THE FIRST AND SECOND EDITIONS (ENGLISH AND LATIN) OF THE SERVICE BOOK USED BY THE ENGLISH CONGREGATION OF MARIAN EXILES IN GENEVA, 1556-1559; ARRANGED IN PARALLEL COLUMNS, AND EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES SHOWING THE ORIGINS AND USAGE OF THE RITE.

By

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The purpose of this thesis is mainly liturgical. It seeks to explore exhaustively the sources and usages of the Service Book used by the Congregation of Marian Exiles at Geneva from 1556-60. It was in this Congregation that Puritanism first flowered, and this Service Book is accordingly of importance as being the foundation of the worship of the English Puritans and the Scottish Presbyterians. John Knox was the leading Minister of the Congregation, and for that reason the Book is commonly known as 'John Knox's Liturgy'. This first edition represents it in its simplest form; later, when adopted by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, it was slightly revised and gradually enlarged as edition succeeded edition. The second edition (Latin), which is here printed in parallel columns with the first, makes little contribution to our knowledge of the rite, but it is of antiquarian interest and has never before been edited and reprinted. Also certain misunderstandings have prevailed concerning it, and opportunity has been taken here to correct these.

The method followed has been, first to relate the circumstances which produced the Book. This has been done in the chapters dealing with the history of the MSS.; and while there is room for little research in regard to the Troubles in Frankfurt (out of which the Book was born), the original documents have been re-examined and in the footnotes indication has been made of the agreement or disagreement of the main secondary authorities with the statements made. Also, this chapter has been done in some detail, not with a view to uncovering new facts, but rather to demonstrate the views and temper of those who compiled the Forme of Prayer.

Next, short introductory chapters have been written to each section; then the section has been printed with exhaustive commentary footnotes dealing with the sources (which in most cases have been reprinted in full in order that comparison may be made at a glance), and the usages. With regard to the former, they have been traced back in most instances to the German Reformed Church at Strasburg; while the latter have been carefully elucidated by comparison with contemporary and kindred rites. The history of the Sunday Morning Service and the Lord's Supper has proven to be the most complicated; therefore, considerable space has been devoted to these sections in order that the view held may be clearly set forth and its significance made plain. It will be observed also that detailed comparison has been made in many cases with later Puritan and Scottish practice, but the intention has not been to explore either save in so far as they throw light upon the Forme of Prayer. This thesis is concerned only with the Forme of Prayer: its sources, as far as they can be traced; its usages as far as they can be determined; and in a measure its influence upon later rites, and also its place in the Catholic order.

Further, the non-liturgical sections of the Book have not been so exhaustively dealt with: they belong to the realm of polity and doctrine rather than to that of liturgiology. Here therefore only the sources have been noted, and the current usage shown.

Both the texts edited and the various sources quoted (notably the hitherto unpublished ones, e.g., Huycke, 1550, Pullain, 1551, &c.) have been as far as possible printed verbatim, litteratim, and punctatim, as it was felt that only by so doing could an adequate idea of the documents themselves be conveyed and the relationships with other rites be clearly established. For the German texts (except in the case of one or two editions in the B.K.) reliance has been made upon Hubert's editions; this has been necessary owing to inability to visit the Continental libraries where the originals are housed.

If documents are quoted from time to time which have been quoted before by others, this has been because they could not be ignored, and unless it is otherwise indicated they have been verified by consultation of the originals. The point of view of the thesis, however, is fresh; and an origin and significance of the rite in the Forme of Prayer not previously held has been indicated, and a large body of new facts has been brought to light; while the exact sources are here quoted in detail for the first time.
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Much of this Bibliography is not mentioned directly in the thesis which is confined to a narrower field, but it has provided the necessary background, and indicates the sphere of research.

Compare also the Genealogical Bibliography, pp. 31 to 37, none of which have been included in the above. The abbreviations used are as follows:

BCP = Book of Common Prayer (If name attached, refers to editor).
FP = The Forme of Prayers &c. 1556 (here edited).
BCW = Book of Common Worship
BCO = Book of Common Order. (Name if attached = editor)
lit. sacra = Pullain's Liturgia sacra &c.
La Forme = Calvin's La Forme et maniere &c.

Any other abbreviations will at once be apparent if author's name is consulted in the Bibliography.
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DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS
DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

I. THE FORME OF PRAYERS 1556

The text here reprinted is from the copy housed in the National Library, Edinburgh. The only other known copy of this first edition is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

The copy in the National Library is a leather bound, gilt-edged volume, size three and a quarter inches wide, five and a quarter inches long, and three-quarters of an inch thick.

It is bound up with fifty-one Psalms in metre, Calvin's Catechism, and certain private prayers. The whole volume consists of four hundred and twenty-one pages—ninety-four pages in prayers and forms of worship; one hundred and sixty pages of metrical Psalms with the melody line of the tunes; while the Catechism occupies one hundred and sixty-seven pages. Only the prayers and forms of worship are reprinted and dealt with in this thesis.

This manuscript has been before reprinted in Laing's *Works of John Knox*, vol. iv., pages 149-214, but the notes are so meagre as to be of little value. *The Works of John Knox* edited by Laing are long out of print.

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1. Pages 24 to 29 are missing due to an error in paging. Nothing is lacking in the manuscript. The hiatus occurs between the Preface and the Confession of Faith. A possible explanation is that the main body of the book was sent to the printer before the Preface Letter was written, thirty-two pages being allowed for it, and only twenty-four being ultimately required.
DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

II. RATIO ET FORMÆ ACCL. 1556.

The Latin text which is here reprinted is housed in the British Museum, London, and is bound with Pullain's Liti. sac., 1551, and a Latin translation of Calvin's forms of administration of the sacraments. 1. In the Museum are two other copies, one of which stands alone, while the other is bound with the Heidelberg Catechism and certain of Calvin's public and private prayers. Other copies which I have not seen are to be found in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, in the town Library at Zurich, and one is also in the private possession of Prof. William Cowan. They are all identical, and there appears to have been only one Latin edition.

The book comprises eighty pages of moderately close type; the size of the pages is 4" x 6".

The Latin edition has never been reprinted, as far as one is able to discover.

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Both manuscripts are printed as they stand in the originals with all abbreviations and misprints. Where necessary the abbreviations are expanded, and the misprints are corrected, in the footnotes. The marginal Scriptural references, however, which were in both manuscripts, have not been reproduced except where they are of value to the study of the texts.

The manuscripts are printed in this thesis in parallel columns for the purpose of easy comparison. In all cases the English and Latin are not exactly equivalent, as the Latin is a translation of the English, and in some instances the thought is expanded in order more clearly to convey the meaning. Occasionally the Latin is a free paraphrase of the English. But as far as possible the corresponding sections have been kept parallel with each other.

The order of the English original, and not that of the Latin, is followed. The order of each separate service is always the same in both English and Latin, but the order of the contents is different in the Latin. The differences do not all appear in orders of contents, but in a footnote thereto they are clearly shown.

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1. That the Latin is a translation of the English is shown in the chapter dealing with the history of the Latin manuscript, pp. 92 ff.
THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH MANUSCRIPT
Although bearing the title, 'The Forme of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacramentes, &c., used in the English Congregation at Geneva', and commonly known as the 'Book of Geneva', this earliest English 'Puritan' book of prayers came into being as a result of certain controversies waged in Frankfort-on-the-Main during the years 1554-1555 in the congregation of English exiles gathered there, certain of whom went to Geneva later to found the English congregation at Geneva in November of the year 1555, where the book was first used. Therefore, to understand the book itself, it is necessary to understand the circumstances surrounding its compilation.

Edward VI died on the sixth day of July, 1553, and during the months that followed confusion reigned. Finally, at the accession of Mary in October, the Protestant cause was definitely lost. Many confessing the new faith

1. Except forms compiled and used by individual Ministers, such as Knox's use for the Lord's Supper at Berwick-on-the- Tweed, of which a fragment still remains. (Reprinted in LOYD'S: John Knox and the Church of England, pp. 381 sq.)

2. The word was not yet coined, but it best denotes the type of liturgy represented by the BCP 1556.

3. 'The Church was erected the first of November (1555)', (Livre des Anglois, p. 49, which is reprinted in MARTIN: Les Protestants Anglais, pp. 381 sq.) In 1555.

4. Our knowledge of these circumstances is mainly derived from 'A Brieff discourse off the troubles begonne at Franskford in Germany Anno Domini 1554, Abowe the Books off common prayer and Ceremonies, and continued by the English men theyre to thende off the Armes Englishe, in the which discourse, the gentle reader shall see the very originall and begininge off all the contention that hathe byn, and what was the cause off the same, Maro 4.' (Copy in B., and in S., and reprinted in 1642, and reprinted by another in 1833), and from Knox's narrative of the Troubles contained in his Works (LATMG: HH iv.41 sq.). Short accounts of these troubles will be found in SHORT: BCP pp. 206 sq.; LOYD'S: John Knox and the Church of England, pp. 391 sq.; SIR T. KNOWLES: Knox, pp. 61 sq.; MONTGOMERY: BCP pp. 78-79, and in other biographies of Knox. (Reprinted in LOYD'S: John Knox and the Church of England, pp. 381 sq.)
were forced to flee with all haste to the
Continent, not only in order to secure the
liberty of worshipping God according to their
own conscience, but to escape imprisonment
and even the stake at home. It is estimated
that in this early period a number between
eight hundred and a thousand \(^1\) of these
exiles crossed the Channel and sought homes
in Flanders, Upper Germany, Switzerland, and
elsewhere \(^2\). Unhappily, they were obliged to
throw themselves upon the charity of the
European Protestant Churches at an awkward
moment, for in 1552 the Eucharistical
controversy had been re-opened between the
Calvinists and the Lutherans, and Continental
Protestantism was split into two violently
opposing camps each holding strong and extreme
views. As Professor Hume Brown relates, \(^3\) who
have sound views as to the Real Presence was
the indispensable passport for admission to
every Protestant country. But the majority
of the English refugees could give satisfaction
neither to Luther or Calvin on this all-impor-
tant subject; and the story of their adventures
in search of a resting-place among their fellow-
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1. Hume Brown says 800, Burnett 1000, Morrice MS over 1000. Cf. Hume
BROWN; Knox i. 188.
2. Principally in Strasburg, Frankfort-on-the-Main, Heidelberg, Wesel,
and Zurich and later, Geneva.
3. H. BROWN; Knox i. 188.
Christians is one of those pitiful chapters in Church History which place in their most trying light the less noble tendencies of the religious spirit. In this enquiry we are concerned with a part of the history/English refugees who found sanctuary in the rich and hospitable city of Frankfort-on-the-Main.

About two months before the coming of the English company to Frankfort, Valérand Pullain with his little company of Walloon weavers had arrived there. Through the good offices of Councillor Johann von Glauberg, a man of Calvinistic sympathies, the Town Council had permitted Pullain and his weavers to settle in the city, granting them liberty for "their whole ecclesiastical ministry both of the Word and Sacraments", and assigned for their use the Church of the White Ladies. He preached his first sermon there on 19 April 1554.

1. Since 1152 the place of election of the Emperors. As early as 1560, Frankfort had cordially embraced the Lutheran Reformation. Calvin had later made his influence felt there also. In the trying days of 1554 some of the Councilors still favoured the Reformed or Calvinistic (to use a word not coined till 1599 - GB) doctrines, in spite of the eloquent and fruitful preaching of the Lutheran preacher, Hartmann Beyerin, in 1558. Accordingly in 1554, contrary to the practice of many other towns, Frankfort was tolerant towards all Protestants.

2. A nobleman of Lille, who had embraced the cause of the Reformation. He was a learned theologian and a devoted pastor. He succeeded as Minister of the congregation of French exiles at Strasbourg, but going to the ‘Augsburg Interim’, 1546, he was forced to flee to England, where in 1570 he and his congregation of weavers were settled in the dissolved Abbey of Glastonbury by indenture of the Duke of Somerset. Upon the accession of Mary Tudor to the throne, they were driven out of England. Embarking for平坦 in January of 1554, after being refused hospitality there, they passed on to Cologne, where a similar fate was met with. But in Frankfort they were received cordially at Frankfort. (Of. GORDON, Thesis, pp. 1-7.) Of his liturgical influence on the EMILIAN works will be said later, and in bibliography mention is made of the various editions of his Liturgia sacra, pp. 31-77.


4. This church still exists. It was restored in 1471. The nave has six bays, and on the North side are two side chapels. H. BROWN: Knox, i. 164.

Little more than two months had elapsed before the company of English refugees arrived on 27 June 1554. They numbered in all about 200, and were under the care and direction of Edmund Sutton, William Williams, William Whittingham, and Thomas Wood. On the night of their arrival they were visited by Pullain, who cordially welcomed them, told them of the kindness he had received from the Frankfort authorities, and invited them to join his congregation. They in turn thanked him for his kindness and congratulated him on his success, but since so few of them understood French, they were forced to refuse his invitation.

On Pullain’s advice, however, they petitioned the Council that they might be allowed to remain in the city, which petition was speedily granted.

Two Elders of Pullain’s Church now further advised them to request von Glauberg to obtain for them if possible a place from the Council where they might be permitted to worship according to their own conscience and in their own tongue. On the 8th of July following, they did so; and on the 14th day off the same moneth yt was graunted that they shulde have libertie to preache and minister the Sacraments, in the churche which the freche

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1. Brief Discourse, p. v. (ed. 1846)
3. Brief Discourse, p. v. (ed. 1846). Of these Sutton was a “Prayer Book Man”, and the others were extreme Calvinists or Puritans, as they came later to be called. They were all prominent in the Church of Engd.
4. Brief Discourse, p. v. (ed. 1846). The matter from the paragraph following is from the same page. For a discussion of the authenticity and accuracy of the Brief Discourse, see G. BROWN: Knox, i. 167, who states that “there is no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of the narrative”. Most scholars agree that the author is William Whittingham.
men had, the friche one daie and the English e another daie, and 
up the Sundaie, to chuse also the houres as they could agree 
amonge them selues, but it was with this commandeiment, that the 
English shulde not disoent from the french men in doctrine, or 
ceremonyes, leaste they shulde thereby minister occasion off 
offence, and willed farther, that before they entred their 
churche, they shulde approve and subscribe the same confession 
of faithe, that the frenche men had then present. " 4a This 
the English agreed to do.

The Brief Discourse continuing the narrative 
of the events that followed shows clearly that it 
was understood from the beginning that this 
decision involved the discarding of the Book 
of Common Prayer in favour of the Calvinistic 
forms of government, discipline, and worship. 
That is at once evident, for the first matter 
to which they gave their attention was the 

1. Pullain's Lit. sacr. 1554 (Frankfort), shows that his week-day 
services took place at daybreak on Tuesdays and Thursdays. They 
were of an hour's duration. (Of. the 'Admonitio' at the conclu­
sion of the Liturg.)

2. The same source shows his Sunday services to have been at the 
following times: (1) at 8 a.m., lasting from 2 to 3 hours; 
(2) 1 p.m., catechising of children for one hour; (3) at 
3 p.m., the evening service an hour in length. There is 
nothing to show the hours of the English services, but there 
does not appear to have been any rtriction over the times.

3. The French services were distinctly Calvinistic, since Pullain's successor at Strasburg differed only slightly from Calvin's use. (Of. his Admonitio, p. 11 of the tex-

4. That is Pullain's "Professio fidei" in the Liturg. The Liturgy and 
Confession had been approved by the Council and subscribed by Pullain, 
as Minister of the French Church, and four of his Elders, in the name 
of their church. It was now subscribed by John MoBrair or MoBrae, the 
Galloway ex-priest, as Minister of the English Church, and by four Elders, 
the last to sign being Whittingham; these signed in the name of their 
whole church. GORDON: Thesis, p. iv. It is curious that we hear no 
more of MoBrair.

5. A passage from J. HILDEBRAND WETHOF'S Vertheidigung (Of. MITCHELL: Ref. in 
gives from another source the exact terms upon which the Council granted 
the Church of the White Ladies to the English exiles. Its terms exactly 
agree with those quoted above from the Brief Discourse.

A year later (June 1556), John Lesco and his congregation were also 
permitted the use of this church, sharing it with the English and French, 
on the same terms, and on condition that they would not dissent from 
the Augustan Confession.
preparation of a suitable form of service. For
although the Brief Discourse tells us that "the
engrashe order was perused", and that "by generall consente
it was concluded that the answeringe alowde after the Minister
shulde not be vued, the letanye, surplice, and many other thinges
also omitted, for that in those reformed churches, suche thinges
woulde seeme more then strange", the final result of their
present deliberations was entirely unlike Morn­
ing Prayer in the BCP, and followed along distinct­ly Calvinistic lines. The following would appear
to be the service suggested.

(Scripture sentence and Exhortation)
Confession of sins (but not that in the BCP)
Psalm "inmeetre in a plaine tune".
Prayer for the assistance of the Holy Spirit
(Scripture)
Sermon
A General Prayer "for all estates and for our
ceuntrie of Inglande was also deuised. at
thende of whiche praier, was joined the
lords praier,"
The Apostles' Creed
Psalm "as before",
The Blessing: "The peace of God, &c. or some
other off like effect", after which the
people departed.

The only item in the whole service which can
definitely came from the BCP is the Blessing.
The Blessing, "The peace of God, &c.", was not used by
the Calvinists in their services. It is interesting,
also, to observe that this Blessing is not taken
from Mattins, but from the Communion. By this
it would appear that these exiles at Strasburg, Fransefort.
recognized the fundamental difference between the

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1. Brief Discourse, p. vii. (ed. 1846)
2. At Mattins (BCP) there is no blessing, but only the Grace.
Calvinistic morning worship and Mattins, namely, that Mattins is derived from the "Hours" services, while Calvin's morning service comes from the Eucharist (Ante-Communion). Whether this was so or not, it is at least clear that it was a thorough-going Calvinistic service which was thus first adopted, and that it had little kinship with the worship in the BCP. The same also would appear to have been true of the Sacraments; for though we are told only that "sundrie things were also by common consent omitted, as superstitious and superfluous", with Whittingham as narrator that may cover a great deal, and there can be little doubt that a very drastic and sweeping revision took place here also. However, having so agreed among themselves, they chose a Minister and Deacons to serve for a time, and entered their church on the 29th day of the same month (July 1554).

It is the of the utmost importance that it be realized that what follows is no mere congregational quarrel occasioned by the petulant tempers of certain members. What is really happening is a pitched battle between the Puritans and the Anglicans, as they came later to be designated in the Church of England. Both sides are fully aware that what is effected here will have a profound and far-reaching influence upon the new religious settlement in England if

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1. Brief Discourse, p. viii. (ed. 1846)
2. The "Anglicans" were moderates, and do not correspond in any way to the modern "High Church" party. Many of these "Anglicans" on their return to England refused high office because of their Puritan principles.
3. See also the account of Mattins in the Chapt. on "The Morning Worship Service",
matters there took a turn again in the direction of Protestantism. Great issues were therefore involved, and in view of that fact due allowance should be made for the bitterness of the conflict which ensued. There was more involved than the fortunes of this small band of English exiles gathered at Frankfort.

To resume the narrative: Having now established themselves, they sent out a general letter on 2nd August to all exiled Englishmen in the various European towns and cities which had given them refuge, inviting these to join with them at Frankfort, and to share with them "this singular benefit" which they had been fortunate enough to obtain, "to the like whereof could no where else as yet be obtained". It is to be observed, however, that they were careful to make no reference to the drastic departure they had made from the BCP. The tone of the letter is cordial in the extreme, urgently requesting the presence of the scattered exiles.

The first reply was from the exiles at Strasburg. In their letter also nothing is said about the real issue, namely, the change in the service in the direction of Calvinistic

3. The text of the reply is not given, but a synopsis appears on p. xiii, of the Brief Discourse.
forms. But they suggested the names of Cox, Soory, and others, as suitable ministers for the congregation at Frankfort, and from this it would appear that, being aware of the Calvinistic propensities (as they would have called them) of the Frankfort majority, they were subtly guarding their own interests by ensuring that those in charge of the congregation would be of the Anglican party.

Meantime, however, the Frankfort congregation went on to choose its own ministers; and after certain negotiations, John Knox, of Geneva, was persuaded to accept the call; and Thomas Lever of Zurich later agreed to come temporarily and on trial.

During this time, various letters seem to have crossed between Zurich and Frankfort, and the exact order of events is difficult to follow. But the main sequences are apparent.

Two letters were received from Zurich, and

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1. James Haddon, of Strasburg, refused the call. John Knox accepted, but only at the urgent persuasion of Calvin: "at the commandment of Mr. Calvin, that notable servant of God, albeit unwillingly, he obeyed the vocation." (LAING: K.W. i. 282). The call was dated 22 September and bore twenty-one signatures. (Brief Discourse, pp. xix-xx.) Knox was an extreme and martial Calvinist. Thomas Lever was the moderating influence. In the troubles which followed he at first threw the weight of his influence on the side of Cox and his party, but later he withdrew it. Finally, after Knox had gathered his party about him at Geneva and the English congregation had been formed, Lever joined them there. (Livre des Anglais. p. 15.) Upon his return to England after the accession of Elizabeth, he became a distinguished leader of the Non-conformists.

2. For example, Professor Hume Brown's chronology seems to be wrong. In one case he quotes a letter written from Zurich on 18th October as being answered by one from Frankfort dated 20th September (Hume Brown: Knox, i. p. 169). The difficulty arises from the fact that the narrator in the Brief Discourse does not set the letters down in their proper chronological order, and also because in all probability others of the letters have not been preserved.

and in both, those in Zurich insist upon the use of the ECP of 1552. I quote, for example, this sentence from the letter of the 13th October: "Yff upon the receipte here off, ye shall without cloke or forged pretence, But onely to seke Christe advertise vs by your letters, that our beinge there is so needfull as ye haue alreadie signified, and that we may altogether serve and praise god as freely and as vprightly, (wheroff pryvate letters receiued lately from Franckf. make vs muche to doute) as the order last taken in the churche of England permittethe and prescribethe (for we are fully determined to admit and vse no other) then, abowte easter next........ with one consent we agree to joinen our selues vnto yow." This letter shows that the exiles at Zurich are determined to join those at Frankfort only on condition that they receive a guarantee that the ECP will be used there; and they further suggest that the policy adopted by their official Frankfort correspondents in keeping back the full facts is neither laudable or creditable.

1. This attachment to the BCP (1552) was perfectly natural on their part, apart altogether from its liturgical moderation. It was because of their devotion to this BCP and to the Reformed cause in England that they were now in exile; and even at this time that Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, becowed of them all, were lying in prison under sentence of death. (Brief Discourse, p. xxiii.) They were imprisoned in the Tower in November 1552, condemned for heresy in April 1553, and the first execution, that of Rogers, took place on February 1555. It is quite probable that most of the exiles would not have had any great objection to further revision along Puritan lines (c.f. Brief Discourse, pp. xxi & liv.), but they wished it still to be the ECP, and not a new book similar to Calvin's. It is stated on p. 1. of the Brief Discourse that Cranmer himself had actually drafted such a revision, a book "an hundreth tymes more perfect"; this is given on Bullinger's authority by Horne, so although the MS has never been discovered it is nevertheless rash to dismiss it as a "mere Puritan rumour".

2. Prof. Hume Brown has an interesting and altogether probable solution to the problem of why Whittingham and his party persisted in reserving this one important key fact. He suggests that they had such supreme faith in the fact that their form of worship was best, that if the men of Zurich could only be persuaded to come and see, all would be well, their order would at once and gladly be accepted, its superiority being fully demonstrated.
While the discussion between Frankfort and Zurich still continued, Whitehead with a company from Strasburg arrived at Frankfort, and "at the requeste off the congregation, he tooke the charge for a time, and preached vpon the Epistle to the Romans".

A few weeks later, early in November, another letter was received from Zurich which, while still insisting upon the use of the ECP, stated that they were sending Master Richard Chambers to treat for them in the whole matter, and affirmed their willingness to abide by any decisions arrived at through his offices. The consultation, however, proved fruitless of any agreement; and when Chambers "sawe that they could not assure him the full use of the English booke withoute the hazardinge off their churches", he made ready to leave.

About this time, John Knox must have arrived from Geneva, in acceptance of the call which had *************** in Brief Discourse, p. xvii. The date of his arrival was 24th October. Previous to his exile, he had refused the Archbishopric of Armagh.

2. The letter telling of his arrival is dated 27 October 1554, and is given on pp. xviii-xix of the Brief Discourse. Chambers was a rich layman, a patron of learning, who had financed several exiled scholars when they had been forced to give up their livings. His character is a complete mystery, so anomalous is it. He became finally practically sole deacon at Frankfort while Horne was sole minister, R. H. BROWN, Knox i,170, footnote; Brief Discourse (Arber's ed. 1908), pp. xviii & xxi.


4. If the Frankfort Puritans gave this as their chief or sole reason for refusing to use the ECP, they were very close to the edge of the truth. (Cf. R. H. BROWN, Knox i, pp. 159-160). The attitude of the City Council may have been different then than it was later, but there is no evidence to show that such was the case. After Knox was banished, the permission for the use of the ECP was readily granted.

5. Though no date is mentioned, he must have arrived in November. (Brief Discourse, p. xix). We see his signature among those on a letter from Frankfort dated 3rd December. (Brief Discourse, p. xxvi.) The text of his call is given on page xix. of the Brief Discourse.
been forwarded him; and from this time onwards we have his hand and voice in the various proceedings.

Chambers, returning to Zurich, bore with him a letter which was a masterpiece of evasion. Masked behind an open countenance, to quote one sentence: "As touching the effect of the booke, we desire the execution thereof as muche as you, (so farr as Gods wordo dothe command it)." Now, such a sentence, if not framed deliberately to misrepresent (which is doubtful), at least left itself open to many interpretations, which could quite easily be-, nay, quite certainly would be different in the case of the senders and of the receivers. If the ECP had been purged so far as what Knox and his followers meant by "so farr as Gods worde dothe command it", very little of the original would have been left.

Such tactics do not commend themselves to men of this age.

A fortnight later, on 28th November, Chambers came again to Frankfort, this time by way of Strasburg, and bringing with him as an

1. Dated 15th November. It is not signed by Knox, who therefore could not have arrived till the following week. (Brief Discourse, pp. xx-xii.)

2. This is perfectly clear from e.g., Knox’s own description of the troubles at Frankfort (WAEISI. iv. 39-44, 46) and from the Latin (not so much the English which purports to be a translation of it in the Brief Discourse) of the letter Knox and Whittingham sent to Calvin describing the ECP shortly after this. It is contained in the Corp. Ref., XLIII. 237-244.

3. It is a question, of course, whether it is fair to judge this controversy by our standards at all. And certainly the other party was no better; cf. Brief Discourse, pp. xliv, lxxiiii, lxxiiii, 40. Most of these men were of the most reputable of their day, and they were nationally recognised ecclesiastical leaders. Judged therefore by the standards of that age, their conduct has not have been considered blameworthy. Indeed, Whittingham wrote the Brief Discourse to vindicate at least his party’s conduct. He must have felt then that all their dealings were honourable in every way.
ambassador from the latter place, Edmund Grindal. Grindal brought with him a letter which contained an earnest plea to the group at Frankfort to accept the ECP (1552) as it stood "so farre as possiblie can be attained, least by muche alteringe off the same we shulde seeme to condemne the chieff authors theroff, who as they nowe suffer, so are they moste redie to confirme that facte with the price off their bloude, and shulde also bothe gene occasion to our adversaries, to accuseoure doctrine of imperfection, and vs of mutabilitie." They also add that if this is agreed to they will join the company at Frankfort in some three months' time, on about the 1st February 1555.

This letter was duly read to the congregation assembled, and an explanation of the contents given by Grindal, who said that the chief reason they had fled from England was that they might use the ECP according as their conscience demanded, but

1. Grindal later became Primate of all England. He had a profound respect for Calvinism, and described Geneva as a "nurseryunto God". (STRYPE: Grindal, ii.chap. 4). He was a noble type of man, and SAIND (On Liturgies, pp. 156sq.) deals most unfairly and harshly with him.

2. Brief Discourse, pp. xxii-xxiii. The letter is dated 23rd November. It expresses the same sentiments as the earlier letter from Zprich, and is even clearer concerning the reason for their wishing to retain the BCP. In fact, it represents the wishes of all the other colonies of exiles, who during the period preceding have been corresponding with each other privately.

at the same time they were not prepared to insist that "such ceremonies, and things whiche the countrie coulde not beare" be continued in use, so long as they might have "the substance and effecte thereoff." Knox and Whittingham at once inquired what was meant by "the substance of the booke", and Grindal evaded the issue raised by declaring that he had no powers to dispute upon that matter, but that he should like the Frankfort congregation to answer certain questions for him.

First, he enquired which parts of the book they were prepared to accept; and received the same indefinite and impossible answer, "what they (the Anglicans) coulde prowe off that booke to stande with the godes worde, and the countrie permit", which, like Grindal's own phrase, "the substance and effecte thereoff", might mean almost anything. Both sides seemed equally matched in the art of verbal fencing.

Seeing the impossibility of getting much further in that connection, Grindal now asked whether it would be possible to secure the use of a separate church at Frankfort for the company from Strasburg, and whether they could be assured of suitable housing. Reply was made that there was little hope of a separate church being provided before the council broke up at
Augsburg, but that there would be no difficulty as regards housing and the freedom of the city.

After the meeting, Grindal and Chambers returned to Strasburg to report the answers they had received, bearing with them a corroboratory letter. This letter was duly answered by those at Strasburg on 13th December, who signified their wish to break off negotiations for the time being, since matters had come to deadlock.

When the letter from Strasburg was read to the congregation at Frankfort, they decided to give their present attention to domestic matters, and without further delay to conclude upon an order of worship which might be used to the satisfaction of all, so that Communion might be celebrated and the general life of the congregation be no longer impaired.

After some discussion, it was agreed that "the order of Geneva which then was already printed in English and some copies there among them shulde take place as an order mooste godly and fardeste off from superstition." But when Knox was consulted, he refused to adopt

1. Brief Discourse, pp. xxiv-xxvi. It is dated 8 December 1564, and is the first letter which includes Knox's signature among the others.
3. I.e., Ryveoke's translation (1569) of Calvin's La forme. (Though purporting to be a translation of the Strasburg edn of the La forme, it was really much more closely affiliated to the more puritan Genevan edn of 1542.) Much of it was later incorporated into the English manuscript which is the subject of this chapter.
that order till their brethren in Strasburg, Emden, Zurich, and elsewhere, were consulted and their advice solicited. Also, on the grounds of principle, he refused to celebrate Communion from the ECP; and, realizing that he had brought the congregation to an impasse, he offered to resign. They, however, would not hear of that.

It was at this juncture that Lever arrived from Zurich to share the pastorate with Knox. Before finally accepting it, in view of its difficulty and importance, he requested that "he might between that and Easter have trial off them, and they off him." Under these conditions, he began his pastorate.

Although a Calvinist in his sympathies, he sought from the first to a mediating influence, and in the controversy that followed he even went so far as to throw his weight on the side of the Anglicans in order, if possible, to bring things to an issue satisfactory to all. Considering the difficulty of the present situation, he suggested that an independent order be drawn up, and that, for the present at least, both the Genevan Order and the ECP be alike ignored. Like most compromises, however,

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1. Brief Discourse, p. xxvii. The time was about the third week in December.
The suggestion suited neither party, and it was rejected.

Knox, Whittingham, and some of the other Calvinists, began at this time to be somewhat alarmed at the growth in the Anglican party, and they conceived the plan of submitting the EGP to Calvin for his judgement upon it. Instead, however, of simply translating it into Latin (Calvin did not read English), and sending it to him for his unbiased perusal, they composed a lengthy and belittling analysis of it in the Latin tongue, and sent it to him.

In spite of the bias of the analysis sent him, Calvin wrote a very mild reply, refusing to condemn the EGP as a whole, and suggesting that while there were some things that might be better put away, they could also be easily borne with. And he emphasised at the very commencement of his letter what a grievous

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2. The Latin is given in Corp. Ref. XLIII. 334-344. A very prudent and partial translation of it is set down in the Brief Discourse, pp. xxviii-xxxiii. Although the author says in the Brief Discourse, that "this description (to Calvin) is very favourably put downe", it quite obviously was not, and as Hume Brown has said, the letter was throughout "expressly calculated to prejudice Calvin in the point submitted to him." (H. BROWN, Knox, i. p. 174). It is indeed difficult to conceive of Knox in his mildest moods speaking or writing of the EGP without prejudice; and while the trouble that followed with Cox and his party may have heightened that prejudice, it can hardly be said that "their provoking and unbrotherly sottings seem to have been largely responsible for the completeness of his change of feeling as to the Common Prayer." (H. Brown, Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI, p. 21, footnote 2.) It has been too long the fashion among Presbyterian apologists to maintain that Knox once regarded the BCP with any warmth or kindness. From the beginning he had ever found "in the English Book... things superstitious, impure, unclean, and imperfect." (Laing: KN. iv. 44.)

3. English in Brief Discourse, pp. xxxiv-xxxvi. (dated 9th Jan. 1566); Latin in Laing: KN. iv. 51 (dated 16 Feb. 1566). The fact that this letter was written initiated a correspondence later between the Anglican party and Calvin discussing the Knoxian attack on the BCP. (Brief Discourse, pp. 11-1v.)

4. The oft-quoted words, "tolerabile ineptias".
thing it was that "contention shulde arise amonge brethren banished and driven out of their country for one faith" and, above all, that they should permit such a small matter as ceremonies to be an impediment preventing them from joining into one body of the Church. This, he said, "is too much out of season." In the latter part of his letter, however, he offered some objections to the BCP, and this filled the Calvinists with delight; indeed, they seem to have read only the last part, and quite forgotten the first part!

Upon the receipt of the letter, which does not seem to have affected the situation to any great extent, the congregation began seriously to endeavour to settle the troublesome question of an order upon which they could agree. After some debate, they appointed a committee consisting of Knox, Whittingham, Gilby, Fox, and Cole, "to draw some order meet for their state and time." The result of ************ ************ ************ ************ 

1. Professor Doumergue has pointed out very clearly that Calvin was always capable of compromise in matters unessential. (DOUMERGUE: Calvin, ii, 500-502.) For example, while he disapproved of the Lutherans, he did not believe that they were a sufficient cause of separation; as for small external ceremonies (observaciones), "of a truth, I do not find in them much just cause for dissension." (CALVIN: Opera, x. ii, 340-341.) Professor Doumergue quotes several other similar instances on p. 501. He then goes on to show that Calvin practised what he condemned, and how time and again he gave way in Geneva against his own better judgement; he acceded to the Genevan wish to have Holy Communion only four times a year, while he would have wished it monthly, or indeed, weekly; how because of popular pressure he did not administer absolution after the confession of sins. Many other instances could be quoted of his readiness to compromise for the sake of peace and unity; his giving up of the Confessional (DEBY: Life of Calvin, i, 142); his surrender of the site of Confirmation (Tracts iii. 288; Institut. christ. iv., xix., pp. 14-18). Had some of Calvin's followers and the Anglicans alike at Frankfurt shown more of his spirit, matters might have been different.

2. It should be noted that these all belonged to the Puritan party. Apparently the Calvinist majority were determined to protect their own interests. This appears further in the book they produced, for there is nowhere a shred of evidence that they made any attempt whatever to meet the wishes of the minority. It is entirely drawn from Calvinistic sources, or composed along similar lines, except in parts of an emportation.
their deliberations is the book which is here edited. It was not well received,
and was apparently never used at Frankfort.
Whatever is to be said about the merits or demerits of the book, it certainly
could not be put forward as a fair compromise between Anglicanism and Calvinism,
as it purported to be. The result was what might have been expected; the Anglicans
would have none of it, and the contention between the two parties grew more than
ever heated and bitter. ^.

Little more of this melancholy history concerns us, for matters soon came to a
head, and Knox and some of his followers withdrew. Suffice it to say, that when
this book was refused as not being satisfactory, Knox and Whittingham (Calvinists),
with Parry and Lever (Anglicans), were appointed a committee to compile another
order. The result of these deliberations was the book happily dubbed by Dr. Sprott
'The Liturgy of Compromise'. It was ac-
2. The remainder is chronicled in the Br. Discourse. Even after the Calvinists had withdrawn, the trouble continued till Elizabeth was crowned. Hume Frown (Knox, i. pp. 175-186.) deals with the further details.
3. Brief Discourse, p. xxxvii. This 'Liturgy' is published under the above title bound with WORTHBOOY's Second Prayer Book of Edward VI (Blackwoods, 1805). PROCTOR and PERK (give a wrong impression when they imply in their footnote 8, 'A New Hist. of the EOE,' p. 66) that the 'Lit. of Compromise' and the service described on pp. vi-vii of the Br. Discourse are the same. Cf. ut supra p. 4.
accepted on 6 February 1555, to be continued until the end of April. Communion was celebrated according to the new form, and all seemed well for a season.  

No sooner, however, had peace been established, than Cox with a company from England arrived on 13th March. This new group was entirely composed of Anglicans determined to stand staunchly for their views, and accordingly the troubles broke out afresh upon their arrival. Eventually by means which by the utmost charity could not be called fair, they succeeded in getting a majority control. Later, by an underhanded stroke, Knox was banished from the city and forced to sever his connection with the congregation. Thus the Anglican party won the day.

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1. The 'Lit. of Compromise' is very sketchily drafted in the manuscript which is preserved, but one or two interesting facts emerge. Communion was to be celebrated once a month; the little service of preparation before communion was restored to its rightful unity (Invitation, Confession, & Absolution, Comfortable Words, Prayer of Humble Access), and placed in a very suitable place before the Eucharistic Prayer. There is also mention of a 'Preparatory Service' to be held on the Thursday before each Communion Sunday. (MOTHERSEFOO: Sec. TR of ED.WI., pp., 324-325).


3. At first the congregation refused to admit them to full membership unless they signed the declaration agreeing to the polity, discipline, and worship at present in use; but Knox 'unaccountably, defiantly, and mysteriously pleaded that they be given voting power and membership without so committing themselves, and he prevailed. They at once took deliberate advantage of Knox's generosity, and set out to undo all that had been accomplished. Prief Discourse, pp. xxi-xii.

4. Prief Discourse, p. xli., LAING: KW iv, 41-49. Later they attempted to justify themselves to Calvin by an appeal to their own characters, and to David Whitehead's judgement; also on the grounds that Knox had written (as he had done) an "outrageous pamphlet" (as it was), before which no one had been martyred in England, but as soon as it came forth the fires began to burn. Mr. Barker Sec., Prief Letts., pp. 765-768 (Ed. 1846-7); LAING: THE Kerr's Works, p.47, vol. iv.

5. The Troubles, however, were not over as the subsequent history shows. Prief Discourse, pp. xli-xii. Knox left Frankfort on 28 March 1555.
Knox proceeded straightway to Geneva, where he was cordially welcomed by Calvin and hospitably received within the city. Here he gave himself up to the prosecution of further studies, and to the writing of various books and pamphlets. He was not granted, however, a very long period of leisure, for early in October members of the Puritan party at Frankfort began to join him at Geneva. Some of these had left Frankfort shortly after himself, but had gone to Bale and Zurich. On 10th June, Calvin had proposed to some of them that they come to Geneva, and the Council had declared themselves ready to be of what service they could. Accordingly, after their arrival, Calvin presented their requirements to the Council. On 24 October 1555.

Meantime, they organised their church, and on 1st November, they elected Christopher Goodman and Anthony Gilby to minister the Word and Sacraments, in the absence of Knox. Ten days later, the Council granted them

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1. The first arrivals came on 13th October, 1555. Livre des Anglois. p. 1. They were cordially received. Brief Discourse, p. 119. The first comers numbered 27 individuals.
3. MARTIN: Les Prêts, Ang., p. 89.
4. Knox having returned for a short time to Scotland. Goodman had been a theological professor at Oxford, and in 1554 had taken refuge in Strasburg with Peter Martyr. His name appears on a letter from Strasburg to Frankfort favouring the use of the ROE (Fr. Bis. p. xxiii). During the intervening time he had changed his mind apparently. Gilby was a distinguished biblical scholar of strong Puritan leanings. He had been in Frankfort, and was one of the committee who compiled the book here edited. When it was published he was largely responsible for persuading the congregation to compile the 'Liturgy of Compromise'. For their election, Livre des Anglois. p. 48. They were sworn in as Ministers of the church by the Council on 30 November. Reg. du Cons. vol. l. fe. 51. v. MARTIN, p. 17.
with the Italian refugees the joint-use of the Church of Marie la Nove. A fortnight later the conditions were defined: the English services were to be held on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays at 9 o'clock a.m.; and the Italians had the use of it the last three days of the week. Suitable arrangements between the two were no doubt made for Sundays also.

Thus originated the Church of the English Church at Geneva, and so began to function the first Puritan congregation, for in a few years later already we have seen Puritanism had become a distinct school if not a party in the Church. And here gathered many men who were or became distinguished in the Church in England and Scotland, great scholars and leaders of their day. During the four years its roll of membership mounted to a total of 186 persons. Perfect peace and harmony reigned throughout, unmarred by any dissensions. Then the following year, Knox returned as Minister, he entered upon that period which he ever remembered as the happiest part of his chequered career. While

2. MARTIN: p. 45.
3. MARTIN: p. 44.
4. This place, he wrote in December 1556, is the most per-ttye school of Christ that ever was in the earth since the days of the Apostilles. In other places, I confess Christ to be trawled preachit; but maneris and religion so sincere and reformit, I have not yet seen in any other place. LAIN: KN, lv. p. 260. Cf. also H. PROWN: Knox, l. p. 184.
5. MARTIN: p. 46.
his co-pastor, Goodman, wrote a similar testimony: "I do not now repent of having stood forth and laboured with others in that cause, which has been the chief occasion of that happy agreement and solid peace which, by the great blessing of God, we enjoy in this place; which I persuade myself never would have occurred, if for the sake of the other party it had been permitted to contaminate the purity of religion with the dregs of popery which they wished to force upon us." ¹

Once established, their main task was to prepare a form of worship; and to this work they gave their immediate attention. They already had at hand, however, the forms which they had prepared and desired to use at Frankfort, before they were forced to agree to the compromise edited by Sprott. This manuscript they took now, and without substantially altering it,² they added a Preface, a collection of fifty metrical Psalms in English, and the English translation of Calvin's Catechism, and sent it to John Crespin's, whence it was issued on 10 February 1556.³

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¹ Parker Soo*, Original Letters, p. 769, quoted by H. FROWN; ² It may have been polished some as to style, and even may have been further 'purified', but it is likely that it was practically left untouched. The Preface is usually attributed to Whittingham, and Lorimer is probably near the truth when he suggests that the whole came from Whittingham's pen, (see id.), though in deciding the substance and arrangement Knox's influence at Frankfort would have been great, if not paramount, (LORIMER: Knox and the Ch. of Eng., p. 212.)
³ Laing and MeCrie are wrong in attributing the old style of calendar to Geneva at this time. They may have been moved to suggest this, and so have the book appear in 1657, when Knox was in Geneva, and not in 1556 during his absence. But the new style of dating from 1st January had been adopted in Geneva at least as early as 1553. For evidence and corroborating, of. LORIMER:bid.; H. FROWN: Knox, History; MARTYN:bid., p. 70.
THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH MANUSCRIPT

It continued unchanged to be the standard of worship in the congregation until the dissolution of the church at the accession of Elizabeth. 1.

When the exiles returned to England however, so enamoured had they become of the book that it was taken back with them, and various editions were printed 2, in England and elsewhere, and were used by the Puritans 3, in their worship till the Westminster Directory appeared in 1649.

Knox, returning to Scotland in 1559, brought copies with him also. Indeed, the year after its first publication it was authorised by the Lords of the Congregation to be used in all churches in Scotland. 4.

1. Early in 1559 the first exodus took place, after a conciliatory letter had been sent (borne by William Kethe) to the other colonies of exiles, offering and begging full pardon and reconciliation. Some, such as Whittingham and Cowdray, remained to finish their work of translating the Bible, but the majority hastened back to take their share in the reconstruction labours awaiting them in England. A full account of the leave-takings and departure, together with notes on their subsequent careers is given by Martin: Les Exiles Ang., pp. 265-295.

2. An account of these editions is given in the chapter of this thesis dealing therewith. - p. 34.

3. Evidence that the book was used in England as early as 1567 is found in Strype's writings. The Puritans began to assemble themselves in private houses, and at these meetings, rejecting wholly the BCP, they used a Book of Prayers framed at Geneva for the congregation of English exiles lately journeying there. Which book had been overseen and allowed by Calvin, and the rest of his Divines there, and indeed was for the most part taken out of the Geneva form. "Life of Grindal, p. 189, Ed. Oxford 1821." In the year 1671, there is this further evidence: "The Puritans... were not allowed licenses (if they had any before) to officiate in public, yet did still in their own or other Churches, or in private houses, read Prayers different from the established office of Common Prayer; using the Geneva form, or mingling the English Book. "Life of Parker, ii. 65, ed. 1851.) And in his Life of Whitgift (in p. 249, ed. 1832) he describes the Puritans' effort to get their Discipline and worship adopted by Parliament in 1584. Further evidence is given by Hall in his Rel. Lit., pp. xiii sq. - vol. 2.

THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH MANUSCRIPT

In 1560, the first book of discipline directed that "the Sacraments suld be ministerit after the order of the Kirk of Geneva," and this was confirmed by the General Assembly of 1562, while in 1564 a further act was passed "ordairting that every Minister, exhortor, reader, shall have one of the Psalm-Books lately printed at Edinburgh, and use the order contained therein, in prayers, marriage, and ministration of the Sacraments."

Thus was the 'Book of Geneva' accepted as the standard of worship in the Church of Scotland. It was first used as it was in Geneva, but later slight modifications, and numerous additions were made. After 1564, it was generally known as the BOOK OF COMMON ORDER, but frequently referred to as the 'Psalm-Book'. It continued in use till the Westminster Directory superseded it in 1645.

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1. In the First Book of Discipline, LAING: Knox's Works, e.g. ii. iii. 110c.
2. Book of the Universal Kirk, Fifth Session of C.A., 1562 (p.143)
4. A full account of all the editions used in Scotland is given in Cowan's Bibliography of the Book of Common Order and Psalm Book of the Church of Scotland, 1560-1644, which is printed in the Papers of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, vol. x (1911-12), pp. 53-130. In this thesis the editions printed before the book was adapted and adopted by the Church of Scotland are given on pp. 37-38.
THE HISTORY OF THE LATIN MANUSCRIPTS
The Latin manuscript is simply a translation from the English book, prepared for the purpose of submitting it to Calvin and other Continental scholars who did not read English, that they might know and approve of the forms of worship used by the English Congregation at Geneva. It is generally thought that the translator was Whittingham, but there is no direct evidence. The point is of no great importance.

Professor Mitchell some years ago brought forward the view, and Gordon, the most recent writer on the subject, quotes Professor Mitchell with apparent approval, that "the words and matter of Knox's Latin Prayer Book (as he designates the Ratio et Forma) of 1556 were directly derived from the Liturgia sacra of Pollanus;" "that is," adds Gordon, "from the 1554 or 1555 Frankfort edition." On this point Professor Mitchell "entertained no doubt whatever." Interesting as this conjecture is, however, it was not the case. The English

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1. It was of course a common practice for scholars to issue Latin translations of their works, so that scholars everywhere might read them. Calvin's Le forme was translated in 1552 into the Latin, not by himself but "ab alio quopiam" as the title-page states. (Cf. ut supra p. 2.) Pullain in the Preface letter (Epistola dedicatoria) of his Liturgiae sacrae, 1551, addressed to Edward VI., states that he is translating his Liturgy into the Latin in order to clear it from slanderous imputations. (Ut. ut supra.) p. 14.


4. Dr. Motherspoon affirms that this was also Prof. Cooper's view, and that he had hoped to edit Pullain's Liturgiae, 1554, in order to explore this view. His death came, however, shortly after he had had the transcription made. This from private conversation. But there is a reference to the projected task in NORTHERSCOE: James Cooper, pp. 825-826.
was written before the Latin, and the footnotes to the drafts will clearly show that much of the English is derived directly from other English sources, mainly Huyseke's translation of Calvin's *La Forme*, and in one or two instances from the *ECP*; and this could not have occurred if the Latin were the primary source. Further, the Latin of Pullain and the Latin of the *Etio et forma* are entirely dissimilar, as the slightest comparison will unvaryingly show.

Cowan places the Latin manuscript second in his *Bibliography of the ECO*, showing that, indeed, it was printed in Geneva shortly after the first English edition had been issued in 1556. There was only the one edition of the Latin, and copies are now very rare.

Because the English is the earlier, it is placed in the first column of this thesis. There is rarely any important difference of sense between the English and Latin, but the Latin tends less to ambiguity—all ambiguities being removed in it if possible—and in some cases slight additions or omissions occur calculated to make the manuscript more comprehensible to an outside reader. This is the first time it has been edited and reprinted.

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A BIBLIOGRAPHY SHOWING THE GENEALOGY OF

"THE FORMS OF PRAYERS, NO.7 1556." TOGETHER

WITH THE LATER EDITIONS, TO 1565.
1. The red and black script of Diebold Schwarz, 1524, containing the oldest order for the Mass, Baptism, and Solemnization of Matrimony, in the German vernacular.


5. Deutsche Mess wie sey yetzund zu Strassburg gehalten wär, Item Petbächlein sampt vil andren, so in volgendes blatt verzeichnet ist. (Dated 3 September 1524)

6. Erdenung vn inhalt Teutscher Mess vñ Vesper. So yetzund im gebrach haben Evangelisten vn Christlichen Pfarrherren zu Strassburg. Mit etlichen Neuwen geschriblichen Introit Gebet Vorred oder Prefation und Canon vor vn nach vffhebung des Sacramèts auch andren ordenung vñ vorges bächlin mit begriffen. (Date: 1525?)

7. Teutsches Kirchen aapt mit lobgesangen vn götlichen psalmen wie es die gemein zu Strassburg singt vn halt gants Christlich.

8. Teutsches Kirchen aapt mit lobgesangen vn götlichen psalmen wie es die gemein zu Strassburg singt vn halt mit mer gants Christliche gebettet dan vorgetrukct. Singet dem Herren eyn Neiw lied Das er wunder than hatt. Psal. 98. Singet fröliche
GENEALOGICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY


—Formerly in the possession of the antiquary Thomas in Nuremberg, but now lost. Reprinted (cf. HUBERT: STRASBURG, p. xiv)

10. Ordnung des Herren Nachtmalt: so man die messes nennet ampt der Tauff vn Jnsegug der Es Wie yetst die diener des wort gotts zu Strasbourg Erneuert vnnd nach gotlicher geschriiff gebessert haben zuv ersach ja nachgender Epistel gemaldet. M. L. XIV. (Containing a preface by Johann Schwan)

—Copies at Celle and Maikingen. —D


—Copies at Berlin, Strasburg, Stuttgart, Wolfenbuttel, and in the British Museum, London. —B


—Copy lost. —E


—Copy at Zurich. —F


—Copy at Gottingen. —P

—A later edition of same at Nuremberg. —P
15. Psalmen gebett vnd kirchen übung wie sie zu Straßburg gehalten werden. Rey Wolff Köppl 1530.
   — Copies at Berlin and Strasbourg. — C

   At the end — Gedruckt zu Strassburg bey Wolff Köphel, 1533 als man walt. M. CCCC. XXXIII.
   — Copy lost. Reprints: Cf. HURLET, p. xx. — E

17. La Maniere et fasson quon tient en baillant la sainct bapteame en la saincte oongregation de dieu et en eponsant ceux qui viennent au sainct mariage et a la saincte ceme de nostre seigneur, en lieu losquels dieu de sa grace a visite, faissant que selon sa saincte parole ce qu’il a deff enda en son eglise soit rejecte, et ce qu’il a commande soit tenu. Aussi la maniere comment la predication commence, moyens et finit, avec les prieres et exhortations quon fait a tous et pour tous, et de la visitation des malades.
   Imprime par Pierre de Vingle a Neufchapel le xix jour Decour. Lan 1533.
   — Copy by the Burigh Library. — X

Reprinted by J.G. Rams in 1692, with a critical introduction. Prof. Rams deduced it to be the work of Varel, after the German & Zirkhahen & had been roughly translated (adds Prof. Richason). From this Calvin derived his Marriage Service directly. Otherwise it has no bearing on the "Forme of Prayers &c, 1556". It is a translation likely of Bilbin's &c of the Marriage Service, with certain simplifications, re-arrangements, and slight additions.

Rams's edition is entitled: "Le maniere et fasson quon tient ce lieu que dieu de sa grace a visite. Premiere Liturgie des Eglises reformées de France de l'an 1533 publiée d'après l'original à l'occasion du troisième jubilé séculaire de la constitution de ces eglises, l'an 1659 par Jean-Guillaume Rams, professeur et pasteur à Strasbourg. (Strasburg and Paris, 1659)."

   And on another page: 28 Strasborg bey Wolff Kopfel.
   Anno ' M. D. XXXXI.
   — Original at Strasbourg. — K

From this copy directly Calvin drew his liturgy. It is quoted frequently in the thesis, and the connection shown.
19. La maniere de faire prieres aux eglises francaises, tant
dement la predicacion, comme apres, ensemble pseaumes et cantiques
francoys quon chante aux dictes eglises, apres sensaunt lardre et
facon d'administrer les sacraments de Poyteme, et de la maantte
Cene de nostre Seigneur Jesu Christ, de enponsuer et confirmar le
mariage dament l'assemblee des fideles, anecques le sermon tant
du Poyteme que de la Cene. Le tout selon la parolle de nostre
seigneur. 1542.
At the end, Imprime a Rome par le commandement du pape, par
Theodore Bruss allemand, son imprimeur ordinaire. Le 15 de
februarier.

— Copy in the possession of M. Stocklin, deposited in
the Library at Geneve. This is the Service Book of
Pierre Frulay, who succeeded Calvin as Pastor of the French
Church at Strasburg. It is the only known edition, but in
another place in the year 1542 Frulay speaks of another edition
(widestab in Druck), so there may have been one preceding
this (Cf. DONNEBERG: Calvin, i. 400, note 1; Calvini Opera VI,
p. xxv; ERICHSON: Die Gottsdienste, p. 9, note i. 6o.) In
all likelihood, this was not the first edition, but it is the
only one at present known; and it serves to link even more
closely Calvin and the German Psalter, 1539 (K). It illustrates
what Calvin's rite was like in Strasburg must have been.

The note of the printer's name and town is a more ruse, and
Erichson is of the opinion that the actual printer was Emblech,
of Strasburg. (op. cit., p. 10)

20. La Forme des Prieres et Chants Ecclesiastiques
avec la maniere d'administrer les Sacramens, et conserver le
Mariage, selon la coutume de l'Eglise ancienne. (Here are
quoted the texts from Psa. cxlii, and Psa. cxii, etc.).
M. D. XLI. (1541-2)

— Copy in the Royal Library at Stuttgart. Reprinted
with notes of variations in all later editions in the
Calvini Opera VI, in the Corpus Reform. XXXIV. The original
work was likely printed by Jean Gerard at Geneva. It contains
the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, the Decalogue, and the
Nunc Dimittis in French metre, together with thirty-five Psalms,
and the various Orders for services and sacraments. It re-
resents Calvin's Genevan use, and is therefore simplified
to meet the iconoclastic opinion he found there, a legacy from Farel.

21. La Forme des Prieres et chants ecclesiastiques avec
GENEALOGICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

la maniere d'administrer les sacraments, et consacrer le mariage; selon la coutume de l'eglise ancienne. (Here a part of Cal.vii.16 is quoted.) Imprime a Strasbourg, L'an 1545.

—Copy in the Town Library at Strasbourg. This edition was prepared by Calvin for the use of his old congregation at Strasbourg, and is an extremely interesting one. It is closely related to L, and is not hampered by the same narrow opinions prevalent in Geneva. It contains the same preface as the Geneva edition, with four pages added, and an important additional preface to the Lord's Supper, expressing his own views. In it are also contained the same canticles as in the edition of 1542, with an additional version of the Deaconery, a "Salutation to Jesus Christ", and thirteen more Psalms in metre, ascribed to Clement Marot. There may have been another edition previous to this, which is now lost.

22. La Forme des Prierez anec la maniere d'administer les Sacraments, et consacrer le Mariage; selon la coutume de l'eglise ancienne, 1557.

—This contains slight revisions from 1548, and is the standard for the editions following. It was likely published by Gerard at Geneva. There are no psalms and canticles bound with it.

—M

LATIN TRANSLATION of the above "ab alie gausiariai published at Geneva in 1552. It appears to have been before the compilers of The Forme of Prayers &c., 1556, and was used at least in connection with the Private Prayers.

—M²

23. The forme of common praiers vaed in the churches of Geneva: The wynnstracion of the sacramenter, of Baptisme and the Lordes supper; The vyisitation of the sycker. And the Cathecism of Geneua: made by master Iohn Calvue. In the ende are certaine other Godly prayers privately to be used; translated out of the frenche into Englyshe. By Wiliam Haycke. Certayne graose to be added in the ende, to the prayse of God, to be mayde before or after meales.

(At the end:) Imprinted at London by Edwarde Whitchurche the VII day of June. 1552. Om privilegio, ad impr Henderson solum.

—Copies in the British Museum and the Cambridge Univ. Lib. This is a translation (the first in English) of Calvin's Service Book, that of 1542 (H) or of 1547 (H²), but not of 1546 (H), as has been mistakenly held by none. It also appears to contain matter of its own; that may be derived from some edition now lost. Much of the Forme of Prayers &c., 1556, is taken directly
from it; that also appears to have been hitherto unrealized, though
many have thought that there was somewhat close connection be­
tween the two.

24. Liturgia sacra, seu Ritus ministerii in ecclesia peregrinorum
profugorum propter Evangelium Christi Argentinse. Adiecta est ad
fines huius Apologia pro hac Liturgia, Per Valerandum Polluxen
Flandrum. Psalm 140. Londae Deo ossit in Ecclesia Sanctorum.
Cum privilegio ad impressum solum. 1551.

(At the end) Psalm 1450. Londae Deo ossit in Ecclesia San­
torum. Impressum Londini per Stephana Hierenni. 23. Februar.


——Copies in the British Museum, Camb. Univ. Lib., and the
Library of the Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français
à Paris.

Pullein was also a successor of Calvin in the French Prot.
Church at Strasburg, and this rite is closely related to the
rite celebrated there. It is in fact largely a translation
into the Latin of H and L, with certain notes as added.

25. L'Ordre des Prieres et ministere Ecclesiastique
suec La forme de pénitence pub., à certaines Prieres de l'Egl­
ise de Londres, Et La confession de Foy de l'Eglise de
Glastonbury en Somerset. Les. 21. Veillées à prises en tout
temps afin que puissiez ouitter toutes les choses qui sont à
admirer, à assister devant le Filz de l'homme. A Londres. 1552.

——Copies in the British Museum, Univ. of Camb. Lib., and
the Town Library at Frankfort-on-the-Main. It is largely

psalms, with the Confession of Faith added. (n. m.)

26. Liturgia sacra, seu ritus Ministerii in ecclesia peregrinorum
Francoforidiae ad Moenam. Addita est summa doctrinae seu fidei
professio eisdem Ecclesiae. Psalm. CCLIX. Londae Deo ossite
in Ecclesia Sanctorum. Ioan. I. Vesi et viva. Francoforidiae
1554.

(At the end) Impressum Francoforidiae apud Petrum Praebuchium.

1554.

——Copies in the British Museum, Glasgow Univ. Lib., Bireich
Town Lib., Lib. of the French Church at Frankfurt.

It is a modification and simplification of P and p.²

From its pages the compilers of the Form of Prayer, 1556,
certainly drawn. This edition has been translated and edited by Gordon in a thesis for the University of Edinburgh, 1928.
A second edition was published at Frankfort in 1556. — Q

27. The Forme of Prayers and ministration of the Sacraments, &c., used in the English Congregation at Geneva; and approved by the famous and godly learned man, John Calvin. As. As.
— Copies in the National Library, Edinburgh, the Bodleian lib., Camb. Univ. lib., Town Lib. at Zurich. This edition is here edited. (Referred to usually as FF, 1561).
— B

28. Ratio et forma publice orandi Deus, utreg administrandii Sacramentorum, etc., in anglicum ecclesiam, quae Genevae colligitur, recognita, cum iudicio & comprobatione Johannis Caluini, & C. & C.
— Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian lib., Town Lib. at Zurich, and in Prof. William Cowan's private lib. This edition is here edited. (P. 1561).
— G

29. The Forme of Prayers and ministration of the Sacraments, &c., used in the English Congregation at Geneva; and approved by the famous and godly learned man, John Calvin. 1. Cor. XIII. No man can lay any other foundation, than that which is laid, even Christ Jesus. Printed at Geneva by James Foulain and Antonie Reboul. M. D. L. VIII.
— Copy in the private library of T. K. Ayward, Esq., Cardiff.
This edition contains eleven new Psalms in metre (9 by Whittingham, and 2 by Foulain), and there has also been added a metrical version of the Nunc dimittis by Whittingham. Two new prayers (SPRATT, p. 155-191) find a place, and four thanksgivings before and after meat (P. 155-183).
— G

30. The Forme of Prayers and ministration of the Sacraments, &c., used in the English Congregation at Geneva; and approved by the famous and godly learned man, John Calvin. 1. Cor. III. No man can lay any other foundation, than that which is laid, even Christ Jesus. 1561.
— Copies in the Trinity College Lib. Camb., and in the Univ. Lib. Camb. (incomplete), and in Prof. Cowan's priv. lib.
Although there is no name of printer or place of printing, it was likely printed at Geneva. The Psalms (though mentioned in the index) do not form a part of the volume; while at the end
31. The Forme of Prayers and ministration of the Sacraments, etc. used in the English Church at Geneva, and approved by the famous and godlie learned man, John Calvin. Whereunto are also added the prayers which they use there in the French Church, with the Confession of Faith which all they make that are received into the universitie of Geneva. The contents of this bale are contained in the page following. 1 Corinthians, III. No man can lay any other foundation then that which is laid, even Christ Jesus. Printed at Geneva by Zacharie Durand, M.D.L.XX.

—Copy in St. Paul's Cathedral, London. The prayers which the title-page announces to have been added are missing from the edition (they apparently appear first in the later Edinburgh edn. of 1562), but two private prayers (CL. SPOTT: PoC: pp. 101-130) comprise an addition. The Psalter contains 87 Psalms in metre, 25 new ones having been added in this edition, 24 of which are attributed to Kethe, and the remaining one (the well-known 100th) to Stenfeld, though it also it is almost certain was written by Kethe (CL. GOWAN: Bibl.: p. 79). The Lord's Prayer, in metre, by Crome, is also included for the first time in this edition.

32. The Forme of Prayers and ministration of the Sacraments, etc. used in the English Church at Geneva, and approved and received by the Church of Scotland, whereunto besides that was in former books, are also added sundrie other prayers, with the whole Psalms of David in English meter. The contents of this bale are contained in the page following. 1 Corinthians, III. No man can lay any other foundation then that which is laid, even Christ Jesus. Printed at Edinburgh by Robert Leprewrik. Cum privilegio.

—Copy in the National Library, Edinburgh. This edition marks the transition between the Book of Geneva and the POO. It has all the matter found in the first division of the previous editions, save that the Confession of Sins (SPRITT: PoC. p. 28) is a drastically amended version of the first from Daniel 6. Slight alterations have also taken place in the private prayers. The two prayers used in the French Church at last find a place (SPRITT: PoC. pp. 92-104), and also "A godly prayer" (God the Father of our Lord J X) not found in any other edition; and a Confession of Sins, the opening paragraph of which was retained for the alternative Confession in later editions. The Confession of Faith mentioned in the title is not included. There are no Psalms and Catechism in this volume.

33. The Forme of Prayers and ministration of the Sacraments etc. used in the English Church at Geneva, approved and received by the Church of Scotland, whereto besides that was in former books, are also added sundrie other prayers, with the whole Psalms of David in English meter. The contents of this bale are contained in the page following. 1 Corinthians, III. No man can lay any other foundation then that which is laid, even Christ Jesus. Printed at Edinburgh by Robert Leuprewrik. M.D.LXIII or M.D.LIV.

—Copies in Corpus Christi College, Oxford (edn. dated 1664), Cambridge Lib., British Museum, National Lib. Scot., (the last
Following this are some 60 editions printed for use as the BD of the Church of Scotland, more or less complete. They are given and their important variations recorded in OWAN'S 'Editions of the BD', pp. 94-220.

It should also be noted that many editions (with varying variations) were printed for the use of the Puritan Congregations in England. The first known such edition is that of Halegrave, entitled 'A Book of the form of common prayers, administration of the sacraments, and use of the reformed church', printed at Amsterdam, 1656. It is reprinted in HALL; Prac Lit., i, p. 2 sq., and it also makes mention of it in his introduction. The second edition, printed at Amsterdam, 1660, as well as the third, 1663, and the fourth, 1665, are also included. These editions are referred to from time to time in this thesis. Many other editions must have appeared for the use of the Puritans in England, but of them all trace has been lost. It should also be noted that these editions are given a full account of their connection with English Puritanism; this thesis deals only with English editions.

An important source also of the BD was the Book of Common Prayer, 1552, which was not included in the 1660 version, because it is not in the direct descent; and while parts of prayers and exhortations were used from it (these are noted in the DNB), no service was followed gas such. The text of the BD quoted is from Furniture of the English Rite.

Directly connected also with the BD was the Westminster Directory (this also appears in the DNB), and it also appears in one of his original editions, now housed in the National Library at Edinburgh. I quote the title in full below:

A DIRECTORY FOR The Publick 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-PRAYERS AND For establishing and observing of this present DIRECTORY throughout the Kingdom of England, and Dominion of Wales.

December 25, 1643. Ordered by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, that this ordinance and Directory be forthwith printed and Published: John Pink, Printer, Parliament or: H. Elfrange Libr. Parl. D. Com. LONDON Printed for the use of all the Bibles in Cornhill, near the Royal Exchange. 1644.

It is also of interest that most of the prayers (public and private) in the BD are reprinted in Furniture of the English Rite, which passed through many editions after 1660. The Communion Prayers are also included in Queen Elizabeth's Book of Private Prayers (Cf. Parker Soc., edn.), and others may have appeared in the first edition, 1552. HALL (Prac Lit., p. 220) also states that the BD was printed often at the back of OLMS between 1590 and 1640, but a careful examination of the copies in the British Museum has not permitted verification of this fact. It is possible, however, that he had access to other copies.
THE TITLE-PAGES AND TABLES OF CONTENTS
THE FORME OF PRAYERS AND MINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS, &c.
used in the English Congregation at Geneva; and approved, by the famous and godly learned man, John Calvin.

DEVICE 1.
The letter "T" with a robed and bearded figure, holding a rod pointing to the narrow upper branch of the letter, and a scroll inscribed, "INTRATE PER ARTEM VIAM"; and printed perpendicularly on the sides this text — "The way of life is straitened and few finds it. Mat. 7:13.

They have forsaken me, the well of the water of life, and digged themselfes pits, yea vile and broken pits, that can hold no water. Jer. 2.

Imprinted at Geneva by John Crespin M. D. LVI.

1. This device was a common one from Crespin's press. It is no doubt designed to represent God's prophet pointing the only way of salvation.

2. This device is also familiar. It is derived from early Christian symbols: the Anchor for the Cross; the Serpent, the Son of Man lifted up (St. John iii. 12-14); the Hands, the Father.
ENGLISH EDITION

Contents page
Preface Letter
Confession of Faith
Requirements in Ministers
Office and duty of Ministers
Election of Ministers
Elders, their election and office
Deacons, their election and office
Note re Doctors
The Thursday Consistory
The Weekly Exercise of the Congregation
A Confession of sins from Daniel
A Confession for all states and times
Prayer for the whole estate of Christ's Church
Note re Daily Services
Order of Baptism
Order for Communion
Order for Marriage
The Visitation of the Sick
Burial Directions
Discipline

LATIN EDITION

Contents page
Preface Letter
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Confession of sins from Daniel
A Confession for all states and times
Prayer for the whole estate of Christ's Church
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Burial Directions
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Requirements in Ministers
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Elders, their election and office
Deacons, their election and office
Note re Doctors
The Thursday Consistory
The Weekly Exercise of the Congregation

NOTE: The order of the contents in the Latin edition is not as it appears in the page of contents. The following is the actual order in both editions:

ENGLISH EDITION

Contents page
Preface Letter
Confession of Faith
Requirements in Ministers
Office and duty of Ministers
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Deacons, their election and office
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Order for Communion
Order for Marriage
The Visitation of the Sick
Burial Directions
Discipline

LATIN EDITION

Contents page
Preface Letter
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A Confession for all states and times
Prayer for the whole estate of Christ's Church
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Order of Baptism
Order for Communion
Order for Marriage
The Visitation of the Sick
Burial Directions
Discipline
Requirements in Ministers
Office and duty of Ministers
Election of Ministers
Elders, their election and office
Deacons, their election and office
Note re Doctors
The Thursday Consistory
The Weekly Exercise of the Congregation
INTRODUCTION TO THE PREFACE LETTER

The preface letter "to our bretherne in England, and elsewhere" is commonly ascribed to Whittingham, though in all probability Goodman and Gilby collaborated with him. It was composed while the rest of the book was in process of printing. Knox could not have had any part in its compilation, since he was absent in Scotland while the book was going through the press. It lacks also the pungence and martial flavour of his writings, and is smoother and less broken in style.

The letter is closely related to certain parts of Fullain's letter "Ad lectorem candidum" in his Liturgia Sacra, 1554; and it goes back of that to certain utterances of Calvin. While there is no verbal agreement, the same views are expressed, and sometimes in the same sequence, so there can be no question of their close relationship.

The Latin version is for the most part an expansion of the English, and while the essential sense is not changed, the thought is more clearly defined.

1. Whittingham was born in Chester in 1524, and became an accomplished scholar, studying at Oxford, Paris, and in several German universities, finally coming under Calvin's influence at Geneva. His studies completed, he returned to England shortly after the death of Edward VI; but soon found it necessary to return to the continent, where he eventually came to Frankfort. Of his activities there we have already heard. At Geneva, because of his understanding of the French tongue, coupled with his wide learning and grace of mind and heart, he occupied a very influential position in the congregation. During one of Knox's absences he was ordained, and became a co-pastor. He rendered many services to the learning of his day by his indefatiguable work as a translator. He revised Tyndal's NT in 1557, and also played a large part in the translation of the Genevan Bible, staying in Geneva till 1560 to complete the work. He is the author also of several of the metrical versions of the Psalms appended to the service book of 1556. On his return to England, by the good offices of the Earl of Warwick, he was made Dean of Durham (without re-ordination), and in that place he died in June, 1579. While Dean of Durham he wrote the Brief Discourse. A brief contemporary biography of Whittingham is contained in LOHMER: Knox and the Conf., of Engl., pp. 306-317. Cf also MARTIN: Les Prots. Ang., pp. 49-51.

2. This conjecture seems warrantable in view of the missing pages between the preface and the Confession of Faith. Cf. ut supra p.1.
This preface letter is to be found only in the Genevan editions. When the book was modified and adopted by the General Assembly in Scotland and printed in Edinburgh, the letter was omitted. It was also omitted in the editions designed for Puritan use in England.

It is not mentioned in the Table of Contents.

*********** *********** *********** ***********
TO OUR BROTHERS IN ENGLAND, AND
ELS where which loue Jesus Christe
unfeynedly, mercie, and peace.

IT IS MORE euident and known
to all men, the well consdered
and thankfully receyued of many,
with what gracie mercies,
and especiall graces
god endueus our countruye of
England in these latter
days:
when from idolatrie
he called vs to the knowledge
of his gospell,
and of no people made vs
his people, the people of god:

sendinge vs a king moste
godly, learned,
zealous, wyse, and much one
as neuer sate
in that royall chaire before:

Gods woord vniuersally spred ouer
all the lande, repentance preached,
Christes kingcome offered, holy ghospell:
yet it came to
passe, and this day, that is
verified on vs, which the lord
reproued Israeli fore, sayinge, I
haue stretched forthe my handes all
the day longe, vnto a people that be-
velleth not, but rebelleth againste
me, sa wakke after their owne imagi-
nations.

GFAKIA: & misericordiam vobis à
Deo Patre, qui vel in Anglia, vel
aliis locis degentes, Christum
Iesum ex animo colitis.

NISLA reg est, aut fuit vnquajr, viri
fratres, vniuereo hominü generi ac
ordini notior, licet minus quidem
à singulis, quàm pro rei magnitude
docetbat, laestanter accepta, quàm
incredibile illud, ac post homines
natos praeclarissimam in Angliam
nostro postremis hisce temporibus
Dei beneficium: quibus idolatriae
tenebris disiectis, nos in susus-
summa Evangelii sui lucem ac li-
tatem vindicauit, exque alienigena
populo, suum populum, sanctum ac sibi
gratum effecit. Nam vt ex tanta varia-
tate paucæ quædem cœmemoramus, Ægæm
cudumodii? quàm pium, quàmque doctum,
prudentem, moderatum? quànto denîque
verae religionis ardores, praes aliis
omnibus in eo praesertim dignitatis
gradu constitutis accensum nobis con-
tulit? Evangelium vero tam latè pa-
tebat, quantum regni sui pomneria ac
diciones prouehefuntur. Veruntamen
 nec populi inacitum atque ignauidam,
quòd non habebat vnde disceret, excus-
are: nec ministrorum diligtiam, quasi
strenuâ officio perfungerentur, vehe-
ter probare licuit. Nam vterque
sanè in vitio fuit, vt non iermerti
do nos illud pertinent, quod ager
Isaian Domin' Israelis exprobrat, Expendi
manus mea quotidie ad contumaces con-
tradictantes populum, quem sua solius
consilia a instituta delectat.

Vbi enim integritas, vbi fides, aut

In both it is in smaller type than the remainder of the volume.

2. Edward VI., the Protestant prince.
For whose ways were not corrupt? From the highest to the lowest, there was no part sounde.

Suche contempt of gods word, aswell on their behalf to whose charge of preachinge was committed, as on the other side, negligence to heare and learne to frame their lyues according to that yf the lord had not hastened his plague, and prevented, it wolde overtly have come to passe, which those wycked of Anathoth sayed to the prophet Hieremie, speak no more to vs in this name of the lorde. The which vnkyndnes and contempt, mad god we coulde as earnestly repent, as we nowe feele the lacks of these accustomed mercies, for none the day of our visitation is come, and the lorde hath brought the plagues vpo us, whereof before we were admonished, and most iustely menaced. For the false prophets are sent forth with lies in their mouthes to deceyue England, and the scarcetie of gods worde is so great that although they make it from one sea coaste to another, yet they can not finde yt, but as men affameshed dooure the pestiferous dounge of papistrie, to the poisoninge of their owne soules.


Atque uestinam hoc nostrum scelus, ac immane dedecus, tam notis concedquiretum deplorare, ac lachrymis eluere, quam propriae miseriae sensu labefactati, solitaeque beneficentiae penuria incitati, culpá agnoscamus? Eas enim dies, hec illa dies instant occorrit causam affert, quam Dominus illas poenas, quam iam pridem denunciatuerat, de notis repetitu venerit. Falsos siquiœdam vates mendaciique instructos emissit Deus, qui Angliam & fide abducere, ac praestigiis miseris homines obstupefacerent. Femem estiam tam prodigiosam verbi sui excusat, ut homines licet ab vase ora maritima ad alteram vaque latranti stomacho alimentum quaserant, tantum abest ut pastum inuentant, ut ad corporis simul & animi perditionem, se pestilentissimo illo Antichristi fermento ingurgitent.
by repentance, fasting, and prayer, to the condemnation of their souls.

totes luctui, iidunio, et orationi dedere, quod tandem aliquando ad Dominus convereri, cum illo in gratias citò redemimus. Non est enim noster Deus, qui sanguinis expetens, sine sanguine explerit non possit sed longè secus, pescatoris scilicet mortem aegerreferens, vitae tantùm examinationem desiderat: vitrò se canitus exponens, qui angustiis aliquibus afflictis allocutionem contra aerumnas suas efflagitent. Et quemadmodum clemens aliquid patre atque benignus omni remediis liberorum salutis prospectus cupit: ita lemisimus patre ac Domino nostro, non aspiricribus illis flagris só necem caedens, sed leni ac paternae manu ad meliorem fruges nos inuitans, nullum non pharma- scam adhibet, quo tendem sibi nostri vis depellet.

Sollite igiur animos obfirma vestros, neque ad praefectorum Iuda- orum exemplum Deus tentate, quos id- circopropert non ferendam illam con- tumaciam Dominus gladio, fumi, pestil., tāquæ canili crucifìssimis hostibus traditit. Non enim patetur Deus se eludi, sed veluti ignis edax ex sequo hostes suos, tam qui collici simulèt.

Deinde ex suo cerebro metištur, quia quæ praefecte illius fortitūdōnem resistit, interimit. Quam enim aut non animaduerunt satuti homines, Deus minimæ placæri posse huiusmodi portentias, aut potius se in ipso serido casquite fingunt, quid alius faciant, quæ asternas poenas sihi ogerunt in diem irae, quæ quidem paululum iam accensa vires colligere videtur, atque
and bodies, who knowinge Jesu
Christ to haue once fully satisfied
for our synnes: cease not dayly either
in hart, myth, or outward oboe to
blaspheme his precious death,

(asmoche as in them lyeth) cruci-
fie his a newe. Do you not remembere
that idolaters haue no portion in
the kingdome of god, but are thrown
into the lake of fyre and brymstone,
where their worme shall never dye?

Can not the examples of gods fear-
full judgements moue you, who spared
not his verie angells when they
trespassed, but hitherto reserueth
them in hell chaynes, to be tor-
mented in the day of the lorde?

and will he then favor idolaters,
disssemblers, blasphemers, mockers,
contemners? and rather not in this
lyfe verifie that which the holie
ghost pronounceth against the child-
ren of gods wrath, who becaus they
do not receiue the trueth for their
saluation, are led by lyes to their
endles condemnation?

at the leaste let gods forwarnings
some what moue you to pitie your owne
state, who for your instructions,
suffereth your owne brethrens amongst
you to die so terribly, some in dis-

1. "The prevailing emotion, in the Puritan conception of the Almighty, was
awe.... The Puritans had not risen or sunk to that tender French con-
ception of the Almighty as 'le bon Dieu'. They did not think of God as
a simple impersonation of the benevolent principle, and easy, placable
Father of the universe, wearing a smile of eternal indifferency to right
and wrong. God was to them what He was to the Hebrew king, when He said,
'he Lord reigneth, let the people tremble'; what He was to the rapt pro-
phet who declared all nations to be to God 'as the small dust of the
balance'. For these men the unseen was the reality, the seen a fleeting
shadow. They lived in the presence of the Eternal. 'if we provoke the
Mediator', said Cromwell once to his parliament, 'he may say, I will
leave you to God, I will not intercede for you; let Him tear you in
pieces!'" PATTEN'S ENGLISH PURITANISM, its character and history, forming
the introduction to Puritan Documents relating to the Settlement of
parce, others to kyll thysm selues, 
Ed many vteringe moste horrible 
blasphemies euene to their last 
breathes.

The wch thyngev are so fearefull 
for vs to heare, that we treble, in 
thinking ther vpon.

if you wyll therfore be counted in 
the nombre of godes people, and be so 
in seede, loke not backwarde frome 
the plough, returne not to your vomiit, 
bowe not your knee to Esal,
pollut not the temple of the 
holie ghost, in presentinge your-
selues before idoles; but either 
stand in the truth, and so rather 
obey God than man;
or els followe godes callinges 
who hath so mercifully prooved for 
youre munday the hartes of all godlie 
rulers and magistrates,
to pitty your state, and do you good, 
so that 
at Eadem, Wesell, Franckford, Ed 
in this Citie he hath appointed godlye 
Churches,
where[you may learne to feare hym, 
repett your symmes, asende your lyues, 
and recover agayne his fayour and 
mercie.
And because there is no way more 
ready or sure to come to hs, then 
by fraymynge our selues altogether to 
his blessed myll, resualted vnto vs in 
penmannum curesamus manus mibi inferent, 
nulla inter extremos spiritus inap- 
dites blasphemies exhalent: 
vt eo magis vestras, si forté ita sit, 
indoléntia deflammus, quamò nos praec 
casteris rebus, quam vel audidimus 
vel legimus vogue, his rumoribus 
magis perhorrorssimus. Quòd quivi 
igitur hoc tantum soles deprccari 
cupitis, Deique filios & esse & hateri 
vultis; 
videste ne ouculos ab aratro auertatis, 
nec ad vomiti resuersasini, 
aut genua Pauli submittatis, neque vos 
ipsos scelerates Missas, aut simulac- 
ris præstetis, quò tēplum Spiritus 
sancti violetis:
sed aut 
strenuæ veritatem afferitis, vt Deo 
potius quim hominibus obsequamini: 
aut Deum saltes vocantem sequiunas, 
quì pro mirifica sua suo prouida 
benignitate, piorum principium & magis-
tratum animos ac voluntates non solum 
percouit; sed format, efficacit, ex-
citaut ad singulare nostrum omnium 
bonus & communem: vt iam feré vno tem-
pore Eudemae, Nessallae, Franconfurti, & 
in hoc praeclarissimas ciuitate Ecclesi-
as erexit & aegerit, quò tanguem visu 
voce Dominus vos inuictat, vt & eius 
cultur, timorem, fides discentes, ven-
trānque vicissim occasitant, errores 
peruersitatis asnoscentes, illius amor 
ascenulentis conspezaminii. Io verò 
cum ad hoc institutum nulla ratio aut via 
accomodator ac expedient esse potest, 
quòs finos eius voluntati & arbitrio 
permittamus, quatenus eò nobis verbo 
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1. The 1661 edition is closer to the Latin, and clearer in sense here. It is 
as follows: "...bowe not your knee to Paal, pollut not the temple of the 
holie Ghost, in presentinge your selues to that most wicked and blas-
phamous Masses, with such like idells: *The Reformers considered the Mass 
itself idolatry as the worship of the creature of bread as God; and this 
was undoubtedly the popular belief in that day, so crudely was the doctrine of 
transubstantiation (ES) interpreted. Knox wrote a treatise 
entitled A Vindication of the Doctrine that the Sacrifice of the Mass is 
Idolatry, in 1560. LAIGE: KB. III. 88sq. Of. also his disputations 
before Queen Mary of Scotland.
The Preface Letter

His words: we, to whose thought
God hath given more libertie,
yet no lesse lamentinge your bondage, then rejoyninge in our owne deliverance,
frome that Babylonical slauery and Antichristian yooke,
have earnestly endeauored secongethe other things which might bringe vs to the worthy consideration of gods woordes, to frame our lyues, and re fouerne our state of religion in suche sort,
that neither doute of the certaintie thereof, should make vs feare, nor yet mans judgement discourage vs, and cause vs to shrinke from this entreprise: moste acceptable to God, comfortable to his churche and necessarly apperteyning to every christian mans duty.
We, therefore not as the greatest clearkes of all, but as the least able of many, do present unto you which desire the increase of gods glory, and the pure simplicitie of his woordes, a forme and order of a reformed church, limited within the compass of gods woordes,
which our sauiour hath left vnto vs as onely sufficient

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1. The Latin brings out more clearly than the English, and in fuller detail, that the aim of this worship and discipline is to restore the Church to its pristine splendour. This is emphasised throughout the writings of the Reformers, and the same desire is expressed in Calvin’s Preface and in Pullamia’s Epistola. While their desire was laudable, they set themselves an impossible standard, as e.g. Ninian Winzet was not slow to point out in his controversy with Knox (Cartiae Tractates), when they narrowed their worship to the principle of excluding nothing that was not specifically authorised by the Scriptures. The earlier Reformers sought to base their worship on the early Church’s services; that was sound; but to attempt to have only what is authorised in the NT is to cause the principle of reform to defeat itself. Winzet saw this, and asked annoying questions which could not be answered, e.g. Why do you not celebrate Communion at night instead of in the morning? 

to govern all our actions by; so that what so ever is added to this word by means devise,
some it neuer so good, holy, or beautifull, yet before our God which is iealous and can not admitt any company or counsellor, it is sain, wicked, and abominable.

For he that is the wisdom of the father, the brightenes of his glory, the true light, the worde of lyf yea truth, and lyf it self, O he gyue unto his churches (for the which he payed the raunson of his blood) that which shulde not be a sufficient assurance for the same? can the worde of truth deceyue vs? the way of life misguyde vs?

the worde of saluation damne vs? God kepe vs from suche blasphemies, and so direct our hartes with his holy spirit, that we may not only content our selves with his wisdom, but so reioyse in the same, that we may abhorre all thinges which are contrayre.

The which considerations dore bretherne, when we waighed with reuerent feare æd hüblenes; æd also knowig, that negligence in reforming that religion, which was begun in Englande, was not the leaaste cause of gods rods light vpon vs.

absolutissimæ regulæ, non solùs \textit{religionis tradendæ \& explicandæ; sed etiá omní nostrarúr actionum atque rationi: aliquid certe huic addere hominis esset pfligisti atqy audacis: iminuere aut \textit{et aut detrabere, sumae} asset pflòiae. Quisquis igitur alter- utrû pœstrat, licet ré valde honestë, pià \& praestantem siti facere videatur: Deo tamê, qui selotes est, nec quæquà potest admittere in societæ rationi: suarù, inuista, impia \& detestàùa est. Nê cogitate apud vosipos, ac diligenter circúmpicite, virùme, qui sapieòia Patris dicitur, eiusqì gloriae splèdor, lux illa vera, ac vitae verò, imò veritas \& vita ipsa potest id Ecclesiæ suæ tradere, \textit{atqy} qui non dubitavit morte crucìssimà oppètere, quod nò certissimà rei suae gerèsæ gnomòne cognòscor? potest ne veritas ipsa fallere quemquà? an via quæ ad vità ducit, in deuin errores abducere? aut ipsa salì nos perdere? Deus meliora: nostròque amisò Spiritù sui ductu regat ac moderetur: vt \& suæ solius sapieòia nobis placeòt ac delectet:

\textit{et quicquid huic aduersatur, omnibus servius respuat atqy abominemur.}

Quæ rea, quæ nos ad diligètiorè rerù nostrarù animadueròne revocarent, simulque penitius, nec sine anim quædæ cons- ternatuœ, nostròque ipsi abiecere intueremur pristinì ignóliam in restituenda vera religiones, quae non minima cortè, à nescio an alia maior causa extitit húlius calamitàtis, quam Deus

*summae*
THE PREFACE LETTER

We presented to the judgement of the famous man John Caluin, and others learned in these parties the order which we intended to use in our church, who approving it, as sufficient for a christian congregation, we put the same in execution: nothing doubting but all godly men shall be much edified thereby: and as for the Papistes, or malicious men and vn-godly, we have not laboured to satisfy them, because we knew no souveraine medicine for their cankered sore, except it may please God, by our prayers, to be mercifull to thee, ad call the home, if they be not already forsaken. But yet for as much as there are some, which through continuance in their error rather delitting in custome, then knowledge, can not suffer that men shuld once open their mouths against certeyne olde and receyued ceremonies, we thought good in this place, some what to touche that scrupulositie.

inflictit, cepimus consilium, postqua
divina providentia Ecclesiae locus
nobis oœcœdebatur,
vel in hac clarissima totius orbis
terrarum ciuitate
cæ rationem & formæ, quam in nostra
Ecclesia sequendæ proposseramus,
judicio grauiissimi & doctissimi viri
L. Ioan. Caluin, aliorsua sanctissimæ
hominû oœmittendi, quæ cum libenter
cœprobuerant,

Can not suffer that men shuld once open their mouths against certeyne olde and receyued ceremonies, we thought good in this place, some what to touche that scrupulositie.

1. This sentence is reminiscence of Puffains opening sentence in his letter "Ad lectorem candidum,", in his Librae, 1554, though Puffains language is more gentle. The Latin here is more precise in its meaning than the English, and shows us what the author of this letter wished to convey.
For as ceremonies grounded upon
God's word and approved the
new Testament, are commendable
(as the circumstance thereof doth support)
so those that man hath invented,
though he had never so good occasion
therunto,
if they be once abused,
import a necessity,
hinder God's word, or be drawn
into a superstition,
without respect ought to be abolished,
for if

Ezechias was commanded by the holy ghost,
for breaking in pieces the brazen serpent,
which Moses had erected by
God's commandment, and now had
continued above 800 years, and
Ezechias after his departure obtained:

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1. This section following is much reminiscent of PULLAIN's "Ad lectorem castigandum pro liturgia admonitio" in his Liturgia, 1554. While there is no verbal agreement, there is a close relationship of thought and context, and it may be regarded as a certain source. I quote below from Pullain:

"Si multas ceremonias laudabilis clamant abolitas, quae tamen videbantur magna niti autoritate vetustissim. patrum: si ordinem et decorum confundis: si dignitatem ministerii prostitui: et contemi dicas (dicas?), hoc nonnullum est atque non nobis. Nam quod dignitatis

est hominum et sanitatis, ex re memoriam constat pessima et luxus, non dignitatem pulisse quiquis isti a nobis rescussum clamant. Cum porro Ministeri

suum unus prope frequentur, subdul spiritus sancti et rectitatem in te, glories, et honorum nonons consolatas. Id quod videamus ex multis sanctis

viris post Apostolos saeculorum, qui sine his pompis Sanctissime rexerunt

Eclesiae Christi. Quas enim dignitates, aut authoritates maliores requiris illas, quam Paulus laudat Corinthis? Ordinis porro confundis et decorum, planae vanus est, quae tenuis columna est, quod ceremonias laudabiles et

aeternitatem aboleris, quae longe maiestatis divinae reas facient; Nulla enim veritatis dignitas, vel patrum autoritas, quae quisquam valent adversus Dei autoritatem, vel Eclesiae aedificationes. Hesto itaque multa sit in illis ceremoniis (quas abolei indigni fuerint) autoritates vetustatis: Attenam siquid ab aliquo exorquat tam ab usurpatam

sit tenere: non es debet Eclesiae servitute presse, vel incurrere nefas sit, aut mutare et deceanse. Sed si eisius atque illius ad imperium, aut abaque verbi Dei autoritatem et sine viva aedificatione, aut contra verbum, et

voluntatem Dei (id quod etiam non manifesta sorptura, attamen euentu pro—
bari potest, qui tam immanus superstitious vulgus, tam multis et horrendis idololatriae inde seoutae sunt)• Cur Eclesiae, vel quorum interesse, eosse non tollere, quae scandalo esse intelligent inferire? Quiquid a

Christo auertit, aut remoratur etiam, id sedulo tollendum est. Praeterea

omn non omnia omnia eorum saecularis aedificacium, et Eclesiae

laeis consilium secat et obedere. Nam in iles, quas nulla autoritate

verbis Dei intitulat, credat sumam sibi datam autoritates tollendae et

retinenda. Tantum quid in Eclesiae usurpatum, quod non ad aedificationem

et Eclesiae Christi dignum ordine pertinent. Nam si quid tales non sit, tollendas omna ego (Cf. EGC SOF "Ceremonies": "worthy to be put away, and of reverent action"), nisi Paulum salvm praesepiae sacerum, omnis ad aedi-

ficationem, et Deo revera sacrificii, quod donec sancto eum in situ sanctum

scandalo esse inoptum tollendam, exemplo Ezechiae, qui non dubitavit serpentum illust mirroriis alorum dejicere. An non merito hic necesse bonus

princepta debuit, aut serpentum a Deo fieri iussus? Quam illos omnes, qua

tanta Esolcia consecutos Israelitas neminem est? At doceor populum insensissit.

lab vero non tanti hae fuerunt pio regi, quin occasiones idololatriae

tel (iniqua populi: Malheurnum) et
die medio vestri tollite; et, malum odio perseverquisi, (continued next page.)
which thing of itself was not evil, but rather put men in remembrance of God's benefit; yet because it began to minister occasion to the people to commit idolatrie was not to be borne withall: how much more ought we to take heed, that through our occasion men commit not idolatrie

with their own imaginations and phantasias? 1.

It was not with out great cause commanded by almighty God that the places, and other appurtinances, which had served to Idolatrie should be utterly consumed, lest babes and children, through occasion remembrance the same, should fall into like inconvenience. And thinke you that we ought to be wiser? and not rather take heed, that those things which the papistes, and other idolaters have inmented, or else observe as inmented by Moses, be utterly consumed.

Footnote 1. continued from previous page.

The reference to Hezekiah was a familiar argument used by the Reformers in this connection. PELLAUS uses it in the quotation above. CALVIN refers to it in his "Que doit faire un homme fidèle entre les Papiistes?", 1543. (Comp. Ref. XXXIV - Calv. Opera VI - p. 552) where he says, "Le serpent d'airain... forcé... par le vouloir de Dieu" is not only "un memorial du benefice que Dieu avait fait au peuple d'Israel; mais un sanct Sacrement de Jesus Christ." The same example is given in CHAMPER's "Cathechism", 1543. (STPP: Gramm. ii. 46, iii. 270, notes. Oxford ed. 1854.) On the whole of GORDON'S Thesis, p. 107.

1. By this is meant the idolatrie of the Mass, which they held to be essentially an idolatrie of the imagination fostered by a false doctrine.
may not enter into Christ's church
as well to thende that the weak
may not be confirmed in their
error, as that we may altogether
separate our selves from that
idolatrous Babylon and temple of Be-
lial wherewith Christ hath no con-
corde nor agreement? Ther was no one
ceremonie more auncient, nor yet of
better authorite, then the washing
of the Disciples feet, which was ob-
serued alonge time in the church,
and institute by Christ him selfe:
yet when some wer persuaded,
that it was a portion of the lorde's
supp, ed others
1. thought it served in steade of Baptisms; Baptisai locum subrogatT conte~derent,
2. the godly churches in S. August, tyme, piae Icclesiae Augustini seculo longe
thought it better to leaue that .vjhich
was ordeynecl for a good use, the
by reteyning the same, oofirme an error,
or superstition. 2. The Corinthi
cor for the relief of the poore and to in-
crease brotherly amytie together
gyd institute a feast immediately after
the lorde's supp, but how sharply S.
Paul did reproach the same,
comparing in comparsion, that we shuld
add any thing to the lorde's institu-
tion, it appeareth by that he saith,
I have recouued of the lorde, that
whose I gae you.

We reade also that

We reade also that

vt nec diletes ac infirmes nostris
obsesuamuis ad duritiam c0fir-
manum: nec unieon sanus demB Ba-
byloniace aeretrici, sed nos à per-
rido Babyloniae aegregemus quicq Christo
nulla concordia esse potest. 1
In tam immense autem ceremoniarium
pelas nulla fuit vel antiquior, vel
illustrior quam pedef lotio,
quae primi
à Christo inter discipulos suos in-
stituta in multis annos creuerat,
doneo tandem, orta inter homines con-
certationes, dum aliqui tanguam Coenae
partem adiectam putarent, alii in
Baptismi locum subrogareacontenerent,
piae Ecclesiae Augustini 2 seculo longe
tollerabilem tante commoditatis
facturas existimarent, quam ea
retenta erroris turpitudines
alere. Corinthii vero, mi in tanta
varietate prua exempla commenora-
licent, vt & egenis promiscueretur &
amicitia aleretur mutua,
statin à Coena Domini comuniue aere
agressi erant: sed quae scrier hoo
ipsorum institutum reprehendit lpostelus,
veluti in totus damnae, vt Domini in-
stitutioni aliquid adiceretur,
ex eo satis constant quod Paulus dicoat
se à Domino accipisse id, quod illis
tradiderat. Tanta minium est ingeni-
orum perveritas, vt non modo oesteris
in rebus luxuriant, sed & Sacramenta
ipsa mutandi, trucandi, atque illustr-
andi facultates sibi arrogent.

1. By this the Reformers did not mean that they were separating themselves
from the Church, but rather that they were continuing the true Church
by separating themselves from the 'Papists', who by their superstitions,
pagan, and immoral practices had abjured the true faith. (For the evils
of the Roman Church in that period see HAY FLEMING· Ref., in Socle., and
COULSON's Studies in Medievalism, operation: 'unh, Ref., MOUNTCTHT.

2. The Latin edition always omits the title "Saint" before a saint's name, while
the English edition as consistently retains it. Fullain used it sometimes,
Calvin always.

The Preface Letter

Baechias and his nephew Iosias

restored the use of the Passover, which had been a very long time disused, but in the ministation thereof, they observed no other ceremonies, than God had left to Moses from the beginning. Circumcision likewise was essential, was soonermore after one sort ministered even as the Lord commanded it.

But much is the nature of flesh, it willwise, as have a stroke in gods doings, yea and how wilfully it causeth man to maynteyne his own phantasies,

it is manifest to theE, which have persued the anciet records of the churchs. For beginnyng at Hierusalem, as Constanciope, Antioche, Alexandria, and Rome, he shall see plainly, that their greatest disturbance, and overthrowe, was through ceremonies.

What conflict was at all tyme betwixt the Latin and Greke churches for the same, no Christian can consider without tears. And was ther any thinge more objected against, S. Paul both of the Galatias, and also of the others,

Eeuchias ac eius nepos Iosias, quos ex sacris Annullus constat, eum pascha ipsum, quod iam ferus obser- letum in desuetudines abierat, populo Dei restituerant, noli alius suisse vosse ceremonias, quas ab initio Moses in eo adminis- trando praeceperat. Circuncisio similiter cuss est Sacramentum, eo ritu seper per- agebatur, quo Dominus iussaverat. Sed quid non audeat humana protetis? aut quod non erumpat hominum audaciss? qui cum se ad caoslos attulere audent, parum putat sua deliria mordicus retinere, nisi divinis rebus sua inter- ponant consilia, quaedammodum optimae norunt hi, qui vetera ecclesiae moni- sena animo perlustrant.

Nasi ab Hierosolyma exordi,
ad religias Ecclesias,
tvpote Constantinopolitanam, Antiochenam, Alexandrinam, atque Romanam peruenioremus, facile perspicuissim ex nulla re alia maiores olasdam illas acceptisse, quae
ex ceremoniarum contentione vitrò citrogè agitata.

Quanta hinc discordia Graeca & Latins vexavit Ecclesia, quis unques potuit sine lachrymis comemorare? & quo est quidque, qui nesciat quantam sibi inuidiam, tum apud Galatas, eum stiam apud alios ferre omnes consciusiti Paulus,

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1. Marge note: 2 Chr. 30. a. 4 King. 22.e. 2 Chr. 30 e.
3. Marge note: Gen. 17.e.

4. These were the five great Patriarchates of the early Church. For their growth and development, cf. DOORENBEE: Christian Worship, pp. 1-48.

5. The main reference is doubt to the dispute concerning the date of Easter. FULLAIN in his opuscle Ad lectorem candidum in Liturg. 1654, refers definitely to it, though in a slightly different connection, pleading for diversity in unity. "For", he writes, "command... idem, non violett, ceremomias externas in Ecclesia varietas. Viu non minus docte quam pius deocius Irenaeus in compenda illa triasti discordia de die Pascha, quam Statam exsistent inter Anianos Episcopos et Europenses." Cf. HUBRIBRIJ, Church History, v. 28, and GORDOThThesis, p. 113.

THE PREFACE LETTER

then that he woulde not observe the Ceremonies as the chief Apostles dyd? And yet he kept them whiles any hope was to gaine the weake brethren,
and therefore circumcised Timothe:
but when he perceyued that men wolde retayne thē as necessary things in the church,
he called that which before he made indifferent, wicked and impious, sayso, that who so euer was circum­
cised Christe ooulde aethyng pro­
fitt the®.

fearing also, lest he had taken paynes sznonges the" in vayne, which loynd Christ with beggeriy
which he foresaw, he called that "which before he made indifference, wicked and impious, pro­

fitt them.

being hereby persuaded,
and with many moo reasons confirmed
with certaine reasones, whiche he perceyued that the works of God purely,
minister the Sacramentes sincerely,
and use prayers, and other orders

1 Marg. note: Act. 16.4.
2 The Reformers did not neglect the sacraments; rather they taught to adminis­
ter them more Scripturally, and by encouraging Communion monthly, they really
taught people to communicate more frequently. Nor would they have held with
the irresponsible and uninformed modern view sometimes brought forward from
'evangelical' quarters that the sermon stands in place of the

3 The Reformers, of course, approved of and used fixed forms of prayer.
Calvin wrote to the Protector Somerset to that effect: "As to what concerns
a form of prayer and ecclesiastical rites, I highly approve of it that
there should be a certain form, from which the Ministers be not allowed
to vary.... There ought to be a stated Catechism, a stated form of prayer,
Some of the extremists among the early Puritans objected that "No one ought to
be confined to set forms of prayer," but even they did not wish to abolish
set forms, and they were so extreme that they declared that "The Holy Scrip­
tures ought, not to be read in the Churches!" Puritan Letters, p. 417, of.
RUSHC. (Catec. p. 150.) Read prayers were not disconradenced in Scotland till
the advent of the Prounist, and those sharing taeir views were
roundly condemned by covenanting Assemblies, the disconradencing of read
prayers being specifically condemned more than once. Of. Sprotte Pos. pp.lxx.sq.

 quaternionius, ac summorum Apostolorum more ceremonias observa­
utes? Atque certe tanti illas vauphabet, quondae apes alqua eas
obtinentat fore: ut infirmos hōc modo ad Christum pellereat; id quod Timo­
thei exemplō hōc animo ab eo circū­
cisi plisse eiuscore necessæ est.

Verum eminuero cūm hominum salicis
cō oreuerat, vt tundra necessarias
in Ecclesia retinendas ceremonias
contenderēt, minaciter sese opposuit,
auctoritate interia obturgans, eaque
authoritate praesē; adeo ut quōd
paulō ante veluti 25vpxx toller-
auerat, impium iam et oolerat esse
clamitet, plane afferens Christum non
amplius illis profuturum, quotquot
Circumsicionem vī perferent.

Ideoquē se vereri sehabet, ne frustra
operas suas in illos collocuaret,
qui salue Christum aegnis elementis
amen.ideoquē se vereri sehabet, ne frustra
operas suas in illos collocuaret,
qui salue Christum aegnis elementis
amen.

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prayers being specifically condemned more than once. Of. Sprotte Pos. pp.lxx.sq.
thereby approved to the increase of god's glory, and the edifica-
tion of his holy people. 
As touching preaching, for as much as it is allowed of all
godly men, we may at this time leave the proof thereof; and also for the
administration of the two sacramentes, our books gauest sufficeth. 

But because prayers
are after two maner of sortes, that is, either in wordes only, or els with
sone iyoyed ther vnot: and they
later part, as well for lack of the true use thereof, as disobedicera-
tion of the same, is called by many into dout, whether it may be used in a
reformed church: it is expedient, that we note brief-
ly a few things perteyning therunto.

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Much of what follows is drawn directly from Calvin's "Epistre au lector" in the various editions of his La forme. The following quotation from the earliest (1548) edition, will suffice to show it.

"Quant est des prieres publiques, il y en a deux espaces. Les unes se fendent par simple parole: lea aultres aueque ohant. Et n'est pas chose inventee depuis peu de temps. Car do's la premiere origine du l'Eglise ocel a este, comme il appert par les histoires. Et memus saint Paul se pas par seulement de prier de bouche, mais aussi de chanter. Et a la verite, nous enganons par experience, que le chant a grand force et vigueur d'emoouer et enflamber le coeur des hommes, pour insueuer et lour Dieu d'un sole plus vehement et ardent. Il y a tousioA a re-
garder, que le chant ne soit pas legier et volage: mais sit poës et maistre, comme dit saint Augustin. Et ainsi il y sit grande difference entre la musique qu'on fait pour resioyur les hommes a table et en leur maison: et entre les psalmes, qui se chantent en l'Eglise, en la presence de Dieu et de ses anges. Or quand on voludra droetement lager de la forme qui est toy exposée: nous esperons qu'on la trouuera sainct et pure: veu qu'ellie est simplement religée a l'edification, dont nous avons parli." (Cfr. ref. XXXIV., pp. 168-169.)

PULLAIN does not refer to it directly, save to point out that it should be in the vernacular. And the use of metrical Psalms, of course, has been adopted universally by all Presbyterian Churches, hence carried from Geneva to Scotland. This does not come within the scope of this thesis, but has been admirably dealt with by MACNILLAN in his Thesis, and is covered by a multitude of volumes dealing with metrical psalmody. In England the custom of congrega-
tional singing of psalms "as was used among the Protestants of Geneva" was borrowed by the Church of England as early as 1553, GREGORIUS GRINDEL book A, chap. 8, Cfr. Actes des Ecles, I. 92 (ref. XXXIV., pp. 168-169.)

At Geneva the Psalms were translated at Calvin's suggestion into metrical French, and set to simple and noble airs by Clement Marot and Theodore Beza, the first volume containing a begin appearing in 1543, and the collection was completed in 1551. (Cfr. ref. XXXIV., p. 168.)

The important point for us to observe in this connection is that Calvin (and those Reformers who followed him) did not deprive their

(continued on next page)
S. Paul giving a rule how men shulde singe, first saith, I will singe in voice, and I will sing with understanding: and in an other place showing what songes shulde be songe, exhorteth the Ephesians to edifie one an other with psalms, songes of praise, and such as are spirituall, singinge in their heartes to the lord with thankes geuing. As if the holy ghoste wolde saye,

that the songe did inflame the heart to call vpnon god, and praise him with a more fercuent and lyuely zeal, as musicke or singinge, is naturall vnto vs, and therefore euery man deliteth therein:

so our mercifull god setteth before our eyes, how we may reioyce and singe to the glory of his name, recreation of our spirites, and profit of our selues. But as ther is no gift of god so precious or excellent, that Satan hath not after a sort drawn to his selfe and corrupt:

**quod Paulus quodam in loco scribat, Canem, inquiens, voce, sed & mente canes:**

Et alio item in loco, quin cantus maximum concernat significantem, Ephesios hortatur vt alius alii profit, colloqueter inter se psalmis, laudatorias ac divinas cantiones animo canentes, ac gratias agentes Deo. ac si Spiritus sanctus ore suo notis atten· tarentur, huiusmodi vim in cantionibus inesse, vt non solum aures, sed animum satis magis percellent, so inflamant ad caelestii regn studium atque amoris. Vtque natura insti est ingenii consobrius ac harmoniae desiderium & appetitus, qui miraciles sui amores in hominum animis excitat, ita Deus optimus ac clementissimus pater, viae nobis quandam & rationem praemittet, qua possimus eum laudare, animos nostros recreare, ac aliqui alius iuare. Sed quae esset Satanese malitias, nihil tam excellens est, tamque praeclarus, quod veterator ille calidus non posse esset satis laudat,

Note from preceding page continued.

services of a responsive and popular character, as we so often hear from certain quarters. Rather, they deliberately provided parts for the people, and these parts they set into metre to easily sung tunes, so that the people without difficulty could take part. While they abolished the prose responses used before the Reformation, they did so largely because they were set to such elaborate music that only trained singers could sing them. Others they abolished as unscriptural. Put their main motive in abolishing them was because they had already dropped out of popular use; not used at Low Mass (the popular service), and taken from them by the elaborate music used at High Mass, the popular service, and taken from them by the elaborate music used at High Mass, (the hours services were then not for the people, but mainly for the 'religious'.) So the Psalms, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, &c., were put into metre and sung to plain tunes, and were thus restored to popular use. The Psalms and Canticles in metre were the responsive part of the Reformed services; they were emphatically counted as a part of the prayers, and embodied sublime adoration, praise, and thanksgiving. They were not mere punctuations; they were a definite part of the prayers—the peoples' part. This cannot be too much emphasised and insisted upon.

For this whole subject see DOMAGKA, Calvin, li. 430-449; PAIRD, On Lit. pp. 36-36; SPROTT, ROD, p. lvi.; MAGILL, Thesis, p. 116 sq.; CALVIN, various prefaces to the metrical editions. In PARROSO, p. 36; J. F. H. G. W. (the recent), p. 116 sq.; F peace. The Psalms contained in the second part of this book, 97 were Sternhold's, 9 Whittingham's, and 7 Hopkins'. The Psalms chosen have no liturgical significance, but seen just so have been the first translated. Two years later 11 more were added, and the next year another 25; and the first complete metrical psalter was printed in England in 1568, dedicated to Queen Elizabeth.
so hath he most impudently abused this notable gifte of singinge, chieflye by the papistes his ministrers in disfiguring it, partly by strange language, that can not edifie; and partly by a curious wanton sort, hyringe men to tickle the eares, and flatter the phantasies, not esteeming it as a gifte approued by the worde of god, profitable for the church, and confirmed by all antiquitie.

As, besides other places, is most manifest by the wordes of Plinius, called the younger, who when he was depute in Asia, vnto the Emperour Traian, and had receyued charge to enquire out of the Christians, to put them to deathe, wrt enemys other things, touchinge the Christians, that their manners were to singe verses, or psalms carely in the morninge to fhrist their god.

Now if any paraduenture wolde doute, when, Quod si nescire se quis simulet quo aut tempore haec facies Ecclesiae esse coeperat: similiter historiae referenda, that S. John the Apostle, who, unt Ioannem illum Apostolum, qui

1. It was the meaningless parrot-like responses too common in the Roman Church of that period, which the Reformers eschewed, and sought to correct. They desired to give the people an intelligible part.

2. Such music, e.g., as that to which the 'Alleluias' were set. PULLAIN in his Epistle "Ad lector, comm. before-quoted, has a reference to the music required in the Reformd Churches. He sets it down that the words must be intelligible and in a comprehensible tongue, then adds, ''Necem pertinet ipse cantus seu modulatio, cui nullus locus esse debet in Ecclesia, nisi inmoderato verbo non intelligi possit, non enim in Ecclesia subaudium, sed cantuandum.''


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**The Preface Letter**

sic impurissimae vicinatae castæ hoc & eximium Spiritus sancti donum, cum & Papistas, suos videlicet emiseris susciteret, qui putati in verbo non intelligerent, & infamios gomos homines mercede conductos ad deliniambres aures emittit.

quare cum nullo huiusmodi atuae fascinati non intelligerat hoc præstantisimum munus & Deo esse cœssius auctum verbo attestatum, Ecclesiæ suæ cœssum, atque priscis monumentis comprobatum, difficili pœuli eos quæ nimia natura patitur, hace râ ferre minime mirum est. Atque ut caetera emittantur quæ ad antiquitatis memoriam offensam pertinent, cum illud satys erit, quo de Plinio nepote scriptum legem. In em quæ proconsulatur gereret in Asia ubi Traian Imperatore, inaneque in mœstæs habet, ut diligenter de Christianis cogneret, sœque tamquam publicos tranquillitatem perturbatores morte mulcetaret: scriptum inter caeteras, quod essent soliti stat e ante lucem communiæ, carminque Christo quasi Deo dicere secundum. Quod si nescire se quis simulat quo aut tempore haec facies Ecclesiæ esse coeperat: similiter historiæ referenda, that S. John the Apostle, who, unt Ioanne illum Apostolum, qui
although in Domitian's time he was
banished in the Isle of Patmos;
yet when Nerua his successor, and
next before Traian reigned
returned to Ephesus, and so
planted the churches, as the sto­
ties report. Singing therefore
gods word doth argue it, anti­
quity beareth witness thereof, Ed
best reformed churches have
recognized the same:
no man can reprove it,
extcept he will otemne gods worde,
despite antiquity, Ed utterly o­-
denam the godlie reformed churches.
And there are no songes more meet,
then the psalms of the Prophete
David, which the holy Ghost hath
framed to the same use, and con­nected
to the church, as containing
the effect of the whole scriptures,
that hereby our hearts might be
more lively touched,
as appereath

by Moses, Ezechias, Iudith, Debora,
Mary, Zacharie and others,
who by songes and metre,
rather then in their ordinary
speech, and prose, gave thanks
to God, for such comfort as he
sent them. Here it were to bese­
treate of the metre,
but for samache as the learned
ought not thereof,
and it is plainly proven that the
psalms are not only metre, and
CSteyne inste Cesures; but also

1. Calvin would admit only Psalms of David and Scriptural Canticles, but not
original hymns. Cf. his introduction to Marot's versions. On whole ques­
tion of metrical psalmody cf. G. WAUCHORE STEWART: Music in Church Worship
have grace and majesty in the verse more than any other places of the scriptures, we need not to enter into any probation. For they that are skillful in the Hebrew tongue by comparing the psalms with the rest of the scriptures easily may perceive the mete, and to whose is it not known, how the holy ghoste by all meanes sough to helpe our memorie,

when he fashioned many psalms accordingly to the letters of the alphabet: so that every verse beginneth with the letters thereof sometimes. A, beginneth the halfe verse, Ed E, the other halfe:

and in an other place three verses, yea and eight verses with one lettre, even the psalme throughout: as if all men shulde be inflamed with the love thereof, both for varietie of matter, Ed also brevity, easines, Ed delectation.

Nowe to make you privie also, why we altered the ryme in certaine places, of hym whose for the gyftes that God hath geuyn him we esteemed and reuerenced, thys may suffice: that in this our Etreprise, we did onely set God before our eyes and therfore wayed the wordes and sense of the Prophet: rather considering the meaning thereof, then what any man had wrytt, and chiefly being in this place where as moste perfite and godly judgment dyd assure vs, Ed exhortation to the same encourage us, we thought it better to frame the ryme to the Hebrew sense, thoo to bynde that sense to the English mete and so either altered for the better in suche places as he had not attayned.
vnte, or else where he had escaped
parte of the verse, or some tyme
the whole, we added the same: not
as men desyrous to find fautes, but
onely as such which couuete to hyde
theym, as the learned can judge.

It remaynetb last of all that you un-
derstande the reasons which mouede vs
to chuse owte and follows this Cata-
chisme of Geneva rather then any
other, for connsideringe that the
ture vse of a Catechisme is
to instruct a christian fully in all
pointes of belief, and christian re-
ligion, and wherein this is moste
easely, order, i/@, and perfectly
taught, that to be the best: we coulde
fynde none in so great a nombre
which either for the facilitie is
equal, or els for the perfecti@ to
be compared.

Moreover the dangers which hang ouer
Christes Church in these daies moued
vs verie muohe; for as men
may see present signes of a certaine
barbarousnes, and puddells of errors
whiche are lyke to chauee in the
ohur, of gød: so there is no
better preseruation against the same,

Extremu est, vt intelligatur,
quae nos potissimum induxit,
vt hanc Geneveanam Ecclesiam catechismum
potius quam alium genuinis in @ta vari-
tate sequendum religeries; quod vt
melius praesentem, scire valde interest
catechismum vnum esse eiusmodi,
vt viru Christi@ perfecte docent
@sums religionis capita, quae nos
mussum ad @ alios sequ@ reperias,
sue docendi rationes & perspicu@tem
spectes, sue rerum copiam ac ver-
tatam, sue desinde omnibus numeris
absolutam rectae religionis epistemen,
hunc vnum abque omni dubitatione, tan-
quam optimum decem ad perfectam reli-
giones sequi omissus cœnsensum, quid?
quod pericula, quae postremis hisce
tœporibus imminet, non paru nos ad
hoc excitare debeant. Nam vt certis-
sima auguria in ruentis cuiusdam vas-
titatis ac barbariei cernamus, errorum-
que, qui paulatim se in Ecclesiam in-
gurgitare videantur: ita nulla salubri-
or ad hase mala antidوتus reperiri potest,

ORDERLY (causa a misprint)
**arrure { n n n}**

1. The Calvinistic Reformers were specially concerned in all things to be
faithful to the Scriptures, and they were not content with using a poetic
form as in the original, but they desired also to be scrupulously true
to the sense of the Hebrew. In the POP the Psalms and canticles were
not translated from the original text, but from the Vulgate, and are
thus removed by several intermediary versions and translations from the
OT Hebrew. (FRIGHTMAN: English Rite, vol. i., p. lxxxi.) The result is
that on the whole the POP version of the Psalms is more suitable for
Christian worship, while the metrical version is truer to the original. (OF.
BRAMER: The Art of Worship, section dealing with Psalmody).

This paragraph is omitted in the Latin translation because the metrical
Psalms were not subjoined to that volume, and also because those for
whom the Latin was written would be in no position to judge of the excel-
leney or otherwise of an English metrical Psalter.
THE PREFACE LETTER

then if all godly churches wolde
agre in one kinde of doctrine and
confession of faith,
quas vt omnes vndique Ecclesiae
certas quandam doctrinam, ac fidei
formam divino instituto omnino con-
sentientem desiderarent ac sequerentur:

which in all points were agreeable
to godes holy worde; that our pos-
teritie might be confirmed, by the
vniuersall example of Christes
Church,
cuius rei fama & cognitio ad posteri-
tatem nostram perueniens, ipsa quasi
catholicae ac orthodoxae Ecclesiae
exemplo confirmaretur, vel in tyrocinio
ipso contra omnes haereses, persecutio-
nes, ac pericula, quae homines saepe vel ad
salum gelliciunt, vel a bono deterrunt.

against all hereesies, persecutions
and other daungers;

perceuinge that it is not onely
the doctrine of one man, but the
consent of the whole christian
church, and that wherein all yowth
hathe bene brought vp and trayned in.
The which thinges seinge none hath so
farre performed, nor yet in such
towards the same as this Ca-
techisme is,

being for the worthines therof al-
ready translated into Hebreue,
Greeke, Latin, francorke, Italian,
Spanishe, Dutch, and Englishe,
we could do no lesse, but gladly
and willingly embrace the same.

therefore

we beinge nowe vnder the same
crosse of affliction that you our
dear brethren are, and yet alto-
gether the children of God our mer-
cifull Father through Iesus Christ,

quae vtrique nostrum propter scelera
in Deum ac Patrem nostrum infliguntur,

we desir you, in his name,

1. There are copies of these translations of Calvin’s Catechisme (and La forse)
in the Pirition Museum, save the one into Hebrew.
2. As the Latin shows, this word refers to German or “high Dutch”. Cf. LAING.

1. iv., p. 168.
with judgement to reade our doings, 

that either if they be founde faw-

tie, they may be reieeted, or else 

if they be profitable, god may be 

clarifyde, his churche edifyed, 

and the maliciums confounded. 

Fare wel deare bretherne, and let vs 

all pray to our louinge god, that 

he wold be mercifull vnto vs, 

restore his holy woords, comfort and 

strengthen his children, and final-

ly confounde Satan, Antichrist, and 

all his enymies. 

At Geneua. the. D. of february. 

Anno. 1556.

noster vt laboreos ac constatus iudicio 

ac aequitate primum consuetudinis: deinde 

cos ac normæ verbi Dei applicatias, 

& tanquam ad locum lapidem exploretis; 

vtil aut iudicio piorum basium meritar 

reprehensiones sustinens: vel si 

profuturi videantur, vna Dei glorifi-

comus, coelestias adiuuations, & improbis 

ac maleolos us tandem obstruamus. 

Valete fratre optimi, ac communibus 

votis Deum precamur, vt 

nostris peccatis tandem ignoscens, 

Huswéli sui lucem remocet, miseros 

suis ac aequanomos liberos recreet, 

ac satanas tandem, Antichristi, & 

hostium omnium vires debilitet ac fran-

gat. Geneuæ, Id. Februarii, Anno mil-

lesimo quingentesimo sexto.
THE CONFESSION OF OUR FAITHE, WHICH ARE ASSEMBLED IN THE ENGLISH CONGREGATION AT GENEVA.
INTRODUCTION TO THE CONFESSION OF FAITH

The 'Confession of faith' is an exposition of the Apostles' Creed (which is written in the margin as the exposition proceeds) under four heads, dealing respectively with the doctrine of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, and the doctrine of the Church.

This fourfold division is no doubt derived from Calvin's Catechism (1537, 1st ed.), or from Calvin's exposition of the Creed in the Baptismal Service in his *La Forme* of 1545. A similar fourfold division was employed by Pullain in his later editions of the *Liturgia sacra*, those of 1552 (French) and of 1554 (Latin).

Indeed, the matter in Calvin, Pullain, and the English book is so similar, that there can be little question of the dependence of the last two named upon the first. While Calvin's exposition is much shorter than the English, and Pullain's much longer, the relationship is nevertheless to be clearly traced. This will be seen from the footnotes, where the main points of contact are demonstrated by quotations, and Calvin's short baptismal exposition is given in full.

That this Confession in its turn influenced the Confession of Faith adopted by the three Estates in Scotland in 1560 is also evident. The latter is nothing more than a polemical enlargement of the Confession here edited. The Confession of 1560 was drawn up by Knox, and is more vivid and unrestrained

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1. GORDON: *Tasnis*, p. 128, note 2. 2. CUMBERWOOD: *Hist. Ch. of Scotl.*, ii. 15sq.
INTRODUCTION TO THE CONFESSION OF FAITH

in its language, but the relationship between the two is clear; and this is to be expected, since Knox was one of those who framed the Confession here set forth, while also he had used it for some years while Minister in Geneva.

In England, until 1676, and even later, this Confession of Faith was often bound with the BCP, no doubt for use among the Puritans. The theology of the Confession, it is hardly necessary to add, is strongly Calvinistic.

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1. SPOTT: BOC, p. 199. PARKER Soc. Liturgical Services, Queen Elizabeth, Preface xx. In the year of the blissful Reformation, 1559.
THE CONFESSION OF OUR FAITH, WHICH ARE AS-
SEVERED IN THE ENG-
LISHE CONGREGATION AT
GENEVA.

1. I BELIEVE, and cōfesse my lorde God,*
internal, infinite, unmeasurable,
inc发展的, and inuisible.

one in substantia,
three in personis,
father soone, and holy ghoste,
who by his almighty power and wisdom,
hath not onlye of nothinge created
heaven, earth, and all thinges therein
conuyned, and sau after his owne
image, that he might in hym be glo-

rified:
but also by his fatherlye providence,
governeth, ayntayneth, and preserueth
the same, according to the purpose of
his will.

2. I BELIEVE also and cōfesse Jesus
Christe, the onlye sauour and
Messias, who
beinge equall with God, made his self
of no reputation, but tooke on him the
shape of a servant, and became man
home hominum causa factus,

Morgan: "I beleue in god the father almighty, maker of heaven and earth"

Morgan: "And in Jesus Christe his onlye sonne, our lorde."

1. In the English edition this Confession of Faith occupies 8 pages (pp. 39-41), and the same number in the Latin (pp. 49-57); in the latter the type is smaller, and the Apostles' Creed is omitted from the margin.

2. The expansion of this article in the Baptismal Service of CALVIN's Le Passe
of 1646 (Strasburg) is as follows:
"Doust le sens est tel!: Que nous protestons d'avoir un seul Dieu lequel nous
adorons; auquel nous ronndons toute louange et glorye, lequel seul nous invo-
quons en toute nos necessites et auquel nous ronndons action de grace de tous
les bienz qui nous viennent. En apres qu'Auc telle essence divine, nous
reconnoissions le Pere, le Fils et le sanont Esprit."

3. CALVIN's expansion of the second article is as follows:
"Pareillement que nous rescouons pour cernante verité l'histoire qui est
escripte en l'Evangile Touchant la Conception, Nativité, Mort, Resurrection et
Ascension de Jesus Christ: Et qu'il faut attendre une fois, lizze de
tout le monde; et pour ce que tout ce qu'il a fait et souffertz pour nous,
ne doit pas etre vaine se mainte, il appuyent que nous tenions la somme et
toutes les parties de notre salut situées en ces choses qui sont icy
referées."
in all things like unto vs
(synne except) to
assure vs of mercie and forgiuenes.

For whoso through our father Adam
transgression we were become children of perdition,
there was no meanes to bring vs from
that yoke of synne and damitian, but
only Jesus Christe our lord: who
giving vs that by grace, which was
his by nature, made vs
(through faith) the children of God,
who whoso
the fulnes of the true was once, was
observed by the power of the holy ghostes, borne of the virgin Maria
(accordinge to the flesh) and preached
in earthe the gospel of saluation;
tyll at length by the tyrannie of the
priestes, he was glitelies condemne
under Pælius Pilate, the presidend of
Iurie, to moste slanderingely hanged
on the crose with twixte twoe theues as
a notorious trespasser:
where takinge vp hym the punishment of
our synnes, he delievered vs from
the curse of the law.
And forasmuche
as he, beinge onely God,
could not feale deathes, neither being
onely man could overcomen deathes,
he ionued both to gether, and suffred
his humilitie to be punished with
moste cruell death:
feelinge in his selfe
the anger and severe judgement of God,
euen as if he had been in the extreme
tormentes of hell and therefore

nostrique per omnia (extra duntaxat
pecatuum), simillis effectus est, quo
nos ad sublimatatem sumus, ac divinam
misericordiam felicitatem, aliqui
perditos postillini iure vindicaret.
Postquam enim laetali illo Adamae
transgressione salo, omnes simul mis-
serabiliter ad interitum corrueamus,
nulla erat amplius salutis recuperi""""
spes, praeterea in uinco
hoc Christo Iesu Domino nostro,
nobis id gratia impartiens, quod
natura sui erat ipsi prorui, dedit;
vt fide Filii Dei per eum officereas
credentes in noce anim. Itaq; omnia
i+poris plenitudine,
conceptus a Spiritu sancto,
stque ex virginis Maria
secundae caritim, natus est, salutiferum
vitae Evangelii passio per vnueeros
Hierosolymorum fines depraeedicas,
consec induita tandem tyrannideque
sacerdotii oppressus innocens
(praesente iudice Pontio Pilato)
crucis proboassima morte inter
cuos latrones sedis Ipsam, veluti
latro, occubuit, veret; mortuus est.
Noo in patibulo dependens ille pro
flagitiis nostris, hac ratione nos a
Legis saliendro iusasses reddidit. Ide-
que porru, quas nec a morte, quatam
Deus, vinci: nec a tempus,
quatam hom, vincere potuit: pro-
teras vtranque super onis victurum
naturam,
vt dum illa vinceret, haec superari
pateretur, sentiens interius, in humana
haco sua parte, flagrantem Patris iram,
aedesque infernales veluti cruciatum,
vt

**Margin:** "Which was conuoyed by the holy ghost, borne of the virgine Maria."

**Margin:** "Suffered under Pælius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried."

**Margin:** "He descended into hell."
cryed with a lowde voice, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? Thus of his fre will without compulsion, he offered vp him selue as the onely sacrifice to purge the synnes of all the world, so that all other sacrifices for synne are blasphemous and derogate frome the sufficiencie hereof.

The which death, albeit it did sufficiently reconcile vs to God, yet the scriptures comonly do attribute our regeneration to his resurrection: for as by risinge agayn frome the grave the third day, he conquered death to give the victorie of our faith standeth in his resurrection, and therefore without the one, we can not fele the benefite of the other. For as by death synne was taken awaye, so our righteousness was restored by his resurrectioun, and because he wolde accomplishe all things, and take possession for vs in his kingdome, he ascended into heauen to enlarge that same kingdome by the abundant power of his spirite: by whom we are moste assured of his contynuall intercession towards God the father for vs. And althougb he be in heauen as towching his corporal presence, where the father hath nowe set him on his right hand.**

1. This, it is hardly necessary to say, is directed against the Mass which then as now was commonly known as the sacrifice of the Mass, and concerning which many crude and unscriptural doctrines were promulgated.
committing unto him the administration of all things, as well in heaven above, as in the earth beneath, yet

is he present with us his members, even to the end of the world, in preserving and governing us with his effectual power and grace, who (who all things are fulfilled which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his prophets since the world began) will come in the same visible form in which he ascended with an unseizable Majesty, power and company to separate the lambs from the goats, the elect from the reprobate.

So that none, whether he be alive or dead before, shall escape his judgment.

Moreover I believe, and confess the holy ghost.*

God equal with the father and the son, whose regeneratest and sanctifiest vs, rulest and guidest vs into all truth, persuading most assuredly in our consciences, that we be children of God, brethren to Jesus Christ, and fellow heirs with him of life everlasting. Yet notwithstanding it is not sufficient to believe that God is omnipotent, and mercifully that Christ hath made satisfaction; aut Christum nostro nomine exoluisse, indubitata fiducia conscientias nostras perfundens, quod filii Dei sumus, fratres Jesus Christi, ac eiusdem secundum suam immortalitatem consortes. Verum animo neque id satis aude videbitur, vt Deus agnoscamus omnipotentem et propitium,

Credo itidem et profiteor Spiritum sanctum, unum cum Patre ac Filio in eiusdem divinitatis substantia aequalem, qui tacito afflatu secundus transfixit, animos nostros, nos regenerat, sanctificat, regenerat et sanctificat vs, nos regenerat, sanctificat, moderat, ac in omnem veritatem ductat, indubitata fiducia conscientias nostras perfundens, quod filii Dei sumus, fratres Jesus Christi, ac eiusdem secundum suam immortalitatem consortes. Verum animo neque id satis aude videbitur, vt Deus agnoscamus omnipotentem et propitium,

*Margia: "From the earth shall he come to judge the quick and the dead."
**Margia: The above extends down the margin to this point.
***Margia: "I believe in the holy ghost."

1. Calvin's expansion here is as follows:

"Item que par la grace et vertu du saint Esprit, nous sommes faits participants de Jesus Christ et de tous ses biens."
THE CONFESSION OF FAITH

or that the holy ghoste hath this power and effect: except we do applie the same benefites to our selues which are Gods elect. I beleue therefore and confess one holye church, which (as members of Iesus Christ thonly head thereof) consist in faithes, hope, and charitie, vnging the giftes of God:

whether they be temporall or spiri­tually, to the profit and further­ance of the same:

Whiche church is not sene to mans eye, but onely known to God, who of the laste sonnes of Adi, hath ordened some as vesseles of his wrathes, to damnation: and hath chosen others, as vesseles of his mercie, to make them a glorious church to his selfe.

But that church which is visible, and sene to the eye, Huius vero, que sensibilis est

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"Margin: "The helie oatholike churche, the communion of saineses"

1. CALVIN'S expansion of the Creed has this:

"Et pour cette cause nous adjoins, que nous croyons la saillale Eglise car Dieu nous regendre de son Esprit et son Eglise par le Ministere de sa Parole et de ses Sacrements."

It is again important to observe that the Reformers insisted and maintained that they were continuing the Catholic Church; statements to that effect are to be found in all the Reformed Confessions — never for one moment did they contemplate founding another Church. They were continuing the one, holy, catholic, apostelio Church. Book iv of Clavin's Institutes is concerned almost wholly with this matter, and all the other Calvinistic Reformers followed him in it. The First Scots Confession (1550) states: "As we beleue in one God, Father, Sonne, and holy Ghoste: so do we maint constantly believe, that from the beginning there has been, and now is, and to the end of the world shall be, one Kirk, that is to say, one company and multitude of men chosen of God...." (art. xvi). The Second Helvetic Confession has this: "There is but one Church, which we therefore call CATHOLIC because it is universal, spread abroad through all the parts and quarters of the world, and reaches unto all times, and is not limited within the compass orlye of time or place." (art.xvii). The Westminster Confession of Faith is equally clear: "The Catholick or universal church, which is invisible, consists of the whole number of the elect that have been, are, or shall be gathered into one; under Christ the head thereof: and in the person, the body, the fulness of His that filleth all in all." Or, also WOTHERSPOON and KEMPHEIM in a Manual of Church Doctrine, for summary of the doctrine of the Reformed Church in this connection.

2. This was an unfortunate doctrine, but was the inescapable result of attempting to fit the Christian faith into a purely logical schema. The Reformed Churches of today have repudiated this doctrine, except in few isolated cases, e.g. the Presbyterians, &c. — of which see Judicial Resolutions in Supreme Court of Ontario, 1724.
THE CONFESSION OF FAITH

...bath the three tokens, or marks, whereby it may be discerned. First the words of God spoyne in the old testament, which as it is above the authorities of the same church, and only sufficient to instruct us in all things, concerning salvation: so it is left for all degrees of men, to read, and understand. For without this words, neither church, concile, or decree, can establish any point, touching salvation.

The second is the holy sacraments, to wit, of Baptism, and the Lords Supper: which sacraments Christ hath left unto us, as holy signs, and seals of Gods promises.

For as by Baptism, once received, is signified that we (as well infants, as others of age and discretion) being strangers fro God, by original sinne, are reconciled to his familie and congregation, with full assurance, that although this root of sinne lyeth in vs: yet to the electe it shall not be imputed. So the supper declarest, 

1. Pallen has four "marks or tokens" of the Catholike Church in his Confession of Faith, which appears first in the French edition of the 1559.

They are these:

(a) The Ministry of the Word
(b) Prayer to God through Christ alone
(c) The Sacraments—Baptism, and the Lord's Supper
(d) Discipline, ecclesiastical and political.

The Catechism published by the authority of Edward VI in 1563 has also four "marks", but they differ slightly from Pallen's. They are:

(a) The true preaching of the Gospel
(b) Properly love, out of which springeth good will of each other
(c) The right use of the Sacraments
(d) Similarly correction, and the excommunication of those that will not mend their lives. (PARKER SEC. Two Liturgies, p. 515—quoted by E. FLEMMING, Est. in Scotl. 268.1 & GORDON Thesis, p.154, noted.)

In the Scots Confession, 1560, the "marks" are as in this book:

(a) The true preaching of the Word of God
(b) The right administration of the sacraments of Christ Jesus
(c) Ecclesiastical discipline rightly exercised. (CALDERWOOD Hist. ii. 33.)

The Book of Discipline (Fyffe) has four "marks":

(a) The True preaching of the Word
(b) The right administration of the Sacraments
(c) Common Prayers publicly made
(d) Instruction of children and the unlearned, and Ecclesiastical Discipline. (LAING, ii. 296-296.)

Calvin's "Catechism (1st ed. 1536) mentions two:

(a) The true profession of the Word
(b) and holy Sacraments. (Section "How the Church May Be Known").
THE CONFESSION OF FAITH

that God as a moste prudent father, doth not onely feede our bodies, but also spiritually nouriseth our soules, with the graces &d benefites of Iesus Christ (which the scripture calleth eatiage of his fleche, and drinkinge of his bloode) nether must we in the administratiō of these sacrametes, followe sū phāstāne, but as Christ him self hath ordened, so must they be ministred: and by suche as by ordinarie vocatiō are therunto called. Therefore who soever reserueth and worshipeth these sacramento, or contrariwise contempteth them in tymē and place, procureth to himself damnatiō.

The third mark of this church is ecclesiasticall discipline, which standeth in a constant correction of fautes. The finall ende whereof is excommunication, by the consent of the churche deterayned, if the offender be obstinate.

And besides this ecclesiasticall censure, I acknowledge to belonge to this church a politico magistratus, who

1. The Reformers always insisted upon properly called and ordained Ministers dispensing the Sacraments, and under no circumstances would they have committed them to an Elder or private person. The Book of Discipline has a section devoted to the correction and prescription of that error, requiring that "such Laws be made against it." (CALVIN: Opus, X, i. p. 17.)

2. This section was necessitated by the inter-relations between Church and State which existed at this time in Geneva, where the Elders were chosen from the Magistracy, and used their civil power to enforce ecclesiasticall discipline. (Cf. e.g., Projet d'ordonnances (1561).) It is expressly stated that the office of the Ministers is "dispensers of the sacramento." (CALVIN: Opera, X, i. p. 23.) In Scotland this part of the policy was abandoned, and there is no reference to any such arrangement in the First Book of Discipline, 1645. Even when the General Assembly adopted the Westminster Confession in 1647, it was much careful to define the relations between the Magistrate and the Church courts. (Records of the Kirk of Scotland, Session XIII, p. 32.)

3. When the General Assembly adopted the Westminster Confession in 1647, it was much careful to define the relations between the Magistrate and the Church courts. (Records of the Kirk of Scotland, Session XIII, p. 32.) In the English Editions of the Form of Prayer (1661) for use in England among the Puritans, this section is changed to read as follows: "Concerning the Civil Magistrates, ordained of God to minister to every mans justice, defending the good, and punishinge the evil; I acknowledge we must render unto them honour and obedience in all things which are agreeable to the Word of God." (HALL: Bel. Lit., i. 14, and Pract., i. 12.)

4. In the Second Book of Discipline, however, the Magistrate is given a power of authority in the Church, but careful to state that "God will not oblige the conscience of the same; neither doth the Church, nor the Magistrate, any way, by force, interfere in a matter, to bind, control, or correct, the conscience of the person, nor any other man, in the matter wherein conscience answers the same jurisdiction as in the matter wherein conscience answers the same jurisdiction in the matter which is the matter." (ANDERWOOD: Historie, III, 546.)
who ministreth to every man justice, defending the good and punishing the evil. To whom we must render honor, and obedience in all things, which are not contrarie to the word of God. And as Moses, Eschiach, Ionias, and other godly rulers purged the church of God so the defense of Christian church appertaineth to the Christian magistrates, against all idolaters and heretikes, as Papistes, Anabaptistes, with such like liames of Antichrist, to root out all doctrine of devils, and so, as the same, purgatorie, limbus patræ, prayer to saints, and for the dead, freewill, distinctie of vextes, apparell, and days, vowe of single life, presence at idoll service, mæsmerites, with suchlike, which draw vs from the societie of Christes churches, wherein standeth only remission of synmes, purchased by Christes blood, to all them that beleue, whether they be Iewes, or Gentiles, and leade vs to wayne confidence in creatures, and trust in our owne imaginations. ____________________________

1. The Book of Discipline (1550) urged the civil rulers to suppress all idolatry and its monuments: "Discipulatrie we understand the masse, invocation of saints, adoration of imagis, and the keeping and restenynge of the saes; and likewise all honoring of God not contained in his holy Word," (LAING: BD. 11, 1551, 159; of also pp. 255-256.) In Scotland after the Reformation, mass was of express abolishment by law, and steps were taken by the civil authorities to see that that law was kept. But the actual persecutions were very few. RAY FLEMING (Edin. Lea. pp. 452-495) gives in detail the evidence of the laws and the various steps taken to have them observed, and one is struck by the little capital punishment enacted. He concludes his evidence as follows: "No other person is known to have afterwards suffered (after 1544) the extreme penalty of the law in Scotland for saying mass or for papistical opinions; and so the account stands thus: Thomas Erbison and perhaps another suffered death for saying mass, and John Galerie for his opinions; whereas twenty-one Protestants were judicially put to death for their religion during the thirty-one years preceding 1550." (p. 454.) In England the number was much greater, but petitions were interdicted with religion, and it was said in a pamphlet, "It is understood that two papists hath been executed in England on the single account of his religion," i.e., during the days of Edward VI., Elizabeth, James I., Charles I., or Charles II. (Ray FLEMING: Abid. pp. 454-455.)
The punishment whereof, although God often times differreth* in this lyfe; yet after the generall resurrection, when our soules and bodies shall ryse agayne to immortalitie, they shalbe damned to inquenchable fyre, and then we which haue forsake all mans wisdome, to cleane vnto Christ, shall heare that joyfull voice, Omé ye blessed of my father, inherit ye the kingdome prepared for you frome the beginnyng of the world, and so shall go triumphing with him, in body, and soule, to remayne everlasting in glorie, where we shall see God, face to face, and shall no more neede one to instruct an other, for we shall all knowe his frome the hyghest, to the loweste: to whose withe the sonne and the holy ghost, be all praise, honor, and glorie, nowe and ever. So be it.

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1. The translations from the Sarum gares, both English and Latin, are in every case independant, and do not follow any version known. Cf MACMILLAN: Thesis. 197.

2. CALVIN's expansion concludes as follows:

"Item que nous esperons, que Dieu par sa misericorde resoutra teneurs les fautes a tans les membres de son Eglise: les entretenant et conservant inuques a la resurrection bien heuress, par laquelle ils entreront en la vie eternelle."
I. OF THE MINISTERS AND THEIR ELECTION DE ELIGENDIS MINISTRIIS

II. OF THEIR OFFICE AND DUTIES QVIBVS IN HERVS PRÆCÆPIVM MINISTRI OFFICIVM SIT SITVM

III. THE MANNER OF ELECTING PASTORS OR MINISTERS DE CONSCRIPTIS PASTORIRVS FORMULA

IV. OF THE ELDERS AND AS TOUCHING THEIR OFFICE, AND ELECTION DE OFFICIIO ATQUE ELECTIONE SENIORVM

V. OF THE DEACONS AND THEIR OFFICE AND ELECTION DE DIACONIS, FORMVMVE OFFICIIO AC ELECTIONE
The underlying principles of this section dealing with the Ministry, Eldership, and Diaconate, are derived directly from Calvin. Some of the matter shows the influence of Pullain, and other parts are adapted to meet the needs peculiar to the English Congregation at Geneva; but the principles throughout are Calvin's. In the footnotes comparisons are made with Calvin and Pullain, and quotations are given. Reference is also made to later Puritan and Scottish practice, showing any important developments or modifications, but not in any exhaustive way. Now is the theory of the office discussed.

In the English Church at Geneva, it will be seen that the method of choosing and appointing Ministers was as follows. First the congregation chose two or three from several nominees. These were duly examined by the Ministers and Elders with regard to their gifts, learning, and manner of life, and, a choice being made, the name of the candidate was made known to the congregation. Then followed a period during which the people were at liberty to make full enquiry into the life and character of the candidate, so that they might satisfy themselves as to his fitness. Thereafter, if nothing were charged against him, a day was appointed for the ordination. That day, at the forenoon service a sermon was preached on the office and duty of a Minister; and in the afternoon his election was formally confirmed, and afterwards he was duly set apart and appointed to...
the charge of that congregation, there was no laying on of hands, but the practice later became universal among the Presbyterians in England and Scotland; full reference to this is made in the footnotes.

It is important, however, to note that the Catholic principle that the Ministry was the gift of Christ to His Church was carefully guarded and given expression. There is no vestige here of the error later found among certain others that the Ministry was created by the people. The people were given a place in the choice, but the candidate was ordained and set apart (after examination) by those already holding the office. For while the Reformers of this period were little inclined to lay stress upon the doctrine of Apostolical Succession, their practice was always essentially Catholic. They received their commission from those who had already been admitted to the office, and not from the people. Their Ministry was accordingly a valid Ministry of the Church of God.

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1. With CALVIN at Geneva the procedure was somewhat different. When a new Minister was required, the Ministers themselves selected and examined one when they deemed suitable. If, after examination, he was approved, they then submitted him to the City Council for their approval, and finally to the people for formal election. A period then elapsed for any inquiries to be made, during which any charges could be made against him. If no charge was proven, he was duly elected by the people and set apart and ordained by the Ministry on a day appointed, due notice having been given. (Pract. Adm. 1551; CALVIN: Genev. 2, 1. 12-26.)

2. PELAIANIE's procedure was again slightly varied from this. In the first instance, when a new Minister was to be chosen, the Ministers and Elders submitted nominees to the congregation at a properly called meeting. The congregation chose one of these (or another apart from these, if they so desired); and he was then examined by the Ministers and Elders, and if found fit in gifts, learning, and life, he was duly ordained after due notice had been given. The laying on of hands was used by PELAIANIE. (Hist. Eccl., section 436, 202.)

3. Cf. e.g., LAING: Know's Works, ii. 193; 118. This only an individual view.

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1. With CALVIN at Geneva the procedure was somewhat different. When a new Minister was required, the Ministers themselves selected and examined one when they deemed suitable. If, after examination, he was approved, they then submitted him to the City Council for their approval, and finally to the people for formal election. A period then elapsed for any inquiries to be made, during which any charges could be made against him. If no charge was proven, he was duly elected by the people and set apart and ordained by the Ministry on a day appointed, due notice having been given. (Pract. Adm. 1551; CALVIN: Genev. 2, 1. 12-26.)

2. PELAIANIE's procedure was again slightly varied from this. In the first instance, when a new Minister was to be chosen, the Ministers and Elders submitted nominees to the congregation at a properly called meeting. The congregation chose one of these (or another apart from these, if they so desired); and he was then examined by the Ministers and Elders, and if found fit in gifts, learning, and life, he was duly ordained after due notice had been given. The laying on of hands was used by PELAIANIE. (Hist. Eccl., section 436, 202.)

3. Cf. e.g., LAING: Know's Works, ii. 193; 118. This only an individual view.
The Eldership was derived from Calvin's system of polity, as the footnotes will show. They were to be men of the highest integrity and character, and were chosen by the people to rule with the Ministers. While referred to as "ministers", they were not presbyters, but were simply lay members of the church and their office was the same as the minister's, designed to give the people an honourable place in administration of the congregational life. They were not permitted to administer the sacraments, nor even that of Baptism; nor did they assist in the administration at the Table as now. Their office was simply to rule over the congregation with the Ministers, neither one acting without the other. They were set apart in much the same way as the Ministers themselves, but were not ordained for life, nor of course as Presbyters—the intention was not the same as when Ministers were ordained. They were not permitted to preach.

The Diaconate was also taken from Calvin, and was made to approximate as closely as possible to the NT form of the office. The care of the Deacons was simply the administration of the various charities and funds of the church, acting upon the orders of the Ministers and Elders. Like the Elders they were appointed once a year, and solemnly set apart. They too were men of the highest character and faith.

The fourth order of Ministers—the Doctors—were not included in the 'Formes of Prayers', save for a brief note.
THE MINISTRY OF THE CHURCH

OF THE MINISTERS AND THEIR ELECTION.

That things are chiefly required in the pastors and ministers.

FIRST let the church diligently consider that the minister which is to be chosen, be not found capable of any such fault,

which sinote Paul reprehendeth in a man of that vocation:

but contrarywise endowed with such vertues, that he may be able to undertake his charge, and diligently execute the same. Secondly

that he distribute faithfully the word of God,

and minister the sacraments sincerely, near careful not easily to teach his flock publicly, but also gradually to admonish them;

remembering alway, that if any perversely through his défence, the lords will require it at his hands.

DE ELEGIACIS MINISTRIS

Quae potissimum in pastorem aut ministro exigendae.

GVI eligendo est, in eo diligenter expendat Ecclesia, vt sem imprimis in vita præstet synoeritatem, quæ præclusa ab eum reprehensio insania sit ac libera, quamque ab his vicini quam longanimè abstulit, quæ in ministro tantum Apostolus Paulus. Brevius neque id satia, vt omni vacet crimine, nisi his insuper debitis, ac ornamenti Evangelii instructus accedat, quæ tanta administrando nunari ambidex respondant. Secondo, postquam illum satia ad hunc modum idoneum parvum præmissae dpercédere accepta, videt insuper vt fideltatem nutata operis, diligentem se praestet in iis, quae curae illius subieciatur. Primum vt fidem dispositione, à præmio Scripturarum non excidendum deprementi Diviniti verbi salutares essent. Deinde vt sacramenta igna parti vicini cum synoceritate administrat, assidua cura in hoc intentus, vt non publicè modo plebs Dominicae insitbitandi curreat, sed vt primam insuper quamque pro quinque rei à tăperis opportuna ratione, cõnsecrat: nee id ita existimaret, siquid sua hie quaestión necit, nisi reddendum esse eius rei rationem Dominæ, ad quem
OF THEIR OFFICE AND DUTIES.

ENCOURAGE the charge of the word of God in greater importance, than that any man is able to dispense therewith, and
minister Paul exhorteth to esteem them, as ministers of Christ, and dispensers of God's mysteries; not lords or rulers, as St. Peter saith, over the flock.

Therefore the Pastors or ministers chief office standeth in preaching the word of God, and ministering the sacraments, exhorting in consultations, judgements, elections and other politicall affairs, his counsel rather than authority, taking place. And if
so be the congregation vpon inste cause, agreeeth to excommunicate, this it belongeth to the minister, according to their general determination, to pronounce the sentence, to the end that all things may be done orderly, and without confusion.

1. This paragraph also is an independent compilation, setting forth briefly the Calvinistic view of the office of the Ministry. The basis of it would seem to be the following paragraph from CALVIN: "Quanto est des pastors qui describere nume sumus sacerdotes sacrosancti sacerdotum, quos initiales" ministris, tales initiales do accomodare la parola de dixit pro ordinatione, administror, exhortor et reprehensor tantum publicum sumus in particular, administror sacrosancto et facturos correctiones fraternaliter, etc." Pesch Андреа (Koen 1е, 15, p. 17).

2. This is an interesting statement of the Ministers' relation to civil and secular politics, and except in times of great stress has been the standard of ministerial conduct in Presbyterian churches ever since.

3. Cf. also 'The Ordinance of Publick Officem' in the Book of Discipline ('AIRSH: MD. 61), and 'The Form of Excommunication' adopted by the Assembly and appearing in the ROC ed. 1671. (In EBROTT: ROC, p. 54.) In both these the Minister pronounces sentence, etc.
THE MINISTRY OF THE CHURCH

DE CONSENSU MINISTRORUM FORMULUM.

1. This section is drawn from Calvin and Pullain, and the main correspondences and differences will be noted. All three however keep to these three essentials in the choice and appointment of a Minister: election, examination as to fitness, and due setting apart by prayer in the face of the congregation.

2. Pullain (Life, pag. 201) gives an interesting account of how the vote was taken in his congregation, and it throws valuable light on the methods of voting employed in that day, markedly similar to the ancient Greek method. Their practice was as follows:

Primum Minister totius Ecclesiae suffragiis designatur. Conueniunt ipsi Ministri et Seniores eius religiosis aut praeoipuis pastoribus aliis Ecclesiis eatis usque ad totam ecclesiam quaerent de noo Ministro eligendo, simul gravisissime commensurant officium sui in hac electione, vt Deum in prais orient ac nomini praeordetem imicent aut commannent suum suffragium et duos aut plures prepetum, quos ipsi idoneos suent cognoscant, nec tenen Ecclesiae oogunt ex his propositis eligent, qui maxime videbitur amplificandae Dei gloriae.

And if there be choice, the church appoints two or three, upon some certain day to be examined by the ministers and elders.

3. This examination was instituted at Geneva under Calvin, and adopted elsewhere by the Reformed Churches. With Calvin after the examination by the Ministers the candidate was submitted to the City Council for their approval, them before installation was approved by the people. Calvin laid great stress on the examination, which he declared to be "the principal thing." As here it was in two parts: "examination de deux parties dont la premiere est de la doctrine, assavoir si oellay a bon ordonner a bonne et sainote (saime?) cognoysance de leseripture" and also to discover whether he was "ydeine et prepre pear la oommunieaer aa peuple ea edification." The second partie est de la vie, assavoir sil est de bonnes nears et settoars geayme sans reprehese."..."The second part was also continued by the English Puritans as the Puritan editions of the P show. It has since the Reformation been a part of Presbyterian procedure throughout the world, continuing to this day.
First as touching their doctrine, whether he that should be minister have good and sound knowledge in the holy scriptures, and fitte and apte gifts to communicate the same to the edification of the people. For the triall thereof, they propose by a theme, or text to be treated privately, whereby his habilitie may the more manifestly appear unto them. Secondly they enquire of his life, and conversation, if he have in times past liued without slander: and governed himself in such sorte as the wordes of God hath not heard euell, or been slandered through his occasion, which being generally done, they signify unto the congregation, whose giftes they fynde moste excellent, and profitable for that ministerie. Appoynting by a generall consent eight daies at the leaste, that every man may diligently inquire of his life and manners.

At the which tyme also, the minister exhorteth them to humble themselves to God, by fasting, and praying,

Primus vero vtrum aptus sit ad docendum sanam quam ipse didicit doctrinam, quae-runt:

id quod propositis thesi aliqua ad ex- tempoream dictionem facile deprehendi-

Secunda cura est, antecessae vitae & morus, un vidiuosius

caste & integre praeceptorium sectatis
tempus confecerit: vt nec illam igno-

miniae labem sustineat, nec propter eas

verbus Dei spud alios malè sudiat.

Quod cum

praestiterint, Ecclesiae subindicant,
cuius dotes magis ex vno fore consent.

Interim dies minimum octo communibus

suffragiis designant: quibus nulli non

liberum erit, de educatione sua ac

moribus percontari: & siquid in illo quod

minus placat, videbitur, suum sen-
tentiam liberè exponere. Quo etiam tempore

Minister quoque singulos hortatur,

vt se isium ao precibus apud Deus quim

omimimimimiminem tamem ab eo impetrat,
that both their election may be agreeable to his will, and also profitable to the church; and if in the same season, any thing be brought against him, whereby he may be found unworthy by lawful probation, then is he dismissed, and some other presented. If nothing be alleged, upon some certain day, one of the ministers at the morning sermon presenteth him agayne to the church; framing his sermon, or some part thereof, to the setting forth of his desert. Then at after none, the sermon ended, the minister exhorteth them to the election, with the immaculation of God's name; directing his prayer, as God shall move his heart. In like manner after the election, the minister giveth thanks to God with request of such things as shall be necessary for his office. After that he is appointed minister, the people sing a Psalm and depart:

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1. In this service there was no laying on of hands accompanying the prayer of ordination. In this they were following Calvin's practice at Geneva, which is defined in the Pref. Gordon, (1651) as follows: "Quaest a la maniere de Strasbourg, il servait d'ou user l'expression des mains, laquelle ceremoye enseigne des apôtres et paus en langage ancien, moyennant que cela se face sans superstition et sans effraction. Mais pourquoy y a eu beaucoup de superstition au temps passé et qu'il se sortit un serviet du seconde au seant de temps pour l'immense de superstition, que cause de l'immense de temps, il suffit qu'il se fasse par un des ministres une déclaration en renommee de l'appoant lors qu'en l'esperance de ses œuvres, il prit le temoignage de l'appoant par l'expression de ses mains." (CALVIN: Oeuvres. X., i. 18.)

PULLAIRE, however, who is representative of Calvin's Strasbourg usage, continued the ancient custom of laying on of hands at ordination. After the examination and his notice, (e.g., 1561, 1582, 1587, 1658), the following was added to that above: "After that, (the prayer), he is ordained by the laying on of hands of the eldership, with these words pronounced by the Minister thereon: appointed.—According to this lawful calling, agreeable..."
to the word of God, whereby thou art chosen Pastor in the name of God, and that is to publish the word of God, which he hath commended with his blood. This done, the people sing a Psalm, and depart."

First an address in given, based on the words of institution of the Ministry. (From Ephesians iv.) "The Lord Christ gave some to be Apostles, and some Prophets, and some Evangelists, and some Pastors and Teachers, for the instruction and edification of the body of Christ." Then the charge is outlined: (1) What they are, upon good ground, namely, to deliver unto the people the word of the Lord, by instructing, admonishing, confuting, and rebuking them. (2) The Pastor's charge is to make public proclamation of the word of God, and of the word of the Church. (3) The Ministry. (4) Finally, the Pastors ought to assist and govern the Church of God in good order.

In the following questions are asked:

(1) "First, I ask you, whether you feel in your heart that you are called lawfully by the Church of God, and consequently by God himself, to this holy Ministry?

(2) Secondly, whether you hold the books of the Old and New Testament to be the only word of God, and the perfect doctrine of salvation; and do you forsake all doctrines repugnant unto the same?

(3) Thirdly, whether you promise to execute your charge, as before it is described with all fidelity, according to the word, and by the holy Ghost, to execute and accomplish your instructions with a godly life; as also to submit yourself to the Church, and the public order of the Church, as it happens that you should miscarry yourself either in doctrine or life?

(4) After this shall the Minister from the pulpit administer in this sort: the word shall be the words of instruction of the Church and of every part of the Church.

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THE MINISTRY OF THE CHURCH
towards this their Pastor; acknowledging him to be sent unto them from thee; receiving his doctrine with all respect and honour, and submitting themselves unto his exhortations; that they, by his word, believing in Christ, may be made partakers of life everlasting. Hear us, O Father, through thy well-beloved Son, who hath taught us thus to pray:

Our Father, &c. * 

The Form of Presbyterian Church Government (1645), states that ordination is the act of a presbytery. * * * Every minister of the word is to be ordained by imposition of hands, and prayer, with fasting, by those presbyters to whom it doth belong. * * * He is to be examined and approved by the presbytery when he is to be ordained. * * * And it then outlines a service with exhortation, questions, and prayers very similar to that above of 1662.

It must not be thought, however, because the laying on of hands was not used in Geneva, nor at first in Scotland, that the perpetua succedens presbyrahera was broken thereby, for it was always the intention to ordain, and the ordination was always performed by other duly ordained presbyters acting in an orderly and corporate way, as representatives of the whole church.


It is interesting to note in this connection also that the great B.C. scholar, Mgr. Duchesne, points out that setting apart by prayer is the essence of ordination, i.e., prayer by those duly ordained, commissioning by the commissioned in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. After reviewing all the main ordinals of Christendom, East, Western, and Gallican, he sums up: We see that in all these rites the ceremony of ordination consists especially of a prayer recited over the candidate in a public and solemn assembly. This prayer is accompanied by the imposition of hands. * * * He adds this footnote: "It is worth while citing here the words of St. Augustine: 'Quid aliud aut manus imposita quas oratio super hominem? This observation is so true that the imposition of hands in express terms is frequently omitted in the books of ritual." (MICHAELE: Christian Worship, p. 377.) — the quotation from St. Augustine is from Non De Pop., 888 III., xvi., ii.) Or, also the following from Bishop WODSWORTH, on the meaning of the word 'heboreiaitis'; "it is, however, I think, quite possible that stretching out of hands, although not actual contact, as in later forms of the Roman rite of Confirmation, and in the Anglican ordinations in the case of Deacons, was considered sufficient. The important thing was prayer, the 'Grailb super hominem.' Hence 'heboreiaitis' in Greek Liturgies often means simply 'ordination.' Op. Origen, Hom. in Lev. 634, "impedant omnes — let them still pray over him. St. James 5:14; Op. IV Polyc. 13, A.D. 382."

(WODSWORTH: The Christian Ministry (p. 139.)

In addition to the works listed above, these are also useful in the English translation of certain, namely, dwelt in the high priest's chamber. It is also worth noting the source of the incident in the ordination, a male dignitary — was also authorized to take the place of the high priest in ordinations. — ""M. M. W. of Walsam, office the high priest's chamber."
THE ELDERSHIP
OF THE ELDEBS AND AS TO VETCHYNG
THE EE OFFICE; JHD ELECTION.

THE Elders must be men of good lyfe,
and godly conservatíc, withoute blame
and all suspicio, carefull for the
fleeke, wise above all thynge,
feareing God. Whose office stetheth
in governors with the rest of the
ministers, in consulting, admonis-
king, correcting, and ordering all
thynge appertaining to the state of
the congregation. And they differ
from the ministers in that they
preache not the words, nor minister
the sacramentes. In assemblyng the
people, neither they, nor the minis-
ters without them may attempt any
thing. And if any of the inuste nôbre
must, the minister by the consent of
the rest, warneth the people thereof,
and finally admoniseth them to ob-
serve the same ordre, which was used
in choosing the ministers.

1. CALVIN defines their office in similar terms: "Leur office est de prendre
garde sur la vie des douches, et des dioucements qu'ils doivent faire et
devoyer pour faire les corrections fraternales et les faire avec les autres." (Pref. of 1541. CALVIN: Serm. Li., 21.)

PULLIN also uses similar words: "Senioros sunt ex tota Ecclesiae praestantiae
veste, dicti non a solo privato eam remenerante, qui Ministris adjun-
guntur in administratione, ut causas jucundae et presentes omnium in
et quoque ecclesiasticum politiae pertinent." (PULLIN: "Seniores..."
In the First Book of Discipline, 1566, it is stated that the wise of best knowledge in
God's word, of cleanest life, men faithful, and of most honest conversation,
the Church, to the Church, must be nominated to be in election."

2. CALDERWOOD:
"Hee, that is to say, the minister by the consent of the rest, warneth the
people thereof, and finally admoniseth them to observe the same order, which
was used in choosing the ministers.

3. PULLIN also uses similar words:
"Senioros sunt ex tota Ecclesiae praestantiae veste, dicti non a solo privato
ramenerante, qui Ministris adjunguntur in administratione, ut causas
jucundae et presentes omnium in et quoque ecclesiasticum politiae pertainent."

In the second bk. of Discipline, again similar terms are used: "Their office is,
as well severally as conjunctly, to watch diligently upon the flock,
committed to their charge, both publicly and privately, that as corruption of
religion or manners enter therein, ... it appertaineth to them to assist the
pastor in examination of them that ensue to the Lord's Table... is visit-
ing the sick... Their principal office is to hold assemblies with the pas-
tors and doctors, (who are also of their number,) for establishing of gude
order, and execution of discipline." (CALDERWOOD: Hist. iii. 380.)

In Puritan use in England the office was described in the same terms as above.

4. PULLIN also uses similar words:
"Henry, that is to say, the minister by the consent of the rest, warneth the
people thereof, and finally admoniseth them to observe the same order, which
was used in choosing the ministers.

5. The Westminster 
The Westminster idea is undoubtedly nearer the original intention
at Geneva than the Second Book of Discipline, which was framed by the second
convocation of Reformers. For, in Calvin's Church the elders were appointed yearly and not for life. (PUL. ii. 22.) With him they were also required to be Magistrates of the City. Pullin may have taken a higher view of the
office, for they appear to have been ordained for life with him, and it was also the laying on of hands. (PUL. "De seminariis." But in the English Congregations, they were appointed yearly, for we read in the Livre des anciens
this notice: "The Names of the Ministers, Seniors and Deacons are yearly chosen
and elected."

6. PULLIN also uses similar words:
"Senioros sunt ex tota Ecclesiae praestantiae veste, dicti non a solo privato
ramenerante, qui Ministris adjunguntur in administratione, ut causas
jucundae et presentes omnium in et quoque ecclesiasticum politiae pertainent."

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The paragraph remaining was omitted.
THE ELDERSHIP

1. (seated.) and elected *in the English Church and Congregation at Geneva, to be the ministry there, with the days and the years when they were chosen and elected....* (CHAVADE AND., p. 40. Cf. MARTIN: Lea Prot. AND., P. 284.)

Following the Geneva practice the first Fe. of Dec., recommended also that the Elders be appointed yearly: "The election of Elders and Deacons ought to be used every years once, (which we judge to be most convenient the first day of August;) least that by long continuance of such offices, men presume upon the liberty of the Churches. It hurts not that one may be retained in office no years than one, so that he be appointed yearly, by common and free elections." (LAING: K., ii. 334).

Since the Westminster Assembly the Eldership has been as a rule regarded as that it was first meant to be—a means of giving adequate lay representation in the government and administration of the Church, but since the second book of Discipline it has been the custom in most branches of Presbyterianism to appoint these Elders for life.

2. The fact that they are called ministers (cf. the Latin—religiae ministri) does not mean that they were regarded as Ministers in the same sense that the APastors* were. From the earliest times even the lowest servers in the Church were counted among its "ministers", and were so called. It was only in the later days of Puritanism that "Ministers" came to mean exclusively "Ministers of the Word and Sacraments" or "Presbyters*.

3. This is still a principle of Presbyterianism the world over: Ministers and Elders together carry on the spiritual (and in many cases the temporal) work of the Church, save the dispensing of the Sacraments and the preaching of the Word, which belong to the Minister alone.

4. Curatissimos...praestantia...inquando

There is no fixed number in any of the Liturgies, save Pullais's, where the number 12 is fixed. (Liturg., 'De sacrisibus').

5. The edition of 1562 ...adds, "as farre forth as their vocation requireth." PULLAI always had a separate order, but it was nevertheless little different from that used at the ordination of Ministers. He points out the method of nominating and voting, and after the Church has appointed its agent to these elected, "Ministri et Seniores mansus imponunt, et hos in ordinem presbyteri acceptans, commendantur Deo, ut sit spiritu amplior August., qui commendat suscipienti satisfacere.» (ibid.) There is no separate order for the admission of Elders in any of the later editions of the PP for use in England, but in Apr. 1888, the General Assembly of Scots, ordered a form for this purpose to be added to the PPC. This form is reprinted in SFOTT's edition of the PPC, pp. 30–32. It consists of a very short address after sermon, a short set prayer, ending with the Lord's Prayer, followed by the Apostles' Creed, the 103rd Psalm from verse 19, and then another extremely brief exhortation. There is no injunction to use the laying on of hands. In the Church of Scotland today the laying on of hands is not used; but in many other branches of Presbyterianism it is the custom. But the intention by so doing is not to ordain the Elders as Presbyters, and more than the Bishop using the laying on of hands at Confirmation is ordaining the newly confirmed as priests!
THE DIACONATE

OF THE DEACONS AND THEIR OFFICE AND ELECTION.

THE deacons must be men of good estimation, and report, discreet, of good bane auditors, pious,

obedience, charitable, wise, and final-

misericordiae effectu propœsos, prudentes

eye adorned with such virtues, as S.
Pauel requireth in them.

Their office is, to gather the alms
diligently, and faithfullie to dis-

tribute it, with the consent of the

ministers, and elders. Also to prouide

for the sick, and impotent persons.

Having ever a diligent care, that the

charity of geudiye men, be not wasted

upon losytrers, and yde vogarœs.

Their election is, as hath been afore

reheard in the ministrates and Elders.

WE are not ignorante that the script-

tures make mention of a fourth kynde

of ministers, left to the church of

Christ. Which also are very profitable, quorùms pernecessarius est, vbi

where tymes and place doth permit.

Set for lacke of opportunity, in this
care dispersion and exile, we can not

well have the use thereof; and wold to

God it were not neglected where better

præstantissimùm Dei sit beneficio in

---

1. CALVIN describes their office thus: "Il y en a eu deux especes en lengtze ancienne, les uns ont este depute a recevoir, dispenser et conserver les bours de charité, les autres de distribuer les aumônes. Les uns pour recevoir et peser les malades et administer la pitance des pauvres." [CRAIN, ii. 1. 25.] PHILLIPS has the following in his Missaene, section, The electioneDiacorum: "Deacones habent qualitatem, aut quot Ecclesiæ opus erat, qui eclemosynia praestat, et passuum se infirorum in primis cura gerat. See eodem granitate aut alio modo horum alicie fit, quam Sacerdor. Tantus hic interest, quod hoc ministerium non est nisi Novum; sub libera sit ad fines sanctæ Ecclesiæ, rationibus clericum, auditus, vel illos in sequentia sanum seminare, vel alios in eorum locum substituisse." In the later editions for use in England, the paragraph as above is unchanged in the EN.

In the First Book of Discipline, 1560, they are required to be of the same character and moral quality as the Elders. Their office is "to receive the rents, and gather the alms of the Church, to keep and distribute the same, as by the ministry of the Kirk shall be appointed. They may also assist in judgement with the Ministers and Elders, and may be admitted to read in the assemblies ye' they be required, and be fund skill therein." (SAING, ii. 283-287.)

The Second Bo. of Disc., 1561, states the deacons as those "unto whom the collection and distribution of the alms of the faithful, and ecclesiasticall gude, doth belong." They are described as "an ordinarie and perpetuall ecclesiasticallyfunction in the Kirk of Christ"," and are apparently appointed for life. They do not belong to the presbyterye or eldership. (GABEINDOON Kirk, ii. 542.) A form for their admission is in PROTT. ED. same preceding page. In all cases except the second Bo. of Disc., they were appointed yearly. The office must almost exist in the Church of Scotland. Deacons are appointed for life in the Presbyterian Ch. of Engd. In other branches of Presbyterianism, as they are called, are appointed from year to year to manage the financial affairs of the congregation. The Kirk Act comprehends their duties in the Church of Scotland, &c. [but lower, except as few verbal"
NOTE CONCERNING THE DOCTORS

These ministers are called, 1. teachers or doctors. Whose office is to instruct, and teach the faithfull in sound doctrine, providing with all diligence, that the purity of the gospel be not corrupt either through ignorance, or evil opinions.

Notwithstanding, considering the present state of thyages, we compare this title, such as God hath in his church that it should not be left desolate, nor yet his doctrine decay, for want of ministers thereof. Therefore to term it by a word more usual in these our days, we may call it thorn of schools, wherein the highest degree and most annexed to the ministerie and government of the church, is the exposition of Gods words, which every Scripture interpretation, quae is contained in the old and new testaments.

Scripturae

1. This 'order' of the Ministry is taken from CALVIN, who says: "Il y a quatre ordres d'offices que notre seigneur a institués pour le gouvernement de son eglise. Premierement les pasteurs, puis les docteurs, apres les anciens, quartement les diacres." (Tractat. Ord. 164, in Opera, Lib. 15-18). "L'office propre de docteurs est d'enseigner les fidèles en salines doctrine, afin que la pureté de levangerie ne s'altère corrompue ou par ignorance ou par maintaines opinions... Le degré plus prochain au ministère et plus consistant au gouvernement de longuece est le lecture de théologie, dont il sera bon qu'il en soit au vieil et nouveau testament..., et aussi aux langues et sciences humaines.... Il faudra dresser collège pour instruire les enfants, afin de les préparer tant au ministère que gouvernement civil." (Sp. Ord., p. 21.)

There is no mention of the office in PULLAIN, and in the later editions for Puritan use this note on doctors is omitted from the PE.

The First Book of Discipline elaborated a fine scheme of education—of.

LAW: IV. ii. 300-301. It was set forth that every several church have a schoolmaster; and "that no fader, of what estate or condition that ever he be, use his children at his own pleasure; but all must be compelled to bring up their children in learning and virtue." In the large towns the Masters were to be required to be able to teach grammar and Latin; and in the notable towns an arts college should be erected where at least logic, rhetoric, and the tongues would be taught. (Sp. Ord., ii. 300-301). The Reformers also submitted plans for the re-constituting of the Universities, and proposed that schools should be maintained out of the tithes (Sp. Ord., ii. 202), and the universities endowed "with temporal lands, with rents and revenues of the bishoprics temporalities, and of the end of the Kirkis collegis, as far as their ecclesiastic charge shall require." (Sp. Ord., ii. 202.) "Unfortunately for this country," writes Prof. Ray Pluming, "this magnificent educational scheme was not carried out." (H. Pluming: Ref. In Scotl., p. 6.) Nevertheless, the seed was sown and in later years it burst forth a rich harvest.
NOTE CONCERNING THE DOCTORS

nentes. But because manne can not so
well profess in that knowledge, ex-
cept they be first instructed in the
tongues and humane sciences
(for now God worketh not commonlie by
miracles) it is necessarie that need
be seene for the tymne to come,
te the intent that the churches be not
left barren, and waste, to our pos-
teriorie: and that schoales also be
erected, and colleges maystayed, with
juste and sufficient stipendes, wherin youth may be trayned in the
knowledge and feare of God;
that in their ripe age
they may prove worthy members of our
lords Jesus Christ, whether it be to
rule in civill policie, or to serve in
the spiritual ministerie, or els to
lyse in godly reverence and subjectio.

Gnun eutem hanc interpretandi arté
abaque linguarum cognitions,
atque bonarum artium scientia consequi
nec possit (miracula easm frastra ina
querimus) aemten aliquam facere
opertet,
què melius in posterum prospeciatur
Ecolese, ne cæ posti derelistant &
insultam accipiant. Aperiéntes eam
scholes sunt, collegia conservanda,
attque iustis stipendiiis ornandae:
in quibus probè ingenué educa
tutumus, in restis religionis cogni-
tiones, Dei timore, in viros doctos
atque perfectos cuudát: vt tanquam Iesu
Christi visa membra, siue rex publicam
administrent, siue Ecclesiasticam pro-
curationem suspiçiant, siue aliis
parsant, in quorum imperio futuri sit,
publicis rationibus utiisíuni; sed
imprimis Dei glorie studiosissimi
habentur.

***************************************************
THE CONSISTORY AND WEEKLY EXERCISE

I. THE CONSISTORIE. The weekly assemble of the ministers.
   DE MINISTERII CONVENTU.

II. INTERPRETATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.
    DE SCRIPTVRIIS INTERPRETANDIS.
The Consistory was a part of Calvin's ecclesiastical machinery for the maintaining of discipline among the people; but when it was adopted by the English congregation, its purview was extended to the Ministers and Elders. It was to be used primarily as an opportunity for mutual and self examination; after that the discipline of the people could be attended to. In this form it was adopted by Calvin in 1557 to be used by the Magistracy in the City Council. The practice may have had its roots in the pre-Reformation consistories of monasteries and collegiate churches, but the connection is remote.

The 'Prophecy' or 'Interpretation of the Scriptures' or 'Exercise' appears to have been a development of the compilers themselves; it may have been a custom commenced in Frankfort, for, in 1555, Lasco also included such a practice in his Formae ratio. Evidently it was regarded as most helpful, for it re-appears in the First Book of Discipline, was continued by the Puritans in England, and was even introduced into many dioceses in England with the consent and approval of the bishops, where it flourished for many years.


5. "Exercises among the ministers and curates of churches, called prophesying, from the Apostle's word, 1 Cor. xiv., were now (1572) used by most dioceses" (STIRPE: Annals of the Ref. ii., 478). The fact, however, that laymen and non-conforming Ministers were allowed to take part in the debates; that speeches were made against the government and the services of the Church (STIRPE: GENERAL, p. 386, and HALL: Puritan, i. 281) caused the Queen in 1577 to issue an order for the complete suppression of the "exercise called prophesying." Much opposition was thereby aroused, and even Grindal refused to concur, and lost as a result the Queen's favour. (Cf. Grindal's Remains, Parker Soc.), As a later period, Lord Bacon in a letter to James I., questioned the advisability of continuing a practice which was favoured by the greatest and greatest prelate of the land." (BACON, i., p. 207.). (On the whole of STIRPE: REG., p. 199, and RAIRD: ON REL., p. 209-84.)
There was under Calvin a weekly meeting of the Ministers and Elders every Thursday to deal with matters of discipline, but discipline of the people only, and not of the Ministers or Elders themselves. (Of Prof. Brown, H. H. Brown, A.C., 'De l'ordre que doit tenir l'éveque aux grans, pour observer bonne polier en les glisa, * Opera. X.i.29.)

But among the Magistracy a similar meeting for mutual examination was held once a month, and was instituted under Calvin. It was known as the 'grabeau', and as Prof. Hume Brown has said, it was an astonishing Republic where such institutions could have their place. It is described in the 'Register of the Council' as follows: 'It having been proved it would be good and expedient that a day in each month or quarter should be fixed for a meeting here in extraordinary Council, no one failing, if necessity call for it, to remonstrate with each other, all being done in good order, all enmity and rancour laid aside, on their faults and slackness in duty, in order that the grace of God may be present among us,—it is described in the name of God Almighty that this be done and carried out in charity and brotherly affection, all enmities being cast aside, and that a beginning be made on Wednesday next at six in the morning, and that all be done to the honour of God and to his glory, amen.'

(Reg. de Cons., 1659—Ord. Dec.) An entry of the following year (2 Mar. 1659) shows that the Council had duly put into practice the above decision: 'In consequence of this ordinance,' we read, 'fraternal censures have taken place in the Council. In good love and charity each had censured the other, proceeding from the first to the last, each pointing out to the other his imperfections and vices. May the Lord and his Spirit defend us all!'

(Quoted by H. BROWN, *Kirk*, i. 193.)

As Presbyterianism developed, discipline of Ministers was in the hands of the Presbyteries and higher courts, and of the people in the Kirk-Session.
lest they seem

to be culpable,

of that which our senior Christe reproved, in the pharisies, who could espie a mote in other men's eye, and could not see a beam in their own.

And because the eye ought to be more clear, then the rest of the bodie, the minister may not be spotted with any vice, but to the great slander of God's word, whose message he beareth.

Therefore it is to be understood, that there be certaine faults, which if they be deprehended in a minister, he ought to be deposed: as heresie, papistrie, schisme, blasphemia, perjurie, fornication, thefte, drunkennes, varrie, fighting, unlawfull games, with suche like.

Others are more tolerable, if so be, that after brotherlie admonition, he amendith his fault:

as strange and unprofitable fashion in preaching the scriptures, curiositie in seying vayne questions, negligence, aswell in his sermons, Ed in studying

*understood

niam coruis vexat censura columbas.
Nihil enim turpius aut foedius in omni vita: sed in hoco genere praecipue, quia sequens rerum gubernationem, Ecclesiasticus (cuini caput Christus est) procurationem suscipere, eaque nostrae fidei consimia non solius oscitanser administrare: sed vel propter ignavitatem deserere, vel propter perfidiam procedere, Alterus, vt provident hi, qui siti hoc suspensa, vt mores aliorum corrigant, percuta reprehendeant, rationem vitae ab altero reposcant; vt non solius ipsi ab iis se abstinent maximae vitius, quae in aliis videntur, sed etiam ut omni ignominia labe careant, quod possent melius vitae suae rationem reddere ne aliqui id in eos congruat, quod susceptor Christus auter in Ephesios vituperat, qui festus quidem in alterius oculo cereret, ingentem autem autem uteram ex proprio non eximant.

Et quoniam corporis lucidissima pars est oculus, minister certe, qui ouli vice caeteros intromicaret debet, non potest aliqua sacra invidiae infici, vt non eandem opera, verbo Dei, cuius dispensator existit, summa infamiae notam imurat. Quocirca eedere conuenit, quasdam esse vitias, quae si in ministerio aliquo reprehenduntur, statim à functione auendae debet, cuinammodi est haeresis, Papismus, schisma, blasphemia, perjurium, fornicatio, furtü, ebrietas, varia, pugna, illiberalis ludus, vt aleae, chartae, et id genus alia. Alia vero sunt cimmodi, vt licet permittì non debent, tolerari tamen aliqua ex parte posseant, modò admonitus expositione appropinquant: vt potè ratione tractanda Scripturae curiosa magis cum vitis, frivolas inter questiones, neglignentia tam in commonibus, quam in reliquis
the scriptures, as in all other thynge studii, ac rebus suis,
concerning his vocation, scorurilita, 
flattering, lying, backbiting, wanton 
words, deceit, contoumeuse, 
tamting, dissolutio in apparel, 
gesture, and other doynges, which vices, 
as they be odious in all men, so 
in hym that ought to be as an example to others of perfection, in 
no wise are to be suffredt especially, if 
so be that according to Codex rule 
being brotherlie advertised, he aco 
knowledge not his fault and saund. 

1. This is the only reference in the gg to Ministers' apparel, but it serves to raise the whole question of apparel and vestments.

"In Geneva", says RARE, instead of the various vestments, the garb of the Ministers was the plain black robe with embroidered lappets, the bands, and black velvet cap. "For wearing this 'long gown or robe', Calvin 'never wrote to him, and that from a silly woman, who declared against long garments, etc. So she pretended to prove this from the Gospel, saying, Is it not written, They shall come to you in long garments?"

Calvin left her in despair of convincing such ignorance. (BAIRD: Om Liturgies, p. 83. Cf also 'Ep. to Farel', PINGRAN: Works, p. 750). The custom above—referred to of wearing the black gown, bands, and velvet cap, is simply a continuance of the Reformation priest's out-door clothes, and was used at the services indoors as well. It was not the academic gown which is now frequently used by Presbyterian Ministers.

This is approved of only the soberest garb for Ministers, and discountenanced the use of the vestments, as is seen from the following extract from his 'Ad oamdidum leotorem admonitio' (1554). "Whilost de vestibus hie praepici fortasse aliqui murmurebat. Id vero illius responsus velim. Cum de vestibus ad ministerium adventis Paulus malis vobis docuit: Ne tum gelden cum de Eucharistia actuaras uniiheros sum ornamentum praeservit: quid alioc Ecclesiae Dei iugo vis premere? quam neque de diei festa parte, neque de cibo, neque de peto indicard vult Paulus."

In 1675 at the third Session, the General Assembly laid down minute concerning the use of the black gown, bands, and velvet cap, as the Enemies of Christ's Gospel have chosen to be the special Array of their Priesthood. (BRADB: The Parson's Handbook, 820.) The gowns referred to here are no doubt the surplice, but the same prejudice also seems to have been entertained for the black gown, as the Enemies of Christ's Gospel have chosen to be the special Array of their Priesthood. (BRADB: The Parson's Handbook, 820.) Similarly, in the same period, the bishops enforcing the use of the black gown and forbidding the Puritan custom of preaching in what Bishop Duppa called "a riding or ambulatory Cloake". (BRADB: The Parson's Handbook, 820.) The gowns referred to here are no doubt the surplice, but the same prejudice also seems to have been entertained for the black gown, for it also was. purely a priestly habit.

In SCOTLAND in the early days of the Reformations we have no uniform custom. In 1575 at the third Session, the General Assembly laid down minute directions with regard to the dress of the clergy and their wives as follows:

"Presumable is one comely and decent apparel, for as it is in all men, in the ministers, and use as boards function in the Kirk: First, we thankall kinds of broiding unseemly, all bagaries of velvet on gowns, hoes, or cappa. All Varietie of embroidery with silk, all kinds of ostentious sequins or variant hens, in saris, and kinds of light and variant hens in clotehing, as red, blue, yellow, and slocky, quick declares the likeness of the myde; all wearing of rings, or buttons of silver, gold, or other metel; all kinds of superfluous of clothe in making of hose; all using of plaid in the kirk be readers or ministers, namely ha type of wear in the kirk, or being of the office; all kinds of sewing of gowns, or making of the office; all kinds of garment, or keeping of the clothes; such as shall be dressed in gowns, cloeless, as black, rassett, and gray, sad browne, or sorges, aemlet, canalet, greygrams, lytoes, worsett, or slocky; and to be short, that the good word.
THE PROPHECY, OR INTERPRETATION OF THE SCRIPTURES

INTERPRETATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

Every week once, the congregation assemble to hear some place of the scriptures orderly expounded. At which time, it is lawful for every man to speak, or enquire as God shall move his heart, so it be without pertinacities or dissemblings, as one that rather seeketh to profit than to contend. And if so be any contentions arise, then such as are appointed moderators, either satifie the partes, or else if he same to exhal, exhort him to keep silence, referring the judgement thereof to the ministers, and elders, to be determined in their assembly or consistory before mentioned.

DE SCRIPTORVM INTERPRETANDIS.

Singulis quibusque septimis in vnum pariter ab Ecclesia commoniter, ad enarrandum aliquem Scripturam locum, qua in materia cuique liberum erit, vel scienciendo perquirere, vel scrupulum inico, vel quicquid illi suggererit Spiritus sanctus, proponere, modo citera pertinaciam ac ostensionem, modo discendi potius quam contendendi studium. Quid si effersonescere vitia modestiae lineas videbitur disputandi pertinacia, hi qui regendae discribere moderatores praebantur, vel argumentis satisfacientes antagonistae, aut si perget immoderatis sophistica, anio homines ad silentium cohaeret, controversiae ipsae ad Ministeriorum consensus referent.

The Latin manuscript concludes with this section, and this brief reference to the translation of Paulus, which they have not thought necessary to include in the Latin volume.

Note from previous page continued:

of God to be then and their immoderateness be not scandals and their wives to be subject to the same order. (Booke of the Universall Kirke. 1575, Session 3.)

The King being, naming promemoria of the wisdom of the Assembly seems to point to the fact not only that the ministers were to dress in the gravest apparel, but also "all gowns" is forbidden; and further, since they are prohibited from wearing plaids while performing their ministerial duties, such a prohibition would hardly have been necessary had it been the custom to wear pulpit gowns. At this early period it is probable that gowns were seldom if ever worn in Scotland by the ministers.

At the Assembly of the Estates in 24th June, 1609, however, the King was given authority to prescribe the apparel of judges, magistrates, and ministers. The following is a part of the act: "Attour, his Majesty and Estates foreseeing, considering what scandal and contempt has arisin to the ecclesiastical estate of this Kingdom by the occasion of the light and undeserve apparel used by some of that profession, and chiefly those having vete in Parliament; it is therefore statute that every preacher of God's word shall hereafter wear black, grave and solemn apparel becoming men of their estate and profession... Therefore it be agreed and consented to by the Estates, that what order as ever his Majesty in his great wisdome shall think meet to preserve for the apparel of Kirk-men agreeable to their estate and way: the same being sent in writ by his Majesty to his Clerk of Register, shall be sufficient warrant to him for inserting thereof in the buills of Parliament to have the strength and effect of an act." From this time onwards till 1689, Sprott tells us that gowns and bands were worn at meetings of Synods, assemblies, but does not quote his authority. He also states that "it was noticed as a novelty that at the Glasgow Assembly of 1689 very few of the clergy appeared in their gowns, while many of the elders wore swords and daggers." In later practice the gown and bands became practically universal. (Of. SPROTT's Marshally Offices, pp. 244.)

1. This Prophecy may have derived from Calvin who had]. similarly developed in
THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

PRAYERS.
PRICES.
**INTRODUCTION TO THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE**

In scope and content the PP is derived from and closely associated with Calvin's *De Forma*. The section notes to the Morning Service will show the details in particular, while the following table shows the close relationship between them in general order. The derivation came, it would appear, through Pullain and Huycke.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Calvin, (Stras) 1545</th>
<th>Pullain (Lond) 1551</th>
<th>Calvin (Gen) 1542, 1545</th>
<th>Formae of Pr. 1556</th>
<th>Huycke (Lond) 1550</th>
<th>Recent of Formae, 1556</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>1st Table of Decalogue sung in metre.</em></td>
<td><em>Whole Decalogue sung in metre.</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ser. Sent: Restra</td>
<td>Ser. Sent: Adiutorum te.</td>
<td>Conf. of sins</td>
<td>Conf. of sins</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conf. of sins</td>
<td></td>
<td>Absolution</td>
<td>Absolution</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*2nd Table of Decalogue sung in metre.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prayer for instruction in the Law of God, and grace to walk always therein.</th>
<th>Prayer for instruction in the Law of God, and grace to walk always therein.</th>
<th>Metrical Psalms (Marriages)</th>
<th>Metrical Psalms (Marriages)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>2nd Table of Decalogue sung in metre.</em></td>
<td><em>Prayer for instruction in the Law of God, and grace to walk always therein.</em></td>
<td><em>Prayer for illumination.</em></td>
<td><em>Prayer for illumination.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scripture Reading &amp; Sermon (Marriages, Baptisms)</td>
<td>Scripture Reading &amp; Sermon (Marriages, Baptisms, and Publication of Banns)</td>
<td>Scripture Reading &amp; Sermon (Marriages, Baptisms)</td>
<td>Scripture Reading &amp; Sermon (Marriages, Baptisms, and Publication of Banns)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special bidding for sick or poor (sung in metre)</td>
<td>Special bidding for sick or poor (sung in metre)</td>
<td>Special bidding for sick or poor (sung in metre)</td>
<td>Special bidding for sick or poor (sung in metre)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offering for poor</td>
<td>Offering for poor</td>
<td>Offering for poor</td>
<td>Offering for poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Apostles’ Creed (sung in metre on Communion Sundays).</em></td>
<td><em>Apostles’ Creed (said by Minister alone, except on Communion Sundays when people sang it in metre).</em></td>
<td><em>Apostles’ Creed (said by Minister alone).</em></td>
<td><em>Apostles’ Creed (said by Minister alone).</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*Note:* 1. Long Prayer + Lord’s Prayer in a long paraphrase. 
2. Metrical Psalms, 1556.
This table at once shows how closely the PP of 1556 is related to Calvin's Le_ Faise of 1542 or Huycke's translation of it in 1550. It also serves to show the trend towards simplicity which manifested itself after Calvin returned to Geneva from Strasburg; practices were permitted in Strasburg, which were not regarded with favour in iconoclastic Geneva; and it was after the sober, severe Genevan model that the PP was fashioned. The relationship both in order and content is abundantly clear.

Therefore, to understand the Sunday Morning Worship of the PP, 1556, it is necessary to enquire into the sources of Calvin's worship, so that its descent and the principles embodied in it may be traced.

It has long been erroneously held by those who followed EBERARD that Calvin's service originated with Calvin himself, a few elements, particularly the Confession of sins, having been derived from the worship in the German-Swiss cantons. This appears to have been SPROTT's view, following Ebrard. This view has long since, however, been proved incomplete and inadequate by the conclusive researches of such distinguished scholars as Smend, Erickson, Hubert, Rüchenschütz, Devergue, and others.

There can no longer be any doubt but that Calvin's

1. Ebrard writes of Calvin's liturgy that it is "frei aus einem Guss, aus den Mittelpunkte den Evangelischen Glaubens heraus, ein Neues geschaffen". (Cf. HICKS: Gottessdienstordnung, p. 3.) Such, however, was not the case, as modern research shows.

2. SPROTT: "Statement illustrating the Pedigree of the ROO" - pp. 197-199.

INTRODUCTION TO THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

Sunday Morning Service was derived from the German churches at Strasbourg, which in turn derived from the Roman Eucharist. Calvin's Service was not an innovation of his own fashioning, but, as he states on the title-page of his Le Forme, "a form of prayers and administration of the sacraments, according to the custom of the ancient Church." If it was a return to simplicity, it was a return also to the simplicity of the primitive Church.

Calvin himself tells us plainly that he borrowed his Sunday Morning Service from Strasbourg. In his 'Discours d'adieu aux ministres' he writes as follows:

"Mon retour de Strasbourg, je fis le catechisme à la haste... Quant aux prières de dimanches je pris la forme de Strasbourg et en empruntai la plus grande partie." By the form of Strasburg, Calvin means the form of service in use in the German Church in Strasburg, and not, as has been commonly and carelessly thought, the French Church there. For before

1. BRIGHTMAN (Bag. Bote, i, pp. 1030 sq.) has proposed another theory, namely, that "the substance of the Reformed Sunday morning service of Strasbourg and Geneva... is only a perpetuation of the Prone" (a short vernacular service inserted into the Mass, consisting usually of the Lord's prayer, sermon, bidding prayers, Apostles' Creed, and sometimes an exhortation before the prayer of Consecration) which is thus the original of the morning service in all the communions, in England, France, the Low Countries, Scotland and elsewhere, in which the influence of the Reformed Reformation has prevailed. It is conceivable, and probable, that some of the elements of the service were derived from the Prone, but to say that the Reformed service is only, or at all, a perpetuation of the Prone is a pure extraneous, and despite the convincing looking parallels which Brightman has laboriously compiled, cannot be accepted as serious historical enquiry. To suggest that the Reformers at Strasbourg threw the Mass overboard, and put in its place the slight and inadequate vernacular service known as the Prone, is to completely ignore the various editions of the Strasbourg Service Books referred to on the previous page. The Reformers simplified their services, they did not abandon the main tradition; and if they did not have at a later time weekly Communions, neither did they have it in the Anglican Church; and if instead they had a service closely resembling a 'missa sequens' or a 'missa eucharisticorum', they were only doing the same thing that is hidden in the ECP (edns. 1555 sq., and also though in different wording in 1549) in the first rubric after Communion. Were concerning this letter will be said on the page following. (Cf. also p. 124 for...)
2. CALVI. OPERA, III, p. 356.
INTRODUCTION TO THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

Calvin came to Strasburg in September 1538 the French Church there was not permitted to have any services but those consisting of singing, reading, prayers, and preaching. Accordingly, there was no formulary in print from which Calvin could have borrowed.

In 1539, Calvin collected a few paraphrases and some of Marot'smetrical psalms, and published them under the title *Aulcuns Psaumes et Cantiques chosen* chant,* A Strasbourg, 1539.* Soon, however, a more complete Service Book appeared, containing a service for Sunday Morning, orders for the administration of the Sacraments, and various prayers. This edition unfortunately has disappeared, no single copy remaining extant.

By 1542, it was out of print, and Calvin's successor, Pierre Brully, ordered a new edition (L), one copy only of which remains, which was discovered in 1872 by a Parisian bookseller, Gaiffes, and is now in the possession of M. Stroehlin of Geneva. Erichson is of the opinion that there is not the least doubt that this edition (L) was directly derived from Calvin's former edition (now lost), and he quotes Brully's words in corroboration: "Ich habe die französischen gesamten psalmen, gemeins gebet und formular der sacrament behandungen dieser kirchen alhie, weil keine buchlin mehr vorhanden, widerum im Druck verfertigt." Further, he points out

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2. But that it existed Brully's words quoted above show.
3. These letters in brackets refer to the letters used to designate the various Service Books in the Genealogical Bibliography, but supra.
that Calvin acknowledges responsibility for the
La Forme, 1545 (N), which he prepared for the use
of his old congregation in Strasburg, and it is
almost word for word identical with the La manyre
1542 (L). Not that he claimed authorship for it
all (the Baptismal Service alone came from his
pen), but he was the compiler; and the Sunday Morning
Service he took almost completely from the Psalter, 1539,
(K) used in the German Church at Strasburg. This
we know from his own admission, and from a comparison
of the two. The footnotes to the pages of the
Sunday Morning Service will give the parallels of
the various prayers and rubrics. Calvin did not
read or speak German, so would have had to depend
on someone else to prepare him a rough draft of
the German prayers and service, from which he
reproduce the prayers verbatim, but the similarity
of phrase and sequence is too plain to be passed
by. Similarly, with regard to the order, he does
not feel required to follow exactly that of the
German Church, but the close relationship between the
two is quite unmistakable. This the following table


2. This he admits in a letter to the German Reformer Andreas, written on
the 1st August 1559, in which he says: "Since I do not know the
German tongue (quid linguas germanicas sun ipse), I have given your
book to a friend to read; he will prepare a resume of it for me." (Calv. Opera. IVI., p. 553 - quoted by DOUHREINE: Calvin, ii., p. 496).
## INTRODUCTION TO THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

will demonstrate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Psalter, 1533 (K)</th>
<th>La manger, 1542 (L)</th>
<th>La Forme, 1546 (N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scripture, psalm.</td>
<td>Scripture, psalm.</td>
<td>Scripture, psalm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confession of sins</td>
<td>Confession of sins</td>
<td>Confession of sins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a choice from three sentencers)</td>
<td>(the same as the second in K)</td>
<td>(the same as L)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOR, sent. of remission</td>
<td>SOR, sent. of remission</td>
<td>(SOR, sent. of remission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absolution</td>
<td>Absolution</td>
<td>Absolution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing: Psalms 57, or another Psalms; the 7 Words from the Cross, or another hymn; or sometimes the Kyrie eleison and Gloria in excelsis.</td>
<td>Singing: 1st table of the Decalogue in meter.</td>
<td>Singing: 1st table of the Decalogue as in L.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing: Psalms (daring which Minister goes to pulpit)</td>
<td>Singing: 2nd table of the Decalogue (during which Minister goes to pulpit)</td>
<td>Singing: 2nd table of the Decalogue (during which Minister goes to the pulpit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading from Gospel &amp; Sermon</td>
<td>Scripture Reading &amp; Sermon</td>
<td>Scripture Reading &amp; Sermon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apostles’ Creed (sung by all), or a Psalms, or hymn.</td>
<td>Long prayer (choice of three) + Lord’s prayer</td>
<td>Long prayer + Lord’s prayer in a long paraphrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Psalms sung, if no Communion, as in small churches)</td>
<td>Singing: Apostles’ Creed or a Psalms</td>
<td>Singing: Apostles’ Creed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blessing (Namb.) and Minimaal</td>
<td>Benediction (Namb.)</td>
<td>Blessing (Namb.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The close relationship between Calvin and Fucer’s Psaltery is apparent: without doubt the Calvinistic Sunday Morning Service has its roots in Strasburg.

What, then, is the history of the Strasburg rite? The answer carries us back to the early days of the Reformation.

Luther in his treatise, The Babylonian Captivity of the Church, 1520, set forth the necessity of a German Mass, but hesitated himself to take the step involved in such a drastic uprooting of old tradition. Three years

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1. This rite represents Fucer’s influence at its height.
2. This long prayer is almost identical with the 3rd alternative prayer in the Basle Psalms.
later, in 1523, he published his Formula missae, in which he sought to distinguish between the essentials and non-essentials of the Eucharistic worship, between what was Scriptural and primitive and that which was later added, and to devise a rite, purged of abuses and superstitions, which would be in accordance with early catholic usage.

"Imprimis itaque profitemur", he writes in his introduction, non esse nec fuisse unquam in animo nostro, cunctum cultum dei prorsus abolere, sed usum, qui in usu est, posse additamentis vicinatus, repurgare et usum pium monstrare. Nam hoc negare non possumus, missas et communionem panis et vini ritum esse a Christo divinitus institutum. Qui sub ipso Christo fuit, deinde sub apostolis simplicissime atque piissime, absque ulla additamentis, observatus fuit. Sed successu temporum tot humanis inventis auctus, et praeter nomen ad nostra saecula nihil de missa et communione pervenerit. With that as his point of view, he proceeded to go through the Mass, suggesting that which should be retained, and that which well could be spared; but still he wrote none of it in the vernacular. Although urged from many quarters to give a lead by producing a vernacular Mass that all might adopt, he was slow and reluctant in complying with the demand, urging that the task was a heavy one, especially the adapting of the music to the new German words. It was accordingly not till 1526 that he produced his Deutsche Messe, set to

music and ready for use.

But Luther had been anticipated by many of his followers, who in varying degrees had begun to celebrate the Mass in the vernacular, so that a great variety of rites were beginning to spring up. The first German Mass at Strasbourg was celebrated by Diebold Schwarz (Theobald Nigri or Niger) on 16th February 1524, in the St. John's chapel of the Cathedral of St. Laurence. It shows signs of some dependence upon Luther's advice in his Formula missæ, but is of course quite independent of his German Mass which appeared later.

Schwarz's Mass is an almost literal translation of the Roman Mass, with certain of the elements.

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1. Cf. Editor's introduction in Luther's Werke, xiii., p. 44. We are concerned only with the Strasbourg rites, as it alone is connected with Calvin. The other rites have also no connection with Strasbourg as they were all individual efforts with no relation to each other.

2. Schwarz was born at Strasbourg in 1485, his father being an ironmonger in the city. Sehmans, taking holy orders, became a Dominican, and later a brother of the Order of the Holy Spirit. Having accepted the Protestant ideas, he became assistant to Stell at the Strasbourg Cathedral, and in 1558, Minister of St. Peter's-the-old. Calvin in his letters mentions twice a son of Schwarz's, who studied at Nördlingen, and later at Geneva in 1558. (Cf. DUMMERHOFF: Calvin, ii. 401-402).

3. Schwarz quotes the following interesting contemporary evidence from a letter of the Bishop's chaplain (Jean Wernher) to the Magistrates: "das eyrer, so sich neame Diebold Schwarz, etw adriger ordens vnd jãngst inns Heiligem geihe ordens zu Strohsfeld gewesen, des selichen er dan kurz ver¬

schwainer tajen offentlick an in getragen, vnd aber jëgztand, en entschleugung

ynner estimulion glüblichen plicht vnd or laubans oder dispensation synner

ordmlicher oberkort, nutzfüllig von gesamem ordens abgetrennt, daruber

er den nach ordmung der rechten in Fau gefallen vnd als ein verbannter Million

gehalten worden soll...." (Histories des liturg. allem., pp. 18-18).

4. He also tells us that on the first page of the Ms of Schwarz's Mass, there is written in the head of a contemporary the following: "Vf denne nachgeschrie¬

ben woiss ward die Form Kinde zu thwffen nach ätter der latheidischen Form

von mort zu mort durch Theobald Niger, der seit helfffer von s. Lorenzam, vnd

thriedschlosse, die mess an den Berten zu deutshoalden ward anno 1584. Aber
darnach in rat aller pfarher ist alles Kirchengebruck vnd die geschrift gewonnen geordnet worden." (Histories des liturg. allem., p. 19).
omitted. The following is the order: It opens with a
Prayer of Approach, followed by a Confession of sins and Scriptural
Sentences (1 Tim. i. 15). Then the priest goes to the altar, and facing
the people salutes them with the words, "Gott begrude und erweise sich
uber uns alle", making the sign of the cross, and saying, "Amen".
This is followed by the singing of the Kyrie, the Gloria in excelsis,
Then the salutation and Collect, followed by the Epistle
and Gospel, after which is said (later sung) the Nicene Creed. Instead
of the Offertory prayers, this exhortation is said: "Lieben bruder va
Schwestern, bitten gott den vatter durch vnsern herren Jesum Christum,
das er uns den heiligen geist, den Froster anschickte, das er mache uns
Meb an ein lebendigen heiligen wielifelligen opfer, das do (da) ist
der vermaufsig gotte sentient, der gott gefelt. Das beschicke uns allen,
Amen." Now comes the Preface, Sanctus, Benedictus qui venit, the
Lavabo, and silent prayers, followed by a general prayer (later replaced
by a prayer of preparation). Then the Words of Institution are read
and the elevation takes place. This is followed by a short prayer and
the Lord's Prayer with a short addition. The Agnus Dei follows, and
after it a short Communion. Communion in two kinds (unless desired
only in one kind by the communicant) comes next, after which short
post-communion prayers; then the final salutation and Blessing
accompanied by the sign of the Cross made thrice.

It will be seen by examination of the MS that
much of the traditional cultus is retained, and we
are as much surprised by what is retained as by what
is omitted. The sacerdotal vestments still remain,
as do the holy water, the washing of the hands, the

1 The text of Schars's Mass is reprinted in the Monatschrift fur
Gotttendienst und kirchliche Kunst, 1885, pp. 4-6.


Archde. pp. 579.
signing with the Cross, the genuflexions, the various movements at the Altar, facing the people for salutations and the East for the prayers (except the canon), the bells, the choir boys, and the virgins. But the confiteor has now become a Confession of sins in which all join. Curiously are omitted the Introit
and the Offertory— and this was no doubt due to Luther’s influence. 1 The prayers are all said, except the private prayers of the priest—and that were retained—in a loud, clear voice so that all hear.

This liturgy, evangelical in spirit but Catholic in form, is the transition between the definitely Reformed Church, Protestant worship, and the Medieval worship of the Roman Church. It was produced and used while the Reformation at Strasburg was still under the influence of Luther, but local judgement is also used and Luther’s opinions not regarded as final.

During the period of 1525-1539, that is, the time between the first translation of the Mass into German at Strasburg and the coming of Calvin to Strasburg as an exile from Geneva, the German Church at Strasburg came more and more under the influence of Bucer, who in many things was a disciple of Zwingli, though by no means an extreme Zwinglianist.

It was to be expected then that the German Mass would gradually be modified and changed, moulded by

1. Niehrenschütz does not think that Luther’s ‘Formula missæ’ influenced Soviets, Eck (Op. cit., p. 23), but that opinion is not verified by the evidence. For example, to mention one or two matters only, Luther desired the abolition of the Introit, and the Offertory (with its separate), and **
the dominating opinion. This indeed proved to be the case. The service became more and more simplified and more and more congregational. Creed, psalms, and canticles were thrown into metre and set to music which could be sung by the people. New and simpler hymns took the place of the old graduals and sequences. Ceremonial became less and less elaborate. The sacerdotal vestments began to disappear, and the altar candles, the incense, and the genuflexions and signing with the Cross.

Very early, too, the sermon was introduced, and no Scripture was read that was not also explained. These and many more changes follow rapidly one upon the other during these years. In Hubert and Fuchsenschatz full details are given; here it will be necessary only to sketch the progress made, while the genealogical bibliography will give a record of the important editions of the Strasburg Service books of the period.

After the appearance of Schwarz's Mass in 1524, there followed a quick succession five other editions in the same year (except possibly the last) A1, A2, A3, A4, and A5. During this time, the Introit is restored, the Lavabo appears in some and drops out in others; a wider choice is manifest in the prayers, where in alternatives are given; Prefaces appear for the festivals of the Church Year;

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1. Fuchsenschütz dates it in 1524 on internal evidence of the 7 German hymns which it contains. But it may have been early in 1525. Cf. Hubert, p. 31, footnote 2.

2. For minute descriptions of Fuchsenschütz, pp. 56-57. For texts of
the priest is given the right to choose his own Epistles; and congregational singing is introduced. The ceremonial is simpler, but most of the turnings at the Altar remain. The Scriptural Words of Delivery appear in connection with the Cup, and the adjective "venerabilis" is left out of the Words of Institution; while text (1 Tim. 4:15) is used in connection with the Absolution. Also in the Intercessions, the prayer for rulers and magistrates comes first, before that for bishops, and priests &c. The doctrine of the Sacrament appears so far, especially in B, to remain unchanged; but many seeds of Protestantism are nevertheless sown, which will bear much fruit in the future.

The actual order of B may be briefly summarized as follows: It begins with the Invocation ("In nomine dei et des sabbath vnd des sabbath vnd des heyligen geists, amen"), a sentence from Psa. 92, and a Confession of sins, followed by the Absolution from 1 Tim. 1:15.

Then is sung the Introit (a 2 to choose from) concluding with the Gloria Patri, followed by the Kyries and the Gloria in excelsis. Now comes a salutation, the Collect (a choice of 2), and the Epistle and Gospel separated by an Alleluia.

After this comes the Nicene Creed or the Apostles' Creed. The elements are then prepared by the priest, and afterwards he addresses to the people a short exhortation, and biddings.

1. to silent prayer for the Holy Ghost, and 2. to silent prayer for the priest. Now begins the Consecration Prayer, after a salutation; the Preface (with 5 special Prefaces according to the seasons), the Benedictus qui venit, and the Lamba, followed by the cazon.

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1. ERFURT, P. Levi. Here also he suggests other sources to B, besides the A's. 2. Cf. in his "Deutsche Missae," formula excessive, "vnius" in the Words of Institution of the Communion. At Strasburg the whole canon was retained, though gradually changed. The Words of Institution were, however, restored from the A's. 3.
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(of which there are 2 to choose from), and the Words of Institution. Here a "sermon oder gespräch" follows on the sacrament. After this comes a prayer for right reception (a choice of 2), and the Lord's prayer with a short addition; a salutation and the Agnus dei, a very short exhortation and short prayer; delivery of bread and wine with words of delivery based on Scripture, and after the communion of the people, follows the communion of the priest. Then follows the Nunc dimittis, said by the priest kneeling, after which follows Luther's hymn "Gott sey geslobet", a salutation and post-communion prayer (a choice of 2), another salutation, and the Blessing (a choice of 2), after which the priest says a short prayer at the Altar, and the Nunc dimittis follows. No Latin is used in the service, and all the names and rubrics are translated into the German.

During the year that followed further changes took place. The Apostles' Creed begins to omit the Nicene; the Epistles and Gospels are chosen in an unbroken series so that Scripture may be read consecutively; the singing finds a larger place by the introduction of music for the singable parts; the Words of Delivery become purely Biblical; and psalm-singing is introduced. The Word "priest" is replaced by "minister", and "altar" by "table", and the service is called no longer "mass", but "The Lord's Supper", while the priest now faces the people throughout the service according to primitive usage. From this time forward, Bucer's

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1. Cf. JUSTIN MARTIN: Apol., chap. lxxv: "Then bread and a cup of wine are brought to the president (prostas)" — the early word "prostas" suggests that the celebrant faced the people. In the "ordo romanus primus" the celebrant stood behind the altar facing the people (Cf. PFEIFFER: Tisch der Hol-Tagessagen, pp. 57-61). This position changed during the Middle Ages; Prose discusses the reasons on pp. 55, 64-66. Cf. also Church of St. Peter and St. Paul uncovered at Jericho in April 1929: there it is seen that the celebrant stood behind the altar, with his presbyters around him. The evidence might be multiplied.

1. This was no doubt in part due to human influence in his studies which caused it to be altered, and also to the idea that the Apostle's Creed was taken from the Apostle Simon. It is true, but it is not necessarily also true that Simon preached. All texts in this line, including medial circuit are in Bucer's
influence was in the ascendancy, and his ideas of
liturgical reform prevailed, in which he sought
to bring forth again "the old and the eternal".
Bucer describes the Strasburg Service in which his
ideas are realised as follows: "So am Sonntag die Gemeinde
zusammen kommt, erwacht sie der Dienst mit Bekennniss der Sünden und
um Gnade zu bitten, und beichtet Gott anstatt der ganzen Gemeinde, bittet
um Gnade und verkündet den Gläubigen Ablass der Sünden. Darauf singt die
gänze Gemeinde etliche kurze Psalmen oder Lobgesänge. Nach dem thut der
Dienst ein kurzes Gebet und liest der Gemeinde etwas von Apostelschriften
un erklärt dasselbe aufs kürzeste. Darauf singt die Gemeinde wieder: die
zehn Gebote oder etwas anderes. Als dann verkündet der Priester das
Evangelion und thut die rechte Predigt. Nach dieser singt die Gemeinde
die Artikel unseres Glaubens. Darauf thut der Priester für die Obrigkeit
und alle Menschen und besonders für die gegenwärtige Gemeinde ein Gebet,
in welchem er bittet um Macht des Glaubens und der Liebe und Gnade, das
Gedächtniss des Todes Christi mit Furcht zu halten. Darauf vermahnet er die,
so mit ihm das Nachtmahl Christi halten wollen, dass sie solches zum Gedächtnis
Christi auch halten wollen, dass sie ihren Sünden abzustreiten, ihr Kreuz
willig zu tragen und den Nächsten in der Wahrheit zu lieben, im Glauben ge-
stärkt werden, was dann geschehen muss, wann wir mit Gläubigen Herzen er-
achten, was für unermättliche Gnade und Gutthat Christus uns darin bewiesen hat,
dass er seinen Leib und Blut an Kreuz für uns den Vater aufgeopfert hat.
Nach der Verkündigung verkündet er das Evangelium von Nachtmahl Christi, wie
es die drei Evangelisten Matthäus, Marcus und Lucas samt Paulo I Cor. XL
beschrieben haben. Darauf teilt der Priester das Brot und dem Kelch des
Herrn unter sie und genießt es auch selbst. Also bald singt die Gemeinde
wieder mit einem Lobgesang. Danach beschließt der Diener das Nachtmahl mit
einem kurzen Gebet, segnet das Volk und lässt es im Frieden des Herrn.
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hingehen. Dies ist die Weise und der Brauch, mit dem wir nunmehr das
Nachtmahl Christi nur noch Sonntäg' halten. In the orders
of 1525, and especially from 1526 onwards, Bucer's
order of service as he described it was given effect,
and even further simplifications took place.

From another source, apart from Bucer's description
and the actual liturgies, we have the description of
an eyewitness in the year 1525. Gerard Roussel
wrote in December of that year a letter to Nicholas
Le Sueur, Bishop of Meaux, of which we quote a part.
First we are informed that nothing is said or sung
which is not intelligible to all, that all that is
said and done is founded upon the Scriptures, and that
they themselves are simply explained without resorting
to allegory, while everything is free of merely human
invention. Then he proceeds to describe the Sunday
Morning Service: "Dominico die, quom solus festum reliquerunt,
benedixerunt ut liberum sit in eo operari (sed servi at ancillae ad opus
cogi non possunt), celebrant coenam dominicam, et hoc quidem formam:
Mensa prostat in patentlo loco templi (it was not necessary to move
in all churches,
the altar, of course, to bring this about; it depended upon the church
itself), ut ab omnibus conspici possit; altera non vocavit, quod non
nisi illis tale quidem putetur qui ex Christi coena sacrificium fecerunt;

pp. lix-lix. At the last Bucer mentions that in this way Communion is celebrated weekly.
This also was in accord with primitive usage—of JUSTIN MARTIN: Apol. lviii:
"We all make our reunion on the day of the sun." Cf. also FORTESCUE: The Mass:
p. 211, and Pliny's letter to Trajan: "They meet together on a certain
day (stato die)—The 'status dies' is certainly Sunday," says Fortescue (2p. 211), p. 17. Other evidence might easily be assembled.

3. "Der Altar, an dem viel mittelalterlicher Aberglauben hing, hat den Tisch welchen
immer der Tisch der lichtigen Kirchen war, in solchen Kirchen, die in solchern Kirchen erziehen, in denen die Aenderung notwendig oder ratsam erschien." HUBERT: Artic., p. lix.
tamen nihil distat a vulgatis altaribus. Ad sensum illam accedit minister, sic tamen ut facies conversam ad plebem habeas et non posteriora, qui nos hactenus servatus fuit a sacrificiis sacrificios, qui, veluti quandam Dei speciem prae se ferentes, sua populo posteriora conspicuanda, non etiam facies, operae precium ducebat. Assiduus mensæ, facies versa ad populum, in quem totius populi oculi concurrent, primum quandam procerem ex Scripturis deproptam promit, idque paucis; deinde psalma quidam ab omnibus canitur; quo absoluto, et nonnullis adhaec precibus per ministram fusis, conscendit cathedram, et primum legit Scripturas, cum suis intelligentibus, quem explicare vult. Deinde eundem fusus explicat, ascitis suis Scripturae locis in hanc rem facientibus, sic tamen ut analogia fidei servetur, et nihil adferat quod non ad fidem et assessor charitatem dirigatur. Absoluto sermone, ad sensum redit, canitur symbole ab omnibus; quo patefacto, paterfacto plebi, in quem usum Christus suas nobis reliquerit coenas, paucis retagena beneficia mortis Christi et effUND in cruce sanginis; deinde verba Christi recensunt, uti scripta sunt ab evangelistis vel Paulo; deinde impartit illis qui accedere volunt: (nem nemo cogitatur, invitatur tamen canas) panem et vinum, vera corporis et sanguinis Christi symbola, in suae mortis recordationem, a se relictâ suis apostolis. Dum fit commioio et suas quisque coenas portionem accipit, canitur ab omnibus kyrie eleison (i.e., Luther's hymn, 'Gott sey gelobet'), hoc veluti hymno agentibus gratias pro accepto beneficio. Sic tamen communio fit, ut postremus sumat minister, adeoque quod superfuerit. Hoc patefacto, in suas quisque consens se recipit."

From this time onwards, the Holy Scriptures, taken as the norm, influence in an increasing measure, the manner of exhortation, prayer.

1. For order of communication see p. 164 of this thesis.
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and address throughout. The Lord's prayer is completed by the use of its doxology; the Words of Institution and of Delivery appear in the Pauline form, and the Blessing from Numbers comes to be exclusively used taking the place of other unscriptural forms. More and more, congregational singing occupies a greater place, psalms and hymns finding an increasing popularity; and the popular introit becomes a psalm, the choice of which is left to the presiding minister. An unhappy development was the dropping altogether of the Epistle (and the explanation that went with it), so that only the Gospel remained, and it came to be read at length, depending upon the number of verses to be preached from. The idea of selecting Readings according to the Church Year (except for the main festivals) disappeared, and the Gospel was now read consecutively, continuing from where it was left off on the Sunday previous. At the other services, the OT and the remainder of the NT were studied.

Also a wider choice came to be presented in the prayers, and curiously, each new prayer composed as a new choice grew in length and tediousness, till they must have become wearisome in the extreme. The danger of the movement was the breaking away from the primitive simplicity which lay beneath the old Roman forms and ceremonial into a diffuse verbosity which would soon cease, when the enthusiasm of the new days began to

2. Later it was displaced for any reason in the NT, as we see in halleni, etc., and the compiler of the PP. 1306, which is here forced, and prolonged any portion of Scripture to be chosen (as when a conclusion has been followed) to be read or repeated.
3. V. Bishop's Inquiry on 'The Old Roman Use,' in 'Liturgics Historia'.
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burn out, to interest and attract—as was the case in the next century when Protestantism continued at a low ebb till the revivals of the 18th century. At the same time, the people were given a new place in the worship, congregational song was introduced, and careful and consecutive teaching of the Word of God was attempted on a large and thorough scale.

From the beginning, in Strasburg, worship was conducted from the Altar or Lord's Table, and such also was the case in the French Church at Strasbourg. This appears from the rubric in L and N where we read that during the singing of the second Table of the Commandments, the minister goes to the pulpit.

In Pullain's Lit. sac. 1551, (F), the rubric tells us that the minister goes to the pulpit during the third singing. Strype in his Ecclesiastical Memorials corroborates this. Whether the prayer after the sermon was said at the Table if communion was not celebrated is not certainly to be determined, but later the habit grew of remaining in the pulpit for it. Further evidence of the practice of conducting worship from the Table in the French Church at Strasbourg as well as in the German one, is supplied by a letter from a young Walloon student from Strasbourg in 1545. In it he says, describing the Service in the French Church there: "Chela fait (i.e. the singing of the 2nd Table of the Decalogue) et accompli, le ministre (Jean Garmier,

3. In the German Church at Strasbourg the minister returned to the pulpit for the prayer. Cf. Isselburg, in Habich, p. 99, vide the note p. 111.
successor to Pierre Brully) met à genoux devant (i.e., behind, with the Table between Minister and people) une table de bois faîte à manier d'un seul autel, lequel est point paré d'un autel orné de manière à être célébré la Sainte Cène de notre Seigneur Jesus Christ, laquelle se célèbre tous les quinze jours... Le dict autel est mis quas à un milie de légisse là où le ministe est, ainsi que vous ay dit, la face envers le peuple, faisant prières pour le peuple en langue maternelle, haut et clair, que chacun l'entent. L'oraison accomplie, il monte en la chaire et fait la predication." In Geneva, Erichson tells us that the service was conducted (except the preaching) from the front of the chancel. In the English congregation in 1556, it is likely that the old Catholic and true Calvinistic principles were abandoned, and the worship as well as the preaching was conducted from the pulpit. At the same time, such a movement was natural at the time. It began because the Minister could not be effectively heard from the Table. In the old Church, where the ability to follow the service did not depend upon hearing the priest, but upon seeing him and following with the eyes the various movements as the ceremonial progressed, it mattered little whether the priest could be heard or not at the altar. But as the Reformation progressed, all depended upon the spoken word, and it was essential that it be clearly audible if the service were to be intelligently followed. It therefore became necessary for the Minister to stand in a place where he could be heard, so that in the end the service gravitated to the pulpit. There is a hint of its

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1. ERICHSON: Gottesdienstübung. p. 15. The sermon, as we are told, was about one and a half hour long.
INTRODUCTION TO THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

having been mooted even as early as 1533, when Bucer at the Synod of the Strasburg Ministers suggested that "die offene Schuld mit folgender tröstung und Absolution auf der Cansel vorsuncrehen, damit sie alles Volk höre und sich davor bessern möchte, welches jetwes nit geschehen kann, so man dieses bey dem tische verrichtet." We see a hint of the same reason in Knox's 'Practies of the Lorde's Supper yeesed in Barvike-upon-Twyed' where the reason is given that the Minister remains in the pulpit so that he may be easily seen (and heard). The old tradition, however, did not easily disappear; for in England some of the Puritans at least continued to conduct worship from the Holy Table according to the true Calvinistic use and custom.

Enough has been said to show the true descent and nature of the Order for Sunday Morning Worship in the PP, 1556. It is in reality a simplification of the old 'Missa catechumenorum', descended directly from the Mass through the Strasburg Reform. It is a greatly simplified version, but the tradition is kept. It is the same service as that which is prescribed in the RCP, 1552, and editions following in the first rubric after Communion, which is as

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1. ERICHSOH: QQEUEt, p. 16.
3. RAIRIS: Or liturgies, p. 140.
4. Further details of the descent of the parts of the service will be found in the footnotes.
INTRODUCTION TO THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

follows: "Ye it the holy dayes, ye there be no Communion, shalbe maybe all that is appoynted at the Communion, wnyyl the ende of the Hombie, concluding with the general prayer, for the whole state of Christes churche militante here in earth; and one or moe of these collectes be~  
fore rehearsed, as occasion shal serve."  
Legg points out that common sense can only interpret this rubric as referring to a service similar to and of the same nature as the Mediaeval 'Missa sicca' or the primitive 'Missa catechumenorum', and that is no doubt the only reasonable view. To argue with Frere that it refers to a service of another sort is merely to quibble. Also, although long since abandoned, and in these latter days replaced in the Church of England in practice by High Mass, there is evidence that once it was used in Parker's day in Canterbury Cathedral, for Strype records that "The Communion Prayer daily through the Year, though there be no Communion, is sung at the Communion Table, standing North and South, where the High Altar did stand. The Minister standing on the East side of the Table with his Face toward the People. The Holy Communion is ministred ordinarily the first Sunday of the month through the year." That was precisely the service on

1. A similar rubric was in the book of 1549.  
2. LEGG: Three charts, in Recent Liturgical Research, pp. 46-52.  
3. STRYPE: Parker, p. 192. The edition here quoted (named in the bibliography) says "Communion Prayer", whereas I have written "Communion Prayer" above, but the mistake in this edition is due to a misprint or careless editing of the original MS, which is still in the British Museum. I have followed it in writing "Communion Prayer" as above. In this connection, also Leech:  
4. Leech: ibid.  
5. Except in a few county churches.
INTRODUCTION TO THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

Sunday Mornings in the PP., 1556, save that that of 1556 is greatly simplified, had improved.

The Sunday Morning Service of 1556, then, was in fact a simplified version derived through Calvin of the 'Missa sicca' of Mediaevalism, or, more accurately, the 'Missa catechumenorum' of the primitive Church. Laicheret, in two articles in the Revue chrétienne, Oct. and Nov. 1886, has drawn attention to the similarity of the worship in the third century and Calvin's Sunday Morning and, in view of the connection which has been demonstrated in this chapter, is no idle or merely fanciful parallel. In the third century he points out that worship was something of this order:

1. This fact does not seem to have been fully realized by British scholars, although Sprott nearly said it in his Wor. & Off., when he urged that "the introduction of the intercessions after the sermon keeps the ordinary service in harmony with that of a Communion Sunday, and is a testimony, as Calvin meant it to be, for the Lord's Supper as part of the complete service of the House of God" (p.15). Sprott always argued for this order, but he was opposed in it by Dr. Cameron Lees of St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, whose counsel to bring the Scottish services into a closer relationship with the BCP Morning and Evening Prayer by placing the Intercessions after the Scripture Readings, as with the Collects at Morning Prayer, proved Dr. Sprott spoke with a deeper liturgical knowledge, and it is a good that his counsel did not prevail.

The tradition, of course, was broken in the West, which was an attempt to provide a working basis upon which the Church of England and Scotland and Ireland could unite. It was a hopeless ideal for that day. In the attempt, however, liturgical principles were thrown to the winds, and (in spite of the protest of the Scottish consultants that the Intercessions follow the sermon as in the BCP) the well-known compromise was arrived at, whereby the Great Prayer was cut in two and a part placed before the sermon and a part after it. To attempt to shorten it, by having two shorter prayers was all to the good; but the same end could have been achieved in other ways, and the tradition kept. But as a matter of fact the whole matter was in the hands of men, who for the most part, were in no way concerned with liturgical principles or traditions, and who were concerned only in arriving at a working basis union on Puritan lines. The result was liturgically, so far as the Sunday morning service is concerned, a compromise.

2. Compare Laicheret's description of 3rd century worship with Bishop's description of the early Roman Rite in LITURGIE HISTORIQUE, chapter on 'The Roots of the Roman Rite'.

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INTRODUCTION TO THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

(1) Confession of sins and Kyries, (2) Singing of Psalms, (3) Prophecy or Epistle, (4) Another singing from the Psalms, (5) Gospel, (6) Homily or Sermon, (7) Catechumens' Prayers. If we collapse the readings and sermon, and cease to insist upon their always being chosen from the Epistles or Gospels, we have precisely what is in Calvin. To that the Creed was added, but the Apostolic, not the Nicene.

Lacherer proceeds to trace the growth of the mediaeval accretions (due in many cases to pagan influences) and the falling off of preaching from Constantine's time onwards is also noted. He then shows how the Reformers sought to recover the ancient simplicity, not behaving as mere innovators, but as faithful trustees of the catholic tradition, preserving the ancient scope and order. And while it may be unhappily true to say that some of the later Reformers were not concerned about the Catholic tradition, it is grossly unfair to suggest that of Calvin; that tradition is kept in his own orders, and wittingly or unwittingly in the orders of those who copied him.

It is true that Calvin's theory and wishes were more completely Catholic than his practice. Again and again he was forced to bow before iconoclastic Magistrates and untutored public opinion; M. Doumegue has made this clear in his pages dealing with Calvin's "moderation." But Calvin in the Preface to the Communion Service in his Le Volume of 1545 (N), makes it irrefutably certain that it was his intention to perpetuate the

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1. The Gloria in excelsis was a later addition. CARROLL: Lit.Prayer, p. 102.
2. DOUMERGUE: Calvin, ii., pp. 500-503.
best and the Catholic in the old tradition. I quote from his Preface: "Nous commençons.... par la confession de nos péchés et adjoignons les leçons de la Loi et de l'Évangile... et après nous sommes assurés que comme l'Homme Christ a la justice et la vie en soi, et qu'il vit pour le Père; Ainsi nous sommes instes en Jesus Christ et vivons en nouvelle vie par iceluy Jesus Christ. Afin donques que nous considérions ces choses avec plus grande diligence et que nous soyons rendre plus ardents...., nous adjoignons tels bien avecques Pascaumes, et Raman de louange, la lecture de l'Évangile, la confession de la Foy, et les saillantes obligations et offrandes...et... excitez et eamez par la lecture et explication de l'Évangile, et la confession de nostre Foy..., il s'en- suit que nous devons faire oraison pour le salut de tous les hommes (pour que la vie de Jesus Christ doit etre grandement enflamée en nous). Or la vie de Christ consiste en ceci, c'est à savoir, chercher ce qui est perdu et le sauver. A bon droit donques on prie pour tous les estats. Et pource que nous recevons vraement Jesus Christ en ce Sacrament, à bonne cause nous l'adorons en espirit et verité; et recevons l'eucharistie avecques grande reverence et parachevons tout ce misterre avecques louanges et action de graces. Ainsi donques tout l'ordre et la raison d'administration d'icelle, aussi avec l'administration de l'église ancienne des Apôtres, des Martyrs et des saints Pères. It is true that Calvin's Geneva Liturgy at least did not realize his ideal, but the above Preface shows the tradition in which he stood. The Forms of Prayers &c., of 1556 stands in the same tradition. As Lacheret writes, "Il peut et doit être modifié; il n'a pas besoin d'être transformé."
1. At this period, the service in Geneva evidently began in this way, though later in both England and Scotland a reader's service was prefixed to it, as we shall see.

PULAIN's form of 1564 began with the singing of the Ten Commandments in metre, after which followed the sentence, "Siue torum nostrum in nomine Domini..." and a brief bidding to confession, and then the Communion of saints. His rubric was as follows: "Die dominico mane hora octava, cum iam aest pedulps, Praesconator imposit alae voces, LETE DE OPTVS (ut descelegas ritui redites), so pulchro imitum sus modestia et gravius suam, et ut quid voluntat earum, sed serviant omnis reuerentiae Dei, et asforiferent, tam sanctum, quam sanctissimum, ut quod ferias scire non consensit. Omnes absconuntur, tunc vxor in medio audiet sibe dicendum: omnis sancti et saeculo quisquam oratione sua pecuniam se praesentans acquisitum..."

CALVIN's Geneva form (1561) begins simply with a Scripture sentence, and a bidding to confession, followed by the Communion of saints, and has this translation: "Pour les Dimanches ou autres, on use communément de la forme qui s'ensuit. MONSTRE face le Ciel et la terre, Amen. Et vous qui avez un chassez de vous se présente devant le Prince du Saiguneur, avec confession de ses fautes et pechés qui ont été de son occurrence par pecunia..."

PULAIN's earlier edition, 1563, which is almost identical with Calvin's rite while at Strasbourg, begins with the singing of the Ten Odes in metre, the hymns only, during the time which was generally, and asking the people, calls to confession after a short sor. sentence. After the Absolution, the second Table is sung, and then follows a short prayer that these laws may be written upon the people's hearts, and so to the Scripture and sermon.

CALVIN's 1564 ed. in which represents his Strasbourg rite, is very similar, as that the Consecration comes first, then the first Table of the Odes, followed by the prayer that they may be engraved upon our hearts, then the second Table, during which the Minister goes from the Communion Table to the pulpit to read and preach. The Ec here, it will be seen, follows the most simplified Geneva tradition, even going further and omitting the introductory sor. sentence. This may have been the case but it is not mentioned later in Geneva practice. (RAIEN On Liturgies, p.141.) (Cr. also rubric below.)

In the rubric following the Parochial editions of the Ec (e.g. 1566, 1567, 1568) is the following passage: "And the people preaches the word, when a convenient number of the people are come together, that they may make fruit of their presence till the assembly shall be full, one appointed by the Eldership shall read such portions of the canonical books of Scripture, singing Psalms between at his discretion: this reading to be in order as the books and chapters follow, so that from time to time the holy Scriptures may be read throughout. But upon special occasion, special chapters may be appointed. When the hour appointed for the sermon is come, beginning with these words, Our help in the name of the Lord, who has made both heaven and earth; used after the Confession following, or the like in effect, saying to the people, Let us fall down before the majesty of Almighty God, humbly confessing our sins, and follow in your hearts the tenor of your words." (Barker EMINO; 19)

In Scotland a similar custom arose from 1560 onwards, and Readers were appointed for the purpose; and the Kirk session of a minister could be had present, must be appointed the day before and made to hear the Communion Prayer and the Service. (LAING KE, ii. 156-5). Later, under the Nith Read, "Concerning the Policie of the Church", prayers and sermons are held to be necessary, but the singing of Psalms and the reading of Scripture not "of mere necessity". Nevertheless, Scripture reading in the churches is to be "as Odes in the Ec," with the usual forms once daily their be cathariform or else Common Prayer, with some exercise of reading the "Sor" (Op.cit., ii. 285). So was the foundation laid, and the practice described by COWER, in his "Seven Days' Conference between a Catholic Christian and a Catholic Woman," written between 1818 and 1819. We quote the pertinent part:

C. They bow them selves before the Lord, to make an humble confession of their sins and supplications for mercy; which you will hear openly read out by the public Reader.
to our tyne, out of the 9. chap. of Daniel.

I. 1. CONDENSANDI, TEMPORIBUS ACCEDENTAS, LUXTA ILLAS DANIELIS FORMAS CAPIT.IE NONO DESCRIPTA.NU.

2. LORD GOD which art mighty, DOMINE Deus, magne, and dreadful, thou that keepest covenant, & formularia, qui serius feceris amiti, and showest mercie to them that beneficientiam erga dilegit

and shewest mercy to them that lose thee, and do thoy commandements: & observantes praecceptum,

we have sinned, we have offended, Fecessimus, & iniqui fames,

we have wickedly, and stubbornly gone backe, from thy laaws, and praecipit.

we wilde never obey thy seruantes, that spake

in thy name, to our kings and in thy name, to our kings and princes, to our forfathers, and

to all the people of our lande. 

ad totum populum terrae nostrae.

Footnote continued from preceding page.

Footnote continued from preceding page.

Every one is preparing (as you see) their Psalm-Book, that all of them with one heart and mouth, may sing unto the Lord....

What do the Header now- do he at this point? Another prayer? For the Reader, the whole congregation sing one hour before the Preacher comes in. First Prayer, then Psalms, then reading of the Holy Scriptures; and by these the hearts of the people are prepared more reverently to hear the word,...

The preaching being ended, he concludes with a Thanksgiving (i.e. the thanksgiving and Intercession after sermon as in the EO); after which there is a Psalm sung by the whole congregation, and then the Minister doth write the people in the name of the Lord, and so directs them.” (BOWERS: Works, p. 630—quoted by SPOTT: POO, pp. xxiii-xxiv.)

Also in a suggested revision of the EO by Howatt (a moderate), date about 1616, entitled “A Form of Service to be used in all the parish churches of Scotland upon the Sabbath Day, by the Readers where there are any established, or where there are no Readers by the Ministers themselves before they go to Sermon” there is the following rubric: “This Prayer (a prayer for God’s blessing upon the Sabbath) ended, then let there be read a Chapter of the Gospel, and another of the Epistles, as they shall by course (see above, in the reign of Jas VI., 1603 ed., p. 154).” BOWERS’s proposed revision a little later also contains Scripture Reading, with a table (Op. cit.).

In 1686 similar witness is borne by Sir W. Blacket, an English Puritan visiting Edinburgh, and describing the worship there as follows: “The Order that is observed in the worship of God is this: Upon the Lord’s Day they do assemble between 8 and 9 in the morning and spend the time in singing Psalms and reading chapters in the OT until about 10.” Then the preacher comes to the pulpit, prays and preaches. “The afternoon’s exercise, which begins soon after 1 is performed in the same manner... when the chapters read out of the NT, and they conclude about 4.” (Crawfo., pp. 105-110) (quoted by SPOTT: POO, pp. xxiii-xxiv.)

HENDERSON in his Order and Conduct of the Church of Scotland, writing in 1641 to correct certain misconceptions in England regarding Scottish worship, describes the first part of the Sunday morning service in these words: “When so many of all sorts... are assembled, the public worship beginneth with prayer and reading some portion of the Holy Scriptures, both of the Old Testament and of the New, which the people hear with attention and reverence; and after reading, the whole Congregation joineth in singing some Psalm. This reading and singing do continue till the preaching begins.” (quoted by SPOTT: POO, p. xx.)

Thus the testimony is universal that some kind of a Reader’s service came to be placed before the preaching service outlined in the EO. No doubt the influence of the ROC of 1552, which was used in Scott in many congregations before 1560 (MACILLAR: Thesis, pp. 479-484), had much to do with this. Morning Prayer was actually continued in practice, but it was shown of all except the Readings, and even then the Tables of Lessons were not generally used, if at all, but the purpose of the Lessons was continued, namely, the reading through from year to year the entire OT and NT in the ears of the people. It should be observed, however, that this later development in England and Scotland was not an internal change in the order of the EO, but it was an external addition, and quite separate, just as the abbreviated form of Morning Prayer used in many Anglican Churches before the Communion Service does not in any way belong to the Book of Common Prayer.

1. MACILLAR (Thesis, p. 78) states that this prayer of confession is derived from Psalm, but there is no evidence for that view, nor is such a prayer to be found in scripture.. The idea of confessional prayer is likely was derived from Lasso’s direction in his service framed for public calamities in the 1560 ed. of his Forme soprafic; where he enjoins the following “Fasce sua professione attinentibus, in die publico, publice, supliciacioni destinato, proper praentantes aliquam quam aut impudicem otiam publicam Se-
O lord righteousness belongeth unto thee, unto vs pertyneth nothing but iustitia, nobis autem open shame, as it ys come to passe this day, unto our miserable contry of England, yea unto all our nation whether they be farre, or nere, through all landes, wherein they are scattered for the offences that they and we have committed against thee; so that the curses and punishmentes which are writen in thy lawe, are nowe powred mentu in I»ege tua seriptum, and our rulers, that gouemed vs, in bringinge the same plagues vpon vs which before were threatened.

And yet notwithstanding bothe they, and we procede in our ini­quitie, and sense not to heape synne vpon synne. offensis congerie quasi quadam cumulantes.

Footnote continued from preceding page. cessionem aut necessitate: quis absolutis bortatur Ecclesiarum tetan Ecclesiam ad serias atque ardentem nominis Diuinii, pro camibus Ecclesiae necessitatis, innocenuses, proeminentes; in genere tota Ecclesia, ordinar consuetudine Ecclesiae process publicae: quae ijs insecutae p praecedenes, pro paganis caligante illis, omnia nomina instituta publica supplicatio, ad ius imitationis, quae habebant Daniele non satis, quae pseudesemun confessiones. A laeso apparently did not write such a prayer, as the confession above is an original composition of the compilers of the E. Undoubtedly, however, it is based upon a prayer before the other pseudepigraphia—it was more suited to their present estate. Further, from the time of Edward's death Knox, at least, had regarded that calamity as a direct result of national sin, as is seen by the confession added in 1554. to his 'A Declaration of the true Nature and Object of Prayer' (1568). (LAFFER, Ed., iii, pp. 106-107.) Quoted below are the pertinent verses in the ninth chapter of Daniel, from which the Confession of Sins is derived. The quotation here is from the L.Y., but the compilers would have had before them the original Hebrew. The L.Y., however, though later than the prayer above suffices to show the derivation. 4. And I prayed unto the Lord my God, and made my confession, and said, O Lord, the great and dreadful God, keeping the covenant and mercy to them that love him, and to them that keep his commandments; 5. We have sinned, and have committed iniquity, and have done wickedness, and have rebelled, even by departing from thy precepts and from thy judges; 6. Neither have we hearkened to thy servants the prophets, which spake in thy name to our kings, our princes, our fathers, and to all the people of the land. 7. O Lord, righteousness belongeth unto thee, but unto us confusion of faces, as at this day; to the son of Zadok, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and unto all Israel, that are near, and that are far off, through all the countries whither thou hast driven them, because of their trespass that they have trespassed against thee; 11. therefore the curse is poured upon us, and the oath that is written in the law of Moses the servant of God, because we have sinned against him. 12. And he hath confirmed his words, which he spake against us, and against our judges, that judged us; 14. 0 Lord, according to all thy righteousness, I beseech thee, let thine anger and thy fury be turned away... 16. 0 my God, incline thine ear, and hear; open thine eyes, and behold our desolations, and the city which is called by thy name: for we do not present our supplications before thee for our righteousnesses, but for great mercies. 19. O Lord, hear; O Lord, forgive; O Lord, hearken and do; defer not, for thine own sake, 20. 0 my God; for thy city and thy people are called by thy name. Danbíhix.

This Confession was omitted in the editions from 1562 onwards.
THE MORNING SERVICE

For they which once were well instructed in the doctrine of thy gospel, are now gone back from the obedience of thy truth, and are turned againe to that moste abominable Idolatrie, from the which they were once called by the lively preachinge of thy wordes, not and we alas, to this day do earnestly repent us of our former wickednes, neither do we rightly consider, the heauenlye preachinge of thy displeasure. Such is thy iuste indigementes (o lord) that thou pouishest synne by synne, and man by his owne inventions, so that there can be no ende of iniqutie, except thou present vs with thy undeserved grace, Therefore convert vs (o lord) and we shalbe convert: for we do not offer vp our prayers trustinge in our owne righteousnes, but in thy manifolde merces. And althogh thou hast once of thy especial grace deliveres vs from the miserable thralldome of error and blindness, and called vs many tymes, to the swet libertie of thy gospell which we notwithstandinge have moste shamefully abused, in obeyinge other then the admonitions of thy prophete: yet we beseeche thee once agayne ne prorsus tamen nos eiectos velius, for thy mans sake, to powre some comfortable droppe of thy accustomed merces vpon vs: incline thyne eyes, and open thyne eyes, to beholdes the grievous plagues of our contrie, the continuall sorrowes of our afflicted bretherne, and our unfall banishment. And let our afflictions and iuste punishments be an adomition and warninge to other nations, amongst whome we are skattered that with all reverence they may obey thy holy gospell; lest for like contempte, in the ende, like Guas enim alicuando salutarii Evangeli tui prae dicatio, voluntatis tuae obedientia felicissimè imberstat, hi nunc inuernis nescio quo facto rerum vicibus, relapsi, in turpissimam idolothresciae foeditates aguntur.

Neo quisquam est tamen (proholor) qui seria ductus posmittit, vel errores suos, vel horrendae irae tuae gravitates, ritu, atque vt par est, perpetrat. Haec illa iustissima tua sunt iuditia, Domine Deus, ut peccata pecos, hominéque suis ipsorum placitis, ac figmentis plectas: ita vt multus futuros mit peccandi finis, nisi praeuentanea tua nobis minis esse promerentibus gratia subveniat.

Conuerte nos Domine, & ouerturn. Nos enim in precibus nostris quas effundimus coram te allegamus nostrum iustitiam, sed tuam profusissimam misericordiam. Liceatque antehac pro- pennisima tua erga nos indulgetia, charissime Deus, ingratissimi filii abusus, quia toties Prophetarum tuorum vocibus ad Evangeli tui libertatem provocatis, & ab erroribus alicuando tamen revocatis: nostri tamen affectibus, quam tua voluntati parere saluinmus:

...
or worse plagues fall upon them. Wherefore O Lord hear us, O Lord forgive us, O Lord consider and tarry not over long, but for thy dear son Jesus Christ sake, be merciful unto us, and deliver us. So shall it be known to all the world, that thou only art the self same God, that ever shewest thine own name God, that ever shewest mercy, to all such, as call upon thy holy name.

aut maiora damna luant.
Domine audito, Domine
clamens esto, Domine attendito, fer
open, & nimiü differas: verâ
ob dilectum filiù tuò Jesus prompte
misericordiae tû nobis succurrat pa-
trocinii, quo uniuerso orbì innotem-
cat te molû ac perpetù
sundem esse Deô, qui hos nûqua destitutû,
qui superosanctum nomen tuum ineoscent,
Amen.

ANOTHER CONFESSION FOR ALL
states and times.

O ETERNAL God and most mercifull
father, we confess, and acknowledge,
here before thy divine majestie, that
we are miserable sinners,
conceyued and borne in synne and ini-
quitie, so that in us there is no good-
ness. For the fleshe euermore rebellèth
against the spirit,
wherby we continually transgresse thy
holy preceptes, and commandementes,
and so purchase to our selues, through
thy just judgement, death and damnation.

Notwithstandinge, (O heavenly father)
Attamen mirissimè Pater,
forasmoche as we are displeased with
our selues for the synnes, that we
have committed against thee, and do
vunfaynedly repent vs of the same;
we moste humbly beseech thee, for Je-
sus Christes sake, to shew thy merici
upon vs, to forgive vs all our synnes,
and to increase thy holy spirite in
us; that we acknowledginge, from the
bottome of our hartes, our owne vn-
righteousnes, may from henceforth, not
no scilicè paremticemus,
1. The profession this far is based on PULLAIN, HUYCK, and CALVIN, for while one is able to thy moste blessed wyll, and affections, bat also bringe exact, fructus erln^ps, tibiq; gratoe MACMILLAN (Theaie, p. 80), Vae»e«attFle,^follows SPHOTT (P22, P» 291) aad records famous oonfessioa has not been determined by English scholars. There aTe been

The above quotations show clearly the source from which Pullain and Huycke drew, the one being a translation into Latin and the other into English. Calvin borrowed it from the German Liturgy in use in Strasbourg during the period of his exile there from 1538 to 1561. I quote the various texts below: (They are on the whole difficult of

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THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

neque hoc abe te Domine, proper nostra
merita ostendi, sed ob aspernum solet
Filii tui Jesu Christi,
quae vti semel dedisti idonea oblata-
iones ad expiatio
pecata;
ita praemissis habeamus,
te nobis eius nomine rogatis nihil
negaturum, si velutate tue faciam.

nati Spiritui anima testatur nostris,
te nobis Dei fore psalit, nos: filios
utros mei amari per
ipsarum, ut mala res vnae sine supera,
sine inferea nos ab amore, quo nos com-
pleceris, sit dianusura. Tibi
ergo praestansissime ac optime pater,

vna cum filio ac Spiritu sancto, sit
omnis honores & gloria ad omnes seui

1:4

peremittat. Amen.

Footnotes continued from preceding page:

various opinions and conjectures, as follows: It has been ascribed to Pess because it was used by him at the Conference of Poissy in 1521; it has been attributed to Johannes Gealampusius by Erard, who states that it appeared in the Zurich Liturgy of 1535; while Barrière thought it was composed by Calvin. Now, however, the source is established and the development can be clearly traced through the liturgies quoted above. It is written in the first instance by Pess (Cf. BRICHON: "Origines de la confession des églises," article in the Revue Christiane, 1890), and it first appears in the 1897 Psalter mit aller Ehrerbietung (Salzburg the following: Calvin's confession is a very free translation and paraphrase of it including certain added matter. Calvin knew no Roman Catholicism but peregrinations sum ignatae—Buller, i, Aug. 1567, Quarto XIX, p. 553). As such have received some assistance in preparing the confession; very likely it was roughly translated by another hand, and then put into final shape by Calvin himself. M. DOUMERGUE (Calvin, li. pp 404-5) has shown the close relationship of the German and French Confessions by placing them in parallel columns and translating the German into French. Of the derivation from the French there can be no doubt. The German Confession was one of a number used in the German Mass, or Lord's Supper as it had come then to be called, as variations of the 'Confiteor', as will be seen by comparing the text in SUPERT.

1. This latter part of the Confession is an independent addition by the com-
pilers of the PE, standing in place of the Absolution found in Pullain, Calvin 1545, and Pess. It is a petition for pardon, placing the emphasis on Christ's work as the basis of forgiveness. It may have been remotely incorporated in

influenced by the Confession and Absolution at Morning Prayer in the RE.

The following are the absorptions used in this place by Pullain, Calvin, and Pess:

(a) WOLLIN (1824) directs as follows:

Ps. 118 (the Confession) dicit le Ministre quelque parole de L'inscription pour conseiller les consciences et puis fait l'absolution on ceste maniere.

Va chacun de vous se reconnoisse soy... s'humilient devant Dieu... et croys que le Père celeste... entre pretres en Jesus Christ... a tous ceux qui on ceant maniernement se repentent, et orebent Jesus Christ... le denonce l'absolution des penes... au Nom du Père... du Saint Esprit, Amen.

(b) CALVIN (1546) goes further:

"Hey (after the Confession) dit le Ministre quelque parole de L'inscription pour conseiller les consciences et puis fait l'absolution on ceste maniere.

Va chacun de vous se reconnoisse soy... s'humilient devant Dieu... et croys que le Père celeste... entre pretres en Jesus Christ... a tous ceux qui on ceant maniernement se repentent, et orebent Jesus Christ... le denonce l'absolution des penes... au Nom du Père... du Saint Esprit, Amen."
THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

This scene, the people sing

Psalm 114, a plainsong tune, which ended,

the minister prayeth for the grace of God holy spirit

as the same shall move his harte,

and so proceedeth to the sermon,

While after the sermon this prayer followeth or so suche lyke

Footnotes continued from preceding page:

1. The Psalm sung at this point is derived from Calvin's La Feme 1542 (and so in other Genevan editions), which directs as follows: *Caela (i.e. the Confession of Sins) faciet, on chante en l'assemblee quelque psalme.* In the edition of 1565 (Strasbourg) the 10 Oats were sung here in meter. They were divided into two tables between which were said collectes for illumination and grace. Pullain in his in 1561 *Liberum* found a similar practice. In the 1564 edition (Frankfort) he altered the order by placing the whole at the beginning of the service, and omitting the dividing prayers; he follows the example of the Church of Strasbourg, however, the Psalm was sung here, and no doubt it was from that source that Calvin derived his placing of the Psalm in the 1542 edition. The German rubric (Psalter mit 1540) shows the first origin of the Psalm at this point, being in fact in the same place as the Introit in the Mass: "Auff das [i.e. the Confession of Sins] fahdt die Kirche an, zu singen ein psalmen, als das miserere (Ps. 69) oder ein andern psalmen, anstatt des introits und etwan das Kyrieleison und glor in excelsis." The reference to "plainsong tune" does not mean only that simple music is to be used, but also that there is to be no harmony singing. In the Psalter at the end of the volume, the melody line only is given for the various tunes, while RUCKER translating and explaining Calvin directs that the Psalms be sung in "plainsong." The Reformers at Geneva wished to avoid all intricacies and flourishes, such as were common in the Mass (cf. the Graduals and Alleluia's) and which could only be rendered by trained singers, and instead to use simple music which the common people could sing and love. By this means they were successful in restoring the song in the Church once more to the people.

2. This prayer for the assistance or illumination of the Holy Spirit before the reading and sermon is common to Calvin and Pullain in all editions, and is continued in the editions for Puritan and Scottish use later. In two editions examples are given, Calvin 1545 and the German Psalter, 1559 (and earlier), but in every edition in all editions it is left to the discretion of the minister to frame a prayer suitable for the occasion and theme. By the examples which are given, and especially in the case of the German, it is evident that this prayer stands in the last quarter which comes before the lessons in the Mass following the Gloria in excelsis. Put instead of the Collect, this prayer becomes one for illumination, thereby returning to very primitive practice before the Collect as such had developed in the West. Such primitive practice we find indeed in the sermon's litany standing at the beginning of the liturgy in the APPOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS,
On the other hand, the use of 'tis prayer for illumination may not have been a conscious return to primitive practice, but a mere following of the dictates of conscience. Below is quoted the prayer from the German of 1589 as an example of the type of prayer used at this point:

Jesus Christus, amen.

It will be noticed that in 1539 the Salutation before the Collect was still retained.

3. It will be observed that nothing is mentioned in this rubric (or elsewhere) of any Scripture Readings, but that does not mean that no Scripture was read. It is difficult to determine the actual practice, but in all probability the Scriptures were read consecutively and only as much as would be explained in the sermon. That was Pullain's practice, as we see by his illuminating rubric of the 1551 lit.:

Interea (i.e., while the second Table of the Doxology is being sung) pastor suggestum consenedit ad kononandum: non illo quidem modo, quo transmisit fieri videantur in missarum libris, sed quasi cum alio sermoni, quod cum fines in Amplius adducendus vel amplius requisita, quam interpretari institerunt. After this follows the sermon, "For the space of an hour." In his Letter "Ad lectionem nonam," 1557, PULLAIN says aliter from the Epistle of St. John, that the Scripture Readings were displaced and superseded by lections from the saints' lives or sayings; thus the whole scheme of Scripture lections was mutilated and disjointed.

Further, the reading of all Scripture was in Latin; and at that time there were no missals as at present with the Latin in one column and the vernacular in the other so that all could follow. But the Reformers began to read Scripture consecutively in the Churches week by week, explaining the passages as they were read, and doing all in the vernacular tongue, for the first time in 1,000 years the Bible was brought within the comprehension of the common people. At first, it would appear from the early translations of the Mass into German that the practice urged by Knox in 1552 (July 1st) after he had left Frankfort and come to Geneva, It is set forth in his 'Letter of wholesome counsel' (LAING: Misc. 1557, p. 189). M'CRINE is wrong in dating this letter 1559; LAING (ibid., p. 189), as follows:

"I wold, in reading the Scripture, ye sholdjoyne some bokes of the Olde and New Testament together, as Genesis and one of the Evangelistes, Exodus wyth another, and so forth; suer sodyrge suche bokes as ye begynne, (as the tyme will suffer)... As frequent in the Prophetics and in the Epistolary doth the multitude of nature, most convenient in the psalms, that requireth exeroyse and good memory. Lyke as your assemblies ought to bgin with confession and avoction of Godis Holy Spryte, so wold I that they were fyrst some prayers for princes, prophets, sauiors and angustates; for the liberty and free passage of Christes Evangeill, for the confort and deliverance of our afflicted brethren an all plases now persounted, but not so in a breake and the reoffing of other things as the Spryte of the Lord Jesus shall teache unto you to beprofitable, eyther to yourselve nor to your brethren wheresoeuer they be. That is his suggested custom, the Scripture Reading is now appointed as an integral part of the service, not a preludie as a Reader's Service. In the Lit.of Cons. 1555, at Zionsak, allowance was made for an OP and a NT reading. To..."
have the Readings near the beginning of the service was of course in complete accordance with primitive practice in the Church. Compare, e.g., DUCHENESS: Christian Worship, pp. 57-58, where we find the following: "The congregation and the women are on the one side, and the clergy in the apse. The Readers at once begin the lessons, which are interspersed here and there by chants. A Reader ascends the ambo, placed about the middle of the church... and reads..."

At the same time there is evidence that a few extremists objected to all reading of the Scriptures in Public Worship; but their counsel was never allowed to prevail. Some doubt exists about the early practice in France, however, as the name of David Whitehead, Richard Cox, and others, to Calvin on September 20th, 1555 is reply to a former letter from Calvin. Part is a question: "They also falsely lay to our charge before you, that we wished to 'burden the Church with trifling and unprofitable ceremonies.' Our ceremonies are very few; and all of them of no little use towards the advancement of godliness. But it is no wonder that our ceremonies appear redundant, and even burdensome, to those persons who exclaim against the Public Reading of the Word of God, as an irksome and unprofitable task." (PARKER SOCIETY: Calv. Letts., edn. 1546-9, pp. 756-769, quoted by ASHER in his edition of the Eireseus Persicur.) Later, also, in England there are traces of this extreme view, for among certain articles put forward for the whole congregation in the early non-conformist days, was the following:

"The holy Scriptures ought not to be read in the churches." (PURITAN LETTERS, p. 417, quoted by RAINCI: On Lit., p. 158.)

In Scotland, too, there is evidence that the falling off of the Scripture Reading in the church, was this viewed with marked disfavour by the majority, and was due to Puritan influence. Andrew Ramsay, Moderator of the Aberdeen Assembly of 1649, writing about 1650, was protesting vigorously against the innovations which had been introduced since 1638 (the year of the National Covenant), records that "of late all public reading of the Scriptures in the Church is laid aside as dry and useless, to be a Minister to explain it." (DOWELL MS, Life of Ramsay, University of Glasgow, quoted by SPRATT: ROC, p. xxi.) It is apparent from the evidence of the Westminster Directory, and the Scriptures used in the Service, that the Scripture Reading in the Service was made earlier in this than the morning service of the editions of the FE before mentioned also vouchers for the early practice among the Puritans in England.

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In the English Congregation, as in all the other Reformed Liturgies English, French, and Scottish, there is no mention of an Offering. From the beginning at Strasburg it was considered an undesirable part of Catholic ritual, and was accordingly suppressed. (C. DUCHENNES: Calvin, ii. 400-3, and the offering apparently went with its Calvin's practice in the French Church at Strasburg, however, was to collect the alms after the sermon had been pronounced, the collection of the offering in the old Catholic position."

The rubric after the sermon in PULLAIN'S Liturgies, 1651 ed., best describes the practice. Apparently after the sermon any announcements, banns, baptisms, marriages, &c., were read or performed, and then the offering collected by the deacons, and meantime the procession would be made.

This of course would be what often happened in the Mass in former days, when a large congregation were present. The rubric is as follows:

"Concioiones hora spatio absolutae, of subiecta precesioe ooculudit. Adhucnve in verbo signa aut notitiam aut indicium, si baptisman, si quis pauper, aut aegrus soe omni se ooeaibat prescritae Ecclesiae, et cast. elemosinod. (C. C. Lit.: Acta, ed. 1651, p. 17.)"

"Interea Diaconi dao totam Eoolesiaa oiroumeunt 'a singulis eleeaosynaa pos—

ad. "Atq; iidem ad ostiu teapli astant, vt si,qui forte ad preces magia attenti nihil contulerim, lue in agressu dent suam eleemosyanas." (LUTHER: Lit.: Acta, ed. 1651, p. 17.)"

"Ad innumerae delle ecclesiasticorum rectores et ministros.

It is clear that the influence of the old Prima is about the offering service, as the service is almost identical in the Mass of PULAIN'S Liturgies, but is not the bidding prayer for the sick. But to this latter point it is certain that in the whole Mass as a whole nothing at all resembles it in this latter point the influence of the old Prima is discernible; but it is in the evidence, and clearly to one's eyes to the researches of HEPBURN, HEINO, JOHNSTON, "and ordained that 'ordinarily one chapter of each Testament be read at every meeting.'"

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A PRAYER FOR THE WHOLE ESTATE OF CHRISTIANS GIVING

ALMIGHTY God, and moste mercifull
father we humbly submit our selues and
fall downe before thy maistrie, beseech-
ing thee from the botome of our harte,
that
this seede of thy worde, nowe sowen
amongst vs, may take such depe rootes,
that neither the burninge of heate of
persecution, cause it to wither, nether
the thorny cares of this lyfe, do chace
it, but that as seede sownen in good
grounde, it may bringe forth thirtie,
sixtie, &d an hundred foldes, as thy
heavenlye wisdome, haste appointed.
And because we have nevee continuallie,
to cramme manye things
at thy handes, we humbly beseeche thee (o
heauenly father) to gaunt vs thy holy
sprite, to directe our petitiones, that
they may procede, from suche a seru
tynde, as may bee agreeable to thy moste
blessed wyll. And seinge that our in-
firmite is hable to do nothinge, without
thy help; and that thou arte not ignorant
with how many, and greate temptationes, we
poore wretches, are on every side inclosed,
and compassed:

THE SUNDAY MOWING SERVICE

1. This prayer is an independent compilation, and no sources can be traced in the liturgies of the period; it was composed specially to meet the peculiar needs of this band of exiles. However, even after the time of exile and per-
secution was passed, it was retained with slight necessary modifications in the ed-
tions for Puritan use and in the BDO in Scotland. It is the same in scope, if not in text, as Calvin's Great Prayer.

The prayer used in this place by CALVIN and PULLAIN is derived directly from
one of the prayers used in the German Church at Strasburg found in the ENSKLER
of 1559. Hoeye's translation, with slight changes, was embodied in the BDO of
1566; it is the prayer beginning, "Almighty God and heavenly Father..." pp.
924-925 of SHOFFT's edition. It is more suitable for general use than the one
above. The long paragraph of the Lord's Prayer found at the end of this
prayer is not in the German; there, simply the Lord's Prayer is used. The
paragraph was written by Calvin, and adopted by Pullain. In the later editions
of Calvin it is omitted.

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paragraph was written by Calvin, and adopted by Pullain. In the later editions
of Calvin it is omitted.
let thy strength (o lord) susteyne our weakness, that we beinge defended with the force of thy grace, may be safely preserved, against all assaults of Satan who goeth aboute continually, like a roaring lyé seelinge to devoure vs.

Increase our faith (o mercifull father) that we do not swarue at any tyme, from thy heauenly worde, but augment in vs, hope, and loue, with a carefull kepinge of all thy commande­ments: that no hardnes of harte, no hypocrisie, no concupisçence of the eye, nor intyseyments of the worldes, do drawe vs away, from thy obedience. And, seinge we lyue nowe in these moste pe­rillous tymes, let thy fatherly prouideence defende vs, against the violence of all our enemies, which do every where pursue vs:

but chieflye against the wicked rage, and furious vproares of that Bomsbe idoll, enemie to thy Christe. Farther more forasmoehe as by thy holy Apostile, we be taught, to make our prayers, and supplications for all men, we praye not onely for our selues here present, but beseeche the also to reduce all suche as be yet ignorant, from the miserable captuitive of blindness and error, to the heavenly truth: that we all, with one consent and willie of myndes, may woupleshippe thee our onely God and saui­our.

And that all Pastors, shepherds, and Fferat igitur opem fragilíti nostrae tuae firmitas, vt gratias tuas vallo communi, adversus ignita satanae episcula,

ô sublimi nos potentia, adversus omne malorum impetus, quescunque militant contra animam nostram, tuti ac inoccussi percistans. Imitris autem adauge in nobis fides, ne qua vacuem cordis duritiae aut hypocrisia, ne qua oculos concupiscientia, aut mundi titillantis illecebrae, aut fastus vitae, transmersos nos ab obscurantia voluntatis tuae abripiat. Praesens quis in nouissima haec temporarum lögë exulceratissima inciduntis, provide nòc oura tòs nòs tueat adversus impressionem & incursus hostium, vitique nos perseuerantium, maxime autem adversus Romani illius Antichristi nehemiam rabiem, & infanas tumultus.

Quoniamque per electissimu Paulum tuum pro punctis istis hominibus supplicare induxer, non pro nobis tätis, sed pro his insuper rogatum, quescunque caece ignorantia aut erorii seductio captivitatis blindness and error, to the heavenly truth: that we all, with one consent and willie of myndes, may woupleshippe thee our onely God and saui­our.

And that all Pastors, shepherds, and
THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

ministers, to whom thou hast committed the dispensation of thy holy word, and the charge of thy chosen people, may both in their life and doctrine, be found faithful; setting on eye the first call thy people, by them all poor sheples which wander and go astray, may be gathered, 

Moreover, because the hearts of rulers are in thy hands, we beseech thee to direct, and govern, the hearts of all kings, Princes, and Magistrates, to whom thou hast committed the sword, especially (O Lord) according to our bountedue, we beseech thee to maintain and increase, the honorable estate in which we possess, status, of this City, into whose defense we are received: the Magistrates, the counsell, and all the whole bodye of this commo wease. Let thy fatherlye favour so preserve them, and thy holy spirit so govern their hearts, that they may in suche sort execute their office that thy religion may be purely maintained, as likewise its discipline, ad synne discedant ab archetype tuae nobis prae-

And for that we be all members of the mysticall body of Christ Iesu, we make our requestes unto the (O heavenly father) for all such as are afflicted with any kindes of crosse, or tribulation, as warre, plague, famine, sickness, povertie, imprisonment, persecution, banishment, or any other kindes of thy robberes: whether it be calamities of bodie, or vexation of mynde, that it would please thee, to give them paci-
ence, and constancie, till thou send them a full deliverance, of all their troubles. And as
we be bounde to loue, and honor our parents, kinsfolkes, friends, and contrye: so we moste humbly beseeche thee, to shewe thy pitie, upon our miserable contree of England, which once through thy mercie, was called to libertie, and now for their and our sines is brought vnto most vile slavery, and Babyloniall bondage. Rote owte from thence (o lord) all raneninge wolves which to fyll their bellies, destroie thy flocke.

And shewe thy great mercies vpon those our brethren, which are persecuted, cast in prison, and dayly condemned to deathe, for the testimonie of thy truth. And though they be vterly destitute of all mens ayde, yet let thy sweete comfort never departe from them: but so inflame their hartes with thy holie spirite, that they may boldely abide suche tryall, as thy godly wisdom shall appoint. So that at length aswell by their deathe, as by their life, the keigne of thy some Jesus Christ, may increase, and shine through all the worlde. In whose per vniuersum orbemi in euius
name, we make our humble peticions vnto thee, as he hath taught vs.

Our father Which arte Pater noster, &c. in heauen, etc.

AMIGHTIY and ever lyuinge God, vouchsafe we beseeche thee, to grant vs perfecte contynuance in thy luyly faith, augmentinge the same in vs dayly, till we growe to the full measure of our perfection in Christ, whereof we make our confession, sayinge.

I beleue in God. &c. 1. Credo in Deum Patrem. &c.

1. When the prose version of the creed was used, it was repeated twice by the Minister alone; according to the rubrics which are all more explicit in all the liturgies from the German of 1539 onwards, the Minister alone recites the Creed. But undoubtedly the metrical version was used at times, and then the people sang it. In PUILLAIN (1551) a rubrio in the Communion Service directs that the metrical version be sung by the people always on Commination Sundays, and under fortification, the Minister to recite it. This houte & sung by the Minister (as the rubrio says) twice, to come from the people to the Bishop, & by also to sing the hymne thereon. Then also & sung by the Minister, & c. 1556. (L. CNS. 40.)
Then the people sing a Psalm,
which ended, the minister pro-
mouncing one of these blessings,
and so the congregation depar-
teth.

The Lord bless you, and save you,
the Lord make his face shine upon
you, and be merciful unto you, the
Lord turn his countenance towards
you, and give you his peace.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ,
the love of God, and communion of
the holy ghost, be with you all: so be it.

It shall not be necessary for
the minister daily to repete all
these things before mentioned,
but beginnaye with some manner
of confession, to proceed to the ser-
mon. Which ended, he either veth
the prayer, for all estates before
mentioned, or else prayeth, as the
spirit of God shall move his hart:
framing the same, according to the
tyme and matter which he hath intrea-
ted of.

And if there shalbe at any tyme, any
present plague, famine, pestilence,
warre, or such like, which be evi-
dent tokens of God's wrath: as it is
our parte to acknowledge our synnes to
be the occasion thereof, so we are ap-
pointed by the Scriptures to glize our
salves to mourning, fasting, and
prayer, as the means to turne away
Gods heauie displeasure.

Non necesse est singula haec,
singulce diebus repetita esse,

sed a confessione tantâ aliquis aus-
pioseus, minister odoerit, aggredietur,
quan vsi absoluter, precatione
vel easem hac quasi praececidit,
vel alia quacunque proprie, pro
instinctu animi sui, vsi locoebat:
quae nee a blasphemia concionis
suae, nec a temporis praecedente op-
portunitate, admonit, et digrediet.

Sin vero praecessit aliquus peri-
culorum famis, pestis, aut
belli ingust, quod apertum indiciam
sit divinæ vindictae, non modo
non est satis nostra flagitia, huinas
aliqui supplicii incendii ore tremus
conficiet, sed nos louit, ieiunio,
ac orationis dare: quae nobis in Scrip-
tura saeors commendantur, tanaquam expe-
ditissimæ & absolutissimæ rationes
ad reconciliandæ Dei sauxeren.

1. This Blessing from Numbers is derived from the German use at Strasburg, and is
the only Blessing given in CAUTH andULLAH. It was perhaps due to the in-
fuence of the GFC that the Grace was added (but with 'vous', not 'Vous') as an
alternative Blessing here. The German Psalmist added to the Blessing a Dismissal,
as was the custom at Mass, though using different words: "Geet hin! Der Geist
des herren geleite euch zum ewigen leben! amen."

2. I.e., at any week-day services that were held the order would be simpler and
shorter. Services could not be held daily because of the arrangement under which
the church building was shared with the Italian refugees—of. pp. 14 - 15 supra.
Therefore, it shall be convenient, that the minister at such a time, do not
only admonish the people thereof, but also use some form of prayer, according as the present necessities requir-
eth, to the which he may appoint, by a common consent some several days after the sermon weekly to be observed.

Guercino, in eiusmodi angustiis,
pastoris erit & populum sedulo
huius tantae calamitatis admonere,
& proces sua ad tempus ac loci
 oportunatem accommodare;

cuiusque rei gratia, certum
aliqua die singula quaque hebdomada,
ecclesia consensu potest statuere.

1. CALVIN and PULLAIN also made provision for services during the week. CALVIN's custom was as follows: "En jours ouvriers oultre les deux predi-
cations qui se font (i.e. on Sundays), que trois fois la semaine on
prœche à saint pierre, assavoir le lundy, mardis, mercredis; et vendredis
une heure, devant quon commence aux autres lieux." (Proo. i. x. 1.) PULLAIN had short services on Tuesdays and Thursdays: "Per hebdomadam habetur etiam bene
psalmus Martin et Louis conoici. Quaes accedente Ministro constituitur (perhaps a misprint for "constituta"), a Psalmo in-
equit, quod decaestato, ille inanato spiritu sancto textus accurs recellat,
pergones, ut supra monamus, in codem libro, quas sequas ennarrandus sumperit.
Post hores spatium consecutio preestiones aliquæ breuiore, prout anima tu-
erit, deinque populus benedictus dixitavit ad operas." This is from the
1554 edn. of the EKMBIL. Lit. sap.; in the 1551 edn. such a service was
directed to be held daily; the change was due to the different conditions
obtaining in... In A'lasco's church, Thursday was the usual day
for the week-day service. Pullain also gave directions for a special ser-
vice of Repentance to be held on Thursdays: "Quoniam vero assiduis fere
calamitibus Ecclesie Dei flagellatur ob scelera et peccata: nequissimum
videtur quia sanctissimam die Louis preces celebratibus haberi, ad
quas tota Ecclesie consensit, vt ad penitentiam esse comparet. Omnimem
claudit hæ praestiones, postquam sitas octau commoonesecrit irae ac judi-
cii Dei, ac peccatorum quisque nosse conosco, ob quas sio ira Dei
in eos desaeuit." (Lit. sap. 1554). (Then follows the prayer to be used of
which the one in SPRRIT. 900 is substantially a translation—p. 88. It is
Calvin's prayer for time of plagues, wars, and other adversities. The trans-
lation in the 900 is taken almost straight from HUYCKE.)

It was no doubt a service of this type that is outlined and suggested
in the above rubric in the PP, and it was likely held on Thursdays.
THE ORDER FOR BAPTISM

THE ORDER OF BAPTISME.
MODUS AC FORMULA BAPTISMI.
The 'Order of Baptism', the footnotes will show is derived almost in its entirety from Calvin; here and there there are slight deviations, but none of these are important liturgically or doctrinally.

Calvin himself claimed the authorship of the service from which this in the FP is patently derived, and it is the only service in his La Forme of which he did expressly claim the sole authorship. The other services he declared to be derived from other sources, but of the order for Baptism he wrote that he had composed it himself at Strasburg, where many children of the Anabaptists were brought to him for Baptism. This statement is found in his Letter of Farewell to the Genevan Ministers, where he writes: "Quant aux prières des dimanches, je prins la forme de Strasbourg et en emprunta la plus grande partie. Des autres, je ne les pouvois prendre d'eux, car il y en avoit pas un mot, mais je prins le tout de l'Ecriture. Je fus constraint aussy de faire le formulaire du baptisme, estant a Strasbourg, et qu'on m'apporatait les enfants des anabaptistes, de cinq et de dix lieues à la ronde, pour les baptiser. Je fis alors ce formulaire rude, mais tant y a que je ne vous conseille de changer." An examination of the earlier Reformed Orders of Baptism bears out the truth of Calvin's statement, for nothing in it appears to be directly derived from other sources. It is true that he did write on another occasion to the Magistrates of Berne to this effect: "Touchant le Baptisme, nous gardons la forme telle qu'elle estoit devant que le fousse venue à Geneve;"
but, as M. Doumergue points out, he is speaking here of the actual manner in which the ceremony is carried out rather than of the strict form of words &c., used in the rite. What he meant to convey is that there were none of the pre-Reformation practices, such as exorcism, chrism, crossing, &c., to be found in his service.

The fact, however, that this service bears the authorship of Calvin, and its descent cannot be directly traced to the old forms, does not mean that it is not thoroughly and essentially Catholic. All that is necessary to Baptism is therein included, and clearly set forth. Nothing is included, however, that would detract from the central meaning of the rite, and the act of Baptism stands forth all the more sharply and arresting for the fact that no other ceremonies are included. And while there is no prayer for the sanctification of the water to its holy use, the intention of Baptism is plainly declared, and that is sufficient; it can hardly be held that the blessing of the water is essential to the rite, nor has it ever so been held by the Church before or after the Reformation.

In the FP, Baptism by laymen is not permitted, nor is private Baptism allowed.

1. DOUMERGUE: Calvin, ii., 499.
THE ORDER FOR BAPTISM

First note, that forasmuch as it is not permitted by God's Word, that
1. women should preach or minister the Sacraments: and it is evident, that
the Sacraments are not ordained of God to be used in private corners, as
curses or sorceries, but left to the congregation, and necessarily annexed
to God's word, as scales of the same:

**1. This was written with an eye to the Roman custom which permitted midwives (women) to baptize in cases of extreme necessity, if it were seen that a child might die before a priest could be summoned. The Reformers did not consider Baptism in such cases to be necessary to salvation.**

2. While the wording of the rubric this far is the compiler's own, it gives utterance to the current Reformed doctrine. FULLAIN likewise forbids Baptism to be administered elsewhere than in the Church and before the face of the congregation: "In Baptismo id causatur in praeulis, ne alibi quam in Ecclesia ministeretur, dum ipsa conuenit ad audience verbum Dei."

3. Knox, of course, was nothing if he was not an extremist, and here is his most ardent defender cannot prove him always logical. He would appeal to ancient practice if it fitted his views, while he was also able to prove strange sentences of the old ancient writers do more allow, from whom, to dissent without warrant of God's Word, I cannot think it any godly wisdom. (LAING: EJ, iv. p. 61). Knox, of course, was nothing if he was not an extremist, and his most ardent defender cannot prove him always logical.

4. He also insists that it should be joined to preaching: "Proinde non alibi quam in Ecclesia et port omouonm verb. Dei habitan baptisare oportet", but he allows also for extraordinary cases, for he adds, "nisi forte inoidat occasio talis cu—

5. This was written with an eye to the Roman custom which permitted midwives (women) to baptize in cases of extreme necessity, if it were seen that a child might die before a priest could be summoned. The Reformers did not consider Baptism in such cases to be necessary to salvation.**

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7. It also added that "les pierres ou baptist air e

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therefore the enfant, which is to be
baptised, shall be brought to the
church on the day appointed to
cause prayer and preaching,
soppanied with the father and
godfather.
So that after the Sermon, the child
beinge presented to the minister, he
demanded this question.

Minister,

DO you present this child to be

VOE, an infantulus hunc exhibetis ad

1. In HUYGENS’S translation of Calvin’s rubric before-quoted, it appears that
ordinarily in Geneva Baptism was required to take place on the day of the
child’s birth. Huygens was translating for the benefit of English reader, and
in the brackets of his rubric it is very probable that he was stating exactly
the Calvinistic practice, which the original rubric leaves vague, those accus­
tioned to the usual practice not requiring such minute direction. Huygens’s
rubric is as follows: ’This is to be noted: that they ought to bring the
child to be Baptised, either (if they happen to bee borne the Sundaye) to
the sermon after dinner which (is called the Catechisme) either (if it happen
on the workendaye) to one of the morning sermons.” That the practice of the
English Congregation in 1556 was cannot be determined from direct evidence,
but it is likely that it approximated Calvin’s practice as nearly as possible.
It was a cardinal principle of the Reformed Church that Baptism should be adminis­
tered as soon as possible after the birth of the child. BDECR remonstrated
against delay as “bringing contempt upon the Church and upon the whole redemp­
tion and communion of Christ” (SPOTT’S Works and Off., p. 55), and the first
sentence of the first rubric of the Wes. states that “Baptism... is not
unnecessarily to be delayed.”

2. CALVIN makes no mention of godfathers in his Welsh, but in the Prolix-ford
(Opéra X, i. p. 24) he has a note which shows that they were used (pace GORDON:
Thesis, p. 294), who says that they were not required: ”Non ne recevoir estrang­
gers pour prendre sus gens fideles et de noctor communion, eux que les autres ne
sent capables de faire presser une logielle diinstruire les enfans comme il ap­
parait.” PULLAIN also required godfathers to be present at Baptism: ”Quatu­
or ligitor in consoni pater et sueterore; quos patristos vocant, at corpus fides
Eoleciae testata est, aut parati eam testatae facere.” (First rubric in Baptis­
tal Service, 2nd paragraph).

The BCP, 1549 and 1552, mentions both godfathers and godmothers as beiing
present; the revision of 1661 limits the number to two godfathers and one god­
mother for a boy, and two godfathers and one godmother for a girl; in English
pre-Reformation use only one godfather and one godmother were permitted (BRIGHT­

The Baptismal register of the English Congregation at Geneva, which is still
preserved in the Livre des Anglois, shows that at each Baptism a godfather was present, but there is no mention of godmothers, and judging from
Calvin’s and Pullain’s use, godmothers were not required or permitted. Indeed,
it does not appear that even the mothers were present, the child being commonly
presented before the mothers were able to attend the ceremony. The father and
godfather took full responsibility. The fact that the father presented the
child for Baptism may account for the practice now usual in Scotland of the
Minister not taking the child into his arms at Baptism, but presenting while
the father held the child. Whether in Geneva the Minister held the child or not,
the father cannot be determined as there is no contemporary evidence sufficiently
minute to show the established practice at that time. Below are reprinted a
And., pp. 385-8.):

Ac. 1556.
1. of January. John Stafford, the Sonne of Willm. Stafford, Knight, John
Calvin being the godfather.
31 of Marche. Ruthke the daughter of Anthony Giby, Thomas Wood being the
godfather.
Ac. 1557.
16th of January. John Hollingham John Knox being the god­
father.
7 of April. Sara the daughter of Thomas Hancock, Anthony Giby being the
godfather.
26 of May. Nathaniel, the sonne of John Knox, Willm. Whittingham the god­
father.
17 of August. Zacharie, the sonne of Willm. Whittingham. Willm. Willms
being the
godfather.
Zacharie, the sonne of John Pedlig, Augustyne Fradebridge
THE ORDER FOR BAPTISM

baptised, earnestly desiring that he may be ingrafted in the mystical body of Jesus Christ? 1

The answer: Sponsores. Serio ac impensè efflagitamus.

Then let us consider (nearly beloved) how slaughter God hath not only made vs his children by adoption and received vs into the fellowship of his church; but also hath promised that he will be our God, and the God of our children unto the thousand generation.

Note: continued from previous page.

1. This question stands in the normal Catholic place according to Continental usage. In CALVIN and PULLAIN, it is preceded by the verse: "Our help is (or "he") in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth." (Psalm 124:8)

2. "The Minister, standing at the Table (mensae astans) with the rest of the Ministers and Elders", PULLAIN's rubric reads. The font was placed near the Table, or perhaps the basin was placed upon it. According to CALVIN's custom at Geneva, it was placed near the pulpit, and the Minister apparently stood there. In later Scottish custom the Minister stood in the pulpit, to which there was fastened a frame of iron wherein was placed a silver basin and ewer. (PRESTON's description of a Baptism in the College Church of Edinburgh, 1685, quoted in SPROTT: 715, p. xxxvi.) What the practice was in the English Church at Geneva cannot be now determined. PULLAIN's practice, however, is important as witnessing again to the centrality of the Lord's Table in the early Reformed worship.

3. This exhortation is largely the compilers' own, but much of it is drawn from CALVIN and PULLAIN (which will be noted as they occur). The general aim and complexion, however, is different. CALVIN's and PULLAIN's exhortations begin with a kind of treatise on regeneration, emphasizing the spiritual value of the rite, and at the end affirming the right of children to be baptized. But when Knox and his coadjutors prepared this exhortation, baptism was gathering influence, so the emphasis is laid at the very beginning upon the propriety of bringing infants to baptism, and this is given first place. In this it resembles the Anglican rite of baptism, as it is in all its simplicity, so in the formularies.

4. (Quo?)
THE ORDER FOR BAPTISM

WHYCH TINGHS AS HE CONFIRMED TO HIS PEOPLE OF THE OLDE BORNEAMENT BY THE SACRAMENT OF CIRCUMCISION, SO HATH HE ALSO RENEWED THE SAME TO VS, IN HIS NEW BORNEAMENT BY THE SACRAMENT OF BAPTISME, DOING VS THERBY TO WIT, THAT OUR INFANTS APPERTYNE TO HYS BY COVENANT AND THEREFOR NOT TO BE DE-

FRAUDED OF THOSE BOLY SIGNS AND BADGES THERBY THEROF CHILDREN ARE KNOWN FROM INFIDELIS AND PAGANI. NEITHER IS IT REQUISTE, THAT ALL THOSE THAT RECEIVE THIS SACRAMENT, HAVE THE USE OF UNDERSTANDING AND FAYTHE, BUT CHIEFELY THAT THEY BE CONTENTED UNDER THE NAME OF GODS PEOPLE: SO THAT REMISSION OF SINES IN THE BLOOD OF CHRIST JESUS, DOMINUS PASSIONIS OOPOTES FIERI.

Which thing is most evident by saint Paul, who pronounces the children begotten and borne either of the parents in fideili progestos, audios tam pronuntiat: being faithful, to be clean and holy. Also our saintor CHRIST ADMITETH CHILDREN TO HIS PRESENCE, IN THEASS AND BECOMING TO THEM BY GODS PROMISE, illis in vehinis omnibus benefaciet.

Note 4 on preceding page:

CALVIN, 1542: "OR nostrae bonm Dieu, ne se contentant point de nous avoir adop? pour ces enfans, et se couvrant de la communion de son Eglise, se voua encore a entendre plus amplement de part de nous. C'est en nous promettant qu'il sera nostre Dieu, et de nostre ligne (PULLAIN: "nostres solalie"), jusqu'en mille generations."

1. CALVIN: "A ceste cause il a voulu d? le commencement, qu'en son Eglise, les enfans recoissent le signe de la circoncision, par lequel il representoit lors tout ce qui nous est adoubne montre par le Baptisme."

2. CALVIN: "Pour les (christian children) separer et discernar d?entre les enfans des preyers et infideles."

3. CALVIN: "Car en ce sa mocament il nous testifie la remission de nos pechom."

4. While CALVIN like the compilers of the PP refers to 1 Cor. viii.14 here, the words used are quite different, though the sense is similar.

5. CALVIN: "Pour ceste raison, nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ a reuoc les enfans, qu?en lui presentoit."
THE ORDER FOR BAPTISM

Which testimonies of the holy ghost assure us, that infants be of the number of God's people; and that remission of sinnes doth also appertain, quin peculatorum remissione ad eam stiam to them in Christ.

Therefore without iniurie they can not be debarred from the common signe of God's children.

Neither yet is this overward action of suche necessity, that the lacke thereof, should be prejudiciall to their salvation, yt abripait infantulus, eum certe damnationi that presented by death, they may not ilico subiiciamus.

But we haunging respect to that obedience which Christians owe to the voice and ordinance of Christ Jesus, who commanded to preache and baptise all, without exception)

do judge them only unworthy of anie fellowship with him, who contemptuously refuse suche ordinary meanes, as his wisdom hath appointed to the instruction of our dull senses. Furthermore it is evident that baptism was ordered, to be ministred in the element of water, to teache vs, that lyke as water outwardly dothe washe a way the filthie of the body, so inwardly dothe the vertue of the same influeret animis nostris.

1. CALVIN: "Puis qu'il domino, que la Royaume des Cieux leur appartient, qu'il leur impose les mains et les recommande a Dieu son Pere: il nous instruit suffisamment que nous ne les devons point exclure de son Eglise."

2. This was in direct denial of the Roman doctrine of the period, that unbaptised children are not saved. Cf. e.g., DANTIS: Divina Comedie, Inferno. The doctrine there set forth had not changed in the 16th century in the Roman Church.
THE ORDER FOR BAPTISM

Christ's blood purge our souls from that corruption and deadly poison, wherewith by nature we were infected. Those venemous drags, although they continue in this our flesh, yet by the merits of his death, are not imputed unto us, by cause the injustice of Jesus Christ, is made ours by baptism.

(for many have been baptised and yet never inwardly purged) but that our saviour Christ, who commanded baptism to be ministered, will by the power of his holy spirit, effectually work in the hearts of his elect (in time commutant) all that is sent and signified by the same. And this the scripture calleth our regeneration, which standeth chiefly in these two points, in mortification, that is to say, a resisting of the rebellious lustes of the flesh; and in perfection, wherewith we are clad in baptism.

And although we in the journey of this lyfe be incumbered with many enemies, which in the way assaye us;

yet yett we not wyth out fruite:

sius, in ahuexandis animis nostris natura vitias, ac laetifero poecoti veneno infectis. Cuius venenii foeces, licet in carne ve-

que inhaerent: tamen in

Christo iam insititia, non imputator, intus nos abluendo saeculam illius supensione, haud aliter quae corpus externa/aqua, aut actione ipsa tantum in-

eesa energiae putamus, quasi ipsum per se elementus poecota expungat: multos enim baptizatos fulisse constat, quorum anima

nihilo tamen sanctificatores sunt reditii. Verum ea res sunt ab Christum referenda: est qui, vt author existit Sacramenti: ita non cubitum quin in eam Sacramentum praesens affuturus sit, per opportunas gratae

sum, id intus in anima moicum pericientis, quod externa hac aquae perfusione intiturb.

Et quanquam lucta quaesim ad militia ope-

continua est, vita haec nostra super terram: nec tam continua, quam vehemens etiam varia, quippe tot salebris in hoc itineri

impedit, tot periculos ac insidias quae,

multis occasibus obvius, tot hosti-

tus in exitium nostrum incipientissimis,

impediti sumus: qui nunquam desinent nobis molestias facessere. Pugnamus tamen admis-

serum tot impetus, pro sua quassate statione, multe lictor sine magno tacito; non sine, tamen

fruitu. Nam Deus caelestis Christi potestas

1. CALVIN: "Et pour cette cause, il a ordonné le signe de l'eau, pour nous figurer, que comme par cet element les ordures corporelles sont nettoyées, ainsi il veut lever et purifier vos âmes, afin, qu'il n'y apparaisse plus aucune saulea.

The precise expression, "syllbles of the body", is as ought taken directly from HUTCHIN's translation, but in the work part, it is a word, "sacrum", in his work.

2. These expressions of opinion are not found in any other liturgies of the period.
THE ORDER FOR BAPTISM

For this continual battle which we fight against sin, death, and hell, is a most infallible argument, that God the father, mindful of his promise made unto us in Christ Jesus, doth not only give us motions and courage to resist them; but also assurance to overcome, to obtain victory. 1

Wherefore (dearly beloved) it is not only of necessity that we be once baptised, but also it profiteth oft to be present at the ministration thereof: that we being put in mind of the league and covenant made betwixt God and us, that he will be our God, and we his people, he our father, and we his children, may have occasion as well to trye our lines past, as our present conversation: and to explorèd our faith, and to prove our selves, whether we stand fast or sozias reniggesat, tum more, in the faith of God elect; or contrarywise haue strayed fur the incredulity and ungodly living: whereof if our consciences do accuse us, yet by hearing the loud promises of our heavenly father (if so callèth all to repentance) we may more warily in our vocation. Moreouer, ye that be fathers and mothers, may take hereby most singular comfort, to se your childrèn thus receyéd in to the bosome of Christ's congregation, whereby you are daily astonisèd that ye ordièn the death of the children of God, mercêy, and his fatherly providence watcheth ovsimilè; in divinis providencias cliens therly prudente watcheth suitably. talk recipi intelligatia.

1. CALVIN: "Nous y avons certains témoignages, ... qu'il nous assistera par son saint esprit, afin que nous puissions batailler contre le Diable, le peché et la concupiscence de son royaume...."

2. The Reformers of course accepted Roman Catholic Baptism. Knox says, in answer to the question, whether a man should be re-baptised after he cometh to knowledge, utterlie abolishit be the callo of Satan, nor be the abuse of man. Secondely, becaus the Spirit of Christ purgeth and removeth fra us all sin remanen as we rossavit of their bands; and superstition maketh not
which thing as it ought greatly to rejoice you (knowing that nothing can chance unto the wyth out his good pleasure) So ought it to make you diligent, to nurture and instruct the in the true knowledge and fear of God. Wherein if you be negligent, ye do not only injure to your own children hydinge from the the good will and pleasure of almighty God their father: but also heape damnation vpon your selves, in suffering his childrens blood with the blood of his deare sorne, so tyrannically (for lacke of knowledge) to turne backe fro him.

Therefore it is your ducty, with all diligence to guide that your children in tyme convenient, be instructed in all doctrine necessary for a true Christian chiefly that they be taught to rest upon the justice of Christ Jesus alone, and to abhorre and flee all superstitios, papistrie, and idolatrie. Finally, to the intent that we may be assured, that you the father and the suretie consent to the performance hereof, declare here before God and the face of his congregation the somme of that fact, wherein you believe, and will instruct this childe.

Then the father or in his absence, the God father shall rehearse the
abid ipse) nomine fideissour,

Footnotes continued from preceding page:

the vesture of Christis institution to be ineffectual in us. "CLAING: WX, iv. 121-122.) STEWART says that Calvin in cases of necessity bade parents present their children to Roman Priests for Baptism (War and Off. p. 56.) While in Scotland in 1568 the Assembly declared that "when children, baptized by a Papistical prast, or in a Papistical manner, come to years of understanding, they should be instructed in the doctrine of salvation, before they be admitted to the Lord's Table. Which if they doe, they need not the external parts to be reiterated;" for no priest administreth baptism without water, and the forms of words, which are the principal external parts of Baptism." (CALDWELL: Hist. ii. 302.)

1. This last section is slightly reminiscant of the post-baptismal exhortation in the NFP, though the similarity is remote. CALVIN has a short preface to the Creed in his Baptismal Service which compares with this: "Nous qu'il est question de recevoir cet enfant en la compagnie de l'Eglise Christiane; vous promettes, quand il viendra en age de discretion, de l'instruire en la doctrine, laquelle est now receue au peuple de Dieu, comme elle est sommairement comprise en la confession de Poy, que nous avons tous."
1. The "articles of his faith" are the Apostles' Creed. At the Reformation the Calvinists frequently referred to the Creed under that title. PULLAIN uses it, where, in his afternoon service, "Iustitiae, sacramentum non pro tribus, sed quatuor articolis fidei, legis, et orationis dominiae" (lit. sac. 1554.), and STRYPPE summarizes the service as follows: "At noon, after the singing of a psalm, the children in catechized and instructed in the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the 10 commandments, for an hour." In his Catechism, CALVIN refers to the Creed in the same terms. Further, we can reasonably certain that 1. The "articles of his faith" are the Apostles' Creed. At the Reformation the of thy infinite mercie and goodness, qui pro infinite misericordia tua

2. This is the only reference in the FP to the attitude during prayer, and it is not mentioned elsewhere because it was taken for granted. It is the irruption of that which does not require to be mentioned, but in the marriage service, where the marriage service, after the Gospel and the short Exhortation following, there occurs this rubric before the last prayer: "Sic tota Ecclesia prosumet in genua". Likewise CALVIN does not mention it in his Le FORMES, but M. DOUMERGUE has shown clearly what Calvin's mind was concerning this matter: 'Have we here a human tradition that we may accept or ignore, as we please?'; he asks, and quotes Calvin's reply: "Ne dico aliqua esse elementum humanum, qualem est usum (psalm. divine)." Yet, adds M. Doumergue, "il declare que fleconir le genou, ou encore un corps mort, peut des choses qui; peut negliger, sans onsign, sauf les cas d'imposibilité materielle." (CALVIN. Lett. alph. iv. x. 30; DOUMERGUE: Calvin ii. 503; for Calvin's whole attitude to ceremonies of op. cit., pp. 492-503). And Calvin's Genevan practice is testified to in a letter which Calvin wrote "Concerning Ecclesiastical rites." He was speaking of the need of an Absolution after the Confession of Sins, and deplores the fact that he gave way too easily to popular sentiment in omitting it, but adds that it would not be reasonable to make any change; because the greatest part of some people begin to rise up before we come to the end of the confession. (FRINKHAM: Book ii. 762, quoted by PAIRD, On Life.-p.92, footnote; and by SPROTT, Life of Jan VY). The Book of Discipline in the French Churches, 1559, also orders that kneeling be the attitude during prayer. The following is the article 1, canon 10 in 1591's Breconian: 'that great irreverence which is found in divers persons, who at public and private prayers do neither uncover their heads nor bow their knees, shall be reformed; which is a matter repugnant unto piety, and grieves suspicion of pride, and scandalizes then that fear God. Therefore, all pastors and shall be advised, as also elders and heads of families, carefully to observe, that in time of prayer all persons, without exception or exception, do evidence by these exterior signs the inward humility of their hearts, and homage which they yield to God; unless anyone be hindered from so doing by sickness and otherwise.' According to Dr. Sprott, this定制 was the common posture in prayer in the early days of the Reformation in Scotland, and quotes abundant evidence to that effect. The Committee for Sessional Business of 1559, admonishing the congregation in prayer to bend their knees to the ground" (Wodrow ed. Life of Neson, p. 22). Randolph tells of a young French gentleman in Glasgow in 1560 attracting attention at public prayer on his knees, while other men kneel with their heads only (Randolph, p. 399); while the Presbytery of Glasgow in 1596 ordered all to "kneel before God in prayer" (Waltier Club), p. 768). SPROTT, Life of Jan VY) query; one of the phase instances, and several others (e.g. CALLANDER, Hist. vi. 561; vii. 373; Alt. Damas., p. 785), leaving no doubt whatever about the early practice in Scotland. The later practice in England and Scotland is not within the scope of this thesis. The early practice was consistently to kneel for prayer in all branches of the Reformed Church; it was in a decaying age that the practice changed.
This prayer is based on Calvin's, but it does not follow his exact
form but retains the essential ideas. This is the first action to
be taken in the service, and is followed by the washing of the
feet. The words are intended to convey the idea of the Lord's
love and service to his disciples, and of his example to follow.

1. Our Father, etc.,

2. Peter, Master,

3. Our Father, etc.,

4. Peter, Master,

5. Our Father, etc.,

6. Peter, Master,
When they have prayed in this sort, the minister requireth the child's name which is known.

He saith,

N. I baptize thee in the name of the father, of the son, and of the holy ghost.

And as he speaketh these words, he taketh water in his hand and layeth it upon the child's forehead. Which done he saith thence afterwards as followeth.

FOR a moste holy, &d merciful father, as thou dost not onely beautifie and bless vs with thine benefite, like unto the rest of mankind, but also heapest vs most abundantly, rare and wonderful gifts: of dutye we lyft vp our eyes and mindes vnto thee, and gyue thee moste humble thankes for thy infinite goodness: which hast not only Numbers vs esconge thy saints, but also of thy free mercy dost call our children vnto thee, marking thys with thy Sacrament as a singular token & badge of thy loue. Wherefore most louing father, though we be not able to deserve this so greate benefite (yes if thou wouldest hole vs accordinge to our merite, we shulde suffer the punishment of eternall deathes and damnations).

Post natao minister scelicitatur
puer nomen, quo reddite, mox
aqua accepta, simuque frem-
tem eis aut vertice colliter
perfinit, omn his verbis.

N. Baptismo te in nomine Patris,
& Filii, & Spiritus sancti,
Amen.

Sequitur rursus precationula.

GUANIOQuidem sanctissimme ac optime
Pater, tu is es, quod n'olimum commun-
ibus, vt reliquum genus hominum, beneficis:
sed inanitatis ac stuporis nos
prolixi ornas & omusas;
merito
ad te animos & oculos attentius,
so gratias, quas possumus maximas,
pro infinita tua clementia habemus: qui
n't tibi nos in sanctorum tuorum cons-
tubernium conscripsimus: verum liberam
etiam nostras gratuio ad te acco-
na, atque ader Sacrament boc, id
est, praescripsimus nos in tes-
sora, consiliaque. Quamobrem, benigne-
sime Pater, licet tenuiores sintus,
qua vt tan eximia munificentia
promemur: (ino si pro meritis nos
tracteres nostris, mortis ac aeterni
supplicii necessariio luereamus poenas)

1. Baptism here is with the essential Catholic formula, following the Latin. The Greek of Matthew xxii: 19 is “into the name...<as>” (κατα το ονομα). and HENDERSON in 1640 says that he used the formula with “into” in Scotland, but “is” has always been the common Protestant usage. QUANIO QUIDEM PULLAINE in 1556 have questions and a vow preceding the act of Baptism, in which the parent or godfather solemnly promises to instruct the child in the Christian faith. In this book of 1556 this undertaking is also required of the parents, but it takes the form of an admonition to that effect at the end of the exhortation, rather than the form of a vow. as, in the (c).
yet for Christ's sake we beseech thee, that thou wilt confirm this thy favour more and more towards us, and take this infant into thy tuition and defence, whom we offer and present unto thee with common supplications, and never suffer him to fall to such vnkindnes, whereby he should lose the force of his baptism, but that he may perceive thee continually to be his mercifull father, through thy holy spirit, working in his heart, by whose divine power, he may so prevail against Satan, that in the end, obtaining the victory, he may be exalted into the liberty of thy kingdom.

tamen propter Christum nos te obsecramus tum, vt & haco gratiam in nobis confirmationem reddas, & infantulum hunc, ques tibi communibus votis offerimus so consecramus, in patrocinium tuum recipias, nee patiaris, vt eo ingratitude vngue demensi, quod huius Baptism* vim extollat: sed vt te sesser tueum parentem propitius, per Spiritum tuum sanctum praesto sentiat, cuix diuina ope satanam ac peccatum tandiu sporcellat, quoad tandem victoria, in justitiae ac libertatis tuae regnum evehatur.

1. This fine prayer is not found in CALVIN, PULLAIN, VLANDA, nor in any other of the Reformed Liturgies (nor is there any prayer more than a special blessing at this point), so it would seem to be wholly a product of the compilers themselves. Its form approaches the eucharistic form, and it deserves to rank high among the prayers in the book. The Westminster Directory follows the EP in directing a prayer after Baptism, and it also directs that it be of this scope and content, using many of the phrases here. There is no Blessing included in this service, but according to usage, the Great Prayer would follow, and after it a Psalm, and finally the Blessing used in the Sunday Morning service.

Note on Confirmation.

There is no form in this book for an Order of Confirmation, and Confirmation was not practised in the English Congregation at Geneva. All that was done was to instruct the child in the Faith, and when it reached the age of discretion it was examined by the Minister and Elders, and received to the Lord's Supper. That is specially enjoined in the First Book of Discipline: "None are apt to be admitted to the hysterie (of the Lord's Supper) that can not formally say the Lord's Prayer, the Articles of Fcelit, and declar the souereigne of the law." (LAING: L.N., p. 344, vol. iii.). CALVIN also did not practise the rite of Confirmation, though he says in the third volume of his Tracts, that "we should like to see that rite everywhere restored, by which the young are presented to God, after giving forth the confession of their faith." (Tracts lII. 388.), and adds in the Institutes, that he should like also to have the laying on of hands revived: "this laying on of hands which is done simply by way of blessing, I commend, and would like to see it restored to its pure use at the present day." (Instit. IV., xix., 4-28).

An excellent statement of the history and meaning of the rite in relation to the Reformed Church will be found in The Church Service Society Annual, 1890-91, pp. 31-42, by the Revd. D. Bruce Klaol, M.C., D.D. Compare also WOTHERSPOON & KILPATRICK: A Manual of Church Doctrine.
THE ORDER FOR THE LORD'S SUPPER.

THE MANNER OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

RATIO ADMINISTRANDAE COENAE DOMINICAE.
INTRODUCTION TO THE ORDER FOR THE LORD'S SUPPER

In the Introduction to the Sunday Morning Service the relation between the PP, 1556, and the old services was shown, and that relation applies also to the latter part of the service, here placed in a separate section entitled 'The Manner of the Lord's Supper'. Only when Communion formed a part of the service was the diet of Reformed Worship really complete. As Lacheret has written: "Quoi qu'il en soit, dans la conception de Calvin, le culte chrétien comprenait deux parties distinctes: le culte ordinaire n'en était que la première partie; un culte de Sainte-Cène largement développé et composé de lectures, de prières et de chants, devait le compléter et lui donner sa conclusion naturelle et son véritable aboutissement." Calvin's great biographer, M. Doumerc, bears a like witness: "Enfin, après ces actes d'adoration, ces prières à genoux, cette vivifiante instruction, le culte s'achève par la cérémonie suprême, la sainte Cène. On l'a trop méconnu. Pour Calvin le culte complet, c'est le culte où l'on célèbre la sainte Cène, et la liturgie complète du dimanche matin, c'est la liturgie qui comprend la célébration de la Cène.... Dire-t-on que le culte.... le vrai culte calviniste était, par nature, pauvre et froid? Ceux qui y ont assisté nous ont raconté qu'ils ne pouvaient souvent retenir leurs larmes d'émotion et de joie. Chants et prières, adoration et édification, confession et absolution des péchés, actes rituels et actes spontanés, tous les éléments essentiels existaient; et, fait peut-être non moins important, ils étaient réunis dans un organisme très simple, mais souple et fort. Calvin en effet est de tous les Réformateurs celui qui a le plus rejetté la division du culte en deux parties, une toute

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entière liturgique, l'autre toute entière à la discretion de l'officiant, selon la mode catholique, luthérienne ou anglicane. Le culte calviniste est un... All this applies equally to the FE. 1556. The ordinary Sunday morning service might stand alone (as it often did) as the Liturgy of the Word; but it reached its full fruition and only crowning when there was joined to it the Liturgy of the Upper Room.

The Order for Communion here set forth is drawn in the main from Calvin, derived as a rule through Huyck or Pullein, with certain re-arrangements and additions peculiar to itself. Part of the exhortation is drawn from the BCP, which appears also to have influenced the order by bringing the Exhortation between the Prayer for all Estates and the Consecration. The following table will show the relation in structure, while the footnotes to the pages following will give the relations in details.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Liturgies</th>
<th>Psalter, 1559 (K)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Sermon</td>
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<td>Exhortation</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Offering*</td>
<td>Exhortation*</td>
<td>Offering &amp; Sente.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apostles' Creed sung by people while Minister prepares elements.</td>
<td>Great Prayer + Consecration + Lord's Prayer.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Great Prayer + Lord's Prayer.</td>
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<td>Exhortation Warrant</td>
<td>Warrant Exhortation</td>
<td>Warrant Exhortation &amp; Invitatio. Conf. (A.D., Conf. Words, Consecration &amp; Fraction)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fraction, Delivery, Communion while Minister prepares elements.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Post-communion prayer</td>
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Gowing to the extreme brevity of the rubrics (the
book was written not as a guide to future genera-
tions, but for the immediate use of men who were
already familiar with the customary procedure), it
is impossible for us to state authoritatively
precisely how the service was conducted, but by
a careful comparison with the kindred rites quoted
at length in the 2nd notes, an attempt has been
made as far as possible to define the actual
practice in The Tomes of Bryer.
In SCOTLAND the same rubric appeared in the BOX), feat in the First- Pk- of Disc*
twyae in the yeere toward landwart" (R. !!.,%«. p. 13) » The reason for the infre-}
certain, therefore, that in Scotland from the beginning or the Reformation,
the Lordis Tab ill », oar© being taken that they do not fall at the time of any
of— th-e-6aeraments. . «--^oaariiag-^W-thje_-Kirk of Geneva
was ordained "Tka^aa^-uaiforme order ~s*Hr-fre-taiEeft
was laid upon the last part of the rubric rather than the first. At the fifth
"feure tymes in -fee yeare" was thought "sufficient to the admihistratioun of
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Reformed praotiee? The answer is state interference, or rather civil
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quitte de mestre quatre foys 1'annee as savoy re a noel, pasques, penthecoste et le
miniatree quatre foys une fois le aoys elle (the Communion) soit administree en la ville»*. M
(Opera, ibid.) This was disfallowed by the Magistrates, however, and the first
quoted above substituted. And in 1581, Calvin still regretted that quarterly
Communion was the rule, for he wrote: "When I first came here (Geneva), "they
celebrated Communion only three times a year, so that between Whitsun Communion
and Christmas Communion there was (a gap of) seven months. I should have liked
to have had it once a month, but seeing that I should not succeed in convincing
the people, it seemed to me preferable (satius) to give way to their weakness
rather than to struggle obstinately on (pertinaoius). » (^•JBBVBMMBMMMBBBVBJ^BJBJM
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of Helvetia—of. HAY FLEMING* Ref. in Sootd.. pp. 259-26*). Thisis not /AITT**'
of the Reformed Church (except Zwingli) as we see by the Second Confession/
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the contrary celebrated them specially. In this he was at one with the rest
of the Puritans, as we see by the Second Confession of 1644: RAY WRIGHT, Ref. in Sootd..
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Consider how Jesus Christ did ordaine vnto vs his holy supper according as S. Paulo saith rehearsed in the 11. chap. of the first epistle to the Cor. I haue (saith he) received of the lorde that which I haue delivered vnto you, to wit, that the lorde Jesus the same night he was betrayed toke breade, and when he had gosen thankes, he brake it sayinges. Take ye, eate ye, this is my bodie, which is broken for you: doo this in remembrance of me. Likewise after supper, he toke the cuppe, sayinge. This cuppe is the new testament or convent in my bloude; doo ye this so ofte as ye shall drinke thereof, in remembrance of me. For so ofte as ye shall eate this bread, and drink the cuppe, ye shall declare the lorde's death vntill his comminge. Therefore whosoever shall eate this bread, and drink the cuppe of the lorde unworthy, he shall gilte of the body and bloud of the lorde. Then see that every man prove Ed trye hym selfe, Ed so let hym eate of this bread Ed drinke of this cuppe, for whosoever eateth or drinke out of his owne damnation, for not hauinge due regard and considera-tion of the lorde body.

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Note continued from preceding page:

custom in the German church, as we see from the rubric in the Psalter &
which ordered weekly Communion in the Cathedral. After a short exhortation following the sermon, there comes this rubric: "Wo man aber das h. Abendmahl haltet alle sonnabends in nebenpfarrern zum nacht einmal gehalten wurt, im Diinster halten mans alle sonntag." The main tradition is weekly, but in the smaller churches or chapels of ease monthly Communion is coming in. In the case of the French Church of refugees, however, this was different. There till Calvin's coming as Minister in 1638, they were allowed only to have prayers, singing, and preaching, but were not permitted to celebrate Communion. This little French Church was completely under the control of the Magistrates of the City; their Ministers were appointed and paid by them. When, therefore, they were permitted to have Communion once a month, it was counted a great privilege, and no one thought of petitioning for weekly communion when such great kindness had been shown them. (Cf. BRIENCO: Die Calvinistische und die Altstrassburgerische Gottesdienstordnung, p. 8.) Thus, Monthly Communion, in the first instance not held more often because of civil interference, became a Calvinistic tradition; while the real desires of Calvin himself till the end of his life for a weekly Communion have been ignored by his followers even to this day. When in Geneva the Congregation of English refugees, and in Frankfurt, Pullain and his congregation adopted monthly Communion, they were simply adopting what had been done by Calvin in Strasbourg (Pullain was a successor of Calvin there) upon compulsion of the Magistrates, and which had now become the Calvinistic tradition. But infrequent Communion does not properly belong to that tradition; it was owing to the exigencies of the times that it was forced upon Calvin, who, had he been able to have his way, would have had Communion, 'once a week at the very least,' and so the primitive Catholic tradition would have been kept.

1. In the Mass the core of this excerpt from Corinthians ("the lord Jesus... drink thereof in remembrance of me")
Is contained in the office of prevention, and if
indeed the vital part of our body, is at
the heart of the body, we must seek safety
in the Lord's Supper. As it is written in the
Scriptures, 'I give you my body and
blood' (John 6:51), so we must also seek
safety in the Lord's Supper.

Therefore if any of you be a blindfold,
we must seek safety in the Lord's Supper.

If you are a blindfold, we must seek
safety in the Lord's Supper.

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safety in the Lord's Supper.

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THE ORDER FOR THE LORD'S SUPPER

This far the exhortation is founded almost word for word on the POP, 1552, which is as follows: "Dearly beloved in the Lord: ye that minde to come to the holy Communion of the body and blood of our sauioure Christ, must consider what S. Paul writeth to the Corinthians, howe he exhorteth all persons diligently to trie & examine them selves, Before they presume to eate of that bread, & drinke of that cup, as the benefite is great, if with a privy pensive heart and liuely faith, we receive that holy Sacrament, (for thus we spiritually eate the flesh of Christ, and drink his bloude, then we dwell in Christe & Christe in vs, we bee one with Christe, and Christe with vs) so is the danger great, if wee receive the same unworthily. For then we be gilty of the body and bloud of Christ our sauiour. We eate & dryke our owne damna­tion, not onsderyng the lordes body. We kindle goddes wrath against vs, we prouoke hym to plague vs wyth severall diseases, and sundry kyndes of death. Therefore, if anye of you be a blasphemer of GOD, an hynderer or slaunderer of his woorde, an adulterer, or be in malice or eauie, or in any other greuous eryme, bewayle youre synnes, and come not to this holy table, lest after the takynge of this holy saerament, the diuell entre into you, as he entred into ludas, and fill you full of all iniquities, and bring you to destruction, both of bodye and soule. Judge therefore your selues brethren, that ye be not judged of the Lord: Repeat you truely for your synnes past, haue a lyuely and stedfast faith, in Christ our Sauiour, and purpose to liue in brotherly assyvie, and godlye conversation, all the dais of your lyfe."

1. This was composed by Cramner for the BCP r 1549, and slightly altered as above in 1552. (Cf. PHIGHTMAH: jng.Rite. iiT^oO-652, 677-678.)

2. Between 1 and 2 is a short section, HUYCK is as follows: "seeking everlasting salvation alone in the merit of his passion of Jesus Christ, and whether hyauing refused and for-
And albeit we feele in ourselves muche frailtie and wretchednes, as that we have not our faith so perfite, and constant, as we ought, being many tymes ready to distruste Gods goodnes through our corrupte nature, and also that we are not so throughlye geuen to serve God, neyther have so fervent a zeal to set forth his glory, as our dutie requireth, felinge still such rebellion in our selues, that we have neede dayly to fight against the lustes of our fleshe, yet neuertheles seinge that our lorde hath deald thus mercifully with vs, and hath printed his gospel in our hartes, so that, we are preserued from falling into desperation and mistelief, and seing also that he hath induced vs with a will, and desire to renounce and withstand our own affections, with a longing for his righteousnes and the kepytng of his commandementes, we may be now right well assured, that those defectes and manifold imperfections in vs, shalbe no hinderance at all against vs, to cause him not to accepte vs, or accounde vs as worthe to come to his spirituall table, as worthie to come to his spirituall communion table, sit habiturus.

Note continued from preceding page:
gotten all malice and debate, he hath now a ful purpose and earnest desire to lyue in brotherlye amitie and concorde with his neyshoures, a

1. One sentence from HUYCK is omitted, and "and godlye conversacion, all the das of your life's" substituted (of, end of preceding page), then Huyoke is taken up again and followed almost word for word. I quote Huyoke below, corres­ponding to this page above.

"And albeit we feele in ourselves muche frailtye, and wretchednes, as that we have not our faith so perfite & constante as we ought, being many tymes ready to distrust Gods goodnes through our corrupte nature: and also that we are not so throughlye geuen to serve God, neyther haue so fervent a zeal to set forth his glory as our dutie requireth, felinge still such rebellion in our selues, y we haue neede dayly to fight against the lustes of our fleshe, yet neuertheles seinge that our Lorde hath deald thus mercifully with vs, y he hath printed his gospel in our hartes, so that we are preserued from falling into desperacion, and misbelief: and seing also that he hath induced vs with a will, and desire to renounce & withstand our own affections, with a longing for his righteousness and the kepytng of his commandementes, we may be now right well assured, that those defaultes & manifold imperfections in vs, shall be no hinderance at all against vs, to cause vs not to accepte vs, or accounte vs as worthe to come to vs spirituall table,"
THE ORDER FOR THE LORD'S SUPPER

For the end of our coming together, is not to make protestation, that we are upright or just in our lives, but contrariwise, we come to seek our life and perfection, in Jesus Christ, acknowledging in the mean time, that we of our selves, be the children of wrath, and damnation.

Let us consider then, that this sacrament is a singular medicine for all poor sick creatures, a comfortable help to weak souls, and that our Lord requires no other worthines on our parts, but that we vnwaryedly acknowledge our noightines, and imperfection. Then to the end that we may be worthy partakers of his merites, & more comfortable benefits (which ys the true esting of his Flesh, and drinking of his blood) let us not suffer our minds to wandre aboute the consideration of these earthly, & corruptible thynyes (which we see present to our eyes and feele with our hastes). to

seeke Christ bodily present in the, as if he were inclosed in the bread or wine, or as if these elements were torned and chaumed into the

substrance, of his Flesh and blood.

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1. This whole page also is derived from HUCYXES, the corresponning portion of which is here quoted: "For the end of our coming together is not to make protestation that we are upright or just in ourselves: but contrariwise we come to seek our life and perfection in Jesus Christ, acknowledging in the mean time that we of our selves be most miserable the prisoners of death: Lette vs consider then that this sacramente is a singular medicine for all poor sick creatures, a comfortable mean to weak soules, and that our Lordes requires no other worthis in our parts, but that we vnwaryedly knowledg our nauightnes and imperfection: And to day we may do thus, let vs lift vp our heares and minds into heauie where Christ abideth in glory of his Father, and for Whose (our sure hope is,) he will come to shewe himselfe our redmer. And let vs not suffer our imaginaion of these earthly and corruptible thynyes (which we see present to our eye, and feels with our hanes) to seek Christ bodily present in thens, as if he were inclosed in the bread or wine, or as if they were transmuted & chaumed into his substance, but the exhortation in the EE is little more than a condensation of Hucyx and Calvins.

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THE ORDER FOR THE LORD'S SUPPER

For the only way to dispose our soules to receiue nourishment, reliefe, and quikening of his substance, is to lyfte vp our mindes by faith above all thinnes worldlye and sensible, and thereby to enter into heaven, that we may finde, and receiue Christ, where he dwelleth undoubtedlye very God and very man, in the incomprehensible glorie of his Father, to whom be all praise, hourse and glorye now and ever.

The exhortation ended, the minister cometh downe from the pulpet, and sitteth at the Table, euery man and woman in likewise takinge their place as occasion best serueth, then he taketh bread and geueth thanks, either in these woordes followinge, or like in effeot.

1. This page also follows HUYCKE literally. Haycke's oorrespoinding portion continuing the part quoted on the previous page is as follows; "For the onely way to dyspose our soules to reoeyue nourishment, relief e, and quick eoyng of hys substaunce: is to lyfte vp our mynd<es by meanes of a ryght faytae, aboue all thynges worldly, and sensible, and thereby to enter into heauen,, that we may fyad and reoeyue Christ where he dwelleth, vndoubtedlye very God and very manne* in the inopaprehsnsible glory of hys Father,.,"

2. There is nothing in this rabrio, or elsewhere in the FP, giving direction concerning the bringing in of the bread and wine to the Holy Table, but the practice may be deduced from Calvin's, Pullain's, and early Scottish custom. In his rubric of 1551, PULLAIN is most explicit. He says: "Quo die vero "coeaa oelebratar, iam non pastor Symbolum reoitat, sed f inita oratione populus tetum Symbolum dec ant at. Atque intera pastor ad mensam aecedit, fuae It a sit a est in extreme tempi i, vt totam goo le si am & oSfeam ipsam possit habere ante con spec turn suum: vbi ipse, vel Diaoonus panem & vinum ad Coeaam expoait & apparat. Finite Syabolo, cum tot a Eoolesia summa veneratioae se dat oratioai, pastor ipse his verbis graeit. w In CALVIN also, as we see by the rubric of 1545, during the Creed ( **••••••••••••PHBHM) the Table is Bade readyg _H Dependant le Ministre prepare 1© pain et le vin sur la table" %

In the PP, it is probable that this Galvlnistio custom was continued, though not exactly as by Calvin and Pullain. It seems most likely that the usual closing Psalms would be sung after the Creed, and during it *H*A£* Matter ( in later Scottish practice, the Elders) would bring the elements to the Table, and make them ready. The Miniser, still in the pulpit, would proceed to the Exhortation, then as directed above come to the Holy Table for the Consecratory Prayer. As early as 1550 in Scotland, there is evidence that deacons were appointed by name at Perth to carry the elements from the Vestry to the Communion Table (SCOT: reives of the Befpraerg r 191.); and to this day in the Church of Scotland, the "Table is furnished ~by the Slders during a Psllm or Paraphrase at this point.

The Puritan editions of the FP add to the above rubric the words, "and the Table being furnished; but that seems to point back to having been done before the Minister comes to the Table, and the only likely place would be before the Exhortation during the singing of the Psalms, as suggested above.

In the Westminster Directory, in the section on the Exhortation, it is directed that the Minister, after the Exhortation, then as directed above come to the Holy Table for the Consecratory Prayer.

The Savoy Liturgy 1660, the Holy Table was directed to be furnished at the same point in the service.
O FATHER of mercy and God of all consolation, singe all creatures do knowledge and confess thee, as governor, and lord; it becometh vs the workmanship of thine own hands, at all times to reverence and magnifie thy godli majestie, first that thou hast created vs to thine own Image and similitude: but chieflye that thou hast delivered vs, from that everlasting death and damnation into the which Satan drewe vs by the means of synne: from the bondage whereof (neither man nor angell was able to make vs free) but thou (o lord) riche in mercie and infinite in goodness, hast provided our redemption to stande in thy onely and welbeloued son: whose losse thou diddest glue to be made man, lyke vnto vs in all thynges, (synne except) that in his bodye he might receiue the ponnishments of our transgression, by his death to make satisfaction to thy iustice, and by his resurrection to destroye vs that was sactor of death, and so to reduce and bring agayne life to the world, frome which the whole offpringe of Adam moste justly was exiled. O lord we acknowledge that no creature vs able to comprehende the length and breadth, the depanes and height, of that thy most excellent loue which moved thee to shewe mercie, where none was deserved: to promise and give life, where death had gotten victorie: but to receiue vs into thy grace, when we could do nothing but rebell against thy iustice. PATER misericordiaru, ac omnis consolationis Deus, cuius omnipotens nomen claus per valuerit orbis qui quidquid voque est creaturarum a sensis, prope suae cuiusque natura bonitate decemt, quanto magis nos quos ex nihil in tantum honores eueisti, perpetuis te laudibus et gratiis attollere ac venerari committit?

Primi quod ad imaginem nos tuum condi­disti, tum verce maxime, quod ex horrendo damnationis mortisque dira servitute, in quam per peccatum satan authore, inducti simus, in ius ac libertatem vitae renocare dignatus sis. Quos quum nec Angelorum nec hominum quisquam iuure poterat, tua tenen pistes, qua caetera opera tua omnia vincent, promptus inuenit rebus undique conclamatis remediis, misso videlicet vnigenito Filio tuo, qui nostra causa homo factus, nostrique per omnia (extra peccatum duntaxat) similis, recepta in se supplicia, flagitiis nostris commerita, adorando suo corpore dependis, sorte sua iustitiae tue dedit satisfecitque resurrectionem cum aboleuit, qui mortis author esset, producta in lucet vita, quæ olim infelicit vnuerae Adamæ progenis posteritas perdideram. Quae tandem humane ætis aut cuiusque creatureæ vis ac potestas tita, nò modo expressere, sed & cogitando consequi poterit, immensam illæ omnium dimensione superiorum philanthropiæ, quæ te s se per­pulit, vt nos adeo nihil meritos, ipsæ præ­misa quaque commeritot, tot promissis honorare, vita remunerare, quibus ius­tissimæ nominibus debebatur more: in felicita­tæ famosis tuui reduceres, qui nihil aliud quam tua insperata rebellare poteramus?
THE ORDER FOR THE LORD’S SUPPER

O lord the blynde dulnes of our corrupt nature will not suffer vs sufficiently to waye these thy moste ample benefites: yet neuertheles at the commandement of Jesus Christ our lorde, we present ourselves to this his table (which he hath left to be vsed in remembrance of his death untill his coming agayne) to declare and witnes before the world, that by hym alone we have recovered libertie, and life: that by hym alone, thou dost acknowledge vs thy children and heirest; that by hym alone, we have entrance to the throne of thy grace; that by hym alone, we are possessed in our spiritual kingdom, to eate and drinke at his table: with whome we have our conversation presently in heauen, and by whose, our bodies shalbe resseyd agayne frome the dust, and shalbe placed with him in that endles lyfe, which thou (o father of mercy) hast prepared for thyne elect, before the foundation of the worlde was layde.

And these moste inestimable benefites, we acknowledge and confess to have received of thy free mercies and grace, by thy onely beloved sonne Jesus Christ, for the which therefore we thy congregation moued by thy holy spritie render thee all thankes, prayse, and glorie

Non patitur, benigne Pater, naturae nostrae tanta crassities satis pro amplitudine rerum aestimare, quae quantique amore effusissima largitas tua in nos accumulat, ut adhibeas tuum in his potissimum mysteriis, a quibus infirmitatis nostrae conscientia meritur nos deterrerre poterat, attamen cum mandato Filii tui haec iubesur facere, crescit simul cum timore fiducia, quod alacrites ad Coenam hanc (quam pro testamentario monumento suæ mortis nobis relinquiet ac commendant idem dilectus Filius tuus Jesus Dominus noster) nos conuersemus, hoc velut argumentum publicè ac privatè testantes, quod per eum vnum omnes liberates at vita donati sumus; quod per eum vnum nos agnoscis filios tuos, quod per eum solum ingressum haberus liberem ad gratiam tuae thronum, quodque per eum unicum in certissima spiritualis regni tui possessionem inaugurum, aliquando in felicissima illa mens immortalitatis tecum ac cum Filio tuo accipitur, quo tempore remanescat redimimus in vitam, fructuri...

Of illo aeterna felicitate, quæ electis tuis ab exercitio mundi praeparastis.

hæcque beneficia (summe Pater) we acknowledgete et confessum esse habeemur de meritis nostris: quæm agnosceamus, nò ex meritis nostris: sed ex gratia tua misericordia, per Filium unicum dilectum, in nos proffect: meritó propteræa, atque, vt parest, huius ecclesiae valueram coetus, sempiternas tibi gratias in hac mysteriourum perfunctione agimus, semperque acturi per Spiritum omnipotentem Filii tui Domini nostri, cui honos & maiestas

..............................................................
The prayer is not derived from any known source, and appears therefore to be wholly the work of the compilers themselves. It does not follow Calvin who will be quoted below.

The form of this prayer is truly eucharistic, though it does not use any of the time-honoured words and phrases of the Western Liturgies; nevertheless, in scope and order it is as truly eucharistic as is the Prayer of Consecration in the Order of the Mass. It follows the liturgists of Constance, thanksgiving ('O Father of mercy, etc.') for creation ('that thou hast created us, etc.') and redemption ('but chiefly that thou hast declared, etc.'), consecration ('hence let them not give to be made man, etc.'), death ('by his death, etc.'), resurrection ('and by his resurrection, etc.'), and the last Supper ('we present ourselves to this table which he hath left, etc.'), concluding with an ascription of praise. While very simple, the prayer is undoubtedly eucharistic.

The context of the words of Institution are not contained in the prayer, but are used as a warrant, and likely also at the Profession (cf. next note).

An Epiclesis is also lacking, but that is lacking from the Canon of the Mass and also from the Consecration in the NPP, 1552 onwards. This, however, was soon felt to be a distinct lack by the Puritans in England, and by the Presbyterians in Scotland.

In Scotland, for instance, we see a hint that the practice of using an Epiclesis is beginning from a remark of ROW, referring to a Communion Service in St. Gile's, Edin., in 1632. He says: "Mr. Patrick Galloway, having knelt and read the prayer before Communion, said that there is not one word of 'Lord bless the elements or action.'" (Historie, p. 281.) CALDWELL describing a Scottish Communion Service, says in his Alt. Service:

"The Minister Places the consecrated elements,重复exhortation & admonition, deinde benedicit..." (p. 727) and this, says Caldwel, has been the form observed for 60 years (p. 728). He wrote about the year 1620. BERNARDSON and GILLIES also bear witness to the same effect (SPRATT: PPC. pp. xxxix-xl.) The Revision of 1629 suggested to the Assembly containing the Epiclesis which fell under it (From the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ crucified for us, and so to feed upon him, that he may be one Sacrament that it may be unto us the effectual exhibitive instrument of the Lord Jesus." Laud's Liturgy contained the Epiclesis used in the NPP, 1549, and the prayer just before the words of Institution:

Representing English Puritan use and desire, 2nd as well as Scottish, is the NEST DIR, which expressly enjoins an Epiclesis, directing the Minister "to give to God the Father of all mercies, the God of all consolation, to vouchsafe his gracious presence, and the effectual working of his Spirit in us, and to sanctify these elements both of Bread and Wine, and to bless his own Ordinance, that we may receive by faith the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ crucified for us, and so to feed upon him, that he may be one Sacrament that it may be unto us the effectual exhibitive instrument of the Lord Jesus," (see above, p. 12). It was published in 1638, and in many other branches of Presbyterianism and those of the Calvinist tradition.

CALVIN himself, however, in his prayer hardly had what might be strictly termed an Epiclesis, but his prayer is very near it in one clause, as will be seen in the prayer quoted below. Calvin did not have a separate prayer of Consecration, but following the German practice at Strasburg, as merely added a paragraph to his Great Prayer when Communion was celebrated. This once again is an important link with the German Liturgies, as below I quote both Calvin and the German from whence Calvin is derived. Pullain uses the same prayer, and a free translation slightly shortened was added to the NPP in Scotland, except the last two sentences; it is to be found in SPRATT'S edition, pp. 108-109.

CALVIN (as follows: (After the Lord's Prayer, this is added:) Et comme notre Seigneur Jesus, non seulement t'a une fois offert en la croix son corps et son sang, pour une remission de nos pechés; mais aussi les nous veult communiquer, pour nourrirce en vie éternelle; fais nous ces graces, que de vraye sincerité de cœur, et d'une seel ardent, nous recevions de lui et si amis, pour que nous seyons plus en nous mesmes, et selon nostre nature, laquelle est toute corrompue et vitieuse; mais que luy vive en nous, pour nous conduire à la vie saincte, bien-sheureuse et sempiternelle; par aintement particulier, et vraiment partant, vivant et éternel Sacrement; assavor l'alliance de grace: estant certaines et assurées, que ton bon plaisir est de nous estre éternellement Pere propre, ne nous imposerait l'obéissance, mais nous envoi son corps et son sang, pour que nous seyons plus en nous mesmes, et selon nostre nature, laquelle est toute corrompue et vitieuse; mais que luy vive en nous, pour nous conduire à la vie saincte, bien-sheureuse et sempiternelle; par aintement particulier, et vraiment partant, vivant et éternel Sacrement; assavor l'alliance de grace: estant certaines et assurées, que ton bon plaisir est de nous estre éternellement Pere propre, ne nous imposerait l'obéissance, mais nous envoi son corps et son sang, pour que nous seyons plus en nous mesmes, et selon nostre nature, laquelle est toute corrompue et vitieuse; mais que luy vive en nous, pour nous conduire à la vie saincte, bien-sheureuse et sempiternelle; par aintement particulier, et vraiment partant, vivant et éternel Sacrement; assavor l'alliance de grace: estant certaines et assurées, que ton bon plaisir est de nous estre éternellement Pere propre, ne nous imposerait l'obéissance, mais nous envoi son corps et son sang, pour que nous seyons plus en nous mesmes, et selon nostre nature, laquelle est toute corrompue et vitieuse; mais que luy vive en nous, pour nous conduire à la vie saincte, bien-sheureuse et sempiternelle; par aintement particulier, et vraiment partant, vivant et éternel Sacrement; assavor l'alliance de grace: estant certaines et assurées, que ton bon plaisir est de nous estre éternellement Pere propre, ne nous imposerait l'obéissance, mais nous envoi son corps et son sang, pour que nous seyons plus en nous mesmes, et selon nostre nature, laquelle est toute corrompue et vitieuse; mais que luy vive en nous, pour nous conduire à la vie saincte, bien-sheureuse et sempiternelle; par aintement particulier, et vraiment partant, vivant et éternel Sacrement; assavor l'alliance de grace: estant certaines et assurées, que ton bon plaisir est de nous estre éternellement Pere propre, ne nous imposerait l'obéissance, mais nous envoi son corps et son sang, pour que nous seyons plus en nous mesmes, et selon nostre nature, laquelle est toute corrompue et vitieuse; mais que luy vive en nous, pour nous conduire à la vie saincte, bien-sheureuse et sempiternelle; par aintement particulier, et vraiment partant, vivant et éternel Sacrement; assavor l'alliance de grace: estant certaines et assurées, que ton bon plaisir est de nous estre éternellement Pere propre, ne nous imposerait l'obéissance, mais nous envoi son corps et son sang, pour que nous seyons plus en nous mesmes, et selon nostre nature, laquelle est toute corrompue et vitieuse; mais que luy vive en nous, pour nous conduire à la vie saincte, bien-sheureuse et sempiternelle; par aintement particulier, et vraiment partant, vivant et éternel Sacrement; assavor l'alliance de grace: estant certaines et assurées, que ton bon plaisir est de nous estre éternellement Pere propre, ne nous imposerait l'obéissance, mais nous envoi son corps et son sang, pour que nous seyons plus en nous mesmes, et selon nostre nature, laquelle est toute corrompue et vitieuse; mais que luy vive en nous, pour nous conduire à la vie saincte, bien-sheureuse et sempiternelle; par aintement particulier, et vraiment partant, vivant et éternel Sacrement; assavor l'alliance de grace: estant certaines et assurées, que ton bon plaisir est de nous estre éternellement Pere propre, ne nous imposerait l'obéissance, mais nous envoi son corps et son sang, pour que nous seyons plus en nous mesmes, et selon nostre nature, laquelle est toute corrompue et vitieuse; mais que luy vive en nous, pour nous conduire à la vie saincte, bien-sheureuse et sempiternelle; par aintement particulier, et vraiment partant, vivant et éternel Sacrement; assavor l'alliance de grace: estant certaines et assurées, que ton bon plaisir est de nous estr...
In this order, the fraction retains its primitive place as a separate act after the Prayer of Consecration, and is not imbedded in the Prayer itself as in the Anglican rite.

This was derived from Holy Scripture, but it was also the practice throughout the Reformed Church of the day.

None of CALVIN's rubrics mention definitely a fraction, but HYDE's translation does so ("Thus done, and the people being exhorted to come peaceably in order with all reverence, the ministers break the bread..."), as also does PULLAIN ("Bœque prima defranguit...bucca penis...1551; "Sic Minister primum defranguit...panem...1554"), so there can be little doubt that such was Calvin's practice also. It was so rooted in custom, that in many of the rubrics it was not thought necessary to mention it; but there can be little doubt that it was universally practised at this point.

The rubrics of the later editions ("This done, the Minister...breaketh the bread") of the FP bear witness to the English Puritan practice, and a similar one in the RC to Scottish practice, which has continued so far in all branches of Presbyterianism—save when irresponsible Ministers take unwarrantable privileges—to this day. The fraction standing by itself was prescribed by the West Dis., and also by the Savoy Liturgy, 1660. There can be no question of the universality of the custom.

In the West Dis., the Words of Institution were again recited as the fraction took place, and that is the common practice in Presbyterianism today. Whether that was so in 1558 cannot be determined. It does not appear to have been in practice in either the French or German Church at Strasbourg, nor Calvin's B. X at Geneva, nor Pullain's in London or Frankfurt.

Now soon it began in Scotland cannot be discovered, but if CALDERWOOD's description is rooted in such universal custom as he claims ("Nao forma celebrans nostris solemn olim annos sexaginta"), it was the custom there since the Reformation in 1560 (Calderwood writes c. 1620). He says: "...Minister... finita benedictione eou gratias actione, at, Dominus nostrer ca soete qua prudens out acceptit panem & gratias egit, aluat nos iam agrum & fretat, aluat & ego in frango, & dedit disciplina..." (Fell, 777, translated in SPOTT: ECO, p. xxxvii). GILLESPIE describes a similar practice (SPOTT, 1848).
and delivereth it to the people.

1. What was the order of Communication? The rubric gives us no guidance, but contemporary and ancient practice is well defined in other places.

The early practice of the Church at the primitive Church, as all the early liturgies testify (Cf. BRIGHTMAN: Liturgies Eastern & Western, vol. 1.; DUCHESNE: Christian Worship, pp. 186, 234.; 60), the order was, first the celebrant, the other clergy in order of their rank, the highest first, then the religious, left and finally the women. This practice obtained in the Roman Church till the Reformation, and continues today. With LUTHER, in his Formula missae, 1523 the order is, first the celebrant, then the people, in the Church of Scotland, Prayers for Divine Service, p. 71, and in many of the daughter churches, unless early principles have become blurred by a mistaken desire for politeness. The principle involved is that the Minister may consume the elements which remain, apparently, rather than have what appeared to be two communications as at the part of the celebrant (Cf. SPOTT: p. 10); and as in the Mass also was made between the two, and the last was preferred for the specific reason mentioned.

This is still the order in the Reformed Church of Sweden.

But in 1534, LUTHER makes a curious change, though still retains the order of Ministers before people: "Hier Minister primus defragit administrum sui panis, et accipit per agrumen, quia quidam sensum. Deinde populares ordinus esse, tam populum." (SEELING: Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen, i.*, p. 299, col. 2.) In his Deutsche messe, 1534, the practice is more carefully defined: "Feste Miss, nicht man und wohl, sondern die weiter nach dem menschen" (LUTHER: Werke, iii., pp. 15-16, Weimar edn.).

The early Strasburg practice is not defined in the rubrics, but is described in a letter of B. HANDRY, written in 1526 to the Bishop of Moses.

It is in part as follows: "Das fit communio et suum quasque oceane portio non aediquit." So it was communion-fit, postsemum sumat Minister, aediquet sui panis, et alloco sumit, diaconis; postea ministra similiter. Deinde populus ordinus esse, tam populum."

From this letter it appears that here we have an exception to the general and catholic rule, but the reason for this deviation is in order that the Minister may consume the elements which remain, apparently, rather than have what appeared to be two communications at the part of the celebrant (Cf. SPOTT: p. 10); and as in the Mass also was made between the two, and the last was preferred for the specific reason mentioned.

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1. What was the order of Communication? The rubric gives us no guidance, but contemporary and ancient practice is well defined in other places.

The early practice in Scotland is also undefined in the rubrics, which in the ROC remained the same as in the EP, and there is apparently no contemporary account as to the early Reformation practice at the beginning of the 17th century is all at one, and it likely also represents what had been customary there from the beginning. The Draft for English Litany in 1538 has the following: "The Minister first receive the communions in both kinds himself, and next deliver it unto other Ministers (if an be there present) that they may have it to the people. The ROC for Scota, 1537 (Laud's Liturgy) directs as follows: "When shall the Bishop, if he be present, or also the Presbyter that celebrateth, first receive the communion into his own hands, and next deliver it to the other Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons (if they be there present) that they may help him that celebrateth; and after to the people, but the Bishop himself as they were delivered in turn; but apparently always at partook first, and never last.

The early practice before and after 1566, among Calvinists, Lutherans, Anglicans, English Puritans, and Presbyterians, is extremely unlikely that any other than the Catholic order was followed by the Congregation at Geneva. And it is the prescribed order in the Church of Scotland (Prayers for Divine Service, p. 71), and in many of the daughter churches, unless early principles have become blurred by a mistaken desire for politeness. The principle involved is that the Minister is expected to partake of the bread, as of another himself, and of the elements, in private and by faith, into the hands of faithfull people, first partaking of the bread himself also. This has been the practice of the Church of Scotland, and of the Reformed Churches in general.
who distribute and divide the same amongst themselves, according to our Saviour Christ's commandment, and in likewise summation. Daring which time, some place of the scriptures is read, which doth sumily set forth the death of Christ, to the intent that our eyes and senses may not only be occupied in these outward signs of bread and wine, which are called the visible words: but that our hearts and minds also may be fully fixed in the contemplation of the Lord's Supper.

1. It would appear that in the practice of this English congregation at Geneva sitting at the Communion Table (or Tables), we have the beginning of what was for long the custom in Scotland, and still is symbolically.

With CALVIN Communion was not dispensed in this fashion, but as the rubrics quoted above show, the people approached the Table to receive their Communion, then returned much as in an Anglican Church today or as was customary in the Roman Church. The following is his 1545 rubric which is the most explicit of all the editions in this respect. "We sit, the Minister having adverted the people that they return to the Table with reverence by order and modesty Christianly, he receives the first the bread and the wine, and the Deacon afterwards and consequently to the whole Church, saying: PRETISSIMA FLEANCE, the body of Jesus, which was given on the cross for you. And the Deacon presents the Chalice in saying: This is the Chalice of the New Testament of the blood of Jesus, which was shed for you. However the Church chanteth the Psalms Lament and grace, etc.

2. It is to be observed that no words of delivery are included in this rubric, though in all probability they were used. CALDERWOOD in the later editions (1586, 1597, 1602, &c.) for Puritan use retained the same words as are in the rubric above: "who distribute and divide the same amongst themselves." It would therefore seem likely that they also sat at the Table, as in Scotland. The practice likely had its origin in Knox's practice; he had been from the beginning opposed to kneeling at reception, lest that attitude of worship be mistaken as adoration of the consecrated Bread and Wine. (Cf. e.g., LORIMER: Knox and the Church of England, pp. 129-130, P. 168: TAYLOR: The Church of England, pp. 94-95.) The West of Scotland had this interesting rubric: "Let it be left to the Minister's discretion, whether to deliver the bread and wine to the people, at the table, only in general, each one taking it and applying it to themselves; or to deliver it in general to so many as are in each particular form; or to put it into every person's hand... And let none of the people be forced to sit, stand, or kneel in the act of receiving, whose judgement is against it." (HALL: Religion in the North of Scotland, pp. 104-105.) It is to be observed that no words of delivery are included in this rubric, though in all probability they were used. CALDERWOOD in the later editions (1586, 1597, 1602, &c.) for Puritan use retained the same words as are in the rubric above: "Take and eat; this bread is the body of Christ that was broken for us... Drink ye all of this; this Cup is the New Testament in the blood of Christ, which is shed for the sins of many: do this in remembrance of me." (HALL: Religion in the North of Scotland, pp. 104-105.) The West of Scotland had this interesting rubric: "Take ye, eat ye; This is the Body of Christ which is broken for you, Do this in remembrance of him... This Cup is the New Testament in the Blood of Christ, which is shed for the sins of many; Drink ye all of it." (HALL: Religion in the North of Scotland, pp. 104-105.) The West of Scotland had this interesting rubric: "Take ye, eat ye; This is the Body of Christ which is broken for you, Do this in remembrance of him... This Cup is the New Testament in the Blood of Christ, which is shed for the sins of many; Drink ye all of it." (HALL: Religion in the North of Scotland, pp. 104-105.) The West of Scotland had this interesting rubric: "Take ye, eat ye; This is the Body of Christ which is broken for you, Do this in remembrance of him... This Cup is the New Testament in the Blood of Christ, which is shed for the sins of many; Drink ye all of it." (HALL: Religion in the North of Scotland, pp. 104-105.)
Note continued from preceding page:

bears this further witness: "The Minister... delivereth to the people... saying, Take, eat ye; this is the Body of Christ, which is broken for you in it in resemblance of His... The Minister taketh the cup, and... giveth it to the nearest, saying, The cup also, (as acted by SPOTTISWOODE). These words of delivery approximating as closely as possible to Scripture must have been the familiar use in Scotland, and among the Puritans, and were undoubtedly derived from Geneva in the English Congregational Strasbourg, which is mentioned in the rubric. It is interesting to note that in the proposed revision of the PP in 1549 for use in Scotland, the Elizabethan compromise was the words of 1549, as at present used in the PP, while Laud's liturgy used only the words of 1549; The Scottish words used in common practice, however, permit of more than one view of the Sacrament of Christ's body. In the proposals of the Elizabethan compromise, (Of. SPOTTISWOODE'S Liturgy of 1611, p. 99.)

3.

1. To have silence during the act of communication is a custom unknown to the old Catholic and Reformed rites; silence at this point is entirely a modern innovation, and as a rule a most unhelpful one.

Written during the consecration, the FP was following Calvin's practice at Geneva and Pullain's at Frankfort. In CALVIN'S edn. of 1542 (which represents his Calvinian use), there is the following rubric: 'Cependant on doit être muet,' and in his Latin edn. of 1545 Pullain also, fresh from Strasburg in 1551 directs simply - that "la, etc..."

The Strasburg custom was, of course, derived direct from 1545 Protestant practice, owing to the introduction of the 'Agnus dei' during the Fraction in LUTHER'S Latin Mass, 'Agmu de', was sung during communication (SERVIE's German Mass, p. 265) and in its German Mass, during the distribution of the bread and wine, the German 'Sanctus' was sung, or the 135th psalm, or John Huss Hymn 'Jesus Christus unser heiland'.

This practice of having silence, and with Calvin's permission, and then taken by Knox into Scottish custom.

At Strasbourg, singing was the custom. This is to be discovered in CALVIN'S 1545 edn. of his Strasbourg Le Forme, which is called 'L'Office divisé' after the action is done, he 'sine verba gratias agit, etc.' In his edn of Le Forme in 1545, CALVIN also includes the words of delivery (i.e., the words of 1552 subjoined to the Social premissa, 'Christ, we beseech thee, bless and give the sacrament to...'

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MOSFE mercifull father, we render
for that thou hast vouchsafed to
grant vs miserable synners so
to receive vs into the fellowship and
company of thy deare sonne Jesus
Christ our lorde, whose thou deli-
ueredst to death for vs, and haste
graced vs, as a necessarie
food and nourishment vnto everlas-
tyng life. And now we besooch
the also (o heavenly father) to
grant vs this request, that thou
never suffer vs to become so vnkinde
as to forget so worthy benefittes: but rather
imprint and fasten them sure in our
hertes, that
we may growe and increase dayly more
and more in true faite, which con-
tinually ys exercised in all maner
of goode workes, and so moche
the rather o lord, oftyme vs, in
these pereulous daies and rages of
satan, that we may constantly stand
and continewe in the confession of
the same
to the advancement of thy glorie,
which arte God over all things ble-
seed for ever. So be it.

*Misprint for "constantly"*

Note continued from preceeding page.

the local practice.

Shrype in his various volumes gives evidence as to the diversity of prac-
tice and view in England during the reigns of Edward and Elisabeth. In the
year 1550, by "the month of November," we read that "altars were generally
everymore taken away" and replaced by Tables. "But great content there hap-
pened herupon, in what precise part of the Chancel the Table should be placed,
and how it should stand, whether East or North." In which connection he re-

cords Ridley's remark. "The Supper of the Lord was not at any time better min-

1. The Latin of this prayer is a slight amplification of Calvin and Pullisn throughayne.

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The Order for the Lord's Supper

OPTIMO iure (Pater optime) tibi
amplissimas gratias perferimus:
qui pro singularis indulgentia
sua, quam impurissimi pecatores
minimo promerebamus; ad
charissimi Filii tui contubernium,
nos invitantem se admittere
volueris, quae pro nobis confiuxas,
totum haec mundi,
velut laetissimum quoddam epulum, re-
foecillandis ac nutriendis animis nostris
praebuisti. His iam
beneficiis hoc porro adicio, benigni
Pater, ne quaedam
in eas prolurabatur ingratitudinem,
vt
tantem rerum oblitum, vel officii nos-
tri immensores repereremur. Verum se mic
animis nostris infixa velis, quae dederis,
vt perpetuo tuae beneficentiae memores,
we may growe and increase dayly more
dayly more in true faith, which con-
tinually is exercised in all manner
of good works, and so much
the rather our Lord, oft times we, in
these perilous days and ranges of
satan, that we may constantly stand
and continue in the confession of
the same
to the advancement of thy glory,
which art God over all things ble-
seed for ever. So be it.
And Calvin's prayer is derived directly from the German. The following will show the connection.

The prayer in the EF above is closely related verbally to HUNGER's translation of Calvin (1550), which is as follows:

"Pater sanctissimo, gratias iuventiis agimus tibi, sanctam ieat tuae ulla locutam, qua tanta beneficiis dignatus es, quam peccatores, vi in partem Christi filii tui vocare as portuarias, quem pro nobis in mortem semel simul dedicasti, iam veri subinde etiam das in alimmiam vitae aeterna.

Largire nobis, nos vestrum obiisius patesum tenebras renasce, sed in eas nos ineras cordibus nostris, vi indolo adlescenciae magis, angustiurque in nobis robor zidei, quae officiis sit ad unam opus venus, quae vis nos nimirum totam instituam ad gloriam nominis tui, et acdiditionsam praecipui.

Per quem Iesum Christum filium tuum, qui in multo sancti spiritus, teos vivit et regnat in aeternum, amen."

PULITZER's version of Calvin was also undoubtedly before the compiler of the EF it is as follows:

"Pater sanctissimo, nos te rendam louanges et grosses eternelles, que tu nous as salutai vs tel bieu, a nos prestes pechors, de nous aider etre en la communauté de tes Fils es Christ, nostre Seigneur, l'espirez Vous pour nous a la mort, et le nous donnant en viande et meretrice de vie eternelle.

Maintenant assis outreux nous es bieu, de no perpetvere que l'amis nous no morti, mais plataux ayez imprimes en nos coeurs, nos creances et sagacions demesnellement en la foy, l'agnelle bonmage en toutes humme courus, en ce faissant, ordinations et pourscrivams toute notre vie a l'extalitie de ta gloire, et edification de notre Preston, par islaye Iesus Christ tes Fils, qui en un soin du saint Esprit, vit et regne, auoe bey Eieu eternellement. Amen." (All editions)

The German of the Strasburg Psalter, from which unquestionably Calvin's prayer is derived is as follows:

"Umechtiger getr. himmlischer vatter, mir sagen dir ewig lab vad dann, das du uns nochen stünder also begadest vad am deinem sun, vusern korum Jessu Christus gesogen hast, ja für uns Ian loht vad volmehlbarkeit vas der auch uns spreyen vad verfunden ist ewig leben geben hast, verliche vas das wir selke alsiger von koretam lassen vad dicher an glosiem an dich, der dorch das liebe zu allen righte erzugen baldig seye, jamer machen vad ma- menus vad al vusen samuam leben st deesem rede vus besorung vusen nechten diene durch demelbigem deinen sun, vusern korum Jessu Christus, amen." (Psalter Ed., 1659, reprinted in HUNGER). Calvin's prayer, though in a german translation of this, is undoubtedly derived from it. The prayer is one of three alternative post-communion thanksgivings given in the Psalter. (HUNGER, p. 68, p. 172.)
The Order for the Lord's Supper

The action thus ended, the people sing the 103 psal. My soule giue laud & or modestissimo onoentu, Psal. 103. 

The blessings before men- eadem qua supra preoatiuneul, the blessings before men- eadem qua supra preoatiuneul,

diminitit Minister. concionem dimittit Minister.

so they rysse from the table and departe. 4.

1. In CALVIN'S Genovan editions (early) there is no mention of a post-communion psalm, nor is there in HUYCKE'S translation nor in PULLAIN. The 103rd Psal. (was used during Communion by LUTHER in his German Mass, and it is likely that on occasion it was also used by PULLAIN during Communion, for his rubric leaves the choice of psalms open. In CALVIN'S Strasbourg edn of La FORME, 1545, the 'Nuno dimittis' is sung in metre (Le cantique de Symeoni Maintenant Seigneur Dieu &o.) after the post-communion thanksgiving and Benediction, not before the Benediction as above.

In later Puritan practice as is seen in the editions of the EP before mentioned, the rubric and custom is the same as the above. In Scotland the 103rd Psal. has been almost universally used here till this day, and has gained a place of great affection in the hearts of the Scottish people. If there are two "tables", it is usual to sing the 103rd Psal. at the end of the morning "table", and the 'Nuno dimittis' (psalm version) at the end of the afternoon "table".

In the Savoy Liturgy, the rubric has been influenced by the EP, "Nunc [after the post-communion] sing part of the Nyan in metre, or some other fit psalm of praise, (as the 23rd, 116th, 103rd, or 190th, &o.) and conclude with this, or the like, blessing: "Now the God of peace &o."

2. Cf. note 1, p./5 supra. Curiously enough (though perhaps because the book was used largely by Readers in the early days of the Reformed Church) the PGO has changed the "you" to "us"; perhaps a hint of that attitude is found in the use of the word "preoatiuneul" in the Latin above. The Latin rubric suggests also that a word of dismissal may have been added, as in the German and frequently in other early Reformed Liturgies, and in keeping with the old Church custom.

3. It would seem from this that the posture during singing was sitting. And Livingstone (Scottish PsALTER, p. 80) thinks that it "must have been the only posture at praise". McMillan (thesis, p. 188-189), on the other hand, addsuce evidence which seems to make it certain that in Scotland the practice was various, either standing or sitting. But it seems certain from this rubric that in the English Church at Geneva the posture was sitting.

4. PULLAIN in his 1551 edn. of the Lat. Psal. has an interesting note regarding the length of the service, which in all probability took the same length of time as the English service. He says: "Totae hae Liturgia sesquihora absolvitur, aut summae duas horas, tantaque intere centum vigintis communicantes."

Perhaps the English service was nearer the two hours than the hour and a half, although in it the Communion exhortation is considerably shorter than Pullain's.
TO THE READER.

IF PARCHAVANCE any wolde maruell why we followe rather this order, then any other in the administration of this sacrament, let him diligently consider, that first of all we utterly reace the error of the Papistem errorem explodiam.

Papistes secondly we restore vnto the sacramentes thevir own substance; suum esse Christo tene liqui permittim.

And as for the words of the lorde's supper we rehearse them not bi cause they should change the substance of the bread or wyne, or that the procession thereof with the intent of the sacrificer should make the sacrament as the papistes falselie believe; but they are read and pronounced to teache us how to behave our selues in this action that as Christe our savior hath taught vs.

Primu igitur a probatioe auspiciati, suae cuiusque scientiae, iuxta Pauli decretum, solum veluti praeparandum ad tantae rei dignitatem, Christe might witnesse vnto our faith as it were with his owne mouth, that he hath ordained these sigez for our seaco symbols dedicate spirituall use and confortede. Wee do firste therefore examine our selues, according to saint Pauks rule, and prepare our myndes that we may be worthie partakers of so high mysteries. Then takyng bread, wee geue thankes, breake, and distribute it, as Christe our savior hath taught vs. Finally the ministration ended, we geue thankes agayn according to his example. So that with out his woordes, and warrants, there is nothing in this holy action attempted.

The end of the order for the Lord's Supper.

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1. This short explanation is de doubt inspired by CALVIN'S note at the end of his Communion Office, though it is in no way verbally dependent upon it. It is a simple statement that the object of all that has been done is to return to the primitive office, shearing away the superstitious ceremonial of the medieval Church, and returning also to primitive doctrines. Emphasis is laid upon the change in the method of consecration, and the repudiation of the popular Roman doctrine of transubstantiation, with the declaration that consecration does not depend upon a set formula. Gillespie writing later in Scotland re-stated this position, and showed also that it was true to the position of great scholars in the old Church. "It is sounder divinity to say", he wrote, "that the consecration of a sacrament doth not depend 'ex oarte aliqua formula verborum'.... Aquinas likewise holdeth that the substance of a sacrament is not absolutely tied to a certain form of words." (GILLESPIE: English Popish Ceremonies, p. 20).
Note continued from preceding page:

Instructed..." (Laing: 111, 11. 196.) Macmillan (Thesis, p. 205) gives examples of how this principle was carried out in fact later in Scotland. In many (probably all) churches it was made compulsory for the people to attend the preaching if they wished to come to the sacrament. The medieval abuse of coming in only to witness the elevation or for communion was forthwith abolished in the Reformed Church. In 1698, for example, the Session of St. Andrew ordered the doors to be locked at the end of the Psalms (i.e., here the opening Psalms), so that only those who "heard the preaching should communicate" (St. Andrews Register, 932). And a year earlier the Session of Elgin had passed a similar resolution, adding also the converse of the principle, that none were to come to the preaching unless they intended to go to the Lord's Table on Communion Sundays (Elgin Records, ii. 49).
THE ORDER FOR MARRIAGE

THE FORME OF MARIAGE.

RATIO INSTITVENDI MATRIMONII.
INTRODUCTION TO THE ORDER FOR MARRIAGE

The Marriage Service in the FP, 1556, is derived directly from HUYCKE's translation of CALVIN's La Forme, 1550, with certain portions included from the BOE, 1552. All this—the footnotes—will clearly show.

Calvin's Service is taken bodily, with only a few minor verbal changes, from Farel's La manière et façon, the Neuchatel edition of 1533. The full parallels are given in the footnotes at the top.

The origin of Farel's service lies among the German Reformed Orders of Strasbourg from 1526-1533, which are printed by Hubert. Much of it appears to be Farel's own language and arrangement, but undoubtedly the German Orders were his main source. These too are given in the footnotes in the pages following.

The Service here is the simplest possible, and from it all the Mediaeval ceremonies have been completely shorn away. Nothing could be balder than the order of 1556. But because it was always embodied in the ordinary Sunday Morning Service (except possibly, following Calvin's example, on Communion Sundays 2), it was necessary that it be short; and because of the views and tastes of the compilers, it was equally necessary that it be bald and simple.

********** ********** **********

1. RANVO has reprinted this (of Bibliog.), and while there is no author's name-given in the original edition, Rau in his critical introduction gives it as his opinion that it is a production of William Farel. (OL., p. 113), and in this he is followed by LEHRKÜHLE (CALVIN, II, 480-497) and BRICKS (see Genexacone de aelatnach-wrang-Trenkorn). While Farel did not understand German any more than did Calvin, it was undoubtedly produced under his direction, the actual translation being perhaps done by Berckheyde.

2. Oeuvres d'ordre, page 154: "Il sera bon que le jour qu'on celebre le sacre

on son abstinen pour l'honneur du sacrement." (Pierre, II, 1, p. 38)
INTRODUCTION TO THE ORDER FOR MARRIAGE

The following parallels of the FP, Huyck, Calvin, Farel, and the German order of Strasburg, 1526, will aid in showing the similarity in general outline, while the footnotes will show that similarity in detail.

**Psalm 128** | Calvin, Huyck, Pullain, Farel, PP 1526
---|---
Exhortation | Exhortation
Betrothal vow | Betrothal vow
Challenge (general) | Challenge (general)
Marriage vow | Marriage vow
Confirmation by Minister | Confirmation by Minister
Exhortation or Exposition | Very short Exhortation
Psalm 128 | Psalm 128
Marriage Prayer | Marriage Prayer
Dismissal & Blessing | Blessing
Psalm 128

It will be seen from the above that the FP is the briefest of the several forms, but the dependence of it upon the others is marked. Hubert has shown in his chapter on the Trauordnungen the dependence of the Reformed Strasburg Orders upon the old Catholic Orders, showing also that the compilers held themselves free to depart as they judged prudent from the old forms. But all that was essential was retained in the Reformed Orders.

********** **********
AFTER the banes or contracte hath been published three several days in the congregation (to the intent that if any person have interesse or title to either of the parties, they may have sufficient tym to make their challenge) the parties assemble at the beginning of the sermon and minister at tyne convenient, saythe as followeth.

PRIMUM publicatione matrimonii semel, bis or iterum per Ministrum in frequentia totius Ecclesiae diuulgatur, diuersis temporum viobus, quiquid videbitur quod adequatum pertinent, cuique ius suum vendicandi se persequendi facultas libera, tempusque concedatur. Dann post promulgati hoo modo quo diximus, contractus, adsum in telpo initio concionis, illi qui intuiri sunt matrimonii, postqualiter tempore Minister hoo in medo incipit.

The exhortation. Minister.

**********

1. The publishing of the banns was in accordance with the old Church custom as we see, e.g., by the directions in the Sarum rite: "Debet... saeacordas banna in facie eochelle infra massaum solennia can major populi affuerit multitudo, per tres dies solennes & disjunctos, interrogare." This practice was continued in all branches of the early Reformed Church, the banns being published at the main service of the day. It is interesting to note that CALVIN, PULLAIN, Reformed German Marriage services, the PCP (all editions), the PCO, the PE (all editions), and the West Dir. and still later the Savoy Lit., all require the banns to be published "three several Sundays" before the celebration of the marriage.

Many of the old barriers to marriage were removed by the Reformers, especially that which counted godfatherhood as a relationship. On this, of. e.g. HUBERT: "Die strasse lit. Ordnung,... chapt. 'Die Trauordnungen'."

2. In POLLAIN the marriage took place not before the sermon, but after it and the prayers following: "Turn (after opening Psalm) Minister commerence solito absoluit, aut si videatur, periochen ex scriptura praelegit tempori et rei oconuenientem... His peractis, et preoibus dieis pro more, immediate de suggesto astantes conjuges sic alloquitur." Calvin’s practice, however, coincides with the PE, for in his "La Forme" we read that "les parties se viennent presenter au commencement du sermon. Lor’, le Ministre ait:..."

Sprott (POO, p. 204) tells us that "in Scotland... the marriage was at first performed after the Reader’s service, and before sermon. Thus in 1500 the Glasgow Session decrees that those who ‘go away after marriage... and stay notthorn, shall be counted totally absent’." Later, the practice seems to have changed, in no case at least, for we have Thomas Hope mentioning that the marriage of his son in the Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh, in 1638, took place on "Sunday immediately after the preaching." (op.cit. p. xliii.)

With regard to the actual day on which marriages were to be celebrated, although it is not mentioned specifically in the PE, it was likely Sunday. The First Book of Discipline orders, e.g., that marriages are to be performed before noon on Sundays, and Home Brown indicates that Knox himself was married on Palm Sunday (Knox, ii. 200–282). And the Puritan practice in England was to have marriages on Sundays. The General Assembly in Scotland in 1579 so far extended the practice as to permit marriages to be celebrated on "feriall days" as well as on Sunday, preaching being then joined thereto (Book of the Universal Kirk, year 1579, section 'Qaestiones proposita be the Synodals r'). PULLAIN may have permitted marriages on other days besides Sunday; the rubric is not absolutely definite; it is as follows: "Denique diem fDoes this mean any day?) ipsum populo denonciat, quo ooeptum oonugium solenni ritu absoluatur ooram tola ficclesia. Adsunt omnes frequentes cum vt orent pro desponsis, turn vt audiant et discant semper verum vsum coniugii, et ooniugii officium." The PCO permits marriages on other days as well as Sundays. And in Scotland the custom of marriages on Sundays died out gradually as it is still common in England, because of the "riotous profanation" of the day which so often followed the ceremony, so that when the West Dir. was drawn up its rubric advised that marriage "be not on the Lords day": it also forbade marriage on a "day of Publice humiliation".

With regard to the place: from the earliest times (as is seen by the old German Trauordnungen) the Reformers insisted on the marriage being celebrated in the church and before the face of the congregation. That was an unvarying and unbroken rule. In practice, CALVIN, PULLAIN, ROCOR, ATLASO, KNOX, are all at one. And the West Dir. also requires that marriage be solemnized publicly, "in the place apposita by authority for Congregations Worship, before a convenient number of credibles included."
DEARLY beloved brethren,

we are here gathered together in
the sight of God, and in the face
of his congregation, to knytt and
ioyne these parties together in
the honorable estate of matrimony,
which was instituted and avuctorised
by God himself in paradise, man
being then in the state of innocen-
cie. ¹

For what tyse God made
heauen and earth, and all that is
in them, and did created and
fashioned man also after his own
similitude and likenes; vnto whose
he gave rule and lordship over all
the beastes of the earthe, fishes
of the sea, and fowles of the ayre:
he said it is not good that man
lyue alone, let vs make hym an hel-
per like vnto hym self.

And God brought a fast sleape vppon
him, and toke one of his ribbes, and
shaped Eua therof,
doyng vs therby to vnderstand that,
man and wife, are one today, one
fleshe, and one bloud. ²

1. Thus far the exhortation is taken almost word for word from the PCE, 1552, which is as follows: "Dearly beloved frendes, we are gathered together here
in the syght of God, and in the face of hys congregation, to ioyne together
thys man and thys womanne in holy matrimonie, whiche is an honorable estate
instituted of god in Paradise, in the time of mans innooenoy, in the PCE here
is derived from the Sarum use: "Sooe conuenimus huo fratres ooram*»« in
coniunctionan inter inariiuza & ooniugem,.; and from necessary doctrine. 1543, — "the fyrst institution of
matrimonye, as it was ordeyned by god" in Paradise, M (Cf, PRIGHTMANj ftxg,Rite. ;
p. 80O, necessary Dogtrine is described in op oit,. i« p,. lv,)

2. From "For what tyme God made...," to Rand one blood", is derived almost
directly from HUYCKE translation of CALVIN, as the following excerpt from
his exhortation shows; it begins as follows: "WHAT tyse God our bouniifull
Father had made heauen and earthe and all that is in them: And had created
and fasshioned man also after hys owne similitude and lykenes, vnto whom he
gave rule and lordship over all the beastes of the yearthe, fynshes of the sea,
and fowles of the ayre, he said; It is not good y man liue alone, let vs
make IX an helper lyke vnto IXself.

et our Lord brought a elibern upon Adam,
so that he became fast aslepe, & than God toke one of his ribbes & shaped Eue
therof, doing vs therby to vnderstand, that ma" and wife are one body, one
fleshe e, & one bloud»»

HUYCKE, of course, derived his translation directly from Calvin; and Calvin
took his marriage exhortation this far word for word from FAREL's Heuchatel
Liturgie. 1598. I do not quote Calvin here, but only Farel, because, except
for slight differences in spelling, the agreement of the one with the other
is absolute. Farel's is as follows: "DIEU nostre pere, apres auoir oree le
oiel et la terre, et tout ce qu'i est en ioeulx, il iro et permors homs a
son image et semblence, qui est la domination et seigneurie sur les bastes
de la terre, les poissons de la mer, les oyseaux du oiel, disant apres
avoir oree Ihommej II nest pas bon que Ihomme soit seul, falsons lu ye ade
semblable a luy. Et nostre seigneur fist tomber vng gros sommeil sur Adam:
et ainsi que Adam dorment, Dieu print vne de ces costes dieclyu, et en forma
Briolle, dont entendre que lommes et la femme ne sont guer corps, vne chair,
et vng sang." (RAUM's edn.p. 50).

The exhortation in FAREL is based on the Scripture which was read at
the Marriage Service at Strasburg (where Farel was just previous to 1598) in
the German Churches from Gen.}, sPh.}, and St.Matt.xix. Of. HUETHE, the
CHRISTIAN CHURCHES IN STRASBURG, STRAS. LIT. ORDUNG., pp. 3-5.
Signifying also unto vs the mysical union, that is betwixt Christe and his Churche, for the which cause was leaseth his father and mother, and taketh hym to his wife, to kepe company with her, the which also he ought to loue, euery as our senior leaseth his churche, that is to say his electe, and faithfull congregation, for the which he gau his life. And semblably, also it is the wifes dute, to studie to please and obey her houesband, servyng hym in all thynge that be godly and honeste, for she is in subjectio, and vnder the governance of her houesbande, so long as they contynye both alyue.

And this holly mariage beynge a thynge moste honorable, is of suche vertue and force, that therby the houesband hath no more right or power ouer his owne bodie, but the wyfe, and likewise the wyfe hath no power ouer her owne body, but the houesband.

Forasmuche as God hath so knytt them together in this mutuall societie to the procreation of children, that they should bryng theym vp in the feare of the lorde,
THE ORDER FOR MARRIAGE

and to the increase of Christ's kingdom, therefore they that be thus coupled together by God, can not be severed, or put a parte, unless it be for a season with the assent of both parties, to the end to give themselves the more fervently to fasting and prayer, giving diligent heed in the mean time that they be not a snare to bring them into the danger of Satan through incontinence: and for that cause they ought to have their own wives, and every woman her own husband, in continence laqueum ingentia.

Note continued from preceding page.*

et honestete. Car elle est subiee, et en la puissance du mariage, tant qu'elle vit auec lay. Et ce saint Mariage honorable, institue de Dieu, et de telle vertu, que par Ieisue le mary n'a point la puissance de son corps, mais la femme; aussi la femme n'a point la puissance de son corps, mais le mari."

CALVIN borrowed his words here also from FAREL (ibid.): "Parquoy il homme laisse pere et mere, et adherant a sa femme. Laquelle il doit aymer ainsi que Jesus ayse son egale, c'est a dire, les vrais fideles et chrétiens, pour longues il est mort, et de son sang quil a espandu les a laes, parges et nettoyes pour les rendre a voy sans salute, risa se souiller. Et aussi la femme doit servir et obier a son mari en toute saintete et honnetete car elle est subjette et en la puissance du mariage tant que celle vit avec luy. Et ce saint mariage, honorable, institue de Dieu, est de telle vertu que par Ieisue le mary n'a point la puissance de son corps mais la femme; aussi la femme n'a point la puissance de son corps mais le mari."

PARIS, conjoints de Dieu, ne peuvent etre separees..." (RUM's edn.) This is derived largely from 1 Cor. vii, which in its turn through the edn. of 1549, was derived from S. AUGUSTINE: de mor. haer. "nuptiae autem, liberorum causa marem foeminaque conjunctum. Epp. vi. 4." (FRIEDMANN: NEw ENcyclopedia, 520.)

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* Here after the interjection of the concluding phrase of the last sentence, HUTKE is again taken up where he was left off, and continues to be followed to the end of the exhortation. The following is that which corresponds to what is found on this page: "Whereby also they that be thus coupled together of God, cannot be severed or put aparte, unless it bee for a season with the assent of both parties, to the end to given themselves the more fervently to fasting and prayer: giving diligent heed in the mean time that they be not a snare to bring them into the danger of Satan through incontinence: and for that cause they ought to have their own wives, and every man her own husband. So that so many as..."
so that, so many as cannot live chaste, are bound by the commandement of God to marry, that thereby, the holye temple of God, which is our bodies, may be kept pure and undefiled:

for soone our bodies are now become the very members of Jesus Christe, howe horriblie, and detestable a thyng is it, to make them the members of an harlot? in manbe putidi scorti transformare? every one ought therefore, to kepe his vessel in all purenes, and holines, for whosoever polluteuth and defileth the temple of God, hym will God destroye.

Here the minister speakeith to the parties that shalbe married in this wise. 2.

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1. Beginning from the top of the page, HUYCKE continues: "So that, so manye as cannot live chaste, are bounde by the commandement of God to marry, that thereby the holye temple of God (to witte) our bodyes are now become the very members of Jesu Christe, how horrible & detestable a thyng is it, to make them the members of an harlot? wherfore euery one ought to kepe his vessel in all purenes and holiness: for whosoever polluteuth and defileth the temple of God, hym will God destroye." [may be kept pure and undefiled. For sinners our bodies] so

CALVIN is as followst "tellement que tous oeulx qui ne peuvent contenir, et qui n’ont le don de continence, sont obligez, par le commandement de Dieu de se marier: afin que le sainet Temple de Dieu, o’est à dire nos corps, ne soynent violez et corrompus. Car puis que nos corps sont membres de Jesus Christ, grandement nous est deffendu, des faire membres de la paillarde, parquoy on les doibt garder en toute sainteté, Car si aucun viole le Temple de Dieu, Dieu le destruira.

Calvin's source, PAREL, is as followst "tellement que tous oeulx qui ne se peuvent contenter, et qui sont le don de continence, sont obligez par le commandement de Dieu de se marier: afin que le saluent Temple de Dieu, o’est a dire, nos corps, ne soynent violez et corrompus. Car puisque nos corps sont membres de Jesus Christ, grandement nous est deffendu, des faire membres de la paillardise, parquoy on les doibt garder en toute sainteté, Car si aucun viole le temple de Dieu, Dieu le destruira/ et singulierement au sanet estat de mariage, comme nostre seigneur bien demonstra, commandant que la femme qui rompt son mariage, quelle meurt de mort, elle et le paillard. I have quoted Parel’s exhortation to the end, Calvin leaves out most of his last sentence, and Hayeke and the FP follow Calvin.

2. This rubric is suggested by the rubric in the PCP, 1552, which says: "And also speakeing to the persons that shalbe married, he shal saye." It is derived through the edition of 1549 from the Sarum use. (Of BRIGHTMAN: Eng. Ed., ii. p. 802.)
I SWEAR and charge you, as you will answer at the day of Judgment, that if either of you do know any impediment, that ye do confess it, for be ye well assured that so many as be coupled otherwise than God wold allow, are not coupled together by God, neither is their marriage lawful.

If no impediment be known, then the minister saith:

I TAKE you to wittnesses that be here present, beseeching you all to have good remembrance hereof, and moreover if there be any of you, which knoweth that either of these parties hath contracted to any other, or knoweth any other lawful impediment, let them now make declaration thereof.  

If no cause be alleged, the minister prosectet sayinge:

Si nihil impedimenti obstatur, tum Minister his verbis compellat populum.

Miscprint for "be" (Corrected by printer at end of volume)

1. This is taken directly and verbally from the POP, 1552, except that the word "deadfall" is here omitted before "day of judgment," through the edition of 1549. POP, this paragraph is only derived from York use, which was as follows: "Also I charge you both and either be your selfe, as ye will answer before God, at the day of doing, that ye be not married, or that ye knowe any lawful letting why that ye may not be wedded together at this time, ye say it now or we do any more to this matter." (Cf. BRIGHTMAN: Eng.Rite. ii. 802). There is no challenge to the couple to be married, but the rubric is derived from the Sarum rite. (BRIGHTMAN: ibid.)

2. Both these rubrics may be taken as derived from the POP, 1552, though they are much shorter. The rubric of 1552 (and 1549) deals also with the action which is to follow if any subsequal impediment is alleged; here that is omitted. The rubric is derived from the Sarum rite. (BRIGHTMAN: ibid.)

3. This second challenge, to the people, is framed exactly in the words of NUTYCE, who are the seekers. It is derived from the Sarum rite. (BRIGHTMAN: ibid.)

Proceeded by a short promise to live in the holy estate of marriage as God hath instituted it (This betrothal or promise is found in CALVIN, PAREK, and the early Strasburgian orders, the similarity of language showing their intimate relationship), NUTYCE proceeds as follows: "I take you to wittness, that be here present, beseeching you all to have good remembrance thereof; and moreover, if there be any man here present which knoweth that other of these parties be contracted to any other, or knoweth any other lawful impediment, let them now make declaration thereof."
THE ORDER FOR MARRIAGE

The ordinance as no man speaketh aganyst this thinge, you shall protest here before God, and his holy congregation, that you have taken, and are now contented to have, here present for your lawful wife, and spouse, promising to keep her, to love and beare her in all thynges according to the destitie of a faithfull husband, forsaking all other durynge her lyfe, 

as in the presence of this his congregation.

The answer.

EVEN so I take her before God and

in the presence of this his congregation.

The answer.

Note continued from preceding page.

GUINLE has the following, as Huycks is a close translation: "Je vous prenez tous, qui estes icy prises, en testimens, vous praint en avoir souvenance, toutefois s'il y a aucun, qui sache quelque espaceemement, oh que aucun deux soi lui ysoit le mariage avec suctre, quil le die par bonne charité.

"The Strasburg Peeler (Edn. 1556 onwards)—of HURETH Strahb. Ordonanze, p. 13"

one of the editions between 1526 and 1556, which influenced Parel (cf. ERTHORN: Zur Geschichte der altstraß. evang. Trauordnung, and DOMINGUE: Calvin, ii. 486) is as follows: "Wasser (Wort der Pfarrer) so nyh lich each valuelie et sitt geseel/vnd hit gedenkDat et/vnd ist ymanns bis si wissen higemern der de an diesen personen, wisschaff der mogensaff nacht noen smittlichen gebot oder de jr et eins gegen andern personen manst versifficht vnd der er halb verbanden worden, der while de melde in ersten, sum andern, sum dritten tal." (This also is taken largely from Huycks, except the clause "forsaking all other during her life", which is from the betrothal question in the Pop, and which is ultimately derived from the Sarum use: "omnes alias propter eam dimittere" (Cf. REIGHTMAN: ibid). Huycks is as follows: "Puis qu'il n'y a personne qui contredise... (here follows a short word of blessing and confirmation, which Huycks omits in his translation) Vous N. confessez icy deuant Dieu et sa sainte Congregation, que vous avez pris et espouse N. icy presente,quelle pro-

mettes garder, en l'ayant et entretenant fidelement, ainsi que le devoir d'vn vray et fidele mari est à sa femme: visant saintement avec elle, lui gardant Coy et Loyaulte en toutes choses, selon sa sainte parol de Dieu, et son saint Evangelio?" PARES's version is similar: "Puisqu'il ny a personne qui contredise... Vous N. confessez icy deuant Dieu et sa sainte Congregation, que vous avez pris et espouse pour vostre femme icy presente, que laquelle pro-

nutes garder en l'ayant et entretenant fidelement, ainsi que le devoir d'un vrai et fidele mari est à sa femme: visant saintement avec elle, lui gardant Coy et Loyaulte en toutes choses, selon sa sainte parol de Dieu et son saint Evangelio?"
The minister to the spouse
also says:

YOU, sir, shall protest here before the face of God, in the presence of this holy congregation, that ye have taken and are now contented to have, N. here present, for your lawful husband, promising unto him, faith and obedience, forsaking all other living persons, yea, and finally to lyse in a holy conversation with him keeping faith and trust in all points, as God's word doth prescribe.

The answer.

EVEN so I take him before God and in the presence of this his congregation.

1. This question also is from BUTYER, save the short clause from the PCE, as in the question preceding. BUTYER is as follows: "You. N. protest here solemnly before the face of God in the presence of N. your lawful husband, promising to him as your husband, faith, and obedience, forsaking all other persons, yea, and finally to lyse in a holy conversation with him keeping faith and trust in all points, as God's word doth prescribe.

CALVIN has it thus: "You. N. confesses, in the presence of N. and all the holy congregation, that you have taken and are now contented to have N. as your husband, promising to him, faith and obedience, forsaking all other living persons, yea, and finally to lyse in a holy conversation with him keeping faith and trust in all points, as God's word doth prescribe.

2. In the German; the question, with which there is only the slightest agreement, is as follows: "I quote the question to the man. "N. de Bekennest vtr der Christianen gesegn, dan du N. habst genomen (later: genommen hast vnd nimmt) zus dein egenmahl vnd verpflichtest sie für dein egenmahl im herren und mit der hilfe gottes almen gottes." This is from the Psalter of 1580 (c悍ards). That of 1590 has only this vow, repeated after the minister: "Ich gott..., dan ich dich...), genommen hast vnd nimm dich als meines egenmahl."

MACMILLAN (Thesis 347) says that the ring was sometimes used in Scotland but rarely. He quotes CALDERWOO as distinguishing between the religious and secular use of the ring—"Huc ritum non damnamus, si foedera duital modo celebrarentur" (All-Images, p. 179). CALDERWOO held that the objection to its use in the service was the superstitious rite of placing the ring on the priest's book to be blessed. (OF SPORIS BED, p. 314.)

CALVIN, CALVIN, BUTYER, and PULLAIN, in the earlier Stuarts, and in the later Puritan editions of the PCE, as here, there is no declaration that the couple are now man and wife; that is because the doctrine was that the marriage was (CALVER. p. 111.) In the First Dig, following the PCE, it was directed that the minister should "in the face of the congregation, pronounce them to be man and wife, according to God's ordinance." In PAREL, CALVIN, BUTYER, and PULLAIN, and First Dig., a short prayer follows here, but not in the Stuarts, etc. I quote PAREL's prayer, from which the above words were directly derived: "I, therefore, grace you and your betrothed, that God do give you grace, that your betrothed, that God do give you grace, that your betrothed, that God do give you grace, that your betrothed, that God do give you grace. Amen.

In fact, there was very little change when the vows were given them, although it is not mentioned in the tractate, but rather, that the above words were not required (all else). It is left to argue from here, to deduce that it was not mentioned. There was no extended use universal custom, and therefore when for grace.

Sponsa.

IVA coram Deo ac Ecclesia ipissim
pollicescor me per Dei gratiam
facturum.
GIVE DILIGENT EAR TO THE GOSPEL, THAT YE MAY UNDERSTAND HOW OUR LORD WOLDE HAVE HIS HOLY CONTRACTS KEPT AND OBSERVED, AND HOW SURE AND FASTE A KNOTT IT IS, WHICH MAY IN NO WISE BE LOOSED ACCORDING AS WE BE TAUGHTE IN THE 19 CHAP. OF S. MATTHEWES GOSPEL.

THE PHARISEES CAME VNTO CHRIST TO TEAPTE HIM AND TO GROPE HIS MYNDE, SAYINGE, IS IT LAWFULL FOR A MAN TO PUT AWAY HIS WIFE FOR EVERY LIGHT CAUSE? HE ANSWERED SAYENG, HAVE YE NOT READ THAT WHICH GOD CREATED MAN AND FEMALE? SAYENG, FOR THIS THING SMALL MAN LEAVE FATHER AND MOTHER, AND CLEANSE VNTO HIS WIFE, AND THEY TWAYNE SHALBE ONE FLESH, SO THAT THEY ARE NO MORE TWO, BUT ARE ONE FLESH. LET NO MAN THEREFORE PUT A SONDER, THAT WHICH GOD HATHE COUPLED TOGETHER.

IF YE BELIEUE ASSUREDLY THESE WORDES WHICH OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR DID SPEAKE (ACCORDING AS YE HAVE HARD RECITAUIMUS THEYM NOW REHEARSED OUT OF THE HOLY EVA NGELIO, GOSPEL) THEN MAY YOU BE OERTAYNE, THAT THEY CREDITIS, FIRMUM AC PERSUA SUM HABETE, GOD HATH EUNY SO KNytt YOU TOGETHER IN THIS HOLY STATE OF WEDLOCKE.

WHEREFORE APPLY YE YOUR SELUES, TO LIVE A CHASTE AND HOLIE LYFE TOGETHER, IN GODLIE LOVE, IN CHRISTIAN PEACE, AND GOOD EXAMPLE, EVER HOLDINGE FASTE, THE BAND OF CHARITIE WITHOWTE ANY BREAChE, KEEPINGE FAITH AND TRUETH, THOSE TO THE OTHER EVEN AS GOODE WOERDE DOTHE APPONYT.

This Gospel and exhortation is taken verbally from HUYCKE, who has it as follows: "Give diligent ear to the gospel, that ye may understand how our Lord would have his holy contracts kept and observed, and how sure and fast a knot it is, which may in no wise be loosed, according as we be taughte in the 19 chap. of Saint Matthew. (New paragraph) The Pharisees came vnto Christ, to teape his, & to grope his mynde, sayinge: Is it lawfull for a man to put away his wife for every light cause? He made answer sayinge: Have ye not read that which he which created all in the beginnyng, made man, & female? For this thing small man leaue father and mother, and cleaue vnto his wife, and they twayne shalbe one flesh, so that they are no more two, but are one flesh. Lett no man therefore put a sonder, that which God hathe coupled together. If ye beleue assuredly these wordes which our Lord and sauiour did speake (acordyng as ye haue hard recitauimus theym now rehearsed owte of the holy euangelio, gospell) then may you be oertayne, thay creditis, firmum ac persuasum habete, God hath euyn so knytt you together & in this holy state of wedlocke. Wherefore applie your selues, to lyue a chaste and holie lyfe together, in godlie love, in christian peace, and good example, ever holdinge faste, the band of charitie withowte any breache, kepinge f aitiie and trueth, thone to the other euen as gooes woerae dothe appoynte."
Then the minister commendeth them to God in this or such like sort.

**Note continued from previous page.**

If ye believe assuredly these words which our Lord & saviour dyd speake, according to the old Church, to be as certaine as God hath saen so knit you together, in this holy state of walkes. Wherefore apply your selves to liue a chast and holye lyfe together, in godlye lyne, in charitie peace & vertue, ever holding fast the band of charitie without any breaches, keeping faith and trueth the one to the other, euen as Goddes word & lye.  It will be seen that the PP has followed Huyck closely here, making only occasional changes in the wording, and then always for the better.

**CALVIN** is as follows: "Ecoutez l'Evangile, comme nostre Seigneur veult que le sainct Mariage soit gardé; et comme il est ferme et indissoluble, selon qu'il est escrito en sainct Matthieu au dix neuvieme chapitre; (New paragraph) Les pharisiens s'approcheroient de luy, le tenant et disans: Est il loysible au Ihomme de laisser sa femme pour quelconque occasion? Et respondant, leur disant: N'aves vous point les, que oelay qui fist l'homme demembre: il fait le male et la femelle et dist: Pour eft l'homme delaissera pere et mere, et s'adjoindra a sa femme, et seront deux en une chair et par ainsi ils ne sont plus deux, mais une chair. Doncres ce que Dieu a conjoint, l'honne ne separe point. (New paragraph) Croyes a ces sainoetes paroles que nostre Seigneur Iesu a proferees, comme l'Evangelliste les recite: et soyez certaint que nostre Seigneur Dieu vous a conjointz en ce sainet estat de Mariage, parqoud vous vives maintenent ensemble, in bonne & vertueuse, paix et union, gardans, vraye charite, fo ye et loyaulte l'un et l'autre, selon le parolles de Dieu."

**PAREL** is word for word the same: "Escoutez comme nostre seigneur veult que le sainet Mariage soit garde: et comme il est ferme et indissoluble, selon qu'il est escript en Sainet Matthieu au xix° chapitre; (New paragraph) Les pharisiens s'approcheroient de luy le tenant et disans: Est il loysible a lhomme de laisser sa femme pour quelconque occasion? Et respondant leur disant: N'avez vous point les, que oelay qui fist lhomme demembre: il fait le male et la femelle et dist: Pour eft lhomme delaissera pere et mere, et se adjoindra a sa femme, et seront deux en une chair et par ainsi ils ne sont plus deux, mais une chair. Doncres ce que Dieu a conjoint, l'homme ne separe point. (New paragraph) Croyez a ces sainoetes paroles que nostre Seigneur Iesu a proferees, comme l'Evangelliste les recite: et soyez certaint que nostre Seigneur Dieu vous a conjointz en ce sainet estat de Mariage, parqoud vous vives maintenent ensemble, in bonne & vertueuse, paix et union, gardans, vraye charite, fo ye et loyaulte l'un et l'autre, selon le parolles de Dieu."

The early Strasburg orders did not have the above introduction to the reading, but there were three readings suggested at this point in the service, of which the ornamentation at the beginning of the French (and later the English) service may be founded, but the verbal similarity is remote, while the matter is also different for the most part. The conclusion, however, is very similar to the French conclusion after the reading above and it is likely from this that the French is derived. It is as follows: "Glaubt diezen worten und gedenk, das euch gott s smoking gegeben hat, und das es ein ehetlicher stand ist, wie nicht ander lieb in trauem macht auf Gott dem herrn, wie es euch verlesen ist!" (HUSKES: Chal. Pp. 17-18.)

1. Before the Blessing in the Prenoh orders there follows a long marriage prayer, as also in the Strasburg German orders. The two prayers are closely related, and there can be no doubt that the German (which has its roots in the early marriage orders of the old Church) is the source of the French. Compare Calvin (Corp. Ref.), Parel (Pauu's ed), and the German (Hubert).

2. This Blessing is not derived from HUWYCK (who is as follows: Our Lord re- pleynes you with his gracious Blessynge, that you endewid with plenty of his riches, may lyue many yeares a vertuous & holye lyfe together, m), but from
Note continued from preceding page.

The blessing in the BCP at the conclusion of the marriage service. That of 1552 is as follows: "Almighty God, who at the beginning dyed our first parents Adam and Eve, & did sanctify & join them together in marriage: whereupon you the richness of his grace, sanctify and bless you, that ye may please him both in body & soul, and live together in holy love, unto your lives end."

It is derived through the use of 1549 from the Sarum use: "Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui primus parentes Adam et Eue suae virtute acquisti: et in sua sanctificatione occupasti: ipsa corda et corpora vestra sanctificet et beseo iste: atque in societate & amore vere dilectionis comulgat."

(Cf. FRIDSTMAN: Eng.Rite. ii. pp. 812-813.)

Note 3 on preceding page.

This Psalm is not mentioned in Huske, Calvin, or Farel, but PULLAIN begins his service with it, concluding it with Psalm 113. In the old German Orders it was sung after the exposition of the Scripture, and before the Marriage prayer. (Cf. HUBERT: op. cit. p. 18.) It is also used in the BCP Marriage service, and belongs to the old Catholic Orders. (Cf. FRIDSTMAN: Eng.Rite. pp. 308-309.)

The later editions of the FR, for Eng.Puritan use, add after the Blessing this short rubric: "Then the Minister is to proceed to the ordinary exercises." It is no doubt because the marriage Service was imbedded in the ordinary service that there is no specific prayer for the newly-married; that would be included in the great prayer instead.
The Order for the Visitation of the Sick

The Visitation of the Sick.

De invisendis aegrotis.
The Order for the Visitation of the Sick is left in the FP to the Minister's discretion. In permitting this freedom and in prescribing no fixed order, the compilers of the FP were in harmony with the other Continental Reformers of the period. Calvin, Pullain, A'Lasco, and the Strasburgians, all followed this course in their practice and in their books of prayer. The footnotes will show the close relation of the FP to Calvin and Pullain.

As for the Strasburg Reformers, not till 1537 did they compose an Order for the Visitation of the Sick, founded in part upon the old mediaeval Order, but also expressing the new attitude. In making use of their book, Calvin followed the older practice established in Strasburg when he came to be Minister of the French Refugees' Church, and left the procedure in the sick room to the individual Minister's judgement, being content in his *La Forme* of 1542 &c. with giving only general counsel. So the Reformed tradition began, and has little changed among the children of Calvin to this day, save that in most Presbyterian Books of Order prayers and readings are definitely suggested; but their use and choice is left free.

1. Cf. HUBERT: op. cit., p. lxxxi. For the Order of 1537, and those following till 1561, cf. the same, pp. 119-127.
INTRODUCTION TO THE ORDER FOR THE VISITATION OF THE SICK

Nothing is said in the FF (in any of its editions), nor in Calvin's La Forme concerning the bringing of the Communion to the sick. But Pullain has a brief note commending the practice. He directs as follows: "Quod si negrotis petat Riechristism, Ipse die quo ab Ecclesiis celebrantur Coena, mittitur vnum ex Ministriis cum piae aliquot, qui cum negrotos communiunt." 1 It is at once evident that here Pullain is not directing that a private celebration be held at the house of the sick person, but is enjoining that the reserved elements be borne to the sick, in accordance with primitive Christian practice. 2 And while Calvin was prevented from encouraging this practice at Geneva through the iconoclastic opinions prevailing there before his arrival, he did greatly desire that it be not abandoned. We see this from a letter which he wrote to Zurla on 29th August 1556, in which he expressed himself as follows: "That the Communion is not distributed to the sick, also displeases me; and it is not on my account that this consolation has not been accorded to those who are quitting this life. But because a different custom has prevailed, and because a change could not be brought about without great discussion, I have preferred peace..... I should have wished, however, to witness to those who will come after us, what I should have desired." Suffice it to say that the carrying of the Communion to the sick is now a common custom among Presbyterians throughout the world.

1. Liturgia sakra, 1584 (Frankfort) here quoted. The other editions agree.

2. Primitive Christian practice is recorded for example in the second century by Justin Martyr, who says that after Communion in the Church distribution is made to each one of his share of the elements which have been blessed, and to those who are not present it is sent by the ministry of the deacons. (Epist. 1. 6.) There is no suggestion at this period of provisional reservation, but only reservation on the day of distribution; this also has Pullain's practice, and Calvin's dissent.

3. Later, however, he seems to have been less sanguine. v. California. F. i. 219-224.
BECAUSE the visitation of the sick, is a thing very necessary, and yet notwithstanding, it is hard to prescribe all rules appertaining thereto, we refer it to the discretion of the godly and prudent minister, who according as he seeeth the patient affected, either may lift him vp with the sweet promises of god's mercy through Christ, if he perceive him soche affrayde of god's threatenings, or contrariwise, if he be not touched with the felinge of his sinnes, may beast hym downe with god's justice.

Moreover like a skilfull phisiton, framynge his medicine according as the disease requireth,

and if he perceuyse hym to wante any necessaries,

he met enemie releuesth hym according to his abilitie, but also provided by others that he may be furnished sufficiently. Moreover the partie that is visited, may at all tymes for his comforte, send for the minister:

who dothe not enemie make prayers for hym there presentlie, but also if it so requere commendeth hym in the publique prayers to the congregation.

DE indisendis aegrotis, et si res valde inuita necessaria sit, quoniam tamens nihil de ea in vuituerum praeesscribi poterit; han officii partem Ministri prudentis arbitrio relieguimus, qui cumpt melius ex tempore consilio, pro re nata, proque captu ac affectiones aegrotantis, vel ilustas illi ex Evangelica scriptura promissiones, tanquam melliflumum gratis, sanius agoros pharamaca, delinendi animi viceribus accommodare poterit; vel si non est delectus satia, at paulo confidentiorum persentia, diversam medendi viam ingrediatur, producens e Divina legem comminationes, aberiores quiem illam, at magis tamun hoc in loco tempustas, ad reprehendam ferocientia animi tumorem, donec ad instam humilitatem ac notitiam suam subsidat; non secus ac periti solent medicin e myrothecum non vnum quamvis sanacem pro singulis mortis affere, sed pro singularum diversitate alii, aliique ex Evangelica scriptura promissiones, tanquam melliflumum gratis pharmacum, delinendis ulceribus accommodare poterit; vel si non est sufficere infirmus videbitur, Minister non animo solus, sed & corpore tenus praestabit medicum vel ipse amicitiam si possit, aut si nequeat ipse, ab aliis quandoque corregatam agens opem adcurans, Postrremo libarum agroto fuerit quocunque velit tempore consilii auxilium expectandi causa acerescere ad se ministerum, qui quibum expositus omnibus, agroto non solum sui adesse precibus benignit, sed & publicis, si opus sit, ecclesiae precibus homines commendabit.

1. While there is no verbal dependence on Calvin, Pullain, or Huyck, the above is closely related to the last part of the directions in both PULLAIN and HUYCK, who in their turns wrote are a slight amplification of CALVIN. I quote them below.

HUTCK is as follows: "Moreover, if he shall see by the vehemency of the disease, or otherwise, that he be in danger of death, it shall suffice to say so much the more lively and comfortable consolations, having also considerations of the partie kynde how it is enoniled, and to what affection
it is most subject: that is to say, if no one shall then think or dream full, and the patient in the remembrance of death, and thereby loath to die; there he ought to have a readiness to utter, that there is no occasion *?_v°*^°/°,+°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°°%
CONCERNING THE BURIAL OF THE DEAD

OF EVRIALL.

DE SEPULTURA.
The procedure of burial was influenced by the extremes of superstition which had prevailed in the old Church, with the result that in the early Reformed Church in many cases no service whatever was held at the grave.

This seems to have been the case in Strasburg at least till 1533, when the first Strasburg Synod protested against the extreme of the custom, citing the case of the OT Patriarchs and the early Christians as against the usage. Then burial had been conducted with honour, "aber bei uns", they protest, "nachdem die aberglaubische Totenpracht abgestellt ist, wird nun schier viell och mit vielen Abgestorbenen umgegangen". Later also Marbach in his Order wrote: "...sollen die Christen ihre abgestorbenen Mitglieder nicht als verstorbenen Bestien unhachtsam hinschlenkern, sondern als Ehren des Himmelreichs ehrlich und ordentlich..." In 1537 an Order for Burial was drawn up and used.

Pullain also used prayers at the grave, with readings and a short address, but it is doubtful whether Calvin did, in Geneva at least. The FP followed the more conservative trend of the day, and prohibited prayers &c. at the grave, but permitted a short service in the church afterwards, if convenient. This custom was continued among the more extreme Puritans in England, and was general also in Scotland in the early days of the Reformation.

3. SPOTTI, however, citing Woodrow, did not so understand the FP or RP. He held the rubric to imply that a service or exhortation might be held at the grave side if the Church were not near. Cf. WUR. & Off. pp. 163-164.
4. Cf. footnotes on page following.
THE ORDER FOR ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE

THE ORDER OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE.
DE DISCIPLINA SEU ANIMADVERSIONE ECCLESIASTICA.
CONCERNING THE BURIAL OF THE DEAD

OF BURIAL.

The corpse is reverently brought to the grave accompanied with the congregation, with owte any further ceremonies, which baying buried, the minister goeth to the church, if it be not farre of, and maketh some comfortable exhoration to the people, touching death, and resurrection.

1. While CALVIN in his note "Concerning Burial" in the Proliamg. (Opera X. i. 27) ordains thus as follows: "Quoniam sepellisse hominibus re- mortis ad locum ordonatum. De la suite et compagnie nous la laissons discretion du chacun. Il sera bon que les porteurs aient serment a nous, demeurer toutes superstitios contraires a la parole de dieu...", it is doubtful whether his service was so severe as this demanded in the PP. PULLAIN perhaps more nearly approaches the Calvinistic practice: "Punitus sufferit a certis hominibus extra virem in cimiterium. Sequuntur proximi ala Ecclesia magna cum modestia; praecunctus Pastor, vel aliquo ministro. Wi ad locum venit, condito hum! oadaaere, habetur brevis concio de morte et resurrectione mortuorum, cum consolations defuncti, si quas habuerit virtutes, quas exempla posit Ecclesia salutari. Tum facta ostentas pro Ecclesia, vt Deus det sic vitae transferatur: vbi brevis aliqua concio epul pleben de morte ac resurrectione, quae maxime inhortandis consolandis auditoribus inseritur.

2. The First Book of Discipline, which ordained that burial be made in "some other convenient place, lying in the most free air, the whiche place ought to be well walled and fenced about, and kepted for that use only.

3. The Assembly in 1576 also ordained that burial should not be made within the church. (PSTRIX. Bk. III. Bk. 31. p. 160.) This rule also was departed from on occasion; e.g., when the "Good Regent" was buried in the "South Isle" of St. Giles (CALDERWOOD: Hist. ii. 465).
INTRODUCTION TO THE SECTION ON ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE

The section "Of Discipline" in the FP, 1556, is verbally, as far as can be determined, the compilers' own, though in matter and content it is closely related to the short section in Pallain's "Biblia," 1554, which in turn is derived in a condensed form from Calvin. What was set down in the FP to meet the needs of a small congregation of exiles would naturally require to be enlarged and developed if it were to be used by Churches comprising a number of congregations. Accordingly, we find such an enlargement in the Middleburg edition of 1586 for use in England; and an elaborate development (founded also on Alasco's "Formae ac Ratio," 1555) of it in the first Book of Discipline in Scotland in 1560. Also in 1567, we have an "Order of Excommunication and of Public Repentance" drawn up by Knox at the request of the General Assembly, revised by that body in 1568, and printed by Lekprevik at Edinburgh in 1569, finding a place in the succeeding editions of the BCO. Obviously, among the Puritans in England, and also in Scotland, this was a logical and natural development from the FP.

1. Calvin's section on Discipline is to be found in his Opera, I, 10-11.
3. Readily accessible in KUPER: Works of Alasco. Cf. vol. ii. for his literature. His original editions of 1556, 7, are also in the R.M. His Discipline was in germ founded on Pallain's, with whom he was associated in Frankfurt during the time of Mary of England, when his 1555 treatise was also
5. Reprinted by SPROTT in his BCO, pp. 55-72.
6. Sprott in his BCO (pp. xli-xl) and in his Work Off. (pp. 221-236) deals with the principles and practice of discipline in the Church of Scotland.
THE ORDER OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE

As no Citye, Towne, house, or familie can maintaine their estate and prosper, without policie and gowernance: even so the church of God, which requireth more purely to be governed, then any Citye or familie, cannot without spirituall policie and ecclesiastical discipline continue, encrease, and flourish. And as the word of God is the life and soule of this church: so this godlie order, and discipline is as it were synewes in the bodie, which knit and ioyne the members together with decent order and comelynes.

It is a brydie to staye the wicked from their myschiefes. It is a spurre to prickie forward suche as be slowe and necligent, yea and for all men it is the fathers rodde euerywhere in a readiness, to chastice gentelye the fautes committed, and to cause theys afterward, to lyue in more godlie feare, and reverence. Finallye it is an ordre left by God unto his church, wherby men learnes to frame their wills, and doings, accordinge to the lawe of God, by instru- ting, and admonishinge one another yea and by correctinge, and poniishinge all obstinate rebels, and contemners of the same. There are thre causess chieflye which move the church of God to the executinge of discipline.

First, that men of euell conversi- tion, be not numbered amongst Gods childrene, to their fathers reproches, as if the church of God were a san- cuary for naughtie and vyle persons.

LE DISCIPLINA SEMI ANIMADVERSIOE ECCLESIASTICA.

Quae nulla ciuitas, pagus, aut fami- lia sit, sine certis propriis legibus bene instituta, minus proiecto consistent- ire videtur, vt Ecclesia Dei, cuius quae purissima esse administratio debet, nulla graui ac constanti morum disciplina continetur.

Siquidem

Verbi Dei vita veluti est, & anima Ecclesiae suae: ita iure haec ac leges exercendae disciplinae in republica Christiana, neru quasi quidam sunt, quibus seu compagibus totius corporis membri in officio vitae, ac morum rectitudine aptissima quadam concinni- tate suoececa ac retineantur.

Improbos enim a maleficio deterret, ac quasi fraeno cohibet: ignanos autem & torpentes non secus quam adoto cal- cari incitat: omnis demique patera forula est, qua & filios quos amat, leniter castiget, & ab errore re- vocatos citius ad meliorem fruendum per- ducat.

Itaque faculta quaedam est, Ecclesiae Diuini- tus concessa, qua voluntas nostra ac actiones ad Diuinam se Legis obsequium accommodet: id autem partim fit doc- trina & hortatione; partim vero correctione ac poenis in eos constitutis, qui contumaciis se prae ter officium gerunt. Hanc autem disciplinam cur in Ecclesiam retinendum statuimus, tres potissimis causae suadent.

Primum ne qua infamiae nota Ecclesia aspergatur, hoc nomine, quod asylum quasi quodam favendis improbos sub administrare videtur.
The second respect is, that the good be not infected with accompanying the evil, which thing, St. Paul forewarned when he commanded the Corinthians to banish from among them the incestuous adulterer, saith, a little leaven maketh sour the whole lump of dough.

The third cause is, that a man thus corrected, or excommunicated, might be ashamed of his fault, and so through repentance come to amendment:

the which thing the Apostle calleth delinquent to Satan, that his soul may be saved in the day of the Lord: meaning that he might be punished with excommunication, to the intent his soul should not perish for ever.

First therefore it is to be noted that this censure, correction or discipline is either private or public like: private, as if a man committ either in manners or doctrine against thee,

as he admonished his brother betwixt him and thee; if perchance he stubbornly resist thy charitable admonition, or else by contynuance in his fault declare that he meaneth not, then, after he hath been the second tymc warned in presence of two or three witnesses, and continueth obstinately in his error, he ought as our Saviour Christ commanded, to be disclosed and uttered to the church, so that according to public discipline, he either may be received through repentance, or else be punished as his fault requireth.

And here, as touching private discipline three thinges are to be noted:

First, that our admonitions proceede
of a godly scale, and conscience, 

rather seeking to write our bro-

ther, then to slander him. 

Next, 

that we be assured that his fault 

be reprovable by gods word. 

And finally, 

that we use such modestie and mis-

done, that if we somewhat dout of 

the matter whereas we admonish 

him, yet with godly exhortation, he 

may be brought to the knowledge of 

his fault. Or if the fault appeare 

to many, or be known of divers, 

that one admonition be done in 

the presence of some of them. 

Brefly, if it concern the whole 

churches, in suche sorte that the 

concealing thereof might procure some 

damager to the same, then it 

be vittered to the ministers, and 

seniors, to whom the policie, of 

the church doth appertaine. 

Also in pablicke discipline, it is 

to be observed that the minister 

peremt nothinge at any tyse vo-

chastized with one kind of punish-

ment or other; if they perceive 

any thinges in the Congregation, ei-

ther euyl example, slanderous 

in maners, or not besmyng their 

profession: as if there be any co-

uentous personne, any adulterer or 

fornicator, forsworne, thief, bri-

ker, false wmes bearer, blashme-

mor, dronkarde slanderer, yeuerer, 

any person disobedient, seditious, 
or dissolute, any heresi, or 

sect, as papisticall, 

anabaptisticall, and suche lyke, 

briefly what so ever it be that 
might spott the christian congre-

gation, yea rather what so ever is 

geratur, sed contrae, studio quodem in 

renten fratré ac amore, tamquam hi, qui 
canibus quisque possesse, obesse autem 

munini opulent. Secondum vero est, 

vti persuasum habeamus, crimen illud 
eiusmodi esse, quod merito verbum Dei 

redarguit ac damnet. Tertium denique, 

vt ea modestia solertisque adhibita, 

rem pertinentem, vt, non satis explorata 

sit, nostra tamen opera, consilio ac se-

dula adhortatione hominem ad erroris 

agitionem pertractamus.

Sin vero criminis cognitio plures com-

p lectatur, vnum aut alterum adhibere 

opportinebit, qui illius re conscii sunt, 

vt & majiori cum sua utilitate, & minori 

etiam cum aliorum offensione corrigitur. 

Quod si demique nos ad Ecclesiae ipsius 

damnum vergat, 

vt ex illius reticientia in grane aliquod 

periculum deserviet: tum vero conuenit 

Ministris ac Senioribus, quibus Ecclesiae 

gubernacula commissa sunt, culpam detegere.

Publica rursus disciplina suas viscerem 
cautiones habeat: imprimis autem, nequid 

vagum praestareant doctores egregia, non 

aliique animaduerionis genere castigatur, 

nec videre in multitudine, vel 

ejemplo noxium, vel moribus infame, 

vel professione indiguum.

Equis vel 

aut pericuus, 

amator, vel adulter, latro, donis 
corruptus, tenuiorum oppressor, pro-

stituta fidei testis, blasphemeus, 

ebrious, obtrectator, foeminator, 
imoriger, seditiosus, 

impudicus; si qua heresise periculo, aut 

contentio seditiosum, vitpote Papistica, 

Anabaptistica, seu Libertinorum: 

quicquid denique sit quod Christianae 

Ecclesiae labem contrahat, 

et quicquid ad aliorum utilitatem &
not to edification, ought not to escape either admonition, or punishment. And because it happeneth some- the apostolicall rod and correction, as unto excommunion (which is the greatest and last punishment belonging to the spiritual ministerie)

it is ordained, that nothing be attempted in that behalf, with- out the determination of the whole church, wherein also they must be ware, and take good heed, that they seem not more ready to expell from the congregation then to receive againe those, in whose they perceive worthie frudes of repentance to appear. Neither yet to forbid hym the bearing of sermons, which is excluded from the sacraments, and other duties of the church, that he may have libertie, and occasion to repent. Finally, that all punishments, corrections, censures, and admonitions, stretch no farther, then Gods word, with serioce, may lawfully heard.

...admonishment non factet, Ecclesiasticae confessionis causa minimum praestetire censum. Porro non nuncua

The Order for Ecclesiastical Discipline

1. Pullam's short section of Discipline bears a slight similarity to the above section, and may be quoted here since it is not readily accessible. He writes as follows ( Lit. Reg. 1554): Porro quantum ad vitam corporis est ne- cessarius spiritus et halsus, quod presso necesse est statim hominem ex- ligare, ita est versus disciplinei et fratres correctionis in Ecclesia; quan ipsi auctor exspectant in canes rebelles et praefectae perturbationes viros seu maliores, qui admodum repugnasse ad posibilitatem vitae prioris agere resonabant. In publicis liis ordinibus statiam publica posibilitatem exigertur, aut excommunicatione pertineat. In omnibus autem principiis et principiis, delibetis testibus eo tamen in consilio Senium adhucretur. Post vbi nil profici vident, Pastor scelus et hominem Ecclesiæ palam faetit, vet vel hanc ratione pudavit. Denique si post trium ejusmodi monitionum pergit obstinata seere, quarto die Ecclesiae excommunicat et scorsa cum ille interitterat, nempe sacramentum et precibus. His omnis temporibus inbetur ab Ecclesia secesserat. A congregationibus nuncua ecretatur. Ina nuncua desunt qui priuatus agent et ad

(The end of the Discipline)
They worship me in vain teaching doctrine, which is men's traditions.

Come forth of Babylon my people, that ye be not partakers of her snares, nor receive of her plagues, for her snares are gone up to heaven, and God hath remembered her wickednes.

Note continued from preceding page*


He concludes the section by adding that no one can become a member of his church unless he has made public profession of his faith, that children cannot be baptised unless one of the parents is a member of the church, and that the Blessing upon Marriage cannot be granted unless the couple have first made public profession of their faith. On these matters the PP is silent, but likely in practice it was one with the Kitāb.
ONE AND FIFTIE PSALMES
OF DAVID IN ENGLISH metre, whereof 37. were made by Thomas Sternholdere, and the rest by others. Translated with the hebrewe, and in certain places corrected as the text, and the sense of the Prophete required.

(DEVICE: the letter "F" with a robed and bearded figure, holding a rod, pointing to a narrow upper branch; and a scroll inscribed, "INTEGRATE PER ARTEM VIAM").

I am. 5.

If any be afflicted let him pray, and if any be merry, let him sing Psalmes.

1. The text of the Psalms in metre in the original edition, with the tunes (see only), occupy 150 pages. As is indicated in the above title-page, there are only 51 Psalms in the first edition; this number was gradually increased in the later editions (see CONWAY, Bibliography: John for the details).

With regard to the Psalms chosen in the first edition (and in the later ones also), there does not appear to have been any liturgical reason for the choice which was made. The 51 Psalms are as follows: 1-15, 19-21, 22, 23, 24-25, 26-28, 41-44, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55-56, 68, 73, 76, 79, 82, 103, 114-115, 120, 122, 123, 125, 133, 137, 144, and also the paraphrase in metre of the Decalogue, "Attend my people & give ear." Of these, numbers 30, 35, 40, 52, 70, 85, and 147, bear the initials, I.H., that is, John Hopkins; and numbers, 28, 51, 114, 115, 130, 138, 139, and the Decalogue (translated from the French, "Leu le Leon" — the first lines of which have been frequently mistaken by many antiquaries for the Susanna of Ovid, while anonymous, are the work of William Whittingham, as we know from the subsequent and enlarged edition of "Four score and seven Psalms of David", 1561. The remaining thirty-seven Psalms were cast into metre by Thomas Sterneholde, who was Groom of the Robes to Edward VI (4, 1547), though, as is stated above, the compilers of the FP did not hesitate to change words and lines, by so doing they could make the metrical text more faithful to the original Hebrew. This redaction was likely mainly done by Whittingham.

It is to be noted that the 119th Psalm, which was used at this time by Ulrich of Strasburg and by Calvin at Geneva in the afternoon Catechistical Exercise, is here omitted. Later however, it was included, and was used at the Afternoon Service in Scotland.
Title-page of the Catechism
Morning prayer.
A prayer to be sayd before meales.
A Thankes gowing after meales.
Eeuynge prayers.
A prayer made at the first assemble of
the congregacione, when the confessio
of our faiithe, and whole orders of
the church was there red, and approved.
THE CATECHISM, OR MANNER
to teach children the Christian religion,
wherin the Minister demandeth the question,
and the child maketh answers. Made by the
excellent Doctor and Pastor in CHRISTES CHURCH,
John Calvin.

The doctrine of the Apostles and Prophets
is the foundation of Christes Church.

BY JOHN GRESPIN
M. D. LVI.

1. This section is composed of Calvin's Catechism, rendered into English; it is not reprinted in this thesis. The original French is to be found in Calvin's Opera, VI. 9-134. In this section are also found certain "Private Prayers," which are reprinted, and as far as possible their sources shown. The Catechism occupies 156 pages in the edition of 1556; and the Private Prayers are contained in pages 156-167 of the same edition.
INTRODUCTION TO THE PRIVATE PRAYERS
The Private Prayers are here reprinted rather for the sake of completeness than for anything which they have to teach. They do, however, witness to the fact that from the beginning, following Calvin, private or family prayers were encouraged by the Puritan leaders, and material for that purpose was placed in the hands of the people. In many ways these family prayers which were said daily in the homes combined with the singing of Psalms and Readings from the Scriptures were to the Calvinists what daily Morning and Evening Prayer were to the Anglicans. And the tenacity and faithfulness with which the people clung to this noble tradition is illustrated amply by the fact that in Scotland at least, and also in Presbyterianism in all its branches throughout the world, family prayers daily were the accepted custom in the homes of the people till the dawn of the 20th century, and are even still continued today in many Presbyterian homes. Thus were the homes made "nurseries of noble youth" and fathers endowed with a priestly dignity. The Calvinistic Reformation owes much of its greatness to its having fostered a love and reverence for the family altar.

The prayers in this section are for the most part the work of the compilers themselves, it would appear, with parts of them derived from Calvin's Private Prayers. This the footnotes will show.
PRIVATE PRAYERS

A FORME OF PRAYERS TO BE USED IN PRIVATE HOUSES EVERY MORNING AND EVENING.

Morning prayer.

THE MOST BLESSED God, and most merciful Father, we do not present ourselves here before your Majesty trusting in our own merits or worthiness, but in your manifold mercies, which you have promised to hear our prayers and grant our requests, which we shall make to thee in the name of thy most beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord, who has also commanded us to assemble our selves together in his name, with full assurance that he will not only be amongst us, but also be our mediator, and advocate towards your Majesty, that we may obtain all things which shall seem expedient to thy blessed will, for our necessities. Therefore we beseech thee most merciful Father, to turne thy loving countenance towards us, and impute not unto us your manifold sins and offences, whereby we justly deserve thy wrath and severe punishment, but rather receive us to thy mercy for Jesus Christ's sake, accepting his death and passion as a just recompence, for all our offences, in whose name, thou art pleased and through whom thou canst not be offended with us. And seeing that of thy great mercies, we have quietly passed this night, grant (O heavenly Father) that we may wholly in thy service, so that all our thoughts, words, and deeds may redound to the glory of thy name, and good example to all men: who seeing our good works, may glorifie thee our heavenly Father. And forasmuch as of thy mere benevolence, and love, thou hast not only created us to thy own similitude, and likeness, but also hast chosen us to be heirs with thy dear Son Jesus Christ, of that immortal kingdom which thou preparest for us before the beginning of the world: we beseech thee to increase our faith and knowledge, and to lighten our hearts with thy holy spirit, that we may in the means that yule and good conversation and integrity of life: knowing that idolaters, adulterers, covetous men, contentious persons, drunkards, gluttons, and suchylike shall not inherit the kingdom of God.
PRIVATE PRAYERS — MORNING

("Hisprint for "an"")

.

(. .) And because thou hast commanded vs to pray one for another, we do not only make request (o lord) for our selues and them that thou hast already called to the true understanding of thy heavenly will, but for all people and nations of the world, who as they know by thy wonderful works, that thou art God over all: so they may be instructed by thy holy spirit, to believe in thee their only saviour and redeemer. But forasmuche as they can not believe except they hear, nor can not hear, but by preaching, and none can preach except they be sent, therefore o lord, raise vp faithfull distributers of thy mysteries, who settinge a parte all worldely respectes, may bothe in their lyfe and doctrine, onely make thy glory. Contrarily confound Satan, Antichrist, with all hyerlings and papistes, whose thou hast already cast of into a reprobate sense, that they may not by sectes, schismes, heresies, and errors, disquiet thy lytle flocke. And because, o lord, we be fallen into the latter days, and dangerous tymes, wherein ignorance hath got the upper hand, and Satan with his ministers seeketh by all meanes to quench the light of thy gospel, we beseeche thee to mayntayne thy cause against those ravinge wolues, and strengthen all thy servants, whose they keep in prysom and bondage. Let not thy longe sufferinge be an occasion either to encrease their tyranny or to discourage thy children, neither yet let our synnes and wickednes be a hinderance to thy mercies, but with speede (o lord) consider these great miseries: and chiefly, the afflictions of our Contrrie, which once flourished through thy mercies, and nowe for contempt of thy wordes is plagued according to thy judgement. Alas lord mayst thou not be intreated? shall we then be left in dissayre? shall all the world laugh at our shame for ever? truth is it lord that we were more than sufficiently warned of this thy vengeance to come, both by thy wordes ED examples to others. For thy people Israel in many tymes by their synnes provoked thyne anger, and thou poniomedest them by thy just judgement, yet though thy synnes were never so greuous, if they once returned frome their iniquitie, thou receyuedst them to mercie. we therefore most wretched synners bewaye our manyfold synnes, and earnestly repent vs for our former wickednes and ungodly behauyor towards thee, and whereas we can not of our selues purchase thy pardons: yet we humbly beseeche thee, for Jesus Christ sake, to shewe thy mercies upon vs, and restore vs agayne to thy favour. Grant vs dear father these our requestes, and all other thinges necessarie for vs and thy whole churche, according to thy promes in Jesus Christ: in whose name we beseeche thee. Amen. 

A prayer to be said before meals.

All things depend upon thy providence (O Lord) and receive at thy hand, due sustenance in thy convenient. Thou gavest to them, and they gather it, thou openest thy hand, and they are satisfied with all good things.

O heavenly Father which art the fountain and full treasure of all goodnesse, we beseech thee to shew thy mercies upon us thy children, and sanctifie these gifts which we receive of thy mercifull liberalitie, grantinge us grace to use them soberly and purely according to thy blessed will: so that hereby we may acknowledge thee to be the author of all good thinges, and above all, that we may remember continually, to seek the spiritual food of thy word, whereby our souls may be nourished everlastingly, through our saviour Christ, who is the true breade of lyfe, which came downe from heauen, of whose, who so ever eateth, shall lyve for ever, and raigne with him in glorie, world without end. So be it.

1. This prayer is markedly dependent upon Huycke’s version, which is as follows: “ALL thynges doe depende vpon thy prouidenee (good Lorde) and thou gaveste them due sustenance in tyme conuenient; whan thon reaoheste forth thy benefites unto the, they are glad to receiue them: and when thou openest thy lyberall hande, they are replenished with all goodnes*.

0 Merciful lorde in whom y full treasure of al good thynges doe rest: lette it be thy good pleasure to sprede out thy beneficial blessiages vpon vs, thy poo re seruauntes, and to make holy these giftes whiche we receive of thy graceful liberalitie, grauntynge vs the grace to use them soberly and purely, according to thy blessed will: so that herein we may knowleage thee to bee the father and auhtor of al bounte, and aboue all other thynges, that we may haue rei£ebrau» continually to seke the spiritual foode of thy woorde, wherewith our soules may be nourished euerlastingly, through our sauiour Christe, thy onely sonne, our Lorde. So be it."

The Latin version of CALVIN’s prayer also appears to have influenced the English, especially at the opening and conclusion of the prayer. It is as follows: “Omnia ad te respiciunt Domine, et tu das illis escam tempore: te illis dante, colligunt: te manum aperiente, omnia implentur una et alia, beneplacita.* Psalm. 104.

Domine, pene quae sunt bonorum cœnas, et inæmasta sacri[cio], beneficentiam tuaam in nos effunde, nobisque olim et postum, quæ tâque erga nos benignitâtis dona sunt, in vam nostram sanctificæ, vt sobrie, siuiti præcipiæ, et frugaliiter illis viœntis, vosseos pura conscientia. Fac eïm, vt te patrea semper, bona domini olim autore, et aegnorum suæ animæ gratiæ et cer praedictionem: ac mò fruamur corporis alimentis, vt praocipe tamen cordis affectu aspíramus ad spiritualis doctrinae tuæ panem cordis affectu aspíramus ad spiritualis doctrinae tuæ panem, quo animæ nostræ in opem esteramæ vitæ pascantur. Per Iesus Christum Dominum nostrum.” (1545)

The original French is somewhat shorter, as follows: “Du Psalme cœv. Toutes choses attendent apres toy, Seigneur, et tu leur donnes viande en leur temps.

Quand tu leur donnes, elles la ressemblent: et quand tu ouvres ta main, elles sont rassemblées de bien.

Seigneur supplez fait est plenitude de tous biens, vaies estendre ta benediction aux tous tes povere serviteurs, et nous sanctifier les dons, lesquels nous recevons de ta largesse, afin que nous en puissions user sobremement et purement, selon ta bonne volonté, et par ce moyens te reconnaistre Pere et auteur de toute benignité: cherchant toujours principalement le pain spirituel de ta Parole, dont nos ans sont nourrissements éternellement. Per Iesus Christ, ton Fils, nostre Seigneur, Amen.” (1545)

The Latin and the French of all the private prayers will be found in Calvin’s Opera VI. 135-145.
PRIVATE PRAYER—AT MEALS

A Thankes geyinge after meales.

Let all nations magnifie the lord, let all people recylde, in praysinge and extollinge his great mercies. For his fatherly kindnes is plentifully showede fortho vpon vs, and the brethren of his processes, endureth for ever.

We render thankes vnto thee (O lord God) for the manifold benefites which we continually receyve at thy bountefull hande, not onely for that it hath pleased thee to feede vs in this present lyfe, geying vnto vs all thynge necessarie for the same; but especially because thou hast of thy free mercies fashioned vs a newe, into an assured hope of a far better lyfe, the which thou hast declared vnto vs by thy holye gospell. Therefore we humbly beseeche the (O heavenly father) that thou wilt not suffer our affections to be so entangled or rooted in these earthly and corruptible thinges: but that we may alwayes have our mindes directed to thee on high, continually watchinge for the comming of our lord and sauyor Christ what tyme he shall appeare for our full redemption. to whom with thee, and the holie ghost, be all honor, and glorie, for ever and ever. So be it.

1. Here again the measure of dependence upon HUTCHES is very considerable. His version is as follows: "Let all nations magnifie the lord, let all people recyve in praying and extollinge his great mer­cies for his fatherly kindness is plentifully shewed fortho vpon vs, and the brethre of his processes, endureth for ever. We render thankes vnto thee (Lorde god) for the manifold benefites which we continually receyve at thy bountefull hande: not onely for that it hath pleased thee to feede vs in this present tranitory lyfe, geying vnto vs all thynge necessarie for the same, but spe­cially also for that thou hast vouch saued to fashion vs a newe, into an assured hope of a far better lyfe the which thou hast declared vnto vs by thy holye gospell: humlye beseeching thy goodnes, that thou wilt not suffer our affections to be so rooted or entangled in these earthly and corruptible thinges: but that we may alwayes have a farther regard, and have our mindes directed continually to the ehyge, delye watch­yng and looking for the comming of our Lorde and sauyor Christe what tyme he shall appeare for our full redeption. So be it.

While the Latin and French appear to have had but little direct influence on the above from the F£, they are sources, and accordingly we quote them. The French (1548) is as follows: "Cue toutes nations louent le Seigneur, que es—luy ohantent louenge: Car aa miserioorde est multi^liee su* tont peu­nous, et sa verite demeure eternellement. Seigneur Dieu, nous te rendons grace de tous les benefices que nous rece­vons assiduemement de ta main, de ce qu'il te plait nous submier et en este vie corporelle, nous administrant toutes nos necessities; et singuliere­ment, de ce qu'il t'a plu, nous regenerer en l'esperance d'une meilleu vie, laquelle tu nous as revele par ton S.Evangiie; te priant qu'il te plaise ne permettre point que nos affections soient joy enraisondes en ces choses co— rporelles, mais que nos enraisones tennesions au haut, attendans nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ, jusqu'a ce qu'il appareille en nostre redemption. Amen."
PRIVATE PRAYERS - EVENING

Evening prayers.

O LORD God, father everlastinge and full of pitie, we acknowledge and confess, that we be not worthie to lyf vp our eies to heaaen, muche
\[\text{least to present our selues before thy Maiestie with confidence that} \]
\[\text{thow wille hearre our prayers and grant our requestes, if we consider our} \]
\[\text{owne deseruingest for our consciences do accuse vs, as our synnes witnesses} \]
\[\text{against vs, as we knowe that thou arte a vpright iudge, which doest not} \]
\[\text{justify the sinners as wicked me, but punishes the fates of all suche} \]
\[\text{as transgresse thy commandementes. Yet moste mercyfull father, since} \]
\[\text{it hath pleased thee to commande vs to call on thee in all our troubles} \]
\[\text{and adversities, promisinge euen then to help vs, when we feele our selues} \]
\[\text{as it were, swalloued vp of death and desperation, we utterly renounce} \]
\[\text{all worldely confidence, and flee to thy soueraigne bountie, as our onely} \]
\[\text{stay and refuge: beseeching thee not to call to remembrance our manifold} \]
\[\text{synnes, and wickednes, whereby we continually provoke thy wrath and indignation against vs; neither our negligence and vnkindnes, which have neither} \]
\[\text{worthely estemned, nor in our lyues sufficiently expressed, the sweate com} \]
\[\text{fort of thy gospeill revealed vnto vs: but rather to accept the obedience} \]
\[\text{and death of thy sonne Jesus Christ, who by offering vp his bodie in} \]
\[\text{sacrifice one for all, hath made a sufficient recompence for all our} \]
\[\text{synnes. Have mercie therefor vpon vs o lord, and forgive vs our offences.} \]
\[\text{Teache vs by thy holie spirite, that we may rightlye waye them, and} \]
\[\text{earnestly repent for the same. And so muche the rather o lord, because} \]
\[\text{that the rebrotevs such as thou hast foresaketh, can not prayse thee, nor} \]
\[\text{call vpon thy name, but the repentinge harte, the sorrowfull minde, the} \]
\[\text{consicience oppressed, hungeringe, and thirstinge for thy grace, shall} \]
\[\text{ever sett forth the thy prayse and glorie. And albeit we be but worms and} \]
\[\text{dust; yet thou arte our creator, and we be the works of thy handes, yea} \]
\[\text{thou arte our father, and we thy children: thou arte our shepherde vs we} \]
\[\text{thee flocke: thou arte our God and we thy inheritance. Correcte vs not} \]
\[\text{therfore in thyne anger (o lord) neither accordinge to our deserties pomme} \]
\[\text{vs, but mercifully chastise vs with a fatherly affection, that all the world may knowe, that at what tyme so ever a synner doth repent hym of his synne from the bottome of his hart, thou wilt put away his} \]
\[\text{wickednes out of thy remembrance, as thou hast promessedy by thy holy} \]
\[\text{Prophete.} \]

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"Misprint for "therefore"

1. Luke xv.21; xviii.13. 2. Exod.xx.5. 3. Psal.i.16. 4. Psal.xvili.4-6.
15. The prayer thus far seems as far as can be determined to be entirely

a product of the compilers, drawn from Scripture as above marginal notes

from the MS suggest. It is quite unrelated to Calvin save in doctrine, and

there it reflects the extremes of the period the period for example,

which gave us "miserable offenders" and "the burden of them is intolerable" in the PCP."
Finally foresmoke as it hath pleased thee to make the night for man to
rest in, as thou hast ordained by the day thereof, 1 grant moste
father, that we may so take our bodily rest, that our senses may continu-
ously watche for the tyrne that our lord Jesus Christe shall appearre
for our deliverance oute of this mortall lyfe, and in the meanes reason that
we, not overcome by any tentations, fantasies, dreams, or illusions,
may fully set our minde vpon thee, love thee, feare thee, and rest in
thee: furthermore, that our sleepe be not excessive or oversoome after
the insaciable desires of our fleshes: 2 but onely sufficient to content
our weake nature, that we may be better disposed to lyue in all godly
conversation, to the glory of thy holy name, and profess of our bro-
thren. So be it.

A PRAYER MADE at the first assemble of
the congregation, when the confessio-
of our faihte, and the whole orders
of the church was there red, and ap-
proved.

"O LORD God almightie, and father moste mercifull, there is none lyke
thee in heaven nor in earthe: which workst all things for the glorie
of thy name and the comfort of thyne elect. Thow dost once make man
ruler over all thy creatures, and placed him in the garden of all ple-
sures; but how sone(als) dyd he in his felicitie forget thy goodnes? 3
Thy people Israel also in their wealth dyd euermore runne astray, abus-
ing thy manifold mercies; lyke as all fleshes contynuall yageth, when it
hath gotten libertie, and externall prosperitie. 4 But such is thy
wisdom adjoined to thy mercies (deare father) that thou sekest all
meanes possible, to brynge thy chyldren to the sure sens, and lyuely
feelings, of thy fatherly favor. 5 And thero fore when prosperitie will not serve,
then sendest thou adversitie, graciously overcominge all thy chyldren
whom thou receyest into thy household. Wherefore we wretched and
miserable synners render unto thee most humble and hartie thanke,
that yt hath pleased thee to call vs home to thy foldes by thy fatherly cor-
rection at this present, wherease in our prosperitie and libertie we dyd

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1. Isa. "to work". This sentence bears a resemblance to Calvin (independent of Noyeke), who has in his Evening prayer this: "Seigneur Dieu, puis qu'il
va pleure crier la nuit pour le repos de l'homme, comme tu lay as ordonné le
loir pour travailler: neus veulls ne faire le grace de jältent repose
cest nuit selon le corps, que mon ane veullle toujour cle toy...."
2. Here again is a resemblance to Calvin: "D'avantage, que mon dorime ne soit
point excessif, pour compleire outre mesure à l'aise de ma chair mais
généralement pour satisfaire à la fragilité de ma nature afin de ne disposer
à ton service,... et... à ce que mon dorime ne crime soit à la gloire de ton Nom."
3. 1 Ki.viii.23. 4. Gen.i.28; 11.16. 5. Gen.xiii. 6.Exod.xxxiii.5.
7. Exek. xviii. 30-32. 8. Heb.xii.6; Prov.iv.1 sq.
neglect thy graces offered unto us. For the which negligence and many other
gracious graces, wherein we now accuse our selves before thee, thou mightest
moste justely have given us vp to reprobate minds, and induration of our
harte, as thou hast done others. But such is thy goodness, O Lord,
that thou art not forgetful of all our offences, but hast called vs of thy
good pleasure from all Idolatries, into this Citie moste christiallye
reformed, to profess thy name, and to suffer some crosses amongst thy
people for thy trewth and gospells sake: and so to be thy mynsters with
thy prophets and Apostles, yea with thy dearly beloved sonne Jesus
Christ our head, up to whose thou dost beseem here to fashion vs lyke
that in his glorie we may also be lyke him when he shall appear. O
lord God what are we upon whose shouldest shew this great mercy?
O moste louynge Lord, forgiv vs our vnhankfulness, and all our synnes
for Jesus Christes sake. O heauenly father increase thy holy spirite
in vs, to teach our haret to crie Abba deare father, to assure vs of
our eternal election in Christ, for whose sake we beseech the (O Lord God)
to guide, govern, and prosper this our entrance in assembling our brethren to praise thy holy
name. And not onely to be here present with vs thy children according
to thy promisses: but also mercifulie to assist thy like persecuted
people, our brethren, gathered in all other places, that they, and we,
consenting together in one spirite and truthe may (all worldly re-
spects set a part) seke thy onely honor, and glorie, in all our, and
their assembles. So be it.

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Misprint for "accounts" (account)

1. Rom. i. 29.  2. Isa. xlix. 13.  3. Matt. v. 11-12.
4. Luke xxiv. 27; Acts i. 8.  5. 1 John iii. 2.  6. Psa. viii. 4.
11. This prayer seems to be entirely an independent compilation, possibly
of the first Minister when the church was opened in Geneva, and having
been used that day, was preserved for sentimental (and perhaps anniverary)
purposes in the book which was being prepared. It has no connection, as
far as one is able to determine, with other prayers of the period.
1 Cor. 3.

No man can laye any other foundation then that which is layed, even Jesus Christe.

(DEVICE: The same as on the title-page of the Psalms and Catechism)

Imprinted at Geneva by John Crespin.
Anno. D. M.D.LVI. the tenth of February.

THE END.