THE MAKING OF THE SCOTTISH PRAYER BOOK OF 1637

BY

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ILLUSTRATIONS

1. A page of the Haddington Book, showing the Sentences, Exhortation and Confession in Morning Prayer, with MS. alterations (printed on pp. 267-8)

2. The corresponding page of the version printed in 1635-6 (from a 'Suppressed Leaf' discovered in Edinburgh University Library), showing that the alterations made in the Haddington Book have been given effect to, except that 'presbyter' has been substituted for 'priest', while the further alteration indicated in the Christ Church Book (see p. 268) has not yet been made

3. A page of the Haddington Book, following that already reproduced (No. 1), showing the insertion at the end of the Confession and the alterations in the Absolution (printed on pp. 268-9)
Morning prayer.

Matthew 5: 
Amend your lives, for the kingdom of God is at hand.

Luke 15: 
I will go to my father, and say to him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and against thee: I am no more worthy to be called thy son.

Psalms 143: 
Enter not into judgement with thy servants, O Lord: for no flesh is righteous in thy sight.

1 John 1: 
If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and there is no truth in us.

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

A general Confession to be said of the whole Congregation after the Minister kneeling.

 Almighty and most mercifull Father, we have erred and strayed from thy ways like lost sheep. We have followed too much the devices and desires of our owne hearts: we have offended against the holy Lordes, we have left undone those things which we ought to have done, and we have done those things which we ought not to have done, and there is no
Morning prayer.

Obeded the voice of the Lord our God, to walk in his laws which he set before us, by his servants the prophets.

O Lord, correct me, but with judgement; not in thine anger, lest thou bring me to nothing.

Enter not into judgement with thy servant: for in thy sight shall no man living be justified.

If we say that we have no sin, we deceive our selves, and the truth is not in us.

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

A general Confession to be said by all that are present after the Presbyter or Minister, kneeling.

Almighty and most mercifull Father, we have erred and strayed from thy ways like lost sheep, we have followed too much the devices and desires of our own hearts: we have offended against thy holy laws, we have left undone those things which
Morning prayer.

health in us: but thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us miserable offenders, spare thou them, O God, which confesse their faults, restore thou them that be penitent, according to thy promises declared unto mankind, in Christ Jesus our Lord: and grant, O most merciful Father, for his sake, that we may hereafter live a godly, righteous, and sober life, to the glory of thy holy Name. Amen.

¶ The Absolution or remission of sinnes to be pronounced by the Minister alone.

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

Amen.

The people shall answer.

Amen.
PART I

INTRODUCTION
The history of the worship of the Scottish reformed church begins in the 1550s, at a time when the liturgical position among English-speaking reformers was quite unstable. In England the first inroads on the unreformed, Latin service had been made only a very few years earlier, with the introduction, towards the end of Henry VIII's reign, of English lessons and an English litany. Under Edward VI there came in 1548 the English Order of Communion (to be inserted in the Latin mass) and in 1549 the first Book of Common Prayer, followed in little more than three years by a second. Edward's second book was the most protestant of Anglican liturgies, but even so it was not wholly satisfactory to the growing body of puritan opinion and there were already rumours of a third instalment of reform before the king died in 1553. During Mary Tudor's reign the leftward trend continued in the congregations of English-speaking exiles on the continent. Even the more conservative among them, who—if only out of loyalty to their brethren who were being martyred in England—wished to adhere in general to the second Prayer Book of Edward VI, were not disposed to insist on the book in its entirety. A more radical faction, after some of their number had been

1 Much of the ground covered in this section was dealt with by Dr. William McMillan in *The worship of the Scottish reformed church, 1550–1638*. Other accounts are to be found in the introductions to the Church Service Society's editions of the various service-books, and in Hill Burton's *History of Scotland*, chapters xlix and lxviii. For material included in both the 1871 and 1901 editions of Sprott's *Scottish liturgies of James VI*, I have given references to only the 1901 edition.
worsted in a conflict with the ‘conservatives’ at Frankfort, concentrated in Geneva. This party deliberately rejected the Prayer Book, and their service-book, originally composed at Frankfort and in 1556 printed for their use at Geneva, was on distinctly reformed lines.

These developments were the heritage of Scots as well as of English. John Knox himself had been involved at every stage from the agitation against the first book of Edward to the adoption of the book of Geneva. He was the ‘runagate Scot’ to whose influence is credibly attributed the insertion, in Edward’s second book, of the ‘Black Rubric’ which denied that kneeling at Communion implied adoration of the consecrated elements; and at Frankfort he had led the radicals against the more loyal Anglicans under Richard Cox. The congregation at Geneva included—besides Knox—David Lindsay, later minister at Leith, John Baron, who had married an Englishwoman and afterwards became minister of Galston and of Whithorn, and a John Davidson who may be identical with the later minister of Hamilton and Blantyre. Several other Scottish reformers—William Harlaw, Paul Methven, John Spottiswoode and John Willock—had spent a good deal of time south of the Border and had evidently served in the Church of England under Edward VI. Possibly we should add to their names those of John Melville, a Scottish preacher who was imprisoned in Newgate in 1553 and may be identical with the later minister of Crail; John Douglas, a friar who became chaplain to the earl of Argyll in 1558 and is presumed to have been in England with Harlaw and Methven; and Robert Stewart, bishop of Caithness, who spent long periods in England and was appointed to a prebend of Canterbury, before returning to Scotland to organise the reformed church in his diocese. All these men played their parts in carrying through the Reformation in Scotland. Other Scots who had gone to England did not return to their own country, but are found among the

\[1\] For an analysis of the origins of this order see William D. Maxwell, *John Knox’s Genevan Service Book* (1931).
beneficed clergy of the English establishment under Queen Elizabeth. The liturgical views of the many Scots who had contact with the Church of England are not as a rule recorded, but there is no reason to believe them different from those of their English contemporaries. Under Edward VI they must have assented to the Prayer Book, and some at least would have agreed with their compatriot John Rough, who had been associated with Knox at St. Andrews in 1546–7 and was martyred in England under Mary, in approving the Prayer Book as 'agreeing in all points with the Word of God'. Later, some of them would share in the movement leftwards.

In Scotland itself, as the reformed faith was spread throughout the Lowlands, protestant congregations developed, more or less in secret, in a number of the principal towns and other centres. These were the 'privy kirks', which existed before there was 'the face of a public kirk'. 'Men began to exercise themselves in reading of the Scriptures secretly within their own houses', and even such household gatherings partook not only in reading but also in 'exhorting' and in making 'common prayers'. In 1556 Knox advised that in larger 'assemblies of brethren' there should once a week be an act of worship consisting of (1) confession of sins, (2) an 'invocation of the Spirit of the Lord Jesus', (3) the reading of a lesson or lessons, according to a systematic scheme, (4) exposition or discussion, and (5) 'thanksgiving and common prayers for princes, rulers and magistrates, for the liberty and free passage of Christ's evangel, for the comfort and deliverance of our afflicted brethren . . . and for such other things as the Spirit of the Lord Jesus shall teach unto you to be profitable'. This skeleton directory of Knox may well have been expanded into MS.

1 The general picture of the Anglo-Scottish contacts is too well known to require documentation. From searches in diverse sources I have collected particulars of over thirty Scots who were beneficed in the Elizabethan church.

2 Spottiswoode, History, i, 172 (based on Foxe's Book of Martyrs [ed. Cumming, iii, 958-9]).

3 Laing's Knox, i, 299-300; ii, 151 (Dickinson, i, 148; ii, 277); iv, 129-40; vi, 78. This order is similar to that initially adopted by the English exiles at Frankfort in 1554 (ibid. iv, 10-11).
orders of service along the lines of the liturgy which he himself was by this time using at Geneva. No order of such a nature was as yet available in Scotland in print, at least in any quantity, for the Genevan service-book was published merely for the use of a very small congregation in a distant land. On the other hand, a service-book in the English tongue was accessible in the second Prayer Book of Edward VI, and, whatever the nature of the entire service in a Scottish 'privy kirk', the confession of sins and the 'common prayers' may have been drawn in whole or in part from the Book of England. There was as yet no question of corporate worship being conducted without the aid of a liturgy, even when a minister was available, but in any event these Scottish congregations must often have met without ministers, and with the Book of Common Prayer in his hands any intelligent layman could lead the prayers.

The 'privy kirks' were not the only centres of reformed worship. As a very great many of the clergy in office before 1560 subsequently served as ministers or readers under the new régime, it is reasonable to assume that in the 1550s they were already making use, either publicly or privately, of a reformed order of service. In May 1560 James Archibald, who had been vicar of Lintrathen since 1547 and was now 'joined to God's congregation', claimed that he had for many years read the 'common prayers and homilies' to his parishioners. Whatever the precise nature of the 'common prayers', they were not the services of the medieval church, but an unauthorised development, liable to be suppressed by the queen regent and her French soldiers, and Archibald's reference to 'homilies', which can hardly have been other than those of the Church of England, suggests that his 'common prayers' came from the same source. That the vicar of Lintrathen was not unique in his use of a reformed

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1 Cf. McMillan, p. 42.
2 Registrum secreti sigilli, iii, 2513; Hist. MSS. Comm. Report, ii, 187; Spalding Club, Miscellany, iv, 120.
3 McMillan, p. 34.
order of worship is perhaps indicated by the statute of the provincial council of 1559 that ‘the sacraments of the Eucharist and of marriage shall not be ministered save according to the accustomed form instituted by the church’.1

The conjecture that the Prayer Book had gained a footing both in the ‘privy kirks’ and in the services of clergy favourable to the cause of reform is strengthened by the developments which are seen as the reformed church emerged from obscurity. When the reforming party first drew up a formal programme of their aims, at the end of 1557 or the beginning of 1558, it included the requirement that the ‘common prayers . . . with the lessons of the Old and New Testament, conform to the order of the book of common prayers’ should be read by the parish priest (if he was sufficiently qualified) or by a suitable layman.2 It is beyond question that the book referred to here is the English Prayer Book, for even if copies of the Book of Geneva had by this time reached Scotland, that book did not contain a lectionary. In 1558 there was talk of a compromise whereby ‘common prayers’ and litany, in the vernacular, should be used alongside the Latin mass.3 The reference to the litany suggests that here again the Scots may have had the English book in mind. On the success of the reforming movement in 1559 and 1560, it was ‘the book set forth by godly King Edward’ that was read in at least some churches4 and Scottish services were sometimes ‘the very same or differed very little’ from those of England.5 The conclusion must be that, while the term ‘common prayers’ does not necessarily or invariably mean the English Prayer Book, yet it is beyond doubt that that book was in fairly general use in Scottish reformed congregations.

On the surface there may have seemed a likelihood that there would be conformity, and not divergence,

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1 Patrick, Statutes of the Scottish church, p. 187.
2 Laing’s Knox, i, 275-6 (Dickinson, i, 137-8).
3 Patrick, op. cit. p. 158.
4 Laing’s Knox, vi, 33-4.
5 Cal. S.P. Scot. i, 289.
between the two realms. Yet some divergence was all but inevitable; not because the Scots were of a different mind from most of their English contemporaries, but because they, unlike the English, had freedom to frame their services according to their own views. A preference for an order less conservative than the Book of Common Prayer was not confined to Scotland, but among Englishmen also opinion generally had by this time moved far beyond even the second Prayer Book of Edward VI. Even the more conservative of the Marian exiles had abandoned such practices as private Baptism, confirmation, the observance of festivals, kneeling at Communion and the use of the surplice. It was from among such men that Queen Elizabeth had to choose her bishops and dignitaries. If they had had their own way, the practices they had abandoned on the continent would not have been retained in England; other usages, such as Baptism by women, the interrogation of infants and the sign of the cross, would have been laid aside; and the Prayer Book would have been modified in a reformed direction. The queen, who was more conservative than any of them, insisted on a Prayer Book to the right, rather than to the left, of the second Edwardine liturgy, and succeeded in imposing certain minimum requirements of uniformity, but she did so only with the utmost difficulty and with the lukewarm acquiescence, not the whole-hearted support, of many of her bishops. On the episcopal bench were men who, in the freedom of exile, had abandoned practices which they were now reluctantly called on to enforce, and who endured rather than welcomed many of the queen’s requirements—men like Parkhurst of Norwich, who declared that if Christians had the wheat they should not complain of the chaff which accompanied it; or like Grindal of London, who said to the nonconformists brought before him in 1566: ‘You see me wear a cope or

1 Troubles at Frankfort (ed. Arber), p. 77.
3 Zürich letters, i, 287-8.
4 Strype, Annals, II, i, 165.
Introduction

a surplice in Paul’s; I had rather minister without these things, but for order’s sake and obedience to the prince’. Even Cox of Ely, who had defended the Prayer Book in the congregation of exiles at Frankfort and may be regarded as a sound Anglican by the standards of his time, was no ritualist, and was greatly perturbed when a cross and candles appeared in the queen’s chapel.

The views of John Knox, which are so much more fully known than those of any other Scot, were not radically different from those of some of Elizabeth’s bishops. In his dislike of vestments, of kneeling at Communion, and of the sign of the cross, he was at one with them, and when he ‘gave the cross and candles a wipe’ he was only expressing, in a more forcible manner, opinions shared by his old enemy Cox. Sometimes his liking for emphatic language carried him away. In 1559, as an irresponsible rebel embittered by Elizabeth’s attitude towards him, he wrote an oft-quoted judgment on the Prayer Book. ‘One jote’, he roundly declared, ‘of these diabolical inventions, viz. crossing in Baptisme; kneeling at the Lord’s table; mummeiling or singing of the Letanie, a fulgure et tempestate: a subitanea et improvisa morte etc., will I never counsell any man to use.’ But this was in a private letter, where he was being consciously and confessedly extravagant, and such language is completely at variance with his more considered and responsible statements. Earlier, Knox had given, and later he was again to give, a judgment which amounted to counselling the use of the ‘diabolical inventions’. Writing to the congregation at

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1 A parte of a register (1593), pp. 24, 32.
2 Zürich letters, i, 66. For a description of the whole situation see M. M. Knappen, Tudor puritanism, pp. 164 et seq.
3 Cal. S.P. Scot. i, 603.
4 Laing’s Knox, vi, 12. In a later letter to the same correspondent (Mrs. Anna Locke), Knox characterised Anglican worship as a ‘mingle-mangle’ (ibid. pp. 83-5)—the phrase attributed to English puritans in the ‘Device for alteration of religion’ (Gee, Elizabethan Prayer Book and ornaments, p. 197).
5 At one point he writes, ‘I appear to jest with you’, and after all his outpourings he does not in the end give a clear direction against participating in Anglican worship. In this letter he does not take the trouble to quote the Prayer Book Litany accurately, and in his later letter he admits he is condemning Elizabeth’s Prayer Book without having seen it.
Berwick in 1552, he had explained his own opposition to kneeling at Communion, and had proceeded:

But because I am but one, having in my contrair magistrates, commone order, and judgements of manye lerned, I am not mynded for maintenance of that one thing to gainstand the magistrates, in all other and cheif poynts of religioun aggreing with Christ and with his true doctrine, nor yet to break nor truble common order, thought meet to be kept for unitie and peace in the congregatiouns for a tyme.

If certain safeguards, to obviate superstition, were introduced, he would bear ‘that one thing’ with patience, ‘daylie thirsting and calling unto God for reformation of that and others’, and he therefore advised the people of Berwick to conform.¹

An even more significant pronouncement by Knox arose from the relations between the Scottish Church and the Elizabethan puritans. Ever since 1559 there had been Englishmen whom not even loyalty to ‘the prince’ could persuade to conformity, and from the outset some of them regarded the Scots kirk, with its freedom from injunctions and acts of uniformity, as a model. Christopher Goodman, who left England in disgust at the survival there of ‘divers monuments of idolatry’ in the shape of vestments and altars, found in Scotland his spiritual home: ²

Constrened by sondrie injuries done to me in my native contre, where I hoped ... for libertie to serve in my vocation: I now am ... in thses partes of Scotland ... where my labors, everywhere at home rejected, ar (praised be God) in sondry places desyred and thankfully receved. ... The lyke thyrst and zele to God’s holy word and promotinge of Chrys’ his kingdom is not amongst you [the English] as were to be wyshed, and as is found in thys peple of latere callinge [the Scots].

In 1566 for the first time a body of puritans decided to secede from the Anglican establishment.³ The Scottish

¹ Peter Lorimer, John Knox and the Church of England, pp. 251-65.
Introduction

Church was their ideal, partly because, as one of the ‘best reformed churches’, it had ‘the word truly preached, the sacraments truly ministered, and discipline according to the Word of God’, and partly because it had adopted the Book of Geneva, which they wished to use. They told Knox, ‘We desire no other order than you hold’. When their conventicle was broken up (for the second time) on 4 March 1567/8, some of them were thrown into prison, while others, who remained at liberty, went to Scotland, with the connivance, if not the actual encouragement, of the English authorities. They met Knox, and received a measure of encouragement from him, but Scotland did not, on the whole, come up to their somewhat exacting standards, and they soon returned home in chastened mood, drawing from Grindal the apt comment: ‘The Church of Scotland will not be pure enough for our men. They are a wilful company. God grant them humble spirits.’ Knox had now formulated in a letter his considered judgment on their case, and they found in this a further disappointment, for he advocated mutual forbearance, condemned secession, and in short counselled them to use the ‘diabolical inventions’:

I cannot allow those that obstinately do refuse to hear the message of salvation at such men’s mouths as please not us in all things. . . . I wish your consciences had a better ground. . . . God forbid that we should damn all for false prophets and heretics that agree not with us in our apparel and other opinions, that teacheth the substance of doctrine and salvation in Christ Jesus.

It may be that Knox had been sobered by the responsibilities of office; but his advice now was not at variance with the position which he had taken up earlier at Berwick.

It is plain enough that the distinction between Knox’s position and that of Grindal, who was in some sense his English counterpart, lies not in a difference in their liturgical views but in a difference between the political situations in which they were placed. In Scotland there

1 Lorimer, op. cit. pp. 298-300; Grindal, Remains, p. 214; A parte of a register, p. 376.  
2 Strype, Grindal, p. 179.  
3 Grindal, Remains, pp. 295-6.  
4 Lorimer, op. cit. pp. 298-300.
was no ‘godly prince’ to impose his (or her) will, and, the desire for greater simplicity in worship being unchecked, the Reformation took the course which it might well have taken in England also had there been no dictation from the civil power. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that had Knox been bishop of London in 1559, or had he found a ‘godly prince’ in Scotland, he would probably have acted as Grindal did. Much history would certainly have been changed had there been a ‘godly prince’ in Scotland.

Submission to the civil power in matters of ceremonial, thus practised by Grindal and advocated by Knox, was in accordance with the precepts of Calvin. The Genevan laid down that a church which had purity in the ministry of the word and the celebration of the sacraments was not to be rejected, even although it might in other things be chargeable with many errors. To him, as to many of his contemporaries, much was unessential or indifferent; there were, he thought, ‘foolish things’ in the English Prayer Book, but they were ‘tolerable’, and, as he reminded Knox, ‘certain things, though not positively approved, must be tolerated’.1 More particularly, Calvin recognised that, whereas in a non-established church, which enjoyed freedom from civil control, ceremonial should be reduced to a minimum, yet in an established church, where the magistrate upheld certain standards of worship, churchmen might have to acquiesce in the retention of practices of which they did not positively approve. Writing with reference to such usages as lights and the sign of the cross, his judgment was quite explicit: 2

I am persuaded that they which retain these ceremonies in a free choice, or when they may otherwise do, they are over-greedy and desirous to drink of the dregs: neither do I see to what purpose it is to burden the church with trifling and unprofitable ceremonies . . . when as there is liberty to have a simple and pure order.

In Scotland there was ‘liberty’ and a ‘free choice’. The desire of the dominant party for the removal from

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1 Institutes, IV, i, 9 and 12 (Beveridge, iii, 211-3); Opera, xviii, 434 (Reyburn, John Calvin, p. 249); Troubles at Frankfort, pp. 50-51.

2 Troubles at Frankfort, p. 79 (my italics).
worship of the conservative elements retained in the Prayer Book was unchecked, and it issued in the adoption of Knox's Book of Geneva as the Scottish Book of Common Order. Whether or not copies of this rival to the Book of Common Prayer had reached Scotland previously, some must have arrived when Knox and others returned from their exile. It was in use in some Scottish congregations by the early summer of 1560, for in the first Book of Discipline it is referred to as 'our book of common order', and it is clearly implied that it was to receive official encouragement and its use to be extended. 1 When Queen Mary made her state entry into her capital in August 1561 she was presented not only with a Bible but also with 'ane Psalme Buik coverit with fyne purpourit velvot' 2—and a 'Psalm Book' was a volume which contained the Genevan liturgy with the metrical psalms. In 1562 the general assembly prescribed the Book of Common Order for the administration of the sacraments, and two years later its use became obligatory for the 'common prayers' as well. 3 Editions had been produced at Geneva in 1558 and 1561, but only with the first Scottish edition, in 1562, can the book have become generally available. For nearly eighty years 'Knox's Liturgy' was the official Scottish service-book.

Yet it must not be thought that from this point the churches of England and Scotland were following wholly divergent paths. The characteristics of Scottish worship, even after the adoption of the Book of Common Order, did not differ as widely from contemporary Anglican practice as they came to do in some later generations. For one thing, what may be termed the liturgical principle was to some extent maintained in Scotland. The view, somewhat assiduously cultivated by later Scots who would

1 Laing's Knox, ii, 186, 210, 239 (Dickinson, ii, 282, 296, 313).
2 D. Hay Fleming, Mary Queen of Scots, p. 45. In their use of the term 'Psalm Book' to include the liturgy, the Scots were at one with other northern peoples. In Sweden to this day a 'Psalmebok' includes what English usage would style 'the Prayer Book', and in Denmark a 'Salmebog' may include the Epistles and Gospels as well as hymns.
3 Acts and proceedings of the general assemblies (hereafter cited as 'B.U.K.'), i, 30, 54.
not admit that the reformers had countenanced 'read prayers', that the Book of Common Order was no more than a directory, is not tenable. Dr. McMillan, after a diligent marshalling of the evidence, concluded that 'there was not so much liberty allowed as some writers have held. . . . While the use of every word was not enforced, still the forms were not to be neglected altogether'; and this is a very restrained summing-up of the evidence which he produced.1 It would seem that, even for ministers, the structure of the service, the substance of each part of it, and even the words of some of the prayers, were intended to be invariable. In 1563 the privy council defined public worship as 'the preaching of the Word of God, ministration of the sacraments and reading of the common prayers'.2 The office of a reader, in particular, was to read the 'common prayers', and the book from which he read was sometimes called his 'prayer book'.3 Moreover, in the language of Knox's Liturgy there can be detected here and there the influence of the Prayer Book. The introductory exhortation in the Communion service contains substantial passages copied verbatim from the exhortation originally framed for the English book of 1549 and repeated in each of its successors. A good deal of the marriage service is verbally identical with the form in the English books. A pre-communion prayer contains noticeable echoes of the Prayer of Humble Access. And the prayer for the king, introduced to the Book of Common Order in 1575, was copied verbatim from Edward VI's Primer and has very close affinities with the prayer 'for the king's majesty' appended to the English litany. Further, the Book of Common Order included some 'set forms' which were familiar enough to Anglicans but which became abhorrent to later generations of Scots—the Lord's Prayer (and in the Prayer Book version, not that of the Geneva Bible); the Apostles' Creed (which was repeated in the Sunday morning service and

1 McMillan, pp. 63-5.  
2 Reg. privy co. Scot. i, 247.  
3 Laing's Knox, ii, 195-6 (Dickinson, ii, 287); Reg. of the kirk session of St. Andrews, pp. 176, 179, 326.
at Baptism); and the Doxology (which was sung at the end of the metrical psalms). In some editions the metrical psalter which was printed with the Book of Common Order had appended to it metrical versions of the Veni Creator, the Ten Commandments, the Lord’s Prayer, the Creed, the Nunc Dimittis and ‘the song of Blessed Marie, called Magnificat’, each with its tune. The opening of the Sunday morning service with the reading—or perhaps the singing—of the Commandments, though not prescribed in the Book of Common Order, was not unknown. It is clear that the Scots of that period were familiar with many things which became strange or unknown to their descendants, and that their worship had affinities with Prayer Book services. The day was distant when a Scottish minister would describe the Creed, the Lord’s Prayer and the Commandments as ‘old rotten wheelbarrows to carry souls to hell’.2

The Sunday morning service prescribed in the Book of Geneva is not directly related to anything in the Book of England. Yet the usage of both churches reflects the ideals of worship which were held in common by the English and Scottish reformers. It was not their intention to depose the Lord’s Supper from the central place in public worship on the Lord’s Day. Calvin had insisted that the ideal was a celebration of the Holy Communion at least every Sunday, and Knox had the same idea, but the compilers of the Book of Common Order, realising that this was impracticable, recommended a celebration once a month.3 Even this proved to be impossible to achieve, because the people had been so long accustomed to communicate only once a year that they refused to come frequently, while on the other hand the reformed clergy would not officiate with few or no communicants, but insisted that the action had to be a genuinely corporate or congregational one. The administration of this

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1 McMillan, pp. 131-2; for the resumption of the ‘rehearsing’ of the Commandments after the Restoration see Eccl. records of Aberdeen, p. 263.
3 Choisy, La Théocratie d Genève au temps de Calvin, pp. 13, 236; McMillan, p. 191.
sacrament therefore became infrequent. In England, too, at that time, celebrations were comparatively rare, and the usual Sunday morning service was therefore the Ante-Communion (to the end of the Prayer for the Church), preceded by Mattins. In Scotland the development was exactly parallel. In the Sunday morning service contained in the Book of Common Order there can be discerned the general structure of a pre-Communion service, concluding, like the English Ante-Communion, with a long intercession. This pre-Communion service was normally preceded by the ‘reader’s service’, conducted by the reader before the minister entered the church, and consisting of a confession of sins, psalms and lessons. This reader’s service was the equivalent of Mattins, so that the entire structure of the Sunday morning service, and its content, resembled the English Ante-Communion preceded by Mattins.

If there was this general resemblance in order of service, there was also resemblance in the doctrine which lay behind it. The order for the administration of the Lord’s Supper in the Book of Common Order stressed action rather than words. The action was preceded by a recital of the words of institution (from 1 Corinthians xi), leading on to an exhortation. There followed the ‘taking of bread’, and then the eucharistic prayer, which was wholly of thanksgiving and commemoration. After the fraction and distribution (accompanied by the reading of some place of Scripture ‘which doth lively set forth the death of Christ . . . that our hearts and minds also may be fully fixed in the contemplation of the Lord’s death, which is by this holy sacrament represented’) came a short thanksgiving prayer and a psalm. From this order of service, and from the corresponding description in the Book of Discipline, it is clear that the Scots had firmly grasped the ‘four-action shape’ of the liturgy, and it is actually more explicit in their order than in Queen Elizabeth’s, which gave no directions for either the ‘taking’ of

2 Laing’s Knox, ii, 187-8 (Dickinson, ii, 282-3).
the elements or for the fraction. Nor had the Scots any doubt about a Real Presence. 'We utterly damn', they wrote, 'the vanity of those that affirm sacraments to be nothing else but naked and bare signs. . . . In the Supper, rightly used, Christ Jesus is so joined with us, that He becomes the very nourishment and food of our souls. . . . The faithful, in the right use of the Lord's Table, so do eat the body and drink the blood of the Lord Jesus, that He remaineth in them and they in Him.' This was a 'higher' doctrine than that implied in the Prayer Book's 'Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving'. The Scottish view of the ministry, too, was at least as high as the English. Calvin had favoured a form of absolution, or something resembling it, and Knox had explicitly provided for one in the order of service which he used at Berwick in 1549–51. The most impressive proof of the Scottish view of ministerial powers is to be found in the forms of absolution from excommunication. 'Not one of the forms of public absolution used in the contemporary books of the Church of England allows such a power to the priest as the minister here claimed for himself.'

If the Scots were thus on the whole rather 'higher' in their doctrine, they were little 'lower' in their ceremonial. It is true that in Scotland the communicants, although they knelt to pray, sat when they received, but there is ample evidence that kneeling was far from being established throughout England and that many who were constrained to kneel would have preferred to sit or to stand. But whether they sat or knelt made less difference than might be imagined. For, whatever the posture, the Communion Table, in England and Scotland alike, was set lengthwise in the chancel or nave, with the celebrant and the people around it. There was no possibility of mistaking such a service for the mass. Apart from the

2 Ibid. p. 338.  
3 Ibid. p. 151.  
4 Gee, Elizabethan Prayer Book and ornaments, p. 179; Victoria County History, London, i, 319, 325; Hooker, Works, iii, 573; McCrie, Knox, p. 61 n.
Holy Table, English churches had often scanty furnishings and few ornaments, and probably differed little from those of Scotland, where the Table, at any rate, was treated with a respect which it did not always receive in later times. As for clerical dress, not only did it prove quite impossible in England to enforce the use of the cope, but years passed before even the surplice was universally worn, and one archdeacon actually forbade his clergy to wear it. ‘Each advanced clergyman wore what was right in his own eyes and picked and chose among the forms of service prescribed in the Prayer Book.’

Although the Book of Discipline and subsequent ordinances condemned the observance of festivals and holy days, yet a Kalendar accompanied successive editions of the Book of Common Order and the tradition of the Christian year persisted.

Lent continued to be a season of abstinence from flesh, during which meat could be eaten only by licence from the privy council; there are indications, too, that marriages may not normally have been celebrated in Lent. Celebrations of the Holy Communion took place at an early hour, and it was the recognised custom to communicate fasting. The term ‘godfather’ was in regular use, and ‘godmother’ not unknown.

Not only was Scottish practice, after the official adoption of the Book of Common Order, less divergent from English than might be imagined, but the Book of Common Order itself had not wholly superseded the Book of

3 Ibid. pp. 324-5; Laing’s Knox, ii, 370 n.; Records of the burgh of Edinburgh, 1573-89, p. 487. Numerous licences to eat flesh in Lent are extant. The Dunfermline Parish Register (printed by the Scottish Record Society) shows clearly that marriages in Lent, while not unknown, were very rare; see also Dumfries and Galloway Nat. Hist. and Antiq. Soc. Transactions, xxxiv, 12; Eccl. records of Aberdeen, p. 11. A marriage contract of 14 November 1532 provided that the marriage should be solemnised before ‘Festrounsevin’ [Shrove Tuesday] next to come (Register House Charters, No. 2645).
5 Ibid. p. 248; Maitland Thomson, Public records of Scotland, p. 127. In the Dundee Register of Baptisms, beginning in 1645, ‘godfathers’ appear frequently even in the 1640s and 1650s, and ‘godmothers’ occur occasionally after 1660.
Common Prayer. Although the Scots' rejection of the Book of England had been deliberate, they were not unanimous in their preference for the Book of Geneva. In August 1560 the English ambassador had indicated the division of opinion:

I have tawlked of late with them all, to serche their opynions howe a uniformytie myght be had in religion in bothe these realmes. Theie seme wyllinge that yt so were, maynie commodties are alleged that myght insue therof. Howbeyt I fynde them so severe in that theie profess, and so lothe to remyte any thynge of that that theie have receaved, that I se lyttle hope therof. With other I have dealte more liberally, then with them. Theie fynde yt so expedyet that there shall lacke no goodwyll in them therunto.

In succeeding years, diversity of view in Scotland is reflected in Scottish judgment on the state of religion in England itself. In 1562, when there was a rumour that Queen Mary had been persuaded by her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, to adopt the English Prayer Book, some of the Scots 'ran almost wild', declaring that the state of religion in England was 'little better than when it was at the worst'. Possibly even Scots favourably disposed to the Prayer Book would have been disinclined to accept it at the hands of a cardinal. The critical attitude of the Scottish radicals was apparent again two or three years later, when those who 'willingly believed anything that of England is evil spoken' made the most of a report that Queen Elizabeth 'for three days together wore a pair of beads with a crucifix hanging at them'. Responsible comment, however, was restrained. It must have been influenced by the current view of the authority of a 'godly prince', to whom submission should be made in non-essentials, and also by the readiness of the Scots Confession of Faith to admit that one order in ceremonies could not be appointed for all ages, times and places—an admission made also in the English Prayer Book and

2 Cal. S.P. Scot. i, 603.
3 S.P. Scot. Eliz. x, No. 31 (Cal. S.P. Scot. ii, No. 161).
the XXXIX Articles. Early in 1565, when the vestiarian controversy was raging in England, the earl of Moray and Maitland of Lethington felt impelled to write to the earl of Leicester and Sir William Cecil. The Scottish statesmen were not inclined to favour extremists (from whom, indeed, they expressly dissociated themselves), but they pointed out that a stigma of 'papistrie' attached to the vestments, and urged that men engaged in worthy labours should not be bound to use them. The official opinion of the Scottish church on this issue was formulated in a letter from 'the superintendents, ministers and commissioners of kirks within the realm of Scotland to their brethren the bishops and pastors in England, who have renounced the Roman Antichrist and do profess with them the Lord Jesus in sincerity'. While professing to eschew argument, the letter does give an opinion against the vestments, but its central theme is a plea for moderation and for charity towards tender consciences, and there is no suggestion that those who wish to wear the vestments should lay them aside. There is a hint that the moderate attitude thus officially adopted was not in accordance with the opinions of some individuals, for the general assembly had to appoint a committee to 'reconsider and revise the answer made be Mr. William Ramsay, one of the masters of Sanct Salvators colledge, to Henrie Bullingers book anent abulziements [habiliments] of preachers in England'. The work of Bullinger here referred to was presumably The judgement of H. Bullinger declaring it lawful to wear the apparel, and, if Ramsay's work was an 'answer' to Bullinger, who had advised conformity, it must have condemned compliance with the vestiarian requirements. It would thus be open to censure by the assembly because its standpoint conflicted with that officially adopted.

1 Confession of Faith, cap. xx; Declaration 'Of Ceremonies' in the Edwardine and Elizabethan Prayer Books; Article XXXIV.
4 B.U.K. i, 90.
5 Short Title Catalogue, 4063.
It is true that interest in this period had centred on the vestiarian dispute and not on the Prayer Book. Yet the evidence on the whole suggests that what Maitland called ‘the precisenes off soche as do mak everything a mater off conscience’ was not universal among the Scots. The extremists of the left were vocal, but even they had little or no criticism to make of the Prayer Book itself, and there is ample proof that there were those on the right and centre who were actually favourable to the Prayer Book. It may perhaps be inferred that John Willock, who retired from the superintendence of Glasgow to spend his later years in a Leicestershire parsonage, and Paul Methven, whose inglorious ministry in the Scottish reformed church had a sequel in a distinguished career in the Church of England, had never any inclination to abandon the Book of Common Prayer. The acts of assembly of 1562 and 1564 in favour of the Book of Geneva should perhaps have caused congregations which had hitherto been using the Book of England to lay it aside, but there is no trace of any action to suppress it. It has been ingeniously argued that, as the Book of Common Order did not at every point tie a minister to an exact form of words, the Prayer Book could still be legally used for parts of the services; and if the Scottish clergy of that period resembled those of later generations—when the absence of a prescribed liturgy has been the opportunity of those who wished to use the words of the Prayer Book—it probably was so used. At any rate, the Prayer Book clearly continued to have a place in Scottish worship. Knox himself seems to have used the Anglican Psalter until his death, and Lord Darnley—who of course had been brought up in England—had a Prayer Book at Kirk o’ Field from which he read one of the psalms for the day on the evening before his murder. A Prayer Book was presented by Adam Bothwell, the reforming bishop of Orkney, to the young King James. There were copies on sale in Edinburgh book-shops in the 1570s and 1580s.

1 S.P. Scot. Eliz. x, No. 26 (Cal. S.P. Scot. ii, No. 156).
2 McMillan, p. 43.
3 Ibid. p. 44.
In 1584, when the Master of Gray was at church with Lord Hunsdon in Berwick, he said all the service and sang the psalms so well and so readily that his host concluded that he must be familiar with the English forms of worship.\(^1\) The English Book of Homilies, too, which James Archibald had been using along with the Prayer Book at Lintrathen before 1560, long continued to enjoy official approval in Scotland. On 14 January 1567/8 licence was given to Robert Lekprevik to print 'the buik callit the Omeleyis for reidaris in kirkis', and this was repeated on 11 November 1570 and 27 July 1573.\(^2\)

It would appear that there had been at least no immediate breach in continued Scottish use of the Prayer Book. In view of this, and of what we have seen of the Scottish attitude to the Church of England, it may not have seemed unreasonable to contemporaries that, in 1568, Queen Elizabeth proposed that Mary should accept the Prayer Book as a condition of English help towards her restoration. There is no evidence of Scottish reaction to the suggestion, but it cannot have been any more hostile than the vehement criticism which came from the English puritan, Sir Francis Knollys, and his bitter remarks were directed—so at least he protested—not at the Prayer Book itself but at the vestments which in England accompanied it.\(^3\)

From this time onwards, moreover, such attachment to the Prayer Book as had survived in Scotland from the Reformation was being reinforced by new factors. The Scots had now a 'godly prince', and it was an open question how far a royal supremacy might infringe the liberty hitherto enjoyed by the reformed church; the tendency so far as church government was concerned was towards at least a superficial imitation of the Anglican system, and contemporaries spoke freely of development in the direction of 'conformity with England'; the two

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2. Registrum secreti sigilli (MS.), xxxvii, 27; xxxix, 34; xli, 108.
countries were drawn together into 'amity', and every year the probability grew stronger that they would ere long be joined in a personal union. Far-seeing Scots could discern many advantages in a 'conformity' which would include forms of worship. In 1584, when, by the 'Black Acts', a renewed attempt was made to stabilise episcopal government in the Scottish church, the question of worship was not overlooked. Patrick Adamson, an enthusiastic supporter of King James's right to the English succession, and at this time fresh from communion with the English bishops,¹ was archbishop of St. Andrews, and one of the clauses in the commission given to him by the king in June or July 1584 laid down that the bishops and such other learned men of the dioceses as should be thought meet for the purpose should assemble together 'for taking of a uniform order to be observed in the realm in form of common prayer and other things requisite for the common estate of the kirk'.² That this phraseology may have meant more than insistence on the Book of Common Order is suggested by the fact that Adamson is known to have used 'the English ceremonies' in celebrating a marriage and that his enemies accused him of 'filthily adulterating the state of public prayer with'³ the simplicity of rites in ministration of the sacraments⁴. If the intention in 1584 was to raise the liturgical standards of Scottish worship it would have been in keeping with the powerful conservative reaction represented by the régime which passed the Black Acts—a régime which not only reaffirmed episcopal government but restored to his see Robert Crichton, bishop of Dunkeld, a survivor of the pre-Reformation hierarchy, and which also proposed to revive the rule of celibacy for university teachers.⁵

If it be the case that in the 1580s Scottish episcopalian like Adamson were inclining towards the Prayer

² Calderwood, iv, 145.
³ I.e. and.
⁴ Calderwood, iv, 163; Wodrow Soc. Miscellany, i, 417.
⁵ Reg. privy co. Scot. iii, 713.
The Making of the Prayer Book of 1637

Book, it is equally true that among Scottish presbyterians opinion was hardening against it. At the time of the 'Black Acts' about a score of the presbyterian ministers fled to England. Two of them received a letter from Adamson, possibly written with his tongue in his cheek, observing that 'Her Majesty [Elizabeth] hath continued the reformation of King Edward, wherein the kirk is burthened with sundry ceremonies and injunctions (whereunto their clergy is stricited), wherewith His Highness [James] hath not burthened his realm'.1 The issue was in truth a serious one for the exiles, who had to consider carefully whether they could in conscience accept not only Queen Elizabeth's ceremonies and injunctions, but also her Prayer Book. A statement drawn up by them 2 shows how thoroughly some Scottish presbyterians had by this time come to accept the English puritan objections to the Book of Common Prayer. The document shows all the signs of being, not an independent production, but a copy by a Scot of a typical English statement of the period, containing the stock puritan criticisms.3

Quhidder with a saiff conscience the buike of common prayers may be subscryvit simpliciter or not. R[esponsum]: Non, as it is in Ingland.

Quhairas in the statute maid anno 13 of hir majesties regimen it is thocht sufficient for ministeris to subscribe to the artecles of religiou as so far furthe as they conteine onlie the doctrene of faiyth and sacramentis, the BB. [bishops] notwithstanding urge a simple subscription contrarie to the said statute not onlie of all thes artecles bot also of the wholl buke of commoun prayer and to the ordouris and ceremonies of this churche, disagreing in many and wechtie poynts from the puritie of the word and example of all reformed churches, as may appeir by thes nottes that ensue, wherof some ar contrarie to the Word of God and some verie offensive, besydis many uther things in the same worthie of gut consideratioun.

1 Calderwood, iv, 90.
2 Warrender papers (Register House), vol. B, fo. 45. Apart from internal evidence, the place of this paper in the collection leaves little doubt that it was associated with the Scottish exiles in England in 1584. It is preceded by a letter suggesting to the exiles that in association with English puritans they would probably have opportunities of ministering 'saiff and free from the impuritie and pollutions of the Romesh and superstitious ceremonies'.
3 Cf. The seconde parte of a register (ed. Albert Peel, 1915), i, 222-3.
Introduction

1. The bookes callid Apocrypha as parts of the holie scriptures and of the Old Testament.
2. Days dedicated to sanctes and a special lyturgie appointed for them.
3. Ordenarye days prescrybed for fasting, yea and whiche is more in sanctes evens.
4. The part of the Lordis prayer For thyne is the kingdome etc. cut of thoroughout the booke.
5. On the secound Sonday of Ester in the gospel! of John the 10 it is said doun that Jesus said to his disciples wher it appereth by the text that he spak to the Pharesies.
6. The lyke is on the xx Sonday efter Trinitie, Matth. 22.
7. The booke does not onlie permit but dois command as an thing well done and in dew ordour that ony woman or lay man (in case of necessitie as it is called) may baptize, yea and that at all tyms nicht or day.
8. It alloweth the sacramentis to be ministrat in privat places, whiche ocht to be done publictlye in the churche or place appointed for the congregation to assemblie in.
9. A privat communio of thre or four in a publique place, wheras the wholl congregation so far as may be convenientlie ocht to joyne together in the participatioun therof.
10. An absurd asking of questiones of the infant that is to be baptizit, to the whiche the godfathers and godmothers answer in the childis name.
11. The infant baptized signed in the forheid with the singe of the cross, with absurd wordis of the singnificatioun therof.
12. The imposition of the B[ishopis] handis in ther confirmation is maid an singe of grace, besyds that wher baptisme may be administrat by an ordinarie minister and in some causes by ony of the peple yit onlie the B[ishop] may confirme.
13. It is said in the buke that it is certane by Godis word that children being baptized have all things necessar for ther salvatioun and that they be undottedlie saved.
14. Wher by the word of God ther is no prest bot onlie Christ, the booke in most places geveth the name of prest to the ministrie and that in respect of his especiall office.
15. A conditionall baptisme, If thou be not baptizit I baptize the.
16. In buriall it most be affirmed that everie man or woman, how prophanlie or wickedlie soever they deid or lyved, that he wes our deir brother that God had takin his soull to mercie and his bodie committed to the earthe in suire and certane houpe of resurrectioun to eternall lyfe.
17. An prescript forme of apperell injoyned to the minister, being appropriat to the place, tyme and actioun of his ministrie, c
semeth to savour stronglie of Aaronisme and being takin from poprie and the book calling the same ornamentis does not a lette confirme papists in opinioun of holynes therin, besyds that copes that ar therby authorized ar some of them full of most abominable images, which being on his bake in the tyme of his ministration upon whom the eis of all the peple ar bent ar in the most dangerous place of all the churche.

18. Item the booke mentenethe aune unsufficient ministrie be reading of homelies and leaving to unlernde ministers the ministration of the sacramentis and by reasone of that it hindreth gretilie the preaching of the word and disaloweth the preaching ministrie and weareth the peple.

19. Kneling at the Communioun which as it is not without shew of popish idolatrie so experience heth taucht that it confirmeth popish adoration of the sacramentis.

20. The forme of the buike is mor agreeable to the popish churche then to the reformed churches of the gospell, bot[he] in commoun course of the service and also in the scriptures, set doun heir a peice and ther a peice; most of the collectis and prayers takin out of the portesse.

21. On everie day of the Christmass weike as they call it, and in the Sonday following, in the collectis it most be said Christ whiche as on this day wes borne.

22. The booke appointeth homelies to be red not onlie alreadie set furthe bot to be set furthe heireft[ir], authorising whiche is uncertane whether it wilbe godlie or no.
II

LITURGICAL REVISION, 1601-1625

It would seem that already in the 1580s there was a tendency for the division of opinion on the subject of the Prayer Book to coincide with the division on the more pressing matter of ecclesiastical polity. As the presbyterians climbed to power in Scotland between 1586 and 1592 and remained in the saddle until the end of the century, there was persistent tension between the Scottish church and the English, and the Scots’ dislike and suspicion of the English hierarchy increasingly coloured their views of Anglican worship. In 1590 we find James Melville accusing the English bishops of intriguing for ‘conformity’ between the two realms, and King James himself making his oft-quoted outburst against the Church of England—‘As for our neighbour kirk in England, it is an evil mass said in English, wanting nothing but the liftings’.¹ Six years later, David Black, who had been seventeen years a schoolmaster in England before becoming minister of St. Andrews, remarked that ‘the religion professed there (meaning in England) was but a show of religion, guided and directed by the bishops’ injunctions; and [that] they would not be content with this at home, but would persuade the king to bring in the same here’.² When the Scottish court kept Christmas in 1598, the English agent at Edinburgh reported that ‘the extraordinary keeping of this day is thought by many to proceed from some advice and policy of our bishops in England, between some of whom and the king some do think there is an intelligence’.³ The Prayer Book was

¹ Calderwood, v, 106.
² S.P. Scot. Eliz. lix, Nos. 63 et seq. (Cal. S.P. Scot. xii, 353 et seq.)
³ S.P. Scot. Eliz. lxiii, No. 85.
probably more completely out of favour in Scotland during the presbyterian domination in the 1590s than it has been at almost any other period.

From 1600 the pendulum began to swing once more in the direction of episcopal government, and within a few years there were signs of an accompanying reaction in worship as well. It would, however, be a serious oversimplification to suggest that there were only two schools of liturgical thought, coinciding with the two parties in polity, or that the attitude to the Prayer Book was the only issue. The Book of Common Order must indeed have come in for criticism from those who favoured the Book of Common Prayer and were ready and willing to modify Scottish worship along English lines. On the other hand, those whose puritan tastes made them strongly opposed to the Prayer Book must also have been critical of some of the forms in the Book of Common Order. Yet there was also a central party, including presbyterians as well as episcopalian, who were generally loyal to Knox's Liturgy but desired its improvement. For instance, it was not only among high churchmen or friends of the Prayer Book that it was felt that the Communion Office was defective, especially in its lack of a real prayer of consecration which should include an invocation, or at least a blessing, on the elements and the action.¹

It is commonly believed that in the early seventeenth century the Book of Common Order was being less rigidly adhered to than it had been earlier. The contemporary evidence for this is far from convincing. Some of the statements usually quoted are tendentious, for those who were anxious to justify the liturgical policy of James VI and Charles I readily brought themselves to allege that before that policy was initiated Scotland had 'no form of public prayer';² while those who opposed the royal policy, especially if they wrote after the reaction against liturgical worship had set in in 1637, were equally eager to prove that the Book of Common Order had been a mere directory. Calderwood's allegation that 'none are

¹ McMillan, p. 170.  
² Ibid. pp. 69-70; cf. p. 31 infra.
tied to the prayers of that book, but the prayers are set
down as samplers' is only one degree less untrue than
Samuel Rutherford’s ‘Our church never allowed read
prayers, but men took them up at their own choice’.1
The latter at least is flatly contradicted by Alexander
Henderson’s statement, which insisted that the ministers
had to conform themselves to the order of their book and
did not ‘preach and pray what was good in their eyes’.2
Possibly a little more reliance may be placed on the fol-
lowing more moderate and circumstantial—though not
wholly unbiassed—account: 3

The formes of prayers, admonitions etc., wer not preciselie in-
joynd, nor yitt the order of them, but might be formed otherwise
be the minister and the order inlarged or contracted according to his
discretioun.

In the visitation of the sicke, ministers used not the words sett
doun in the booke, but comforted the sicke as the Lord enabled him
be his gift. Some readers perhaps in the beginning of the refo-
rmation have read the verie words of the booke to the sicke, which
notwithstanding I darre not affirme. . . .

No minister wes tied to the forme of confession of sinnes ather
before sermon, or at other times, for the booke itself sayeth the
minister useth this confession or the like in effect.

The rehearsing of the beleefe hath beene disused thir manie
yeeres till now of late that the formalists have revived it, becaus
there is an intention to bring in the English service.

At the ministration of baptisme the minister taught summarlie
the doctrine of baptisme, more amplie then it is sett dow in the
booke. We call suche as accompanie the father of the baptized
witnesses, not godfathers, as at the beginning.

At the ministration of the Lords Supper, after sermon wes ended
the minister beganne an exhortation before he came don from the
pulpit, not as it is framed in the booke, but in a more ample
forme. . . .

This suggests that the puritans had been undermining
the position of the Book of Common Order, and that
there was a good deal of variation in practice. The latter
conclusion might be deduced from the known differences
of opinion; and, however extravagant may be some of the

1 Ibid. pp. 70, 71.  
statements of controversialists as to usage, the fact that they could be made indicates that there was not complete uniformity. King James, in his Basilikon Doron, made a suggestive distinction between 'the ignorant common sort, that prayeth nothing but out of bookes', and, on the other hand, 'our vain proud puritanes', and implied that sensible men adopted a via media.¹

To some extent the Book of Common Order not only retained its official position but continued to be responsible for the preservation of a distinct liturgical tradition, and some uniformity of structure in the services. After all, the common prayers were still being publicly read every morning and evening;² The 'reader's service' on Sunday morning, too, retained a stereotyped form, which was described in the second decade of the seventeenth century in the form of a dialogue between a 'Catholic Christian' and a 'Catholic Roman':³

C. R. What is this the people are going to do?
C. C. They bow themselves before the Lord, to make an humble confession of their sins, which you will hear openly read out by the public reader. . . .
C. R. But what go they now to do?
C. C. Everyone is preparing (as you see) their Psalm Book, that all of them may sing unto the Lord. There is the psalm which the reader hath proclaimed. . . .
C. R. What doth the reader now? . . .
C. C. Yonder book which now he opens is the Bible. You will hear him read some portion of Holy Scripture. . . .

It seems that the prescribed form of confession in the Book of Common Order was generally adhered to until the outbreak of the 'troubles'.⁴ Plainly, people who were accustomed to the sort of service outlined in this dialogue might well have been expected to take kindly to a simple version of Mattins and Evensong. So far as the ministration of the sacraments was concerned, there is good evidence that the prescribed order for Baptism was still in

¹ Basilikon Doron, ed. Craigie (Scot. Text Soc.), i, 38.
² E.g., Reg. of the kirk session of St. Andrews, ii, 829-30; South Leith records (ed. D. Robertson), p. 5.
⁴ McMillan, pp. 115, 129.
use in the 1630s, but it would seem that the Communion service was often considerably modified, at least in detail.

The process of liturgical revision which was to end in 1637 began in 1601, if indeed it cannot be dated from Archbishop Adamson's commission in 1584. In 1601 proposals were made that certain prayers in the 'Psalm Book' should be altered 'in respect they are not convenient for the time' and that others should be deleted; the general assembly rejected both suggestions, but invited the submission of additional prayers 'meet for the time'. That is all we hear of the matter, and for a number of years after this, interest was centred exclusively upon ecclesiastical polity. After 1612, when King James had safely completed his alterations in church government by securing parliamentary approval of the episcopal régime, he was free to take in hand the question of liturgical reform. Between 1614 and 1621 we have to trace two series of measures, one concerned with the preparation of a new Scottish liturgy, the other with the introduction of certain observances and practices which had been disused since the Reformation.

In 1615 King James was evidently in consultation with John Spottiswoode, who in that year was translated from the archbishopric of Glasgow to that of St. Andrews, about 'the service of the Church of Scotland', and the archbishop drew up a list of points which were considered to require amendment. He implied the need for a new liturgy, or at least for securing more rigid adherence to the Book of Common Order, by making the rather remarkable statement that 'there is lacking in our Church a form of divine service; and whiles every minister is left to the framing of public prayer by himself, both the people are neglected and their prayers prove often impertinent'; he went on to urge the establishment of a uniform order for consecrations and ordinations; and by adding that 'The forms of marriage, baptism and administration of the Holy Supper must be in some points helped' he at
once modified his previous comment on the lack of a form of divine service and showed that what he had in mind was the improvement of the existing order. In June 1616 orders were sent that the universities should use the English Prayer Book for the confession of sins at the beginning of morning and evening prayer, the prayers for the royal family and the monthly recitation of the psalms. In August, on the king's instructions, the general assembly at Aberdeen 'ordained that a uniform order of liturgy, or divine service, be set down to be read in all kirks', and appointed a committee of four to 'revise the Book of Common Prayers contained in the Psalm Book and to set down a common form of ordinary service to be used in all time hereafter' by ministers and readers. The work of the committee was to be subject to the approval of a large commission of bishops and leading ministers which was to meet at Edinburgh in December.

A draft liturgy was drawn up, presumably in the later months of 1616. It was of a morning service, broadly on the Knoxian model, but with a more distinctly liturgical character and with rubrics which were compulsory and not permissive. Opening with the fourth commandment and the verse 'Let the words of our mouths . . .' (Ps. xix, 14), it proceeds with an exhortation to 'come boldly to the throne of grace' and a long confession of sins which includes this passage:

O Lord we have sinned against Heaven and against Thee, and are unworthy of the name of Thy children: we have rebelled by

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1 Original letters relating to the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland (Bannatyne Club, 1831), ii, 445-6 (Sprott [1901], pp. xvi-xvii).
2 Op. cit. ii, 308 (Sprott [1901], xviii).
3 B.U.K. iii, 1123, 1128, 1132 (Sprott [1901], xviii-xxii). The king's instructions had spoken of a liturgy and form of divine service to be 'read in every church, in common prayer and before preaching every Sabbath, by the reader where there is one, and where there is none by the minister before he conceive his own prayer, that the common people may learn it and by custom serve God rightly'; the assembly's decision referred to a liturgy to be read 'by the minister before the sermon where there is no reader . . . on the ordinary days of prayer and every Sabbath . . . to the end the common people may be acquainted therewith and by custom may learn to serve God rightly'.
4 It should be compared with Knox's outline directory of 1556 (p. 5 supra). The draft is printed in Scottish liturgies of James VI.
departing from Thy precepts and commandments. We have not hearkened unto Thy servants which spake unto us in Thy name; we have not obeyed the voice of Thee the Lord our God, to walk in Thy laws which Thou hast set before us. We have done those things that we should not have done. We have left undone those things that we should have done.

Then was to be 'read or sung' the 92nd (prose) psalm, followed by a prayer for hallowing the Sabbath which concludes with the Lord's Prayer. 'This prayer ended, then let there be read a chapter of the gospel, and another of the epistles, as they shall by course'; these lections were to be followed by a prayer for the blessing of the Word to the hearers. After this prayer was to be 'read' the 89th or 103rd psalm, 'or any of them that shall be thought fittest let be here set down at length'; and, 'This reading being ended, then let him recite the Creed, which is the ordinary Confession of Faith'. The prayer which follows has the heading 'The Last Prayer', and it was clearly meant to be preceded by the sermon. It included prayer for 'the estate of the whole Kirk universal'. Finally came separate prayers for the king, the queen, Prince Charles, the Prince Palatine and his spouse, the nobility and council, the clergy, the schools of learning, sick and diseased persons, and prayers to be used in times of famine and pestilence, seed-time and harvest.

This service was designed to supersede the Sunday morning service of the Book of Common Order (although provision was made for the retention, for permissive use, of some of the prayers printed in that book—two prayers before sermon, 'A prayer for the whole estate of God's Church', prayers to be used 'when God threatens His judgements' and 'in time of affliction, specially of the pestilence', and a prayer for the king). If steps were taken at this stage to 'help' the forms for the sacraments and occasional offices, no evidence has survived; the service which we have been considering was, of course, all that was called for in terms of the king's instructions to the assembly and of the assembly's remit to its committee. The committee member whose name is attached to the
The compilation was Peter Hewat (or Howat), an Edinburgh minister of moderate views, who became a strong critic of the further innovations which the king soon proposed. The draft obviously represents the views of the central party, who wished in general to uphold the standards of the Book of Common Order. It is most significant as illustrating how widespread was the desire for liturgical reform and how far a very moderate man was prepared to go. It also suggests the lines along which unofficial experiments in the parishes may have been proceeding. In its compulsory rubrics, its prescription of specified prose psalms and its prayers for special occasions we have already at this stage an anticipation of some of the characteristics of the Prayer Book of 1637.

Meanwhile, the king's policy in other (though allied) matters was outrunning the progress made in liturgical revision. In March 1614 a royal proclamation had ordered all ministers to celebrate Communion on Easter Day, and in the following year this practice was ordained to be perpetual. In 1616 the university chapels were commanded to observe Christmas, Easter, Ascension and Whitsunday, and the assembly ordered that Communion should be celebrated four times yearly in towns and twice in the country, one of the occasions to be Easter. A code of canons was in preparation, concurrently with the revision of the liturgy, and James insisted that the canons should make provision for the observance of Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension and Whitsunday. Scotland's lack of a rite of confirmation had been noted by Archbishop Spottiswoode in 1615, and the assembly of 1616 decided that children should be examined by the bishops on their visitations. In 1617 came James's visit to Scotland, when the Book of Common Prayer was used in the chapel royal. Before the end of the year the king put forward the requirements which came to be known as the Five Articles of Perth—kneeling to receive Com-

1 Sprott (1901), pp. xxv-xxvi. Spottiswoode described Hewat as one who 'loved ever to be meddling, and was always set to make trouble' (History, iii, 244).
munion, private administration of the two sacraments, the observance of the Christian year, and a rite of confirmation. Early in 1618 there was a proclamation for observing holy days, and in August the Five Articles were passed by the general assembly at Perth. They aroused bitter opposition. There seems to have been relatively little difficulty about the Christian year, and the provisions for private Communion and Baptism and for confirmation were scarcely of universal concern; but the requirement to kneel at Communion intimately affected every lay man and woman and encountered the utmost hostility.¹

As the king’s policy had developed, the work of the liturgical committee appointed by the general assembly of August 1616—at least so far as it is represented by Hewat’s draft—was almost at once out of date. It has been said that the committee did not even report to the commission of assembly in December,² as had been intended, but this may perhaps be doubted, for, although Hewat’s draft proved quite abortive, it is certain that work on the preparation of a liturgy continued, apparently without intermission. At the Perth Assembly of 1618, on 26 August ‘the rest of that afternoon was spent in . . . the forming of the Book of Common Prayers, and extracting of the canons of the church’, and a commission was appointed to reconsider the work of the committee³ of the Aberdeen Assembly of 1616 ‘for revising the Book of Common Prayers and collecting the canons of church discipline and as they find the same worthy to be allowed to take order for approbation and publishing thereof’.⁴ The nature of the ‘Book of Common Prayers’ which was under consideration at this time is perhaps not quite certain, but there are good reasons for identifying it with a second draft which is extant, a draft this time of a

¹ These developments are recounted in Sprott, op. cit. pp. xvi-xxxii, and McMillan, op. cit. pp. 193, 308-9, 311 et seq.
² William Scot, Apologetical narration (Wodrow Soc.), p. 245.
³ The assembly records run, ‘commission to certain persons to revise the labours of those to whom commission was given in the assembly of Aberdeen’, but the context makes it plain that the reference is to the committee of the Aberdeen Assembly and not to its commission.
⁴ B.U.K. iii, 1157; Reg. privy co. Scot. xi, 455 (Sprott [1901], p. xxxii).
complete Prayer Book. The name chiefly associated with this compilation is that of William Cowper, bishop of Galloway. As Cowper died on 15 February 1619, the draft cannot have been of date much, if at all, later than the Perth Assembly, and may well represent work done between 1616 and 1618, in terms of the commission of the Aberdeen Assembly and in succession to Hewat's work. The draft was sent by Archbishop Spottiswoode to the king, who, with the dean of Winchester (John Young, a Scot), considered it and returned it with certain directions for alterations. On 30 June 1619, Gilbert Dick, who had already (on 10 February 1618) been authorised to print new catechisms, received a licence to print a liturgy also. The licence significantly refers to the authorisation of a 'Book of Common Prayer', as well as two catechisms, by the Aberdeen Assembly of August 1616, and the work now to be printed is described as 'the said Book of Common Prayers'. This suggests that work had been continuous and that Hewat's draft and Cowper's draft represent two stages in the same process of revision.

Cowper's draft now exists only in its final form, after it had presumably undergone some amendments at the king's suggestion. There is, however, no reason to believe that radical alterations had been made, and the book as it stands may well represent the views of Cowper and of other churchmen who were relatively 'advanced' and Anglophil but were by no means forgetful of Scottish tradition. Cowper himself had come early under English influence, for after graduating at St. Andrews in 1583 he had taught for two or three years in a school at Hoddesdon, Hertfordshire, kept by a Scotsman named Guthrie, and was for a time in the service of the English Biblical scholar Hugh Broughton. Returning to Scotland in 1586, he became minister first at Bothkennar and then at Perth. In 1604, when he was on the point of leaving

1 Baillie, Letters and Journals, i, 443 (Sprott, op. cit. pp. xxxv-xxxvi).
2 Registrum secreti sigilli (MS.), lxxxvii, 227.
3 Printed in Scottish liturgies of James VI.
4 Life of Cowper, printed in his Works.
for a visit to England, one of his parishioners remarked, perhaps significantly, that he was ‘passing to England to London, and ere he came home would wear a surplice and a four-noaked bonnet’. Yet Cowper was no extremist, for it was he who penned the protest against the introduction of portraits of the apostles to the chapel at Holyrood in 1617, and Spottiswoode remarked of him that he ‘affected too much the applause of the popular’.

The draft liturgy with which Cowper was associated was, naturally, nearer to the English model than Hewat’s had been. The orders for morning and evening prayer were based on Mattins and Evensong, with the omission of versicles and responses and the substitution of psalms for the morning canticles (while the evening canticles, which were already familiar in Scotland in a metrical form, retained their places). Yet the traditional ‘Knoxian’ structure was not superseded, for in the daily service the Apostles’ Creed at Morning Prayer was to be followed by the collect for due preparation, state prayers and a prayer ‘for the whole estate of Christ’s church’; two alternative versions of this last prayer were given, the second being the prayer for the church from the Communion Office of the Book of Common Prayer. On Sunday the Creed was to be followed by the Ten Commandments (with responses), after which was to be read one of the confessions of sins contained in the Book of Common Order. A number of prayers and thanksgivings for various occasions were added at this point, in fulfilment of the reform projected in 1601 and again in Hewat’s draft.

Cowper’s ‘Order for administration of the Lord’s Supper or Holy Communion’ is strictly only the later part of the Communion Office, following the sermon (which would have been preceded by the Sunday morning service already mentioned). It opens with the collect for due preparation, the words of institution (1 Cor. xi, 23-9), the exhortation from the Book of Common Order (with,

1 Spottiswoode Soc. Miscellany, ii, 283.
2 Spottiswoode, History, iii, 230, 258.
however, an emphatic excommunication of sinners) and the short invitation (‘All yee that truely repent you of your sinnes, that beleeve in the Lord Jesus Christ, that be in love and charitie with your neighbours . . .’) from the Book of Common Prayer. Then comes a long prayer, consisting of (a) the form of confession in the English Communion Office, (b) a modified version of the Prayer of Humble Access, (c) a sentence from the English Consecration Prayer—‘Mercifull father we beseech Thee that we receiving these Thy creatures of bread and wine, according to Thy Son our Saviour His holy institution, may be made partakers of His most blessed body and blood’, (d) a sort of invocation: ‘Send down, O Lord, Thy blessing upon this sacrament, that it may be unto us the effectual exhibitive instrument of the Lord Jesus’, (e) commemoration and thanksgiving, and (f) the Lord’s Prayer. Thereafter the words of institution were to be read again ‘for consecrating the elements’ and were to be accompanied by the taking of the bread and the cup in the minister’s hand. A short exhortation echoes the Sursum Corda—‘Let us lift up our hearts unto the Lord, and by faith lay hold upon Jesus, whom God the Father by his spirit offereth to us in this holy sacrament, that we may draw virtue from the Lord to quicken and conserve our souls and bodies unto eternal life’. The words of administration are those of the Book of Common Prayer, slightly modified—‘in remembrance that the body of Christ was broken for thee’ and ‘that the blood of Christ was shed for thee’. During the Communion the reader was to read ‘the historie of Christ’s passion, begynnand at the 13 of Sanct Johne and so forward’, and as successive groups of communicants came up to the table and returned to their places parts of Psalms ciii or xxxiv were to be sung. The service concluded with a prayer of thanksgiving.

Cowper’s draft represented a not unreasonable compromise, which in favourable circumstances might have had a fair chance of general acceptance in Scotland. The king’s other moves, however, had ensured that there
would be grave opposition to any alterations in the
church’s services. Any new liturgy was now bound to
reflect the royal policy and to include recognition of the
Five Articles, so that it would encounter all the hostility
which the Articles themselves had aroused. The con-
sideration of Cowper’s or any other draft on its merits
was no longer possible. There may indeed have been a
proposal from south of the Border that Scottish worship
should be brought much more closely into line with
English than Cowper had proposed, for there is a story
that William Laud was ‘pressing’ the king ‘to a nearer
conjunction with the liturgy and canons of England’. 
James, however, would have none of it. Remarking that
Laud ‘knew not the stomach’ of the Scottish people, he
‘sent Laud back with the frivolous draft that he had
drawn’. This tale is not wholly credible, but it reflects
the truth—that James had learned his lesson over the
Five Articles. Not only did he reject any plan for closer
conformity between the two churches, but he even de-
cided to proceed no further with the draft liturgy for
which a licence to print had been issued. There is good
reason to believe that at the parliament of 1621, if not
before, James gave an undertaking that if the Five
Articles were ratified he would refrain from further
innovation, and such certainly was the policy put into
effect. The king secured his Five Articles—the high-
water mark of his ecclesiastical policy—but only at the
cost of abandoning the liturgical projects which at one
time seemed promising and which might have aroused
far less hostility. Liturgical revision was shelved until
after James’s death in 1625.

Apart from the impetus which was probably given to
unofficial experiments in the parishes, the only result of
all the king’s liturgical schemes was that the Book of
Common Prayer presumably continued to be used, at
least in part, in the chapel royal, in some cathedrals and in

1 John Hacket, Scrinia Reserata (Memorial of Archbishop Williams), p. 64.
2 Calderwood, vii, 496; Spottiswoode, iii, 263; Sprott, op. cit. p. xxxix;
Balfour, Annales, ii, 182.
the university chapels. In 1623 James sent an order to St. Andrews that the English liturgy should be used every morning and evening in the New College; 1 it is not clear whether this was a command to resume a practice which had been ordered in 1616 2 and since abandoned or whether it was meant to prescribe the Prayer Book for the whole of Morning and Evening Prayer and not for only parts of those services. The king’s principal contribution to the cause of liturgical worship in Scotland had perhaps been made not by his ordinances but, less obtrusively, by his accession to the English throne and the consequent resort of large numbers of his Scottish subjects to England.

Many of all ranks of people of the Scottish nation ever since the year 1603 had peaceably in England frequented the English service of their own accord . . . The English service book had been daily read in the Chapel Royal of Edinburgh from the year 1617; and to that service in the chapel there had been a daily resort of the council, nobility, gentry, bishops, ministers, burghers and women of all ranks. And the bishops, whilst they gave orders to ministers, did use the English service book. It had been used for some years or time before in the New College of St. Andrews, without quarrel. 3

This may represent altogether too favourable a view, but it sums up the various ways in which acquaintance with the Book of Common Prayer was being spread among the Scots. There were tendencies at work which went some way to overcome the distrust of Anglicanism inherited from the 1590s and to counteract the suspicion aroused by some aspects of James’s policy.

1 Calderwood, vii, 569. 2 P. 32 supra. 3 J. Gordon, History of Scots affairs (Spalding Club), i, 6.
The composition of the Book of 1637

The project of liturgical revision, abandoned by James VI in 1621, was revived by Charles I in 1629. In August or September of that year the draft liturgy of 1619, with the state prayers brought up to date, was taken south at the royal command and presented to the king, apparently by John Maxwell, at that time a minister in Edinburgh and later bishop of Ross.

Maxwell discussed the subject of the Scottish liturgy with Laud, now bishop of London. The view of the Scottish bishops, put forward by Maxwell, was that 'their countrymen would be much better satisfied if a liturgy were framed by their own clergy than to have the English liturgy put upon them'. Laud's contention, however, was that 'it were best to take the English liturgy without any variation, that so the same service book might be established in all his majesty's dominions', and the king inclined to the same opinion—'to have the English service without any alteration to be established there'. When Maxwell returned to Scotland in November, it was reported that he had brought a letter from the king instructing the archbishop of St. Andrews to intimate the royal pleasure that the whole order of the English church should be received in Scotland, and a month or two later there were 'some surmises of further novation of organs, liturgies and such like'. Either these rumours were

1 Baillie, L. & f. i, 444; Large declaration, pp. 17-18; Prynne, Hidden works, p. 155. A rather vague recollection, some years later, was that the book had been brought south by 'the bishop of Ross then, now archbishop of Glasgow' [i.e. Patrick Lindsay]. Laud's more circumstantial account, however, refers only to 'Dr. John Maxwell, the late bishop of Ross', and we know that Maxwell did visit London at this time as spokesman of the bishops and clergy on some other business (Row, History, p. 348; Stirling Letters [Register House], p. 422).
exaggerated or the Scots must have pressed for, and obtained, a respite. If Laud's own account is to be believed, it suggests that, while he did not gain his point and have the English liturgy prescribed for Scotland, he at least succeeded in preventing Scottish demands for a native liturgy from taking effect for the time being. His words are, 'In this condition I held that business for two if not three years at least'.

Possibly the older Scottish bishops, fearful of disturbing the peace of the church once more, were only too pleased to let the matter rest. Maxwell was at court again early in 1632, but there is no indication of further liturgical discussion at this point. In 1633, when Charles visited Scotland and Laud had conversations with the Scottish bishops, it was apparent that some of the latter were at least hesitant about any innovations, while Maxwell (now bishop of Ross) and other clergy were inclined to press for a liturgy. The opponents of change ultimately gave way, with, however, the qualification 'that they would be better pleased to have a liturgy of their own, but such as should come near the English both in form and matter'. According to Clarendon, the objections to the English book were based not wholly on national sentiment, but partly on its alleged defects, especially its retention of an old translation of the Bible instead of King James's Authorised Version and its prescription of lessons from the Apocrypha.

An attempt was next made to insinuate, rather than to impose, the Book of England. The king's visit had been the occasion of the use of the Prayer Book in the chapel royal services and in the kirk of St. Giles, and Charles subsequently alleged that the English service had been used without scruple in all churches when he

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2 Row, p. 355.
3 Bishop Henry Guthry's Memoirs (1702), p. 16; Heylin, op. cit. p. 236 (where the remark is attributed to 1629); Sprott (1871), p. xlv.
4 Clarendon, History of the rebellion (1888), i, 113.
was present.\footnote{Row, p. 363; Large declaration, p. 20; Clarendon, op. cit. i, 110-11.} This very year, 1633, saw the publication of the first Scottish edition of the (English) Book of Common Prayer, and two more editions followed in 1634.\footnote{Aldis, List of books printed in Scotland before 1700, Nos. 798, 830-31.} It seems to have proved no easy matter to maintain the use of the English liturgy, at least in its entirety, except under direct royal surveillance. James's directions for its use in the chapel royal had presumably ceased to be effective,\footnote{This is positively stated by Heylin, op. cit. p. 240.} and the steps taken by Charles seem also to have encountered opposition. In October 1633 the king issued an order that the English liturgy was to continue in use in the chapel royal and in the bishops' oratories until a Scottish liturgy should be agreed on,\footnote{Charles Rogers, The earl of Stirling's register of royal letters (1885), ii, 679-80. The king's articles are in Prynne, op. cit. p. 148; Laud's Works, iii, 302 n.; Baillie, i, 422; and Sprott (1871), p. xlvii.} and he instructed Archbishop Spottiswoode, as chancellor of the university of St. Andrews, that, pending the publication of a Scottish liturgy, the English was to be used at the university services in St. Salvator's church.\footnote{Rogers, op. cit. ii, 677-8.} It would seem that, on a remonstrance by the bishops, the king agreed to abate the rigour of his demands, but a year later—on 20 October 1634—he returned to the attack, now extending his requirement of the use of the Prayer Book not only to the universities generally but also to the cathedrals.\footnote{Rogers, op. cit. ii, 797; Baillie, i, 432-3; 444; Sprott (1871), p. xlix.} Bishop Maxwell of Ross is known to have used the English liturgy in his cathedral from this period.\footnote{Hamilton papers (Camden Soc., 1880), p. 2.}

The precise date at which the king determined to yield to the representations of the Scots and permit them to draw up a liturgy of their own is uncertain. On 30 September 1633, Laud, who had become archbishop of Canterbury eleven days earlier, wrote to Archbishop Spottiswoode that 'whether that of England or another was resolved on, yet they should proceed circumspectly, because his majesty had no intendment to do anything but that which was according to honour and justice'.\footnote{Laud, Works, iii, 429.}
The king's instructions in October concerning the use of the English liturgy in the chapel royal seem to imply that a decision had already been taken that there should be a Scottish liturgy; they might possibly, however, mean only that, although there was to be a liturgy for Scotland, it was still undecided whether that liturgy was to be the Book of England or another. It was certainly not until 13 May 1634 that the king gave the Scottish bishops formal instructions to proceed to the compilation of a liturgy; and, from what follows, it seems plain that the Scots did not set to work until the summer of 1634. Charles's decision—whenever it was arrived at—was that the Scottish bishops 'should draw up a liturgy as near that of England as might be'.

It may be that even at this stage the Scottish bishops had not quite abandoned hope of working on the basis of the old draft of 1619. The extant MS., which itself assuredly belongs to 1629, shows that work continued in or after that year, and one of the amendments is the deletion of the prayer for the Elector Palatine, which did not disappear from the English Prayer Book until 1632; the possibility that this draft was still under consideration in 1633 or 1634 cannot, therefore, be excluded. At any rate, it seems plain that when, on 8 August 1634, the Scots commissioned Bishop Maxwell to go to England to discuss the subject of the liturgy, they were still hesitant as to the general shape of the book which they had been commissioned to compile. They had possibly felt impelled to protest afresh that considerable deviation from the Book of England would be necessary and perhaps to ask for instructions and guidance as to the precise scope of the changes which they would be permitted to make.

The outcome of Maxwell's mission was a copy of the English Prayer Book, signed by the king on 28 September 1634, containing certain alterations and a number of instructions and suggestions. This book, formerly believed

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1 Rogers, op. cit. ii, 753; Sprott (1901), p. liv. The bishops were to 'condescend upon a form of church service to be used' in Scotland.
2 Laud, Works, iii, 278.
3 Baillie, i, 428.
to have been lost, has now become available for examination. The probability that the Scots had not yet taken the initiative in any substantial measure or offered concrete, constructive proposals, is strengthened by the character of this draft. So far as appears, the Scottish revisers were to start from it as a basis; though this does not exclude the possibility that some of its directions were in response to questions put by Maxwell, and there are slight traces of a relationship between the alterations to Morning and Evening Prayer in this book and the draft of 1619—the deletion of the first of the opening sentences, the addition of the doxology to the Lord’s Prayer, the use of the Authorised Version for the sentences and the Venite and the substitution of a psalm for the Te Deum. It can be said, however, that the book is rather an English revision of the English Prayer Book than a book for Scotland. Of the changes made generally throughout the book, the addition of the doxology to the Lord’s Prayer might be reckoned a measure to please the Scots; but that change was already being made in some issues of the English book. Similarly, the substitution of the Authorised Version was certainly in line with Scottish thought, but it may have arisen independently from the king’s own sense of piétas and from no other motive. The substitution of ‘Scottish’ for ‘English’ in rubrics relating to the language was merely puerile. On the other hand, the preference for ‘priest’ rather than ‘minister’ and the insertion of ‘Saint’ or ‘S.’ before the names of saints may be regarded as—in the broad sense—Laudian. The substitution of ‘church’ for ‘congregation’ is probably in the same category—it was one of Bishop Cosin’s suggestions 2—though the precedent of the Authorised Version might have been pleaded for it,3 and it should be noted that Archbishop Spottiswoode used ‘congregation’ where

1 See description of the Haddington Book, pp. 84-6 infra.
2 Works, v, 520. Wren also adopted this suggestion (Fragmentary illustrations of the history of the Book of Common Prayer, ed. William Jacobson, 1874, pp. 68, 70, 75).
3 Even in Matthew xvi, 18, where the A.V. reads ‘upon this rock I will build my church’, the Prayer Book version had ‘congregation’.

Introduction 45
John Knox used ‘church’.\(^1\) Among the changes made at particular points throughout the book, few are of any great significance, and into none of them can any doctrinal meaning be read. It is especially noteworthy that the Communion service was practically untouched; here was no invocation, no rubric directing manual acts at the consecration, no change in the order of the prayers. All these were to come later. The only changes of any moment were in the offertory rubric and in the prayer for the church—the former being in line with the Scottish custom of prescribing the ‘taking’ of the elements. One of the opening rubrics was amended to specify a position for the Holy Table at the east end of the church if there was no chancel, and the celebrant’s position was now defined as ‘at the north side or end’. It was laid down that the people should stand for the gospel and the creed, and make responses before and after the gospel. These look like Laudian trivialities.

Besides what was prescribed, much was permissive. The one wide field in which the Scots were expressly given freedom of action was in providing for the observance of holy days. This was alluded to in notes before the table of proper lessons, at St. Stephen’s Day, at Septuagesima, at Monday in Holy Week and at St. Andrew’s Day.\(^2\) The king is persuasive, not peremptory, and the repeated notes suggest that the Scots had met with some success in their representations that the English requirements should be modified. (The Scots, it subsequently appeared, considered that the liberty given them allowed them to simplify the Kalendar, but it was then stated that their freedom extended only to provision for the observance of holy days, not to their insertion or omission in the book.) Minor points in which the Scots were given liberty of choice were—the selection of epistles and gospels and of offertory sentences, the possible substitution of the phraseology of the 1st Book of Edward VI in the offertory rubric and in the expansion of the prayer

\(^{1}\) In their transcripts of the Book of Discipline.

\(^{2}\) See pp. 257, 286, 287, 289, 293 infra.
for the church, and the adoption of a new psalm for the service of Churching of Women.

On the whole, the changes expressed in this book show every sign of having emanated from the king personally, and seem to reflect the views of a somewhat small-minded and sacerdotally inclined layman, rather than of a churchman interested in doctrine and other larger issues.¹ They also suggest that his majesty intended the Scots to have something very near indeed to the Book of England. With the king's book itself (signed by him on 28 September) should be read his letters of 20 October following, conveying to the archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow the royal pleasure that 'you cause frame it [the liturgy] with all convenient diligence and that as near as can be to this of England'²—an order which followed after such a short lapse of time that it is more likely to have accompanied the king's book than to have been issued after a renewed plea to be allowed more scope for deviation.

The stage which follows is the most obscure in the history of the composition of the new liturgy, and for a year and a half the evidence permits us to follow the course of events only in the most general way. The king's book was brought to Scotland by Bishop Maxwell, the Scottish revisers set to work on it as a basis, and at the end of six months they had produced a MS. liturgy. The Scots had been commanded by the king to let Archbishop Laud know, from time to time, 'what they did in that service book', and were under an obligation to transmit some 'account of their diligence'.³ On 2 April 1635 some Scottish prelates—the two archbishops and the bishops of Edinburgh, Moray, Dunblane and Brechin—once more commissioned Maxwell as their spokesman. Writing

¹ Quite a number of the changes were among those favoured by John Cosin, already a prominent member of the 'Laudian' party in England; but, on the other hand, several more of Cosin's suggestions are reflected for the first time in the king's second book, in 1636, and it is impossible to argue that Cosin had any influence, at least directly. I have noted a number of Cosin's suggestions in footnotes to the text.

² Rogers, op. cit. ii, 797; Sprott (1871), p. xlix.

³ Laud, Works, iii, 337.
to Laud, in somewhat obsequious terms, they intimated that they had put Maxwell to the pains of a new journey 'for ending the liturgy and canons of the church'. They had, they said, made further progress than could have been expected in many years, and hoped that, with the archbishop's assistance, the work would still go forward. They remarked that they could wish a full conformity with England, but this must be the work of time. Maxwell carried with him instructions and notes for Laud's information. The Scottish suggestions were examined by the king, who wrote in May: 'We have seen and approved of the liturgy sent by you to us with the book of canons [and] the form and manner of making and consecrating of bishops, presbyters and deacons, with these corrections and instructions which we have signed and sent unto you . . . We recommend that all be forthwith printed.' What these corrections and instructions of the king were, and how many of them related to the liturgy, is not known. To take account of them, however, involved more work for the Scottish revisers, and the results of their further labours were in time communicated by Maxwell to Laud, who replied on 19 September 1635: 'I have acquainted his majesty in what forwardness your liturgy there is . . . And by the king's command I have sent for Yonge, the printer, the better to prepare him to make ready a black letter and to bethink himself to send to his servants at Edinburgh, that . . . all things might be in the better readiness.' Young had in fact been ordered to proceed to Scotland four days earlier. Printing seems to have commenced shortly afterwards, and before the end of the year 'much of the book' had been printed.

The precise nature of the liturgy thus authorised, and at least partially printed, is somewhat obscure. There are

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1 S.P. Dom. vol. cclxxvi (Calendar, 1635, p. 4; Sprott [1871], p. li); Pryne, op. cit. p. 151; cf. Heylin, op. cit. p. 323. The phrase 'this must be the work of time' is underlined in the MS., no doubt by the recipient, and it is italicised by Prynne.

2 Baillie, i, 429.

3 Rogers, op. cit. ii, 856; Sprott (1871), p. liii.

4 Laud, Works, vi, 434; Baillie, i, 436-8; Sprott (1871), pp. lv-lvi.


6 Baillie, i, 4.
indications that the Scots had interpreted their freedom of action perhaps more liberally than the king had intended. Their remark to Laud, in their letter of April 1635, that a full conformity must be the work of time, sounds like an apology for having deviated further from the Book of England than Laud would have been likely to approve. According to rumour, ‘the bishop of Edinburgh had obtained that we should be quit of the surplice, cross, Apocrypha, saints’ days and some other trash of the English liturgy’, and subsequent developments suggest strongly that this report was correct so far at least as the Apocrypha and saints’ days were concerned. The only new feature which can without hesitation be attributed to this period in the composition of the Scottish liturgy is the substitution of ‘presbyter’ for ‘priest’.  

It is barely conceivable that the king should have sanctioned printing without having received a detailed account of the changes which the Scots proposed to make. Yet, in view of subsequent developments, the conclusion is inescapable that permission to print, and even the beginning of the actual process of printing, had been at least premature, for further changes were still to be considered. The initiative in the matter of those fresh proposals certainly came from Scotland, but, it may be suspected, mainly from a less conservative element among the bishops. More specifically, they may perhaps be related to the growing prominence of James Wedderburn, who was appointed to the deanery of the chapel royal on 14 October 1635 and was provided to the see of Dunblane on 11 February 1636. It may be to these ‘second thoughts’ from Scotland that some of Laud’s remarks relate. In his defence, he said that, far from recalling that the Scottish bishops had petitioned ‘that somewhat may be abated of the English ceremonies’, he was quite clear that ‘some of your Scottish bishops were very earnest to have some alterations and some additions. And they

1 Baillie, i, 4; cf. Laud, Works, iii, 302.
2 This is proved by the fact that ‘priest’ is the term in the king’s book of 1634, while ‘presbyter’ takes its place in the extant leaves of the sheets printed in 1635 (see p. 86 infra).
gave this for their reason, because if they did not then make that book as perfect as they could, they should never be able to get it perfected after."

At a date which is uncertain, but which cannot have been much later than the end of 1635, Wedderburn sent Laud 'certain notes, that all, or at least so many of them as his majesty should approve, might be made use of' in the liturgy. The archbishop submitted these notes to the king, who referred them to Laud himself, along with Bishops Juxon of London and Wren of Norwich. As Juxon was much occupied with other business, the consideration of the subject fell chiefly to Laud and Wren, who in due course submitted their findings to Charles, whereupon the king 'weighed' the proposals afresh. Meantime in Edinburgh, Maxwell, who had been 'entrusted with the press', viewed these prolonged proceedings with some anxiety, and soon realised that printing of the liturgy must be suspended unless approval could be speedily obtained of the changes now proposed. He wrote urgently to Bishop Juxon, asking him to obtain from Laud an 'explanation' of some points. On 17 February 1636 Juxon replied to Maxwell, reporting that on receipt of the latter's request he 'presentlie repaired to my L. Grace of Canterburie, and gott a dispatch of what you desired to have explained in your Common Praier Booke; and I hope ere this it hath found the waye to Edinburgh, that your presse stand not still; for I was enforced, with signification of the hast[e] it required, to leave the care of conveniace upon his Grace'. Whether or not Maxwell's queries related to Wedderburn's suggestions is not clear, but if Juxon's promise of expeditious treatment was fulfilled it certainly did not extend to the major points raised by Wedderburn. A decision on the

1 Laud, Works, iii, 342-3.
2 Ibid. vi, 456; cf. iii, 356. Heylin's account (op. cit. p. 323) suggests that the whole liturgy, as revised, was sent to England. He writes, 'The book being first hammered and prepared in Scotland and from thence transmitted to this court', and distinguishes what was 'in the book' from Wedderburn's notes relating to further suggested changes. This is probably due to confusion with the MS. liturgy taken to England in April 1635.
3 Laud, Works, iii, 339.
4 Baillie, i, 438-9; cf. Laud, Works, iii, 340; Sprott (1871), p. lvi.
latter was not given till April, and meanwhile either the press must have been 'standing still' or else printing had far outrun authorisation.

The points which were raised by Wedderburn and were the subject of consideration by the king, Laud and Wren, were the following:

(1) Some question had arisen as to whether the general substitution of the Authorised Version, prescribed in 1634, should extend to the Psalter. It was now laid down that it should, and an amendment to the title-page of the Psalter accordingly approved.

(2) Scottish suggestions for alterations in the *Qui-
cunque Vult* were disallowed, with two exceptions.¹

(3) This ruling was now given on the question of the Kalendar: 'Though the bishops there [in Scotland] were willed to consider of the holy days, yet it was never intended but that the office appointed for every one of them should be kept in the liturgy, and the consideration was only to be of the observation of them'.

(4) A new selection of offertory sentences, made by the Scots, was approved, but it was suggested that there should be added to them the following sentences from the English book—Nos. 2, 4, 6-10, 13-15.

(5) Laud, apparently on his own initiative,² suggested that in the Communion Office the rubric before each prayer or action should contain a phrase describing the nature of the prayer or action.

(6) The Scots had proposed radical alterations in the order of the prayers in the Communion Office. Approval was given to the transference of the Prayer of Oblation, the Lord's Prayer and the Prayer of Humble Access to a position between the Consecration Prayer and the Administration. But a further suggestion as to the position of the Invitation, Confession, Absolution, Comfortable Words, Preface and 'Doxology' [*i.e.* Sanctus],³ was rejected.

¹ P. 278 infra.
² See p. 55 infra.
³ The first four of those items were presumably to be inserted between the Lord's Prayer and the Prayer of Humble Access (as in the later 'Scottish Liturgy'); it is difficult to envisage any position for the Preface and Sanctus except before the Consecration, but see p. 82 infra.
(7) On the suggestion of Wedderburn, a rubric was to be inserted directing the manual acts at the consecration.

(8) Wedderburn proposed the omission of the second sentence from the words of administration, and this was allowed. In this instance Wedderburn's notes are quoted by Laud: ""The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life: and so, the blood of etc.: whereunto every receiver answered, Amen." There is no more in King Edward VI his first book. And if there be no more in ours, the action will be much the shorter. Besides, the words which are added since, "Take, eat, in remembrance etc."
may seem to relish somewhat of the Zwinglian tenet, that the sacrament is a bare sign taken in remembrance of Christ's passion.

(9) The question of a rubric directing the position of the celebrant during the Consecration had been raised. Laud suggested a clumsy form of words stating explicitly that the presbyter should adopt the Eastward Position.

The changes authorised by the king following on the report of Laud and Wren were contained in a copy of the English Prayer Book, with the alterations written in by Laud, signed by Charles on 19 April, with the following warrant:

I gave the Archbp. of Canterbury command to make the alterations expressed in this booke, and to fitt a liturgy for the Church of Scotland. And wheresoever they shall differ from another booke signed by us at Hampton Court September 28, 1634, our pleasure is to have these followed rather then the former, unless the Archbp. of St. Andrews, and his brethren who are upon the place, shall see apparent reason to the contrary. At Whitehall, Apr. 19, 1636.

On the following day Laud wrote very fully to Wedderburn, explaining how the Scottish suggestions, contained

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1 These seven items are referred to in Laud's letter to Wedderburn of 20 April 1636 (Laud, Works, vi, 457-8; Prynne, op. cit. pp. 153-4; Sprott [1871], pp. lix-lxi; Cooper, Scottish P.B. of 1637, pp. xxviii-xxxii).
2 Laud, Works, iii, 356-7.
3 See pp. 318-19 infra.
4 See pp. 88-9 infra.
in Wedderburn's 'notes', had been dealt with, and adding: 1

So many of them as his majesty approved, I have written into a service book of ours, and sent you the book with his majesty's hand to it, to warrant all your alterations made therein. So in the printing of your liturgy you are to follow the book which my Lord Ross brought, and the additions which are made to [sc. in] the book I now send. And if you find the book of my Lord Ross's, and this, to differ in anything that is material, there you are to follow this later book I now send, as expressing some things more fully.

He qualified the king's permission for deviation by remarking that although the king's authorisation left liberty to the Scottish bishops to vary some things, yet his majesty hoped there would be no need of change in anything and would be best pleased with little or no alteration.

For 1636, as for 1634, we are fortunate to have still extant the book in which the text authorised by the king was conveyed to Scotland—in this case the very volume into which Laud wrote at the king's command. 2 The contrast between the book of 1634 ('my Lord Ross's', or Maxwell's) and that of 1636 (which might very well be called 'my Lord Dunblane's', or Wedderburn's) is very marked. The emphasis had now shifted to the Communion Office, which had been left virtually untouched at the earlier stage: and not only did interest now centre on this part of the liturgy, but the changes made there were concerned not with trivialities of ornaments or posture or phraseology, but with points of fundamental eucharistic doctrine. Moreover, it is beyond doubt that the initiative in suggesting all the significant changes in the Communion Office had come from Scotland and that the substance of the Scottish demands had been approved. It must be to that part of the book and to this stage in the revision that Laud referred when he wrote: 3

I laboured to have the English liturgy sent them without any omission or addition at all. . . . But some of the Scottish bishops

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1 Laud, Works, vi, 455-9.
2 i.e. the Christ Church Book (see pp. 88-9 infra).
3 Laud, Works, iii, 356.
prevailed herein against me; and some alterations they would have from the Book of England . . . as I have to show under the then Bishop of Dunblain's hand, Dr. Wedderburn, whose notes I have yet by me.

It is just possible that Laud is here using 'liturgy' in its restricted sense of the service of Holy Communion, or at least is thinking particularly of that part of the book.

Apart from the changes in the Communion Office, and the other matters which we know to have been under consideration by the king and his advisers at the beginning of 1636, the differences between the book of 1636 and that of 1634 consist mainly of additional directions as to the posture of worshippers and as to their responses—often in logical development or expansion from the earlier draft and on the whole aimed at a clarification or precision which was probably deemed necessary in Scotland, where there was no tradition or convention in such matters.

There is also a new emphasis on the musical side of the services, with the repeated insertion of the words 'or sung' after 'said'. While it is thus possible to speak with confidence of the features which distinguish the book authorised in 1636 from its predecessor of 1634, it is much more difficult to define its precise relationship to the MS. liturgy of 1635 and to the version which had been partly printed. From the terms of the royal warrant in the book of 1636 it is plain that the authorisation now given extended to all changes made since 1634—that is, not only the amendments now made at Wedderburn's suggestion, but also those already carried out at the intermediate stages of 1635. Thus the latter series of amendments were incorporated in the book of 1636, but there is no means of distinguishing them with certainty. Still, we do know the matters which were specially under consideration in the early months of 1636 and on which a decision was reached in April 1636; and, while it would

1 Pp. 51-2 supra.
2 Yet uniformity in practice was not established even in England, where churchmen found that difficulties arose from the lack of rubrics directing standing at, for instance, the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds (F. R. Goodman, Diary of John Young [1928], pp. 108-9).
be dangerous to dogmatise, it is perhaps not wholly unjustifiable to conclude that all, or at any rate most, of the other features which distinguish ‘Wedderburn’s book’ from ‘Maxwell’s’, had originated in the work done in 1635. It can at least be stated with some confidence that very little which appeared for the first time in 1636 can have been of immediate English origin. It is unlikely that the king, who had carefully stated his views in 1634 and had since had an opportunity to revise a MS. liturgy, could have had much to add. Moreover, Laud gives no hint that there was any initiative on his part, except in his suggestion for the expansion of the rubrics to include descriptive phrases. His words to Wedderburn, with reference to the latter’s notes, were, ‘So many of them as his majesty approved, I have written into a service book of ours’. There is no indication here that the insertions in the book included productions of his own, and in view of his careful references to the Scottish suggestions which were rejected it would seem unlikely that he would have made additions without saying so. The facts as we know them show that the unhappy phrase of the royal warrant—‘I gave the Archbp. of Canterbury command to make the alterations expressed in this book, and to fit a liturgy for the Church of Scotland’—was seriously misleading if it suggested that the alterations emanated from the king or from Laud.

Some further work was done in Scotland. In the volume sent from England the rubrics in the Communion Office were expanded to contain descriptions of what followed each of them—in fulfilment of Laud’s suggestion. Other changes were made, for which no MS.

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1 It may be that Laud should not have the credit for originating even this change, but that Wedderburn had proposed it and had asked for Laud’s views. Laud’s reply (‘I would have every prayer or other action through the whole Communion named in the rubric before it, that it may be known to the people what it is, as I have begun to do in the prayer of consecration, and in the memorial or prayer of oblation. Fac similiter.’) might conceivably be read as an answer to such an inquiry, especially if we put the emphasis on ‘every’.

2 Experimental work may be seen in the rubrics to the Comfortable Words and the Prayer of Humble Access (pp. 315, 317); in the former case the reviser ultimately abandoned his attempt to find a suitable phrase.
The English offertory sentences recommended by Laud were added to these selected by the Scots. Laud’s draft of the rubric before the Consecration Prayer was modified to improve its phraseology and make it less offensive to those who disliked anything savouring of the mass. Decisions were taken that certain other changes made in the book sent north by the king should not be followed, presumably because the Scottish revisers saw ‘apparent reason to the contrary’. It may be presumed that the final instructions to the printers were entered on sheets of the edition already printed. Discrepancies with that earlier version were so extensive as to necessitate the destruction of several sheets, if not of the whole edition. ‘As it is now perceived’, wrote Baillie, ‘by the leaves and sheets of that book which was given out aoth the shops of Edinburgh, to cover spice and tobacco, one edition at least was destroyed.’

The adjustments made in the body of the book after April 1636 need not have caused much delay in its going to the press, but as the Prayer Book proper—from the beginning of Morning Prayer—starts with a sheet signed A, it is clear that it may have been printing while work remained to be done on the preliminary matter. It was on this part of the book—the introductory matter preceding Morning Prayer—that the work of revision was centred in the last months before the book was published. A good deal remained to be done. The king’s book of 1634 had mentioned ‘some proclamatiou or like act of state’, had instructed the Scots to ‘reteine this preface or mak a better’, had recommended that they should print the declaration ‘Of ceremonies’ and ‘the Kalendars’, and had amended the Order concerning Morning and Evening Prayer. At some stage—perhaps in 1635 and certainly before October 1636—a new scheme of Old Testament lessons had been drawn up which wholly eliminated the Apocrypha and of course introduced many chapters not in the English lectionary. The book of April 1636 had amended the Table and Kalendar, the

1 *I.e.* clear.  
2 Baillie, i, 31-2.
order concerning 'the rest of holy scripture', the list of holy days and the rubric on the daily service. No decision, however, had yet been reached—so far as we know—as to the title-page, the list of contents (which required amendment if only because of the omission of the Act of Uniformity) and other matters. A proclamation had still to be drawn up, and a new, or amended, preface. It may also be suspected that the Scots made a fresh plea, even at the eleventh hour, for a simplification of the Kalendar, and may well have been reluctant to see this part of the book go to press.

Yet again, therefore, Bishop Maxwell took the road to the court, in August 1636,1 and on 18 October the king issued final instructions to settle the matters still in doubt. He intimated that a preface, signed by himself, and a proclamation authorising the book, were to be printed in it, and that the proclamation must not derogate from his royal prerogative. In the Kalendar the Scots were to keep such 'Catholic' saints as were in the English book and to include such saints as were most 'peculiar' to Scotland (especially those who were of the blood royal and 'some of the most holy bishops'), while St. George and St. Patrick were not to be omitted. The following lessons from the Apocrypha were to be inserted—Wisdom i, ii, iii, iv, v and vi, and Ecclesiasticus i, ii, v, viii, xxxv and xlxi.2 On the same date Charles issued a missive to the Scottish privy council directing them to issue a proclamation commanding the use of the new liturgy, and the proclamation ultimately printed in the Prayer Book follows the language of this missive very closely.3 It was Bishop Maxwell who brought north the king's missive,4

1 Sir Thomas Hope, Diary of public correspondence (Bannatyne Club, 1843).
11 Aug. 1636.
2 Prynne, op. cit. p. 156; Heylin, op. cit. pp. 324-5; Sprott (1871), pp. lxiii-lxiv. Prynne says that on 18 October 1636 Laud procured this warrant, and gives its date as 'Newmarket, the eighteen day of October 1636 and of our raigne the 11'. Charles's eleventh year would make the date 1635; but Prynne's dates are often wrong, and Reg. privy co. Scot. (2nd ser.), vi, 352, 353, shows clearly that the document belongs to 1636.
3 Reg. privy co. Scot. vi, 352-3; Cooper, op. cit. pp. 222-3.
4 Baillie, i, 4, 31, 441.
and it may be presumed that he brought the liturgical instructions as well.

Following on the king's final instructions, a Scottish reviser set to work on the volume in which the alterations of 1634 had been entered. In the table of proper lessons, the chapters which the king had prescribed from the Apocrypha were allotted to the feasts of the Conversion of St. Paul, the Purification, St. James, St. Bartholomew, St. Matthew and All Saints. The same hand also deleted the names of most of the Apostles from this table, besides making a few other changes. This had been experimental, and there followed, in the same volume but in another hand, final corrections of the whole of the introductory portion of the book. These corrections are authoritative, and in many cases read like directions to a printer. Where alterations had already been made in the book of 1636, these were incorporated. However, in revising the work already done on the table of proper lessons, this hand queried certain of the deletions, and it did not deal with the Kalendar, but wrote a note: 'For directions throughout the Kalendar, see the book with the white cover'. Presumably this refers to a book in which the additional saints were inserted and possibly the revised Old Testament lectionary entered; if so, it has not come to light. All these late changes, made after October 1636, concerned only what were ultimately the first and second sheets, with independent signatures.

The service-book which was produced to the Scottish privy council on 24 November 1636 cannot have been the entire book in its final form, and perhaps not even a finished print of everything except the first and second sheets. When, on 20 December, in obedience to the king's letter already mentioned, the council issued its proclamation commanding the use of the book, it may well be

1 Out of the twelve lessons, three occupied the same places in the Scottish book as in the English.

2 The Christ Church book has a white cover, but its alterations in the Kalendar are far too meagre to have been made at this late stage, and bear little relation to the version ultimately printed.

3 Reg. privy co. (2nd ser.), vi, 343.
that, as Baillie suggests, the command was ‘to conform themselves to a liturgy which the king had seen in writ and approved’.\(^1\) Baillie is quite explicit that copies of the book did not come from the press until April or May 1637.\(^2\)

\(^1\) Baillie, i, 440-1; cf. pp. 4, 31.
\(^2\) Ibid. pp. 4, 16, 31. On 5 April 1637 Archbishop Spottiswoode sent a copy of the Prayer Book to Bishop Wren of Norwich (letter mounted in a Trinity College, Dublin, copy [KK.e. 24]); this would almost certainly be one of the first copies to come from the press.
IV
COMMENTSARY

The first Scottish Prayer Book has received praise from liturgiologists, but historical comment on it has rarely shaken off the effect of the hostile reception which the liturgy encountered in its own day. It has been generally accepted that the deviations from the English book were purely, or almost purely, Laudian or 'Canterburian'. That view requires correction. If the book be examined in the light of English and Scottish criticism of the English Book of Common Prayer, it will appear that the compilers of the Scottish book took great pains to meet some of the objections and that a serious attempt was made to incorporate existing Scottish usages or preferences and to conciliate Scottish prejudices. That the policy of concession was not carried even further than it was, arose from the restrictions under which the compilers worked. There were limits beyond which the king would not permit them to deviate from the English book, and some of the Scottish proposals which were disallowed had been designed to make the book more acceptable to the Scots. If the compilers are to be judged, they are to be judged not on the general resemblance of their book to the Book of England—for in that they had no choice; but on the changes which they made, and on the further changes which they proposed. There is a heavy charge against the king for his obstinate insistence on his prerogative, on the Kalendar, and on the inclusion of a few chapters of the Apocrypha. Yet in fairness to Charles it must be admitted that one consideration weighed powerfully with him which did not influence the Scottish revisers: extensive changes in a puritan direction would have encouraged
the malcontents in England. Wise contemporaries fully realised that this consideration seriously handicapped the chances that the book would prove acceptable in Scotland: ‘Some things were kept in our liturgy which as yet our church could not be urged with, and some things which the weakness of the greater part would except against; that the turbulent here [i.e. in England] might get no advantage by our book to disquiet the church’.

The persistent puritan criticisms of the Prayer Book which are referred to in the following survey are to be found in *Puritan manifestoes* (ed. W. H. Frere and C. E. Douglas, 1907), in the controversy between Cartwright and Whitgift (*Whitgift’s Works*, Parker Soc., 3 vols., 1851–3) and in the fifth book of Hooker’s *Ecclesiastical polity*. A number of statements of grievances are printed in *The seconde parte of a register* (ed. Albert Peel, 2 vols., 1915), especially i, 95, 124-7, 129-30, 142, 211, 222, 259, 277, 280-81, 298. There is a summary of puritan criticisms in Horton Davies, *The worship of the English puritans* (1949), cap. vi. The objections and suggestions formally made by the puritans in 1641 and 1661 are printed in Edward Cardwell, *A history of conferences* (3rd edn., 1849), pp. 274 et seq. and pp. 303 et seq. The Scottish presbyterian statement on the Prayer Book in 1584 has already been printed (pp. 24-6 *supra*).

**CHANGES REPRESENTING CONCESSIONS TO SCOTTISH OR PURITAN VIEWS**

The substitution of the Authorised Version.—King James’s translation had not been printed in Scotland until 1633, and was never ‘authorised’ in that country except by the canons of 1636. These facts by themselves might suggest that the use of this version in the new Prayer Book was part of the ‘Canterburian’ policy. Yet there is no reason to doubt that Scottish opinion generally, and not least left-wing opinion, might have been expected

1 Baillie, L. & Y. i, 444; the Preface printed in 1637 (pp. 101-2 *infra*).
to welcome the change. For one thing, the Prayer Book version of the Scriptures had not been hallowed by regular use in Scotland. Moreover, dissatisfaction with the Geneva version had been expressed by the general assembly as far back as 1601, and although that version long continued in use (by bishops among others), the Authorised Version soon came into favour, not least among men of the left such as George Gillespie and Johnston of Wariston.¹ King James’s version had been adopted by the draft liturgy of 1619, and the English Prayer Book’s retention of an old translation was one of the objections made to it by the Scottish bishops in 1633. For once the king’s wishes and those of the Scots were in harmony. English puritan opinion, by 1641, favoured the substitution of the newer translation, and in the revision of 1661 it was adopted for the Epistles and Gospels and some other extracts from Scripture. In 1637, however, the substitution had extended to Psalms and Canticles, Epistles and Gospels, the Comfortable Words and other sentences (though not, curiously enough, to the Easter Anthems).

The displacing of the Apocrypha.—The use of the Apocrypha had been one of the objections most persistently levelled at the Prayer Book by the Elizabethan puritans, and it was one of the features criticised by the Scottish presbyterians in 1584 and by the Scottish bishops in 1633.² Agitation continued, and the substitution of canonical Scripture for the Apocryphal books was one of the puritan demands in 1641. In 1637, if the Scots had had their way, the Apocrypha would have been entirely dropped. As it was, it disappeared from the course of the systematic lectionary and from the Sunday lessons, but at the king’s particular insistence twelve chapters from Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus were retained and were allocated for use on six saints’ days. Since it was understood that saints’ days were not to be at once observed in the

² King James, too, had been forthright in his condemnation. He said of the apocryphal books that ‘some of them are as like the ditement of the spirit of God as an egge is to an oyster’ (Basilikon Doron, ed. Craige, i, 34).
Scottish church, it would seem that the Scots evaded compliance with the king’s injunction that his twelve chapters were to be read ‘amongst the lessons ordinarily to be read in the service’.

Coupled with their objection to the Apocrypha, the puritans had always complained of the omission of parts of the Old Testament—all of which they considered to be of equal value—and in particular to the omission of Chronicles and of so much of Ezekiel. In the Scottish book, the result of the displacing of the Apocrypha was that many more chapters of canonical Scripture were prescribed, including most of Chronicles and Ezekiel. John Row is grossly unjust when, after observing that about 120 chapters [the number is actually 105] of ‘God’s Word’ are left unread, he goes on: ‘to make up the Bishop’s new Bible, they read sundry chapters out of Apocrypha’. A critic with any inclination to charity would have observed that the Scottish book appointed the reading of over ninety more chapters from the Old Testament canon than did the English—but we can hardly expect honest figures from a man who wrote, ‘Any man may think it ominous that the Bishop of Canterbury, alterius orbis Papa, his name VVILL. LaVD is just 666, the number of the name of the beast’.

The elimination of the term ‘priest’.—Dislike of the term ‘priest’ was of long standing. Thomas Cartwright had written in the 1570s: ‘To call us priests as touching our office is either to call back again the old priesthood of the law, which is to deny Christ to be come, or else to keep a memory of the Popish Priesthood of abomination still amongst us . . . besides that, we never read in the New Testament that the word Priest (as touching office) is used in the good part’. Archbishop Whitgift, although defending the Church of England against Cartwright’s attacks, was not himself enamoured of the word. Other English puritans, and the Scots in 1584, repeated

1 Row, History, p. 401.  
2 Ibid. p. 369.  
Cartwright's objection. Editions of the Book of Common Prayer between 1604 and 1642 suggest that the words 'priest' and 'minister' were in practice used almost indifferently and that variation depended on nothing but the whim of the printer. It is certainly not true that under Laud there was a systematic substitution of 'priest', and the accusations made against him on this ground are quite without foundation.

A certain 'Canterburian' preference for 'priest' is suggested by the extensive substitution of that term in the book for Scotland as designed by the king in 1634, but there is no record of any criticism of the Scottish decision to prefer the unobjectionable 'presbyter'. There is, indeed, no evidence that 'presbyter' in this sense had already a well-established place in the Scottish vocabulary, and it has been questioned whether even the later and classical instances of its use in the Westminster formulae and the Claim of Right of 1689 were in accordance with Scottish tradition.

Yet the suggestion that in 1637 'presbyter' was designed to supersede not 'priest' but 'minister' cannot be entertained, since it displaced the 'priest' of the earlier draft and by no means eliminated 'minister'.

The use of 'Pasch' and 'Yule'.—Another change in terminology was made to conform with Scottish usage—the printing of 'Pasch' and 'Yule' as alternatives to 'Easter' and 'Christmas'. It is odd that each nation had a pagan name for one of these festivals and a Christian name for the other.

The doxology to the Lord's Prayer.—Puritans had a partiality for the clause 'For thine is the kingdom . . .' which does little credit to their critical knowledge of the Gospel texts. In 1584 the Scottish presbyterians objected that the phrase was 'cut off', and, although the point was not a prominent one in English lists of grievances, the consistent insertion of this doxology was one of the demands in 1641 and 1661. There seems to have been

1 T. Lathbury, History of Convocation, 1853, p. 270; Cardwell, op. cit. p. 237.
little objection from the other side, for the doxology appears more frequently in some prayer books of the 1630s than in others, and in 1662 it was added to the Lord's Prayer at the beginning of Mattins and Evensong. In 1637 the addition was made also at the second use of the Lord's Prayer in Mattins and Evensong, but the direction of 1634 that it be made at the services of burial, churching and commination did not take effect in the book as finally printed.

Preface.—The Preface contains an apology for the inclusion in the Liturgy of 'Festivals, and some other rites, not as yet received nor observed in our church'. Its reference to the use of the Prayer Book by the Scottish reformers was taken from that unexceptionable source, John Knox's History of the Reformation (the imperfect edition of 1587).

Title-page.—The mention of 'ceremonies' (which had been retained in Cowper's draft) was dropped.

Kalendar, etc.—The insertion of the feasts of the Conversion of St. Paul and of St. Barnabas in the list of holy days and their elevation to red letter rank in the Kalendar met a puritan objection of inconsistency (Seconde parte, i, 211), although this did not prevent the querulous Row from adverse comment on the addition of two 'holy festivities' (p. 75 infra).

Morning Prayer.—The general objection to the Apocrypha included the Benedicite, and in 1661 the English puritans requested the substitution for it of a 'psalm or scripture hymn'. The omission of this offending canticle was directed by the king in 1634, and permission was given to use Psalm xxiii as an alternative to the Te Deum. This meant that in the book of 1637, as in Cowper's draft, psalms could be substituted for both the morning canticles, and it went further than Cowper in permitting psalms in place of the evening canticles also. There was a certain amount of precedent in Scotland for 'fixed' psalms. Hewat's draft prescribed for use in every Sunday service Ps. xci after the confession and Ps. Ixxxix or ciii after the Epistle and Gospel, while Cowper's draft
prescribed the *Venite* at Morning Prayer, Ps. ciii or xxxiv at Communion and Ps. cxxviii at the end of the marriage service. To go further back, the Book of Common Order had recommended Ps. ciii after the Communion and Ps. cxxviii at the end of the marriage service.

The provision that Morning Prayer, when not followed by the Litany, should include prayers for church and state, had the effect of giving that service something more of the content of a pre-Communion service, in accordance with Scottish usage. The provision for the Benediction at the conclusion of Morning Prayer reflects a Scottish partiality for the Benediction which had appeared in the second Book of Discipline (iv, 8) and recalls the efforts made by kirk sessions at the end of the sixteenth century to suppress the practice of leaving the church ‘before the giving of the blessing’. The Westminster Directory afterwards prescribed the conclusion of services with a ‘solemn blessing’.

*Prayers after Litany.*—In the prayer for the clergy, the phrase ‘which only workest great marvels’ was criticised by the puritans in 1641. It is difficult to detect either the ground for their objection or the advantage of the phrase substituted in the Scottish book.

*Collects.*—The collects for the Nativity and Whit-sunday were amended to make them suitable for use on succeeding days. This was a point which had been raised by the Scottish presbyterians in 1584 and which was once more brought up by English puritans in 1641. (Although the same objection applied to the proper prefaces for those days, as the puritans pointed out in 1661, they were not amended in 1637. Celebrations of Holy Communion on days within the octave of the festivals were not at that time contemplated in Scotland.)

*Offertory.*—The English selection of offertory sentences was criticised by the puritans in 1661 on the ground that two of them were apocryphal and four were more proper to draw the people’s bounty to their ministers than their charity to the poor. The selection of six sentences

made by the Scots in 1635 laid their emphasis on an offering—an offering of the fruits of the earth and of the labour of men's hands—rather than on a mere collection for the poor; and those ten of the English sentences which, on recommendation from England, were retained by the Scots in addition to their own choice were all taken from the New Testament. Two or three of the ten were open to the second of the puritan objections, but, read in conjunction with the revised rubrics, the emphasis of the whole was not in any doubt.

Prayer for the church.—The prayer for the church retained in its title the restrictive phrase of the English book—'militant here in earth'—but it was greatly expanded by a longer petition for the 'congregation here assembled' and by a commemoration of the departed. This was in accordance with Scottish tradition. Thanksgiving for the faithful departed was certainly not contrary to the views of Scottish reformers, if we can judge from Knox's prayer after the death of the Regent Moray,¹ and the prayers in the Book of Common Order and in Cowper's draft had been 'for the whole estate of Christ's Church'. The conclusion introduced in 1637—'that at the day of the general resurrection we, and all they which are of the mystical body of Thy Son, may be set on His right hand, and hear that His most joyful voice, Come, ye blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world'—was (although drawn from the first Prayer Book of Edward VI) familiar enough in Scotland. The Book of Common Order's prayer for the church referred to 'the mystical body of Thy Son', while its 'Confession of our faith, which are assembled in the English congregation at Geneva' and its exposition of the creed at the baptismal service both expressed the hope of the faithful that they would 'hear that joyful voice, Come, ye blessed....'

Consecration.—The lack of an invocation in the Knoxian Communion Office had been criticised by such a presbyterian as Row, while Calderwood, Henderson

¹ Calderwood, ii, 513-15.
and Gillespie make it clear that the prescribed order was commonly supplemented in this respect. Henderson says that 'the minister . . . prayeth earnestly to God for His powerful presence and effectual working to accompany His own ordinances'.

Probably Cowper’s draft (p. 38 supra) represents the thought—though, one hopes, not the language—which was common. The Westminster Directory ordained that there should be prayer to God 'to vouchsafe His gracious presence and the effectual working of His Spirit in us, and so 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 with us, and we one with Him, that He may live in us and we in Him'. The complaint of the English puritans in 1661 that 'the manner of consecrating the elements is not explicit or distinct enough' probably arose from their liking for an invocation. The form adopted in 1637 would appear to be impeccable from the puritan point of view: 'Vouchsafe so to bless and sanctify with Thy word and Holy Spirit these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood. . . .' This phraseology gives no countenance to any doctrine at variance with either the Scots Confession of 1560 or the Westminster formulae.

The manual acts.—The Book of Common Order had prescribed the 'taking' of the elements, and Cowper's draft attached this action to the recital of the words of institution. The Westminster Directory prescribed a very close association of action with words. That the English Prayer Book did not make any such provision was a complaint in 1661, when the puritans objected that the minister's taking of the bread was not so much as mentioned. The decision to insert a rubric to this end in the book of 1637 was obviously an improvement from the

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1 McMillan, p. 170.

2 For English opinion on the subject see E. G. C. F. Atchley, On the epiclesis of the eucharistic liturgy and in the consecration of the font (Alcuin Club), pp. 194-6.
puritan point of view, although, like Cowper’s draft, it prescribed only ‘taking’; the fraction was not prescribed at all, either here (as it was in 1662), or at the end of the prayer of consecration (as in the later ‘Scottish Liturgy’), or at the distribution.¹

**Oblation.**—The ‘memorial or prayer of oblation’ added to the consecration prayer in 1637 had the effect of making that prayer represent some of the thought of the eucharistic prayer in the Book of Common Order. The substance of the prayer of oblation itself (placed in the English book after the distribution) does not seem to have occasioned any puritan criticism.

**Words of administration.**—As already observed, the second phrase in the English words of administration suggested a purely commemorative view of the eucharistic elements, which was contrary to Scottish doctrine. According to Alexander Henderson, the words generally used in Scotland had been ‘Take ye, eat ye, this is the body of the Lord which is broken for you’;² the Westminster Directory had ‘Take ye, eat ye, this is the body of Christ which is broken for you: do this in remembrance of Him’, and ‘This cup is the new testament in the blood of Christ, which is shed for the remission of the sins of many: drink ye all of it’. The emphatic ‘This is the body’ is actually stronger than the form resulting in 1637 from the omission of the English book’s second clause. There was, however, objection from the puritan side to the use of the singular form, with ‘thee’ and ‘thy’.

**Baptism.**—There is a certain parallel between the invocation, in this sacrament, of God’s blessing on His own ordinance and its instrument, and the epiclesis in the Communion service. The latter, we have seen, was not provided in the Book of Common Order or the Book of Common Prayer, but was supplied in Scottish usage and found a place in the Book of 1637 and in the Westminster Directory. So in Baptism, the Book of Common Order

¹ Gillespie criticised the English Communion Office because it did not provide for the fraction (English popish ceremonies [1844], p. 207). McMillan, p. 173.
had no prayer for the sanctifying of the ordinance or of the element: nor was any such petition explicit in the Book of Common Prayer. It may be that here, too, Scottish usage supplemented printed prayers. The liturgy of 1637 interjected the brief ‘Sanctify this fountain of Baptism, Thou which art the sanctifier of all things’; and the Westminster Directory contains a prayer ‘That the Lord . . . would graciously vouchsafe to sanctify and bless His own ordinance of baptism at this time: That He would join the inward baptism of His Spirit with the outward baptism of water’.

Churching of women.—There were strong objections to this service altogether, both from John Knox and from Elizabethan puritans. In England, criticism was particularly directed at the psalm (cxxi) which was prescribed in it. In 1641 the puritans suggested that versicles from various psalms should be substituted, and in 1661 that either Ps. cxiii or Ps. cxxviii would be more suitable. In 1634 the king had permitted the Scots to print a different psalm ‘if you can find one fitter’. The amendment of 1636 was to the effect that Ps. xxvii should be allowed as an alternative, and this was permitted in the book as printed. (In 1662 Pss. cxvi and cxxvii were given as alternatives to Ps. cxxi.)

It may be instructive at this point to recall the Scottish presbyterians’ objections to the Prayer Book in 1584. Out of their twenty-two grievances, three (Nos. 5, 6 and 7) had already been dealt with in the revision of the English book in 1604. In 1637 a further four (1, 4, 14 and 21) were met. Two (18 and 22) related to the homilies, which, however distasteful to the presbyterians, had been approved by the first generation of Scottish reformers. One (17) was not wholly relevant to Scotland, and another (20) would have been applicable to almost any liturgy, however framed. Eleven objections remain. Four of them (8, 9, 12 and 19)—relating to private administration of the two sacraments, kneeling at Com-

1 Works, iv, 61.
munion, and confirmation—had become the law of Scotland in 1621, and there was no possibility that any authorised liturgy would exclude them. Of the seven which were left, two (2 and 3) related to the Kalendar, four (10, 11, 13 and 15) to Baptism, and one (16) to burial. When these facts were taken in conjunction with the numerous other concessions to Scottish usage, it might have seemed a proper deduction that by far the greater part of the book of 1637, and almost all the parts of it in regular use, would be reasonably acceptable, provided—and it is an important qualification—that the merits of the book received serious attention.

In turning now to review the features in the book of 1637 which inevitably proved to be objectionable in Scotland, it is a grave difficulty that there is no reasoned and sober statement of the criticisms which the liturgy encountered. Robert Baillie’s *The Canterburians self-conviction* (1640) and *A parallel of the liturgie with the masse book* (1641) are mere hysterical rants, as often as not concerned not with what was in the book but with what was not in it. They are not worthy of serious consideration, except as illustrating the inflamed state of public opinion generally. John Row’s remarks in his *History* fall almost into the same category. His general complaint against the liturgy was, indeed, not unsound, and differed little from the opinion of some of the older bishops: ¹

Though a prescript and stinted forme of liturgie were lawfull, yit there is no warrand for imposing of one upon all. . . . And say it were lawfull to impose one upon all for uniformitie, we have one in Scotland alreadie established by the lawes of the land, and long practised; wherefore that ought to be imposed rather then another; or if a new one ought to be imposed, after it is cleared to be better nor that whilk we have had, yit must it come in by a lawfull manner, viz. by a lawfull and free Generall Assemblie.

But when Row descends to details he emerges as the creature of unreasoning prejudice. His unfairness in the

¹ Row, *History*, pp. 405-6.
matter of the Apocrypha has already been mentioned, and another point strikingly illustrates the extent to which reason—if not, indeed, honesty—was absent from the minds of his party. Row had been a critic of the defective consecration prayer of the Book of Common Order, and, describing a Communion service in 1622, he wrote:

Mr Patrick Galloway having kneeled and prayed, (I would say, having read the prayer of consecration, wherein there is not one word of 'Lord, bless the elements or action').

Yet, in denouncing the Prayer Book of 1637, one of his complaints is that it supplies this very defect of the older order:

It hath the verie popish consecration, that the Lord would sanctifie, by his word and holie Spirit, 'those creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the bodie and blood of His Son'.

Apart from the fact that he here seriously misrepresents the invocation of 1637, one can only marvel at Row's temerity in thus attributing to the Roman rite the feature of an epiclesis, its lack of which is notorious. He must have been confident that those whom he addressed were unacquainted with the canon of the mass. Moreover, Row, like Baillie, weakens his case by taking up what was not in the book, e.g. 'It hath the commemoration of the dead; prayer for them, and purgatory, will follow quickly'. Row's statement was directly based upon the Reasons for which the Service-Book urged upon Scotland ought to be refused, a pamphlet which appeared in 1638. In substance he has nothing to add, and his language is sometimes identical, but the pamphlet lacks many of his extravagances, exaggerations and inaccuracies. A comparison of the two is instructive as to Row's distortion.

Doubtless both Baillie and Row found receptive hearers and readers. Many of them probably never read the book at all. But others who dipped into it must soon

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1 History, p. 331.
2 Ibid. pp. 399-400.
3 What Row had in mind was of course 'Quam oblationem tu, Deus omnipotens, in omnibus, quae sumus, beneditam, adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere digneris, ut nobis Corpus et Sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi', which is not an epiclesis.
4 History, p. 399.
5 Short Title Catalogue, 22037-8.
have found features which alienated them. Some perhaps never read beyond the proclamation, with its assertion of the royal prerogative; some may have reached the ornaments rubric, only to be repelled by its sinister allusion to ‘ornaments to be prescribed’; any who went straight to the Communion Office would certainly be antagonised by the rubric before the consecration prayer. Ignorance and half-knowledge made enemies of the liturgy. One wonders in what category to place Montrose, who remarked that ‘the very quintessence of popery was publicly preached by Arminians, and the life of the Gospel stolen away by enforcing on the kirk a dead Service-Book, the brood of the bowels of the whore of Babel’.

FEATURES OBJECTIONABLE TO SCOTTISH OR PURITAN OPINION

Responses.—Puritan opinion had been unfavourable to responses, apparently because they were held to derogate from the dignity of the minister, who alone, in the puritan view, should address God at public worship. Thomas Cartwright, in his Reply (1574), had written: 2

God hath ordained the minister to this end that as in public meetings he only is the mouth of the Lord from Him to the people, even so he ought to be only the mouth of the people from them unto the Lord, and that all the people should attend to that which is said by the minister and in the end both declare their consent to that which is said and their hope that it should so be and come to pass which is prayed, by the word Amen.

Almost the same language was used nearly a century later, in 1661: 3

That the repetitions and responsals of the clerk and people, and the alternate reading of the psalms and hymns . . . may be omitted: the minister being appointed for the people in all public services appertaining unto God, and the Holy Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, intimating the people’s part in public

1 Quoted by J. King Hewison, The Covenanters (1913), i, 308.
2 Whitgift, Works (Parker Soc.), ii, 490.
3 Cardwell, History of conferences, p. 305.
prayer to be only with silence and reverence to attend thereunto and to declare their consent in the close by saying Amen.

That the same view obtained in Scotland is suggested by the omission of responses from the Book of Common Order and also from Cowper’s draft (except at the Commandments). Row commented adversely on the people ‘answering to the minister with responses and antiphons’, and described the Litany as ‘more like unto conjuring nor prayers’. The Litany was, of course, one of the features in the Prayer Book which had most agitated Knox, and his objection to ‘mummelling or singing a subitanea et improvisa morte’ was echoed by King James, who wrote to his son:

I would not have you to praye with the Papistes, to be preserved from suddaine death, but that God would give you grace so to live as yee may everie houre of your life be ready for death.

There was as yet no objection in Scotland to the people answering ‘Amen’ or ‘So be it’.

The Kalendar, etc.—The official attitude of the Scottish reformed church had long been condemnatory of the observance of even the Christian year, let alone saints’ days (though it may safely be said that there was no matter in which the legislation of the reformers had less success). The provision for the observance of saints’ days had been the subject of criticism from John Knox, from the Elizabethan puritans and from the Scottish presbyterian exiles in 1584; in 1641 the puritan proposal was that they should be expunged. The stock argument was one which condemned all week-day holidays whatever; George Gillespie was repeating a puritan commonplace when he wrote: ‘The law of God hath allowed us to labour six days of every week, which liberty no human power can take from us’. In the preparation of the book of 1637, the wish of the Scottish compilers had been to mitigate the rigours of the full Prayer Book Kalendar, but they were overruled by the king, and Scotland was

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1 History, p. 401.  
2 Ibid. p. 403.  
3 Works, iv, vi, 12.  
4 Basilikon Doron, i, 44.  
5 Works, vi, 83.  
6 Dispute against the English popish ceremonies (edn. 1844), p. 15.
presented with a book which not only retained saints' days, but increased their number. As the arithmetically-minded Row discovered, the Scottish book had 'twenty-nine holy festivities, (England's Service Book hath but twenty-seven)', and the number of saints mentioned in the Kalendar was increased (as Row does not appear to have observed) by the insertion of about a dozen Scottish names. The fasts on saints' eves, to which the puritans had an especial aversion, were retained. The only survival of the policy of concession was a reduction in the number of saints' days for which proper lessons were appointed. It was, however, understood that the observance of the Kalendar was not to be at once obligatory.

The ornaments rubric.—In 1636 the Scots had been given a code of canons which obliged them to use a service-book which had not yet appeared; now, in the Prayer Book, they became obliged to use ornaments which had not yet been prescribed. Row pointed out the unsatisfactory nature of this rubric and also of the similar phrase in the rubric on homilies.  

Rubrics as to posture of worshippers.—The English puritans, in 1641 and 1661, objected to the direction that the people should stand at the Gloria Patri. This direction appeared more frequently in the Scottish book, and it was one of Row's objections that 'the people must stand up at Gospells, Gloria Patri and at Creeds'. The objection to standing at the Gospel was rationally based on the puritanical insistence that all Scripture is of equal value, but it would seem that even before the Westminster Catechism there were Scots who were reluctant to worship in any posture other than a sitting one.

The Communion.—The position of the Holy Table and the posture of the celebrant had not given much concern to puritans until the innovations introduced by Laud.

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1 History, p. 400. 2 Ibid. p. 401. 3 Ibid. p. 401. 4 The canons of 1604 still provided that the table should be placed 'in so good sort within the church or chancel as thereby the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants in his prayer and ministration, and the communicants also more conveniently and in more number may communicate with the said minister'.

One of the complaints of 1641 was 'the turning of the holy table altarwise, and most commonly calling it an altar'. Yet the English canon of 1640 on this subject was less rigid than the Scottish rubric, for its prescription of a position 'side-way under the east window' or 'in the place where the altars stood' was still qualified by 'the general liberty left to the bishop by law, during the time of administration of the Holy Communion'. In Scotland the table was to stand 'at the uppermost part of the chancel or church' and there was no word of its being moved. The presbyter, while he was directed to stand at the 'north side or end' of the table at the beginning of the service, was permitted to say the prayer of consecration 'at such a part of the Holy Table where he may with the more ease and decency use both his hands'. The rubric as thus ultimately inserted by the Scots was less offensive than the form suggested by Laud, but there was still no doubt that the eastward position was contemplated, and the unhappy reference to 'both his hands' (when the rubric on the manual acts mentioned only 'hand') enabled critics to hint that an elevation was intended.

The changes in the offertory, although, as we have seen, they met some of the puritan objections, were open to criticism from those who feared anything resembling sacrifice. The English puritans in 1641 criticised 'the introducing an offertory before the Communion, distinct from the giving of alms to the poor', and Scottish preference was probably for the entire separation of the collection from the liturgy.

The direction that the celebrant should deliver the consecrated elements into the hands of the communicants, introduced into the English book in 1552, was now omitted.

The use of unleavened bread in the Communion was by no means unknown in post-Reformation Scotland, though there seems also to have been opposition to it. The contemporary English Prayer Book gave no express sanction to wafer bread, and the canons of 1604 had

1 P. 318 infra.  
2 McMillan, pp. 199 et seq.
plainly stipulated 'fine wheat bread'. The amendment of the rubric, so that the Scottish book explicitly authorised wafer bread, was among the king's directions in 1634 and is more likely to reflect 'Laudian' tendencies than any desire to please the Scots.

It seems an unaccountable lapse on the part of the compilers of the Scottish Prayer Book that the words of institution alone should have been thought sufficient for additional consecration. This was contrary to the usage of the Book of Common Order, and, although it could claim the precedent of Cowper's draft, was quite at variance with the Scottish liking for an invocation and with the inclusion of an invocation in the new Prayer Book itself. George Gillespie probably spoke for Scottish opinion generally when he condemned the attachment of consecration to the words of institution.1

Baptism.—There had been persistent puritan criticism of private baptism and of baptism by others than ministers, and in England—though perhaps not at first in Scotland—there had also been objection to godfathers and their answers on behalf of the infant. Lay baptism, which had been one of the objections of the Scottish presbyterians in 1584, ceased to be a grievance after the revision of the Prayer Book in 1604. Private baptism, however, which had been a grievance with Knox eighty years earlier, was still a grievance with Row in 1637.2 Yet it is plain that the doctrinaire objections of some ministers—based on the inviolable association of the sacraments with the preaching of the Word—were not shared by all their fellow-countrymen. In Aberdeen, at least, it had been formally provided by the session in 1599 that baptism could be administered privately if the midwife certified the child to be weak, and in 1611, in response to public pressure, it was allowed that baptism could be administered

1 Dispute, pp. 207-8. This feature of the Scottish Book is the more surprising in that the English Prayer Book did not as yet contain any directions for additional consecration. Existing practice in England (where the consecration prayer had no epiclesis) was to use the words of institution (Atchley, op. cit. pp. 193-4), and the Scots seem to have fallen into unintelligent imitation.

2 Knox, Works, iv, 61; Row, History, p. 403.
The Making of the Prayer Book of 1637

'at all occasions when the same is required by parents or friends, as the necessity and weakness of the bairn shall require'. Lay folk, at any rate, had probably little objection to the Prayer Book on this score. The Scots retained a prejudice against the sign of the cross, which Knox had condemned and which the English puritans had persistently criticised.

Marriage.—The English puritan objection to the use of the ring seems to have been widespread, though not universal, in Scotland.

Confirmation.—English puritans objected to the necessity of this rite and to the restriction of its administration to the bishop.

Probably no one would now seriously contend that the traditional term ‘Laud’s Liturgy’—however convenient as a label—represents the substance of historical truth. It is half a century since James Cooper wrote: ‘All these features [which most distinguish this liturgy from the other Anglican Books of Common Prayer] were of Scottish provenance; so that Dr. Sprott was perfectly right in saying that the Book ought to be called “The Scottish Prayer-Book of 1637” and not, as too commonly, “Laud’s Liturgy”’. The fuller information which has now become available about the composition of the liturgy, and particularly the discovery of the limited nature of the changes proposed by the king in 1634, confirm the view that the responsibility for the chief characteristics of the book of 1637 belongs to the Scottish bishops and not to the king or to Laud. The one positive contribution which might possibly be attributed to Laud—and even this is doubtful—is the expansion of the rubrics

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1 Selections from the ecclesiastical records of Aberdeen (Spalding Club), pp. 75-7. The general assembly of November 1602 decided 'that baptism be not delayed to certain particular days' (B.U.K. iii, 1002), and that of 1616 condemned refusal of this sacrament 'upon any other particular pretence of delay to time of preaching' (ibid. 1129).


3 The Book of Common Prayer of 1637 (Church Service Society), p. xv.
in the Communion Office. Laud's attitude, at least in the earlier stages of the revision, was wholly negative or obstructive, and it is highly ironical that the Scottish Liturgy should go by the name of the man who pressed so hard for the introduction to Scotland of the English Liturgy.

It is noticeable that contemporaries were less unanimous than their posterity in attributing the book to Laud. Baillie stated that 'Dr. Coosings ... is thought the main penner of our Scottish Liturgie'. Some of his fellow-countrymen, however, did not even look south of the Border for its authorship. The National Petition against the Service Book stated that 'The archbishops and bishops of this realme ... have drawin up and sett furth or caused to be drawin up and sett furth and injoyned upon the subjects two bookes' [the canons and the liturgy], and the earl of Loudoun, in December 1637, likewise denounced the Scottish bishops as the 'contryvers, devysers, introducers, maintainers and urgers' of the canons and liturgy. Even the Short relation of the state of the kirk of Scotland ... for information and advertisement to our brethren in the kirk of England (1638) stated that it was the bishops of Scotland who 'caused print the booke of common prayer, compiled by them for the use of this kirk', while another pamphlet conveying 'Information from Scotland' blamed the Scottish bishops for publishing the canons and the liturgy and for procuring the publication of the proclamation commanding the use of the latter. It is plain that what may surely be called 'the Laudian myth' was not of immediate appearance. Possibly it was only in 1639, after the Scottish bishops had been dispossessed and many of them exiled, that Scottish propagandists transferred their attack to English

1 Baillie, L. & J. i, 226.
3 Baillie, L. & J. i, 457.
4 The beast is wounded, or information from Scotland, concerning their reformation: wherein is briefly declared the true cause and ground of all the late troubles there and the reason why they have rejected the bishops, with their courts, canons, ceremonies and service book [1638].
prelates and began to attribute the liturgy and canons to their machinations.¹

One reason for the persistent attribution to Laud was the accident that in the draft of 1636 the alterations were in his handwriting. The truth was, of course, that Laud was on that occasion acting merely as a clerk, giving effect to decisions made, on representations from Scotland, by the king in consultation with Laud himself and Bishop Wren. But the volume with his handwriting fell into the hands of the archbishop’s enemies, who treated it as evidence of his personal responsibility for the new liturgy.²

The readiness of contemporaries to use this evidence and to make the most of Laud’s connection with the work arose partly from the archbishop’s great unpopularity in both England and Scotland and from the fact that in the era of the Solemn League and Covenant the attachment of his name to the fatal liturgy gave a point of unity to the malcontents of the two realms. But there had been another reason for imputing the liturgy to the authorship of English prelates. If the Scots suspected the truth—that the principal author and inspirer of the book, outside Scotland, was King Charles himself—they could not directly accuse him as long as the fiction was maintained that ‘our sweet prince’ had been acting under evil advice.³

The perspicacious Fuller appreciated the situation: ‘Generally they excused the king in their writings, as innocent therein, but charged Archbishop Laud as the principall (and Doctor Cosins for the instrumentall) compiler thereof’.⁴

¹ ‘The churchmen of greatest power in England . . . encourage the pretended archbishops and bishops of this kingdom to press not only a conformity of this church with that of England, in matter of ceremonies, but also with the Church of Rome . . . as appeareth by these books of common prayer and canons . . . which was confessed to have been first plotted, then corrected and interlined in England, sent down to their associates the pretended archbishops and bishops of this kingdom, to be printed and pressed upon the whole church here’ (An information to all good Christians within the kingdom of England from the noblemen [etc.] of the kingdom of Scotland, 1639).
² The importance of this ‘evidence’ is to be seen, for example, in James Kirkton, Secret and true history of the Church of Scotland (1817), p. 30.
⁴ Church-History, XI, ii, 103 (citing Baillie’s Canterburian’s self-conviction).
Although Laud’s personal responsibility was extremely limited, yet a case for the use of the label ‘Laud’s Liturgy’ might perhaps be made on the ground that the book was in some sense a ‘Laudian Liturgy’. But a fair estimate must recognise that several distinct strands went to the making of the first Scottish Prayer Book and that it is misleading to concentrate on one of them to the exclusion of the others. One important element—and assuredly not a Laudian one—was the policy of concession to Scottish usage and puritan prejudice, which has already been dealt with at length. There was also a completely contrary trend—mainly political in origin and independent of ecclesiastical motives—represented by the royal restrictions on the policy of concession. This also has been described. Further, there can be distinguished an ‘English Laudian’ element, mainly incorporated in the king’s directions of 1634, but perhaps reflected again at later stages. While there was certainly no slavish imitation of John Cosin’s suggestions for liturgical improvement, and Baillie’s remark about ‘Dr. Coosings’ may be nothing more than an intelligent guess based on some knowledge of Cosin’s work, yet a comparison does make it seem likely that many of the changes made in the book of 1637 found their way there from the programme of the Laudian party. Finally, what may be called a ‘Scottish Canterburian’ element emerges in some of the proposals of Bishop Wedderburn, who was certainly influenced partly by Scottish tradition but was also affected by the English High Church movement and had clearly fallen under the spell of the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. A number of Wedderburn’s changes in the Communion Office bear clear signs of the influence of that liturgy; and in the one case where his ‘notes’ have been preserved they make explicit reference to it. Moreover, it would seem that Wedderburn’s proposals for

1 There is relatively little resemblance between the Scottish book and Bishop Wren’s suggestions (printed in Fragmentary Illustrations of the History of the Book of Common Prayer, ed. William Jacobson, 1874), especially when we allow that Wren’s notes are of much later date and might themselves reflect the influence of the book of 1637.
change in the order of the prayers in the Communion, which proved only partially acceptable to the king and his English advisers, amounted in their full form to a reversion to Edward's first book. The only possible explanation of the fact that he proposed a change in the position of the Preface and the Sanctus is that he wanted to re-unite the Prayer for the Church with the Consecration Prayer and let the Preface and Sanctus stand before the resultant long intercession, as they had done in 1549. Any contribution which the policy of concession might have made towards rendering the new Prayer Book acceptable in Scotland was nullified much less by anything that emanated from Laud or Cosin than by the king's own obstinacy and by Wedderburn's anxiety for 'perfection' after the catholic model of the most conservative of reformed liturgies.

It remains a question how far Wedderburn alone, and not the Scottish bishops jointly, should bear the responsibility for changes which were bound to prove repugnant to their fellow-countrymen. It is commonly said, on the evidence of a passage in Bishop Guthry's Memoirs, that the 'Old Bishops', appointed in James's reign, were 'prudent and humble men', while Charles's nominees 'kept a fellowship among themselves apart', slighting the ministers and carrying themselves loftily. It is quite certain that initially, in 1633, the older bishops had grave misgivings about the king's liturgical policy; but it seems equally clear that in 1634 and 1635, although the moving spirit was Maxwell's, many of his seniors entered fully into the work of revision. If, however, they were satisfied with the book which was approved in 1635, they may well have been dissatisfied with the features in the final version which were due to the later intervention of Wedderburn and the king. There must, of course, have been a strong temptation to be wise after the event, but the complaint of some bishops, after the fatal Sunday when the liturgy was first read, that 'if their opinions had been craved, they would have advised the amendment

of something', may suggest that the changes made in 1636 had not received general approval, or perhaps even general consideration.

This is not the place to discuss the many other causes of discontent with the government of Charles I, which by 1637 had produced a state of opinion swept by extravagant rumours of the king's intentions and rapidly reaching a point at which explosion was inevitable. The historical estimate of the situation has not been better expressed than it was by Fuller:

Thus was the Scotch Nation full of discontents, when this book being brought unto them bare the blame of their breaking forth into more dangerous designs, as when the cup is brimfull before, the last (though least) superadded drop is charged alone to be the cause of all the running over.

The riot in the church of St. Giles on 23 July 1637 was not a spontaneous outbreak, but the chosen occasion for a demonstration by a powerful opposition which was already organised into something little short of conspiracy. There was no possibility that this liturgy or any other could have been considered on its merits, but although the Prayer Book was the 'last' drop it was perhaps not the 'least'. On the negation of statesmanship shown by the government which introduced such a book in such a way and at such a time, perhaps the most suitable comment is that of the primate of Scotland himself, who in February 1638 expressed his 'minde in the cheeffest bussines whiche is to be intreated [by the privy council], which I assure myselfe will be the mynd of all good clergie men: that is to lay aside the booke and not to presse the subjects with it anie more'.

1 Laud to Traquair, 11 September 1637, in Rushworth, Historical collections, ii, 306.
4 Reg. privy co. Scot. (2nd ser.), vii, 7.
V
THE TEXTS

THE HADDINGTON BOOK

Attempts to trace the evolution of the Scottish book of 1637 have hitherto been hampered by a serious gap in the material relating to the earlier stages in its composition. The book signed by the king on 28 September 1634 was not known to survive, and the nature of the changes proposed at that point have consequently been uncertain.1 There has now come to light in the library of the Earl of Haddington a book which may without hesitation be accepted as the book of 1634.

It is a folio English Prayer Book, printed by Robert Barker and the assigns of John Bill in 1631. It bears the royal arms (English quartering) on the cover, front and back, and part of the flyleaf, where the king’s signature may well have been, has been cut away. The main series of annotations, which I have styled ‘Haddington A’, are written in a characteristic secretarial hand of the period, and express the king’s commands and suggestions to persons engaged in framing a Scottish liturgy. The writer may have been a Scot, for he has ‘one or mae’ (for ‘one or more’), ‘tak’ (for ‘take’) and ‘Sainct’ (for ‘Saint’). These annotations are unlikely to have been made earlier than 1632, since they include the deletion of the names of the Elector Palatine and his wife, which were first omitted from the English Prayer Book in that year. On the other hand, they belong to a period before the Scottish bishops made some of the changes which were incorporated in the sheets set up in 1635 and subsequently suppressed: e.g. they propose the use of the

term 'priest', whereas the Scots decided on 'presbyter', as the surviving fragments of the suppressed sheets show. Further, a number of the changes shown in this book were preserved in the version ultimately printed in 1637 although they do not appear in the book sanctioned by the king in 1636: e.g. the addition of the phrase 'and the salvation of our own souls' to the General Confession at Morning Prayer, and the deletion of the Benedicite. This agrees with the terms of the warrant inserted in the 1636 book,\(^1\) which shows plainly that that version was intended to supplement, not to supersede, the earlier draft.

Besides what I have called the main series of annotations, attributable to 1634, there are, in the earlier part of the book, annotations in at least two other hands, which—owing to the very minute nature of some of the entries which they make—it is not always possible to distinguish with certainty. One of them—C—is confined to changes in the lectionary, most of which were obviously inserted in Scotland to give effect to the king's instructions of 18 October 1636. The other—B—seems to have come later, since it revises the changes in the lectionary just referred to; it is mainly concerned with authoritative directions, as to a printer, in the introductory portions of the book. That B was in any case later than A is suggested by the annotations to the declaration 'Of ceremonies' (p. 253), and it was either hand B or hand C—probably B—which drew a line in the Almanack between 1636 and 1637 (the year with which the table begins in the book as finally printed).

As far as hand B extends, it corresponds almost exactly with the version printed. Quite unlike the entries in the Christ Church and Dalmeny books, it includes all alterations made to date—those of 1634 as well as those of 1636. The writer does not include the alterations in the Kalendar, with regard to which he wrote a note on the flyleaf, 'See the book with the white cover for direction throughout the Kalendar'.\(^2\)

\(^1\) P. 52 supra. \(^2\) See p. 58 supra.
The book bears the bookplate of ‘The Hon. George Baillie, Esq., one of the Lords of the Treasury, 1724’, and the signature ‘George Baillie’ on the title-page. This was George Baillie of Jerviswood, Lord Haddington’s ancestor. On the back flyleaf is a note, in a hand presumably of the Restoration period: ‘This is the old divine service book new come in fashion: by mee Thom. Pett’.

THE SUPPRESSED SHEETS

Baillie’s remark (p. 56 supra) that leaves and sheets of a suppressed edition of the Scottish Prayer Book were ‘given out’ received a measure of confirmation when Bishop Dowden discovered four fragments of such sheets. They were described by him in the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society’s Transactions, vol. i, and are preserved in the Dowden Library in the Chapter House of St. Mary’s Cathedral, Edinburgh. There is a half leaf (B3) containing part of the Litany, another half (B6) containing a portion of the Prayers after the Litany, and two copies of a leaf (C4) giving the collect, etc., for St. Stephen’s Day. Another leaf (A1) has recently come to light in Edinburgh University Library.

The particular contents of these leaves are noted in their appropriate places in Part III. Their general character is that they contain the amendments to the English Prayer Book directed in 1634 plus the substitution of ‘presbyter’ for ‘priest’, but do not include the further changes authorised in 1636.

EGERTON MS. 2417

This volume, consisting of a Prayer Book, Bible and Psalter, was found by Edward Scott (afterwards Keeper of MSS. in the British Museum) in his father’s parsonage at Milford Haven, and was described in the Athenaeum, No. 2608 (20 October 1877), p. 499, and No. 2715
(8 November 1879), p. 596. It had been given to Scott's father by the parish clerk of Crawley, who had received it from Gregory Wright, a yeoman of Ifield, Sussex. The Prayer Book was already imperfect when Scott found it, but the Bible and Psalter with which it is bound were printed in 1629, and the form of the state prayers agrees with that date. The first extant page contains the latter part of the Table of Proper Lessons. Trimming has led to the loss of a certain proportion of the marginal annotations, but the missing passages can usually be conjecturally restored.

The dating and significance of the MS. notes in this book provided Scott with a wide field for speculation. One of the alterations he described was the deletion, in the Prayer for the Royal Family, of the words 'Frederick, the Prince Elector Palatine, the Lady Elizabeth his wife'; he also observed that the word 'their', before 'princely issue', was changed to 'our' (to indicate that the 'princely issue' was now that of King Charles and his queen). This would fix the date as after the birth of Prince Charles in 1630 and presumably as not earlier than 1632, when the names of the Elector and his wife were expunged from the English Prayer Book. Scott deduced from the peculiar substitution of 'our' for 'their' that this change had emanated from the king personally, and he attributed the handwriting of the alterations to Sir Edward Nicholas, secretary of state and clerk of the privy council, who had a seat at West Horsley, Surrey (distant ten miles from Ifield), where a family of Wrights were among his tenants. This attribution has since been questioned, and it is reasonable to look elsewhere for the origin of the annotations in this volume.

Inspection of the notes suggests that they are not a homogeneous series, but were made by different hands and with different inks. The conclusion would be that

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1 That prayer would run: 'Almighty God . . . we humbly beseech thee to bless our most gracious Queen Mary, Frederick, the Prince Elector Palatine, the Lady Elizabeth his wife, and their princely issue . . . .' Cf. p. 281, infra.

2 Information from the Department of MSS., British Museum.
annotations were made in the volume at different times and for a variety of purposes. Some of the notes have no clear relevance to the Scottish Prayer Book, and some seem to derive not from a reviser of the liturgy but from a puritan critic. The alterations which represent the text of the Prayer Book of 1637 are not related exclusively to either the draft of 1634 (Haddington Book) or that of 1636 (Christ Church Book), but include some changes which are contained only in the former, others contained only in the latter. The simplest explanation seems to be that these annotations arose from a collation of the Scottish Book, after it was printed, with the English Prayer Book: an explanation supported by the nature of some of the comments, e.g. on the Benedicite—'Left out all this canticle', and on the Words of Administration, where the second sentence is underlined and there is a marginal note, 'Omitted'. The collation was not made with great care, for quite a number of the differences between the Scottish Book and the English were overlooked. The volume may be disregarded as a source of information about the composition of the Scottish Prayer Book.

It is true that the appearance of 'our' in the Prayer for the Royal Family may seem to remain something of an enigma, but it is much less likely to be the result of any association with King Charles than of the scribe's carelessness (influenced by the earlier 'our' before 'most gracious Queen Mary'). The insertion in the Litany of the petition against the bishop of Rome and his enormities, to which Scott likewise drew attention, obviously arose from comparison of this book with earlier English productions, as the note itself shows (p. 279).

THE CHRIST CHURCH BOOK

This book is a 4to English Prayer Book, printed by Robert Barker and the assigns of John Bill in 1632. It has a vellum cover.
This is the book of 19 April 1636, bearing the royal warrant of that date signed by King Charles. Nearly all the entries are in the hand of Archbishop Laud, but a few are in the hand of a secretary, identified as Laud’s secretary, and some in a third hand which, from their nature, may safely be regarded as a Scottish hand. These hands are distinguished by ‘Secy.’ and ‘Scot.’ in this edition.

If this book was sent to Scotland—and there is good reason to believe that it was—it must have been retransmitted to Laud. It is the book which was found when Laud’s belongings were ransacked on 31 May 1643—‘the Scottish Service-book, with such directions as accompanied it’.1 Prynne tells us that, in searching Laud’s belongings, he found a copy of the Prayer Book ‘with all the additions and alterations wherein it varies from the English, written, made and inserted by the archbishop’s own hand, as it was afterwards printed and published in Scotland’.2 Prynne was not the last to fall into the error of believing that this book included all the additions and alterations incorporated in the book published in 1637.

The volume has a number of pencilled notes—and one in ink in the same hand—giving references to the Missal and Pontifical, and several pencilled crosses. These are certainly related to Prynne’s strictures on the book in his Hidden works (pp. 157-63). The page references to the Roman service-books agree with his, and the crosses correspond closely to the points which he criticises—e.g. the standing posture for the Gloria, the Quicunque and the Gospel. It seems not unlikely that these annotations are actually Prynne’s own, made in 1643.

This book was formerly in the City Library at Norwich, but was borrowed by Archbishop Wake of Canterbury in 1719 and found its way, with the Wake Collection, into Christ Church, Oxford. It still bears the shelf-mark of the Norwich Library.3

1 Laud, Works, iv, 25-6.  
2 Prynne, Hidden works, p. 156.  
The annotations contained in the Christ Church book were copied into a 4to Prayer Book of 1634 (Robert Barker) in the Library of Lambeth Palace (MS. 1050). It was described by Hill Burton as follows: 1

The Lambeth volume is a quarto prayer book dated in 1634. The manuscript alterations are in a hand of the seventeenth century, probably the latter half of it. There is this memorandum by the writer: ‘The alterations of the common prayer in the following book were copied from the book of Archbishop Laud, printed 1636 [sic], 4to, and now remaining in the library of the city of Norwich’. Inquiries in Norwich . . . were neither successful in discovering the volume nor any trace of its fate. The memorandum further says: ‘Almost all the alterations are in the archbishop’s own hand. Some few are in the hand in which the warrant for altering is written, and are therefore distinguished by adding under them the letter S., supposing them to be the hand of the secretary. A few others, in a different hand, are distinguished by adding Sc., supposing them to be made in Scotland, according to the tenor of the warrant.’

From the Lambeth volume Hill Burton transcribed the alterations into a prayer book in the National Library of Scotland.2

In preparing his edition of the Book of 1637 for the Church Service Society, Cooper was, like Burton, unable to trace the Norwich book, and printed the 1636 alterations from Burton’s transcript of the Lambeth copy. In the course of successive copyings, a great many errors had crept in and omissions arisen, and it now appears that the version printed by Cooper is worthless. It is especially important to note that the arguments which he built on the supposed differences between the Norwich book and the Dalmeny book are quite without foundation.

The Dalmeny Book

This book was purchased by the Duke of Hamilton in 1856 and was subsequently acquired by the Earl of

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1 History of Scotland, vi, 136 n. 2 This book has not been traced.
Rosebery. It is a 4to English Prayer Book, printed by Robert Barker and the assigns of John Bill, 1637. The boards are covered with red velvet.

This book was formerly believed to be an original, with the alterations mainly in the king’s own hand, but this view is not tenable. The handwriting bears no resemblance to that of Charles, and even the signature superscribed to the warrant is an imitation and not an original. Secondly, the neatness with which the additions and corrections, often several passages on one page, have been written in the margins, would suggest strongly that it is a copy. Thirdly, the fact that the book was printed in 1637 is an argument against a date as early as April 1636 for the MS. insertions. Finally, some of the annotations which seem to have been made in the Christ Church book in 1643 are reproduced in this volume.

There can be little doubt that the MS. notes in this volume were copied directly from the Christ Church book. The copyist was careful, sometimes even reproducing obvious errors, and his work was revised and corrected—possibly on comparison with the source—by another hand. The volume can scarcely be said to rank as an independent text. Two possible origins may be suggested for it: it may have been made by Laud’s enemies after the original had been found in the archbishop’s possession, or it may have been made for Laud himself, since we know that he was allowed to have copies made—at his own expense—of any of the papers of which he had been deprived. A careful but not over-intelligent copyist might in either case have transcribed some of Prynne’s annotations—if they are Prynne’s—as well as the original emendations.

Dr. Cooper had access to this volume when he prepared his edition of the Prayer Book of 1637 for the Church Service Society. In his autobiography he wrote:

1 Cooper, Scottish Prayer Book of 1637, pp. xlviii et seq.
2 Laud, Works, iv, 36.
May 16th, 1903. To Dalmeny, where, by Lord Rosebery's kind permission, I collated the Prayer Book he bought at the Hamilton Sale. It came from England in 1856, was printed 1637; it is an English Prayer Book with all the changes sent from England for the Scotch liturgy, written into it by Charles I with his own hand. The Order for the Communion Service seems to have been Bishop Wedderburn's, and though implied is not directed by the king. Probably this was the copy sent to Spottiswood.

The MS. alterations in the volume were printed by Cooper, but an examination of the original has shown that his version is not wholly accurate. His conjecture that this was a copy sent to Spottiswoode is quite untenable, owing to the reproduction in this volume of some of the hostile annotations which cannot have been added to the Christ Church book before 1643.

**THE 'TWO EDITIONS'**

The variants between printed copies of the first Scottish Prayer Book have led, perhaps too readily, to the conclusion that there were 'two editions'. A decisive judgment could be arrived at only after a much wider examination of different copies than seems yet to have been made, but certain tentative suggestions may perhaps be advanced.

Variation occurs on only a small number of sheets. Taking into account not only variant readings, but also the distribution of the type and the blocks used for initial letters, I have found variation in only the preliminary sheet 'a' and in sheets A, C, D and L. It is in sheet A alone that real textual differences occur. It appears, too, that when, as in C and D, the type is differently distributed, each variant passage is normally limited to a page or a paragraph, and this suggests that certain sheets were reset in isolation rather than that the whole book was set up afresh for a second edition. The variants in 'a' and L are of a very minor nature.

There is what may be called the 'Normal State', to
which the great majority of copies conform and which contains the characteristics of what has been called the 'First Edition'. But copies diverging from this norm are by no means uniform, and cannot be said to constitute a 'Second Edition'. It may even be doubted if they are of later date.

In sheet A, the Normal copies insert 'Everyone standing up at the same' in the rubric on the psalms in Morning Prayer (A3) and read 'used and said' in the rubric before the Benedictus (A4v); 'Second Edition' copies omit 'Everyone standing up at the same' and read 'said or sung'. On A5 there are differences in the setting of the last two lines of the Creed, the last two lines of the Lord's Prayer, and the second last response (which in Normal copies runs 'Because there is none other that fighteth for us, but / only thou, O God', and in 'Second Edition' copies is divided 'but on/ly thou, O God'). This sheet was evidently corrected, if not set up twice, but it is difficult to determine which state is the earlier. The change to 'said or sung' is a correction, the omission of 'Everyone standing up at the same' is an error. Bishop Dowden concluded that the Normal state was the earlier and the 'Second Edition' later, but I am inclined to differ, on the grounds that (a) the omission of 'Everyone standing up at the same' is a more serious error than the substitution of 'used and said', and (b) the division 'but / only' is a manifest improvement on 'but on/ly'.

In sheet C, the Normal state may be identified by the correct reading 'fell asleep' as the last two words of the Epistle for St. Stephen's Day (C4). The abnormal state of this sheet reads 'feel asleep', and throughout it differs widely from the normal in type distribution and in the initial blocks. This sheet was evidently set up twice, and one would assume that the version with the correct reading was the later.

In sheet D, the Normal state may be identified by 'LORD JESUS', in capitals, in the Epistle for Epiphany V (D3v). The abnormal state has 'Lord Jesus', and throughout the sheet shows type distribution varying
widely from that of the normal. Here again, one would on the whole take the use of capital letters for the Holy Name to be a later refinement.

The argument that the abnormal sheets represent earlier essays, and not later and more finished work, seems to be confirmed by the fact that the abnormal sheets are not always combined in the same manner. One copy (Nat. Lib. Scot., Cwn. 728), with the abnormal A and D, has a normal C; two others (New College, MH. 4/5, and Edin. Univ. Lib., C.18.37) have A, C and D all in the abnormal state. This would at any rate be conclusive against the view that there was a 'Second Edition' simpliciter.

Two minor variants in otherwise normal copies should be noted:

(1) On a6, a copy (N.L.S., Ry. III. c. 6 [1-2]) has the catchword 'Pro' instead of 'Proper' as in all others. There is no indication of any other change in the sheet.

(2) On L3 this copy, with N.L.S., Cwn. 720, and Episcopal Church Theological College, A.V.b(1), have 'The Gospel' directly beneath 'The Epistle', while all other copies I have seen have 'The Gospel' to the right. Again there is no indication of any other change in the sheet.

* *

The Prayer Book of 1637 is reproduced with modernised spelling and with the omission of passages from the Authorised Version of the Bible (to which references are given) and of a certain amount of recurrent or familiar matter. Part III presents a collation of the alterations made in the Haddington, Christ Church, Dalmeny and Egerton books with the English Prayer Book and with the version printed in Scotland in 1637. The portions of the English Prayer Book which it was necessary to print are reproduced in modern spelling. The transcription of the MS. annotations retains the spelling of the originals.
PART II

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER
AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS
AND OTHER PARTS OF DIVINE SERVICE
FOR THE USE OF
THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND
1637
THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER
AND
ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS
and other parts of divine service for
the use of the Church of
Scotland

EDINBURGH
Printed by Robert Young, Printer to the
King's Most Excellent Majesty
M.DC.XXXVII
CUM PRIVILEGIO
THE CONTENTS OF THIS BOOK

3. Of Ceremonies, why some be abolished, and some retained.
4. The Order how the Psalter is appointed to be read.
5. The Order how the rest of Holy Scripture is appointed to be read.
7. The Table for the Order of the Psalms to be said at Morning and Evening Prayer.
8. An Almanack.
9. The Table and Kalendar for Psalms and Lessons, with necessary Rules appertaining to the same.
10. The Order for Morning and Evening Prayer throughout the Year.
11. The Litany.
12. The Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, to be used at the Ministration of the Holy Communion throughout the Year.
13. The Order of the Ministration of the Holy Communion.
15. Confirmation; where also is a Catechism for Children.
17. Visitation of the Sick.
18. The Communion of the Sick.
21. A Commination against Sinners, with certain Prayers to be used divers times in the Year.
A PROCLAMATION

for the authorising of the Book of Common Prayer to be used throughout the Realm of Scotland

CHARLES, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, To our Lovits Messengers, our Sheriffs in that part, conjunctly and severally, specially constitute, greeting. Forasmuch as We, ever since our entry to the imperial Crown of this our ancient Kingdom of Scotland, especially since our late being here in the same, have divers times recommended to the Archbishops and Bishops here the publishing of a Public Form of Service, in the Worship of God, which we would have uniformly observed therein: And the same being now condescended upon, although We doubt not but all our subjects, both Clergy and others, will receive the said Public Form of Service with such reverence as appertaineth: Yet, thinking it necessary to make our pleasure known, touching the authorising of the Book thereof,

OUR WILL IS, and We charge you straitly, and command, that incontinent these our Letters seen, you pass, and in our Name and Authority command and charge all our subjects, both ecclesiastical and civil, by open Proclamation at the Market Crosses of the Head Burghs of this our Kingdom, and other places needful, to conform themselves to the said Public Form of Worship, which is the only Form which We (having taken the counsel of our Clergy) think fit to be used in God’s Public Worship in this our Kingdom: Commanding also all Archbishops, and Bishops, and other Presbyters and Churchmen, to take a special care that the same be duly obeyed and observed, and the contraveners condignly censured and punished; and to have special care that every Parish, betwixt and Pasch next, procure unto themselves two at least of the said Books of Common Prayer, for the use of the Parish. The which to do, we commit to you conjunctly and severally our full power, by these our Letters, delivering the same by you duly executed and indorsed again to the bearer.

Given under our signet, at Edinburgh, the twentieth day of December, and of our Reign the twelfth year, 1636.

Per actum Secreti Concilii.
THE PREFACE

The Church of Christ hath in all ages had a prescript Form of Common Prayer, or Divine Service, as appeareth by the ancient Liturgies of the Greek and Latin Churches. This was done, as for other great causes, so likewise for retaining an uniformity in God's worship: a thing most beseeming them that are of one and the same profession. For by the Form that is kept in the outward worship of God, men commonly judge of Religion. If in that there be a diversity, straight they are apt to conceive the religion to be diverse. Wherefore it were to be wished, that the whole Church of Christ were one as well in form of Public Worship, as in doctrine: and that as it hath but one Lord, and one Faith, so it had but one heart, and one mouth. This would prevent many schisms and divisions, and serve much to the preserving of unity. But since that cannot be hoped for in the whole Catholic Christian Church, yet, at least, in the Churches that are under the protection of one sovereign Prince the same ought to be endeavoured.

It was not the least part of our late Sovereign King James of blessed memory, his care, to work this uniformity in all his dominions: but, while he was about to do it, it pleased God to translate him to a better kingdom. His Majesty that now reigneth, (and long may he reign over us in all happiness!) not suffering his father's good purpose to fall to the ground, but treading the same path, with the like zeal and pious affection, gave order, soon after his coming to the crown, for the framing of a Book of Common Prayer, like unto that which is received in the Churches of England and Ireland, for the use of this Church. After many lets and hindrances, the same cometh now to be published, to the good (we trust) of
all God's people, and the increase of true piety and sincere devotion amongst them.

But as there is nothing, how good and warrantable soever in itself, against which some will not except; so it may be, that exceptions will be taken against this good and most pious work, and, perhaps, none more pressed, than that we have followed the Service-Book of England. But we should desire them that shall take this exception, to consider, that, being as we are by God's mercy of one true profession, and otherwise united by many bonds, it had not been fitting to vary much from theirs, ours especially coming forth after theirs; seeing the disturbers of the Church, both here and there, should by our differences, if they had been great, have taken occasion to work more trouble. Therefore did we think meet to adhere to their Form, even in the Festivals, and some other rites, not as yet received nor observed in our Church, rather than, by omitting them, to give the adversary to think that we dislike any part of their Service.

Our first Reformers were of the same mind with us, as appeareth by the ordinance they made, that in all the parishes of this Realm the Common Prayer should be read, weekly, on Sundays, and other Festival Days, with the Lessons of the Old and New Testament, conform to the order of the Book of Common Prayer; (meaning that of England: for it is known that divers years after we had no other order for Common Prayer). This is recorded to have been the first head concluded in a frequent Council of the Lords and Barons professing Christ Jesus. We keep the words of the History; Religion was not then placed in rites and gestures, nor men taken with the fancy of extemporary prayers. Sure, the Public Worship of God in his Church, being the most solemn action of us his poor creatures here below, ought to be performed by a Liturgy advisedly set and framed, and not according to the sudden and various fancies of men. This shall suffice for the present to have said. The God of mercy confirm our hearts in his truth, and preserve us alike from profaneness and superstition! Amen.
All Presbyters and Deacons shall be bound to say daily the Morning and Evening Prayer, either privately or openly, except they be let or hindered by some urgent cause. Of which cause, if it be frequently pretended, they are to make the Bishop of the Diocese, or the Archbishop of the Province, the judge and alloweer.

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

WHY SOME BE ABOLISHED, AND SOME RETAINED

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

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

And whereas in this our time, the minds of men are so diverse that some think it a great matter of conscience to depart from a piece of the least of their Ceremonies, they be so addicted to their old customs; and again, on the other side, some be so new-fangled, that they would innovate all things, and so despise the old, that nothing can like them but that is new: it was thought expedient, not so much to have respect how to please and satisfy either of these parties, as how to please God, and profit them both. And yet, lest any man should be offended, whom good reason might satisfy, here be certain causes rendered, why some of the accustomed Ceremonies be put away, and some retained and kept still.

Some are put away, because the great excess and multitude of them hath so increased in these latter days, that the burden of them was intolerable. Wherefore S. Augustine in his time complained, that they were grown to such a number, that the estate of Christian people was in worse case concerning that matter than were the Jews; and he counselled, that such yoke and burden should be taken away, as time would serve quietly to do it.
But what would S. Augustine have said, if he had seen the Ceremonies of late days used among us; whereunto the multitude used in his time was not to be compared? This our excessive multitude of Ceremonies was so great, and many of them so dark, that they did more confound and darken, than declare and set forth Christ's benefits unto us.

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

Furthermore, the most weighty cause of the abolishment of certain Ceremonies was, that they were so far abused, partly by the superstitious blindness of the rude and unlearned, and partly by the insatiable avarice of such as sought more their own lucre than the glory of God, that the abuses could not well be taken away, the thing remaining still.

But now, as concerning those persons which peradventure will be offended for that some of the old Ceremonies are retained still. If they consider that without some Ceremonies it is not possible to keep any order or quiet discipline in the Church, they shall easily perceive just cause to reform their judgments. And if they think much that any of the old do remain, and would rather have all devised anew; then, such men granting some Ceremonies convenient to be had, surely where the old may be well used, there they cannot reasonably reprove the old only for their age, without bewraying of their own folly. For in such a case they ought rather to have reverence unto them for their antiquity, if they will declare themselves to be more studious of unity and concord, than of innovations and new-fangledness; which (as much as may be, with the true setting forth of Christ's religion) is always to be eschewed. Furthermore, such shall have no just cause with the Ceremonies reserved to be offended. For as those be taken away which were most abused, and did burden men's consciences without any cause; so the other that remain are retained for a discipline and order, which (upon just causes) may be altered and changed, and therefore are not to be esteemed equal with God's law. And moreover they be neither dark nor dumb Ceremonies, but are so set forth that every man may understand what they do mean, and to what use they do serve. So that it is not like, that they in time to come should be abused as others have been. And in these our doings we condemn no other nations, nor prescribe any thing but to our own people only. For we think it convenient that every country should use such Ceremonies, as they shall think best to the setting forth of God's honour and glory, and to the reducing of the people to a most perfect and godly living, without error or superstition; and that they should put away other things, which from time to time they perceive to be most abused, as in men's ordinances it often chanceth diversely in divers countries.
The TABLE and KALENDAR, expressing the Order of Psalms to be
said at Morning and Evening Prayer throughout the Year; except
certain Proper Feasts, as the Rules following more plainly declare

The Psalter shall be read through once every month, save February;
and in that month so far as the Psalms are appointed for twenty-eight, or
twenty-nine days in the Leap-Year.

And whereas many months have thirty-one days apiece, it is ordered
that the Psalms shall be read the last day of the said months which were
read the day before; so that the Psalter may begin again the first day of
the next month ensuing.

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

And here is also to be noted, that in this Table, and in all other parts
of the Service where any Psalms are appointed, the number is expressed
after the great English Bible, which from the ix Psalm unto the cxlviii
Psalms (following the division of the Hebrews) doth vary in numbers from
the common Latin translation.
The Order how the rest of HOLY SCRIPTURE (beside the Psalter) is appointed to be read

The Old Testament is appointed for the First Lessons at Morning and Evening Prayer, and shall be read through every year once; except certain Books and Chapters which be least edifying, and might best be spared, and therefore are left unread.

The New Testament is appointed for the Second Lessons at Morning and Evening Prayer, and shall be read over orderly every year thrice, besides the Epistles and Gospels; except the Apocalypse, out of the which there be only certain Lessons appointed upon divers Proper Feasts.

And to know what Lessons shall be read every day, find the day of the month in the Kalendar following; and there ye shall perceive the Books and Chapters that shall be read for the Lessons both at Morning and Evening Prayer.

And here is to be noted, that whenever there be any Proper Psalms or Lessons appointed for the Sundays, or for any Feast, moveable or unmoveable; then the Psalms and Lessons appointed in the Kalendar shall be omitted for that time.

Ye must note also, that the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel appointed for the Sunday, shall serve all the week after, except there fall some Feast that hath his proper Collect, Epistle and Gospel; as it is on Ash-Wednesday, and on every day in the Holy Week next before Pasch or Easter: but on all those days the Psalms and Lessons shall be the same which fall in course as they are in the Kalendar.

When the years of our Lord may be divided into four even parts, which is every fourth year, then the Sunday Letter leapeth; and that year the Psalms and Lessons which serve for the xxiii ¹ day of February, shall be read again the day following, except it be Sunday, which hath proper Lessons of the Old Testament appointed in the Table serving to that purpose.

Also, wheresoever the beginning of any Lesson, Epistle, or Gospel, is not expressed, there ye must begin at the beginning of the Chapter. And wheresoever is not expressed how far shall be read, there shall you read to the end of the Chapter.

Item, so oft as the first Chapter of Saint Matthew is read either for Lesson or Gospel, ye shall begin the same at (The birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise, &c.) and the third Chapter of Saint Luke's Gospel shall be read unto (So that he was supposed to be the son of Joseph).

¹ Sic.
PROPER LESSONS to be read for the First Lessons, both at Morning and Evening Prayer, on the Sundays throughout the Year; and for some also the Second Lessons

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<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The first.</td>
<td>Isaiah i.</td>
<td>Isaiah ii.</td>
<td>First Sunday.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ii.</td>
<td>v.</td>
<td>xxiv.</td>
<td>Num. xvi.</td>
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<td>iii.</td>
<td>xxv.</td>
<td>xxvi.</td>
<td>xxiii.</td>
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<td>vi.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sundays after Christmas.</td>
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<tr>
<td>The first.</td>
<td>xxxvii.</td>
<td>xxxviii.</td>
<td>Sunday after Ascension Day.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ii.</td>
<td>xli.</td>
<td>xlii.</td>
<td>Deut. xii.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Deut. xiii.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sundays after the Epiphany.</td>
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<tr>
<td>The first.</td>
<td>xliii.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Whitsunday.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ii.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 Lesson.</td>
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<tr>
<td>iii.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 Lesson.</td>
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<tr>
<td>iv.</td>
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<tr>
<td>v.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sexagesima.</td>
<td>iii.</td>
<td>vi.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Quinquagesima.</td>
<td>ix.</td>
<td>xii.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>First Sunday in Lent.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>xix.</td>
<td>xxii.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ii.</td>
<td>xxvii.</td>
<td>xxiv.</td>
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<tr>
<td>iii.</td>
<td>xxxvi.</td>
<td>xxxv.</td>
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<tr>
<td>iv.</td>
<td>xliii.</td>
<td>xli.</td>
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<tr>
<td>v.</td>
<td>Exod. iii.</td>
<td>Exod. v.</td>
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<tr>
<td>vi.</td>
<td>ix.</td>
<td>x.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Easter Day.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 Lesson.</td>
<td>Exod. xii.</td>
<td>Exod. xiv.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Sundays after Easter.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Matins.</th>
<th>Evensong.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First.</td>
<td>Josua. x.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii.</td>
<td>Judg. iv.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii.</td>
<td>i. Sam. ii.</td>
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<td>iv.</td>
<td>i. Sam. iii.</td>
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<td>v.</td>
<td>x.</td>
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<td>vi.</td>
<td>ii. Sam. xii.</td>
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<td>vii.</td>
<td>ii. Sam. xxi.</td>
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<td>viii.</td>
<td>i. King. xiii.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ix.</td>
<td>xvii.</td>
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<tr>
<td>x.</td>
<td>xvi.</td>
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<td>xi.</td>
<td>xvi.</td>
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<td>xii.</td>
<td>xvi.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sundays after Trinity</td>
<td>Matins.</td>
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<td>-----------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>xi.</td>
<td>ii. King. v.</td>
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<tr>
<td>xii.</td>
<td>x.</td>
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<td>xiii.</td>
<td>xix.</td>
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<td>xv.</td>
<td>xxxv.</td>
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<td>xvii.</td>
<td>xvi.</td>
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<td>xviii.</td>
<td>xx.</td>
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<td>xxi.</td>
<td>Hab. ii.</td>
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<td>xxi.</td>
<td>Prov. ii.</td>
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<tr>
<td>xxi.</td>
<td>xi.</td>
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<td>xiv.</td>
<td>xiii.</td>
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<td>xvi.</td>
<td>xv.</td>
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<td>xxvi.</td>
<td>xvii.</td>
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**Lessons proper for some Holy-Days.**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nativity of Christ.</td>
<td>Pro. xxiii.</td>
<td>Pro. xxiv.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Lesson.</td>
<td>Isaiah ix.</td>
<td>Isaiah vii. from v. 10 to v. 15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Lesson.</td>
<td>Luke ii. from v. 10 to v. 35.</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Lesson.</td>
<td>Pro. xxvii.</td>
<td>Eccles. iv. from v. 10 to v. 30.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 Lesson.</td>
<td>Acts vi. from v. 10 to v. 35.</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Lesson.</td>
<td>Eccles. v.</td>
<td>Eccles. vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Lesson.</td>
<td>Apoc. i.</td>
<td>Apoc. xxii.</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Lesson.</td>
<td>Exod. i.</td>
<td>Jer. xxi. from v. 10 to v. 15.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Circumcision Day.**

| 1 Lesson. | Gen. xvii. | Deut. x. from v. 12 unto end. |

**Epiphany.**

| 1 Lesson. | Isaiah ix. | Isaiah xlix. |

**Conversion of S. Paul.**

| 1 Lesson. | Wisdom i. | Wisdom ii. |
| 2 Lesson. | Acts xxii. unto v. 22. |

**Purification of the Virgin.**

| Eccles. ii. | Eccles. iii. |
| Wednesday before Easter. | Hosea xiii. |
| Thursday before Easter. | Hosea xiv. |
| Good Friday. | Dan. ix. |
| Easter Even. | Jer. xxxi. |

**Monday in East. Week.**

| 1 Lesson. | Exod. xvi. | Exod. xx. |
| 2 Lesson. | Mat. xxviii. | Ex. xxxii. |

**Tuesday in East. Week.**

<p>| 1 Lesson. | Exod. xx. | Ex. xxxii. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ascension Day</th>
<th>Matins</th>
<th>Evensong</th>
<th>S. Peter</th>
<th>Matins</th>
<th>Evensong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday in Whitsun Week</td>
<td>1 Sam. xix. from v. 18 unto the end.</td>
<td>Acts xiv.</td>
<td>All Saints.</td>
<td>Wisdom iii. unto v. 13.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Barnabas.</td>
<td>Acts xv. unto v. 36.</td>
<td>1 Lesson.</td>
<td>unto v. 36.</td>
<td>Wherefore, blessed is the barren.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Proper Psalms on Certain Days

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Matins</th>
<th>Evensong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yule, or Christmas Day</td>
<td>xix, xlv, lxxxv</td>
<td>lxxxix, cx, cxxii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pasch, or Easter Day</td>
<td>ii, lvii, exi</td>
<td>exiii, exiv, cxviii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ascension Day</td>
<td>viii, xv, xxi</td>
<td>xxiv, lxviii, cviii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitsunday</td>
<td>xlv, xlvii</td>
<td>civ, cxlv</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### The Table for the Order of the Psalms to be said at Morning and Evening Prayer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Days of the Month</th>
<th>Psalms for Morning Prayer</th>
<th>Psalms for Evening Prayer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1, 2, 3, 4, 5</td>
<td>6, 7, 8</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>9, 10, 11</td>
<td>12, 13, 14</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>15, 16, 17</td>
<td>18</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>19, 20, 21</td>
<td>22, 23</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>24, 25, 26</td>
<td>27, 28, 29</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>30, 31</td>
<td>32, 33, 34</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>35, 36</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>38, 39, 40</td>
<td>41, 42, 43</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>44, 45, 46</td>
<td>47, 48, 49</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>50, 51, 52</td>
<td>53, 54, 55</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>56, 57, 58</td>
<td>59, 60, 61</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>62, 63, 64</td>
<td>65, 66, 67</td>
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<td>13</td>
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<td>69, 70</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>71, 72</td>
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¶ When ye have found the Sunday Letter in the uppermost line, guide your eye downward from the same, till ye come right over against the Prime; and there is shewed both what Month, and what Day of the Month, Easter falleth that year.

† Sic.
### JANUARY HATH XXXI DAYS

**The Moon xxx.**

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**Psalms.**

**Morning Prayer.**

**Evening Prayer.**
The Making of the Prayer Book of 1637

### FEBRUARY HATH XXVIII DAYS

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Note, That the 25 chapter of Leviticus must be read from verse 35.

Note, That the 9 chapter of Leviticus must be read from verse 22, unto verse 12 in the 10 of Leviticus.
MARCH HATH XXXI DAYS

The Moon xxx.

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1 Lesson. | 2 Lesson. | Num. xxxv  |          |         |         |

1 Sic.
### APRIL HATH XXX DAYS

The Moon xxix.

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- **xvi** 2 A iv No. Richard.
- **v** 3 b iii No. Ambrose.
- **xiii** 4 c prid. No.
- **ii** 5 d Nonas.
- **xvi** 6 e vii Id. Sol in Tauro.
- **vii** 7 f vi Id.
- **xv** 8 g Id.
- **xviii** 9 A v Id.
- **vii** 10 b iv Id. Malt.
- **xv** 11 c iii Id.
- **xii** 12 d prid. Id.
- **xv** 13 e Idus.
- **iv** 14 f xiii kl. Alphege.
- **xii** 15 g xvi kl. Serf Bishop.
- **i** 16 A xvi kl.
- **xii** 17 b xv kl.
- **xxi** 18 c xiv kl.
- **ix** 19 d xiii kl.
- **xxi** 20 e xii kl.
- **xxii** 21 f xi kl.
- **ix** 22 g x kl.
- **ii** 23 A ix kl.
- **xiv** 24 b viii kl.
- **iii** 25 c vii kl. Mark Evang.
- **xi** 26 d vi kl.
- **xii** 27 e v kl.
- **xxiv** 28 f iv kl.
- **xxv** 29 g iii kl.
- **viii** 30 A prid. kl.

#### 1 Lesson.
- **Judg. x** 1
- **Joh. xix** 2
- **xii** 3
- **xxxii** 4
- **Acts i** 5
- **xxvii** 6
- **xxvii** 7
- **viii** 8
- **vii** 9
- **vi** 10

#### 2 Lesson.
- **Joh. xix** 1
- **Heb. iii** 2
- **xxvii** 3
- **xxvii** 4
- **xxvii** 5
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- **xxvii** 7
- **xxvii** 8
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#### 1 Lesson.
- **Joh. xix** 1
- **XXI** 2
- **Joh. i** 3
- **xxvii** 4
- **xxvii** 5
- **xxvii** 6
- **xxvii** 7
- **xxvii** 8
- **xxvii** 9
- **xxvii** 10

#### 2 Lesson.
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- **XXI** 2
- **Joh. i** 3
- **xxvii** 4
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The Prayer Book

### MAY HATH XXXI DAYS

The Moon xxx.

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Philip & Jacob.

Sol in Gemini.

Eccles. vii

Act. viii

Phil. i

Rom. i
### JUNE HATH XXX DAYS

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1 Sc. Matthew.
### SEPTEMBER HATH XXX DAYS

#### The Moon xxix.

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#### Psalms

- **1 Lesson.** Jere. iii
- **2 Lesson.** Mat. ii
- **1 Lesson.** Jere. iv
- **2 Lesson.** Rom. ii

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#### Lessons

- 1 Lesson:
  - Jere. iii
  - Mat. ii
  - Jere. iv
  - Rom. ii

- 2 Lesson:
  - vi
  - viii
  - x
  - xi
  - xii
  - xiii
  - iv

#### Additional Notes

- **Giles.**
- **Sol. in Libra.**
- **Autumnale.**
- **Lambert.**
- **Ninian Bishop.**
- **Fast.**
- **S. Matthew.**
- **Ecclu.**
- **Jer.**
- **xlii.**

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1 Sc. xi.  
2 Sc. xlii.
### OCTOBER HATH XXXI DAYS

The Moon xxx.

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### LESSON PRAYERS

1. Ezek. v
2. Mark iv
3. vii
4. vii
5. vi
6. vii
7. vii
8. vii
9. vii
10. vii
11. vii
12. vii
13. Dan. i
14. Dan. ii
15. Luk. di i
16. vi
17. vi
18. vi
19. Hos. ii
20. vi
21. vi
22. vi
23. vi
24. vi
25. vi
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30. vi
31. Prov. xi
The Prayer Book

NOVEMBER HATH XXX DAYS

The Moon xxix.

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Note, That 1 Chronicles xi. is to be read the 23rd of November for the First Lesson at Evening Prayer, unto verse 26.
### DECEMBER HATH XXXI DAYS

The Moon xxx.

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**Scripture References**

1. **1 Peter 1:3**
2. **Acts 2:42**
3. **Psalm 95:2**
4. **Psalm 105:1**
5. **Psalm 106:43**
6. **Psalm 112:1**
7. **Psalm 113:1**
8. **Psalm 114:1**
9. **Psalm 115:1**
10. **Psalm 116:1**
11. **Psalm 117:1**
12. **Psalm 118:1**
13. **Psalm 119:1**
14. **Psalm 120:1**
15. **Psalm 121:1**
16. **Psalm 122:1**
17. **Psalm 123:1**
18. **Psalm 124:1**
19. **Psalm 125:1**
20. **Psalm 126:1**
21. **Psalm 127:1**
22. **Psalm 128:1**
23. **Psalm 129:1**
24. **Psalm 130:1**
25. **Psalm 131:1**
26. **Psalm 132:1**
27. **Psalm 133:1**
28. **Psalm 134:1**
29. **Psalm 135:1**
30. **Psalm 136:1**
31. **Psalm 137:1**

**Prayer Text**

**Morning Prayer**
- 1 Lesson
- 2 Lesson

**Evening Prayer**
- 1 Lesson
- 2 Lesson

**Prayer Book of 1637**
ADVENT SUNDAY is always the nearest Sunday (whether before or after) to the feast of S. Andrew; or that Sunday which falleth upon any day from the twenty-seventh of November to the third of December inclusively.

| Septuagesima | before Easter | (ix) weeks. |
| Sexagesima   |              | (vii)      |
| Quinquagesima|              | (vi)       |
| Quadragesima |              |            |
| Rogations    |              |            |
| Whitsunday   | after Easter  | (v) weeks. |
| Trinity Sunday|             | (vii)      |

*These to be observed for Holy-Days, and none other.*

THE ORDER

where and how Morning and Evening Prayer
shall be said or sung

The Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used in the accustomed place
of the Church, Chapel, or Chancel, except it be otherwise determined by the
Ordinary of the place: and the Chancels shall remain as they have done in
times past.

And here is to be noted, that the Presbyter or Minister at the time of the
Communion, and at other times in his ministration, shall use such ornaments
in the Church, as are prescribed, or shall be, by His Majesty, or his successors,
according to the Act of Parliament provided in that behalf.
AN ORDER FOR MORNING PRAYER
daily throughout the year

At the beginning both of Morning Prayer, and likewise of Evening Prayer, the Presbyter or Minister shall read with a loud voice some one of these Sentences of the Scriptures that follow. And then he shall say that which is written after the said Sentences.

Cast away from you all your transgressions, whereby ye have transgressed, and make you a new heart, and a new spirit: for why will ye die? For I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth, saith the Lord God: wherefore turn yourselves, and live. Ezek. xviii. 31, 32.

Hide thy face from my sins; and blot out all mine iniquities. Psalm li. 9.

The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise. Psalm li. 17.

Rend your heart, and not your garments, and turn unto the Lord your God: for he is gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness, and repenteth him of the evil. Joel ii. 13.

To the Lord our God belong mercies and forgivenesses, though we have rebelled against him: neither have we obeyed the voice of the Lord our God, to walk in his laws which he set before us, by his servants the prophets. Dan. ix. 9, 10.

He that covereth his sins, shall not prosper: but he that confesseth and forsaketh them, shall have mercy. Prov. xxviii. 13.

O Lord, correct me, but with judgment; not in thine anger, lest thou bring me to nothing. Jer. x. 24.

Enter not into judgment with thy servant: for in thy sight shall no man living be justified. Psalm cxliii. 2.
If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. 1 John i. 8.

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

A General Confession, to be said by all that are present, after or with the Deacon or Presbyter, all humbly kneeling.

Almighty and most merciful Father, we have erred and strayed from thy ways like lost sheep, we have followed too much the devices and desires of our own hearts, we have offended against thy holy laws, we have left undone those things which we ought to have done, and we have done those things which we ought not to have done: and there is no health in us. But thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us, miserable offenders: Spare thou them, O God, which confess their faults: Restore thou them that be penitent, according to thy promises declared unto mankind in Christ Jesu our Lord: And grant, O most merciful Father, for His sake, That we may hereafter live a godly, righteous, and sober life, to the glory of thy holy Name, and the salvation of our own souls. Amen.
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The Absolution, or Remission of sins, to be pronounced by the Presbyter alone, he standing up and turning himself to the people, but they still remaining humbly upon their knees.

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

The people shall answer, Amen.

Then shall the Presbyter or Minister begin the Lord’s Prayer with a loud voice. And in this, and all other places of the Liturgy, where the last words, For thine is the kingdom, &c. are expressed, the Presbyter shall read them: but in all places where they are not expressed, he shall end at these words, But deliver us from evil. Amen.

Our Father [etc.]. For thine [etc.]. Amen.

Then likewise he shall say,

O Lord open thou our lips.
Answ. And our mouth shall shew forth thy praise.
Presbyter. O God, make speed to save us.
Answ. O Lord, make haste to help us.

Then, all of them standing up, the Presbyter shall say or sing:

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son: and to the Holy Ghost.
Answ. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be: world without end. Amen.
Praise ye the Lord.
Answ. The Lord’s Name be praised.
Then shall be said or sung this Psalm following.

O come let us sing [etc., Ps. xcv].
Glory be to the Father, etc.
As it was in the beginning, etc.

Then shall follow certain Psalms in order, as they be appointed in a Table made for that purpose; except there be proper Psalms appointed for that day. And as at the end of the Venite, so also at the end of every Psalm throughout the year, and likewise in the end of Benedictus, Magnificat, and Nunc dimittis, shall be repeated, Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. And the People shall answer, As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen. Every one standing up at the same.¹

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

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

After the first Lesson, shall be said or sung Te Deum Laudamus, in English, daily throughout the whole year.

We praise thee, O God: we acknowledge thee to be the Lord [etc.].

Or this Psalm.

The Lord is my shepherd [etc., Ps. xxiii].
Glory be to the Father [etc.].

And after the second Lesson shall be used and said,² Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel, in English, as followeth.

Blessed be the Lord God [etc., Luke i. 68-79].
Glory be to the Father [etc.].

¹ This sentence is omitted in abnormal copies.
² Abnormal copies have 'said or sung'.

The Prayer Book

Make a joyful noise [etc., Ps. c].
Glory be to the Father [etc.].

Then shall be said or sung the Creed by the Presbyter or Minister, and the people, standing.

I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth. And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, Which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, Born of the Virgin Mary, Suffered under Pontius Pilate, Was crucified, dead, and buried; He descended into hell; The third day he rose again from the dead; He ascended into heaven, And sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty: From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost; The holy Catholic Church; The Communion of Saints; The Forgiveness of Sins; The Resurrection of the Body, And the Life everlasting. Amen.

And after that, these Prayers following, as well at Evening Prayer as at Morning Prayer, all devoutly kneeling, the Presbyter or Minister first pronouncing with a loud voice,

The Lord be with you.
Answer. And with thy spirit.

Presbyter. Let us pray.
Lord, have mercy upon us.
Christ, have mercy upon us.
Lord, have mercy upon us.

Then the Presbyter, Clerks, and People, shall say the Lord's Prayer, in English, with a loud voice.

Our Father [etc.]. For thine [etc.]. Amen.

Then the Presbyter, standing up, shall say,

O Lord, shew thy mercy upon us.
Answer. And grant us thy salvation.
Presbyter. O Lord, save our King.
Answer. And mercifully hear us when we call upon thee.
Presbyter. Endue thy Presbyters and Ministers with righteousness.

Answer. And make thy chosen people joyful.

Presbyter. O Lord, save thy people.

Answer. And bless thine inheritance.

Presbyter. Give peace in our time, O Lord.

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

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

Answer. And take not thy Holy Spirit from us.

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

The second Collect, for peace

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

The third Collect, for grace

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

After this Collect ended, followeth the Litany: and if the Litany be not appointed to be said or sung that morning, then shall next be said the prayer for the King's Majesty, with the rest of the prayers following at the end of the Litany, and the Benediction.
AN ORDER FOR EVENING PRAYER
throughout the year

After the Sentences, Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution, as is appointed at Morning Prayer, the Presbyter shall say or sing,

Our Father [etc.]. For thine [etc.]. Amen.

Then likewise he shall say or sing,

O Lord, open thou our lips.
Answer. And our mouth shall shew forth thy praise.
Presbyter. O God, make speed to save us.
Answer. O Lord, make haste to help us.
Presbyter. Glory be to the Father [etc.].
As it was in the beginning [etc.].

All standing up, as often as it is repeated.

Praise ye the Lord.
Answer. The Lord's Name be praised.

Then the Psalms in order as they be appointed in the Table for Psalms, except there be proper Psalms appointed for that day. Then a Lesson of the Old Testament, as it is appointed likewise in the Kalender, except there be proper Lessons appointed for that day. After that, the Magnificat in English, as followeth.

My soul doth magnify [etc., Luke i. 46-55].
Glory be to the Father [etc.].

Or else this Psalm.

O sing unto the Lord [etc., Ps. xcviii].
Glory be to the Father [etc.].

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

Lord, now lettest [etc., Luke ii. 29-32].
Glory be to the Father [etc.].
The Making of the Prayer Book of 1637

Or else this Psalm.

God be merciful [etc., Ps. lxvii].
Glory be to the Father [etc.].

Then shall follow the Creed, with other prayers, as is before appointed at Morning Prayer, after Benedictus, and with three Collects: first, of the day; the second, for peace; the third, for aid against all perils, as hereafter followeth: which two last Collects shall be daily said at Evening Prayer, without alteration.

The second Collect at Evening Prayer.

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

The third Collect, for aid against all perils.

Lighten our darkness, we beseech thee, O Lord; and by thy great mercy defend us from all perils and dangers of this night, for the love of thy only Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

Then shall follow the prayer for the King’s Majesty, with the rest of the prayers at the end of the Litany, to the Benediction.
In the Feasts of Christmas, the Epiphany, Saint Matthias, Pasch or Easter, the Ascension, Pentecost, Saint John Baptist, Saint James, Saint Bartholomew, Saint Matthew, Saint Simon and Jude, Saint Andrew, and Trinity Sunday, shall be sung or said, immediately after *Benedictus*, this Confession of our Christian Faith, the Presbyter and all the people standing.

Whosoever will be saved: before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic Faith.
Which Faith, except every one do keep whole and undefiled: without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.
And the Catholic Faith is this: that we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity;
Neither confounding the Persons: nor dividing the substance.
For there is one Person of the Father, another of the Son: and another of the Holy Ghost.
But the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one: the glory equal, the Majesty co-eternal.
Such as the Father is, such is the Son: and such is the Holy Ghost.
The Father uncreate, the Son uncreate: and the Holy Ghost uncreate.
The Father incomprehensible, the Son incomprehensible: and the Holy Ghost incomprehensible.
The Father eternal, the Son eternal: and the Holy Ghost eternal.
And yet they are not three Eternals: but one Eternal.
As also there are not three Incomprehensibles, nor three Uncreated: but one Uncreated, and one Incomprehensible.
So likewise the Father is Almighty, the Son Almighty: and the Holy Ghost Almighty.
And yet they are not three Almighties: but one Almighty.
So the Father is God, the Son is God: and the Holy Ghost is God.
And yet they are not three Gods: but one God.
So likewise the Father is Lord, the Son Lord: and the Holy Ghost Lord.
And yet not three Lords: but one Lord.
For like as we be compelled by the Christian verity: to acknowledge every Person by himself to be God and Lord.
So are we forbidden by the Catholic Religion: to say there be three Gods, or three Lords.
The Father is made of none: neither created nor begotten.
The Son is of the Father alone: not made, nor created, but begotten.
The Holy Ghost is of the Father, and of the Son: neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding.
So there is one Father, not three Fathers, one Son, not three Sons: one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts.
And in this Trinity none is afore or after other: none is greater or less than another.
But the whole three Persons be co-eternal together: and co-equal.
So that in all things, as is aforesaid: the Unity in Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity is to be worshipped.
He, therefore, that would be saved: let him thus think of the Trinity.
Furthermore, it is necessary to everlasting salvation: that he also believe rightly the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.
For the right faith is, that we believe and confess: that our Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, is God and man;
God of the substance of the Father, begotten before the worlds: and man of the substance of his mother, born in the world;
Perfect God and perfect man: of a reasonable soul, and human flesh subsisting;
Equal to the Father, as touching his Godhead: and inferior to the Father touching his manhood.

Who although he be God and man: yet he is not two, but one Christ;
One, not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh: but by taking of the manhood into God;
One altogether, not by confusion of substance: but by unity of person.
For as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man: so he who is God and man is one Christ.
Who suffered for our salvation, descended into hell: rose again the third day from the dead.
He ascended into heaven, he sitteth on the right hand of the Father, God Almighty: from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.
At whose coming all men shall rise again with their bodies: and shall give account for their own works.
And they that have done good, shall go into life everlasting: and they that have done evil, into everlasting fire.
This is the Catholic Faith: which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved.
Glory be to the Father [etc.].

Thus endeth the Order of Morning and Evening Prayer throughout the whole year.
Here followeth the LITANY, to be used after the third Collect at Morning Prayer, called the Collect for grace, upon Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and at other times when it shall be commanded by the Ordinary; and without omission of any part of the other daily service of the Church on those days.

O God the Father of heaven: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.
O God the Father of heaven: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.
O God the Son Redeemer of the world: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.
O God the Son Redeemer of the world: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.
O God the Holy Ghost proceeding from the Father and the Son: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.
O God the Holy Ghost proceeding from the Father and the Son: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.
O holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity, three Persons and one God: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.
O holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity, three Persons and one God: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.
Remember not, Lord, our offences, nor the offences of our forefathers, neither take thou vengeance of our sins: spare us, good Lord, spare thy people, whom thou hast redeemed with thy most precious blood, and be not angry with us for ever.

Spare us, good Lord.

From all evil and mischief, from sin, from the crafts and assaults of the devil, from thy wrath, and from everlasting damnation,

Good Lord, deliver us.

From all blindness of heart, from pride, vainglory and hypocrisy, from envy, hatred and malice, and all uncharitableness,

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

*Good Lord, deliver us.*

From lightning and tempest, from plague, pestilence, and famine, from battle and murder, and from sudden death,

*Good Lord, deliver us.*

From all sedition and privy conspiracy, from all false doctrine and heresy, from hardness of heart, and contempt of thy word and commandment,

*Good Lord, deliver us.*

By the mystery of thy holy Incarnation, by thy holy Nativity and Circumcision, by thy Baptism, Fasting and Temptation,

*Good Lord, deliver us.*

By thine Agony and bloody Sweat, by thy Cross and Passion, by thy precious Death and Burial, by thy glorious Resurrection and Ascension, and by the coming of the Holy Ghost,

*Good Lord, deliver us.*

In all time of our adversity, in all time of our prosperity, in the hour of death, and in the day of judgment,

*Good Lord, deliver us.*

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

*We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.*

That it may please thee to keep and strengthen in the true worshipping of thee, in righteousness and holiness of life, thy servant Charles, our most Gracious King and Governor;

*We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.*

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

*We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.*

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

*We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.*
That it may please thee to bless and preserve our gracious Queen Mary, Prince Charles, and the rest of the royal issue;

*We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.*

That it may please thee to illuminate all Bishops, Presbyters, and Ministers of the Church, with true knowledge and understanding of thy word, and that both by their preaching and living, they may set it forth, and shew it accordingly;

*We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.*

That it may please thee to endue the Lords of the Council, and all the Nobility, with grace, wisdom, and understanding;

*We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.*

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

*We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.*

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

*We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.*

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

*We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.*

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

*We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.*

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

*We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.*

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

*We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.*

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

_We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord._

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

_We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord._

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

_We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord._

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

_We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord._

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

_We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord._

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

_We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord._

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

_We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord._

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

_We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord._

Son of God: we beseech thee to hear us.

_Son of God: we beseech thee to hear us._

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

_Grant us thy peace._

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

_Have mercy upon us._

O Christ, hear us.

_O Christ, hear us._
Lord, have mercy upon us.

Christ, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Christ, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Our Father [etc.]. But deliver us from evil. Amen.

Presbyter. O Lord, deal not with us after our sins.

Answer. Neither reward us after our iniquities.

Let us pray.

O God, merciful Father, that despisest not the sighing of a contrite heart, nor the desire of such as be sorrowful: Mercifully assist our prayers that we make before thee in all our troubles and adversities, whosoever they oppress us; and graciously hear us, that those evils which the craft and subtlety of the devil or man worketh against us be brought to nought, and by the providence of thy goodness they may be dispersed; that we thy servants, being hurt by no persecutions, may evermore give thanks unto thee in thy holy Church, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

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

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

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

Glory be to the Father [etc.]

From our enemies defend us, O Christ.

Graciously look upon our afflictions.

Pitifully behold the sorrows of our hearts.

Mercifully forgive the sins of thy people.

Favourably with mercy hear our prayers.

O Son of David, have mercy upon us.

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

Graciously hear us, O Christ; graciously hear us, O Lord Christ.
Presbyter. O Lord, let thy mercy be shewed upon us; Answer. As we do put our trust in thee.

Let us pray.

We humbly beseech thee, O Father, mercifully to look upon our infirmities, and for the glory of thy Name's sake, turn from us all those evils that we most justly have deserved: and grant that in all our troubles we may put our whole trust and confidence in thy mercy, and evermore serve thee in holiness and pureness of living, to thy honour and glory, through our only Mediator and Advocate, Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A Prayer for the King's Majesty.

O Lord our heavenly Father, high and mighty, King of kings, Lord of lords, the only ruler of princes, which dost from thy throne behold all the dwellers upon earth, most heartily we beseech thee with thy favour to behold our most gracious Sovereign Lord King Charles; and so replenish him with the grace of thy Holy Spirit, that he may alway incline to thy will, and walk in thy way: endue him plenteously with heavenly gifts; grant him in health and wealth long to live; strengthen him, that he may vanquish and overcome all his enemies; and finally after this life he may attain everlasting joy and felicity, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A Prayer for the Queen, Prince Charles, and the rest of the royal progeny.

Almighty God, the fountain of all goodness, we humbly beseech thee to bless our gracious Queen Mary, Prince Charles, with the rest of the royal progeny: endue them with thy Holy Spirit, enrich them with thy heavenly grace, prosper them with all happiness, and bring them to thine everlasting kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A Prayer for the holy Clergy.

Almighty and everlasting God, who only workest great and marvellous things: Send down upon our Bishops,
Presbyters, and Curates, and all Congregations committed to their charge, the healthful Spirit of thy grace: and that they may truly please thee, pour upon them the continual dew of thy blessing. Grant this, O Lord, for the honour of our Advocate and Mediator, Jesus Christ. Amen.

A Prayer to be said in the Ember Weeks, for those which are then to be admitted into Holy Orders; and is to be read every day of the week, beginning on the Sunday before the day of Ordination.

Almighty God, the Giver of all good gifts, who of thy divine providence hast appointed divers Orders in thy Church: Give thy grace, we humbly beseech thee, to all those which are to be called to any office and administration in the same; and so replenish them with the truth of thy doctrine, and innocency of life, that they may faithfully serve before thee, to the glory of thy great Name, and the benefit of thy holy Church, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A Prayer of Chrysostom.

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

2 Cor. xiii. 13.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with us all evermore. Amen.

For Rain, if the time require.

O God, heavenly Father, whose gift it is that the rain doth fall, the earth is fruitful, beasts increase, and fishes
do multiply: Send us, we beseech thee, in this our necessity, such moderate rain and showers, that we may receive the fruits of the earth to our comfort, and to thy honour, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

For Fair Weather.

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

In the time of Dearth and Famine.

O God, heavenly Father, which by thy Son Jesus Christ hast promised to all them that seek thy kingdom and thy righteousness, all things necessary to their bodily sustenance: Behold, we beseech thee, the afflictions of thy people, and grant that the scarcity and dearth (which we do now most justly suffer for our iniquity), may through thy goodness be mercifully turned into cheapness and plenty, for the love of Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

In the time of War.

O Almighty God, King of all kings, and Governor of all things, whose power no creature is able to resist, to whom it belongeth justly to punish sinners, and to be merciful unto them that truly repent: Save and deliver us, we humbly beseech thee, from the hands of our enemies; abate their pride, assuage their malice, and defeat their devices; that we, being armed with thy defence, may be preserved evermore from all perils, to glorify thee, which
art the only giver of all victory, through the merits of thy only Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

In the time of any common Plague or Sickness.

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

O God, whose nature and property is ever to have mercy and to forgive, receive our humble petitions; and though we be tied and bound with the chain of our sins, yet let the pitifulness of thy great mercy loose us, for Jesus Christ his sake, our Mediator and Advocate. Amen.

A Thanksgiving for Rain.

O God our heavenly Father, who by thy gracious providence dost cause the former and the latter rain to descend upon the earth, that it may bring forth fruit for the use of man: We give thee humble thanks that it hath pleased thee, in our greatest necessity, to send us at the last a joyful rain upon thine inheritance, and to refresh it when it was dry, to the great comfort of us thy unworthy servants, and to the glory of thy holy Name, through thy mercies in Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A Thanksgiving for fair Weather.

O Lord God, who hast justly humbled us by thy punishment of immoderate rain and waters, and in thy mercy hast relieved and comforted our souls by this seasonable and blessed change of weather: We praise and glorify thy holy Name for this thy mercy, and will
always declare thy loving-kindness from generation to generation, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A Thanksgiving for Plenty.

O most merciful Father, which of thy gracious goodness hast heard the devout prayers of thy Church, and turned our deearth and scarcity into cheapness and plenty: We give thee humble thanks for this thy special bounty, beseeching thee to continue this thy loving-kindness unto us, that our land may yield us her fruits of increase, to thy glory and our comfort, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A Thanksgiving for Peace and Victory.

O Almighty God, which art a strong tower of defence unto thy servants against the face of their enemies: We yield thee praise and thanksgiving for our deliverance from those great and apparent dangers, wherewith we were compassed. We acknowledge it thy goodness, that we were not delivered over as a prey unto them; beseeching thee still to continue such thy mercies towards us, that all the world may know that thou art our Saviour and mighty Deliverer, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A Thanksgiving for Deliverance from the Plague.

O Lord God, which hast wounded us for our sins, and consumed us for our transgressions by thy late heavy and dreadful visitation, and now, in the midst of judgment remembering mercy, hast redeemed our souls from the jaws of death: We offer unto thy Fatherly goodness ourselves, our souls and bodies, which thou hast delivered, to be a living sacrifice unto thee, always praising and magnifying thy mercies in the midst of thy Church, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Or this.

We humbly acknowledge before thee, O most merciful Father, that all the punishments which are threatened in thy law, might justly have fallen upon us, by reason of
our manifold transgressions and hardness of heart. Yet, seeing it hath pleased thee of thy tender mercy, upon our weak and unworthy humiliation, to assuage the noisome pestilence, wherewith we lately have been sore afflicted, and to restore the voice of joy and health into our dwellings: we offer unto thy Divine Majesty the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, lauding and magnifying thy glorious Name for such thy preservation and providence over us, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.
THE COLLECTS, EPISTLES AND GOSPELS
to be used at the Celebration of the Lord's Supper
and Holy Communion throughout the Year

THE FIRST SUNDAY IN ADVENT

The Collect

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

The Epistle

Owe no man any thing [etc., Rom. xiii. 8-14].

When the Presbyter, or Minister, readeth the Gospel, the People
shall stand up: and the Presbyter, before he beginneth to read the
Gospel, shall say thus: The Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus
Christ, written in such a Chapter of such an Evangelist, beginning at
such a verse. And the People shall answer, Glory be to God.

The Gospel

And when they drew nigh unto Jerusalem [etc., Matt.
xxi. 1-13].

When the Gospel is ended, the Presbyter or Minister shall say,
Here endeth the Gospel. And the People shall answer, Thanks be to
thee, O Lord.

And thus at the beginning and ending of the Gospel every Sunday
and holy-day in the year: or when else soever the Gospel is read.
THE SECOND SUNDAY IN ADVENT

The Collect

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

[Epistle: Rom. xv. 4-13.]  

THE THIRD SUNDAY IN ADVENT

The Collect

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

[Epistle: 1 Cor. iv. 1-5.]  
[Gospel: Matt. xi. 2-10.]

THE FOURTH SUNDAY IN ADVENT

The Collect

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

[Epistle: Philip. iv. 4-7.]  
[Gospel: John i. 19-28.]
The Prayer Book

CHRISTMAS DAY

The Collect

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

[Epistle: Heb. i. 1-12.]
[Epistle: John i. 1-14.]

SAINT STEPHEN'S DAY

The Collect

Grant us, O Lord, to learn to love our enemies, by the example of thy Martyr Saint Stephen, who prayed for his persecutors to thee, which livest and reignest, etc.

Then shall follow the Collect of the Nativity, which shall be said every day in the week unto New-Years Day: but in stead of the words [and this day to be born] the Presbyter shall say [at this time to be born].

[Epistle: Acts vii. 55-60.]
[Epistle: Matt. xxiii. 34-39.]

S. JOHN EVANGELIST'S DAY

The Collect

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

[Epistle: 1 John i. 1-10.]
[Epistle: John xxi. 19-25.]
INNOCENTS’ DAY

The Collect

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

[Epistle: Rev. xiv. 1-5.]
[Rom: Matt. ii. 13-18.]

THE SUNDAY AFTER CHRISTMAS DAY

The Collect

Almighty God, which hast given, etc. As upon Christmas Day.

[Epistle: Gal. iv. 1-7.]
[Rom: Matt. i. 1-25.]

THE CIRCUMCISION OF CHRIST

The Collect

Almighty God, which madest thy blessed Son to be circumcised and obedient to the law for man: Grant us the true circumcision of the spirit, that our hearts and all our members, being mortified from all worldly and carnal lusts, may in all things obey thy blessed will, through the same thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[Epistle: Rom. iv. 8-14.]
[Rom: Luke ii. 15-21.]

If there be any Sunday between the Epiphany and the Circumcision, then shall be used the same Collect, Epistle, and Gospel at the
The Prayer Book

Communion, which was used upon the day of the Circumcision; and so likewise upon every other day from the time of the Circumcision to the Epiphany.

THE EPIPHANY

The Collect

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

[Epistle: Ephes. iii. 1-12.]

[Gospel: Matt. ii. 1-12.]

THE FIRST SUNDAY AFTER THE EPIPHANY

The Collect

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

[Epistle: Rom. xii. 1-5.]


THE SECOND SUNDAY AFTER THE EPIPHANY

The Collect

Almighty and everlasting God, which dost govern all things in heaven and earth, mercifully hear the supplications of thy people, and grant us thy peace all the days of our life, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

[Epistle: Rom. xii. 6-16.]

[Gospel: John ii. 1-11.]
THE THIRD SUNDAY AFTER THE EPIPHANY

The Collect

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

[Epistle: Rom. xii. 16-21.]

THE FOURTH SUNDAY AFTER THE EPIPHANY

The Collect

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

[Epistle: Rom. xiii. 1-7.]
[Gal: Matt. viii. 23-34.]

THE FIFTH SUNDAY AFTER THE EPIPHANY

The Collect

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

[Epistle: Col. iii. 12-17.]
[Gal: Matt. xiii. 24-30.]

The sixth Sunday (if there be so many) shall have the same Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, that was upon the fifth Sunday.
THE SUNDAY CALLED SEPTUAGESIMA

The Collect

O Lord, we beseech thee favourably to hear the prayers of thy people, that we which are justly punished for our offences, may be mercifully delivered by thy goodness, for the glory of thy Name, through Jesus Christ our Saviour; who liveth and reigneth world without end. Amen.

[Epistle: 1 Cor. ix. 24-27.]
[Gospel: Matt. xx. 1-16.]

THE SUNDAY CALLED SEXAGESIMA

The Collect

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

[Epistle: 2 Cor. xi. 19-31.]
[Gospel: Luke viii. 4-15.]

THE SUNDAY CALLED QUINQUAGESIMA

The Collect

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

[Epistle: 1 Cor. xiii. 1-13.]
THE FIRST DAY OF LENT, COMMONLY CALLED
ASHWEDNESDAY

The Collect

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

[Epistle: Joel ii. 12-17.]
[Gospel: Matt. vi. 16-21.]

From Ashwednesday to the first Sunday in Lent shall be used the same Collect, Epistle, and Gospel which were used on Ashwednesday.

THE FIRST SUNDAY IN LENT

The Collect

O Lord, which for our sakes didst fast forty days and forty nights: Give us grace to use such abstinence, that, our flesh being subdued to the spirit, we may ever obey thy godly motions in righteousness and true holiness, to thy honour and glory, which livest and reignest with the Father and the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. Amen.

[Epistle: 2 Cor. vi. 1-10.]

THE SECOND SUNDAY IN LENT

The Collect

Almighty God, which dost see that we have no power of ourselves to help ourselves: Keep thou us both out-
wardly in our bodies, and inwardly in our souls, that we may be defended from all adversities which may happen to the body, and from all evil thoughts which may assault and hurt the soul, through Jesus Christ. Amen.

[Epistle: 1 Thess. iv. 1-8.]
[Epistle: Ephes. v. 1-14.]
[Epistle: Gal. iv. 21-31.]
[Gospel: Matt. xv. 21-28.]
[Gospel: John vi. 1-14.]

THE THIRD SUNDAY IN LENT

The Collect

We beseech thee, Almighty God, look upon the hearty desires of thy humble servants, and stretch forth the right hand of thy Majesty, to be our defence against all our enemies, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[Epistle: Ephes. v. 1-14.]

THE FOURTH SUNDAY IN LENT

The Collect

Grant, we beseech thee, Almighty God, that we, which for our evil deeds are worthily punished, by the comfort of thy grace may mercifully be relieved, through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

[Epistle: Gal. iv. 21-31.]
[Epistle: John vi. 1-14.]

THE FIFTH SUNDAY IN LENT

The Collect

We beseech Thee, Almighty God, mercifully to look upon thy people; that by thy great goodness they may
be governed and preserved evermore, both in body and soul, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[Epistle: Heb. ix. 11-15.]
[Epistle: John viii. 46-59.]

SUNDAY NEXT BEFORE EASTER

The Collect

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

[Epistle: Phil. ii. 5-11.]
[Epistle: Matt. xxvi. 1 to xxvii. 56.]

MONDAY BEFORE EASTER

[Epistle: Isa. lxiii. 1-19.]
[Epistle: Mark xiv. 1-72.]

TUESDAY BEFORE EASTER

[Epistle: Isa. l. 5-11.]
[Epistle: Mark xv. 1-47.]

WEDNESDAY BEFORE EASTER

[Epistle: Heb. ix. 16-28.]
THURSDAY BEFORE EASTER

[Epistle: 1 Cor. xi. 17-34.]

ON GOOD FRIDAY

The Collects

Almighty God, we beseech thee graciously to behold this thy family, for the which our Lord Jesus Christ was contented to be betrayed, and given up into the hands of wicked men, and to suffer death upon the cross; who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost now and for ever. Amen.

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

Merciful God, who hast made all men, and hateth nothing that thou hast made, nor wouldest the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live: Have mercy upon all Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics, and take from them all ignorance, hardness of heart, and contempt of thy word; and so fetch them home (blessed Lord) to thy flock, that they may be saved among the remnant of the true Israelites, and be made one fold under one shepherd, Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth, etc.

[Epistle: Heb. x. 1-25.]
[Gospel: John xviii. 1 to xix. 42.]
EASTER EVEN

The Collect

O most gracious God, look upon us in mercy, and grant that as we are baptized into the death of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, so by our true and hearty repentance all our sins may be buried with him, and we not fear the grave: that as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of thee, O Father, so we also may walk in newness of life, but our sins never be able to rise in judgment against us; and that for the merit of Jesus Christ that died, was buried, and rose again for us. Amen.

[Epistle: 1 Peter iii. 17-22.]

[Gospel: Matt. xxvii. 57-66.]

EASTER DAY

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

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

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

The Collect

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

[Epistle: Col. iii. 1-7.]
[Gospel: John xx. 1-10.]

MONDAY IN EASTER WEEK

[Collect: as on Easter Day]
[Epistle: Acts x. 34-43.]

TUESDAY IN EASTER WEEK

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

[Epistle: Acts xiii. 26-41.]

THE FIRST SUNDAY AFTER EASTER

The Collect
Almighty God, which, etc. (As at the Communion on Easter Day.)

[Epistle: 1 John v. 4-12.]
[Gospel: John xx. 19-23.]
THE SECOND SUNDAY AFTER EASTER

The Collect

Almighty God, which hast given thine only Son to be unto us both a sacrifice for sin, and also an example of godly life: Give us the grace that we may always most thankfully receive that his inestimable benefit, and also daily endeavour ourselves to follow the blessed steps of his most holy life, through the same Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[Epistle: 1 Peter ii. 19-25.]
[Epistle: John x. 11-16.]

THE THIRD SUNDAY AFTER EASTER

The Collect

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

[Epistle: 1 Peter ii. 11-17.]
[Epistle: John xvi. 16-22.]

THE FOURTH SUNDAY AFTER EASTER

The Collect

Almighty God, which dost make the minds of all faithful men to be of one will: Grant unto thy people, that
they may love the thing which thou commandest, and desire that which thou dost promise; that among the sundry and manifold changes of the world, our hearts may surely there be fixed whereas true joys are to be found, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

[Epistle: James i. 17-21.]
[Gospel: John xvi. 5-15.]

THE FIFTH SUNDAY AFTER EASTER

The Collect

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

[Epistle: James i. 22-27.]
[Gospel: John xvi. 23-33.]

THE ASCENSION DAY

The Collect

Grant, we beseech thee, Almighty God, that like as we do believe thy only-begotten Son our Lord to have ascended into the heavens, so we may also in heart and mind thither ascend, and with him continually dwell, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost, one God world without end.

[Epistle: Acts i. 1-11.]
[Gospel: Mark xvi. 14-20.]
SUNDAY AFTER ASCENSION DAY

The Collect

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

[Epistle: 1 Peter iv. 7-11.]
[Gospel: John xv. 26 to xvi. 4.]
The Prayer Book

Tuesday in Whitsun Week

The Collect

God, which as at this time hast taught the hearts of thy faithful people, etc. As upon Whitsunday.

[Epistle: Acts viii. 14-17.]
[Gospel: John x. 1-10.]

Trinity Sunday

The Collect

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

[Epistle: Rev. iv. 1-11.]
[Gospel: John iii. 1-15.]

The First Sunday after Trinity

The Collect

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

[Epistle: I John iv. 7-21.]
THE SECOND SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY

The Collect

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

[Epistle: 1 John iii. 13-24.]

THE THIRD SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY

The Collect

Lord, we beseech thee mercifully to hear us; and as thou hast given us an hearty desire to pray, so grant that by thy mighty aid we may be defended, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[Epistle: 1 Peter v. 5-11.]

THE FOURTH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY

The Collect

God, the protector of all that trust in thee, without whom nothing is strong, nothing is holy: Increase and multiply upon us thy mercy; that, thou being our ruler and guide, we may so pass through things temporal, that we finally lose not the things eternal. Grant this, heavenly Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our Lord. Amen.

[Epistle: Rom. viii. 18-23.]
THE FIFTH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY

The Collect

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

[Epistle: 1 Peter iii. 8-15.]

THE SIXTH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY

The Collect

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

[Epistle: Rom. vi. 3-11.]
[Epistle: Matt. v. 20-26.]

THE SEVENTH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY

The Collect

Lord of all power and might, which art the author and giver of all good things; Graff in our hearts the love of thy Name, increase in us true religion, nourish us with all goodness, and of thy great mercy keep us in the same, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[Epistle: Rom. vi. 19-23.]
[Epistle: Mark viii. 1-9.]
THE EIGHTH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY

The Collect

God, whose providence is never deceived, we humbly beseech thee that thou wilt put away from us all hurtful things, and give those things which be profitable for us, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

[Epistle: Rom. viii. 12-17.]
[Epistle: Matt. vii. 15-21.]

THE NINTH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY

The Collect

Grant us, Lord, we beseech thee, the Spirit to think and do always such things as be rightful; that we which cannot be without thee, may by thee be able to live according to thy will, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[Epistle: I Cor. x. 1-13.]

THE TENTH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY

The Collect

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

[Epistle: I Cor. xii. 1-11.]
The Eleventh Sunday After Trinity

The Collect

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

[Epistle: 1 Cor. xv. 1-11.]

The Twelfth Sunday After Trinity

The Collect

Almighty and everlasting God, which art always more ready to hear than we to pray, and art wont to give more than either we desire or deserve: Pour down upon us the abundance of thy mercy, forgiving us those things whereof our conscience is afraid, and giving unto us that that our prayer dare not presume to ask, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[Epistle: 2 Cor. iii. 4-9.]
[Gospel: Mark vii. 31-37.]

The Thirteenth Sunday After Trinity

The Collect

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

[Epistle: Gal. iii. 16-22.]

THE FOURTEENTH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY

The Collect

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

[Epistle: Gal. v. 16-24.]

THE FIFTEENTH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY

The Collect

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

[Epistle: Gal. vi. 11-18.]
[Gospel: Matt. vi. 24-34.]

THE SIXTEENTH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY

The Collect

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

[Epistle: Ephes. iii. 13-21.]
[Epistle: Luke vii. 11-17.]

THE SEVENTEENTH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY

The Collect

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

[Epistle: Ephes. iv. 1-6.]

THE EIGHTEENTH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY

The Collect

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

[Epistle: 1 Cor. i. 4-8.]
[Epistle: Matt. xxii. 34-46.]

THE NINTEENTH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY

The Collect

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

[Epistle: Ephes. iv. 17-32.]
[Epistle: Matt. ix. 1-8.]
THE TWENTIETH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY

The Collect

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

[Epistle: Ephes. v. 15-21.]
[Gospel: Matt. xxii. 1-14.]

THE TWENTY-FIRST SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY

The Collect

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

[Epistle: Ephes. vi. 10-20.]
[Gospel: John iv. 46-54.]

THE TWENTY-SECOND SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY

The Collect

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

[Epistle: Phil. i. 3-11.]
[Gospel: Matt. xviii. 21-35.]
The Twenty-Third Sunday After Trinity

The Collect

God, our refuge and strength, which art the author of all godliness, be ready to hear the devout prayers of thy Church: and grant that those things which we ask faithfully, we may obtain effectually, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[Epistle: Phil. iii. 17-21.]
[Epistle: Matt. xxii. 15-22.]

The Twenty-Fourth Sunday After Trinity

The Collect

Lord, we beseech thee, assoil thy people from their offences; that through thy bountiful goodness we may be delivered from the bonds of all those sins which by our frailty we have committed. Grant this, etc.

[Epistle: Col. i. 3-12.]
[Epistle: Matt. ix. 18-26.]

The Twenty-Fifth Sunday After Trinity

The Collect

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

[Epistle: Jer. xxiii. 5-8.]
[Epistle: John vi. 5-14.]

If there be any more Sundays before Advent Sunday, to supply the same shall be taken the Service of some of those Sundays that were
omitted between the Epiphany and Septuagesima. But the same shall follow the twenty-fourth Sunday after Trinity. And if there be fewer Sundays than twenty-five before Advent, then shall the twenty-third or twenty-fourth, or both, be omitted: so that the five-and-twentieth shall never either alter, or be left out, but be always used immediately before Advent Sunday, to which the Epistle and Gospel of that do expressly relate.

SAINT ANDREW'S DAY

The Collect

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

[Epistle: Rom. x. 9-21.]
[Gospel: Matt. iv. 18-22.]

SAINT THOMAS THE APOSTLE

The Collect

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

[Epistle: Ephes. ii. 19-22.]
[Gospel: John xx. 24-31.]
THE CONVERSION OF S. PAUL

The Collect

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

[Epistle: Acts ix. 1-22.]
[Epistle: Acts ix. 1-22.]
[Gospel: Matt. xix. 27-30.]

THE PURIFICATION OF SAINT MARY THE VIRGIN

The Collect

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

The Epistle
The same that is appointed for the Sunday

[Saint Matthias’s Day

The Collect

Almighty God, which in the place of the traitor Judas, didst choose thy faithful servant Saint Matthias to be of the number of the twelve Apostles: Grant that thy Church, being alway preserved from false apostles,
may be ordered and guided by faithful and true pastors, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[Epistle: Acts i. 15-26.]
[Gospel: Matt. xi. 25-30.]

ANNUNCIATION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY

The Collect

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

[Epistle: Isa. vii. 10-15.]

SAINT MARK'S DAY

The Collect

Almighty God, which hast instructed thy holy Church with the heavenly doctrine of thy Evangelist Saint Mark: Give us grace that we be not like children, carried away with every blast of vain doctrine, but that we may be firmly established in the truth of thy holy Gospel, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[Epistle: Ephes. iv. 7-16.]
[Gospel: John xv. 1-11.]

SAINT PHILIP AND JAMES DAY

The Collect

Almighty God, whom truly to know is everlasting life: Grant us perfecty to know thy Son Jesus Christ to
be the way, the truth, and the life, as thou hast taught S. Philip, and other the Apostles, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[Epistle: James i. 1-12.]
[ Gospel: John xiv. 1-14.]

SAINT BARNABAS, APOSTLE

The Collect

Lord Almighty, which hast endued thy holy Apostle Saint Barnabas with singular gifts of the Holy Ghost: Let us not be destitute of thy manifold gifts, nor yet of grace to use them alway to thy honour and glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[Epistle: Acts xi. 22-30.]
[ Gospel: John xv. 12-16.]

SAINT JOHN BAPTIST

The Collect

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

[Epistle: Isa. xl. 1-11.]
SAINT PETER'S DAY

The Collect

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

[Epistle: Acts xii. 1-11.]
[Gospel: Matt. xvi. 13-19.]

S. JAMES THE APOSTLE

The Collect

Grant, O merciful God, that as thine holy Apostle S. James, leaving his father, and all that he had, without delay was obedient unto the calling of thy Son Jesus Christ, and followed him; So we, forsaking all worldly and carnal affections, may be evermore ready to follow thy commandments, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

[Epistle: Acts xi. 27 to xii. 3.]

S. BARTHOLOMEW THE APOSTLE

The Collect

O Almighty and everlasting God, which hast given grace to thine Apostle Saint Bartholomew, truly to believe and to preach thy word: Grant, we beseech thee, unto
thy Church, both to love that he believed, and to preach that he taught, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

[Epistle: Acts v. 12-16.]

SAINT MATTHEW THE APOSTLE

The Collect

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

[Epistle: 2 Cor. iv. 1-6.]
[Gospel: Matt. ix. 9-13.]

SAINT MICHAEL AND ALL ANGELS

The Collect

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

[Epistle: Rev. xii. 7-12.]
[Gospel: Matt. xviii. 1-10.]

SAINT LUKE THE EVANGELIST

The Collect

Almighty God, which calledst Saint Luke the physician, whose praise is in the Gospel, to be a physician of the
The Making of the Prayer Book of 1637

soul: Grant, we beseech thee, that by the wholesome medicines of his doctrine all the diseases of our souls may be healed, through thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[Epistle: 2 Tim. iv. 5-15.]
[Epistle: Luke x. 1-7.]

SIMON AND JUDE, APOSTLES

The Collect

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

[Epistle: Jude 1-8.]
[Epistle: John xv. 17-27.]

ALL SAINTS’ DAY

The Collect

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

[Epistle: Rev. vii. 2-12.]
[Epistle: Matt. v. 1-12.]
The Order of the Administration of the

LORD’S SUPPER, OR HOLY COMMUNION

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

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

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

The holy Table, having at the Communion time a carpet and a fair white linen cloth upon it, with other decent furniture meet for the high mysteries there to be celebrated, shall stand at the uppermost part of the Chancel or Church, where the Presbyter, standing at the north side or end thereof, shall say the Lord’s Prayer with this Collect following for due preparation.

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

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

Then shall the Presbyter, turning to the People, rehearse distinctly all the Ten Commandments: the People all the while kneeling, and asking God's mercy for the transgression of every duty therein, either according to the letter, or to the mystical importance of the said Commandment.

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

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

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

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts, etc.

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

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts, etc.

Presbyter. Remember the Sabbath-day, to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work. But the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work; thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates. For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the sabbath-day, and hallowed it.
People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts, etc.

Presbyter. Honour thy father and thy mother: that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts, etc.

Presbyter. Thou shalt not kill.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts, etc.

Presbyter. Thou shalt not commit adultery.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts, etc.

Presbyter. Thou shalt not steal.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts, etc.

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

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

Then shall follow one of these two Collects for the King, and the Collect of the day; the Presbyter standing up, and saying,

Let us pray.

Almighty God, whose kingdom is everlasting, and power infinite, have mercy upon thy holy Catholic Church: and in this particular Church in which we live so rule the heart of thy chosen servant Charles, our King and Governor, that he (knowing whose minister he is) may above all things seek thy honour and glory; and that we his subjects (duly considering whose authority he hath) may faithfully serve, honour, and humbly obey
him, in thee, and for thee, according to thy blessed word and ordinance, through Jesus Christ our Lord, who with thee and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth, ever one God world without end. Amen.

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

Immediately after the Collects, the Presbyter shall read the Epistle, saying thus: The Epistle written in the chapter of at the verse. And when he hath done, he shall say: Here endeth the Epistle. And the Epistle ended, the Gospel shall be read, the Presbyter saying: The holy Gospel is written in the chapter of at the verse. And then the People, all standing up, shall say: Glory be to thee, O Lord. At the end of the Gospel, the Presbyter shall say: So endeth the holy Gospel. And the People shall answer: Thanks be to thee, O Lord. And the Epistle and Gospel being ended, shall be said or sung this Creed, all still reverently standing up.

I believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of his Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father, by whom all things were made: Who for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man, and was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate. He suffered, and was buried, and the third day he rose again according to the Scriptures, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father. And he shall come again with glory, to judge both the quick and the
dead: Whose kingdom shall have no end. And I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of life, Who proceedeth from the Father and the Son, Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, Who spake by the Prophets. And I believe one Catholic and Apostolic Church. I acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins. And I look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Amen.

After the Creed, if there be no Sermon, shall follow one of the Homilies which shall hereafter be set forth by common authority.

After such Sermon, Homily, or Exhortation, the Presbyter or Curate shall declare unto the People whether there be any Holy-days, or Fasting-days the week following, and earnestly exhort them to remember the poor, saying (for the Offertory) one or more of these Sentences following, as he thinketh most convenient by his discretion, according to the length or shortness of the time that the people are offering.

And in process of time it came to pass, that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the Lord: and Abel, he also brought of the firstlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof. And the Lord had respect unto Abel, and to his offering: but unto Cain and to his offering he had not respect. Gen. iv. 3, 4, 5.

Speak unto the children of Israel, that they bring me an offering: of every man that giveth it willingly with his heart, ye shall take my offering. Exod. xxv. 2.

Ye shall not appear before the Lord empty: every man shall give as he is able, according to the blessing of the Lord your God which he hath given you. Deut. xvi. 16.

David blessed the Lord before all the congregation: and said, Blessed be thou, O Lord God, for ever and ever. Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty: for all that is in the heaven and in the earth, is thine: thine is the kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted as head above all. Both riches and honour come of thee, and of thine own do we give unto thee. I know also, my God, that thou triest the heart, and hast pleasure in uprightness. As for me, in the uprightness of my heart I have willingly offered all these things.
And now have I seen with joy thy people which are present here, to offer willingly unto thee. 1 Chron. xxi. 10, etc.

Give unto the Lord the glory due unto his Name: bring an offering, and come into his courts. Psal. xcvi. 8.

Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal. But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through, nor steal. Matt. vi. 19, 20.

Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven: but he that doth the will of my Father which is in heaven. Matt. vii. 12.

Jesus sat over against the treasury, and beheld how the people cast money into it: and many that were rich cast in much. And there came a certain poor widow, and she threw in two mites, which make a farthing. And he called unto him his disciples, and saith unto them, Verily I say unto you, that this poor widow hath cast more in, than all they which have cast into the treasury. For all they did cast in of their abundance: but she of her want did cast in all that she had, even all her living. Mark xii. 41 to 44.

Who goeth a warfare any time at his own charges? who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? or who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock? 1 Cor. ix. 7.

If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great thing if we shall reap your carnal things? 1 Cor. ix. 11.

Do ye not know that they which minister about holy things, live of the things of the temple? and they which wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar? Even so hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel. 1 Cor. ix. 13, 14.

He which soweth sparingly, shall reap sparingly; and he which soweth bountifully, shall reap bountifully. Every man, according as he purposeth in his heart, so let him give; not grudgingly, or of necessity: for God loveth a cheerful giver. 2 Cor. ix. 6, 7.
Let him that is taught in the word, communicate unto him that teacheth, in all good things. Be not deceived; God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap. Gal. vi. 6, 7.

Charge them that are rich in this world, that they be not high-minded, nor trust in uncertain riches, but in the living God, who giveth us richly all things to enjoy: that they do good, that they be rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate: laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may lay hold on eternal life. 1 Tim. vi. 17, 18, 19.

God is not unrighteous, to forget your work and labour of love, which ye have shewed toward his Name, in that ye have ministered to the saints, and do minister. Heb. vi. 10.

To do good, and to communicate forget not: for with such sacrifices God is well pleased. Heb. xiii. 16.

While the Presbyter distinctly pronounceth some or all of these sentences for the Offertory, the Deacon or (if no such be present) one of the Churchwardens shall receive the devotions of the People there present in a bason provided for that purpose. And when all have offered, he shall reverently bring the said bason with the oblations therein, and deliver it to the Presbyter, who shall humbly present it before the Lord, and set it upon the holy Table. And the Presbyter shall then offer up and place the bread and wine prepared for the Sacrament upon the Lord's Table, that it may be ready for that service. And then he shall say,

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

Almighty and everliving God, which by thy holy Apostle hast taught us to make prayers and supplications, and to give thanks for all men: We humbly beseech thee most mercifully (to accept our alms, and) to receive these our prayers, which we offer unto thy Divine Majesty, beseeching thee to inspire continually the universal Church with the spirit of truth, unity, and concord. And grant that all they that do confess thy holy Name may agree in the truth of thy holy word, and live in unity and godly love. We beseech thee also to save
and defend all Christian Kings, Princes, and Governors, and specially thy servant Charles our King, that under him we may be godly and quietly governed: and grant unto his whole Council, and to all that be put in authority under him, that they may truly and indifferently minister justice, to the punishment of wickedness and vice and to the maintenance of God's true religion and virtue. Give grace, O heavenly Father, to all Bishops, Presbyters, and Curates, that they may both by their life and doctrine set forth thy true and lively word, and rightly and duly administer thy holy sacraments: and to all thy people give thy heavenly grace, that with meek heart and due reverence they may hear and receive thy holy word, truly serving thee in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life. [And we commend especially unto thy merciful goodness, the congregation which is here assembled in thy Name, to celebrate the commemoration of the most precious death and sacrifice of thy Son and our Saviour Jesus Christ.] And we most humbly beseech thee of thy goodness, O Lord, to comfort and succour all them which in this transitory life be in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness or any other adversity. And we also bless thy holy Name for all those thy servants, who, having finished their course in faith, do now rest from their labours. And we yield unto thee most high praise and hearty thanks for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in all thy saints, who have been the choice vessels of thy grace and the lights of the world in their several generations: most humbly beseeching thee, that we may have grace to follow the example of their stedfastness in thy faith, and obedience to thy holy commandments; that at the day of the general resurrection, we, and all they which are of the mystical body of thy Son, may be set on his right hand, and hear that his most joyful voice, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate. Amen.
Then shall follow this Exhortation at certain times when the Presbyter or Curate shall see the People negligent to come to the Holy Communion.

We be come together at this time, dearly beloved brethren, to feed at the Lord’s Supper; unto the which in God’s behalf I bid you all that be here present, and beseech you for the Lord Jesus Christ’s sake, that ye will not refuse to come thereto, being so lovingly called and bidden of God himself. Ye know how grievous and unkind a thing it is, when a man hath prepared a rich feast, decked his table with all kind of provision, so that there lacketh nothing but the guests to sit down, and yet they which be called (without any cause) most unthankfully refuse to come. Which of you in such a case would not be moved? Who would not think a great injury and wrong done unto him? Wherefore, most dearly beloved in Christ, take ye good heed, lest ye, withdrawing yourselves from this holy Supper, provoke God’s indignation against you. It is an easy matter for a man to say, I will not communicate, because I am otherwise letted with worldly business: but such excuses be not so easily accepted and allowed before God. If any man say, I am a grievous sinner, and therefore am afraid to come: wherefore then do ye not repent and amend? When God calleth you, be you not ashamed to say, You will not come? When you should return to God, will you excuse yourself, and say that you be not ready? Consider earnestly with yourselves, how little such feigned excuses shall avail before God. They that refused the feast in the Gospel, because they had bought a farm, or would try their yokes of oxen, or because they were married, were not so excused, but counted unworthy of that heavenly feast. I for my part am here present, and according to mine office, I bid you in the Name of God, I call you in Christ’s behalf, I exhort you as you love your own salvation, that ye will be partakers of this holy Communion. And as the Son of God did vouchsafe to offer up himself by death upon the cross for our salvation: even so it is our duty to celebrate and receive the holy Communion.
together in the remembrance of his death and sacrifice, as he himself commanded. Now, if you will in no wise thus do, consider with yourselves how great injury you do unto God, and how sore punishment hangeth over your heads for the same. And whereas you offend God so grievously in refusing this holy banquet, I admonish, exhort, and beseech you, that unto this unkindness you will not add any more: which thing ye shall do, if ye stand by as gazers and lookers on them that do communicate, and be not partakers of the same yourselves. For what thing can this be accounted else, than a further contempt and unkindness unto God? Truly, it is a great unthankfulness to say Nay when ye be called: but the fault is much greater when men stand by, and yet will not receive this holy Sacrament which is offered unto them. I pray you, what can this be else, but even to have the mysteries of Christ in derision? It is said unto all, Take ye, and eat; Take and drink ye all of this; Do this in remembrance of me. With what face then, or with what countenance, shall ye hear these words? What will this be else, but a neglecting, a despising, and mocking of the testament of Christ? Wherefore rather than ye should so do, depart you hence, and give place to them that be godly disposed. But when you depart, I beseech you ponder with yourselves, from whom ye depart. Ye depart from the Lord's table, ye depart from your brethren, and from the banquet of most heavenly food. These things if ye earnestly consider, ye shall, by God's grace, return to a better mind: for the obtaining whereof, we shall make our humble petitions, while we shall receive the holy Communion.

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

Dearly beloved, forasmuch as our duty is to render to Almighty God our heavenly Father most hearty thanks, for that he hath given his Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, not only to die for us, but also to be our spiritual food and sustenance, as it is declared unto us, as well by God's
word, as by the holy Sacrament of his blessed Body and Blood: the which being so comfortable a thing to them which receive it worthily, and so dangerous to them that will presume to receive it unworthily: my duty is to exhort you to consider the dignity of the holy mystery, and the great peril of the unworthy receiving thereof; and so to search and examine your own consciences, as you should come holy and clean to a most godly and heavenly feast, so that in no wise you come but in the marriage-garment required of God in holy Scripture, and so come and be received as worthy partakers of such a heavenly Table. The way and means thereto is, first to examine your lives and conversation by the rule of God's commandments; and whereinoever ye shall perceive yourselves to have offended, either by will, word, or deed, there bewail your own sinful lives, and confess yourselves to Almighty God, with full purpose of amendment of life. And if ye shall perceive your offences to be such, as be not only against God, but also against your neighbours: then ye shall reconcile yourselves unto them, ready to make restitution and satisfaction according to the uttermost of your powers, for all injuries and wrongs done by you to any other, and likewise being ready to forgive other that have offended you, as you would have forgiveness of your offences at God's hand: for otherwise the receiving of the holy Communion doth nothing else but increase your damnation. And because it is requisite that no man should come to the holy Communion, but with a full trust in God's mercy, and with a quiet conscience: therefore if there be any of you, which by the means aforesaid cannot quiet his own conscience, but requireth further comfort or counsel, then let him come to me, or some other discreet and learned Presbyter or Minister of God's word, and open his grief; that he may receive such ghostly counsel, advice, and comfort, as his conscience may be relieved, and that by the ministry of God's word he may receive comfort, and the benefit of absolution, to the quieting of his conscience, and avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness.
Dearly beloved in the Lord, ye that mind to come to the holy Communion of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, must consider what S. Paul writeth to the Corinthians: how he exhorteth all persons diligently to try and examine themselves, before they presume to eat of that Bread and drink of that Cup. For as the benefit is great, if with a true penitent heart and lively faith we receive that holy Sacrament: (for then we spiritually eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood; then we dwell in Christ, and Christ in us; we be one with Christ, and Christ with us:) so is the danger great, if we receive the same unworthily: for then we be guilty of the body and blood of Christ our Saviour: we eat and drink our own damnation, not considering the Lord’s body: we kindle God’s wrath against us: we provoke him to plague us with divers diseases, and sundry kinds of death. Therefore if any of you be a blasphemer of God, an hinderer or slanderer of his word, an adulterer, or be in malice, or envy, or in any other grievous crime, bewail your sins, and come not to this holy table: lest, after the taking of that holy sacrament, the devil enter into you, as he entered into Judas, and fill you full of all iniquities, and bring you to destruction both of body and soul. Judge therefore yourselves, brethren, that ye be not judged of the Lord. Repent you truly for your sins past: have a lively and stedfast faith in Christ our Saviour. Amend your lives, and be in perfect charity with all men: so shall ye be meet partakers of those holy mysteries. And above all things, ye must give most humble and hearty thanks to God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for the redemption of the world by the death and passion of our Saviour Christ, both God and man: who did humble himself even to the death upon the cross for us miserable sinners, which lay in darkness and shadow of death, that he might make us the children of God, and exalt us to everlasting life. And to the end that we should always remember the exceeding great love of our Master and only
Saviour Jesus Christ, thus dying for us, and the innumerable benefits which by his precious blood-shedding he hath obtained to us; he hath instituted and ordained holy mysteries, as pledges of his love, and continual remembrance of his death, to our great and endless comfort. To him, therefore, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, let us give (as we are most bounden) continual thanks; submitting ourselves wholly to his holy will and pleasure, and studying to serve him in true holiness and righteousness all the days of our life. Amen.

Then shall the Presbyter say to them that come to receive the holy Communion, this invitation.

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

Then shall this general Confession be made, in the name of all those that are minded to receive the holy Communion, by the Presbyter himself, or the Deacon: both he and all the people kneeling humbly upon their knees.

 Almighty God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, maker of all things, judge of all men; We acknowledge and bewail our manifold sins and wickedness, which we from time to time most grievously have committed, by thought, word, and deed, against thy Divine Majesty, provoking most justly thy wrath and indignation against us. We do earnestly repent, and be heartily sorry for these our misdoings: the remembrance of them is grievous unto us, the burden of them is intolerable. Have mercy upon us, have mercy upon us, most merciful Father; for thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, forgive us all that is past; and grant that we may ever hereafter serve and please thee in newness of life, to the honour and glory of thy Name, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.
Then shall the Presbyter, or the Bishop (being present), stand up, and, turning himself to the people, pronounce the Absolution, as followeth.

Almighty God our heavenly Father, who of his great mercy hath promised forgiveness of sins to all them which with hearty repentance and true faith turn unto him: Have mercy upon you, pardon and deliver you from all your sins, confirm and strengthen you in all goodness, and bring you to everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then shall the Presbyter also say,

Hear what comfortable words our Saviour Christ saith unto all that truly turn to him:

Come unto me all ye that labour, and are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest. Matt. xi. 28.

So God loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son: that whosoever believeth in him, should not perish, but have everlasting life. John iii. 16.

Hear also what S. Paul saith:

This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners. 1 Tim. i. 15.

Hear also what S. John saith:

If any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous: and he is the propitiation for our sins. 1 John ii. 1, 2.

After which the Presbyter shall proceed, saying,

Lift up your hearts.

Answer. We lift them up unto the Lord.

Presbyter. Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.

Answer. It is meet and right so to do.

Presbyter. It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, holy Father, Almighty, everlasting God.
Here shall follow the proper Preface, according to the time, if there be any especially appointed: or else immediately shall follow,

Therefore with Angels and Archangels, etc.

**Proper Prefaces**

Upon Christmas Day, and seven days after.

Because thou didst give Jesus Christ, thine only Son, to be born as on this day for us: who by the operation of the Holy Ghost was made very man of the substance of the blessed virgin Mary his mother, and that without spot of sin, to make us clean from all sin. Therefore with Angels, etc.

Upon Easter Day, and seven days after.

But chiefly are we bound to praise thee for the glorious Resurrection of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord: for he is the very Paschal Lamb which was offered for us, and hath taken away the sin of the world; who by his death hath destroyed death, and by his rising to life again, hath restored to us everlasting life. Therefore with Angels, etc.

Upon the Ascension Day, and seven days after.

Through thy most dearly-beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord, who after his most glorious Resurrection manifestly appeared to all his Apostles, and in their sight ascended up into heaven, to prepare a place for us, that where he is, thither might we also ascend and reign with him in glory. Therefore with Angels, etc.

Upon Whitsunday, and six days after.

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

Upon the Feast of Trinity only.

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

After which Prefaces shall follow immediately this Doxology.

Therefore with Angels and Archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious Name, evermore praising thee, and saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts. Heaven and earth are full of thy glory. Glory be to thee, O Lord most high.

Then the Presbyter, standing up, shall say the Prayer of Consecration, as followeth. But then, during the time of Consecration, he shall stand at such a part of the holy Table, where he may with the more ease and decency use both his hands.

Almighty God, our heavenly Father, which of thy tender mercy didst give thy only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption; who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, and did institute, and in his holy gospel command us to continue, a perpetual memory of that his precious death and sacrifice, until his coming again: Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee, and of thy Almighty goodness vouchsafe so to bless and sanctify with thy word and Holy Spirit these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most
dearly beloved Son; so that we, receiving them according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of the same his most precious body and blood: Who, in the night that he was betrayed, took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is my body, which is given for you; do this in remembrance of me. Likewise, after supper, he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this, for this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for you, and for many, for the remission of sins: do this, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me.

Immediately after shall be said this Memorial or Prayer of Oblation, as followeth.

Wherefore, O Lord and heavenly Father, according to the institution of thy dearly-beloved Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, we thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before thy Divine Majesty, with these thy holy gifts, the memorial which thy Son hath willed us to make; having in remembrance his blessed passion, mighty resurrection, and glorious ascension; rendering unto thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same. And we entirely desire thy Fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, most humbly beseeching thee to grant, that by the merits and death of thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in his blood, we and all thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his passion. And here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto thee; humbly beseeching thee, that whosoever shall be partakers of this holy Communion, may worthily receive the most precious body and blood of thy Son Jesus
Christ, and be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction, and made one body with him, that he may dwell in them, and they in him. And although we be unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto thee any sacrifice: yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Jesus Christ our Lord: by whom, and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. Amen.

Then shall the Presbyter say:

As our Saviour Christ hath commanded and taught us, we are bold to say,

Our Father, which art in heaven [etc.]. For thine is the kingdom [etc.]. Amen.

Then shall the Presbyter, kneeling down at God’s board, say in the name of all them that shall communicate, this Collect of humble access to the holy Communion, as followeth.

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

Then shall the Bishop, if he be present, or else the Presbyter that celebrateth, first receive the Communion in both kinds himself, and next deliver it to other Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons (if any be there present), that they may help him that celebrateth; and after to the people in due order, all humbly kneeling. And when he receiveth himself, or delivereth the bread to others, he shall say this benediction:

The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life.

Here the party receiving shall say, Amen.
And the Presbyter or Minister that receiveth the cup himself, or delivereth it to others, shall say this benediction.

The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life.

Here the party receiving shall say, Amen.

When all have communicated, he that celebrates shall go to the Lord's table, and cover with a fair linen cloth, or corporal, that which remaineth of the consecrated elements, and then say this Collect of thanksgiving, as followeth.

Almighty and everliving God, we most heartily thank thee, for that thou dost vouchsafe to feed us, which have duly received these holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious body and blood of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ; and dost assure us thereby of thy favour and goodness towards us, and that we be very members incorporate in thy mystical body, which is the blessed company of all faithful people, and be also heirs through hope of thy everlasting kingdom, by the merits of the most precious death and passion of thy dear Son: we now most humbly beseech thee, O heavenly Father, so to assist us with thy grace, that we may continue in that holy fellowship, and do all such good works as thou hast prepared for us to walk in, through Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

Then shall be said or sung, Gloria in excelsis, in English as followeth.

Glory be to God on high, and in earth peace, good will towards men. We praise thee, we bless thee, we worship thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks to thee for thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty. O Lord, the only-begotten Son Jesu Christ, O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sins of the
world, receive our prayer. Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father, have mercy upon us: for thou only art holy, thou only art the Lord, thou only, O Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father. Amen.

Then the Presbyter (or Bishop, if he be present) shall let them depart with this Blessing.

The peace of God which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord: and the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be amongst you, and remain with you always. Amen.

After the Divine Service ended, that which was offered shall be divided in the presence of the Presbyter and the Churchwardens: whereof one half shall be to the use of the Presbyter to provide him books of holy divinity; the other half shall be faithfully kept and employed on some pious or charitable use, for the decent furnishing of that church, or the public relief of their poor, at the discretion of the Presbyter and Churchwardens.

Collects to be said after the Offertory, when there is no Communion; every such day one or more. And the same may be said also as often as occasion shall serve, after the Collects either of Morning and Evening Prayer, Communion, or Litany, by the discretion of the Presbyter or Minister.

Assist us mercifully, O Lord, in these our supplications and prayers, and dispose the way of thy servants towards the attainment of everlasting salvation; that among all the changes and chances of this mortal life, they may ever be defended by thy most gracious and ready help, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

O Almighty Lord, and everlasting God, vouchsafe, we beseech thee, to direct, sanctify, and govern both our hearts and bodies in the ways of thy laws, and in the works of thy commandments; that through thy most
mighty protection, both here and ever, we may be preserved in body and soul, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

Grant, we beseech thee, Almighty God, that the words which we have heard this day with our outward ears may through thy grace be so grafted inwardly in our hearts, that they may bring forth in us the fruit of good living, to the honour and praise of thy Name, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings, with thy most gracious favour, and further us with thy continual help, that in all our works begun, continued, and ended in thee, we may glorify thy holy Name, and finally by thy mercy obtain everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Almighty God, the fountain of all wisdom, which knowest our necessities before we ask, and our ignorance in asking: We beseech thee to have compassion upon our infirmities, and those things which for our unworthiness we dare not, and for our blindness we cannot ask, vouchsafe to give us, for the worthiness of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Almighty God, which hast promised to hear the petitions of them that ask in thy Son’s Name: We beseech thee mercifully to incline thine ears to us, that have made now our prayers and supplications unto thee; and grant that those things which we have faithfully asked according to thy will, may effectually be obtained, to the relief of our necessity, and to the setting forth of thy glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Upon the Holy-days (if there be no Communion) shall be said all that is appointed at the Communion, until the end of the Homily, concluding with the general Prayer (For the whole estate of Christ’s Church militant here in earth), and one or more of these Collects before rehearsed, as occasion shall serve.

And there shall be no public celebration of the Lord’s Supper, except there be a sufficient number to communicate with the Presbyter, according to his discretion.
And if there be not above twenty persons in the parish, of discretion to receive the Communion; yet there shall be no Communion, except four or three at the least communicate with the Presbyter.

And in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, where be many Presbyters and Deacons, they shall all receive the Communion with the Presbyter that celebrates, every Sunday at the least, except they have a reasonable cause to the contrary.

And to take away the superstition, which any person hath or might have in the bread and wine, (though it be lawful to have wafer bread) it shall suffice that the bread be such as is usual: yet the best and purest wheat bread that conveniently may be gotten. And if any of the bread and wine remain which is consecrated, it shall be reverently eaten and drunk by such of the communicants only, as the Presbyter which celebrates shall take unto him; but it shall not be carried out of the church. And to the end there may be little left, he that officiates is required to consecrate with the least, and then if there be want, the words of consecration may be repeated again, over more either bread or wine: the Presbyter beginning at these words in the Prayer of Consecration, "Our Saviour, in the night that he was betrayed, took, etc."

The bread and wine for the Communion shall be provided by the Curate and the Churchwardens, at the charges of the parish.

And note, that every Parishioner shall communicate at the least three times in the year, of which Pasch or Easter shall be one; and shall also receive the Sacraments and observe other rites according to the order in this book appointed.
THE MINISTRATION OF BAPTISM

to be used in the Church

It appeareth by ancient writers, that the Sacrament of Baptism in the old time was not commonly ministered, but at two times in the year: at Easter and Whitsuntide. At which times it was openly ministered in the presence of all the congregation. Which custom now being grown out of use (although it cannot, for many considerations, be well restored again), it is thought good to follow the same, as near as conveniently may be. Wherefore the people are to be admonished that it is most convenient that Baptism should not be ministered but upon Sundays, and other Holy-days, when the most number of people may come together; as well for that the Congregation there present may testify the receiving of them that be newly baptized, into the number of Christ's Church, as also because in the Baptism of infants every man present may be put in remembrance of his own profession made to God in his Baptism. For which cause also it is expedient that Baptism be ministered in the English tongue. Nevertheless (if necessity so require), children may at all times be baptized at home.

When there are children to be baptized upon the Sunday or Holyday, the parents shall give knowledge over night, or in the morning, afore the beginning of Morning Prayer, to the Presbyter or Curate. And then the godfathers, godmothers, and people, with the children, must be ready at the font, either immediately after the last lesson at Morning Prayer, or else immediately after the last lesson at Evening Prayer, as the Presbyter or Curate by his discretion shall appoint. And then standing there, the Presbyter shall ask whether the Children be baptized or no. If they answer, No: then shall the Presbyter say thus:

Dearly beloved, forasmuch as all men be conceived and born in sin, and that our Saviour Christ saith, None can enter into the kingdom of God, except he be regenerate and born anew of water and of the Holy Ghost: I beseech you to call upon God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, that of his bounteous mercy he will grant to these children that thing which by nature they cannot have; that they may be baptized with water and the Holy Ghost, and received into Christ's holy Church, and be made lively members of the same.

Then shall the Presbyter say,
Let us pray.

Almighty and everlasting God, which of thy great mercy didst save Noah and his family in the ark from perishing by water, and also didst safely lead the children of Israel thy people through the Red Sea, figuring thereby thy Holy Baptism; and by the baptism of thy well-beloved Son Jesus Christ, didst sanctify the flood Jordan, and all other waters, to the mystical washing away of sin:

[Sanctify this fountain of baptism, thou which art the Sanctifier of all things.] And further we beseech thee for thine infinite mercies, that thou wilt mercifully look upon these children, sanctify them and wash them with the Holy Ghost, that they, being delivered from thy wrath, may be received into the ark of Christ's Church; and being stedfast in faith, joyful through hope, and rooted in charity, may so pass the waves of this troublesome world, that finally they may come to the land of everlasting life, there to reign with thee, world without end, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Almighty and immortal God, the aid of all that need, the helper of all that flee to thee for succour, the life of them that believe, and the resurrection of the dead: We call upon thee for these infants, that they, coming to thy holy Baptism, may receive remission of their sins by spiritual regeneration. Receive them, O Lord, as thou hast promised by thy well-beloved Son, saying, Ask, and you shall have; seek, and you shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. So give now unto us that ask: let us that seek, find: open the gate unto us that knock: that these infants may enjoy the everlasting benediction of thy heavenly washing, and may come to the eternal kingdom which thou hast promised by Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then shall the Presbyter say,
Hear the words of the Gospel written by S. Mark in the tenth Chapter.

At a certain time they brought young children to Christ, that he should touch them, and his disciples rebuked those that brought them. But when Jesus saw it, he was much displeased, and said unto them, Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God. Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein. And he took them up in his arms, put his hands upon them, and blessed them.

After the Gospel is read, the Presbyter or Minister shall make this brief exhortation upon the words of the Gospel.

Friends, you hear in this Gospel the words of our Saviour Christ, that he commanded the children to be brought unto him: how he blamed those that would have kept them from him: how he exhorted all men to follow their innocency. You perceive how by his outward gesture and deed, he declared his good will toward them. For he embraced them in his arms, he laid his hands upon them, and blessed them. Doubt ye not therefore, but stedfastly believe, that he will likewise favourably receive these present infants; that he will embrace them with the arms of his mercy, that he will give unto them the blessing of eternal life, and make them partakers of his everlasting kingdom. Wherefore, we being thus persuaded of the good will of our heavenly Father towards these infants, declared by his Son Jesus Christ, and nothing doubting but that he favourably alloweth this charitable work of ours, in bringing these children to his holy Baptism: let us faithfully and devoutly give thanks unto him, and say,

Almighty and everlasting God, heavenly Father, we give thee humble thanks, that thou hast vouchsafed to call us to the knowledge of thy grace, and faith in thee:
increase this knowledge, and confirm this faith in us ever-
more: give thy Holy Spirit to these infants, that they
may be born again, and be made heirs of everlasting
salvation, through our Lord Jesus Christ; who liveth and
reigneth, with thee and the Holy Spirit, now and for
ever. Amen.

Then the Presbyter shall speak unto the godfathers and
godmothers on this wise.

Well-beloved Friends, ye have brought these Children
here to be baptized, ye have prayed that our Lord Jesus
Christ would vouchsafe to receive them, to lay his hands
upon them, to bless them, to release them of their sins,
to give them the kingdom of heaven, and everlasting life.
Ye have heard also that our Lord Jesus Christ hath
promised in his Gospel to grant all these things that ye
have prayed for; which promise he for his part will most
surely keep and perform. Wherefore after this promise
made by Christ, these infants must also faithfully for
their part promise by you that be their sureties, that
they will forsake the devil, and all his works, and con-
stantly believe God’s holy word, and obediently keep his
commandments.

Then shall the Presbyter demand of the godfathers and
godmothers these questions following.

Dost thou forsake the devil and all his works, the vain
pomp and glory of the world, with all covetous desires of
the same, the carnal desires of the flesh, so that thou wilt
not follow nor be led by them?

Answer. I forsake them all.

Presbyter. Dost thou believe in God the Father
Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth? And in Jesus
Christ, his only-begotten Son our Lord? And that he
was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin
Mary; that he suffered under Pontius Pilate, was cruci-
fied, dead, and buried; that he went down into hell, and
also did rise again the third day; that he ascended into
The Prayer Book

heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; and from thence he shall come again at the end of the world to judge the quick and the dead? And dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy Catholic Church, the communion of Saints, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the flesh, and everlasting life after death?

Answer. All this I stedfastly believe.

Presbyter. Wilt thou be baptized in this faith?

Answer. That is my desire.

Then shall the Presbyter say,

O merciful God, grant that the old Adam in these Children may be so buried, that the new man may be raised up in them. Amen.

Grant that all carnal affections may die in them, and that all things belonging to the Spirit, may live and grow in them. Amen.

Grant that they may have power and strength to have victory, and to triumph against the devil, the world, and the flesh. Amen.

Grant that whosoever is here dedicated to thee by our office and ministry, may also be endued with heavenly virtues, and everlastingly rewarded, through thy mercy, O blessed Lord God, who dost live and govern all things, world without end. Amen.

Almighty, everliving God, whose most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, for the forgiveness of our sins, did shed out of his most precious side both water and blood, and gave commandment to his disciples that they should go teach all nations, and baptize them in the Name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Regard, we beseech thee, the supplications of thy Church, and grant that all thy servants which shall be baptized in this water (which we here bless and dedicate in thy Name to this spiritual washing) may receive the fulness of thy grace, and ever remain in the number of thy faithful and elect children, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.
The Making of the Prayer Book of 1637

Then the Presbyter shall take the child in his hands, and ask the name: and naming the child, shall dip it in the water, so it be discreetly and warily done, saying,


And if the child be weak, it shall suffice to pour water upon it, saying the foresaid words.


Then the Presbyter shall make a Cross upon the child’s forehead, saying,

We receive this child into the Church of Christ, and do sign him with the sign of the Cross, in token that hereafter he shall not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified, and stoutly to resist sin, the world, and the devil, and to continue Christ’s faithful soldier and servant unto his life’s end. Amen.

Then shall the Presbyter say,

Seeing now, dearly beloved brethren, that these children be regenerate, and grafted into the body of Christ’s Church, let us give thanks unto God for these benefits, and with one accord make our prayers unto Almighty God, that they may lead the rest of their life according to this beginning.

Then shall be said,

Our Father which art in heaven, etc.

Then shall the Presbyter say,

We yield thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased thee to regenerate this infant with thy Holy Spirit, to receive him for thine own child by adoption, and to incorporate him into thy holy Church. And humbly we beseech thee to grant, that he being dead unto sin, and living unto righteousness, and being buried with Christ in his death, may crucify the old man, and utterly
abolish the whole body of sin, that as he is made partaker of the death of thy Son, so he may be partaker of his resurrection: so that finally, with the residue of thy holy Church, he may be inheritor of thine everlasting kingdom, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

At the last end, the Presbyter, calling the godfathers and godmothers together, shall say this Exhortation following.

Forasmuch as these children have promised by you to forsake the devil and all his works, to believe in God, and to serve him: you must remember that it is your parts and duties to see that these infants be taught, so soon as they shall be able to learn, what a solemn vow, promise, and profession they have made by you. And that they may know these things the better, ye shall call upon them to hear sermons: and chiefly you shall provide that they may learn the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in the English tongue, and all other things which a Christian man ought to know and believe to his soul's health: and that these children may be virtuously brought up, to lead a godly and a Christian life; remembering always that Baptism doth represent unto us our profession, which is, to follow the example of our Saviour Christ, and to be made like unto him, that as he died and rose again for us, so should we which are baptized, die from sin, and rise again unto righteousness, continually mortifying all our evil and corrupt affections, and daily proceeding in all virtue and godliness of living.

The Presbyter or Minister shall command, that the children be brought to the Bishop, to be confirmed of him, so soon as they can say in their vulgar tongue, the Articles of the Faith, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, and be further instructed in the Catechism which is set forth in this book for that purpose, according as it is there expressed.
PRIVATE BAPTISM

of them that are to be baptized in private houses, in time of necessity, by the Presbyter or Minister of the parish, or any other lawful Presbyter or Minister that can be procured

The Pastors and Curates shall often admonish the people, that they defer not the Baptism of infants any longer than the Sunday, or other Holy-day, next after the child be born, unless upon a great and reasonable cause declared to the Curate, and by him approved.

And also they shall warn them, that without great cause and necessity they procure not their children to be baptized at home in their houses. And when great need shall compel them so to do, then Baptism shall be administered on this fashion.

First, let the lawful Presbyter or Minister, and them that be present, call upon God for his grace, and say the Lord's Prayer, if time will suffer. And then, the child being named by some one that is present, the said lawful Presbyter or Minister shall dip it in water, or pour water upon it, saying these words:

N. I baptize thee in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

And let them not doubt, but that the child so baptized is lawfully and sufficiently baptized, and ought not to be baptized again. But yet, nevertheless, if the child which is after this sort baptized, do afterward live, it is expedient that it be brought into the church; to the intent that if the Presbyter or Minister of the same parish did himself baptize that child, the Congregation may be certified of the true form of Baptism by him privately before used; or if the child were baptized by any other lawful Presbyter or Minister, that then the Presbyter of the Parish where the child was born or christened shall examine and try whether the child be lawfully baptized or no: in which case, if those that bring any child to the church do answer that the same child is already baptized, then shall the Presbyter or Minister examine them further, saying,

By whom was the child baptized?
Who was present when the child was baptized?

And because some things essential to this Sacrament may happen to be omitted through fear or haste in such times of extremity, therefore I demand further of you,
With what matter was the child baptized?
With what words was the child baptized?
Whether think you the child to be lawfully and perfectly baptized?

And if the Presbyter or Minister shall find by the answers of such as bring the child, that all things were done as they ought to be; then shall not he christen the child again, but shall receive him as one of the flock of the true Christian people, saying thus,

I certify you, that in this case all is well done, and according unto due order, concerning the baptizing of this child: which, being born in original sin, and in the wrath of God, is now by the laver of regeneration in Baptism received into the number of the children of God, and heirs of everlasting life. For our Lord Jesus Christ doth not deny his grace and mercy unto such infants, but most lovingly doth call them unto him, as the holy Gospel doth witness to our comfort on this wise.

[Mark x. 13-16.]

After the Gospel is read, the Presbyter or Minister shall make this Exhortation upon the words of the Gospel.

Friends, you hear in this Gospel [etc., as on p. 207]. Doubt ye not therefore, but stedfastly believe, that he hath likewise favourably received this present infant: that he hath embraced him with the arms of his mercy; that he hath given unto him the blessing of eternal life, and made him partaker of his everlasting kingdom. Wherefore we, being thus persuaded of the good-will of our heavenly Father, declared by his Son Jesus Christ, toward this infant, let us faithfully and devoutly give thanks unto him, and say the prayer which the Lord himself taught; and in declaration of our faith, let us recite the Articles contained in our Creed.

Here the Presbyter or Minister, with the godfathers and godmothers, shall say,

Our Father which art in heaven, etc.
The Making of the Prayer Book of 1637

Then shall the Presbyter demand the name of the child, which being by the godfathers and godmothers pronounced, the Minister shall say,

Dost thou, in the name of this child, forsake the devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world, with all the covetous desires of the same, the carnal desires of the flesh, so that thou wilt not follow nor be led by them?

Answer. I forsake them all.

Presbyter. Dost thou, in the name of this child, profess this faith, to believe in God the Father Almighty [etc., as on p. 208]. And do you, in his name, believe in the Holy Ghost [etc.]?

Answer. All this I stedfastly believe.

Let us pray.

Almighty and everlasting God, heavenly Father, we give thee humble thanks for that thou hast vouchsafed to call us to the knowledge of thy grace, and faith in thee; Increase this knowledge, and confirm this faith in us evermore. Give thy Holy Spirit to this infant, that he, being born again, and being made heir of everlasting salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ, may continue thy servant, and attain thy promise, through the same our Lord Jesus Christ thy Son, who liveth and reigneth with thee in the unity of the same Holy Spirit everlastingly. Amen.

Then shall the Presbyter or Minister make this Exhortation to the godfathers and godmothers.

Forasmuch as this child hath promised by you to forsake the devil and all his works, to believe in God and to serve him [etc., as on p. 211].

And so forth, as in Public Baptism.

But if they which bring the infants to the Church, do make such uncertain answers to the Presbyter's questions, as that it cannot appear that the child was baptized with water, in the Name of the Father, and
of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost (which are essential parts of Baptism), then let the Presbyter baptize it in form above written concerning Public Baptism, saying that, at the dipping of the child in the font, he shall use this form of words:

If thou be not already baptized, 
THE ORDER OF CONFIRMATION

or Laying on of Hands upon Children Baptized, and able to render an account of their Faith, according to the Catechism following

To the end that Confirmation may be ministered to the more edifying of such as shall receive it (according to Saint Paul's doctrine, who teacheth that all things should be done in the Church to the edification of the same), it is thought good, that none hereafter shall be confirmed, but such as can say in their mother tongue the Articles of the Faith, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments; and can also answer to such questions of this short Catechism as the Bishop (or such as he shall appoint) shall by his discretion appose them in. And this order is most convenient to be observed for divers considerations.

First, because that when children come to the years of discretion, and have learned what their godfathers and godmothers promised for them in Baptism, they may then themselves, with their own mouth, and with their own consent, openly before the Church, ratify and confirm the same; and also promise that, by the grace of God, they will evermore endeavour themselves faithfully to observe and keep such things as they by their own mouth and confession have assented unto.

Secondly, forasmuch as Confirmation is ministered to them that be baptized, that by imposition of hands and prayer, they may receive strength and defence against all temptations to sin, and the assaults of the world and the devil; it is most meet to be ministered when children come to that age, that partly by the frailty of their own flesh, partly by the assaults of the world and the devil, they begin to be in danger to fall into sundry kinds of sin.

Thirdly, for that it is agreeable with the usage of the Church in times past: whereby it was ordained that Confirmation should be ministered to them that were of perfect age; that they, being instructed in Christ's religion, should openly profess their own faith, and promise to be obedient unto the will of God.

And that no man shall think that any detriment shall come to children by deferring of their Confirmation, he shall know for truth that it is certain, by God's Word, that children, being baptized, have all things necessary for their salvation, and be undoubtedly saved.
A Catechism

that is to say, an Instruction to be learned of every Child before he be brought to be confirmed by the Bishop; and to be used throughout the whole Church of Scotland.

Quest. What is your name?
Answ. N. or M.

Quest. Who gave you this name?
Answ. My godfathers and godmothers in my Baptism; wherein I was made a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven.

Quest. What did your godfathers and godmothers then for you?
Answ. They did promise and vow three things in my name: First, that I should forsake the devil and all his works, the pomps and vanities of the wicked world, and all the sinful lusts of the flesh. Secondly, that I should believe all the Articles of the Christian Faith. And thirdly, that I should keep God's holy will and commandments, and walk in the same all the days of my life.

Quest. Dost thou not think that thou art bound to believe and to do as they have promised for thee?
Answ. Yes, verily: and by God's help so I will. And I heartily thank our heavenly Father, that he hath called me to this state of salvation, through Jesus Christ our Saviour. And I pray God to give me his grace, that I may continue in the same unto my life's end.

Quest. Rehearse the Articles of thy belief.
Answ. I believe in God [etc.].

Quest. What dost thou chiefly learn in these Articles of thy belief?
Answ. First, I learn to believe in God the Father, who hath made me and all the world:

Secondly, in God the Son, who hath redeemed me and all mankind:

Thirdly, in God the Holy Ghost, who sanctifieth me and all the elect people of God.
Quest. You said that your godfathers and godmothers did promise for you, that you should keep God's Commandments. Tell me how many there be?

Answ. Ten.

Quest. Which be they?

Answ. The same which God spake in the twentieth chapter of Exodus, saying, I am the Lord thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.

I. Thou shalt have none other gods but me. [Etc., Exod. xx, 4-17.]

Quest. What dost thou chiefly learn by these commandments?

Answ. I learn two things: my duty towards God, and my duty towards my neighbour.

Quest. What is thy duty towards God?

Answ. My duty towards God, is to believe in him, to fear him, and to love him with all my heart, with all my mind, with all my soul, and with all my strength; to worship him, to give him thanks, to put my whole trust in him, to call upon him, to honour his holy Name and his word, and to serve him truly all the days of my life.

Quest. What is thy duty towards thy neighbour?

Answ. My duty towards my neighbour, is to love him as myself, and to do to all men as I would they should do unto me. To love, honour, and succour my father and mother. To honour and obey the King and his ministers. To submit myself to all my governors, teachers, spiritual pastors, and masters. To order myself lowly and reverently to all my betters. To hurt nobody by word nor deed. To be true and just in all my dealing. To bear no malice nor hatred in my heart. To keep my hands from picking and stealing, and my tongue from evil-speaking, lying, and slander ing. To keep my body in temperance, soberness, and chastity. Not to covet nor desire other men's goods, but to learn and labour truly to get mine own living, and to do my duty in that state of life, unto the which it shall please God to call me.

Quest. My good child, know this, that thou art not
able to do these things of thyself, nor to walk in the commandments of God, and to serve him, without his special grace; which thou must learn at all times to call for by diligent prayer. Let me hear therefore if thou canst say the Lord's Prayer.

Answ. Our Father [etc.]. But deliver us from evil. Amen.

Quest. What desirest thou of God in this prayer?

Answ. I desire my Lord God, our heavenly Father, who is the giver of all goodness, to send his grace unto me, and to all people; that we may worship him, serve him, and obey him as we ought to do. And I pray unto God, that he will send us all things that be needful both for our souls and bodies: and that he will be merciful unto us, and forgive us our sins: and that it will please him to save and defend us in all dangers, ghostly and bodily: and that he will keep us from all sin and wickedness, and from our ghostly enemy, and from everlasting death. And this I trust he will do of his mercy and goodness, through our Lord Jesus Christ. And therefore I say Amen, So be it.

Quest. How many Sacraments hath Christ ordained in his Church?

Answ. Two only, as generally necessary to salvation: that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord.

Quest. What meanest thou by this word, Sacrament?

Answ. I mean an outward and visible sign, of an inward and spiritual grace, given unto us, ordained by Christ himself, as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof.

Quest. How many parts be there in a Sacrament?

Answ. Two: the outward visible sign, and the inward spiritual grace.

Quest. What is the outward visible sign, or form, in Baptism?

Answ. Water: wherein the person baptized is dipped, or sprinkled with it, In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

Quest. What is the inward and spiritual grace?
Answ. A death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness: for being by nature born in sin, and the children of wrath, we are hereby made the children of grace.

Quest. What is required of persons to be baptized?

Answ. Repentance, whereby they forsake sin: and faith, whereby they stedfastly believe the promises of God made to them in that sacrament.

Quest. Why then are infants baptized, when, by reason of their tender age, they cannot perform them?

Answ. Yes: they do perform them by their sureties, who promise and vow them both, in their names: which, when they come to age, themselves are bound to perform.

Quest. Why was the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper ordained?

Answ. For the continual remembrance of the Sacrifice of the death of Christ, and the benefits which we receive thereby.

Quest. What is the outward part, or sign of the Lord’s Supper?

Answ. Bread and Wine, which the Lord hath commanded to be received.

Quest. What is the inward part, or thing signified?

Answ. The Body and Blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received of the faithful in the Lord’s Supper.

Quest. What are the benefits, whereof we are partakers thereby?

Answ. The strengthening and refreshing of our souls by the Body and Blood of Christ, as our bodies are by the bread and wine.

Quest. What is required of them which come to the Lord’s Supper?

Answ. To examine themselves whether they repent them truly of their former sins, stedfastly purposing to lead a new life: have a lively faith in God’s mercy through Christ, with a thankful remembrance of his death; and be in charity with all men.

So soon as the children can say in their mother tongue the Articles of the Faith, the Lord’s Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and also
can answer to such questions of this short Catechism, as the Bishop (or such as he shall appoint) shall by his discretion appose them in; then shall they be brought to the Bishop by one that shall be his godfather or godmother, that every child may have a witness of his Confirmation. And the Bishop shall confirm them on this wise.

**Confirmation, or Laying on of Hands**

The Bishop shall say,

Our help is in the Name of the Lord:
*Answer.* Which hath made heaven and earth.
*Bishop.* Blessed be the Name of the Lord:
*Answer.* Henceforth world without end.
*Bishop.* Lord, hear our prayers:
*Answ.* And let our cry come unto thee.

Let us pray.

Almighty and everliving God, who hast vouchsafed to regenerate these thy servants by water and the Holy Ghost, and hast given unto them forgiveness of all their sins: Strengthen them, we beseech thee, O Lord, with the Holy Ghost the Comforter, and daily increase in them thy manifold gifts of grace, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and ghostly strength, the spirit of knowledge and true godliness, and fulfil them, O Lord, with the spirit of thy holy fear. Amen.

Then the Bishop shall lay his hand upon every child severally, saying,

Defend, O Lord, this Child with thy heavenly grace, that he may continue thine for ever, and daily increase in thy Holy Spirit more and more, until he come unto thy everlasting kingdom. Amen.

Then shall the Bishop say,

Let us pray.

Almighty and everliving God, which makest us both to will and to do those things that be good and acceptable unto thy Majesty; We make our humble supplications
unto thee for these Children, upon whom (after the example of the holy Apostles) we have laid our hands, to certify them (by this sign) of thy favour and gracious goodness toward them. Let thy fatherly hand, we beseech thee, ever be over them: let thy Holy Spirit ever be with them, and so lead them in the knowledge and obedience of thy word, that in the end they may obtain the everlasting life, through our Lord Jesus Christ; who with thee and the Holy Ghost livest and reigneth, one God, world without end. Amen.

Then the Bishop shall bless the Children, saying thus:

The blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be upon you, and remain with you for ever. Amen.

The Presbyter or Curate of every Parish, or some other at his appointment, shall diligently upon Sundays and Holy days, half an hour before Evensong, openly in the church, instruct and examine so many children of his Parish sent unto him, as the time will serve, and as he shall think convenient, in some part of this Catechism.

And all Fathers, Mothers, Masters, and Mistresses, shall cause their children, servants, and prentices, (which have not learned their Catechism,) to come to the church at the time appointed, and obediently to hear, and be ordered by the Presbyter or Curate, until such time as they have learned all that is here appointed for them to learn. And whatsoever the Bishop shall give knowledge for children to be brought before him to any convenient place, for their Confirmation, then shall the Presbyter or Curate of every Parish either bring or send in writing the names of all those children of his Parish which can say the Articles of the Faith, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments; and also how many of them can answer to the other questions contained in this Catechism.

And there shall none be admitted to the holy Communion until such time as he can say the Catechism, and be confirmed.
THE FORM OF SOLEMNIZATION OF MATRIMONY

First, the Banns must be asked three several Sundays or Holy days, in the time of Service, the people being present, after the accustomed manner.

And if the persons that should be married dwell in divers Parishes, the Banns must be asked in both Parishes: and the Presbyter or Curate of the one Parish shall not solemnize Matrimony betwixt them, without a certificate of the Banns being thrice asked from the Presbyter or Curate of the other Parish.

At the day appointed for Solemnization of Matrimony, the persons to be married shall come into the body of the Church with their friends and neighbours, and there the Presbyter shall say thus:

Dearly beloved friends, we are gathered together here in the sight of God, and in the face of his Church, to join together this man and this woman in holy Matrimony: which is an honourable estate, instituted of God in Paradise, in the time of man's innocency, signifying unto us the mystical union that is betwixt Christ and his Church: which holy estate Christ adorned and beautified with his presence, and first miracle that he wrought in Cana of Galilee; and is commended of Saint Paul to be honourable among all men: and therefore is not to be enterprised nor taken in hand unadvisedly, lightly, or wantonly, to satisfy men's carnal lusts and appetites, like brute beasts that have no understanding, but reverently, discreetly, advisedly, soberly, and in the fear of God; duly considering the causes for which Matrimony was ordained. One was the procreation of children, to be brought up in the fear and nurture of the Lord, and praise of God. Secondly, it was ordained for a remedy against sin, and to avoid fornication, that such persons as have not the gift of continency, might marry, and keep themselves undefiled members of Christ's body. Thirdly, for the mutual society, help, and comfort that the one ought to have of
the other, both in prosperity and adversity: into the which holy estate these two persons present come now to be joined. Therefore if any man can shew any just cause why they may not lawfully be joined together, let him now speak, or else hereafter for ever hold his peace.

And also speaking to the persons that shall be married,

he shall say,

I require and charge you (as you will answer at the dreadful day of judgment, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed) that if either of you do know any impediment why you may not be lawfully joined together in Matrimony, that ye confess it. For be ye well assured, that so many as be coupled together otherwise than God's word doth allow, are not joined together by God, neither is their Matrimony lawful.

At which day of marriage, if any man do allege and declare any impediment, why they may not be coupled together in Matrimony by God's Law, or the Laws of this Realm, and will be bound, and sufficient sureties with him, to the parties, or else put in a caution to the full value of such charges as the persons to be married do sustain, to prove his allegation, then the solemnization must be deferred unto such time as the truth be tried. If no impediment be alleged, then shall the Presbyter or Curate say unto the man,

N. Wilt thou have this woman to thy wedded wife, to live together after God's ordinance, in the holy estate of Matrimony? Wilt thou love her, comfort her, honour, and keep her in sickness and in health; and forsaking all other, keep thee only unto her, so long as you both shall live?

The man shall answer,

I will.

Then shall the Presbyter say unto the woman,

N. Wilt thou have this man to thy wedded husband, to live together after God's ordinance, in the holy estate of Matrimony? Wilt thou obey him and serve him, love, honour, and keep him in sickness and in health; and forsaking all other, keep thee only unto him, so long as you both shall live?
The Prayer Book

The woman shall answer,
I will.

Then shall the Presbyter or Minister say,

Who giveth this woman to be married to this man?

And the Presbyter or Minister, receiving the woman at her father's or friend's hands, shall cause the man to take the woman by the right hand, and so either to give their troth to other; the man first saying,

I, N. take thee N. to my wedded wife, to have and to hold, from this day forward, for better, for worse, for richer, for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love and to cherish, till death do us depart, according to God's holy ordinance: and thereto I plight thee my troth.

Then shall they loose their hands, and the woman taking again the man by the right hand, shall say,

I, N. take thee N. to my wedded husband, to have and to hold, from this day forward, for better, for worse, for richer, for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love, cherish, and to obey, till death do us depart, according to God's holy ordinance: and thereto I give thee my troth.

Then shall they again loose their hands, and the man shall give unto the woman a ring, laying the same upon the book, with the accustomed duty to the Presbyter and Clerk. And the Presbyter taking the ring, shall deliver it unto the man, to put it upon the fourth finger of the woman's left hand. And the man, taught by the Presbyter, shall say:

With this ring I thee wed, with my body I thee worship, and with all my worldly goods I thee endow: In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Then, the man leaving the ring upon the fourth finger of the woman's left hand, the Presbyter or Minister shall say,

Let us pray.

O Eternal God, Creator and Preserver of all mankind, Giver of all spiritual grace, the Author of everlasting life:
Send thy blessing upon these thy servants, this man and this woman, whom we bless in thy Name; that as Isaac and Rebecca lived faithfully together, so these persons may surely perform and keep the vow and covenant betwixt them made, (whereof this ring given and received is a token and pledge); and may ever remain in perfect love and peace together, and live according to thy laws, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then shall the Presbyter join their right hands together, and say,

Those whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder.

Then shall the Presbyter or Minister speak unto the people.

Forasmuch as N. and N. have consented together in holy wedlock, and have witnessed the same before God and this company, and thereto have given and pledged their troth either to other, and have declared the same by giving and receiving of a ring, and by joining of hands, I pronounce that they be man and wife together: In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

And the Presbyter or Minister shall add this Blessing.

God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, bless, preserve, and keep you; the Lord mercifully with his favour look upon you, and so fill you with all spiritual benediction and grace, that you may so live together in this life, that in the world to come ye may have life everlasting. Amen.

Then the Presbyter, Minister, or Clerks, going to the Lord’s Table, shall say or sing this Psalm following.

[Ps. cxxviii.]

Glory be to the Father [etc.].

Or else this Psalm.

[Ps. lxvii.]

Glory be to the Father [etc.].
The Psalm ended, and the man and the woman kneeling afore the Lord's Table, the Presbyter, standing at the Table, and turning his face toward them, shall say,

Lord, have mercy upon us.

*Answer.* Christ, have mercy upon us.

*Presbyter.* Lord, have mercy upon us.

Our Father which art in heaven, etc. And lead us not into temptation.

*Answer.* But deliver us from evil. Amen.

*Presbyter.* O Lord, save thy servant and thy handmaid:

*Answer.* Which put their trust in thee.

*Presbyter.* O Lord, send them help from thy holy place.

*Answer.* And evermore defend them.

*Presbyter.* Be unto them a tower of strength:

*Answer.* From the face of their enemy.

*Presbyter.* O Lord, hear our prayer:

*Answer.* And let our cry come unto thee.

*Presbyter.* O God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob, bless these thy servants, and sow the seed of eternal life in their minds, that whatsoever in thy holy word they shall profitably learn, they may in deed fulfil the same. Look, O Lord, mercifully upon them from heaven, and bless them. And as thou didst send thy blessing upon Abraham and Sara to their great comfort: so vouchsafe to send thy blessing upon these thy servants; that they, obeying thy will, and alway being in safety under thy protection, may abide in thy love unto their lives' end, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

This prayer next following shall be omitted, where the woman is past child-birth.

O merciful Lord, and heavenly Father, by whose gracious gift mankind is increased: We beseech thee assist with thy blessing these two persons, that they may both be fruitful in procreation of children, and also live together so long in godly love and honesty, that they may
see their children's children, unto the third and fourth generation, unto thy praise and honour, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

O God, which by thy mighty power hast made all things of nought, which also (after other things set in order) didst appoint that out of man (created after thine own image and similitude) woman should take her beginning: and knitting them together, didst teach, that it should never be lawful to put asunder those, whom thou by Matrimony hast made one: O God, which hast consecrated the state of Matrimony to such an excellent mystery, that in it is signified and represented the spiritual marriage and unity betwixt Christ and his Church: Look mercifully upon these thy servants, that both this man may love his wife according to thy word, as Christ did love his spouse the Church, who gave himself for it, loving and cherishing it even as his own flesh: and also that this woman may be loving and amiable to her husband as Rachel, wise as Rebecca, faithful and obedient as Sara, and in all quietness, sobriety, and peace, be a follower of holy and godly matrons. O Lord, bless them both, and grant them to inherit thy everlasting kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then shall the Presbyter say,

Almighty God, which at the beginning did create our first parents Adam and Eve, and did sanctify and join them together in marriage: Pour upon you the riches of his grace, sanctify and bless you, that ye may please him both in body and soul, and live together in holy love unto your lives' end. Amen.

Then shall begin the Communion. And after the Gospel shall be said a Sermon, wherein ordinarily (so oft as there is any marriage) the office of a husband and wife shall be declared, according to holy Scripture. Or if there be no Sermon, the Presbyter or Minister shall read this that followeth.

All ye which be married, or which intend to take the holy estate of Matrimony upon you, hear what holy
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Scripture doth say as touching the duty of husbands towards their wives, and wives towards their husbands.

Saint Paul, in his Epistle to the Ephesians, the fifth chapter, doth give this commandment to all married men: [Eph. v. 25 to himself in v. 33].

Likewise the same S. Paul, writing to the Colossians, speaketh thus to all men that be married: Husbands, love your wives, and be not bitter against them. Coloss. iii. 19.

Hear also what S. Peter the Apostle of Christ, which was himself a married man, saith unto all men that are married: Ye husbands, dwell with your wives according to knowledge [etc., 1 Pet. iii. 7].

Hitherto ye have heard the duty of the husband toward the wife. Now likewise, ye wives, hear and learn your duties towards your husbands, even as it is plainly set forth in holy Scripture.

Saint Paul, in the aforenamed Epistle to the Ephesians, teacheth you thus: Ye wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands [etc., Eph. v. 22-24]. And again he saith, Let the wife reverence her husband.

And, in his Epistle to the Colossians, Saint Paul giveth you this short lesson: Ye wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as it is fit in the Lord. Coloss. iii. 18.

Saint Peter also doth instruct you very godly, thus saying: Ye wives, be in subjection to your own husbands [etc., 1 Peter iii. 1-6].

The new-married persons, the same day of their Marriage, must receive the holy Communion.
THE ORDER FOR THE VISITATION OF
THE SICK

The Presbyter, entering into the sick person’s house, shall say,

Peace be to this house, and to all that dwell in it.

When he cometh into the sick man’s presence, he shall say,

kneeling down,

Remember not, Lord, our iniquities, nor the iniquities of our forefathers. Spare us, good Lord, spare thy people, whom thou hast redeemed with thy most precious blood, and be not angry with us for ever.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Christ, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Our Father, which art in heaven, etc. And lead us not into temptation.

Answer. But deliver us from evil; for thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

Presbyter. O Lord, save thy servant:

Answer. Which putteth his trust in thee.

Presbyter. Send him help from thy holy place:

Answer. And evermore mightily defend him.

Presbyter. Let the enemy have none advantage of him:

Answer. Nor the wicked approach to hurt him.

Presbyter. Be unto him, O Lord, a strong tower:

Answer. From the face of his enemy.

Presbyter. O Lord, hear our prayers:

Answer. And let our cry come unto thee.

Presbyter. O Lord, look down from heaven, behold, visit, and relieve this thy servant. Look upon him with
the eyes of thy mercy, give him comfort and sure confidence in thee, defend him from the danger of the enemy, and keep him in perpetual peace and safety, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Hear us, Almighty and most merciful God and Saviour, extend thy accustomed goodness to this thy servant, which is grieved with sickness: visit him, O Lord, as thou didst visit Peter's wife's mother, and the captain's servant. So visit and restore to this sick person his former health (if it be thy will) or else give him grace so to take thy visitation, that after this painful life ended, he may dwell with thee in life everlasting. Amen.

Then shall the Presbyter or Minister exhort the sick person after this form, or other like:

Dearly beloved, know this, that Almighty God is the Lord of life and death, and over all things to them pertaining, as youth, strength, health, age, weakness, and sickness: wherefore, whatsoever your sickness is, know you certainly that it is God's visitation. And for what cause soever this sickness is sent unto you; whether it be to try your patience for the example of other, and that your faith may be found in the day of the Lord, laudable, glorious, and honourable, to the increase of glory and endless felicity; or else it be sent unto you to correct and amend in you whatsoever doth offend the eyes of your heavenly Father: know you certainly, that if you truly repent you of your sins, and bear your sickness patiently, trusting in God's mercy, for his dear Son Jesus Christ's sake, and render unto him humble thanks for his Fatherly visitation, submitting yourself wholly unto his will, it shall turn to your profit, and help you forward in the right way that leadeth unto everlasting life.

If the person visited be very sick, then the Presbyter or Curate may end his exhortation in this place.

Take, therefore, in good worth the chastisement of the Lord. For whom the Lord loveth, he chastiseth; yea,
as Saint Paul saith, he scourgeth every son which he receiveth. If ye endure chastisement, he offereth himself unto you, as unto his own children. What son is he that the father chastiseth not? If ye be not under correction (whereof all true children are partakers), then are ye bastards, and not children. Therefore, seeing that when our carnal fathers do correct us, we reverently obey them; shall we not now much rather be obedient to our spiritual Father, and so live? And they for a few days do chastise us, after their own pleasure: but he doth chastise us for our profit, to the intent he may make us partakers of his holiness. These words (good brother) are God's words, and written in holy Scripture for our comfort and instruction; that we should patiently and with thanksgiving bear our heavenly Father's correction, whensoever by any manner of adversity it shall please his gracious goodness to visit us. And there should be no greater comfort to Christian persons, than to be made like unto Christ, by suffering patiently adversities, troubles, and sicknesses. For he himself went not up to joy, but first he suffered pain: he entered not into his glory, before he was crucified: so truly our way to eternal joy is to suffer here with Christ, and our door to enter into eternal life is gladly to die with Christ, that we may rise again from death, and dwell with him in everlasting life. Now, therefore, taking your sickness which is thus profitable for you, patiently, I exhort you, in the Name of God, to remember the profession which you made unto God in your baptism. And forasmuch as after this life there is a count to be given unto the righteous Judge of whom all must be judged without respect of persons: I require you to examine yourself, and your state, both toward God and man, so that, accusing and condemning yourself for your own faults, you may find mercy at our heavenly Father's hand for Christ's sake, and not be accused and condemned in that fearful judgment. Therefore, I shall shortly rehearse the Articles of our Faith, that you may know whether you do believe as a Christian man should, or no.
Here the Presbyter, or Minister, shall rehearse the Articles of the Faith, saying thus:

Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty?

(And so forth, as it is in Baptism.)

Then shall the Presbyter or Minister examine whether he be in charity with all the world: exhorting him to forgive from the bottom of his heart all persons that have offended him; and if he have offended other, to ask them forgiveness; and where he hath done injury or wrong to any man, that he make amends to the uttermost of his power. And if he have not afore disposed his goods, let him then make his will, and also declare his debts, what he oweth, and what is owing unto him, for discharging of his conscience, and quietness of his executors. But men must be oft admonished that they set an order for their temporal goods and lands, when they be in health.

These words before rehearsed, may be said before the Presbyter or Minister begin his prayer, as he shall see cause.

The Presbyter or Minister may not forget, nor omit to move the sick person (and that most earnestly) to liberality toward the poor.

Here shall the sick person make a special Confession, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter. After which confession the Presbyter shall absolve him after this sort:

Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his Church to absolve all sinners which truly repent and believe in him, of his great mercy forgive thee thine offences: and by his authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

And then the Presbyter shall say this Collect following.

Let us pray.

O most merciful God, which according to the multitude of thy mercies, dost so put away the sins of those which truly repent, that thou rememberest them no more: Open thine eye of mercy upon this thy servant, who most earnestly desireth pardon and forgiveness. Renew in him (most loving Father) whatsoever hath been decayed by the fraud and malice of the devil, or by his own carnal
will and frailness. Preserve and continue this sick member in the unity of the Church, consider his contrition, accept his tears, assuage his pain, as shall be seen to thee most expedient for him. And forasmuch as he putteth his full trust only in thy mercy, impute not unto him his former sins; but when the hour of his dissolution is come, take him unto thy favour, through the merits of thy most dearly-beloved Son Jesus Christ. Amen.

Then shall the Presbyter or Minister say this Psalm.

[Ps. lxxi.]

Glory be to the Father [etc.].

Adding this:

O Saviour of the world, save us, which by thy cross and precious blood hast redeemed us; help us, we beseech thee, O God.

Then shall the Presbyter or Minister say,

The Almighty Lord, which is a most strong tower to all them that put their trust in him, to whom all things in heaven, in earth, and under the earth, do bow and obey; Be now and evermore thy defence, and make thee know and feel, that there is none other Name under heaven given to man, in whom and through whom thou mayest receive health and salvation, but only the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

THE COMMUNION OF THE SICK

Forasmuch as all mortal men be subject to many sudden perils, diseases, and sicknesses, and ever uncertain what time they shall depart out of this life: therefore, to the intent they may be always in a readiness to die whenssoever it shall please Almighty God to call them, the Presbyters or Curates shall diligently from time to time, but specially in the plague-time, exhort their Parishioners to the oft receiving (in the church) of the holy Communion of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ: which if they do, they shall have no cause in their sudden visitation to be unquiet for lack of the same. But if the sick person be not able to come to the
church, and yet is desirous to receive the Communion in his house, then he must give knowledge over night, or else early in the morning, to the Presbyter or Curate, signifying also how many be appointed to communicate with him. And having a convenient place in the sick man's house, where the Presbyter or Curate may reverently minister, and a sufficient number, at least two or three, to receive the Communion with the sick person, with all things necessary for the same, he shall there minister the holy Communion.

The Collect

Almighty everliving God, Maker of mankind, which dost correct those whom thou dost love, and chastisest every one whom thou dost receive: We beseech thee to have mercy upon this thy servant, visiteth with thine hand, and to grant that he may take his sickness patiently, and recover his bodily health (if it be thy gracious will); and whencesoever his soul shall depart from his body, it may be without spot presented unto thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Epistle

My son, despise not thou the chastening of the Lord, nor faint when thou art rebuked of him. For whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth. Heb. xii. 5.

The Gospel

Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation: but is passed from death unto life. John v. 24.

At the time of the distribution of the holy Sacrament, the Presbyter shall first receive the Communion himself, and after minister unto them that be appointed to communicate with the sick.

But if a man either by reason of extremity of sickness, or for want of warning in due time to the Presbyter or Curate, or for lack of company to receive with him, or by any other just impediment, do not receive the Sacrament of Christ's body and blood: then the Presbyter or Curate shall instruct him, that if he do truly repent him of his sins, and stedfastly believe that Jesus Christ hath suffered death upon the cross for him, and shed his blood for his redemption, earnestly remembering the benefits he hath thereby, and giving him hearty thanks therefore, he doth eat and drink the body and blood of our
Saviour Christ profitably to his soul's health, although he do not receive the Sacrament with his mouth.

When the sick person is visited and receiveth the holy Communion all at one time, then the Presbyter, for more expedition, shall cut off the form of the Visitation at the Psalm (*In thee, O Lord, do I put my trust*) and go straight to the Communion.

In the time of plague, sweat, or such other like contagious times of sicknesses, or diseases, when none of the Parish or neighbours can be gotten to communicate with the sick in their houses, for fear of the infection; upon special request of the diseased, the Presbyter or Minister may alone communicate with him.
THE ORDER FOR THE BURIAL OF THE DEAD

The Presbyter, meeting the corpse at the church-stile, shall say, or else the Presbyter and Clerks shall sing, and so go either into the church, or towards the grave:

I am the resurrection, and the life, saith the Lord: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth, and believeth in me, shall not die for ever. John xi. 25.

I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth: and though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God; whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another. Job xix. 25.

We brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out. 1 Tim. vi. 7. The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the Name of the Lord. Job i. 21.

When they come to the grave, while the corpse is made ready to be laid into the earth, the Presbyter shall say, or the Presbyter and Clerks shall sing:

Man that is born of a woman, is of few days, and full of trouble. He cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down: he fleeth also as a shadow, and continueth not. (Job xiv. 1, 2.) In the midst of life, we be in death: of whom may we seek for succour, but of thee, O Lord, which for our sins art justly displeased? Yet, O Lord God most holy, O Lord most mighty, O holy and most merciful Saviour, deliver us not into the bitter pains of eternal death. Thou knowest, Lord, the secrets of our hearts; shut not up thy merciful eyes to our prayers: but spare us, Lord most holy, O God most mighty, O holy
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and most merciful Saviour, thou most worthy Judge eternal, suffer us not at our last hour for any pains of death to fall from thee.

Then, while the earth shall be cast upon the body, by some standing by, the Presbyter shall say,

Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God of his great mercy to take unto himself the soul of our dear brother here departed: We therefore commit his body to the ground, earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust, in sure and certain hope of resurrection to eternal life, through our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile body, that it may be like unto his glorious body, according to the mighty working, whereby he is able to subdue all things to himself.

Then shall be said or sung,

I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours. Rev. xiv. 13.

Then shall follow this Lesson, taken out of the xv chapter to the Corinthians, the first Epistle.

Christ is risen from the dead, and become the first-fruits of them that slept [etc., vv. 20-58].

The Lesson ended, the Presbyter shall say,

Lord, have mercy upon us.
Christ, have mercy upon us.
Lord, have mercy upon us.

Our Father which art in heaven, etc. And lead us not into temptation.


Presbyter

Almighty God, with whom do live the spirits of them that depart hence in the Lord, and in whom the souls of
them that be elected, after they be delivered from the burden of the flesh, be in joy and felicity: We give thee hearty thanks for that it hath pleased thee to deliver this (N.) our brother out of the miseries of this sinful world; beseeching thee, that it may please thee of thy gracious goodness, shortly to accomplish the number of thine elect, and to hasten thy kingdom: that we with this our brother, and all other departed in the true faith of thy holy Name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and soul, in thy eternal and everlasting glory. Amen.

The Collect

O merciful God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the resurrection and the life, in whom whosoever believeth, shall live, though he die, and whosoever liveth, and believeth in him, shall not die eternally; who also taught us (by his holy Apostle S. Paul) not to be sorry as men without hope, for them that sleep in him: We meekly beseech thee (O Father) to raise us from the death of sin unto the life of righteousness, that when we shall depart this life, we may rest in him, as our hope is this our brother doth: and that at the general resurrection in the last day we may be found acceptable in thy sight, and receive that blessing which thy well-beloved Son shall then pronounce to all that love and fear thee, saying, Come, ye blessed children of my Father, receive the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world. Grant this, we beseech thee, O merciful Father, through Jesus Christ our Mediator and Redeemer. Amen.
THE THANKSGIVING OF WOMEN
AFTER CHILDBIRTH

commonly called

The Churching of Women

The woman shall come into the church, and there shall kneel
down in some convenient place, nigh unto the place where the Lord’s
Table standeth; and the Presbyter, standing by her, shall say these
words, or such like, as the case shall require.

Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God of his
goodness to give you safe deliverance, and hath preserved
you in the great danger of childbirth; ye shall therefore
give hearty thanks unto God and pray.

Then shall the Presbyter say this Psalm following, or else
Psalm the 27.

[Ps. cxxi.]
Glory be to the Father [etc.].

Lord, have mercy upon us.
    Christ, have mercy upon us.
    Lord, have mercy upon us.

Our Father, which art in heaven, etc. And lead us
not into temptation.

Presbyter. O Lord, save this woman thy servant:
Answer. Which putteth her trust in thee.
Presbyter. Be thou to her a strong tower:
Answer. From the face of her enemy.
Presbyter. O Lord, hear our prayer:
Answer. And let our cry come unto thee.
O Almighty God, which hast delivered this woman thy servant from the great pain and peril of childbirth: Grant, we beseech thee, most merciful Father, that she, through thy help, may both faithfully live and walk in her vocation, according to thy will, in this life present, and also may be partaker of everlasting glory in the life to come, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The woman that cometh to give her thanks, it is convenient that she receive the holy Communion, if there be any at that time.
A COMMINATION AGAINST SINNERS

with certain Prayers to be used divers times in the year, and especially on the first day of Lent, commonly called Ash-Wednesday

After Morning Prayer, the people being called together by the ringing of a bell, and assembled in the church, the English Litany shall be said after the accustomed manner: which ended, the Presbyter shall go into the pulpit, and say thus, the people sitting and attending with reverence.

Brethren, in the primitive Church there was a godly discipline, that at the beginning of Lent such persons as were notorious sinners, were put to open penance, and did humbly submit themselves to undergo punishment in this world, that their souls might be saved in the day of the Lord: and that others admonished by their example, might be the more afraid to offend.

In the stead whereof, until the said discipline may be restored again (which thing is much to be wished), it is thought good, that at this time (in your presence) should be read the general sentences of God's cursing against impenitent sinners, gathered out of the 27th chapter of Deuteronomy, and other places of Scripture: and that ye should answer to every sentence, Amen: to the intent that you, being admonished of the great indignation of God against sinners, may the rather be called to earnest and true repentance; and may walk more warily in these dangerous days, fleeing from such vices, for the which ye affirm with your own mouths the curse of God to be due.

Cursed is the man that maketh any carved or molten image, an abomination to the Lord, the work of the hands of the craftsman, and putteth it in a secret place to worship it. Deut. xxvii. 15.

And the people shall answer and say, Amen.
Presbyter. Cursed is he that curseth his father and mother. Deut. xxvii. 16; Prov. xx. 20.
Answer. Amen.
Presbyter. Cursed is he that removeth away the mark of his neighbour's land. Deut. xxvii. 17.
Answer. Amen.
Presbyter. Cursed is he that maketh the blind to go out of his way. Deut. xxvii. 18.
Answer. Amen.
Presbyter. Cursed is he that in judgment hindereth, stoppeth, or perverteth the right of the stranger, of them that be fatherless, and of widows. Deut. xxvii. 19.
Answer. Amen.
Presbyter. Cursed is he that smiteth his neighbour secretly. Deut. xxvii. 24.
Answer. Amen.
Presbyter. Cursed is he that lieth with his neighbour's wife. Lev. xx. 10.
Answer. Amen.
Presbyter. Cursed is he that taketh reward to slay the soul of innocent blood. Deut. xxvii. 25.
Answer. Amen.
Presbyter. Cursed is he that putteth his trust in man, and taketh man for his defence, and in his heart goeth from the Lord. Jer. xvii. 5.
Answer. Amen.

Presbyter. Cursed are the unmerciful, the fornicators, and adulterers, and the covetous persons, the worshippers of images, slanderers, drunkards, and extortioners. Matt. xxv. 41; 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10; Gal. v. 19, 20, 21; Psal. xv. 3.
Answer. Amen.

Presbyter. Now seeing that all they be accursed, (as the prophet David beareth witness, Psal. cxix.) which do err and go astray from the commandments of God; let us (remembering the dreadful judgment hanging over our heads, and being always at hand) return unto our Lord God, with all contrition and meekness of heart,
bewailing and lamenting our sinful life, acknowledging and confessing our offences, and seeking to bring forth worthy fruits of penance. For now is the axe put unto the root of the trees, so that every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down, and cast into the fire. Matt. iii. 10.

It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God. Heb. x. 31. For upon the wicked he shall rain snares, fire and brimstone, and an horrible tempest; this shall be the portion of their cup. Psal. xi. 6. For, lo! the Lord is come out of his place, to visit the wickedness of such as dwell upon the earth. Isa. xxvi. 21. But who may abide the day of his coming? Who shall be able to endure when he appeareth? Mal. iii. 2. His fan is in his hand, and he will purge his floor, and gather his wheat into the barn; but he will burn the chaff with unquenchable fire. Matt. iii. 12. The day of the Lord cometh as a thief in the night: and when men shall say, Peace, and all things are safe, then shall sudden destruction come upon them, as sorrow cometh upon a woman travailing with child, and they shall not escape. 1 Thess. v. 2, 3. Then shall appear the wrath of God in the day of vengeance, which obstinate sinners, through the stubbornness of their heart, have heaped unto themselves; which despised the goodness, patience, and long-sufferance of God, when he called them continually to repentance. Rom. ii. 4, 5. Then shall they call upon me (saith the Lord), but I will not hear; they shall seek me early, but they shall not find me: and that because they hated knowledge, and received not the fear of the Lord; but abhorred my counsel, and despised my correction. Prov. i. 28, 29, 30. Then shall it be too late to knock, when the door shall be shut; and too late to cry for mercy, when it is the time of justice. Matt. xxv. 10, 11, 12. O terrible voice of most just judgment, which shall be pronounced upon them, when it shall be said unto them, Go, ye cursed, into the fire everlasting, which is prepared for the devil and his angels! Matt. xxv. 41.

Therefore, brethren, take we heed betime, while the
day of salvation lasteth; 2 Cor. vi. 2. for the night cometh, when none can work. John ix. 4. But let us, while we have the light, believe in the light, and walk as the children of the light; John xii. 35, 36. that we be not cast into utter darkness, where is weeping and gnashing of teeth. Matth. xxv. 30. Let us not abuse the goodness of God, which calleth us mercifully to amendment, and of his endless pity promiseth us forgiveness of that which is past, if (with a whole mind and true heart) we return unto him. For though our sins be as red as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow: and though they be like purple, yet shall they be as white as wool. Isa. i. 18.

Turn you clean (saith the Lord) from all your wickedness, and your sin shall not be your destruction. Cast away from you all your ungodliness that ye have done; make you new hearts, and a new spirit. Wherefore will ye die, O ye house of Israel, seeing that I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth, saith the Lord God? Turn you then, and ye shall live. Ezek. xviii. 30, 31, 32.

Although we have sinned, yet have we an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he it is that obtaineth grace for our sins. 1 John ii. 1, 2. For he was wounded for our offences, and smitten for our wickedness. Isa. liii. 5. Let us therefore return unto him, who is the merciful receiver of all true penitent sinners, assuring ourselves, that he is ready to receive us, and most willing to pardon us, if we come unto him with faithful repentance; if we will submit ourselves unto him, and from henceforth walk in his ways; if we will take his easy yoke and light burden upon us, Matth. xi. 29, 30. to follow him in lowliness, patience, and charity, and be ordered by the governance of his Holy Spirit, seeking always his glory, and serving him duly in our vocation, with thanksgiving. This if we do, Christ will deliver us from the curse of the Law, and from the extreme malediction which shall light upon them that shall be set on the left hand; and he will set us on his right hand, and give us the blessed benediction of his Father, commanding us to take possession of his glorious
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kingdom. Matth. xxv. 33, 34. Unto the which he vouchsafe to bring us all, for his infinite mercy. Amen.

Then shall they all kneel upon their knees; and the Presbyter and Clerks, kneeling (where they are accustomed to say the Litany), shall say this Psalm.

[Ps. li.]

Glory be to the Father [etc.].

Lord, have mercy upon us.
Christ, have mercy upon us.
Lord, have mercy upon us.

Our Father, which art in heaven, etc. And lead us not into temptation.


Presbyter. O Lord, save thy servants:
Answer. Which put their trust in thee.
Presbyter. Send unto them help from above:
Answer. And evermore mightily defend them.
Presbyter. Help us, O God, our Saviour:
Answer. And for the glory of thy Name's sake deliver us; be merciful unto us sinners, for thy Name's sake.
Presbyter. O Lord, hear our prayer:
Answer. And let our cry come unto thee.

Let us pray.

O Lord, we beseech thee mercifully hear our prayers, and spare all those which confess their sins unto thee; that they, whose consciences by sin are accused, by thy merciful pardon may be absolved, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

O most mighty God and merciful Father, which hast compassion of all men, and hatest nothing that thou hast made; which wouldest not the death of a sinner, but that he should rather turn from sin, and be saved: Mercifully forgive us our trespasses, receive and comfort us which be grieved and wearied with the burden of our sin. Thy property is to have mercy: to thee only it appertaineth to
forgive sins: Spare us, therefore, good Lord; spare thy people whom thou hast redeemed: enter not into judgment with thy servants, but turn thine anger from us, and so make haste to help us in this world, that we may ever live with thee in the world to come, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then shall the people say this that followeth, after the Presbyter or Minister.

Turn thou us, O good Lord, and so shall we be turned: be favourable, O Lord, be favourable to thy people, which turn to thee in weeping, fasting, and praying: for thou art a merciful God, full of compassion, long-suffering, and of great pity. Thou sparest when we deserve punishment, and in thy wrath thinkest upon mercy. Spare thy people, good Lord, spare them, and let not thine heritage be brought to confusion. Hear us, O Lord, for thy mercy is great, and after the multitude of thy mercies look upon us.
PART III

COLLATION OF THE HADDINGTON, CHRIST CHURCH, DALMENY AND EGERTON BOOKS
COLLATION OF THE HADDINGTON, CHRIST CHURCH, DALMENY AND EGERTON BOOKS

TITLE PAGE

English

The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other rites and ceremonies of the Church of England.

Haddington B for rites ... England is substituted parts of divine service for the use of the Church of Scotland.

Print as Haddington B.

LIST OF CONTENTS

Eng. 1. An act for the uniformity of common prayer.

       *   *   *

       23. The form and manner of making and consecrating bishops, priests and deacons.

Hadd. B item 1 is deleted.

in item 2, and uniformity is deleted.

item 23 is deleted.

[the numbering is not altered].

Print as Hadd. B, with amended numbering to No. 21.

ACT OF UNIFORMITY

Eng. [title:] An act for uniformity of common prayer and service in the church and the administration of the sacraments.

Hadd. B [note:] Omit this.

Print omitted.

251
The Making of the Prayer Book of 1637

THE PROCLAMATION


Hadd. A [notes:] Some proclamatioun or like act of state to this must be framed and printed before the liturgie you agree on.

At the end of this act it may be put that nothing be added to or printed with this book of liturgie bot it selff and the psalmes in meeter.

Print Scottish Proclamation (p. 100).

THE PREFACE

Eng. [title:] The Preface.

Hadd. A [note:] You must reteine this preface or mak a better.

Print Scottish Preface (p. 101).

ORDER AS TO DAILY SERVICE

Eng. [Following immediately on Preface.]

[1] Though it be appointed in the afore written Preface, that all things shall be read and sung in the Church in the English tongue, . . . yet . . . when men say Morning and Evening Prayer privately, they may say the same in any language that they themselves do understand.

[2] And all priests and deacons shall be bound to say daily the Morning and Evening Prayer, either privately or openly, except they be let by preaching, studying of divinity, or by some other urgent cause.

[3] And the Curate . . . shall say the same in the parish church or chapel where he ministereth, and shall toll a bell thereto. . . .
Christ for by preaching . . . urgent cause is substituted or hindered by some urgent cause, of which cause, if it be frequently pretended, they are to make the Bp. of the diocess, or the Archbp. of the province, the judge and allower.¹

Dalmeny for preaching . . . urgent cause is substituted or hindered by some urgent cause, of which cause, if it be frequently pretended, they are to make the Bp. of the diocess or the Archbp. of the province the judge and allower.


for by preaching . . . cause is substituted or hindered by some urgent cause, of which cause, if it be frequently pretended, they are to make the Bp. of the diocess, or the Archbishop of the province, the judge and allower.

Egerton the Order, as printed in 1637, is inserted at the top of fo. 2v.

Print as Hadd. B.

OF CEREMONIES

Eng. Of ceremonies, why some be abolished and some retained.

Hadd. A [note:] His majestie likes this tract of ceremonies and would have it printed before your liturgie as it is heere.

Hadd. B [note:] Print this as it [is] heere.

Print printed without change.

¹ An alteration similar to this was suggested by Cosin (Works, v, 503).
The order how the Psalter is appointed to be read.

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

[2] To every month shall be appointed (as concerning this purpose) just thirty days.

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

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

Christ for And, because ... first day of March is substituted ¹ save Februarye, and in that moneth soe farr as the psalms ar appointed for 28 or 29 dayes in the leape yeare.

Church for May ... December is substituted manye moneths.

Dalmeny for And, because ... first day of March is substituted save February, and in that month so far as the psalms are appointed for 28 or 29 dayes in the leape yeare.

for May ... December is substituted many moneths.

Hadd. B for And, because ... first day of March is substituted save February, and in that moneth so far as the psalms are appointed for xxviii or xxix dayes in the leape year.

for May ... December is substituted many moneths.

Print as Hadd. B.

¹ Bishop Wren noted that the provisions of the English book here had proved unsatisfactory (Fragmentary illustrations, p. 52).
THE TABLE AND KALENDAR—2

Eng.  [5]  Now to know what psalms shall be read every day, look in the kalendar the number that is appointed for the psalms, and then find the same number in this table, and upon that number shall you see what psalms shall be said at Morning and Evening Prayer.

[6]  And where the cxix psalm is divided into xxii portions, and is over long to be read at one time, it is so ordered that at one time shall not be read above four or five of the said portions, as you shall perceive to be noted in the table following.

* * *

Church  para. [5] is deleted.

At the end of para. [6] is added and at the end of every part of every part [sic] of such psalm shall repeated [sic] Gloria Patri [in a hand which does not appear elsewhere].

Dalmeny  para. [5] is deleted.

At the end of para. [6] is added and at the end of every part of such psalm shall [be inserted in different ink] repeated inserted in different ink] Gloria Patri.


Print  as Hadd. B.

1 Cosin suggested a note of this nature (Works, v, 508).
ORDER HOW THE REST OF HOLY SCRIPTURE IS
APPOINTED TO BE READ

Eng. [5] Ye must note also that the collect, epistle and gospel appointed
for the Sunday shall serve all the week after except there fall
some feast that hath his proper.

Christ Church after his proper is inserted collect, epistle and gospel as it is on Ash-Wensdaye and is in everye daye in the holye weeke next before Pash or Easter. But on all those dayes the psalms and lessons shall be the same which fall in course as they ar in the Kalendar.

Dalmeny after his proper is inserted collect, epistle and gospel as it is on Ashwensday and is in everye daye in the Holye week next before Pasch or Easter. But on all those days the psalms and lessons shall be the same which fall in course as they are in the Kalendar.


Hadd. B after his proper is inserted collect, epistle and gospel as it is on Ashwensday and on every day in the holy week next before Pasch or Easter. But on all these dayes the psalms and lessons shall be the same which fall in course as they are in the Kalendar.

Print as Hadd. B, but reading those before days.

1 The addition of those three words was suggested by Wren (Frag. ill. p. 52).
2 For those paragraphs see p. 107.
**PROPER LESSONS—I**

**Eng.** Proper lessons to be read for the first lessons, both at morning and evening prayer, on the Sundays throughout the year; and for some also the second lessons.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sundays of Advent</th>
<th>Mattins</th>
<th>Evensong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The first</td>
<td>Isaiah i</td>
<td>Isaiah ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>xxiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii</td>
<td>xxv</td>
<td>xxvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iiiii</td>
<td>xxx</td>
<td>xxxii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sundays after Christmas**

| The first         | xxxvii  | xxxviii  |
| ii                | xli     | xliii    |

**Sundays after Epiphany**

| The first         | xliii   | xlvi     |
| ii                | li      | liii     |

**Whitsunday**

| 1 Lesson          | Deut. xvi | Wisd. i |
| 2 Lesson          | Acts x, v. 34 | Acts xix to v. 21 |

### Hadd. A

[Note:] The king wold have you print all the Kalendars in the same forme, with all the names of Sundayes, Lent and holy dayes as they are heere, to bring that church acquainted with these things, thogh wee expect not that they should all be presentlie brought into practise.

### Christ Church

The spelling Mattens is changed to Matins.

### Dalmeny

Most of the changes are in a new hand, C, whose work has been revised, not always decisively, by B.

[2nd Sunday after Christmas.] for Esai. xliii is substituted xli, with qre.

[Whitsunday.] in the first lesson for Evensong, hand C substitutes Prov. 2 for Wisd. 1.

### Hadd. B and C

Print spelling remains Mattens.

Prov. 2 substituted.
The Making of the Prayer Book of 1637

PROPER LESSONS—2

Lessons proper for holy days.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>St. Andrew</th>
<th>Prov. xx</th>
<th>Prov. xxi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Innocents</td>
<td>Jer. xxxi to v. 18</td>
<td>Wisd. i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circumcision</td>
<td>Gen. xvii</td>
<td>Deut. x unto And now Israel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Lesson</td>
<td>Rom. ii</td>
<td>Coloss. ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Lesson</td>
<td>Isa. xl</td>
<td>Isa. xlix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epiphany</td>
<td>Luke iii to v. 23</td>
<td>John ii to v. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Lesson</td>
<td>Wisd. v</td>
<td>Wisd. vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Lesson</td>
<td>Acts xxii to v. 22</td>
<td>Acts xxvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purification</td>
<td>Wisd. ix</td>
<td>Wisd. xii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* * *</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Christ Church

[Circumcision] unto is deleted, and after Israel is inserted etc., unto the end of the chapter.¹

[Epiphany] for Isaiah xl is substituted Esay lx ¹ [Seyc.].

Dalmeny

[Epiphany] for Isaiah xl is substituted Isaiah lx.¹

Hadd. B

[C] Lessons proper altered to Proper lessons, and some inserted between for and holy.

St. Andrew and the lessons for that day deleted.

[C] [Innocents] Exod. i substituted at Mattins and Jerem. xxxi transferred to Evensong. Hand B adds qre.

[Circumcision] unto is deleted, and after Israel is inserted etc., unto the end of the chapter.¹

[Epiphany] for Isaiah xl is substituted Isaiah lx.¹

[C] [Conv. St. Paul] for Wisd. v and Wisd. vi are substituted Wisd. i and Wisd. 2.

[C] [Purification] for Wisd. ix and Wisd. xii are substituted Wisd. iv and Wisd. vi.

Egerton

[Conv. St. Paul] above v and vi are inserted chap. 1 and chap. 2.

Print

Lessons proper stands.

lectionary amended in accordance with Hadd. B and C, the 'qre' being ignored.

¹ These changes are corrections of errors in the English Prayer Book (Cosin, Works, v, 424, 504; P. H. Osmond, Life of John Cosin [1913], pp. 43-5).
### PROPER LESSONS—3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eng.</th>
<th>Mattins</th>
<th>Evensong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>St. Matthias</strong></td>
<td>* Wisd. xix *</td>
<td>* Ecclus. i *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tuesday in Whitsun Week</strong></td>
<td>1 Sam. xix. 18</td>
<td>Deut. xxx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>So David fled and escaped and came etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>St. Barnabas</strong></td>
<td>1 Lesson</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ecclus. x</td>
<td>Ecclus. xii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Lesson</td>
<td>Acts xiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>St. John Baptist</strong></td>
<td>1 Lesson</td>
<td>Malach. iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ecclus. xxi</td>
<td>Malach. iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Lesson</td>
<td>Matth. xiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>St. Peter</strong></td>
<td>1 Lesson</td>
<td>Job i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ecclus. xv</td>
<td>Ecclus. xix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Lesson</td>
<td>Acts iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>St. James</strong></td>
<td>Ecclus. xxv</td>
<td>xxix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>St. Bartholomew</strong></td>
<td>xxxv</td>
<td>xxviii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>St. Matthew</strong></td>
<td>xxxix</td>
<td>xliii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>St. Michael</strong></td>
<td>li</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>St. Luke</strong></td>
<td>Job xxiii-xxv</td>
<td>xlii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>St. Simon and Jude</strong></td>
<td>Job xxiii-xxv</td>
<td>xlii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Christ Church**

[C] St. Matthias deleted.

[C] St. Barnabas deleted, with stet and qre in hand B.

[C] [St. John Baptist] For Matth. xiii is substituted Matth. 3, with qre.

[C] St. Peter deleted, with stet and qre in hand B.

St. James, St. Michael, St. Luke and St. Simon and St. Jude all deleted.

[St. Bartholomew] Chapters v and viii substituted.

[St. Matthew, Evensong] For xxxviii is substituted 49.

Egerton after and came etc. is added unto the end.

Print mainly as in Haddington B and C. ‘Stet’ takes effect with the second lessons for St. Barnabas and St. Peter; Matthew xiii stands for St. John Baptist.

---

1 This is a correction of an error (Cosin, *Works*, v, 424, 504).
PROPER PSALMS

Eng. Proper Psalms on certain days.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>For morning</th>
<th>For evening</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christmas Day</td>
<td>Psalms xix</td>
<td>Psalms lxxxix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Psalms xlv</td>
<td>Psalms cx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Psalms lxxxv</td>
<td>Psalms cxxxii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Psalms lii</td>
<td>Psalms cxiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easter Day</td>
<td>Psalms lvii</td>
<td>Psalms cxviii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Psalms cxi</td>
<td>Psalms cxviii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Psalms viii</td>
<td>Psalms cviii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ascension Day</td>
<td>Psalms xv</td>
<td>Psalms lxxv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Psalms xxi</td>
<td>Psalms cviii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitsunday</td>
<td>Psalms xlv</td>
<td>Psalms ciii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Psalms lxxvii</td>
<td>Psalms cxlv</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hadd. B before Christmas is inserted Ule or.
before Easter is inserted Pasch or.

Print as Hadd. B.

THE ALMANACK

In the English Prayer Book, the table includes columns for Septuagesima [or for ‘Shrove Sunday’], Rogation Sunday and Advent Sunday, and under the table is this note: Note that the supputation of the year of Our Lord in the Church of England beginneth the 25 day of March, the same day supposed to be the first day upon which the world was created, and the day when Christ was conceived in the womb of the Virgin Mary.

Hadd. B Septuagesima, Rogation Sunday and Advent Sunday deleted, with a qre.
a line is drawn between 1636 and 1637.
the note on the beginning of the year is deleted.

Print as Hadd. B, the ‘qre’ being ignored.

1 Cosin stated that these psalms sometimes appeared as xlvii and lxviii, and that the correct numbers were xlviii and lxvii (Works, v, 421, 505), but the Scottish book does not adopt his correction.
THE KALENDAR

[It has not been thought necessary to reprint the Kalendar as it stood in the English book.

Below are noted the changes inserted in the Haddington, Christ Church and Dalmeny books. The Kalendar as printed in the Scottish book of 1637 included many other alterations, arising from the two following sources:—

(1) The king’s instructions of 18 October 1636 included the insertion of the names of certain categories of Scottish saints. The following were inserted in the book as printed—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>David King</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Mungo Bishop (substituted for Hilary)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Colman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Constantine III King</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Cyril Bishop (substituted for Edward)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Cuthbert Bishop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Gilbert Bishop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Serf Bishop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Columba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Palladius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Ninian Bishop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Adamnan Bishop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Margaret Queen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Nat. of K. Charles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Ode Virgin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Drostane</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) The omission, in the main, of lessons from the Apocrypha necessitated a revision of the Old Testament lessons, in which the Scottish book follows a different course from the English from 7 January to 16 December, except on 24 June and 1 November. A table showing the English and Scottish Old Testament lectionaries is printed in an appendix. This overhauling of the lectionary nullified the proposals made in the Christ Church and Haddington books for October 1 and 2, November 7 and 17.]
January 14

Christ  Februarii is underlined and there is this marginal note: Heare Februarii would be printed in a different letter least it be mistaken bye the ignorant for the name of some saint. And it would soe be done with the names of the other months throughout.¹

Church

Dalmeny  Februarii is underlined and there is this marginal note: Here Februarii would be printed in a different letter least it be mistaken by the ignorant for the name of some St., and it would so be done with the names of the other months throughout.¹

Print  the months are in Roman letters, the saints in Black Letter.

January 25

Christ  at Con. of Paul is an asterisk and a note: Print this in red letters. [Secy.]

Church

Dalmeny  at Co. of Paul is an asterisk and a note: Print this in red letters.


[or C]

Print  Convers. Paul in red letters.

¹ Cosin drew attention to the need for this change (Works, v, 506). In a letter to Laud, he wrote: 'In the Kalendar, where they begin to reckon the kalends of, or before, every month, they have let the name of the month stand still in the same character and in the same order with the saints’ days, as if Februarie and Hilarie were sainted both alike' (P. H. Osmond, op. cit. p. 45).
March 25

Christ for Ecclus. ii and iii are substituted Eccles. ii and iii
Church [Secy.]
Dalmeny for Ecclus. ii and iii are substituted Eccles. ii and iii
[2nd hand]
Print Eccles. ii and iii

April 25

Christ for Ecclus. iv and v are substituted Eccles. iii and v
Church [Secy.]
Dalmeny misprint of Eccles. iii and v corrected to Ecclus. iii and v, but altered back to Eccles. iii and v [both in 2nd hand]
Print Eccles. iv and v

June 11

Christ at Barnab Ap. is an asterisk and a note: Print this in red letters [Secy.]
Church
Dalmeny at S. Barnab Ap. is an asterisk and a note: Print this in red letters.
Hadd. B note: Barnabe aple. to be put in red letters.
[or C]
Print Barnabe Apost. in red letters.

July 25

Christ Ecclus. 29 corrected to 23
Church
October 1 and 2

Eng. For the 1st lesson at Mattins on 1 October there is a reference to this note: Note that the sixth chapt. of Exodus is to be read the first of October at Morning Prayer, unto these words, These be the heads etc.

Christ Exod. 6 inserted in its place in the table [Secy.].
Church for Josu. xx and Josu. xxii are substituted Tobit 6 and Tobit viii [Secy.]

Dalmeny Exod. 6 inserted in its place in the table.
for Josu. xx and Josu. xxii are substituted Tobit 6 and Tobit viii.

Hadd. B the note on Exodus vi is deleted.

November 7

Eng. A note on the 1st lesson at Evensong: Note that the beginning of the 26 of Ecclesiasticus, unto But a grief etc., shall be read with the 25 chap.

Hadd. B note deleted.

November 17

Eng. A note on the 1st lesson at Evensong: Note that the 46 of Ecclus. is to be read unto these words And after his death etc.

Hadd. B note deleted.

1 These lessons from Tobit had been ejected from their place here in 1604.
2 This note had been introduced in 1604.
NOTES AFTER KALENDAR

Eug.

Septuagesima \( \text{ix} \)
Sexagesima \( \text{viii} \)
Quinquagesima \( \text{vii} \)
Quadragesima \( \text{vi} \)

Rogations \( \text{v} \)
Whitsunday \( \text{vii} \)
Trinity Sunday \( \text{viii} \)

These are to be observed for holy days, and none other:
That is to say, all Sundays in the year
The days of the feasts of the Circumcision, of the Epiphany
[etc.]

A rule to know when the term beginneth and endeth
[or A brief declaration when every term beginneth and
endeth]

Be it known that Easter term beginneth always ...
Trinity Term beginneth always ...

Christ Church

insertions in list of holy days: (after the Epiphany) Of
the conversion of S. Paul; \( ^{1} \) (after St. Mark)
Mundaye and Tuesdaye in Easter and Whitsun weekes; (after the Ascension) Of S. Barnabas.\( ^{1} \)
[Monday and Tuesday in Easter and Whitsun
weeks deleted from their position at the end of the
English list.]

A rule to know when the terme . . . is deleted.\( ^{1} \)

Dalmeny

insertions as in Christ Church.
Rule concerning terms deleted.

Hadd. B

in margin opposite list beginning Septuagesima is qure.
insertions as in Christ Church.
Brief declaration concerning terms deleted; and dele. in
margin.

Egerton

Of the Conversion of St. Paul and of St. Barnabas
inserted in margin, with note: that those twoe
holy dayes sett downe in the margin are not in
the statute 5th et 6th Edward 6th chapt. 3.

Print

retains list of Sundays.
includes insertions made above.
omits rule on terms.

\(^{1}\) The inconsistency of omitting these was noted by Cosin (\textit{Works}, v, 20, 506).
\(^{2}\) Cosin desired this omission (\textit{ibid.} pp. 40, 226); and also Wren (\textit{Frag. ill.}
p. 54).
ORDER CONCERNING MORNING AND EVENING PRAYER

Eng. The Order where Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used and said.

* * *

And here is to be noted, that the minister at the time of the communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use such ornaments in the church as were in use by authority of parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward the VI according to the act of parliament set in the beginning of this book [or in that case made and provided].

Hadd. A heading amended to read The order where and how morning and evening prayer shall be sayd or sung, before minister is inserted preist or.

for were in use . . . book is substituted are prescribed or shall be by his majestie or his successors according to the act of parliament provided in that behalfe.

Egerton for were in use . . . provided is substituted as are prescribed or shall be by his majesty or his successors according to the act of parliament provided in that behalfe.

Print as Hadd. A, presbyter being substituted for priest and all being omitted before other times (as it was in some copies of the English book).

MORNING PRAYER—SENTENCES

Eng. [1] At what time soever a sinner doth repent him of his sin from the bottom of his heart: I will put all his wickedness out of my remembrance, saith the Lord.
[2] I do know mine own wickedness, and my sin is alway against me.
[3] Turn thy face away from our sins, O Lord, and blot out all our offences.
[4] A sorrowful spirit is a sacrifice to God: despise not, O Lord, humble and contrite hearts.
[5] Rend your hearts and not your garments, and turn to the Lord, your God: because he is gentle and merciful, he is patient and of much mercy, and such a one that is sorry for your afflictions.
[6] To thee, O Lord God, belongeth mercy and forgiveness; for we have gone away from thee, and have not hearkened to
thy voice, whereby we might walk in thy laws which thou hast appointed for us.

[7] Correct us, O Lord, and yet in thy judgment; not in thy fury, lest we should be consumed and brought to nothing.

[8] Amend your lives, for the kingdom of God is at hand.

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

[10] Enter not into judgment with thy servants, O Lord, for no flesh is righteous in thy sight.

[11] If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and there is no truth in us.

Hadd. A [1] and [2] deleted, and the following substituted:

Cast away from you all your transgressions, whereby you have transgressed, and mak you a cleane heart and a cleane spirit, for why will you die, sayeth the Lord.

[8] and [9] are deleted.

Christ Church in [1], for saith the Lord is substituted for I have noe pleasure in the death of him that dyeth, sayth the Lord God: whearfore turne yourselves and live.

before [7] is inserted He that covereth his synnes shall not prosper, but he that confesseth and forsaketh them shall have mercye. Proverb 28.

Dalmeny in [1], before saith the Lord is inserted for I have noe pleasure in the death of him that dyeth, saith the Lord God, wherefore turne yourselves and live.

before [7] is inserted He that covereth his sin shall not prosper, but he that confesseth and forsaketh them shall have mercy [Prov. 28. 13 added in 2nd hand].

Egerton [marginal note:] according to the last translation.

Print Authorised Version substituted.

sentences [1], [2], [8] and [9] omitted.

the addition made to sentence [1] in Christ Church and Dalmeny is inserted in the sentence, substituted in Hadd. A, which now stands first; the reading is thus Ezekiel xviii, 31-2.

the sentence He that covereth . . . is inserted.

1 Suppressed leaf as Hadd. A, reading new heart and new spirit, omitting sayeth the Lord and substituting Authorised Version.
MORNING PRAYER—CONFESSION

Eng. A general confession, to be said of the whole congregation after the minister, kneeling.
Almighty and most merciful Father, we have erred and strayed from thy ways, like lost sheep... And grant, O most merciful Father, for his sake, that we may hereafter live a godly, righteous and sober life, to the glory of thy holy name. Amen.

Hadd. A rubric amended to read: A general confession to be said by all that are present after the priest or minister kneeling.
between holy name and Amen is inserted and the salvation of our own soules.

Christ for after the minister, kneeling, is substituted after or Church with the Deacon or Presbyter, all humblye kneelinge.

Dalmeny as Christ Church.

Print¹ rubric as in Christ Church; text as in Hadd. A.

MORNING PRAYER—ABSOLUTION

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

¹ Suppressed leaf has rubric as in Hadd. A, with presbyter instead of priest.
Hadd. A for minister alone is substituted priest alone and standing.\(^1\) for which is substituted who. before hath given is inserted who. for ministers is substituted preists. before pardoneth, for he is substituted the same Almighty God. after Holy Spirit is inserted that we may receive from him absolution from all our sines.

Christ Church for priest alone is substituted presbyter alone, he standinge up and turninge himselfe to the people, but they still remayninge humblye upon their knees.\(^1\) for his ministers is substituted the presbyters of his Church, the ministers of his Gospell.

Dalmeny for priest alone is substituted presbyter alone, he standing up and turning himselfe to the people, but [they] still remaying humblye upon their knees.\(^2\) for his ministers is substituted the presbyters of his Church, the ministers of his Gospell.

Egerton [marginal insertions:] the presbiters of the church, [the] ministers of his gospel and the same Almighty God.

Print as Hadd. A plus Christ Church.

\(^1\) Cosin pointed out the need to define the posture of the priest at this point in the service (Works, v, 507). Wren adopted the Scottish phraseology, though without 'turning himselfe to the people' (Frag. ill. p. 56).

\(^2\) The substitution of presbyter for priest and the insertion of these may be in the 2nd hand.
**Morning Prayer—Lord’s Prayer**

**Eng.** Then shall the minister [*or priest*] begin to say [*or begin the Lord’s Prayer with a loud voice*]

Our Father... But deliver us from evil. Amen.

[*or For thine is the kingdom, the power and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen*].

**Hadd. A** before minister is inserted preist or.

at end is added For thine is the kingdom.

**Christ Church** for begin to say is substituted saye or singe the Lords Prayer.† And in this, and all other places of the Liturgye whear the last words (For thyne is the kingdome etc.) ar expressed, the presbyter shall reed them; but in all places whear they ar not expressed, he shall end at these words (But deliver us from evill. Amen).

**Dalmeny** Then the priest shall say or singe the Lord’s Prayer.

And in this, and all other places of the Liturgye whear the last words For thine is the kingdome etc. ar expressed, the presbyter shall reed them; but in all places whear they are not expressed, he shall end at these words But deliver us from evil. Amen.

**Egerton** adds For thine is the kingdome the power and the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

**Print** as Hadd. A, with presbyter for priest, plus the addition from Christ Church, but without substitution of saye or singe.

---

† Cosin suggested a direction that the people should repeat the Lord’s Prayer with the minister (*Works*, v, 507). Wren agreed, and such a direction was introduced in 1662 (*Frag. Ill. p. 56*).
MORNING PRAYER—VERSICLES AND RESPONSES:
VENITE

Eng. Then likewise he shall say,
O Lord open thou our lips.
Answer: And our mouth shall shew forth thy praise.
Priest: O God make speed to save us.
Answer: O Lord make haste to help us.
Priest: Glory be to the Father etc.
As it was in the beginning etc.
Praise ye the Lord.

Then shall be said or sung this psalm following:
O come, let us sing unto the Lord. . . .

Hadd. A [Venite] Let this psalme be printed according to the last translatione.

Christ Church after O Lord make haste to help us for Priest is substitted Then, all of them standinge up, the Presbyter shall saye or singe (pencilled cross).
before As it was . . . is inserted Answer. ¹
after Praise ye the Lord is inserted Answer. The Lords name be praised.²

Dalmeny after O Lord make haste to help us is inserted Then, all of them standing up, the Presbyter shall say or singe.
before As it was . . . is inserted Answer.
after Praise ye the Lord is inserted Answer. The Lords name be praised.

Egerton [note at first versicle:] Ex Psal. 51.15
[insertions:] Then all of them standing up the presbyter shall say or sing and Answer: The Lords name be praysed.
[note on Venite:] according to the [last] translation at end of Venite, before As it was is inserted And the people shall answere; and Every one of them standing up at the same is added and deleted

Print as Hadd. A plus Christ Church.

¹ A direction of this nature was suggested by Cosin (Works, v, 507).
² This response was inserted in Cosin's Devotions (ibid. ii, 153 n.).
**RUBRICS AFTER VENITE**

**Eng.**
Then shall follow certain Psalms in order, as they be appointed in a Table made for that purpose: except there be proper Psalms appointed for that day. And at the end of every Psalm throughout the year, and likewise in the end of *Benedictus, Benedictic, Magnificat, and Nunc Dimittis*, shall be repeated, Glory be to the Father etc. Then shall be read two Lessons distinctly with a loud voice, that the people may hear. The first of the old Testament, the second of the new, like as they be appointed in the Kalendar, except there be proper lessons assigned for that day: the minister that readeth the lessons, standing and turning him so as he may best be heard of all such as be present. And before every lesson, the minister shall say thus, The first, second, third or fourth Chapter of Genesis, or Exodus, Matthew, Mark, or other like, as is appointed in the Kalendar. And in the end of every chapter, he shall say, Here endeth such a Chapter, of such a Book.

**Hadd. A**
*before minister is inserted* priest or for Matthew, Mark *is substituted* Sanct Mathow, Sanct Mark

**Christ Church**
*between And and at the end is inserted* as at the end of the Venite, soe alsoe.  
*after Glory be to the Father etc. is inserted* And the people shall answear (As it was in the begininge etc.), evey one standinge up at the same. (*Two pencilled crosses.*)

**Dalmeny**
*between And and at the end is inserted* as at the end of the Venite, soe alsoe.  
*after Glory be to the Father etc. is inserted* And the people shall answear, As it was in the begininge etc., everyone standinge up at the same.

**Egerton**
[*insertions:]* [of the] Venite so also in the end and every one of them standing up (bis)  
[*note:]* [. . .] Gloria patri per filium in Spiritu Sancto. Theodorit. lib. 2. hist. c. 24 et Sozomino lib. 3 c. 19.

**Print**
as Hadd. A, with presbyter for priest, plus Christ Church. The reference to the Benedictic is omitted.

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1 Cosin desired a phrase to exclude the possibility of the *Venite* being used twice over on the 19th day of the month (*Works*, v, 508).

2 Cosin would have inserted references also to the psalms provided as alternatives to the canticles (*Jubilate, etc.*) (*ibid.*). Wren wanted a more radical change (*Frag. ill. p. 57*).
MORNING PRAYER—CANTICLES

Eng. After the first lesson shall follow Te Deum laudamus in English, daily throughout the whole year.
We praise thee, O God: We knowledge thee to be the Lord. . . .
Or this canticle, Benedicte omnia opera Domini. . . .
And after the second lesson shall be used and said Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel, in English, as followeth. . . .
Or this C. psalm, Jubilate. . . .

Hadd. A for English is substituted Scotish (twice)
at end of Te Deum is added Or this 23 psalme, The
Lord is my sheepheard
the Benedicite is deleted
note to Benedictus: This must be printed according to
the last translation
note to Jubilate: And this alsoe

Christ for follow is substituted be sayd or sung
Church for knowledge is substituted acknowledge¹
for used and said is substituted sayd or sung

Dalmeny as Christ Church.

Egerton [notes:] Ps. 23. Or this psalme, sc. psal. 23; (at
Benedicite) left out all this canticle; according to
the last translation (bis)

Print as Hadd. A, but retaining English; plus Christ Church,
except that normal copies retain used and said.

¹ 'Acknowledge' was used in Cosin's Devotions (Works, ii, 158).
MORNING PRAYER—CREED, LORD'S PRAYER, VERSICLES, ETC.

Eng. Then shall be said the Creed by the minister and the people standing.

* * *

And after that, these prayers following, as well at evening prayer as at morning prayer, all devoutly kneeling, the minister first pronouncing with a loud voice,
The Lord be with you.
Answer. And with thy spirit.
Minister [or Priest].

Let us pray.
Lord have mercy upon us.
Christ have mercy upon us.
Lord have mercy upon us.

Then the minister, clerks and people shall say the Lord’s Prayer in English, with a loud voice.

* * *

Then the minister standing up shall say,
O Lord shew thy mercy upon us.
Answer: And grant us thy salvation.
Priest: O Lord save the king.
Answer: And mercifully hear us when we call upon thee.
Priest: Endue thy ministers with righteousness.
Answer: And make thy chosen people joyful.

* * *

Hadd. A after said is inserted or sung
before minister is inserted preist or
for English is substituted Scotish
before king, for the is substituted our
before ministers is inserted preist[s] and

Print as Hadd. A, with presbyter(s) in place of priest(s) and
without the substitution of Scottish for English
Then shall follow three collects: The first of the day, which shall be the same that is appointed at the Communion. The second, for peace. The third, for grace to live well.

* * *

**Christ Church** [after third collect.] After this collect ended, followeth the Letany: and if the Letany be not appointed to be sayd or sunge that morninge, then shall next be sayd the prayer for the kings majestye, with the rest of the prayers followinge at the end of the Letany. And the Benediction.

**Dalmeny** [after third collect.] After this collect ended, followeth the Letany: and if the Letany be not appointed to be sayd or sunge that morninge, then shall next be sayd the prayer for the kings majestye, with the rest of the prayers followinge at the end of the Letany. And the Benediction.

**Egerton** [after third collect.] After this collect ended followeth the Litany. And if the Litany be not appointed to be said or sung that morning then shall next be said the prayer for [. . .]

**Print** as Christ Church.

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1 Cosin wanted the insertion here of a direction as to the usage when a festival fell on a Sunday (*Works*, v. 508).
EVENING PRAYER—I

Eng. The priest shall say,
Our Father which art in heaven. . . . But deliver us from evil. Amen. [or For thine is the kingdom, the power and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.]
Then likewise he shall say.

* * *

Priest: Glory be to the Father and to the Son etc.
As it was in the beginning is now etc.
Praise ye the Lord.

Hadd. A between the priest and shall say is inserted heaving first read one or mac of the sentences of holy scripture as is appointed before morning prayer at end of Lord’s Prayer is added For thine is the kingdom etc.

Christ Church for the priest shall say is substituted After the Sentences, Exhortation, Confession and Absolution, as is appointed at Morninge Prayer, the Presbyter shall saye or singe

in rubric before Versicles, or singe is added
after the Gloria is inserted All standinge up as often as it is repeated (pencilled cross)

after Praise ye the Lord is inserted Answear. The Lords name be praysed

Dalmeny substitution for The priest shall say as in Christ Church after Then likewise he shall say is inserted or singe rubric to Gloria as in Christ Church, with insertion of All &c. in second hand to show where the direction really comes, and insertion of Answear in second hand, before As it was

Egerton before the priest shall say is inserted After the Sentences, Exhortation, Confession and Absolution, as is appointed at Morning Prayer, the Presbiter shall say or sing

after the Gloria is inserted All standing up [as] often as it is repeated

[insertion:] Answear. The Lords name be praised

Print addition to Lord’s Prayer as in Hadd. A; otherwise as in Christ Church.

1 Cosin observed that some ministers ignored the rubric which obliged them to use the introductory part of the service at Evensong as well as at Mattins, and began Evensong with the Lord’s Prayer; he wanted the insertion of a rubric like that adopted here (Works, v, 66, 509).
Then the Psalms. . . . Then a lesson of the Old Testament . . . After that Magnificat in English, as followeth.

Or else this psalm [xcviii].

Then a lesson of the New Testament, and after that Nunc Dimittis in English, as followeth.

Or else this psalm [lxvii].

Then shall follow the Creed with other prayers, as is before appointed at morning prayer after Benedictus, and with three collects.
QUICUNQUE VULT

Eng. In the feasts of Christmas, the Epiphany, S. Matthias, Easter, the Ascension, Pentecost, S. John Baptist, S. James, S. Bartholomew, S. Matthew, S. Simon and Jude, S. Andrew, and Trinity Sunday, shall be sung or said immediately after Benedictus this confession of our Christian faith.

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

* * *

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

* * *

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

Hadd. A at end of rubric is added: all the people standing.

Christ Church in rubric, before Easter is inserted Pasch or; and at end is added the Presbyter and all the people standinge ¹ for will be saved, must, is substituted would be saved, lett him ¹ for so God and man is one Christ is substituted so he whoe is God and man is one Christ.

Dalmeny as Christ Church.

Egerton at end of rubric is added the presbiter and all the people standing.

Print as Christ Church.

¹ A pencilled cross at this entry.
THE LITANY—I

Eng. Here followeth the Litany, to be used upon Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and at other times, when it shall be commanded by the ordinary.

* * * * *

From all sedition and privy conspiracy, from all false doctrine and heresy, from hardness of heart, and contempt of thy word and commandment.

* * * * *

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

* * * * *

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

* * * * *

Christ Church in rubric, after be used is inserted after the third collect at morninge prayer caled the collect for grace; and after ordinary is inserted and without omission of anye part of the other dailye service of the church on those dayes

for tribulation . . . wealth is substituted adversitye, in all tyme of our prosperitye

before Church universally is inserted Catholice.

Dalmeny as Christ Church.

Egerton additions to rubric as in Christ Church

[Note:] Q. Elisabeth Injunctions 18. immediately before the time of the Communion of the Sacrament the priestis with other of the Quire shall kneele in the middest of the church and sing or say plainely the Letany

after conspiracy is an insertion or note: from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities. Henr. 8 his pr[imer] Edw. 6 prime (?) et anno 155[2]

Print as Christ Church.

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1 Cosin desired a rubric appointing at what time of day, or after what part of the service, the Litany should be said (Works, v, 509).

2 Cosin desired the phrase 'Church universal' (ibid.), as in Edward VI.
THE LITANY—2

Eng.[1632] That it may please thee to bless and preserve our gracious Queen Mary, Prince Charles, Lady Mary, Frederick the Prince Elector Palatine and the Lady Elizabeth his wife, with their princely issue.

[1637] That it may please thee to bless and preserve our gracious Queen Mary, Prince Charles and the rest of the royal progeny.

That it may please thee to illuminate all bishops, pastors and ministers of the church with true knowledge and understanding of thy word, and that both by their preaching and living they may set it forth and shew it accordingly.

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

Neither reward us after our iniquities.

Hadd. A Frederick . . . issue deleted.
Between bishops and pastors is inserted priests
To the Lord's Prayer is added For thine is the kingdom
[etc.]
For The Versicle is substituted Preist

Chrstis for Lady Mary . . . princely issue is substituted and
the rest of the royal issue.

Church

Dalmeny [1637 version] for progeny is substituted issue

Egerton the words Frederick the Prince Elector Palatine and
his wife are deleted, with omitted in margin;
their is underlined
At the Lord's Prayer (which ends evil. Amen) is a
note: omitting the doxologie

Print suppressed leaf has That it may please thee to bless
and preserve our gracious Queene Mary, Prince
Charles and the rest of the royal progenie
Final version has issue
In the petition for the clergy, the reading is Bishops,
presbyters and ministers
For The Versicle is substituted Presbyter

1 This was contrary to Cosin's suggestion, for he said that bishops and pastors 'are all one. Inferior priests were never anciently called pastors.' He also wanted a change in the petition for 'magistrates' (Works, v, 509). Wren's suggestions were similar (Frag. ill. pp. 61-2).

2 This change was afterwards suggested by Wren (Frag. ill. p. 62).
PRAYERS AFTER LITANY—I

Eng. We humbly beseech thee, O Father, mercifully to look upon our infirmities, and for the glory of thy name's sake turn from us all those evils that we most righteously have deserved. . .

[1632] A prayer for the Queen, Prince, Lady Mary, Frederick, the Lady Elizabeth and their children.
Almighty God, which has promised to be a Father of thine elect and of their seed [replaced in 1633 and later by the fountain of all goodness], we humbly beseech thee to bless our most gracious Queen Mary, Prince Charles, the Lady Mary, Frederick, the Prince Elector Palatine, the Lady Elizabeth his wife, and their princely issue. . .

[1637] A prayer for the Queen, Prince Charles, with the rest of the royal issue.
Almighty God, the fountain of all goodness, we humbly beseech thee to bless our most gracious Queen Mary, Prince Charles, with the rest of the royal issue. . .
Almighty and everlasting God, which only workest great marvels, send down upon our bishops and curates, and all congregations committed to their charge, the healthful spirit of thy grace. . .

Hadd. A before have deserved, for righteously is substituted justly ; for Frederick . . . issue is substituted with the rest of the royall progenie for curates is substituted preistis

Christ Church title inserted A prayer for the holye clergye (pencilled cross)
for which only workest great marvels is substituted whose onlye workest great and marvelous things after bishops is inserted preists [? Secy.]

Dalmeny title inserted A prayer for the holye clergie
for which only workest great marvels is substituted who onlye workest great and marvelous things

Egerton Frederick . . . wife deleted; and for their is substituted our marvels underlined and great and marveilous things in margin presbiters inserted after bishops

Print the first and second of those prayers amended in accordance with Hadd. A. The third has the title inserted and is amended according to Christ Church, with bishops, presbyters and curates.

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1 Wren mentions a suggestion of 'rightly' (Frag. ill. p. 62).
PRAYERS AFTER LITANY—2

Insertion

Christ Church

A prayer to be sayd in the Ember weeks for those which ar then to be admitted into holye orders, and is to be read everye daye of the weeke, beginninge on the Sundaye before the daye of ordination:

( pencilled cross )

Allmightye God, the giver of all good gifts, whoe of Thy divine providence hast appointed divers orders in Thye Church, give Thye grace wee humblye beseech Thee to all those which ar to be caled to anye office and administration in the same. And soe replenish them with the truth of thy doctrine and innocencye of life that they maye faythfullye serve before thee, to the glorye of thy great name and the benefit of thy holy church, thorough Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Dalmeny

A prayer to be sayd in the Ember weeks for those which are then to be admitted into holy orders, and is to be read every day of the weeke, beginninge on the Sundaye before the day of ordination:

Almighty God, the giver of all good gifts, who of Thy divine providence hast appointed divers orders in thy Church, give thy grace wee humbly beseech thee to all those who are to be caled to anye office and administracion in the same. And soe replenish them with the truth of thy doctrine and innocencie of life that they may faythfully serve before thee, to the glory of thy great name and the benefit of thy holy church, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Egerton title

A prayer to be said in the Ember weekes inserted after the prayer for the church; the full title and text of the prayer inserted at foot of page, as in Christ Church, but reading who are called for which are to be called.

Print as Christ Church ( reading which before are to be called).
**PRAYERS AFTER LITANY—3**

**Eng.** A prayer of Chrysostome.

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

**Hadd. A** before thy servants is inserted us, and before granting for them is substituted us

**Print** as Hadd. A.

**Eng.** For raine, if the time require:

O God heavenly Father, which by thy Son Jesus Christ hast promised to all them that seek thy kingdom, and the righteousness thereof, all things necessary to their bodily sustenance: send us, we beseech thee: . . .

* * *

In the time of dearth and famine.

O God heavenly Father, whose gift it is that the rain doth fall, the earth is fruitful, beasts increase and fishes do multiply: behold, we beseech thee, the afflictions of thy people, and grant that the scarcity and dearth: . . .

**Hadd. A** the clause which by thy Son Jesus Christ . . . bodily sustenance in the first prayer and the clause whose gift . . . multiply in the second are transposed.

**Christ Church** for the righteousness thereof is substituted thy righteousness

**Dalmeny**

**Print** suppressed leaf has the righteousness thereof

final version follows Hadd. A plus Christ Church.
PRAYERS AFTER LITANY—4

Eng.  In the time of war.
O Almighty God, King of all kings and governor of all things . . . save and deliver us . . . from the hands of our enemies, abate their pride, assuage their malice and confound their devices.

* * * *
O God, whose nature and property is ever to have mercy and to forgive, receive our humble petitions: and though we be tied and bound with the chain of our sins, yet let the pitifulness of thy great mercy loose us, for the honour of Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate. Amen.

Hadd. A for the honour of Jesus Christ's sake is substituted Jesus Christ his sake

Christ for confound is substituted defeat
Church the second prayer amended as in Hadd. A [? Secy.]

Dalmeny as Christ Church.

Print as Christ Church.

* * * *
A thanksgiving for fair weather.
O Lord God, who hast justly humbled us by thy late plague of immoderate rain and waters. . . .

* * * *
A thanksgiving for deliverance from the plague.
O Lord God . . . we offer unto thy Fatherly goodness, ourselves . . . always praising and magnifying thy mercies in the midst of the congregation, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

* * * *
Hadd. A for late plague is substituted punishment

Christ for plague is substituted punishment [Secy.]
Church for the congregation is substituted thye Church

Dalmeny as Christ Church.

Print as Hadd. A plus Christ Church.
COLLECTS, EPISTLES AND GOSPELS—I

Eng. The Collects, Epistles and Gospels, to be used at the celebration of the Lord's Supper and Holy Communion throughout the year.
The first Sunday in Advent.

Hadd. A [note:] The epistles and gospels may ather be the same, or taken out of other fit places of scripture as shall be thought best, but printed in the service according to the last translation in King James his time

[rubric before Gospel for 1st Sunday in Advent:] When the preist or minister readeth the gospell the people shall stand up. The preist befor he begin to read the gospell shall say thus: The Gospell of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ wrettin in such a chapter of such ane evangelist begining at such a verse. And the people shall answer: Glory be to God

[rubric after Gospel:] When the gospell is ended the preist or minister shall say: Heare endeth the gospell. And the people shall answer: Thanks be to The, O Lord. And thus at the begining and ending of the gospell every Sunday and holy day in the yeare or when els soever the gospell is read.

Egerton [note:] The Epistles and Gospels are read according to the last translation in King James his time

rubric before Gospel as in Print
rubric after Gospel: When the Gospel is ended the

[notes:] Gloria tibi domine ex missa Chrisostomi [...] fideliter adoren [...]antes (?) Anastasii papae 1. Clemens constit. lib. 2 c. 57 al. 61. Concil. Constantinopolitanum 5 Act. 5. At the reading τα διπτπυχα the people used δόξα σοι κύριε

Print rubrics before and after Gospel as in Hadd. A, with presbyter substituted for priest and insertion of And after shall stand up.
COLLECTS, EPISTLES AND GOSPELS—2

St. Stephen’s Day

Eng.
Saint Stephen's Day.
The Collect.
Grant us, O Lord, to learn to love our enemies.
Then shall follow a [or the] collect of the Nativity, which
shall be said continually until New Year's Day.

Hadd. A [note:] Consider what you will doe for the keeping of
these holy dayes or not
in rubric after Collect, for continually is substituted
every day in the weeke

Christ Church in rubric, after New Year's Day is added: but instead
of the words (and thiss daye to be borne), the
presbyter shall saye (att this tym to be borne).¹

Dalmeny in rubric, after New Year's Day is added: but instead
of the words 'and this day to be borne', the
presbyter shall saye 'at this time to be borne'.

Egerton [note at end of Christmas Collect:] in the rest of the
weeke, at this time
[note:] Every day of the week instead of and this day
read at this time

Print suppressed leaf did not have direction ordering change
from 'this day' to 'this time'
final version as Hadd. A plus Christ Church.

St. John Evangelist's Day

Eng. [Collect:] Merciful Lord, we beseech thee to cast thy bright
beams of light upon thy church, that it being lightened by
the doctrine of thy blessed apostle and evangelist John may
attain to thy everlasting gifts, through Jesus Christ our Lord.
Amen.

Hadd. A before John is inserted S.

Print before John is inserted Saint

¹ See p. 153.
² Wren's phrase 'as at this time' was substituted in the collect in 1662
(Frag. ill. p. 65).
COLLECTS, ETC.—3

Epiphany

Eng. [Rubric:] If there be a [or any] Sunday between the Epiphany and the Circumcision, then shall be used the same collect, epistle and gospel at the Communion which was used [upon] 1 the day of Circumcision.

Christ Church there is added to rubric and soe likewise upon everye other daye from the tyme of the Circumcision to the Epiphanye.

Dalmeny there is added to rubric and soe likewise upon everye other day from the [time of the interlined] Circumcision to the Epiphanye.

Print as Christ Church.

Septuagesima 2

Eng. Septuagesima Sunday or The Sunday called Septuagesima.

Hadd. A [note:] If these names or their like be retayned in your liturgie, it will be more conforme to the Church of England: and better acquent the people with the course of antiquity.

Print [heading:] The Sunday called Septuagesima. [So with Sexagesima and Quinquagesima.]

1 Omitted in some copies.
2 Cosin’s recommendation that a collect, epistle and gospel should be supplied for Epiphany VI is not reflected in the Scottish Book (Works, v, 511).
Ash Wednesday

Eng. The first day of Lent.
The collect.
Almighty and everlasting God, which hatest nothing that thou hast made, and dost forgive the sins of all them that be penitent: create and make in us new and contrite hearts, that we worthily lamenting our sins and knowledgeing our wretchedness may obtain of thee, the God of all mercy, perfect remission and forgiveness, through Jesus Christ. Amen.

* * *

Christ in heading, after Lent is added commonly called Ashwensdaye

Church for knowledgeing is substituted acknowledging

after the collect is inserted this rubric: From Ashwensdaye to the first Sunday in Lent shall be used the same collect, epistle and gospell which were used on Ashwensdaye.

Dalmeny after Lent is added commonly called Ashwensday

for knowledgeing is substituted acknowledging additional rubric: From Ashwensday to the 1st Sunday in Lent shall be used the same Coll. Epist. and Gosp. which were used on Ashwensday.

Egerton after Lent is added commonly called Ashwednesday

dependency: From Ashwednesday to the first Sunday in Lent shall be used the same Collect, Epistle and Gospel which were used on Ashwednesday

Print as Christ Church.

1 Cosin retains 'knowledgeing' here, although he had substituted 'acknowledge' in the Te Deum.
Collation of Texts

COLLECTS, ETC.—5

Monday before Easter

Hadd. A [note:] It is fitt you should observe every day of this weeke, as is heere expressed, the weeke being of old called the holy weeke.

Good Friday

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

Hadd. A for congregation is substituted church and for godly is substituted worthely

Print as Hadd. A.
COLLECTS, ETC.—6

Easter Eve

Eng. [No collect appointed.]

Christ Church [insertion: Rubric. The collect for Easter Even.]
Oh most gracious God, looke upon us in mercye, and graunt that as we are baptized into the death of thy Sonne our Saviour Jesus Christ, soe by our true and hearty repentance all our sinnes may be buryed with him, and wee not feare the grave, that as Christ was raysed up from the dead by the glorye of thee our Father, so wee alsoe may walke in newness of life, but our sinnes never be able to rise in judgment against us; and that for the merit of Jesus Christ, that dyed, was buryed and rose againe for us. Amen. [The rubric is in Laud’s hand, the prayer in the Secretary’s.]

Dalmeny [insertion: Rubric. The coll. for Easter Eve. Autograph R.]
O most gracious God, look upon us in mercye, and graunt that as we are baptized into the death of thy Son [our Saviour in 2nd hand] Jesus Christ, soe by our true and hearty repentance all our sinnes may be buryed with him and we not feare the grave. But as Christ was raysed up from the dead by the glorye of thee our Father, so wee alsoe may walke in newness of life, but our sinnes never be able to rise [in] judgment against us; and that for the merit of Jesus Christ, that dyed, was buryed and rose againe for us. Amen.

Egerton [no insertion for Easter Eve]
at the Gospel for Easter Day, after Now the first day of the (these opening words alone being printed) is added weeke commeth Mary

Print as Christ Church, but reading that as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of thee, O Father.

1 A somewhat similar, but much shorter, collect suggested by Cosin was inserted in the English book in 1662 (Cosin, Works, ii, 253 n.).
Collation of Texts

COLLECTS, ETC.—7

Monday and Tuesday in Whitsun Week

Eng. [Collect for Whitsunday repeated without change:]
God which as upon this day hast taught the hearts of thy faithful people, by the sending to them the light of thy holy Spirit, grant us by the same Spirit to have a right judgment in all things. . . .

Hadd. A for upon this day is substituted at this tyme

Egerton at this time inserted

Print as Hadd. A.

3rd Sunday after Trinity

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

Hadd. A for unto whom thou hast given an is substituted as thou has given us a

before grant is inserted soe

Print as Hadd. A, with an before hearty

5th Sunday after Trinity

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

Hadd. A for congregation is substituted people

Print as Hadd. A.

1 One of Cosin’s recommendations (Works, v, 511).
2 This differs from Cosin’s version (Works, ii, 260 n.), adopted in 1662.
The Collect.
Lord we beseech thee let thy continual pity cleanse and defend thy congregation: and because it cannot continue in safety without thy succour, preserve it evermore by thy help and goodness, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

For congregation is substituted people

25th Sunday after Trinity

[Final rubric:] If there be any more Sundays before Advent Sunday, to supply the same shall be taken the collect, epistle and gospel [or the service] of some of those Sundays which were omitted between the Epiphany and Septuagesima.

but the same shall follow the 24th Sunday after Trinity. And if there be fewer Sundays then 25 before Advent, then shall the 23rd or 24th, or both, be omitted; so that the 25th shall never either alter or be left out, but be always used immediately before Advent Sunday, to which the Epistle and Gospel of that do expressly relate.

at end of rubric is added: But the same shall follow the 24th Sund. after Trin. And if there be fewer Sunds. then 25 before Advent, then shall [the interlined] 23 or 24th, or both, be omitted; so that the 25th shall never either alter or be left out, but be always used immediately before Advent Sundy, to which the Ep. and Gosp. [of that in 2nd hand] doe expressly relate.

25th after Advent.

Print as Christ Church (reading five-and-twentieth).

1 Cosin suggested a rubric of this nature (Works, v, 511-12).
St. Andrew’s Day

Hadd. A [note:] Will it not be fitt to make your liturgie for those holy dayes alsoe, though perhaps the observatioun of the dayes be not brought into use.

[In the collect for this day, the Scottish book alters follow to fulfil.]

Saints’ Days

Hadd. A In the collects for the days of St. Thomas, St. Matthias, St. Barnabas, St. John Baptist, St. James the Apostle, St. Bartholomew, St. Matthew and St. Luke, before the saint’s name is inserted Sainct.

Lady Day

Eng. Annunciation of the Virgin Mary.

Hadd. A before Virgin is inserted Blessed
Print as Hadd. A.

St. Mark’s Day

Eng. [Collect:] Almighty God, ... give us grace that we be not like children, carried away with every blast of vain doctrine, but firmly to be established in the truth of thy holy gospel. ...

Hadd. A for but firmly to be is substituted but that we may be firmly
Print as Hadd. A.

St. Peter’s Day

Eng. [Collect:] Almighty God ... make, we beseech thee, all bishops and pastors diligently to preach thy holy word. ...

Hadd. A for and pastors is substituted preists and ministers
Print for and pastors is substituted presbyters and ministers

1 Cosin suggested that a proper epistle be appointed for the feast of the Purification, but the Scots made no such provision (Works, v, 512).
The Collects, etc.—10

St. Luke’s Day

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

Hadd. A for it may please thee is substituted grant, we beseech thee; and after souls is inserted may be healed [sic]

Christ Church for it may please thee is substituted grant, wee beseech thee that; to heal is deleted; and after souls is inserted maye be healed

Dalmeny for it may please thee is substituted grant, we beseech thee that; and for to heal is substituted maye be healed

Print as Christ Church.

St. Simon and St. Jude

Eng. The Collect.
Almighty God, which hast builded thy congregation upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets. . . .

Christ Church for congregation is substituted church

Dalmeny

Print as Christ Church.
Holy Communion

Introductory rubrics — I

So many as [do] intend to be partakers of the holy Communion shall signify their names to the curate over night, or else in the morning afore the beginning of morning prayer, or immediately after.

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

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

Hadd. A before curate is inserted priest or (ter).
before minister is inserted priest or
for congregation is substituted church (bis).
for were offended is substituted was offended

Egerton before curate over night is inserted presbyter or
the words immediately after are underlined, and there is a cross in the margin.¹

Print as Hadd. A, with presbyter instead of priest

¹ This phrase was queried by Cosin (Works, v, 512) and by Wren (Frag. ill. p. 74).
Introductory Rubrics—2

Eng. The table at the Communion time, having [or The table having at the Communion time] a fair white linen cloth upon it, shall stand in the body of the church, or in the chancel, where morning prayer and evening prayer be appointed to be said. And the priest standing at the north side of the table shall say the Lord’s Prayer, with this collect following.

Hadd. A before a fair white is inserted a carpet with
after chancel is inserted or at the eist end of the church,
till a chancell be built
after north side is inserted or end

Christ before table is inserted holy
Church for white linen cloth . . . table is substituted white linen cloth upon it, with other decent furniture [pencilled cross] meet for the highe mysteryes theare to be celebrated, shall stand att the uppermost part of the chancell or church, whear the presbyte, standing at the north syd or end thearof

after following is added for due preparation [Scot.]

1 These alterations closely resemble Cosin’s suggestions (Works, v, 513 and n.).
Collation of Texts

Dalmeny

before table is inserted holy
for white linen cloth . . . table is substituted white linen cloth upon it, with other decent furniture meet for the high mysteries there to be celebrated, shall stand at the uppermost part of the chancell or church, whear the presbyter, standing at the north syd or end thereof etc. shall etc.
after following is added for due preparation [2nd hand]

Egerton

before table is inserted holy
before a fair white is inserted a carpet and
after upon it is inserted with other decent furnitour meet for the high mysteries th[ere] to be cele-

brated
for body . . . chancel is substituted [up]permost part of the [cha]ncell or church
where morning prayer . . . said deleted
for priest is substituted presbiter
after north side is inserted or end
after following is added for due preparation

Print

insertion of a carpet with as in Hadd. A; thereafter as
in Christ Church.
The Making of the Prayer Book of 1637

COMMANDMENTS

Eng.

Then shall the priest rehearse distinctly all the ten commandments, and the people kneeling shall after every commandment ask God mercy for their transgression of the same, after this sort.

Minister

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

People

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

Minister

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

People

Lord have mercy upon us, and write all these Thy laws in our hearts, we beseech Thee.

Hadd. A for minister is substituted priest (throughout)

Christ for priest is substituted presbyter, turninge to the people

Church for and the people kneeling . . . after this sort is substituted the people all the while kneelinge, and askinge God mercye for the transgression of every dewty thear in, ether accordinge to the letter or to the mysticall importance of the sayd commandement

[note:] The commandments for this place to be printed according to the new translation in Exod. 20 [Scot.]

a substitution of manservant and maidservant for servant and maid is made, but deleted [Scot.]

Dalmeny for priest is substituted presbyter, turning to the people

for and the people kneeling . . . after this sort is substituted the people all the while kneelinge and asking God's mercy for the transgression of every dewty therein, either according to the letter or to the reall importance of the said comandment

[note:] The comandments in this place to be printed accord. to the new translacion, Exod. 20

for servant nor his maid is substituted man servant nor maid servant [2nd hand]

1 Wren adopted the phrase 'turning to the people' (Frag. ill. p. 75).
Egerton  rubric amended to Then shall the presbiter, turning to the people, rehearse distinctly all the ten commandments, the people all the while kneeling and asking God mercy for the transgression of every duty therein either according to the letter or to the mysticall importance of the [said commandment]

before first and second commandments, for minister is substituted presbiter

Print  as Christ Church.

COLLECTS

Eng.  Then shall follow the collect of [or for] the day with one of these two collects following for the king, the priest standing up and saying.

Let us pray.

Almighty God, whose kingdom is everlasting, and power infinite, have mercy upon the whole congregation, and so rule the heart of thy chosen servant Charles, our king and governor, that he (knowing whose minister he is) may above all things seek thy honour and glory. . . .

* * *

Christ the collect for the day, with, deleted

Church following deleted

for the priest is substituted and the collect of the daye, the presbyter

for the whole congregation is substituted thy holye Catholick Church, and in thys particular church in which wee live

Dalmeny the collect of the day, with deleted

following deleted

for the priest is substituted and the collect of the day, the presbyter

for the whole congregation is substituted thy holy Catholick Church, and in this particular church in which we live

Print  as Christ Church.

1 Cosin wanted clarification at this point (Works, v, 513).
The Making of the Prayer Book of 1637

EPISODE AND GOSPEL

Eng. Immediately after the collects, the priest shall read the epistle beginning thus.
   The epistle written in the chapter of
   And the epistle ended, he shall say the gospel, beginning thus.
   The gospel written in the chapter of
   And the epistle and gospel being ended, shall be said the creed.
   I believe in one God [etc.].

Hadd. A after chapter of is inserted beginning at verse
   after epistle ended is inserted the people shall all stand up and then the priest shall say
   after the gospel is inserted [of] our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as it is
   after chapter of is inserted beginning at verse and the people standing up shall answer, Glory be to Thee, O Lord. And when the gospel is ended, the priest shall say, Heere endeth the gospel and the people shall answer, Thanks be to Thee, O Lord.1
   after creed is inserted the people standing up 

Christ Church after chapter of is inserted And when he hath done, he shall saye, Heare endethe the epistle
   for he shall say ... chapter of is substituted
   the gospel shall be read, the presbyter sayinge
   (The holye gospel is written in the chapter of att the verse). And then the people, all standinge up, shall saye (Glorye be to Thee, O Lord). At the end of the gospel the presbyter shall saye (Soe endeth the holye gospell), and the people shall answere (Thanks be to Thee, O Lord). (Pencilled cross and a note Missale Rom. p. 5.)
   for the Creed is substituted or sunge thiss creed, all still reverentlye standing up

1 Cosin urged the insertion of directions for the posture of the people at the reading of the gospel and at the creed and for the responses before and after the gospel (which he said were in customary use) (Works, iv, 90-91, 513-14). Only the first response appeared in Edward VI.
Dalmeny

And the epistle ended, he shall say the gospel, beginning thus, is substituted and when he hath done, he shall saye, Hear endeth the epistle. And the epistle ended, the gospel shall be read, the presbyter saying, The Holy Gospel is written in the chapter of at the verse. And the people, all standing up, shall say, Glory be to Thee, O Lord. At the end of the gospel the presbyter shall say, So endeth the Holy Gospel, and the people shall answer, Thanks be to Thee, O Lord.

for the creed is substituted or sung this creed, all still reverently standing up.

Egerton

after the gospel written in the chapter of is inserted And then the people all standing up shall say Glory be to thee, O Lord, and at the end of the gospel the presbiter shall say So endeth the holy gospel, and the people shall answear, Thankes be to thee, O Lord.

addition: Then this creed, all still reverently standing up.¹

Print

substitutes presbyter for priest; reads saying, instead of beginning, after the epistle; reads at the verse and not beginning at verse (as in Hadd. A); otherwise as in Christ Church.

¹ In the creed, the phrase the Lord and Giver of Life . . . glorified is underlined and there is a marginal note non in Nice [. . .] sed Constanti [. . .] politano pri [. . .] polan. t. i. p. 3.
The Making of the Prayer Book of 1637

**RUBRIC BEFORE OFFERTORY**

*Eng.*

After the creed, if there be no sermon, shall follow one of the homilies already set forth, or hereafter to be set forth by common authority. After such sermon, homily or exhortation, the curate shall declare unto the people whether there be any holy days or fasting days the week following, and earnestly exhort them to remember the poor, saying one or more of these sentences following, as he thinketh most convenient by his discretion.

*Hadd. A*

for already set forth *is substituted* we shall [sic]

*after* exhortation *is inserted* shall follow the offertory

*for the curate* *is substituted* the preest

*after discretion* *is inserted* according to the length or shortnes of the tyme that the people be offering

*notes in margin*: or Ed. 6.  Ed. 6.1

*Christ Church*

*after* remember the poor, saying, *is inserted* for the offertorye [Scot.]

*Dalmeny*

*after* remember the poor, saying, *is inserted* for the offertory

*Print*

*reads* homilies which shall hereafter be set forth by common authority

*before curate* *is inserted* presbyter or

*inserts* for the offertory from Christ Church and adds according to . . . offering from Hadd. A.

---

1 *The rubrics in 1 Edward VI are:*

Then shall follow for the offertory one or more of these sentences of holy Scripture, to be sung while the people do offer, or else one of them to be said by the minister, immediately before the offering.

Where there be clerks, they shall sing one or many of the sentences above written, according to the length and shortness of the time that the people be offering.
Eng. [1] Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works and glorify your Father which is in heaven.

[2] Lay not up for yourselves treasure upon the earth, where the rust and moth doth corrupt and where thieves break through and steal: but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither rust nor moth doth corrupt and where thieves do not break through and steal.

[3] Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do [you] unto them: for this is the law and the prophets.

[4] Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven: but he that doth the will of my Father which is in heaven.

[5] Zache stood forth and said unto the Lord, Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor, and if I have done any wrong to any man, I restore four-fold.

[6] Who goeth a warfare at any time of his own cost? who planteth a vineyard and eateth not of the fruit thereof? or who feedeth a flock and eateth not of the milk of the flock?

[7] If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great matter if we shall reap your worldly things?
OFFERTORY SENTENCES—2

Eng.  [8] Do ye not know that they which minister about holy things live of the sacrifice? and they which wait of the altar are partakers with the altar? even so hath the Lord also ordained, that they which preach the gospel should live of the gospel.

[9] He that soweth little shall reap little; and he that soweth plenteously shall reap plenteously. Let every man do according as he is disposed in his heart, not grudging or of necessity: for God loveth a cheerful giver.

[10] Let him that is taught in the word minister unto him that teacheth in all good things. Be not deceived, God is not mocked. For whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he reap.

[11] While we have time, let us do good unto all men, and specially unto them which are of the household of faith.

[12] Godliness is great riches, if a man be content with that he hath: for we brought nothing into the world, neither may we carry any thing out.

[13] Charge them which are rich in this world that they be ready to give, and glad to distribute, laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may attain eternal life.

Hadd. A after [8] is a note: Halff those sentences may be left out, or other fitt places of Scripture taken insted of these, and according to the last translatione.
OFFERTORY SENTENCES—3

Eng. [14] God is not unrighteous, that he will forget your works and labour that proceedeth of love: which love ye have shewed for his names sake, which have ministered unto the saints and yet do minister.

[15] To do good and to distribute forget not: for with such sacrifices God is pleased.

[16] Whoso hath this world’s good and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?

[17] Give alms of thy goods, and turn never thy face from any poor man: and then the face of the Lord shall not be turned away from thee.

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

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

[20] Blessed be the man that provideth for the sick and needy: the Lord shall deliver him in the time of trouble.

[The Scots drew up a new set of sentences,1 and on 20 April 1636 Laud wrote to Wedderburn: ‘For the sentences at the offertory, we admit all of yours, but we think that, with all that, divers which are in our book would be retained together with yours, as namely the 2nd, 4th, 6th, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15’.

Print Authorized Version, according to Hadd. A.

sentences specified by Laud adopted, in addition to those selected by the Scots, giving the new book sixteen sentences.

1 Genesis iv, 3; Exodus xxv, 2; Deuteronomy xvi, 16; 1 Chronicles xxix, 10; Psalm xcvi, 8; Matt. vi, 19-20, vii, 12; Mark xii, 41-4. Cosin had recommended Genesis iv, 3; Exodus xxv, 2; Deuteronomy xvi, 16; 1 Chronicles xxix, 14, 17; Nehemiah x, 30; Psalm xcvi, 7, 8; Mark xii, 41-4; Acts xxiv, 17 (Works, v, 96-7).
OFFERTORY RUBRIC

Eng.

Then shall the churchwardens, or some other by them appointed, gather the devotion of the people, and put the same into the poor man’s box; and upon the offering days appointed every man and woman shall pay to the curate the due and accustomed offerings. After which done, the priest shall say.

Hadd. A before curate is inserted preist or apparently after accustomed offerings is inserted. And the priest shall then offer up and place the bread and wyne prepared for the sacrament upon the Lords Table that it may be ready for that service.

Christ substitution: While the presbyter [treatably deleted] distinctly [substituted in a different, but indeterminate, hand] pronounceth some or all of these sentences for the offertorye, the deacon, or if noe such be present one of the churchwardens, shall receave the devotions of the people thear present in a bason provided for that purpose. And when all have offerd he shall reverently bringe the sayd bason with the oblations (pencilled cross) theairin and deliver it to the presbyter, whose shall humblye present it before the Lord [and del.] sett it upon the holye table ¹ [and say, Lett us pray for etc. del.]

And the preist shall then offer up and place the bread and wine prepared for the sacrament upon the Lords table (pencilled cross), that it may be ready for that service, and then he shall say, Let us praye for etc. [Sécy.]

¹ This phraseology closely resembled Cosin’s (v, 514 n.). It is not taken from Edward VI. Any resemblance to Wren’s suggestions (Frag. ill. pp. 77, 80) is very remote.
Dalmeny substitution: While the presbyter distinctly pronounceth some or all of these sentences for the offertory, the deacon, or if noe such be present one of the churchwardens, shall receive the devotions of the people thear present in a basin provided for that purpose. And when all have offered he shall reverently bring the said basin with the oblations therein and deliver it to the presbyter, who shall humbly present it before the Lord and sett it upon the Holy Table. And the priest shall then offer up and place the bread and wine prepared for the sacrament upon the Lord’s Table, that it may be ready for that service, and then he shall say, Let us pray for etc.

Egerton substitution: While the presbiter [...] be present) one of the churchwardens shall receave the devotions of the people there present in a basin provided for that purpose, and when all have offered he shall reverently bring the said basin with the oblations therein and deliver it to the presbiter, who shall humbly present it before the Lord and sett it upon the holy table, and the presbiter shall then offer up and place the bread and wine prepared for the sacrament upon the Lords table that it may be ready for that service. And then he shall say

[The Christ Church, Dalmeny and Egerton books have at this point the insertion of the rubric relating to the disposal of the offering, which is printed after the Benediction (p. 327 infra). Christ Church and Dalmeny have the direction ‘vide post Benedict.’ (in the Scottish hand in Christ Church), and Dalmeny has, at the foot of page in the 2nd hand, ‘Autograph R.’]

Print as in Christ Church (with presbyter in the last sentence).
PRAYER FOR THE CHURCH—I

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

Give grace (O heavenly Father) to all bishops, pastors and curates, that they may both by their life and doctrine set forth thy true and lively word, and rightly and duly administer thy holy sacraments: and to all thy people give thy heavenly grace, and specially to this congregation here present, that with meek heart and due reverence they may hear and receive thy holy word, truly serving thee in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life.

Hadd. A for pastors is substituted priests

And further we praise and blesse thy name for all those saints and servants which by thy great mercy both to them and us have been of excellent example in thy church, that we following their godly example may come to those joyes which thou hast prepared for all them that love and honour thee, most humbly beseeching the alsoe (or ut legitur in 10 Edward 6).

Christ and specially to this congregation here present deleted ¹

Church after days of their life is inserted (And we commend especially unto thy mercifull goodnes the congregation which is heare assembled in thy name to celebrat the commemoration of the most precious death and sacrifice ² of thy sonne and our Saviour Jesus Christ.)³ When thear is noe Communion these words inclosed ( ) ar to be left out.

¹ Wren wanted this phrase deleted, but without the compensating phrase added later in the Scottish book (Frag. ill. p. 78).
² The words death and sacrifice are underlined in pencil and there is a pencilled cross.
³ This phraseology is very close to 1 Edward VI.
and specially to this congregation here present deleted after days of their life is inserted (And we commend especially unto thy mercifull goodness the congregation which is here assembled in thy name to celebrate the commemoration of the most precious death and sacrifice of thy Sonne and our Saviour Jesus Christ.) When thear is no Communion, these words inclosed ( ) are to be left out.

after days of their life is inserted And we commend especially unto thy mercifull goodnesse the congregation which is here assembled in thy name to celebrate the commemoration of the most precious death and sacrifice of thy sonne and our Saviour Jesus Christ [. . .]

as Christ Church, but reading these words thus enclosed.
And we most humbly beseech thee of thy goodness, O Lord, to comfort and succour all them which in this transitory life be in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity. Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate. Amen.

And wee allsoe bless Thy holye Name for all those Thye servants whoe havinge finisht their course in fayth doe nowe rest from their labours. And we yeeld unto Thee most high praise and hartye thanks for the wonderfull grace and vertue declared in all Thy saints, whoe have bine the choice vessells of Thy grace, and the lights of the world in their severall generations: most humblye beseechinge Thee, that we maye have grace to followe the example of their stedfastnes in Thy fayth, and obedience to Thye holye commandements, that at the daye of the generall resurrection wee and all they which ar of the mysticall bodeye of Thy Sonne maye be sett on His right hand and hear that His most joyfull voyce, Come yee blessed of mye Father, inherit the kingdome prepared for you from the foundation of the world etc. [Pencilled note Mis. Rm. p. 309.]

1 Cosin and Wren both observed that the English form was lacking in the element of thanksgiving (Cosin, Works, v, 515; Frag. ill. p. 77). The phraseology here seems to be taken largely, but not wholly, from 1 Edward VI.
Dalmeny  after any other adversity is inserted And wee alsoe bless Thy H. Name for all those Thy servants who having finisht their course in fayth do now rest from their labours. And we yeild unto Thee most high praise and hearty thanks for the wonderfull grace and virtue declared in all Thy saints, who have bine the choice vessells of Thy grace, and the lights of the world in their several generations: most humbly beseeching Thee, that we may have grace to follow the example of their stedfastness in Thy faith, and obedience to Thy H. commandments, that at the day of the generall resurrection wee and all they which are of the mysticall body of Thy Sonne may be sett on His right hand and hear that His most joyfull voice, Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdome prepared for you from the foundation of the world etc.

[Notes: wrote with a pencil (second hand)  
Mis. R. M. p. 309 † (the cross seems to correspond with one at the beginning of the last insertion)]

Egerton  And we yeild unto thee most high praise and hearty thanks for the wonderfull grace and vertue declared in all thy saints who have beene the choise vessells of thy grace and the lights of the world in their severall generations, most humbly beseeching thee that wee may have grace to follow the example of their stedfastnes in thy faith and obedience to thy holy commaundements is that at the day of the generall resurrection wee and all they which are of the mysticall body of thy Sonne may be sett on his right hand and hear that his most joyfull voice, Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdome prepared for you from the foundation of the world.¹

Print  as Christ Church.

¹ This is clearly intended for insertion after any other adversity, where there is a note: added ut infra in marg. No trace remains of the sentence which precedes this passage in the other texts.
THE EXHORTATIONS

Eng. Then shall follow this exhortation . . .

[1] We be come together at this time (dearly beloved brethren) to feed at the Lord’s Supper.

* * *

And as the Son of God did vouchsafe to yield up his soul by death upon the cross for your health: even so it is your duty to receive the Communion together in the remembrance of his death, as he himself commanded. Now if you will in no wise thus do, consider with yourselves how great injury you do unto God, and how sore punishment hangeth over your heads for the same. And whereas you offend God so sore in refusing this holy banquet, I admonish, exhort and beseech you, that unto this unkindness you will not add any more.

* * *

Truly, it is a great unthankfulness to say nay when ye be called: but the fault is much greater when men stand by, and yet will neither eat nor drink this holy Communion with other. I pray you, what can this be else, but even to have the mysteries of Christ in derision?

And some time shall this be said also, at the discretion of the curate.

[2] Dearly beloved, forasmuch as our duty is to render to Almighty God our heavenly Father most hearty thanks . . .

* * *

therefore if there be any of you which by the means aforesaid cannot quiet his own conscience, but requireth further comfort or counsel, then let him come to me, or some other discreet and learned minister of God’s word, and open his grief . . .
**Collation of Texts**

**Hadd. A** in [2], before minister is inserted preist or

**Christ Church** for to yield up his soul . . . receive the is substituted to offer up himselfe bye death upon the cross for your salvation, even soe it is our dewtye to celebrat and receave the holye etc. after in the remembrance of his death is inserted and sacrifice (underlined in pencil).

after offend God so, for sore is substituted grievouslye for and yet will neither eat nor drink this holy Com-munion with other is substituted and yet will not receave thiss holye sacrament which is offerd unto you.

**Dalmeny** for to yield up his soul . . . receive the is substituted to offer up himselfe by death upon the cross for your salvacion, even so it is your dewty to celebrat and receave the holy etc. after in the remembrance of his death is inserted and sacrifice.

after offend God so, for sore is substituted grievously for and yet will neither . . . other is substituted and yet will not receive this H. sacrament which is offered unto you.

**Egerton** in [2], before minister is inserted presbiter

**Print** as Christ Church, but reading our salvation and offered unto them; insertion of presbyter or before curate and minister.
SHORT INVITATION

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

Christ Church to rubric is added this invitation

Dalmeny to rubric is added this invitation
after Draw near is inserted with faith ¹
before this congregation . . . name deleted. ²

Egerton in rubric, presbiter is written over priest

Print as Christ Church.

CONFESSION

Eng. Then shall this general confession be made, in the name of all those that are minded to receive the holy Communion, either by one of them or else by one of the ministers, or by the priest himself, all kneeling humbly upon their knees.
Almighty God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ [etc.]

Christ Church in rubric, either . . . ministers or deleted.

Dalmeny as Christ Church.

Egerton in rubric, either . . . or by underlined; above priest is written presbiter, and in margin the presbiter [or] deacon

Print as Christ Church.

¹ Possibly in a third hand. The phrase recalls Cosin’s comment on the difficulty of ‘drawing near’ in a physical sense (Works, v, 516).
² Possibly in a third hand.
³ Cosin’s proposal that the people be directed to repeat the confession is not adopted (Works, v, 516).
ABSOLUTION

Eng. Then shall the priest or the bishop (being present) stand up, and turning himself to the people, say thus. Almighty God our heavenly Father [etc.]

Christ for say thus is substituted pronounce [this del.] the Church absolution as followeth [Scot.]

Dalmeny for say thus is substituted pronounce the absolution as followeth

Print as Christ Church.

COMFORTABLE WORDS

Eng. Then shall the priest also say. 'Hear what comfortable words our Saviour Christ saith to all that truly turn to Him. Come unto me all ye that travail and be heavy laden, and I will refresh you. So God loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son: to the end that all that believe in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. Hear also what St. Paul saith. This is a true saying, and worthy of all men to be received, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners. Hear also what St. John saith. If any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous: and he is the propitiation for our sins.

Christ for say is substituted pronounce those sentences of Church consolation (or consolatorie), saying [in the 'Scottish' hand, and crossed out by the same hand]

Dalmeny for say is substituted pronounce these consolatory (or sentences of consolation), saying [in second hand]

Print rubric unchanged.
A.V. substituted.
PREFACE AND SANCTUS

Eng. After which the priest shall proceed, saying, Lift up your hearts.

* * *

Here shall follow the proper preface, according to the time, if there be any specially [or especial] appointed: or else immediately shall follow, Therefore with angels and archangels etc.

Proper prefaces.

Upon Christmas day, and seven days after. Because thou didst give Jesus Christ thine only Son to be born as this day for us, who by the operation of the holy Ghost was made very man, of the substance of the Virgin Mary his mother, and that without spot of sin, to make us clean from all sin. Therefore with angels etc.

* * *

After which prefaces shall follow immediately. Therefore with Angels and Archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious Name, evermore praising thee, and saying: Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts. Heaven and earth are full of thy glory. Glory be to thee, O Lord most high.

Hadd. A in Christmas preface, before this day is inserted on

Christ Church to rubric before Sanctus is added this doxologie

Dalmeny to rubric before Sanctus is added this doxologie

Print as in Hadd. A and Christ Church, but also inserting blessed before Virgin Mary
PRAYER OF HUMBLE ACCESS

Eng.  Then shall the priest, kneeling down at God's board, say in the name of all them that shall receive the Communion this prayer following.
We do not presume to come to this thy table (O merciful Lord), trusting in our own righteousness, but in thy manifold and great mercies. . . .

Christ Church
for receive the Communion is substituted communicate [Scot.]
for prayer following is substituted [collect del.] prayer of [humble accesse collect of del.] humble access [and del.] to the holy Communion as followeth.
[Scot. The words prayer and to the holy may be in a different hand.]

Dalmeny  for receive the Communion . . . following is substituted communicate, this humble accesse to the holy Communion as followeth.

Print  presbyter substituted.
communicate, this collect of humble access to the holy Communion, as followeth, which does not agree with Christ Church in its final form or with Dalmeny.
CONSECRATION PRAYER—I

Eng. Then the priest, standing up, shall say as followeth.

Almighty God our heavenly Father, which of thy tender mercy didst give thy [or thine] only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption, who made there (by his one [or own] oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, and did institute, and in his holy Gospel command us to continue, a perpetual memory of that his precious death, until his coming again.

Hadd. A after precious death is inserted and sacrifice

Christ for as followeth is substituted the prayer of consecration as followeth. But then duringe the tyme of consecration the presbyter which consecrats shall stand in the midst before the altar, that he maye with the more ease and decencye use both his hands, which he cannot soe convenientlye doe standinge at the north syde of it. The words consecrats . . . altar are underlined in pencil and there is a reference to a pencilled note Miss. Rom. p. 13, 16.

before oblation, for own is substituted one
after precious death is inserted and sacrifice

1 One of Cosin’s suggestions (v, 516).
Dalmeny for as followeth is substituted the prayer of consecration as followeth. But then during the time of consecration the presbyter which consecrates shall stand in the midst before the altar, that he may with the more ease and decency use both his hands, which he cannot so conveniently doe standing at the north side of it.

after precious death is inserted and sacrifice

Egerton in rubric, between shall say and as followeth is inserted the prayer of consecration; then is added But then during the time of consecration he shall stand at such a part of the holy table where he may with the more ease and decency use both his hands

Print rubric as Egerton.
reads one oblation
after precious death is inserted and sacrifice
CONSECRATION PRAYER — 2

Eng. Hear us, O merciful Father, we beseech thee, and grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed [or precious] body and blood: who in the same night that he was betrayed took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is my body, which is given for you; do this in remembrance of me. Likewise, after supper he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this, for this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins; do this as oft as ye shall drink it in remembrance of me.

Christ for beseech thee, and grant . . . bread and wine is substituted most humblye beseech thee, and of thye allmighty geodnes voutsafe soe to bless and sanctifye with thye word and holye spirit these thye gifts and creatures of bread and wyne, that they maye be unto us the bodye and blood of thy most dearlye beloved Sonne; soe that wee, receavinge them (the words maye . . . Sonne underlined in pencil) between partakers of and his most precious body and blood is inserted the same

before night is deleted same
the words took bread and took the cup are underlined
and there is a note: These rubricks followinge ar to stand in the margent thus: † At these words (tooke bread) the presbyter that officiats is to take paten in his hand etc. † At these words (tooke the cupp) he is to take the chalice in his hand, and laye his hand upon soe much, be it in chalice or flagons, as he intends to consecrat. 2

The last four words are underlined in pencil, with a cross referring to a pencilled note Missale Rom. Orat. ad diversa p. 82. 307. Pontif. Rom. p. 173.

1 The invocation resembles, but is not identical with, that in 1 Edward VI.
2 Cosin suggested a rubric of this nature, but he also wanted a direction for the fraction (v, 516).
Collation of Texts

Dalmeny: for we beseech Thee, and grant . . . bread and wine is substituted we most humbly beseech Thee, and of thy almighty goodness [vouchsafe in second hand] for to bless and sanctifie with thy word and H. Spirit these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of thy most dearly beloved Sonne, so that we receiving them after partakers of is inserted the same before night is deleted same note: These rubricks following ar to stand in the margin thuss-† At these words (tooke bread) the presbyter that officiates is to take [the in second hand] paten in his hand etc. † At these words (tooke the cup) he is to take the chalice in his hand, and lay his hand upon soo much be it [in in second hand] chalice or flagon[s in second hand] as he intends to consecrate etc.

Egerton: after beseech thee is inserted and of thy almighty goodness vouchsafe so to blesse and sanctifie with thy word and holy Spirit these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and bloud of thy most dearly beloved Sonne, so that wee receaving them according before his most blessed is inserted the same; blessed is underlined, and precious written in margin. addition: At these words tooke bread the presbiter that officiates is to take the paten in his hand [...].

Print as in Christ Church, but inserting the before paten (as in Dalmeny).

1 A reference to the changed position of the Oblation (p. 325).
To this point in the service are transferred

(a) the Prayer of Oblation, as amended in Christ Church (p. 324 infra), with the addition of the word ‘Immediately’ at the beginning of the rubric.

(b) the Lord’s Prayer, with the insertion before it of the phrase ‘As our Saviour Christ hath commanded and taught us, we are bold to say’ (which is not represented in any of the MSS.).

(c) the Prayer of Humble Access (see p. 317 ante).

ADMINISTRATION

Eng. Then shall the minister first receive the communion in both kinds himself, and next deliver it to other ministers (if any be there present) that they may help the chief minister, and after to the people in their hands, kneeling. And when he delivereth the bread, he shall say,

The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul into everlasting life: and take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thine heart by faith with thanksgiving.

And the minister that delivereth the cup, shall say,

The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul into everlasting life: and drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.

Hadd. A before minister is inserted bishop, preest or before ministers is inserted preists or for chiefe minister is substituted preist that administeris before kneeling is inserted they for delivereth the bread is substituted receiveth himself or delivereth the bread to others 1 for that delivereth the cup is substituted that receiveth the cup himself or delyvereth it to others before and drink is inserted tak

1 Cosin wanted a rubric prescribing the celebrant's posture when he communicated, and the words he should use (v, 547).
**Christ Church**

For minister *is substituted* Bishop, if he be present, or els the presbyter that celebrateth

For ministers *is substituted* Bishopps, presbyters and deacons

For the chief minister *is substituted* him that celebrateth

For in their hands kneeling *is substituted* in due order, all humbly kneelinge

After he shall say *is inserted* this benediction [Scot.]

And take and eat this . . . thanksgiving deleted.

Rubric inserted Heare the partye receavinge shall saye Amen, as alsoe after the receaving of the cup

Pencilled note Miss. Rom. p. 318, 319

And drink this . . . thankful deleted.

**Dalmeny**

For minister *is substituted* Bishop, if he be present, or els the presbyter that celebrateth

For ministers *is substituted* Bps., presbyters and deacons

For the chief minister *is substituted* him that celebrateth

[In due order all humbly kneeling deleted]

For in their hands, kneeling, *is substituted* in due order, all humbly kneeling (second hand)

After he shall say *is inserted* this benediction (2nd hand)

Second clauses in words of administration deleted.

Rubric inserted Hear the partye receaving shall saye, Amen, as also after the receaving of the cup.

**Egerton**

The second sentences of the words of administration are underlined, with omitted in margin.

**Print**

Adopts receiveth himself or delivereth [etc.] from Hadd. A, and otherwise follows Christ Church.

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1 Cosin wanted this response (v, 112).
After shall be said as followeth.

O Lord and heavenly Father, we thy humble servants entirely desire thy fatherly goodness, mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, most humbly beseeching thee to grant, that by the merits and death of thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in his blood, we (and all thy whole Church) may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his passion. And here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, our selves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy and lively sacrifice unto thee, humbly beseeching thee, that all we which be partakers of this holy Communion, may be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction. And although we be unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto thee any sacrifice, yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Jesus Christ our Lord; by whom, and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. Amen.

For O Lord and heavenly Father . . . servants is substituted. Wherefore, O Lord and heavenlye Father, accordinge to the institution of thyde dearlye beloved Sonne, our Saviour Jesus Christ, wee thy humble servants doe celebrat and make heare before thy Divine Majestye, with these thyhe holye gifts, the memoriall which thy Sonne hath willed us to make, havinge in remembrance his blessed passion, mightye resurrection and glorious ascension, renderinge unto thee most hartye thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us bye the same.1 And wee etc.

For all we which be partakers . . . benediction is substituted whoesoeuer shall be partakers of thiss holye Communion, maye worthelye receave the most precious bodye and blood of thy Sonne Jesus Christ, and be fulfilled with thyhe grace and heavenlye benediction, and made one bodye with hime, that He maye dwell in them and they in hime.1 The words worthelye receave . . . Jesus are underlined in pencil and there is a pencilled note Miss. Rom. p. 309.

1 This is virtually a restoration of t Edward VI.
Dalmeny insertion in rubric this memoriall or prayer of oblation.

for O Lord and heavenly Father . . . servants is substituted Wherefore, O Ld. and heavenly Father, according to the institution of thy dearly beloved Sonne our Saviour Jesus Christ, wee thy humble servants doe celebrate and make heare before thy Divine Majesty with these thy H. gifts the memoriall which thy Sonne hath willed us to make, having in remembrance his B. passion, mighty Resurrection and glorious Ascension, rendring unto thee most harty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same, and we

for all we which . . . benediction is substituted whosoever shall be partakers of this H. Communion may worthily receave the most precious Body and Blood of thy Sonne Jesus Christ, and be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly Benediction, and made one Body with him, that he may dwell in them and they in him etc.

Egerton in margin ante Communionem

for all we which be . . . fulfilled is substituted all we which shall be partakers of this holy Communion may worthily receive the most precious body and blood of thy Sonne Jesus Christ and be fulfilled after benediction is inserted and made [evidently unfinished]

Print as in Christ Church, with Immediately inserted as first word in rubric.
POST-COMMUNION

Eng. Or this.
Almighty and everlasting [or everliving] God, we most heartily thank thee, for that thou dost vouchsafe to feed us, which have duly received these holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious body and blood of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ. . .

Christ rubric inserted: Rub. When all have communicated, he that celebrates shall go to the Lords table, and cover with a faire linnen cloth, or corporall, that which remayneth of the consecrated elements, and then saye as followeth (Almighty and ever livinge God etc.), beinge the collect of thanksgiving. At corporall is a cross (in ink) with a reference Pontif. Rom. p. 359, 307, and a pencilled note Miss. Rom. p. 307, both ink and pencil being in the hand which normally makes the pencil notes.

Dalmeny rubric inserted: When all have communicated, he that celebrates shall go to the Lds. Table and cover with a faire linen cloth or [corporall in 2nd hand] that which remaineth of the consecrated elements, and then saye as followeth (Almighty [and in 2nd hand] everliving God etc.), being the collect of thanksgiving. Pontif. Rom. 359. 307.

Print reads When all have communicated, he that celebrates shall go to the Lord’s table, and cover with a fair linen cloth, or corporal, that which remaineth of the consecrated elements, and then say this collect of thanksgiving, as followeth reads everliving God.

GLORIA IN EXCELSIS

Eng. Then shall be said or sung.
Glory be to God on high [etc.].

Christ after sung is added Gloria in excelsis, in English, as followeth ¹

Church

Dalmeny as Christ Church.

Print as Christ Church [with text of Gloria unchanged].

¹ Cosin suggested that the people be directed as to whether they should repeat the Gloria in excelsis (Works, v, 518).
BLESSING

Eng. Then the priest, or the bishop, if he be present, shall let them depart with this blessing.

* * *

Christ Church a note, Vide supra post offertorium R. [Scot.], refers to the rubric as to the disposal of the collection, inserted after the offertory: And after the divyne service ended that which was offered shall be divided in the presence of the presbiter and the churchwardens, whereof one [moyety del., halfe substituted in another hand] shall be to the use of the presbiter to provide him bookes of holy divinity, the other [moyety del., halfe substituted] shall be faithfully kept and employed on some pious or charitable use for the decent furnishing of that church or the publike reliefe of theyr poore at the discretion of the presbiter and the churchwardens. [The first words, And after, are in the principal hand, the remainder in the secretary's.]

Dalmeny a note, Vide sup. post offert., refers to the rubric as to the disposal of the collection, inserted after the offertory: And after the divine service ended that which was offered shall be divided in the presence of the presbyter and the churchwardens, whereof one halfe shall be to the use of the presbyter to provide him books of holy divinity, the other shall be faithfully kept and employed on some pious or charitable use for the decent furnishing of that church or the publike relief of their poore, at the discretion of the presbyter and churchwardens.

Egerton insertion: [. . .] the churchwardens, whereof one halfe shall be to the use of the presbyter to buy him bookes of holy divinity and the other halfe shall be faithfully kept and employed on some pious or charitable use for the decent furnishing of that church or the publique releife of their poore at the discretion of the presbyter and churchwardens.

Print for priest or the bishop is substituted presbyter or bishop rubric added as in Christ Church.
COLLECTS

Eng. Collects to be said after the offertory, when there is no Communion, every such day one. And the same may be said also as often as occasion shall serve, after the collects either of morning and evening prayer, Communion or Litany, by the discretion of the minister.

Hadd. A before minister is inserted preest or

Christ Church

Dalmeny after one is inserted or more

Egerton

Print reads one or more
Collation of Texts

FINAL RUBRICS—1

Eng. Upon the holy days (if there be no Communion) shall be said all that is appointed at the communion until the end of the homily, concluding with the general prayer (for the whole estate [or state] of Christ’s church militant here in earth) and one or more of these collects before rehearsed, as occasion shall serve.

And there shall be no celebration of the Lord’s Supper except there be a good [or great] number to communicate with the priest, according to his discretion.

And if there be not above twenty persons in the parish, of discretion to receive the communion, yet there shall be no communion except four or three at the least communicate with the priest.

And in cathedral and collegiate churches, where be many priests and deacons, they shall all receive the communion with the minister every Sunday at the least, except they have a reasonable cause to the contrary.¹

Hadd. A before celebration is inserted publick
great (before number) is underlined.
before minister is inserted preest or

Christ for great is substituted sufficient
Church for minister is substituted presbyter that executes

Dalmeny for good is substituted sufficient
for minister is substituted presbyter that executes

Egerton shall be said underlined, with a word in the margin which has proved indecipherable.
for good is substituted sufficient
every Sunday at the least underlined, with a cross in margin.

Print insertion of public as in Hadd. A.
substitution of sufficient as in Christ Church.
for minister is substituted presbyter that celebrates

¹ Cosin wanted an addition at this point (v, 518).
And to take away the superstition which any person hath or might have in the bread and wine, it shall suffice that the bread be such as is usual to be eaten at the table with other meats, but the best and purest wheat bread that conventionally may be gotten. And if any of the bread and wine remain, the curate shall have it to his own use. The bread and wine for the Communion shall be provided by the curate and the churchwardens, at the charges of the parish, and the parish shall be discharged of such sums of money, or other duties, which hitherto they have paid for the same by order of their houses every Sunday.

And note that every parishioner shall communicate at the least three times in the year, of which Easter to be one, and shall also receive the sacraments and other rites according to the order in this book appointed. And yearly at Easter every parishioner shall reckon with his parson, vicar, or curate, or his or their deputy or deputies, and pay to them or him all ecclesiastical duties, customably due then and at that time to be paid.

Hadd. A para. 1 is amended and apparently intended to read though it be lawful to have wafer bread, yet it shall suffice that the Bread be such as is usual, soe it be the best and purest . . .

before other rites is inserted observe

Christ Church in para. 1, after bread and wine is inserted though it be lawful to have wafer bread for to be eaten at the table with other meats, but is substituted yett for the curate . . . own use is substituted which is consecrated, it shall be reverently eaten and drunke by such of the communicants only as the presbyter which celebrats shall take unto him; but it shall not be carried out of the church. And to the end there may be little left, he that officiates is required to consecrate with the least, and then if there be want, the words of consecration may be repeated again over more ether bread or wyne. The Presbyter beginninge att these words in the prayer of consecration (Our Saviour, in the same night that he was betrayed, tooke etc.)

and the parish shall be discharged . . . Sunday deleted. for Easter to be one is substituted Pasch or Easter shall be one

And yearly at Easter . . . to be paid deleted.

1 Cosin desired expansion of the rubrics along those lines (v, 517, 518-19).
Dalmeny  para. 1, after bread and wine, amended to read Though it be lawfull to have wafer bread, it shall suffice that the Bread be such as is usuall, yet the best and purest. . . . And if any of the bread and wine remain which is consecrated, it shall be reverently eaten and drunk by such of the communicants only as the presbyter which celebrats shall take unto him, but it shall not be carried out of the church, and to the end their may be little left he that officiates is required to consecrat with the least, and then if there be want the words of consecration may be repeated again over more either bread or wine, the presbyter beginning at those [?] these] words in the prayer of consecration (Our Saviour in the same [night] that he was betrayed took etc.)

for Easter to be one is substituted Pasch or Easter shall be one

And yearly . . . to be paid deleted.

Egerton  in para. 1, after bread and wine is inserted (though it be lawfull to have wafer bread)

after remain is inserted it shall be eaten and drunk reverently by the communicants but it shall not be carried out of the church and shall also . . . other rites underlined, and marginal cross

addition: and to the end their may be little left he that officiates is required to consecrat with the least, and then if there be want the words of consecration may be repeated againe over more either bread or wine, the presbiter beginning at these words in the prayer of consecration, Our Saviour in the night that he was betrayed tooke etc.

Print  as in Christ Church, but adopting observe from Hadd. A and omitting same before night that he was betrayed (to conform with the text of the Consecration Prayer as it appears in the Scottish Book).
PUBLIC BAPTISM—I

Eng. When there are children to be baptized upon the Sunday, or holy day, the parents shall give knowledge over night, or in the morning, afore the beginning of Morning Prayer, to the curate. And then the godfathers, godmothers, and people with the children, must be ready at the font, either immediately after the last lesson at Morning Prayer, or else immediately after the last lesson at Evening Prayer, as the curate by his discretion shall appoint. And then standing there, the priest shall ask whether the children be baptized or no. If they answer, No: then shall the priest say thus.

* * *

Almighty and everlasting God, which of thy great mercy didst save Noe and his family in the ark, from perishing by water: and also didst safely lead the children of Israel thy people through the Red Sea: figuring thereby thy holy Baptism; and by the Baptism of thy well-beloved Son Jesus Christ didst sanctify the flood Jordan and all other waters to the mystical washing away of sin: We beseech thee, for thy infinite mercies, that thou wilt mercifully look upon these children, sanctify them and wash them with thy Holy Ghost. . . .

Hadd. A in rubric, priest or inserted before curate throughout, priest or inserted before minister

after washing away of sin is inserted (the water in the font shall be changed twise in a moneth at least and before any child be baptised in the water so changed the preest shall say at the font as followeth: Sanctifie this fountaine of baptisme, thou that art the sanctifier of all things; and further wee beseech thee, etc.) 1 Ed. 6

Egerton the flood Jordan and all other waters underlined and marginal cross.

insertion: The water in the font shall be changed twise in the month at the least, and before anie child be baptised [. . . ] Sanctifie this fountaine of baptisme thou that art the sanctifier of all things.

Print inserts presbyter or before curate and before minister; substitutes presbyter for priest

in insertion, follows Hadd. A, but reads presbyter or minister and shall say at the font the words thus enclosed [ ].

1 This phrase comes from 1 Edward VI.
PUBLIC BAPTISM—2

Eng. [1] Friends, you hear in this Gospel the words of our Saviour Christ. ... Doubt not ye therefore, but earnestly believe, that he will likewise favourably receive these present infants. ...

[2] Almighty everliving God ... regard, we beseech thee, the supplications of thy congregation, and grant that all thy servants which shall be baptized in this water may receive the fulness of thy grace, and ever remain in the number of thy faithful and elect children, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

[3] Then the priest shall make a cross upon the child's forehead, saying.
We receive this child into the congregation of Christ's flock, and do sign him with the sign of the cross, in token that hereafter he shall not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified, and manfully to fight under his banner against sin, the world and the devil. ...

[4] Seeing now, dearly beloved brethren, that these children be regenerate and grafted into the body of Christ's congregation: let us give thanks unto God for these benefits, and with one accord make our prayers unto Almighty God. ...

[5] We yield thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased thee ... to incorporate him into thy holy congregation. ... So that finally, with the residue of thy holy congregation. ...

Hadd. A for earnestly is substituted stedfastly
after in this water is inserted which we heare blesse and dedicate in thy name to this spiritual washing
for congregation of Christ's flock is substituted Church of Christ
for manfully to fight under his banner against is sub-
stituted stoutlie to resist
in thanksgiving [but not in Seeing now . . .], for con-
gregation is substituted church (twice)
in the final exhortation, for English tongue is substituted Scotish tongue; and in the last rubric, after Catechism is inserted which is set forth in this book.

Christ in [2], [4] and [5], for congregation is substituted church
Church
Dalmeny as Christ Church
Egerton do sign him with the sign of the cross underlined.
Print follows Hadd. A and consistently changes congregation to church; the rubric before the final exhortation reads this exhortation and not this short exhortation
In the rubric to this service, as revised in 1604, the following minor alterations were made in the Scottish Prayer Book:—

- *before minister is inserted* presbyter or (five times)
- *for* let the minister that be present call upon God *is substituted* let the lawful presbyter or minister and them that be present call upon God
- *in the child being named* by some one of them that is present, *the words of them are omitted.*
- *for priest* is substituted presbyter
- *for* minister of the parish *is substituted* presbyter of the parish
- *for some things effectual* is substituted some things essential

**Eng.**

After the Gospel is read, the minister shall make this brief exhortation upon the words of the Gospel.

Friends, you hear in this Gospel the words of our Saviour Christ . . .; doubt ye not therefore, but earnestly believe, that he hath likewise favourably received this present infant. . .

* * *

Here the minister with the godfathers and godmothers shall say.

* * *

Then shall the priest demand the name of the child, which being by the godfathers and godmothers pronounced, the minister shall say.

Dost thou in the name of this child forsake the devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world, with all the covetous desires of the same, the carnal desires of the flesh, and not to follow and be led by them? . . .


**Hadd. A** for earnestly *is substituted* steadfastly

for and not to follow *is substituted* soe that thou will not follow nor

reads the resurrection of the body

**Egerton** in introductory rubric, dip it in water underlined, with marginal cross

**Print** follows Hadd. A; also inserts presbyter or before minister; omits brief before exhortation; and substitutes presbyter for priest
PRIVATE BAPTISM—2

Eng. Then shall the minister make this exhortation, to the godfathers and godmothers. Forasmuch as this child hath promised . . . ye shall provide that he may learn the Creed, the Lord’s Prayer and the Ten Commandments in the English tongue. . .

* * *

But if they which bring the infants to the church do make such uncertain answers to the priest’s questions as that it cannot appear that the child was baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, with water, which are essential parts of baptism, then let the priest baptize it in form above written concerning Public Baptism.

Hadd. A for English is substituted Scotish
Print before minister is inserted presbyter or for priest’s is substituted presbyter’s the words with water are transposed to a position immediately after baptized after Public Baptism is added:
saving that at the dipping of the child in the font he shall use this form of words, If thou be not already baptized, N., I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.
Confirmation, or laying on of hands upon children baptized and able to render an account of their faith, according to the catechism following.

* * *

And that no man shall think that any detriment shall come to children by deferring of their Confirmation, he shall know for truth that it is certain by God's word that children, being baptized, have all things necessary for their salvation, and be undoubtedly saved.

* * *

A catechism, that is to say, an instruction to be learned of every child before he be brought to be confirmed of the bishop.

* * *

Q. What did your godfathers and godmothers then for you?
A. They did promise and vow three things in my name. First, that I should forsake the devil and all his works and pomps, the vanities of the wicked world, and all the sinful lusts of the flesh.

* * *

Defend, O Lord, this child with thy heavenly grace, that he may continue thine for ever, and daily increase in thy Holy Spirit more and more, until he come unto thy everlasting kingdom. Amen.

Then shall the bishop say.

Almighty everliving God, which makest us both to will and to do those things that be good and acceptable unto thy majesty.

* * *

And all fathers and mothers, masters and dames, shall cause their children, servants and prentices (which have not learned their catechism) to come to the church at the time appointed, and obediently to hear, and be ordered by the curate, until such time as they have learned all that is here appointed for them to learn.

And there shall none be admitted to the holy Communion, until such time as he can say the catechism, and be confirmed.
Collation of Texts

Hadd. A  in the final rubric, before curate is inserted priest or

Christ Church [note:] This catechisme must be retayned in your liturgye, and noe other admitted in your severall parishes (pencilled cross)
in final rubric, in the phrase fathers and mothers, masters and dames, for dames is substituted mistresses

Dalmeny [note:] This catechism must be retained in your liturgye, and no other admitted in your severall parishes
for dames is substituted mistresses

Egerton in final paragraph of opening rubric, the words and be undoubtedly saved are underlined, with a marginal cross.
in the final rubric (And there shall none be admitted to the holy Communion, until such time as he can say the catechism, and be confirmed) the last three words are underlined.

Print in the title of the Catechism, after bishop is added and to be used throughout the whole Church of Scotland
in the third answer, for works and pompes, the vanities is substituted works, the pompes and vanities
in the prayer after the confirmation, to then shall the bishop say is added Let us pray
in the final rubrics, presbyter or is three times inserted before curate
Dearly beloved friends, we are gathered together here in the sight of God, and in the face of his congregation, to join together this man and this woman in holy matrimony.

And the minister receiving the woman at her father or friend's hands, shall cause the man to take the woman by the right hand, and so either to give their troth to other. The man first saying,

*I* take thee *N.* to my wedded wife, to have and to hold from this day forward, for better, for worse, for richer, for poorer, in sickness, and in health, to love and to cherish, till death us depart, according to God's holy ordinance: and thereto I plight thee my troth.

Then shall they loose their hands, and the woman taking again the man by the right hand shall say,

*I* take thee *N.* to my wedded husband, to have and to hold from this day forward, for better, for worse, for richer, for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love, cherish and to obey, till death us depart, according to God's holy ordinance: and thereto I give thee my troth.

Then shall they again loose their hands, and the man shall give unto the woman a ring, laying the same upon the book with the accustomed duty to the priest and clerk. And the priest taking the ring shall deliver it unto the man, to put it upon the fourth finger of the woman's left hand. And the man taught by the priest shall say,

With this ring I thee wed: with my body I thee worship: and with all my worldly goods I thee endow. In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Then the ministers or clerks going to the Lord's Table, shall say or sing this Psalm following.

[Pss. cxxviii or lxvii.]

The Psalm ended, and the man and the woman kneeling afore the Lord's Table: the priest standing at the table, and turning his face toward them, shall say,

Lord have mercy upon us.

*Answer.* Christ have mercy upon us.

*Minister.* Lord have mercy upon us.
Then shall begin the Communion, and after the Gospel shall be said a sermon, wherein ordinarily (so oft as there is any marriage) the office of a man and wife shall be declared, according to holy scripture: or if there be no sermon, the minister shall read this that followeth.

[Sentences.]
The new married persons (the same day of their marriage) must receive the holy Communion.

Hadd. A throughout, preist or is inserted before curate and before minister
for congregation is substituted church
between death and us is inserted doe (in both man's and woman's promises)

[note on psalms:] Print these psalmes in the last translation.
in suffrages, for minister is substituted preist
[note on sentences:] Print these or the lyk places of scripture, but in the last translation.

Christ Church in rubric printed above, for man is substituted husband

Dalmeny [note:] ¹ In the York Manual, for fairer for fouler.
In the Salisbury Manual, instead of love, cherish and obey she says to be bonair and buxum at bedde and at borde;

[after with this ring I thee wed:] this gold and silver I thee give (giving the woman a purse of money as livery and seisin of their estate). As you find in the first book of Edward the Sixth.
in rubric printed above, for man is substituted husband

Egerton with my body I thee worship underlined, and cross
in rubric on Communion, same day of their marriage underlined, and cross.

Print presbyter or inserted before curate and minister
presbyter substituted for priest
other changes as in Hadd. A and Christ Church.

¹ In a new hand, and obviously not associated with the preparation of the Scottish Prayer Book.
VISITATION OF THE SICK

Eng. The priest entering into the sick person's house, shall say Peace be in this house, and to all that dwell in it.

* * *

Our Father, which art in heaven etc. And lead us not into temptation. Answer. But deliver us from evil. Amen. Minister. O Lord, save thy servant.

* * *

Here shall the sick person make a special confession, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter. After which confession, the priest shall absolve him after this sort. Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his church to absolve all sinners which truly repent and believe in him, of his great mercy forgive thee thine offences: and by his authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

* * *

And then the priest shall say this collect following. O most merciful God, which according to the multitude of thy mercies, dost so put away the sins of those which truly repent, that thou rememberest them no more: . . . preserve and continue this sick member in the unity of thy [or the] church: consider his contrition, accept his tears, assuage his pain, as shall be seen to thee most expedient for him. And forasmuch as he putteth his full trust only in thy mercy, impute not unto him his former sins, but take him unto thy favour: through the merits of thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ. Amen.

Then the minister shall say this psalm.

* * *
Collation of Texts

Hadd. A  in the Lord's Prayer, for thyne is the kingdome etc. is added.
in the suffrages, for minister is substituted preist throughout, preist or is inserted before curate and minister
in collect, after former sins, but take is inserted when the houre of his dissolution is come
note at psalm: Print this psalme according to the last translation.

Egerton  in the absolution, the words I absolve are underlined, with a cross.

Print makes the usual substitution of presbyter otherwise follows Hadd. A.
reads Peace be to this house and unity of the church
Communion of the Sick

Eng.

And having a convenient place in the sick man's house, where the curate may reverently minister, and a good number to receive the communion with the sick person, with all things necessary for the same, he shall there minister the holy communion.

But if any man, either by reason of extremity of sickness, or for lack of warning in due time to the curate, or for lack of company to receive with him, or by any other just impediment, do not receive the sacrament of Christ's body and blood; then the curate shall instruct him [etc.].

Hadd. A makes the usual insertion or substitution of preist and directs the adoption of the new translation.

Christ Church

Dalmeny

Egerton

Print makes the usual insertion or substitution of presbyter reads sufficient number, at least two or three

reads want of warning for lack of warning

Burial of the Dead

Hadd. A makes the usual insertion or substitution of preist and directs the adoption of the new translation; in Lord's Prayer, for thyne is the kingdome is added; in the final collect, before Paul is inserted Saint

Egerton at the words of committal, the phrase sure and certain hope of resurrection to eternal life is underlined; in the margin is a pointing hand and this note [. . .]ing their will [. . .] resurexion [. . .] last day Lord Jesus [probably in a different hand].

Print substitutes presbyter and Authorised Version and inserts S. before Paul does not add doxology to the Lord's Prayer.
CHURCHING OF WOMEN

Eng. The woman shall come into the church, and there shall kneel down in some convenient place, nigh unto the place where the table standeth, and the priest standing by her shall say these words, or such like as the case shall require.

Then shall the priest say this Psalm [cxxi].

Our Father which etc.
And lead us not into temptation.
Answer: But deliver us from evil. Amen.
Priest [or Minister]. O Lord save this woman thy servant.

The woman that cometh to give her thanks, must offer accustomed offerings; and if there be a Communion, it is convenient that she receive the holy Communion.

Hadd. A before table is inserted Communion
notes at psalm: Or an other psalme if you can find one fitter. Print this psalme according to the last translation.
addition to Lord's Prayer: for thyne is the kingdome etc.
for minister is substituted preist

Christ Church added to rubric before psalm: followinge, or els Psalme the 27th
in final rubric, must offer . . . a Communion deleted, and after holy Communion is added if thear be anye att that tyme

Dalmeny before table is inserted Lord's.
added to rubric before psalm: following, or els Psalm the 27
final rubric amended to read: The woman that commeth
to give her thanks, it is convenient that she receive the Holy Communion if thear be any att that tyme

Egerton line drawn in margin against the psalm.
at the Versicles, in a much later hand, And the people shall answer and say, Amen

Print as Christ Church.
doxology not added to Lord's Prayer.
Commination

Eng. A commination against sinners, with certain prayers, to be used divers times in the year.

After morning prayer, the people being called together by the ringing of a bell, and assembled in the church, the English litany shall be said, after the accustomed manner: which ended, the priest shall go into the pulpit and say thus,

Brethren, in the primitive church there was a godly discipline, that, at the beginning of Lent, such persons as were notorious sinners were put to open penance and punished in this world, that their souls might be saved in the day of the Lord; and that others admonished by their example might be more afraid to offend. In the stead whereof, until the said discipline may be restored again... it is thought good that at this time (in your presence) should be read the general sentences of God’s cursing against impenitent sinners, gathered out of the xxvii chapter of Deuteronomy, and other places of scripture: and that ye should answer to every sentence, Amen.

To the intent that you, being admonished of the great indignation of God against sinners, may the rather be called to earnest and true repentance, and may walk more warily in these dangerous days, fleeing from such vices, for the which ye affirm with your own mouths the curse of God to be due.

Cursed is he that letteth in judgment the right of the stranger, of them that be fatherless, and of widows.

The Minister.

Now seeing that all they be accursed (as the Prophet David beareth witness) which do err and go astray from the commandments of God: let us (remembering the dreadful judgment hanging over our heads, and being always at hand) return unto our Lord God, with all contrition and meekness of heart, bewailing and lamenting our sinful life, knowing and confessing our offences, and seeking to bring forth worthy fruits of penance.

It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God: he shall pour down rain upon the sinners, snares, fire and brimstone, storm and tempest: this shall be their portion to drink.

[Psalm: Suffrages]

Enter not into judgment with thy servants, which be vile earth and miserable sinners: but so turn thy [or thine] ire from us... that we may ever live with thee in the world to come...
Collation of Texts

Hadd. A in title, for divers is substituted upon Ashwednesday and divers other.

throughout, preist or is inserted before minister

at psalm: Print this psalme according to the last translation.

to Lord's Prayer is added for thyne [etc.]

in final prayer, for which be vile earth and miserable sinners: but so turn thine ire from us which meekly knowledge our vileness, and truly repent us of our faults is substituted but turne thyne anger from us and

Christ added to title: and especiallye on the first daye of Lent, commonlye called Ashwensdaye (pencilled cross)

Church added to first rubric: the people sittinge and attendinge with reverence

for were put to open penance, and punished in this world is substituted wear put to open penance, and did humblye submitt themselves to undergo punishment in thiss world

for letteth is substituted hindreth (in main hand) stoppeth or perverteth (Secy.)

subsequent references are inserted in Secretary's hand:
Deut. 27.15; Deut. 27.16 and Prov. 20.20; Deut. 27. vers. 17; Deut. 27. vers. 18, vers. 19, vers. 24; Levit. 20.10; Deut. 27.25; Jerem. 17.5; S. Mat. 25.41; 1 Cor. 6.9, 10; Galat. 5.19, 20, 21; Psal. 15.3.

for he shall pour down rain upon the sinners, fire and brimstone, storm and tempest; this shall be their portion to drink is substituted for upon the wicked he shall rayne snares, fyer and brimstone, and an horrible tempest; thiss shall be the portion of their cupp

1 Cosin desired definition in this rubric (Works, v, 525).
Dalmeny

added to title: and especially on the first day of Lent, commonly called Ashwensday.

added to first rubric: the people sittinge and attending with reverence for were put... world is substituted wear put to open [penance in 2nd hand] and did humbly submit themselves to undergo punishment in this world etc.

at fleeing from such vices is a marginal note in 2nd hand quae sequuntur sic notatata (-) sunt. Autograph R. [subsequent marginalia, mostly the references as in Christ Church, have short lines under them] (hindereth A.B.) stoppeth for letteth is substituted or perverteth [the phrase hindereth A.B., a circle enclosing it, and lines under stoppeth and perverteth are in a different ink]

for he shall pour... drink is substituted for upon the wicked he shall rain snares, fyer and brimstone, and an horrible tempest; this shall be the portion of their cupp. Psal. xi. 6.

Egerton

in first rubric, the phrase into the pulpit is underlined, with marginal note: Concilium Agathense cap. 9 et. Gratian dist. E. annot. in Tertull. p. 757. Bas. 1539 [possibly imperfect].

Print follows Hadd. A in final prayer. does not add doxology to Lord's Prayer. substitutes presbyter and Authorised Version. otherwise as in Christ Church.
THE PSALTER

Eng. The Psalter or Psalms of David according to the translation of the Great Bible [or of the old translation].

Hadd. A note: Let the psalmes be printed according to the last translation.

Christ Church for of the Great Bible is substituted sett forth by authoritye in K. Jeams his tyme of blessed memorye

Dalmeny note: You must looke to the pointinge of it as neare as maye be to the old translation.

Egerton after David is inserted according to the last translation in King James his time, with of the old translation underlined.

at top of page is a note: Cassianus Institut. lib. 2. t. 8 [?] in clausula psalmi [...] magno clamore Gloria Patri. Heylyn pt. 2 p. 122.

Print as Egerton.

CERTAIN GODLY PRAYERS

Hadd. A in morning confession, for in sin am I born is substituted in sinne was I borne; and for and even in the very pangs of death, cry boldly and verily unto thee is substituted especially in the pangs of death and profes my faith cheerfully

in evening prayer, as thou hast promised by thine holy prophet deleted; and before not overcome by any fantasies is inserted being

in the Duety of every true Christian, for England is substituted Scotland.

Christ Church note: His majestye commands that these prayers followinge or anye other (for they ar different in severall editions) be all left out, and not printed in your liturgye.

Dalmeny note: His majesty commands that these prayers followinge, or any other (for they are different in severall editions) be all left out and not printed in your liturgye (a cross and underlining in 2nd hand).
APPENDIX
### COMPARATIVE TABLE
OF THE ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH
OLD TESTAMENT LECTIONARIES

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