Commission was exhibited in the following list of changes to which the Bishops were willing to assent:—

The Concessions offered by the Bishops at the Savoy Conference.

- § 1. We are willing that all the epistles and gospels be used according to the last translation.
- § 2. That when any thing is read for an epistle which is not in the epistles, the superscription shall be "For the epistle."
- § 3. That the Psalms be collated with the former translation, mentioned in rubr., and printed according to it.
- § 4. That the words "this day," both in the collects and prefaces, be used only upon the day itself; and for the following days it be said, "as about this time."
- § 5. That a longer time be required for signification of the names of the communicants; and the words of the rubric be changed into these, "at least some time the day before."
- § 6. That the power of keeping scandalous sinners from the communion may be expressed in the rubr. according to the xxvith and xxviith canons; so the minister be obliged to give an account of the same immediately after to the ordinary.
- § 7. That the whole preface be prefixed to the commandments.
- § 8. That the second exhortation be read some Sunday or Holy Day before the celebration of the communion, at the discretion of the minister.
- § 9. That the general confession at the communion be pronounced by one of the ministers, the people saying after him, all kneeling humbly upon their knees.
- § 10. That the manner of consecrating the elements be made more explicit and express, and to that purpose these words be put into the rubr., "Then shall he put his hand upon the bread and break it," "then shall he put his hand unto the cup."
- § 11. That if the font be so placed as the congregation cannot hear, it may be referred to the ordinary to place it more conveniently.
- § 12. That these words, "yes, they do perform these," etc., may be altered thus: "Because they promise them both by their sureties," etc.
- § 13. That the words of the last rubr. before the Catechism may be thus altered, "that children being baptized have all things necessary for their salvation, and dying before they commit any actual sins, be undoubtedly saved, though they be not confirmed."
- § 14. That to the rubr. after confirmation these words may be added, "or be ready and desirous to be confirmed."
- § 15. That these words, "with my body I thee worship," may be altered thus, "with my body I thee honour."
- § 16. That these words, "till death us depart," be thus altered, "till death us do part."
- § 17. That the words "sure and certain" may be left out.

The Conference being ended, and with so little practical result, the work of Revision was committed to the Convocations of the two Provinces of Canterbury and York. On June 10, 1661, a Licence from the Crown had been issued to the Archbishop of Canterbury [Juxon], empowering the Convoca-

tion of his Province to "debate and agree upon such points as were committed to their charge."¹ Another was issued to the Archbishop of York [Frewen], of a similar tenor, on July 10th [or 23rd]. But little was likely to be done while the Savoy Conference was sitting, beyond preparation for future action. A fresh Licence was issued on October 10th, by which the Convocation of Canterbury was definitely directed to review the Book of Common Prayer and the Ordinal,² under the authority of the Commission sent to them on the 10th of June:³ and on November 22nd a similar letter was sent to the Archbishop of York. This letter enjoined the Convocations to review the Prayer Book, and then to present it to "us for our further consideration, allowance, or confirmation."

It is probable that much consideration had been given to the subject during the five months that elapsed between the issue of the first Licence and that of the second, as a Form for the 29th of May had been agreed upon, and also the Office for Adult Baptism. When, however, the Convocation of Canterbury met on November 21, 1661, "the King's letters were read," and the revision of the Prayer Book was immediately entered upon with vigour and decision.⁵ The Upper House appointed a Committee, consisting of the following

Matthew Wren,	Bishop of Ely.
Robert Skinner,	" Oxford.
John Warner,	" Rochester.
Humphry Henchman,	" Salisbury.
George Morley,	" Worcester.
Robert Sanderson,	" Lincoln.
William Nicholson,	" Gloucester.
John Cosin,	" Durham.

The last named had been invited (with the Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of Carlisle and Chester) to be present and assist at the previous session of the Southern Convocation; and was now appointed on the Committee as the most learned ritualist among the Bishops. Wren, Warner, and Skinner had been Bishops in the Convocation of 1640.⁶

It was necessary that the co-operation of the York Lower House of Convocation should be secured: the Archbishop and three Bishops of that Province, the Bishops of Durham, Carlisle, and Chester, therefore wrote to Dr. Neile, the Prolocutor of York Convocation, saying that they sat in consultation with the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury, and adding that as the time was very short for the work in hand, it would much facilitate its progress if some Clergy were appointed to act in the Southern Convocation as Proxies for the Northern. Eight such proxies were appointed, three of whom were members of the Lower House of Canterbury Province, the Prolocutor and the Deans of St. Paul's and Westminster, and five of the Lower House of York.⁷

The Committee of Bishops met at Ely House; and Sancroft, at this time Rector of Houghton-le-Spring, Prebendary of Durham, and Chaplain to Cosin, acted as their Secretary. Bishop Cosin had prepared a folio Prayer Book of 1619, in which he had written down in the margin such alterations as he considered desirable: and this volume, which is preserved in the Cosin Library, Durham [D. III. 5], has been thoroughly examined for the present work, all the alterations so made being either referred to or printed in the Notes.⁸ This volume was evidently used as the basis of their work by the Bishops, although (as will be seen) they did not adopt all the changes proposed by Cosin, and introduced others which are not found in his Prayer Book. They were thus enabled to proceed rapidly with the work of revision, and on November 23rd sent a portion of their labours down to the Lower House, which returned it on the 27th. The whole Prayer Book was completed by December 20, 1661, and a form

¹ *State Papers, Dom. Charles II.* xliiii. October 10.

² KENNETT'S *Register*, p. 503.

³ *State Papers, Dom. Charles II.* xliiii. October 10.

⁴ KENNETT'S *Register*, p. 564.

⁵ The Bishops returned to their seats in the House of Lords on November 20th, and from that time the junior Bishop said prayers daily as formerly. The Presbyterian minister had been "excused from attendance" on the House of Commons on October 7, 1660.

⁶ Archbishop Juxon, Bishops Duppa, Piers, and Roberts, had also been Bishops in 1640. Four other Bishops in the Upper House of 1661, Sheldon, Floyd, Griffith, and Ironside, had been in the Lower House in 1640, and

so had about twenty members of the Lower House of 1661.

⁷ KENNETT'S *Register*, pp. 563-56

⁸ A fair copy of this volume, written by Sancroft in a Prayer Book of 1634, is preserved in the Bodleian Library [Arch. Bodl. D. 28], and has been collated with the original for the present work. Cosin had also written three sets of Notes on the Prayer Book; and had prepared a fourth, suggesting amendments which he considered to be necessary, several years before. These are collected in the fifth volume of his Works, published in the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology. Some MS. Notes on the Prayer Book, Harl. MS. 7311, are also said to be his. [See p. 36, note.]

of Subscription was then agreed upon, of which a copy in Bishop Cosin's handwriting is inserted in his Durham Book, and which is also to be found, with all the names attached, in the Manuscript volume originally annexed to the Act of Uniformity.

Meanwhile Parliament was busily engaged in elaborating a new "Act for the Uniformity of Publick Prayers and Administration of Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies: and for establishing the Form of Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating Bishops, Priests, and Deacons in the Church of England" [14 Car. II. c. 4], to which it was necessary to annex a Prayer Book, as in the case of preceding Acts of Uniformity, as the Book to which the Act referred and which was incorporated with it. There is thus not only an Ecclesiastical but a Parliamentary history of the Prayer Book, extending from June 25, 1661, to May 19, 1662; and it is very worthy of remark that the desire for the statutory restoration of the Church system of Divine Service was so great as to cause considerable impatience on the part of the Commons at the delay which occurred through the Savoy Conference and through the careful deliberation with which Convocation carried on the work of revision. This Parliamentary history of the Prayer Book is, however, of so much interest and importance that the details of it, as they appear on the Journals of the two Houses, must be referred to at some length.

On June 25, 1661, the House of Commons ordered, "That a Committee be appointed to view the several laws for confirming the Liturgy of the Church of England; and to make search, whether the original book of the Liturgy, annexed to the Act passed in the fifth and sixth years of the reign of King Edward the Sixth, be yet extant; and to bring in a compendious Bill to supply any defect in the former laws; and to provide for an effectual conformity to the Liturgy of the Church, for the time to come." The Bill was brought in on June 29th, and read a second time on July 3rd, a Prayer Book of 1604 being temporarily annexed to it. When the Bill was committed on the latter day an instruction was given to the Committee, a very large one, that "if the original Book of Common Prayer cannot be found, then to report the said printed book, and their opinion touching the same; and to send for persons, papers, and records." The search for the original Prayer Book proved fruitless, and when the Bill was read a third time on July 9th, "a Book of Common Prayer, intituled 'The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church of England,' which was imprinted at London in the year 1604, was, at the clerk's table, annexed to the said Bill, part of the two prayers, inserted therein before the reading psalms being first taken out, and the other part thereof obliterated." On the following day the Bill with the Book annexed was sent up to the House of Lords, and was not again sent back to the House of Commons until April 10, 1662, the delay being caused by the proceedings of the Savoy Conference and of the Convocation.

The Bill was read a first time in the House of Lords as long afterwards as January 14, 1662; and on the 17th it was read a second time and committed. A message was brought from the House of Commons on the 28th urging the Lords to expedition, but on February 13, 1662, the Earl of Dorset reported, "That the Committee for the Bill for Uniformity of Worship have met oftentimes, and expected a book of Uniformity to be brought in; but, that not being done, their Lordships have made no progress therein; therefore the Committee desires to know the pleasure of the House, whether they shall proceed upon the Book brought from the House of Commons, or stay until the other Book be brought in. Upon this, the Bishop of London signified to the House, 'That the Book will very shortly be brought in.'"

In the Letters Patent, under the authority of which the Convocations were acting, the latter were directed, when they had revised the Prayer Book, to present it to the King "for our further consideration, allowance, or confirmation." The revision had been completed on December 20, 1661, and the direction given in the Letters Patent was complied with by sending to the King the fairly written Manuscript copy of the new Prayer Book as it had been subscribed by the two Houses of Convocation on that day. It was not to be expected, however, that the King and his Council should collate every page of this volume with the Prayer Book formerly in use, and therefore a folio black-letter Prayer Book of 1636 was also sent, in which the changes were carefully entered by Sancroft.¹ Two tables had also been made, on a separate paper, the one of "Alterations" and the other of "Additions," in which the "Old" text and the "New" text were put in parallel columns: at the end of the first table this note being added, "These are all y^e materiall Alterations, y^e rest are onely verball or y^e changeing of some Rubricks for y^e better performing of y^e Service or y^e new moulding some of y^e Collects."² A Privy Council was then summoned, at which four Bishops were ordered to be present. This met on

¹ A photozincographed facsimile of this volume was "published for the Royal Commission on Ritual, by authority of the Lord Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury," in the year 1871.

² See p. 38.

February 24, 1662, the Bishops of London, Durham, Salisbury, Worcester, and Chester being present: "at which time the Book of Common Prayer, with the Amendments and Additions, as it was prepared by the Lords Bishops, was read and approved, and ordered to be transmitted to the House of Peers, with this following recommendation, signed by His Majesty:—

"CHARLES R.

"His majesty having, according to his Declaration of the 25th of October, 1660, granted his commission under the great seal, to several bishops and other divines, to review the Book of Common Prayer, and to prepare such alterations and additions as they thought fit to offer: afterwards the convocations of the clergy of both the provinces of Canterbury and York were by his majesty called and assembled, and are now sitting. And his Majesty hath been pleased to authorize and require the presidents of the said convocations, and other the bishops and clergy of the same, to review the said Book of Common Prayer, and the book of the form and manner of making and consecrating of bishops, priests, and deacons; and that, after mature consideration, they should make such additions or alterations in the said books respectively as to them should seem meet and convenient; and should exhibit and present the same to his majesty in writing, for his majesty's further consideration, allowance, or confirmation. Since which time, upon full and mature deliberation, they the said presidents, bishops, and clergy of both provinces, have accordingly reviewed the said books, and have made, exhibited, and presented to his majesty in writing, some alterations, which they think fit to be inserted in the same, and some additional prayers to the said Book of Common Prayer, to be used upon proper and emergent occasions.

"All which his majesty having duly considered, doth, with the advice of his council, fully approve and allow the same; and doth recommend it to the House of Peers, that the said Book of Common Prayer, and of the form of ordination and consecration of bishops, priests, and deacons, with those alterations and additions, be the book which, in and by the intended Act of Uniformity, shall be appointed to be used, by all that officiate in all cathedral and collegiate churches and chapels, and in all chapels of colleges and halls in both the universities, and the colleges of Eton and Winchester, and in all parish churches and chapels within the kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and by all that make or consecrate bishops, priests, or deacons, in any of the said places, under such sanctions and penalties as the parliament shall think fit.

"Given at our court, at Whitehall, the 24th day of February, 1661" [New Style 1662].

The Journals add, "The book mentioned in his majesty's message was brought into this House; which is ordered to be referred to the committee for the Act of Uniformity." Lord Clarendon mentions that the Revised Book, that is, the MS. which the members of Convocation had subscribed, was "confirmed by his Majesty under the Great Seal of England;" and as, being Chancellor at the time, the Seal would have been affixed by his direction, it seems impossible that he should have been mistaken, though no trace of the Great Seal is now to be found in connection with the volume.

A few days afterwards, on March 3, 1662, a conciliatory explanation of the delay was given by the King himself to the House of Commons, as is shewn by the following entry in its Journals:—

"[The king having commanded the Commons to attend him in the banqueting-house, Whitehall, on Saturday, 1st March, they did so; and the speaker read his majesty's speech to the house, on the following Monday. In the course of it his majesty said:—]

"Gentlemen, I hear you are very zealous for the church, and very solicitous, and even jealous, that there is not expedition enough used in that affair. I thank you for it, since, I presume, it proceeds from a good root of piety and devotion: but I must tell you I have the worst luck in the world, if, after all the reproaches of being a papist, whilst I was abroad, I am suspected of being a presbyterian now I am come home. I know you will not take it unkindly, if I tell you, that I am as zealous for the church of England, as any of you can be; and am enough acquainted with the enemies of it, on all sides; that I am as much in love with the Book of Common Prayer, as you can wish, and have prejudice enough to those that do not love it; who, I hope, in time will be better informed, and change their minds: and you may be confident, I do as much desire to see a uniformity settled, as any amongst you: I pray, trust me, in that affair; I promise you to hasten the despatch of it, with all convenient speed; you may rely upon me in it.

"I have transmitted the Book of Common Prayer, with those alterations and additions which have been presented to me by the Convocation, to the House of Peers with my approbation, that the Act of Uniformity may relate to it: so that I presume it will be shortly despatched there; and when we have done all we can, the well settling that affair will require great prudence and discretion, and the absence of all passion and precipitation."

Parliament now proceeded to the completion of the Act of Uniformity without any further delay. The Lords' Committee reported to the House on March 13, 1662, and on that and the following two days the "alterations and additions" were read;¹ "which being ended, the Lord Chancellor, in the name, and by the directions of the House, gave the Lords and Bishops thanks, for their care in this

¹ In the original rough Minutes of proceedings taken by the Clerks it is stated that "after debate it was resolved that the amendments and alterations in the printed book should be read, which was this day begun accordingly, and so the

Preface was read." This shews the purpose for which the "printed book" sent with the "fairly written" MS. was prepared. Both books are mentioned subsequently as being sent down to the House of Commons.

business; and desired their Lordships to give the like thanks, from this House, to the other House of Convocation, for their pains herein." On the 17th the "House took into consideration the Bill concerning Uniformity in Public Worship, formerly reported from the committee. And, upon the second reading of the alterations and provisos, and considerations thereof, it is ordered, that this House agrees to the preamble, as it is now brought in by the committee. And the question being put, 'Whether this book that hath been transmitted to this House from the King shall be the book to which the Act of Uniformity shall relate?' it was resolved in the affirmative."

After the Act had been carefully considered clause by clause, it was read a third time and passed on April 9, 1662, and before holding a conference with the Commons on the following day "the House directed that the Book of Common Prayers, recommended from the King, shall be delivered to the House of Commons, as that being the Book to which the Act of Uniformity is to relate; and also to deliver the book wherein the alterations are made, out of which the other Book was fairly written; and likewise to communicate to them the King's message, recommending the said book; and lastly, to let the Commons know, 'That the Lords, upon consideration had of the Act of Uniformity, have thought fit to make some alterations, and add certain provisos, to which the concurrence of the House of Commons is desired.'"

The "book wherein the alterations are made" was the black-letter Prayer Book of 1536, which has already been mentioned; "the other book" which had been "fairly written" out of it was the Manuscript volume to which the members of Convocation had appended their subscriptions, and which was afterwards "joined and annexed" to the Act of Uniformity: both volumes being still preserved in the House of Lords.¹

On April 11, 1662, the Act of Uniformity was again in the House of Commons, and on the 14th "the amendments in 'The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England,' sent from the Lords; the transcript of which Book, so amended, therewith sent, they desire to be added to the Bill of Uniformity, instead of the book sent up therewith, was, in part, read."

The reading was finished the same afternoon, and on the following day a Committee was appointed "to compare the Books² of Common Prayer, sent down from the Lords, with the book sent up from this House; and to see whether they differ in anything besides the amendments, sent from the Lords, and already read in this House, and wherein; and to make their report therein, with all the speed they can. And, for that purpose, they are to meet this afternoon, at two of the clock, in the Speaker's chamber."

The Committee sat late and early, and reported to the House on the afternoon of the 16th, receiving the special thanks of the House for their expedition. The question was then put, "Whether debate shall be admitted to the amendments made by the Convocation in the Book of Common Prayer, and sent down by the Lords to this House?" when ninety members voted for and ninety-six against a debate. Afterwards the question was put, "That the amendments made by the Convocation, and sent down by the Lords to this House, might, by the order of this House, have been debated, and it was resolved in the affirmative."³

Much further debate took place on the many clauses of the Act of Uniformity, and on the various amendments made or proposed, but the only other incident specially connected with the Prayer Book itself was the formal correction of a clerical error, which is thus recorded in the Journals of the House of Lords on May 8, 1662:—

"Whereas it was signified by the House of Commons, at the conference yesterday, 'That they found one mistake in the rubric of baptism, which they conceived was a mistake of the writer, "persons" being put instead of "children:""

¹ Both these volumes were practically lost sight of for forty or fifty years, but were discovered in 1867 to have been all the while in safe custody, first on a shelf in the chamber where the original Acts of Parliament were preserved, and afterwards in the Library of the House of Lords.

² That is, the black-letter folio with MS. corrections and the fairly written MS.

³ The constitutional respect of the two Houses for Convocation is strongly illustrated by an incident which occurred on one of these days. A strong desire had been expressed in the House of Commons that a proviso should be introduced into the Act of Uniformity "for being uncovered and for using reverent gestures at the time of Divine Service." This proviso was twice read, "but the matter being held proper

for the Convocation," it was ordered that those members who managed the Conference with the Lords should intimate the desire of the House. This was done, and the following entry appears in the Journals of the House of Lords on May 8th:—

"Whereas it was intimated at the conference yesterday, as the desire of the House of Commons, 'That it be recommended to the Convocation, to take order for reverend and uniform gestures and demeanors to be enjoined at the time of divine service and preaching:'"

"It is ordered by this House, and hereby recommended to the Lords, the Bishops, and the rest of the Convocation of the Clergy, to prepare some canon or rule for that purpose, to be humbly presented unto his majesty for his assent."

"The Lord Bishop of Durham acquainted the House, that himself, and the Lord Bishop of St. Asaph, and the Lord Bishop of Carlile, had authority from the Convocation to mend the said word, averring it was only a mistake of the scribe. And accordingly they came to the clerk's table, and amended the same."¹

The amendments proposed by the House of Commons in the Act of Uniformity all tended to raise the tone in which the Prayer Book was to be used, and to make the provisions of the Act more strict. They especially required, as has already been mentioned, that the Surplice, and the Sign of the Cross in Baptism, should continue to be used. These amendments were all agreed to by the Lords on May 10th; and thus the Prayer Book, as amended by Convocation, and the Act of Uniformity, as amended by Parliament, both received the Royal Assent on May 19, 1662.

In answer to inquiries from the House of Lords, the Bishops had guaranteed (on April 21st) that the Book should be in print and ready for use on August 24th, the Feast of St. Bartholomew, which was the day fixed by Parliament for the Act to come into operation. The printing was done in London by Bill and Barker, the King's Printers, and under the superintendence of Convocation, which, as early as March 8th, had appointed Dr. Sancroft to be Supervisor, and Messrs. Scattergood and Dillingham, Correctors of the press.² The following MS. entry on the fly-leaf of Bishop Cosin's Durham Book, in the Bishop's own hand, will shew how much anxious thought he had taken for this and all other matters connected with the Revision of the Prayer Book:³—

"Directions to be given to the printer.

"Set a fair Frontispiece at the beginning of the Book, and another before the Psalter, to be designed as the Archbishop shall direct, and after to be cut in Brass." [A proof copy of this is preserved in the same volume.]

"Page the whole Book.

"Add nothing. Leave out nothing. Alter nothing, in what Volume soever it be printed. Particularly; never cut off the Lord's Prayer, Creed, or any Collect with an etc.; but wheresoever they are to be used, print them out at large, and add [Amen] to the end of every prayer.

"Never print the Lord's Prayer beyond—'deliver us from evil. Amen.'

"Print the Creeds always in three paragraphs, relating to the three Persons, etc.

"Print not Capital letters with profane pictures in them.

"In all the Epistles and Gospels follow the new translation." [They are so written in the MS. annexed to the Act of Uniformity.]

"As much as may be, compose so that the leaf be not to be turned over in any Collect, Creed, Verse of a Psalm, Middle of a sentence, etc.

"Set not your own Names in the Title-page nor elsewhere in the Book, but only 'Printed at London by the printers to the King's most excellent Majesty. Such a year.'" [These names were erased from the Sealed Books.]

"Print [Glory be to the Father, etc.] at the end of every Psalm, and of every part of *civic*. Psalm.

"In this Book:—

"Where a line is drawn through the words, that is all to be left out.

"Where a line is drawn under the words, it is to be printed in the Roman letter.

"Where a prick line is drawn under the words, it is not part of the book, but only a direction to the printer or reader.

¹ This correction was made both in the black-letter copy and in the manuscript, where it is still to be seen. An order for making it had passed Convocation on April 24th. [KENNETT'S Register, p. 666.]

A more curious slip of the pen is said to have been corrected with a bold readiness by Lord Clarendon. "Archbishop Tenison told me by his bedside on Monday, Feb. 12, 1710, that the Convocation book intended to be the copy confirmed by the Act of Uniformity had a rash blunder in the rubrick after Baptism, which should have run [It is certain by God's word, that children which are baptized dying before they commit actual sin are undoubtedly saved]. But the words [which are baptized] were left out, till Sir Cyril Wyche coming to see the Lord Chancellor Hyde found the book brought home by his lordship, and lying in his parlour window, even after it had passed the two houses, and happening to cast his eye upon that place, told the Lord Chancellor of that gross omission, who supplied it with his own hand." [Ibid. p. 643.] This story was fifty years old when it reached Bishop Kennett, but it has an air of probability: and such strange accidents in the most important matters have not unfrequently occurred. So the word "not" was once omitted from the seventh commandment in a whole edition [A.D. 1631] of the Holy Bible; the printers being heavily fined for the mistake. But there is no trace of the error in either the black-letter copy or the

manuscript. If it ever existed it was probably in the copy prepared for the printers, of which nothing is now known.

² Among Archbishop Sancroft's MSS. in the Bodleian, there is a letter from one of Bishop Cosin's chaplains, written from Bishop Auckland on June 16, 1662, in which he says, "My lord desires at all times to know particularly what progress you make in the Common Prayer." There is also a mandate from Charles II. to the Dean and Chapter of Durham among the State Papers, dated June 16, 1662, likewise, and ordering them to dispense with Prebendary Sancroft's residence, as he "has been for some months, and still is attending the impression of the Liturgy;" and adding that "it is not the meaning of the statutes to require the residence of members of the Chapter when service of greater use to the Church requires them." [State Papers, lvi. 61.]

³ It is very singular that Burton had alleged, in his *Tryall of Private Devotions*, that there was "in the great printing house at London a Common Prayer Book," altered with Cosin's hand, to shew "how he would have it altered." Prynne asserts something similar in his criticism of COSIN'S *Devotions*, printed in 1626 and 1627. [Brief Censure of Mr. Cozens and his Cozening Devotions, pp. 92, 104.] These anticipations of Cosin's influence shew that he was marked out for a leader in the work of revision.

“Where this note [is set, a break is to be made, or a new line begun.

“Where a double line is drawn under any words, they are to be printed in Capitals.”

From this memorandum, and from evidence supplied by the character of the printed copies used for the “Sealed Books” hereafter mentioned, it may be concluded that the “copy” sent to the printing office was a printed Prayer Book with the corrections written in, as in the volume which had been sent with the manuscript to the King and the Houses of Parliament: and it is to be observed that the “prickt” or dotted “line,” as well as the other marks spoken of above, all occur both in that volume and in the copy revised by Cosin’s own hand.

But although great care was used to print the supply of books required for present use according to the Text which had been prepared by Convocation, still greater care was necessary for the production of a printed Text that would so exactly correspond with the Manuscript volume which had been annexed to the Act of Uniformity as to be an accurate representative of the actual Record. While, therefore, the Act of Uniformity was passing through Parliament, the House of Commons inserted a clause which provided that “a true and perfect copy of this Act, and of the said Book annexed hereunto,” should be provided by the Deans and Chapters of every Cathedral or Collegiate Church before Christmas Day, obtained “under the Great Seal of England,” and also that similar copies should be delivered into the respective Courts of Westminster, and into the Tower of London, to be kept and preserved as records. It was also provided that these books should “be examined by such persons as the King’s Majesty shall appoint under the Great Seal of England for that purpose, and shall be compared with the original Book hereunto annexed.” These Commissioners were to have power “to correct, and amend in writing, any error committed by the Printer in the printing of the same book, or of any thing therein contained, and shall certify under their hands and seals . . . that they have examined and compared the said Book, and find it to be a true and perfect Copy.” The Prayer Books so certified and sealed with the Great Seal were then to be as good Records as the MS. itself.

These Commissioners were appointed by Letters Patent, which were issued on November 1, 1662, and were twenty-five in number, although seven or eight of them only signed the books when their work was completed. A special edition of the Prayer Book was printed for their use in a large folio size with wide margins, and in preparing this some oversights occurred, such as the old page headings instead of those in the Manuscript, together with some printer’s errors. Corrections were duly made by the Commissioners, but not with so minute an accuracy as was to be desired,¹ in every copy which was to receive the Great Seal, and a Certificate was appended to each volume, which was signed by the Commissioners on December 13, 1662. The Books so certified were afterwards ordered by the Crown to be passed under the Great Seal; and Letters Patent carrying the Seal were affixed to each of them by the Lord Chancellor on January 5, 1663.² One of the volumes was then sent to every Dean and Chapter throughout the country, one to each of the Courts at Westminster, and one to the Tower, to be preserved among the Records. Thus the Book of Common Prayer was carefully guarded through every stage of its preparation, that it might go forth to the people of England with all the authority that law can give, and that a perfect Record might never be wanting of the true document by which the system of Divine Service is regulated in the Church of England. Many of the Cathedral copies, probably all, are still in existence, that of Durham being as perfect as when first received, but the five which were formerly preserved in the Tower, the Courts of Chancery, Queen’s Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, have been transferred to the custody of the Master of the Rolls and are now in the Public Record Office.

The alterations and additions which were with so great care, exactness, and deliberation, made in the Prayer Book at this last Revision were too numerous to be mentioned in detail, but the more important of them were collected into two Tables, which were sent to the King and Privy Council, and, as has been shewn at p. 34, these Tables were read for the information of the two Houses of

¹ Every endeavour has been used to obtain permission from the House of Lords to make an exact collation of the Manuscript volume, but without success. Sufficient examination of it has however been allowed to shew that no important variations occur between the Text of the original Record and the Text of the present volume. [January 1881.]

² Until this was done no copies were allowed to be put into circulation but those which were sent out from the office of the King’s Printers. As soon as the first impression had been

published the University of Cambridge began to print from it; but a sharp Mandate was sent to the Vice-Chancellor by the King on August 26, 1662, expressing his displeasure at the contempt of authority thus shewn, and directing him “to order” the University Printers “to forbear, to secure the sheets of the said Books, that none may be disposed of, and to inquire why former orders were not obeyed.” [*State Papers, Dom. Charles II.* lviii. 42; lxi. 144; lxiii. 42.]

Parliament. They are here printed at length, both for the sake of their historical interest and also as giving a convenient view of the changes that were made.

"ALTERATIONS.

OLD.

NEW.

LITANY.

Bishops, Pastors, and Ministers. Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.

COLLECT.

The 3^d Sunday in Advent. A larger and more proper inserted.

For CHRISTMAS DAY.

this day. as at this time [as also in y^e Preface at y^e Communion].
for Easter Tuesday. is put for Low Easter.

For WHITSUNDAY.

upon this day. as at this time.
y^e Epistle. For y^e Epistle [as often as it is not taken out of an Epistle].

COMMUNION.

Rubrick.

Overnight or else in y^e Morning, before y^e beginning of Morning prayer or immediately after. at least sometime y^e day before.
in y^e body of y^e Church or in y^e Chancel. in y^e most convenient place in y^e upper end of y^e Chancel, or of y^e body of y^e Church where there is no Chancel.
northside. north part.
Bishops, Pastors, and Curates. Bishops and Curates.
The 1st and 2nd Exhortations are altered and fitted for timely notice and preparation to y^e Communion.
In y^e 3^d Exhortation this clause [If any of you be a blasphemer of God, an hinderer, etc.] is left out.
These words [before this Congregation] omitted.
Before y^e Confession, for these words [either by one of them, or else by y^e Minister]. by one of y^e Ministers.
In y^e 2^d Prayer after Receiving, for [in thy mysticall body]. in y^e mysticall body of thy Son.
In y^e last Rubrick but one these words [And y^e Parish shall be discharged of such sums of money or other duties w^h hitherto they have payed for y^e same by order of their houses every Sunday] omitted as needlesse now.

BAPTISME.

didst sanctify y^e flood Jordan and all other waters. in y^e river Jordan didst sanctify water.
dost thou forsake? *Ans.* I forsake. dost thou in the name of this childe renounce? *Ans.*
I renounce.

PRIVATE BAPTISME.

• This Demand [whether thinke you y^e childe to be lawfully and perfectly baptized?] omitted.

CONFIRMATION.

In y^e Rubrick for these words [untill such time as he can say y^e Catechism and be confirmed] these. set before y^e Catechism.
untill such time as he be confirmed, or be ready and desirous to be confirmed.

CATECHISME.

y ^e King and his Ministers.	y ^e King and all that are put in authority under him.
Water: wherein y ^e person baptized is dipped or sprinkled in it, In y ^e Name, etc.	Water, wherein y ^e Person is baptized in y ^e Name, etc.
Yea they doe performe them both by their sureties, who promise and vow them both in their names.	Because they promise them both by their sureties, which promise.

MATRIMONY.

These words [In Paradise]	omitted.
depart.	do part.
children's children unto y ^e 3 ^d and 4 th generation.	children christianly and virtuously brought up.
loving and amiable to her husband as Rachel, wise as Rebecca, faithfull and obedient as Sara.	amiable, faithfull and obedient to her husband.
The new married persons, the same day of their Marriage, must receive y ^e Communion.	It is convenient y ^t y ^e new married persons should receive y ^t Communion at y ^e time of y ^r marriage or at y ^e first opportunity after y ^r marriage.

VISITATION OF Y^r SICK.

In y^e Psalme y^e 5 last verses omitted.

BURIALL.

y ^e Lesson read	before they goe to y ^e grave.
eyes.	cares.
of resurrection.	of y ^e Resurrection.
this our brother	omitted.
them that be elected.	y ^e faithfull.

CHURCHING.

For Psalme 121,	116 or 127.
w ^{ch} hast delivered.	wee give thee hearty thanks for that thou hast vouchsafed to deliver.
in her vocation	omitted.

NOTE y^t All y^e Epistles and Gospels and most of the Sentences of Scripture are put in y^t last Translation of y^e Bible.

These are all y^e materiall Alterations. Y^e rest are onely verball, or y^e changing of some Rubricks for y^e better performing of y^e Service, or y^e new moulding some of y^e Collects.

ADDITIONS.

OLD.

NEW.

deliver us from evil.	For thine is y ^e kingdome, y ^e power and y ^e glory, for ever and ever [here and in some other places].
Praise ye the Lord.	Ans. The Lord's name be praised.

LITANY.

privy conspiracy	and rebellion.
heresy	and schisme.
To y ^e Prayer in time of dearth	another prayer added.
in y ^t of plague.	
Almighty God w ^{ch} in thy wrath	didst send a plague upon thine owne people in y ^e wilderness for their obstinate rebellion against Moses and Aaron, and also.
didst then	accept of an atonement and.
	Two Prayers for y ^e Ember weekes.
	A Thanksgiving for restoring publique peace.
	A Prayer for y ^e Parliament.

COLLECTS.

A Collect for y^e 6 Sunday after y^e Epiphany.

Epistle, 1 S. John 3. 1.

Gospel, S. Matt. 24. 23.

A Collect for Easter Eve.

An Antheme on Easter day, 1 Cor. 5. 7.

COMMUNION.

In y^e 3^d Rubrick added, Provided y^t every Minister so repelling any as is specified, in this or in y^e next preceding Paragraph of this Rubrick, shall be obliged to give an account of y^e same to y^e Ordinary within 14 dayes after at y^e furthest, and y^e Ordinary shall proceede against y^e offending person according to y^e Canon.

the Lord thy God, who brought thee out of y^e Land of Egypt, out of y^e house of bondage.

In y^e prayer for y^e whole state of Christ's Church. to accept our almes
adversity.

and oblations.

And wee also blesse thy holy name for all thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fear; beseeching thee to give us grace so to follow their good examples that wth them wee may be partakers of thy heavenly kindome.

draw neere in full assurance of faith.

At y^e Prayer of Consecration Marginall Notes directing y^e Action of y^e Priest.

BAPTISME.

A fourth demand added here, and in Private Baptisme.

Wilt thou then obediently keepe God's holy will and commandements, and walke in y^e same all y^e dayes of thy life? *Ans.* I will.

In y^e prayer after y^e Demands, after these words [y^e supplications of thy Congregation] added,

A Marginall note added.

Sanctify this water to y^e mysticall washing away of sin. Here shall y^e Priest make a crosse upon y^e childe's forehead.

At y^e end of y^e Rubrick is added this Declaration.

It is certaine by God's word that persons w^{ch} are baptized, dying before they committ actuall sin, are undoubtedly saved.

An Office for baptizing such as are of riper yeeres

added.

CONFIRMATION.

Then shall y^e Bishop say, Doe you here, in y^e presence of God and of this Congregation, etc., and every one shall audibly answer, I doe.

After y^e words of Confirmation added,

Y^e L^d be wth you. *Ans.* And wth thy spirit.

Y^e Lord's Prayer.

After y^e Collect

Another Prayer added.

VISITATION OF Y^e SICK.

for ever.

Ans. Spare us, good Lord.

y^e 2^d Prayer

enlarged.

A Commendatory Prayer.

A Prayer for a sick childe.

A Prayer when there appeares small hope of recovery.

A Commendatory at y^e point of death.

A Prayer for persons troubled in minde.

BURIALL.

After they are come into y^e Church shall be read one or both these Psalms, 39. 90.
 everlasting glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord.
 at y^e end. y^e grace of our L^d Jesus Christ, etc.

COMMUNION.

In y^e last prayer, after [looke upon us in y^e merits and mediation of thy blessed Son Jesus Christ our L^d. Amen.

Then shall y^e Minister alone say,

Y^e Lord blesse us, and keepe us, y^e L^d lift up y^e light of his countenance upon us, and give us peace, now and for evermore. Amen."

§ *Subsequent Dealings with the Prayer Book.*

An attempt was made in the reign of William III. to remodel the Prayer Book on principles much less Catholic than those which had been adopted in 1549 and 1661; the two objects being to satisfy the Latitudinarians by watering down its Theology, and to bring the language of it into agreement with the so-called "elegant" English of the period; but happily the attempt was unsuccessful.¹

In the year 1751 an Act of Parliament was passed "for regulating the commencement of the year, and for correcting the Calendar now in use" [24 Geo. II. c. 23], and the effect of this on the Calendar of the Prayer Book is shewn in the Introduction to the Calendar. In 1871 a new Table of Daily and Proper Lessons was compiled by a Royal Commission, approved by Convocation, and authorized by 34 and 35 Vict. c. 37. In 1872 an "Act for the Amendment of the Act of Uniformity" [35 and 36 Vict. c. 35] was also passed, sanctioning the use of a shorter form of Mattins and Evensong which had been prepared in a similar manner.

§ *National Versions of the Prayer Book.*

The English system of Divine Service was adopted by the Church of Scotland in the seventeenth century, and by that of the United States of America in the eighteenth: and although the Churches of both countries are but small bodies, when compared with the numbers of the population, the versions of the Book of Common Prayer adopted by them have an historical claim to be called national versions,—that of Scotland having been adopted under royal and ecclesiastical authority, while that of America was adopted under the most authoritative sanction of the ecclesiastical body to which the original English colonists of the continent belonged.

The Reformation was not carried forward in Scotland with the same calm, dispassionate, and humble reverence for the old foundations which was so conspicuous in that of the Church of England. For many years no uniform system of devotion took the place of the ancient offices, **The Scottish Prayer Book.** and it was not until the reign of James I. that any endeavour was made to put an end to that ecclesiastical anarchy which was thinly veiled by Knox's miserable Book of Common Order. The General Assembly of 1616 agreed to the proposal that a national Liturgy should be framed: but King James wished to introduce the English Prayer Book, and it was used in his presence at Holyrood on May 17, 1617. Three years afterwards an Ordinal was published for the use of the Scottish Church; and the draft of a Liturgy was submitted to the King by Archbishop Spottiswoode. This was revived on the accession of Charles I., and in 1629 official measures were taken for obtaining its reconsideration and adoption by the Church of Scotland; although both the King and Laud were anxious to have the English Prayer Book introduced without alteration. Eventually the King gave way to the wish of the Scottish Bishops that a national form of Divine Service should

¹ The whole of this proposed Revision of 1689 was printed in a Blue Book by order of the House of Commons, dated June 2, 1854; and this was reprinted in a very convenient form under the title of "The Revised Liturgy of 1689," by Bagster, in 1855. Some account of the progress of the revision

will be found in BISHOP PATRICK'S *Autobiography*, pp. 149-153, ed. 1839. As the Revision never had any authority or influence, it has been considered unnecessary to give any further particulars respecting it here.

be adopted: an episcopal committee was appointed (of whom Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, and Wedderburn, Bishop of Dunblane, appear to have been the most active), and they were engaged on the work for many months, some delay being caused, apparently, by the necessity of communicating with the King and the Archbishop of Canterbury, which had arisen from the altered relations of the two countries. The Scottish Prayer Book of 1637 was the result of these labours. It has been popularly connected with the name of Archbishop Laud, but it was the compilation of Scottish Bishops; and all the English Archbishop did was (as one of a commission of which Wren and Juxon were the other two members) to offer suggestions, prevent rash changes, communicate between the Crown and the Scottish Bishops respecting alterations, and facilitate the progress of the book through the press.

The Book of Common Prayer so prepared was not submitted to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. As the preceding pages have shewn, the English Book was, from first to last, the work of Convocation; and no doubt the Scottish book ought also to have had the sanction at least of the whole Scottish Church by representation, and not only of the Crown and the Bishops. In the year 1637 it was imposed upon the Church of Scotland by letters patent and the authority of the Bishops: but, as is well known, its introduction was vigorously opposed by a fanatical faction, which in the end became supreme, and both the Church and the Prayer Book of Scotland were suppressed. That now in use in the Scottish Church was introduced in later times; but the book of 1637 is so much connected with the history of the period, and has, besides, so much liturgical interest, that a fuller notice of it has been inserted in the Appendix at the end of this work.

Until the separation of the North American colonies from England, the English Book of Common Prayer was used without any alteration in the American Church. After they became independent, as **The American Prayer Book.** the United States, it was thought expedient for the Church to make some changes, especially as alterations were being introduced without authority, and there seemed danger of much disorder in Divine worship if a form were not adopted which could have some claim to be called national. The first step towards this was taken at the General Convention of the American Church held at Philadelphia in 1785: during the next four years the various Offices were gradually remodelled until they took the form in which they are now used, and which was authorized by the General Convention of 1789. Committees had been appointed to prepare an entirely new book: but in the end the English Prayer Book was taken as the basis to be adopted. The language was in many parts modernized, the Communion Office was restored to a form similar to that of 1549, a selection of Psalms was appointed as well as our daily order, the use of the Athanasian Creed was discontinued, and some other less important alterations were made. But the Preface declares that the American Church "is far from intending to depart from the Church of England in any essential point of doctrine, discipline, or worship, or farther than local circumstances require." A further account of this also will be found in the Appendix.

§ *Translations of the Prayer Book.*

The Book of Common Prayer arose, in no small degree, from a conviction, on the part of the Clergy and Laity of England, that Divine Service should be offered to God in the vernacular tongue of those on whose behalf and by whom it is being offered. The principle thus adopted in respect to themselves has been carried out as far as possible in all the missionary operations of the Church of England; and the establishment of her forms of Divine Service in countries where the English language is not freely spoken, has generally been accompanied by the translation of the Book of Common Prayer into the language of those who are being won over to the Church of Christ. A necessity has also arisen for translations into some European languages: while provision was made for rendering it into Welsh and Irish at the time of its first issue. An account of the Latin translation will be found under the rubric relating to the use of Divine Service in other languages than the English.

The following list contains the names of fifty-seven languages and dialects into which the Book of Common Prayer has been translated, but the number is constantly increasing as the missionary work of the Church is developed:—

Latin.
Greek.
Hebrew.
Welsh.

Irish.
Gaelic.
Manks.
French.

German.
Spanish.
Portuguese.
Italian.

Dutch.
Danish.
Russian.
Polish.

Modern Greek.	Susu.	Singhalese.	Assamese.
Persian.	Amharic.	Indo-Portuguese.	Mandarin, Colloquial.
Turkish.	Telugoo.	Cree.	Swahili.
Armenian.	Chinese.	Malagasy.	Hangchow.
Armeno-Turkish.	Hawaiian.	Maori.	Sesuto.
Arabic.	Kafir.	Maltese.	Mota.
Bengali.	Bullom.	Ojibbeway.	Punjabi.
Hindi.	Yoruban.	Muncey.	Sindhi.
Burmese.	Malay.	Marathu.	Bechuana.
Mahratta.	Dyak.	Zulu.	Esquimaux.
Tamil.			

Most of these translations have been produced under the auspices of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and of the Prayer Book and Homily Society; and some guarantee is thus given for accuracy. It should also be mentioned as a fact of interest and importance that the Hawaiian version was made in 1863 by the native king, Kamehameha IV., who annexed to it a Preface which shews a thorough knowledge of the principles of the Prayer Book.