

THE ANNOTATED SCOTTISH COMMUNION OFFICE

AN

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF

The Scottish Communion Office

AND OF THE

Communion Office of the Protestant Episcopal Church
of the United States of America

WITH LITURGICAL NOTES

TO WHICH IS ADDED

A REPRINT IN REDUCED FACSIMILE OF THE EDITION OF THE SCOTTISH
OFFICE OF 1764; AND ALSO REPRINTS OF THE AMERICAN
COMMUNION OFFICE, THE SCOTTISH OFFICE OF 1637,
AND THE NONJURORS' OFFICE (1718)

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1884



TO THE
Bishops of the Church of Christ in America

WHOSE SUCCESSION MAY BE TRACED

THROUGH

Samuel Seabury

CONSECRATED BY SCOTTISH BISHOPS AT ABERDEEN

FOURTEENTH NOVEMBER, SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-FOUR

THIS ACCOUNT

OF THE EUCHARISTIC OFFICE-BOOKS

OF

The Scottish and American Churches

IS WITH PROFOUND RESPECT

DEDICATED

BY

A PRESBYTER OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH

PREFACE.

IN the following pages the reader is presented with an historical account of the growth of the Scottish Communion Office, and of the events which resulted in the adoption of its most characteristic features by the Church in the United States of America.

The history of the Scottish Office during the last century demands careful labour in an obscure field of research; and there will be found here a more complete and satisfactory account of the various stages of its progress than has yet appeared. To the Dean of Brechin the reader is indebted for my being able to bring some new facts to light, and to clear up some interesting points that were hitherto doubtful or indistinct; the manuscript copies, made by the late Rev. P. Cheyne, of Aberdeen, from original letters and other documents, which the Dean placed in my hands, are of much interest, and my obligations are acknowledged at various points in the course of the history.

I trust that henceforth we shall hear less about

the uncertainty that is alleged by some to exist as to the *text* of the Office; and I believe the candid reader will be convinced that as regards what may be called the Anaphora of our liturgy—the part that extends from the Offertory Sentences to the final Blessing—there is no foundation whatever for reasonable doubt.

The *textus receptus* of our Office, and in its purest form, is given in an exact reproduction (in reduced facsimile) of the 8vo edition of 1764, printed by Drummond, Edinburgh. This will be a gain to liturgical students in England and America as well as here.¹ In the reprints of the other Offices given here it is sought only to secure substantial accuracy without professing to reproduce throughout the typographical *minutiae* of the originals. After the earlier pages of this volume had gone through the press (see p. 98, note 3) I was enabled through the kindness of Rev. G. Sutherland, of Portsoy, to examine the 12mo edition of 1764, Drummond, Edinburgh, and the 8vo edition of 1765, printed at Leith. They are merely inferior reprints of the 8vo edition of 1764. Since seeing Mr. Sutherland's Collection of Offices I have also been able to correct in Appendix

¹ Peter Hall's reprints, in *Fragmenta Liturgica*, vol. v., cannot be trusted for accuracy. The revised and enlarged edition of Blunt's *Annotated Book of Common-Prayer* (1884) professes to contain the Scottish Office of 1764 *in extenso*; but it is not *in extenso*, and the part printed is very inaccurate.

C (on the Bibliography of the Scottish Office) an error of Hall (*Fragmenta Liturgica* i. liv.), in respect to the edition of 1762, which I had accepted at p. 96.

In the historical sketch I have treated the Scottish liturgy of 1637—Archbishop Laud's, as it is commonly called—less fully than it deserves; partly, because a full account of that Office would have been out of proportion in a work like this; and partly, because I hope before long to publish an edition of the whole Prayer-Book of 1637, with a copious historical introduction.

The Nonjurors' Office* of 1718 occupies an important place among our *origines liturgicæ*, of the secondary order; and it is here reprinted.

I have to express my thanks to several friends; more especially, to Canon Bell, for his many useful suggestions, for correcting several errors, particularly in the obscure bibliography of the Office, and, indeed, for constant aid throughout; to the Dean of Brechin for putting into my hands the valuable manuscript material referred to above; to Dr. R. F. Littledale for much kind help; to Professor Hart, of Hartford, U.S.A., for permission to make free use of his work on *Bishop Seabury's Communion Office*; and to Mr. Webster, Incumbent of New Pitsligo, for information on the traditionary usages of the northern dioceses.

Consideration for the needs of younger students will account for my occasional references in the Notes to sources of information that will be obvious and familiar to the better informed.

EDINBURGH, 22d October 1884.

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INTRODUCTION.

1. THE Scottish *Communion Office*, as the Eucharistic Service-book peculiar to the Scottish Church is designated, claims attention for many reasons. Its history is intimately associated with some of the most interesting chapters in the Church's annals. Its true reflection of the spirit of primitive devotion, and the unquestionable merits which it possesses as a formulary of worship, have won the admiration of theologians and liturgiologists of high eminence. As it stands, it is a worthy monument of the learning and piety of the Scottish Church.

This Communion Office was not the work of one man or of one age. It was not produced hastily, but by a gradual development attained its present form. It is ultimately traceable to perhaps a greater variety of sources than any known liturgy. The Churches of Eastern and Western Christendom, early, mediæval, and modern times have all contributed towards determining its structure or supplying its contents. Yet it is not disfigured by the signs of patchwork, but

possesses the unity and beauty of a living thing. It is an outcome of the patient and reverent study of Christian antiquity ; but it is conceived in no mere antiquarian spirit, and is no product of a *dilettante* affectation of the antique. Like everything that lives, it came into being from a living impulse ; but also, like everything that lives, it was sensitive to its actual environment, and exhibited the living power of adapting itself to that environment without permanent detriment to its life. It is framed upon primitive models, and breathes the spirit of primitive devotion, while experience continually demonstrates its suitability to the needs of the living Church.

2. If the Scottish Communion Office had appealed merely to the judgment of scholars and theologians, and to the predilections of those versed in Christian antiquities, it would have long since ceased to exist. It has a higher claim upon our feelings of reverence. It has given expression to the adoration, the thanksgiving, the supplications, the pious aspirations, of thousands of Christian men and women. To thousands it is endeared by the tenderest associations and most sacred memories. For them it needs no laboured apologies. The most precious gifts of God have come to them through that channel ; and they know it.

3. The influence of the Scottish Communion Office is not confined to the limits of Scotland and the Scottish Church. Indeed at the present time its

influence upon the Christian world is perhaps chiefly exercised indirectly through the Prayer-Book of the Church of the United States of America. That which a century ago was the exclusive possession of an obscure and scattered handful of Christians in the northern parts of our island has now, in the providence of God, crossed the ocean, and become in its modified form the sacred liturgy of hundreds of thousands in a great and prosperous Church. The American Church has derived from Scotland her episcopate ; and from Scotland too she has derived the more essential features of her Eucharistic Service. The Daughter-Church may differ in many respects from the Mother : she certainly surpasses her in material possessions, in the wide extent of her authority, and in the numbers that owe her allegiance ; but in the form of her liturgy the common stock betrays itself, and the resemblance of parent and child is unmistakable. There are, no doubt, differences of feature, but the family likeness testifies to the high strain of ancient lineage that has passed to the younger from the elder Church.

4. It is intended in the following pages to sketch the history of the Scottish Communion Office, and to exhibit its relations to the corresponding service in the American Prayer-Book. It is also my design to offer some illustrations of the special character-

istics, doctrinal and liturgical, of the two Offices. In pursuing the latter part of my task I have endeavoured to avoid, as far as might be, a controversial treatment of the questions involved. To do so altogether is probably not within the range of possibility. But by following for the most part the historical method and allowing writers of repute that were attached to, or sympathised with, the theological school responsible for the Office, to explain in their own words what they supposed to be the purport of its several parts, we can not only best understand what was intended, but also in many instances avoid the danger of being drawn into the polemics of our own day. Whether the reader will concur or not with the views of truth put forward by the Bishops and Doctors cited, he will, at least, find here what possesses a considerable interest of its own, a contribution to the history of doctrine within the Scottish and English Churches upon the subject of the Eucharist.

5. But much as I feel our obligations to the divines of the Caroline and nonjuring periods,—I desire to say here, and I desire to say it with emphasis, that I cannot for a moment assent to the notion that the opinions of these scholars and theologians are to be regarded as having finally determined the sense in which the words of the Office must in its actual use be always understood.

It was not only possible but to be expected, that the full meaning of the devotional language of the early liturgies, to which in some considerable measure a return was made in the Scottish Communion Office, would not be immediately apprehended by those who had adopted that language as their own. They knew that they were justified in accepting the language of the ancient church, but they may have been unable all at once to grasp its far-reaching significance. Certainly there seems to have been, on the part of some of the school from which the Scottish Office in its present form sprang, a disposition to restrict too closely the sense of the words. It is better that the language of devotion should not be so treated. Words when touched by emotion necessarily lose their sharpness of definition. A liturgy can never possess the precision of the dogmatic decrees of a council. It will be thought probably by most readers of our time that the nonjuring school in the doctrinal conceptions that they read into, or believed they found in, the ancient liturgies and in the forms adopted from them into Offices for their own use, exemplify in the history of theology what has been so frequently observed as true in the history of philosophy—they are generally right in what they affirm; they are not unfrequently wrong, or without adequate evidence in regard to what they deny. It is certain that the language of the Scottish Communion Office is, in

itself, patient of more interpretations than one; and I see no just reason why those who consider the nonjuring school in their theological opinions to have fallen short of the full standard of evangelical and catholic truth, should not use the Office in such sense as the words themselves, fairly interpreted, may legitimately bear. This much will probably be generally admitted. It is not more than is now frequently claimed in respect to the *Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion* in the Prayer-Book of the Church of England. Although it is true, for example, that the theological opinions of Cranmer, and of Bucer, and of Peter Martyr, are of much value in helping us to understand, from the historical view-point, the purport of some of those alterations in the services which are embodied in the present English Prayer-Book, yet few, if any, in our time (whether they be reckoned, according to the popular designations, as 'high,' 'low,' or 'broad,' in churchmanship), will contend that the sense of the words of the English liturgy must, in the Church's worship, be necessarily restricted to the sense in which those theologians employed them. The words have in themselves a wider scope; and perhaps they were, in some instances, framed purposely to admit of a wider scope. And so too it has been seen fit by the Divine Will that the language of our Scottish liturgy should

possess a similar capability of reflecting the somewhat different aspect of truth which has been attained as the Church has for the time moved to a different stand-point. Great truths in the world of spiritual realities stand before men's eyes like ranges of mountain-heights before the traveller. To understand their forms and mutual relations one must slowly move from point to point, view them on this side and on that, and if possible make, as it were, the circuit of their base. The nonjuring school of theologians maintained a doctrine of the Eucharist that certainly deserves a place among the speculations of devout and scholarly thinkers on the sacred mystery. Just at the present time other aspects of truth have secured more attention; but I cannot doubt that as long as there continue to be thinkers and students of antiquity, the aspect of truth exhibited by the nonjuring theologians will, in whole or in part, from time to time reassert itself. The Offices of the Eucharist constructed, or revised, under the superintendence of divines of this school, naturally give distinct expression to their views, but, most happily in the providence of God, not, for the most part, in such a manner as would exclude other aspects of truth given prominence by other schools that fairly hold a place within the communion of our reformed Church.

6. This much, I think, will be generally admitted.

But I may—strange to say—meet with less favour at the present moment when I venture to put in a humble plea on behalf of any who in our day may have the temerity to interpret the Office in the same sense as those who drew it up.

It exhibits in a striking way the change of attitude in regard to some of the subjects that were in controversy when John Skinner published his annotated edition of the Scottish Office (1807), to observe that one of his main contentions is that the Scottish Office is not ‘Popish,’ and that its doctrine is identical with that of the Church of England; while at the present time the commentator on the Office is conscious that he has to meet a very different objection—the objection (though as yet it is more frequently insinuated than expressed) that the Office is not ‘Catholic.’

Objectors, such as Skinner had in view, cannot now be numerous or formidable. Some, I suppose, still survive who have inherited the notion that the Scottish Office is disfigured by the embodiment of certain doctrines which are not primitive, but were formulated during mediæval times in the Churches of the Roman obedience. As the history of Christian dogma becomes better known, objections of this kind must gradually disappear, or change their form. But still we must recollect that prejudice, even when sore smitten, possesses a snake-like tenacity of life; and,

as yet, it remains to bestow upon this particular prejudice the *coup de grâce*. I am not indeed so sanguine as to expect that its death-stroke will be given by this hand, but it will be a gratification to me if I may deliver a blow or two in passing. This, however, it should be remembered, is not one of the main objects which I set before me; and I shall certainly leave to any who may enjoy it the task of defending the Scottish Communion Office on the lines that it teaches no more than is taught by the Church of England.

7. It was natural and not unreasonable for the apologist of the Scottish Communion Office, both shortly before and shortly after the repeal of the penal laws, and in the days before the union with the English congregations in Scotland (that had been ministered to by 'qualified' clergy) was complete, to minimise, as far as might be done with fairness, the differences between the Scottish Office and the corresponding service in the English Prayer-Book. At the present day it is in my judgment highly desirable that we should recognise to the full the reality of these differences. It may be admitted that between the distinctive Liturgies of the two churches there is no *essential* disagreement, but it is both untrue and unwise to pretend that the differences that exist are not *grave and important*. Grave and important differences most certainly there

are ; and in my judgment in almost every instance in which these differences exist the superiority is distinctly on the side of the Scottish Office. English Churchmen are now in a better position to be told this truth than they were in the early years of the century. There is now a much more extensively diffused knowledge of the remains of Christian antiquity. Since the date of the publication of Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ* in 1832 there has been a great revival of interest in liturgical studies. Men have read more widely and gone deeper than before. The clergy have become better acquainted with the service-books of other churches and other times. If they are still disposed to talk of "our *incomparable* liturgy," they have at least been qualifying themselves for the task of *comparing* it. But as the study progresses, the natural result cannot be evaded. The English Book of Common Prayer, though ever deeply loved, is no longer regarded as the one absolutely perfect standard by a reference to which all the devotions of Christendom are to be measured and appraised. English Churchmen are now sensible of deficiencies in their Church's devotional system, and are more ready to enter into the spirit of the prayer of Bishop Andrewes that God would grant to the British Church "the supply of what is wanting in it; the strengthening of what remains in it." These deficiencies, so far as they appear in

the English liturgy, some persons attempt to supply in an irregular way by the frequent introduction at various points of the service of certain private devotional formulæ, meant, as is supposed, to bring the service to a closer conformity with more catholic models; others endeavour to satisfy themselves that the English liturgy does contain implicitly what is certainly to all appearance wanting, and are as desirous on their part to show that the English Office contains all that is contained in the Scottish, as in the beginning of the century some Scottish Churchmen were to show that the Scottish contained no more than is contained in the English.

8. The characteristic features of the Scottish Communion Office, as distinguished from the corresponding service in the English Prayer-Book, are mainly due to the Office being based in its essential parts, not upon the structural model of the Roman liturgy, but upon that which is found underlying the liturgies of most, if not all, the other ancient Churches of the Christian world. It was more especially the well-defined character of the ancient Greek liturgies that determined in the eighteenth century the structural form of the Prayer of Consecration; as no doubt it was the Greek liturgies that in the sixteenth century suggested to Cranmer and his coadjutors the "bold insertion of the express

Invocation of the Holy Spirit into their Prayer of Consecration.¹

The liturgiologists belonging to the school of theologians from which our Office has proceeded were satisfied of the apostolical origin of the Invocation; and they are certainly entirely justified in claiming for it an extreme antiquity.² They knew that it existed in the liturgies of the other four patriarchates of Christendom—Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Constantinople; and the majority of them believed that it also had had a place in the original liturgy of the Roman Church,—that it had been, in fact, universal in the earliest age of Christianity. They looked to the Greek liturgies, though disfigured by many later additions, as retaining the structure and essence of the Eucharistic worship of Christ's Church in its purest age. There was one feature which they found common to all the Greek liturgies, viz. the arrangement of the parts of the great Prayer of Consecration in the order—(1) Recital of the narrative of the Institution, (2) the Oblation of the Elements, (3) the Prayer to God the Father for the descent of the Holy Spirit, that He

¹ The prayer subsequently entitled 'A Prayer of Chrysostome,' with which now our Matins, Evensong, and Litany conclude (being what is known as the Prayer of the third Antiphon in the liturgies of St. Basil and of St. Chrysostom), establishes an acquaintance with Greek liturgies as early as 1544, when this prayer appeared in the Litany issued in that year.

² See below, p. 71, and Liturgical Notes on the Invocation.

might make the Elements the Body and Blood of Christ; and this they regarded as of such high moment that a return to it in their own forms of worship seemed a manifest duty.

9. Some consideration will be given to the subject later on, but it is noticed here as pointing to the vantage-ground possessed by the Scottish and the American Churches in any friendly approaches towards the Holy Eastern Church or towards any of the Oriental Churches that retain the orthodox faith. These Churches, like our own, reject the Romish doctrines of the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, of his infallibility, and of the immaculate conception of the Blessed S. Mary the Virgin. They have long been regarded by Rome as schismatical, and if they now pertinaciously reject what has recently been declared as *de fide*, they may soon come, like ourselves, to be viewed as heretical. In the meantime the friendly relations of members of the Greek Church and members of the reformed Churches of the United Kingdom and of America are being constantly exhibited.¹

¹ It must have been of deep interest to every Scottish Churchman to learn that the Bishop of Aberdeen, on the occasion of his recent visit to Russia, was received in the Cathedral Church of St. Isaac at St. Petersburg with the respect and dignity due to a prelate. Canon MacColl (*Guardian*, 2d April 1884) gives the following account: 'The Bishop, accompanied by Mr. Buxton, the assistant chaplain at St. Petersburg, and myself, attended a celebration of the Holy Eucharist, according to the grand liturgy of St. Chrysostom, in the Cathedral of St. Isaac; the Bishop being vested in full Episcopal robes. We were taken inside the ikonostasis and placed

But may we not hope for something more? May we not look forward to a day when further advances will be taken towards the fulfilment of the prayer of our Master?¹ May we not look forward to acts of mutual recognition on the parts of the Holy Eastern and of the Anglican Churches? And in any approaches towards intercommunion, or an express corporate recognition, the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist would be certain to occupy a foremost place in men's thoughts. It would then be no small matter that the American and Scottish Churches possess liturgies which, however bald and meagre they may appear in comparison with the copious and ornate rites of the East, would yet be acknowledged by the Bishops of the Russian and Greek Church as manifestly containing the essentials of the Eucharistic Service, and even their own ancient order and arrangement of its most solemn parts.²

10. It will be seen from the subsequent communion the right of the celebrant, who was assisted by the Archdeacon and three other clergy. After the preliminary office and the preparation of the elements, including the mixture of water with the wine . . . at the altar of *Prothesis*, about a dozen feet to the right of the altar of celebration, the celebrant first, and then each of the other clergy, went up to the Bishop of Aberdeen to kiss his hand and receive his blessing before the Liturgy proper commenced, thus treating him with the same deference with which they would have treated one of their own Bishops."

¹ St. John xvii. 11, 21-24.

² Our Scottish revision took place after the Scottish Church was disestablished and freed from state control, and from the hampering restriction of political considerations; and it may be

ments that there are parts of our Office in which, as it seems to me, it is desirable some modifications of the forms should be effected when a suitable occasion for doing so may present itself. Minor examples I need not here refer to; but I would declare my conviction, arrived at after a long and careful study of the whole question, that a recasting of the words of the Prayer of Invocation—so as to bring them to a closer conformity with primitive models—would be a real intrinsic gain to the Office (quite apart from considerations as to how it would affect objectors), and might perhaps help to remove, or at all events modify, the feeling hostile or averse to the Office which we know still exists. Students of liturgies will, I suppose, concur with me in saying that in the whole *corpus liturgiarum* the corresponding formula is in no single instance presented with such startling abruptness. It is introduced abruptly; it is passed from abruptly; it stands in nakedness and baldness that has no parallel.

11. Bishop Robert Forbes and Bishop Falconer in the editions of the Office of 1764 (which afterwards became the recognised text) unhappily departed in this particular from the learned guidance of Bishop Rattray, the one Scottish theologian of the last century that a restoration to a more primitive form of the Eucharistic Service (though not perhaps exactly after our pattern) will be one of the compensating gains to the English Church should she be called on to suffer as we have suffered.

tury who has left behind him any proof of high attainments in liturgiology, and to whose influence we are indebted for so much that we prize. Bishop Rattray's posthumous Office of 1744, appended to *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem*, gave the Prayer of Invocation as follows:—"Have mercy upon us, O Lord God, Almighty Father, have mercy upon us, and send down Thy Holy Spirit upon us, and upon these gifts which are here set before Thee, that, by His descent upon them, He may make this bread the holy BO ✠ DY of Thy Christ, and this cup the precious BLO ✠ OD of Thy Christ, that they may be to all who partake of them, for the sanctification of soul and body, for bringing forth the fruit of good works, for remission of sins, and for life everlasting." This form indeed runs close to the form in the liturgy of St. James, which, after it had undergone his recension, he had taken as his model.

The reasons for the very wide divergence in our Office from this form may yet perhaps be discovered among the MSS. of the Scottish Nonjurors, which are to be found now and then in private collections; but if we conjecture that it was due to the supposed superiority of the so-called Liturgy of St. Clement, it is worth while observing that in that liturgy (which, I may remark in passing, we have no sufficient reason to believe was ever actually used by

any Church in Christendom, east or west), there is a part of the formula which has been entirely omitted by the Scottish revisers, I mean that which refers to the *purport* of the change prayed for, and which in my judgment is identical in intention with the “*ut nobis Corpus et Sanguis fiat*” of the Roman Canon.¹ In truth the formula of Invocation in the Scottish Office, as it now stands, is without precedent or parallel.

Expression is given to a great truth, but not to the whole truth as we find it in the corresponding parts of the liturgies of the ancient Church. And for many a year our communion has been suffering from the inevitable Nemesis that sooner or later over-

¹ See Appendix B. If the Clementine liturgy caused the omission of the *ἑφ' ἡμᾶς*, which stands in the three liturgies now used by the Holy Orthodox Church of the East (viz. those of St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, and St. James), it should also have caused the omission of the Lord's Prayer; but this was too startling to attempt. I am afraid the truth is that Bishops R. Forbes and Falconar here ventured beyond their depth. It may have been, and no doubt was, with the best intentions (presumably to emphasise the great truth of the *objective* nature of the Heavenly Gift) that the words *ἑφ' ἡμᾶς* were omitted, but it is well to remember the great danger of taking on ourselves to decide upon what should have a high emphasis in formulas of devotion meant for the Church's permanent use. Nestorianism grew out of an undue emphasis of truth, and so did the counter heresy of Eutyches. I affirm without hesitation that there has been much culpable prejudice exhibited towards our Scottish Office; yet I would be untrue to my convictions if I did not express my belief that prejudice has in many instances been due mainly to the departure, above indicated, from the Church's ancient formula,—a formula maintained to this day in the Eastern Church.

takes every departure made in the Church's formularies of devotion from the even balance of the primitive faith.

The retention of the clause devised in 1764 by the two Scotch Bishops (for, broken from its context, it is an invention with which they must be credited) has, in my opinion, done more to retard the adoption of the Office, and to bring about its disuse, than any other cause. It has been, I believe, the real source of the underlying force that enabled the General Synod of 1862-1863 to carry successfully the unhappy legislation with respect to the Scottish Office that stands now to our discredit in our Church's Code of Canons.

12. But has the time arrived when this subject may again be considered with a view to its being practically dealt with by the proper authorities? I believe that the time has arrived. The fierce violence of theological party-spirit has—thanks be to our God—abated. Men have come to know each other better, and have learned, when they understand what they each *really* mean, that their differences are much smaller than they had supposed. There is now less of the shouting of party war-cries even among the young and foolish. There is a greater readiness to make allowance for differences that do not touch the essentials of the faith. May the Lord of Truth and Prince of Peace so guide and rule our hearts that in His Love we may be perfectly joined together in unity of doctrine.

13. The American Church, in following the liturgy of the Church from which she derived her episcopate, did so in an independent spirit; and in respect to the particular case we have been considering solved the difficulty in a manner that has resulted in at least a singular practical success. The American Church, like every considerable religious community, has its various schools of theological thought, and its various shades of theological opinion; but all men unite without murmur in using an Office that on the whole, and all things considered, successfully reflects both the form and spirit of the primitive liturgies.

I do not regard the formula adopted by the American Church as intrinsically the best attainable: yet when we take into account the low state of liturgical knowledge, on both sides of the Atlantic, at the period when the American revision was undertaken, it is more reasonable to congratulate, than in any degree to reflect upon, the Church of the United States for the manner in which objections were reconciled. Not only is God's blessing explicitly asked upon the elements (as in every ancient liturgy of Christendom, the Roman included, and, I fancy, in every modern liturgy—the English only excepted), but we also find an explicit invocation of the Holy Spirit, as in the Scottish liturgy, following the liturgical precedent of Eastern Christianity. In both

particulars, as most of us will probably think, the American form possesses distinct superiority over the corresponding part of the English Prayer-Book. But if a revision of this part of the Scottish Office be attempted I am confident American Churchmen would not look on us with either coldness or suspicion if we turned for guidance rather to the ancient liturgies than to their own Office, excellent as we gladly acknowledge it to be. Indeed I believe that the only possibility of bringing a revision successfully to a close lies in our being able to point to the fact that the present formula of Invocation is a seriously imperfect and faulty reproduction of the corresponding formulas in the ancient liturgies.

Whether the action of the American Church with respect to the Prayer of Invocation is that which is most suitable to *us* at this time is a question which remains to be considered should the revision of our liturgy come before the proper authorities. My own belief is that there is "a more excellent way,"—namely by a return to the form of some one or other of the liturgies used by the ancient Church, and, preferentially, one of those used by the Holy Orthodox Church of the East at the present day. The subject, however, is one which I do not intend to pursue further here.¹

¹ The suggestion here made is almost identical with that made by the late John Keble (see the *Guardian* 1st October 1862), except that I would approach even closer to the liturgy of St. James than he does. Indeed as to the exact form which commends itself most

14. Whether an authoritative revision of our liturgy be attempted or not, I grievously misread the signs of the times if I am wrong in believing that the ignominious position into which the Scottish Office has been forced by the synodical legislation of 1863 will not be much longer tolerated. There is no disguising the fact that the synod of 1862-63 dishonoured and degraded the Office. The object of the legislation was beyond all question to check the spread of the national liturgy. But it went beyond this; it took upon it even to discredit and abase the Scottish rite in a way very painful to the feelings of those who admire and love it. Will it be believed by strangers that from every dignified and stately function of the Church's worship on such occasions as the consecration of Bishops, the Ordering of Priests and Deacons, the gathering of the Clergy or of the Bishops at Synods, Diocesan, Episcopal, and General, the Scottish Communion Office is now absolutely excluded? How to me, I find myself anticipated by a respected layman of our Church, Mr. William Forbes of Medwyn, in a letter to the *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, 27th November 1862. In Appendix B. I have placed a number of examples of how this part of the Service is dealt with in various liturgies. I have only noticed the more noteworthy examples, but it would be a useful piece of work for some of our younger clergy to collect and translate the formulæ of Invocation on a more complete scale,—doing for this part of the Prayer of Consecration what Dr. Neale and Dr. Littledale have done in their list of the "Formulæ of Institution as they occur in every extant Liturgy" printed in the appendix to *Liturgies of SS. Mark, James, Clement, Chrysostom and Basil and the Church of Malabar* (2d edition).

long will Churchmen tolerate the injustice that refuses permission to the Bishop and Clergy of a diocese assembling for the solemn celebration of the Eucharist on the occasion of their annual synod to join, should they prefer it, in the primitive forms of devotion supplied by the Scottish rite? How long is it to be made impossible for the united wishes of the Bishop of a diocese and his candidates for holy orders to have in this matter their reasonable and rightful gratification? I know that many of our priests who now for various reasons find it to be right, or necessary, for them to use the English Communion Office, are warm admirers of the Scotch. The interest in liturgical studies is deeper and more general among the clergy than in 1862, and with increased knowledge has grown an increased reverence and affection for the primitive and dignified order of the Scottish rite. Nothing short of securing from a General Synod such legislation as will afford a perfect equality of position to the two rites, can satisfy those who are supporters of the Scottish Communion Office.¹

15. It is proposed now to present to the reader an account of the histories of the Scottish and American Communion Offices. This will be followed by the texts of the two Offices,—that of the Scottish Office

¹ A comparison of the Canons of 1876 now (1884) in force and those of 1838 which bear on the use of the Scottish Office will be found in Appendix D.

being a reprint, in reduced facsimile, of the (now extremely scarce) edition of 1764, 8vo. (Drummond, Edinburgh), together with a traditional text for the earlier part. Notes, textual and liturgical are added. In the Appendix will be found reprints of the Communion Office from the Scottish Prayer-Book of 1637, and of the Nonjurors' Office of 1718, and other documents of interest.

HISTORY OF THE OFFICE.

I.

THE LITURGY FOR SCOTLAND, 1637.

1. THE main materials out of which the present recognised Scottish *Communion Office* is constructed, are to be found chiefly (1) in *The Booke of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other parts of Divine Service for the use of the Church of Scotland*. Edinburgh: 1637; (2) in the Communion Offices of the English Nonjurors, more particularly in that entitled *A Communion Office taken partly from the Primitive Liturgies and partly from the first English Reformed Common-Prayer Book, together with Offices for Confirmation and the Visitation of the Sick*. London: 1718;¹ (3) in certain of the early Greek Liturgies and liturgical writings; (4) the English Book of Common Prayer in the editions both of 1549 and 1662.

¹ The few points suggested by the *Holy Liturgy* in Bishop Deacon's *Compleat Collection of Devotions*, 1734, and adopted into our Office, are indicated in the liturgical notes.

2. It is with the *immediate* sources of the Scottish Office that I am concerned. It is no part of my design to investigate the origin of the ancient liturgies, or to trace the earlier history of the materials of the English Prayer-Book of 1549. I do not propose to enter upon a field that has already yielded its harvest in the copious illustrations of the antiquities of the English service-books, which are familiar to all students of the English Prayer-Book.¹ Commentaries upon the English Prayer-Book are numerous, and easily accessible to every inquirer.

3. The Scottish Prayer-Book of 1637, known commonly as Laud's Prayer-Book, has secured a lasting notoriety among all persons acquainted with even the outlines of the civil history of our country. The attempt at enforcing its use, conducted in violation of every principle of common sense, is known to have been the occasion of that outbreak against the royal authority in Scotland which may be taken as the beginning of the Great Rebellion. An acquaintance with its contents and liturgical character is restricted to a narrower circle. But students of the history of the English Book of Common Prayer are familiar with the fact that the influence of the Scottish Prayer-Book in determining the form of the present English

¹ There are still some gleanings to be picked up, and it may be my fortune on another occasion to exhibit the handful I have laboriously gathered.

book was very great. On the restoration of Charles II. the church-party that sympathised with the Laudian school was dominant, though not uncontrolled, in the councils of the Church. And in the revision of the English Prayer-Book which took place in 1661, of the several hundreds of changes made in the text and rubrics, a large proportion is due to the influence exerted by the Scottish book.

4. There had been a desire expressed in Scotland as early as 1601 to revise and amend the prayers contained in Knox's *Book of Common Order*.¹ Upon the restoration of a true Episcopacy to Scotland in 1610 this feeling naturally grew stronger; and, after various preliminary consultations, the matter was at the direction of King James brought before the General Assembly in 1616. The Assembly ordained "that a uniform order of Liturgy or Divine Service be set down to be read in all kirks on the ordinary days of prayer, and every Sabbath day before the sermon to the end that the common people may be acquainted therewith, and by custom may learn to serve God rightly." A small committee of four ministers were for this purpose appointed "to revise the Book of Common Prayers contained in the *Psalm-Book*," by which name the Book of Common Order

¹ On the whole subject of the history of liturgies in Scotland in the reign of James VI. see the admirable introduction to the interesting work *Scottish Liturgies in the reign of James VI.*, by Rev. G. W. Sprott, D.D.

was popularly known. This Act of Assembly was passed without opposition. The Committee appears to have soon set about its labours,¹ and after some delays a Book of Common Prayer for the Church of Scotland was produced, and the manuscript prepared for the press.² But various causes, which cannot here be described, prevented its publication. Whether it exercised any influence on the liturgy of 1637 is in a high degree doubtful.

5. In 1629 Charles, who had come to the throne in 1625, reminded the Scottish bishops of the importance of providing a liturgy for Scotland, and the final result of the labours of some of the Scottish bishops (more particularly of Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, and the scholarly Wedderburne, Bishop of Dunblane), as revised by Archbishop Laud and Wren, Bishop of Norwich, approved of by the king, and sanctioned by the Scottish bishops generally, is that noble and beautiful but ill-fated liturgy, *The Booke of Common Prayer for the use of the Church of Scotland*, which, when read for the first time in St. Giles' Cathedral on Sunday 23d July 1637, was the occasion of the first beginnings of the open revolt against Church and king.

¹ See Sprott's *Liturgies of the reign of James VI.*, p. xxiii.

² This manuscript, now in the library of the British Museum, was printed for the first time and edited in a thorough and scholarly manner in 1871 by Rev. Dr. G. W. Sprott in the work before referred to.

6. In estimating the *intention* of the changes in the Office for the Holy Communion in the Prayer-Book of 1637, it is worth while considering how far they are due to Laud's influence, as his numerous writings afford ample opportunity for acquainting ourselves with his theological opinions.

There is no good reason for doubting the accuracy of Laud's own account of the matter. At the outset of the negotiations he desired that the English Prayer-Book should be adopted, and hoped that the Churches of the two kingdoms (now united under one monarch) would be united in the form of their worship as well as in the forms of faith and government. But the Scottish prelates were of a different mind. They believed that there would be less difficulty in inducing their countrymen to accept a book which was distinctly their own, and which, on the face of it, made plain that it was not sought to treat Scotland as though it were, at best, but a new ecclesiastical province of the Anglican Church. Laud felt it to be right to yield to the representations of the bishops of Scotland.

But if the Scottish Prayer-Book was to be different from the English, what was to be the character of the differences? The majority of the Scottish bishops at this time, we may affirm with confidence, would have preferred, either on the ground of prudence or personal prepossessions, such modifications of the

English book as would have brought it nearer in character to the formularies with which their people were already more or less familiar in the Book of Common Order, and such as are exhibited in the liturgy which had been prepared, though not sanctioned, in the reign of James VI. But the bishops could not have felt very strongly on the matter; and as has often happened, before and since, in both civil and religious history, a few men of sharply pronounced opinions, zeal and determination, and at the same time thoroughly united, carried the day against a majority placed amid circumstances that made it highly inconvenient to be hostile, vigorous, or outspoken. The slightest movement towards a Puritan reaction would have been met by Laud with a peremptory negative. And among the Scottish bishops he had two zealous, able and influential allies. The energy and aggressive persistence of Maxwell, supported by the liturgical learning of Wedderburne, carried with them, though it may be in a half-hearted or reluctant way, the rest of the prelates. They acquiesced, and they are thus responsible for the Prayer-Book of 1637. Accordingly we must admit that the popular name, 'Laud's liturgy,' indicates, not unfairly, its doctrinal colouring.

7. Laud in his able defence of himself declared, "I like the book exceeding well, and hope I shall be able to maintain anything that is in it."¹

¹ *Works*, iii. 335.

In his replies to the charges made against him by the Scottish Commissioners (charges which, at least as they have respect to the liturgy, every impartial and well-informed reader will now acknowledge to be marked by a singular measure of ignorance, prejudice, and narrow bigotry), Laud, encompassed though he was by his enemies, and feeble from old age and bodily infirmities, writes from his prison in the Tower with much power and ability in defence of the special characteristics of the Scottish book. Thus, the Scottish Commissioners allege that "the corporeal presence of Christ's body in the Sacrament" is "to be found" in the words by which "Almighty God is in-called, that of His Almighty goodness He may vouchsafe so to bless with His Word and His Spirit these gifts of bread and wine that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of Christ." The Commissioners declare that "the change here is made a work of God's omnipotency." "Well," answers Laud, "and a work of omnipotency it is, whatever the change be. For less than Omnipotence cannot change those elements, either in nature or use, to so high a service as they are put in that great Sacrament. And therefore the invoking of God's Almighty goodness to effect this by them is no proof at all of intending 'the coporeal presence in this Sacrament.' 'Tis true, this passage is not in the Prayer of Consecration in the Service-Book of Eng-

land; *but I wish with all my heart it were.* For though the consecration of the elements may be without it, yet it is much more solemn and full by that invocation.”¹

On the omission of the second clause in the Words of Delivery—“Take and eat this in remembrance,” etc., Laud notices what so many nowadays are feeling to be a real practical advantage in the shortened form,—that by the omission “the action will be much the shorter;” and adds “besides, the words *take, eat, in remembrance,* etc., may seem to relish somewhat of the Zuinglian tenet.”²

Again on another point he remarks, “As for the oblation of the elements, that’s fit and proper; and I am sorry, for my part, that it is not in the Book of England.” He refers here to the direction still retained in our Office, “The Presbyter shall then offer up, and place the bread and wine prepared for the Sacrament upon the Lord’s table.”³ At the revision of 1661 the attempt was made, but un-

¹ Laud’s excellent remarks on the *fiant nobis* are not transcribed here, as the words “be unto us” have, whether well or ill, disappeared from the Scottish Office. He observes “nothing can more cross the doctrine of the present Church of Rome *than their own service.*”—*Works*, iii. 355.

² *Works*, iii. 357.

³ The editor of Laud’s *Works* (iii. 359), in the library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, has fallen into an error in supposing that Laud refers here to the Prayer of Consecration. The editor’s work is generally so well executed that it makes it the more desirable to note this.

successfully, to introduce a similar rubric into the English Prayer-Book. On 'the oblation' proper, found in that part of the great Prayer of Consecration which is called "The Memorial or Prayer of Oblation," Laud defends the position as a commemoration of the sacrifice of Christ Himself.¹

8. The Scottish Commissioners were so keen-eyed as to fancy they saw in the liturgy "grounds laid for *Missa Sicca* or the Half-Mass; for private Mass without the people; of communicating in one kind; of the consumption by the priest, and the consummation of the sacrifice; of receiving the sacrament in the mouth and not in the hand," etc. But they do not particularise² wherein these pernicious errors lie hid. It must be confessed that the Scottish liturgy of 1637 does contemplate what is here pointed at under the name *Missa Sicca* or Half-Mass, by which, no doubt, is meant what was so long known and is in some places still known under the name of 'Table-Prayers.'

¹ "It is one thing to offer up His Body, and another to offer up the memorial of His Body with our praise and thanks for that infinite blessing."—*History of the Troubles and Trial: Works*, iii. 346.

² As to communicating in one kind, we find from the clever tractate, *Ladensium Ἀυτοκατάκρισις, the Canterburians' Self-Conviction* (3d edition), 1641, p. 109 sq., that the point which suggested the suspicion, "The English will have the ministers and people to communicate in both kinds, our booke enjoins the priest to receive in both kinds, but the people only in due order." The author misrepresents the facts here. There is more excuse for the suspicion of a desire to promote receiving 'in the mouth,' as the words 'in their hands,' which are in the English book, are omitted.

The present Scottish Office is not disfigured by this blot.¹

With respect to the charge of "inverting the order of the Communion in the Book of England," *i.e.* changing the places of various prayers, and more particularly the conjoining the post-communion prayer (entreating the acceptance of "our sacrifice of prayer and thanksgiving") with the prayer of consecration, "for no other end," say the Commissioners, "but that the memorial and sacrifice of praise mentioned in it may be understood according to the Popish meaning (Bellarm. : *de Missa*, lii. c. 21), not of the spiritual sacrifice, but of the oblation of the Body of the Lord." Laud in his defence declares, "Though I shall not find fault with the order of the prayers as they stand in the Communion Book of England (for God be thanked 'tis well), yet if a comparison must be made, I do think that the order of the prayers as they now stand in the Scottish liturgy to be the better and more agreeable to use in the primitive Church ; and I believe they which are learned will acknowledge it." ²

¹ It should, however, be remembered that the present Scottish Office is expressly entitled "The Communion Office for the use of the Church of Scotland, *as far as concerneth the ministration of that Holy Sacrament.*" This latter somewhat obscure phrase really points to what we know from other sources to be a fact, *viz.* that in the last century, when the Office received its shape, 'Table-Prayers' were frequent and celebrations comparatively rare. The 'wee bookies' would be of use only on these rare occasions.

² *Works*, iii. 344.

9. There is another charge gravely made against Laud by the Scottish Commissioners which is based in a rubric that still stands in the Scottish Office,—the rubric directing the presbyter at the time of the Prayer of Consecration to stand “at such a part of the Table where he may with the more [most—Scottish Office] ease and decency use both his hands.” This “seems,” they admit, “to be no great matter; . . . yet being tried it importeth much; as that he must stand with his hinder parts to the people; representing (saith Durand [*Rationale*, iv. 11, 2]) that which the Lord said to Moses, ‘Thou shalt see my hinder parts.’” Laud replies, “The rubric professes that nothing is meant by it [‘the remove of the presbyter’] but that he may use both his hands with more ease and decency about that work. And I protest in the presence of Almighty God I know of no other intention herein than this. But these men,” he adds, “can tell more. They are sure it is that he may turn his hinder parts to the people representing that which the Lord said to Moses. And what warrant have they for this? Why, Durand says so. Now truly the more fool he.”

10. Other charges of an equally silly kind are to be found with Laud’s replies in the *History of the Troubles and Trial of Archbishop Laud*,¹ but it would be wearisome to recount them here. Prynne, with

¹ *Works*, iii. 346-352.

considerable acuteness, exhibits in *Hidden Works of Darkness brought to Public Light*¹ the drift and purport of the changes in the Scottish liturgy as compared with the English. He is a special pleader and a violent partisan, but, with two or three noteworthy exceptions, he rightly divines the motive of the several changes. The 'Table' of the English book became the 'holy Table' here. According to the English book it was to be placed "in the body of the Church or in the Chancel," here "at the *uppermost* part of the Chancel or Church." In the English book the Table was to have 'a fair linen cloth upon it,' in the Scottish there was added 'with other decent furniture meet for the high mysteries there to be celebrated.' And throughout the service he notices, what is indeed plain enough, the emphasis with which the sacrificial aspect of the rite is presented. Nor does he fail to guess correctly the motive with which in the Scottish book the people are directed to ask God's mercy after the reading of each of the Commandments "for their transgressions of every duty therein, either according to the letter, or to the *mystical importance* of the said Commandments."² He marks how the words 'humbly beseeching Thee that all we who be partakers of this holy communion may be fulfilled with Thy grace and heavenly benediction' give place to 'humbly beseeching Thee that whoso-

¹ Prynne, pp. 158-163.

² See Liturgical Notes.

ever 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,' etc., and so proceeds through the whole Office.

The most elaborate attack upon the Scottish liturgy was, however, that issued anonymously (but attributed rightly to the authorship of R. Baillie) under the title 'Ladensium *Αυτοκατάκρισις*, the Cantaburians' Self-conviction.' It would be entertaining enough, but would occupy us too long, to give some account of the arguments by which it is conclusively proved to the writer's satisfaction that the liturgy is no better than the 'Romish mass.'

11. It would be a matter of much more interest could we discover to whom the origination of the several changes introduced into the Scottish book is due. Some of importance, I believe, we may trace to the Scottish bishop, James Wedderburne.¹ A letter of Laud's to Wedderburne (20th April 1636) has been preserved,² which leads us to believe that it is to Wedderburne we owe (1) the idea of marginal rubrics directing the manual acts in the Prayer of Consecra-

¹ Wedderburne died in 1639, aged 54. He was buried in Canterbury Cathedral. The following inscription on his monument may well be from the pen of the Archbishop :—

Reverendissimus in Christo Pater Jacobus Wedderburnus, Taoduni in Scotia natus, Sacelli Regii ibidem Decanus, Dumblanensis Sedis per annos iv Episcopus ; antiquæ probitatis et fidei, magnumque ob excellentem doctrinam patriæ suæ ornamentum.

² Prynne's *Hidden Works*, etc., p. 154.

tion (though it was Laud, not Wedderburne, that named—perhaps not very wisely—the *exact place* in the service when they should be performed), and (2) the placing the Prayer of Humble Access immediately before reception. And it is also interesting to observe that the same letter makes it probable that, if Laud had allowed Wedderburne to have his will, the Prayer of Consecration would have been placed early in the service, and the order of our present Office anticipated by over a hundred years. Elsewhere¹ we learn that the return to the form of the Words of Delivery as in the Prayer-Book of 1549 was due to Wedderburne. Laud had evidently a high respect for Wedderburne's learning. He writes to him as to one from whom he might gain much information about liturgical matters, and whose judgment in such matters he esteemed highly. Wedderburne had been Professor of Divinity at St. Andrews, had studied (it would seem) at both Oxford and Cambridge, and had been long a resident in the house of that giant of learning Isaac Casaubon. He was not, indeed, a man to take much interest or be much help in questions of state policy or ecclesiastical intrigue. He was, writes Laud in his *History of the Troubles*, etc., "a mere scholar and book-man, and as unfit for, as unacquainted with, such 'counsels and projects' as these men [the Scottish Commissioners] would make

¹ *Troubles and Trial: Works*, iii. 356.

me author of.”¹ The new sentences for the offertory were also a Scottish suggestion, though they can probably be traced back ultimately to Bishop Andrewes, who in his manuscript *Notes on the Book of Common Prayer*² had marked these and some other texts of Scripture as suitable.

12. The differences between the liturgy of 1637 and our present *Office* are not so much in their contents as in their arrangement or structure.

Many of the differences between the Scottish Office and the present corresponding English service can at once be traced to the liturgy of 1637. The most remarkable and important of these are :—

1. The prayer of Oblation (not found in the English Service).
2. The benediction of the sacred Elements by the invocation of the Holy Spirit (not found in the English Service).
3. The more full and express commemoration of the faithful departed.

To these may be added :—

4. The removal of the second clause in the words at the delivery of the consecrated Bread and Wine to the communicants,

¹ *Works*, iii. 374. The very interesting changes in the Athanasian Creed which Wedderburne effected do not come under our notice here ; but it is interesting to observe this early attempt to meet the difficulties that have since been made so much of.

² Printed in his *Minor Works* (Lib. Anglo-Cath. Theol.)

by reverting to the formula of the first Prayer-Book of Edward VI.

5. The different Offertory Sentences.
6. The preference for the 'Authorised Version' of 1611 in citing the Offertory Sentences, the comfortable words, and (as I show hereafter) the Ten Commandments.
- 7 Some minor differences of expression, as *e.g.* in the Prayer of Consecration "a perpetual memory [memorial] of that His precious death *and sacrifice*," etc.

13. Indeed during the first half of the last century this liturgy of 1637 was used by the Scotch non-jurors with scarcely any verbal change,¹ the difference in practice being an alteration in the order of the parts. Thus, for example, while the order of the prayers in 1637 was (1) prayer for whole state of Christ's Church, (2) the Long and Short Exhortations, (3) Confession and Absolution, (4) Comfortable Words, (5) *Sursum Corda*, Preface, and *Vere Dignum*, (6) Prayer of Consecration, (7) Lord's Prayer, (8) Prayer of Humble Access, (9) Communion, in the *Scottish Office* printed in 1743, which on the title bears the words 'Authorised by K. Charles I. Anno 1636.

¹ Some few verbal changes, however, may be found, and certain of them of dogmatic significance, as *e.g.* in the edition of 1743 (professing to be "authorised by K. Charles I.") "militant here in earth" is omitted; and in the edition of 1735 "which we now offer unto Thee" is inserted in the Prayer of Consecration after the words "these Thy holy gifts."

All the parts of the Office are ranked in the natural order. The order, here called 'the natural order,' gives us (1) Long Exhortation, (2) *Sursum Corda*, etc., (3) Prayer of Consecration, (4) Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church, (5) Lord's Prayer, and Short Exhortation, (6) Confession and Absolution, (7) Comfortable Words, (8) Prayer of Humble Access, (9) Communion.

14. In the *Large Declaration concerning the late Tumults in Scotland* (1639) it is stated, as in the name of the king, "We took special care that the small alterations of it [the Scottish liturgy] in which it differeth from the English Service-Book should be such as we had reason to think would best comply with the minds and dispositions of our subjects of that kingdom [Scotland]." ¹ That it was wise to make *some* changes there can be little doubt. All concurred in believing that if the king had "tendered them the English Service-Book *totidem verbis*" "factious spirits would have endeavoured to have misconstrued it as a badge of dependence upon" the English Church. The king is made, ² however, to put the case more favourably than was in accordance with truth. Many of the changes, as we have seen, were certainly not such as could be accurately described as a "few insensible alterations;" nor were they in the main such as

¹ P. 18.

² The real author was Dr. Walter Balcanquhall, a Scotsman, and Dean of Durham.

would best please his Scottish subjects. But there are really some few changes which were made probably with a view to allay prejudice. (1) The change of the word *Priest* into *Presbyter*, (2) the removal of the Offertory Sentences taken from the Apocryphal Book of Tobit, and (3) the choice of the translation of Scripture passages, as the Ten Commandments, the Offertory Sentences, and the Comfortable Words, from the Authorised Version (which had at last come to be recognised as the best) rather than from the version of the English Prayer-Book. These three changes still continue in the present Office.

15. With the violent downfall of Episcopacy in Scotland the liturgy ceased to be a matter of practical concern to any one, and it passes out of sight to reappear in 1661 and be received with evidently deep respect in the assembly of Bishops and Doctors who brought the English Prayer-Book to its present shape. On the English Prayer-Book the Scottish Prayer-Book of 1637 has left its indelible mark, while it is the substantial basis of our present Scottish Office, and has deeply, though indirectly, influenced the Communion Office of the American Church.

II.

LITURGICAL WORSHIP IN SCOTLAND,
1661-1712.

1. AFTER the restoration of Episcopacy to Scotland in 1661-1662 it was not attempted to restore the Scottish liturgy, or to introduce the newly revised English Prayer-Book. The rulers of the Church, with the memory of the troubles still fresh, did not think it advisable to stir up strife anew. Accordingly we find regulations in most of the Diocesan Synods of 1662, not extending beyond the direction that the Lord's Prayer should be repeated,¹ and a Doxology sung in public worship, and that the Apostles' Creed should be used in the rite of baptism. The reading of the Holy Scriptures at public worship which, as it would seem, had been almost wholly abandoned, was urged by the bishops. The following taken from Bishop Leighton's proposals, adopted unanimously in his

¹ In the Edinburgh Synod (14th October 1662) it was agreed that the Lord's Prayer should be repeated "once at least" during Divine Service.

Synod at Dunblane (15th September 1662),¹ will perhaps sufficiently represent what was aimed at in most of the dioceses.

“*First*, That instead of lecturing and preaching both at one meeting, larger portions of the Holy Scriptures, one whole chapter at least of each Testament, and Psalms withal, be constantly read; and this, not as a byework while they are convening, but after the people are well convened, and the worship solemnly begun, with confession of sins and prayer, either by the minister, or some fit person by him appointed.

“*Secondly*, That the Lord’s Prayer be restored to more frequent use, and likewise the Doxology and the Creed.

“*Thirdly*, That daily public prayer in churches, morning and evening, with reading the Scriptures, be used where it can be had conveniently, and the people exhorted to frequent them, not so as to think that this should excuse them from daily private prayer in their families, and in secret, but rather as

¹ We learn on the authority of Burnet (*History of his own Time*, Book ii.) that the saintly Leighton was much set on the restoration of the liturgy, seeking how he “could raise men to a truer and higher sense of piety, and bring the worship of the Church out of their *extempore* methods into more order, and so to prepare them for a more regular way of worship.” From the same source we learn that the hope of ‘setting up the Common Prayer’ at the Chapel Royal was one of his reasons for preferring the poor see of Dunblane,—the Deanery of the Chapel Royal being attached to it.

a help to enable them and dispose them the more for both these.”

2. But nothing will show more conclusively how formidable, perhaps insurmountable, were the difficulties that stopped the introduction of either the Scottish or English liturgy than the fact that the Bishop of Aberdeen, David Mitchell, a Churchman of the school of Laud, and the personal friend of the author of the *Considerationes Modestæ*, supported by a considerable body of his clergy, did not venture on more at his Synod (21st Oct. 1662) than to carry the resolution “that there should be readers of the Scriptures in each congregation who after a set form of prayer, especially the Lord’s Prayer, were to read portions of the Psalter and Old Testament; after which to repeat the Creed; then to read a portion of the New Testament; and to conclude by rehearsing the Ten Commandments. It was also ordered that morning and evening prayer should be said . . . and that the liturgy in the Old Psalm Book [that is Knox’s *Book of Common Order*] should be used.”¹ This was going back almost exactly to the state of public worship which prevailed before 1637, or perhaps we should be more correct in saying before 1645, when the use of the Lord’s Prayer and Doxology began to be dropped.²

¹ Grub, *Eccl. Hist.*, iii. 203, 204.

² Yet the Directory of the Westminster Assembly, as adopted by the General Assembly at Edinburgh (3d February 1645), declares: “Because the prayer which Christ taught His disciples is not only

Professor Grub, whose knowledge, at once extensive and minute, conjoined with a singularly impartial and judicial temper of mind, makes him an invaluable guide to every inquirer into the ecclesiastical history of Scotland, declares that "the ritual and forms of worship were almost the same as before the commencement of the troubles. It is doubtful," he says, "whether the Book of Common Prayer was used even in the Chapel Royal, except during the short time that the Lady Anne resided in Edinburgh¹ along with her father the Duke of York. It was not restored in any of the Cathedrals, or in the College Chapels, although portions of it may have been adopted, as in the form of Morning and Evening Service drawn up by Henry Scougal for the Cathedral of Aberdeen. In the parish church of Salton the English Service was read by Gilbert Burnet, and many of the clergy used the Prayer-Book in private; but the civil government gave no encouragement to liturgical reform, and most of the Bishops, recollect-

a pattern of prayer, but itself a most comprehensive prayer, we recommend it also to be used in the Prayers of the Church." On the disuse of the Lord's Prayer in Presbyterian Worship, see *Book of Common Order* (Sprott and Leishman's Edition), p. 339.

¹ Before the troubles it had been used in the Chapel Royal at Holyrood on the occasion of James VI. revisiting Scotland in 1617; and on Whitsunday of that year the Eucharist was celebrated according to English rite. The Service continued to be used from that date at Holyrood House. Later on it was used in some of the Cathedrals, and in the new College of the University of St. Andrews (*Large Declaration*, pp. 19, 20).

ing what had taken place in the reign of Charles the First, were afraid to propose any change. . . . Kneeling at the Communion, which had formerly caused so much opposition, was not enforced, and was seldom practised.”¹

3. In 1680, and while the Duke of York was still in Scotland, a representation was made to the Privy Council by some of their own number “that divers persons of quality and others of this kingdom were very desirous to have the allowance of the solemn form of divine worship after the laudable and decent custom and order of the Church of England in their private families.” The Council allowed the same and gave “assurance to them of the Council’s countenance and protection therein.”² The inquisitorial temper of those in authority at a time when Episcopacy was established, can hardly be better illustrated than by this petition of persons of rank to be allowed to use the Prayer-Book in their own households.

4. The character of worship in the Church, both before and immediately after its disestablishment in 1689, is graphically pictured by Bishop Rattray in the following description, which is found in a MS.

¹ *Eccl. Hist. of Scotland*, iii. 218. I may mention that in the pew assigned to the magistrates of the Burgh in the Abbey Church at Haddington there are some large quarto copies of ‘The Book of Common-Prayer’ bearing the date 1687. I have not been able to discover that the Prayer Book was used at Haddington, or to learn how the books came there.

² Wodrow’s *History*, ii. 232.

belonging to the Diocesan library of Brechin.¹ I shall be pardoned, I have no doubt, for printing the account of the ordinary service as well as the account of the Communion service. “Let us now . . . look back to the state of this Church with respect to public worship preceding this period of the Bishop of Edinburgh’s death [20th March 1720]—which, indeed, at the Revolution, and for a long time after, was very lamentable, and has scarcely deserved the name; for we had no such thing as any offices or liturgies used among us. The method in our ordinary assemblies on the Lord’s day was almost the same as with that of the Presbyterians: beginning with singing a stanza or two of the Metre Psalms, after which followed an extemporary Prayer, during which, as well as at singing of the Psalms, most of the congregation sat irreverently on their breech, only they were uncovered. Then came a long Sermon, the text of which was no sooner read, but most of the people put on their hats or bonnets. After the Sermon followed another extemporary Prayer, at the Conclusion of which they said the Lord’s Prayer; then another stanza or two of the Metre Psalms, which they concluded with a Doxology, but the people sat likewise during all the time of this last Prayer and Psalms, in the same manner as

¹ Through the kindness of Canon Bell I am able to present this to the reader. It will be published in full in the second volume of the Pitsligo Press edition of Bishop Rattray’s Works.

in those before the Sermon, only they rose up at the Doxology, though some thought even that too superstitious (whether they generally stood up at the Lord's Prayer I am not so certain). After the Doxology the congregation was dismissed with the Blessing; but indeed most of them did not wait for it, for all the time it was apronouncing they were running out of the church, like so many sheep breaking out of a fold, in the greatest hurry and confusion; nay, from the time the sermon was ended, the people, in many places at least, began gradually to drop out; for in truth the hearing of it was the only design they had in coming to church."

After relating that it was the Catechism of the Westminster Assembly that was used by our clergy for the instruction of the people, the author proceeds: "The Holy Eucharist was not celebrated, in most places at least, above once a year, if so often; and their method of doing it differed also very little from that of the Presbyterians; for they had their Preparation Sermon (as they called it) the day before, their Action Sermon on the day itself, besides their Discourses at the serving of the tables (for they had long tables placed in the church, on each side of which the people sat as if it had been at a common meal and handed about the Elements from one to another, whilst the attending elders shoved the plate with the Consecrated Bread along the table for their

greater conveniency, during which time a Presbyter was still discoursing to them—only after each table was served, while they who had communicated were removing, and others planting themselves again about it, a stanza of a Psalm was singing) and on the day after they had their Thanksgiving Sermon. All this work of Preparation, Action, and Thanksgiving Sermons, and Discourses at serving the tables (for these were the phrases used by them as well as by the Presbyterians) obliged them likewise to take the assistance of two or three Presbyters from the neighbouring parishes. . . . As for the consecration, that was performed by an extemporary Prayer, which how defective it must frequently have been may easily be judged considering that many of them had no notion of its being the Sacrifice of the Christian Church, only they repeated the words of the History of the Institution. And though they might proportion the Bread at first to the number of communicants before consecration ; yet, at least in many places, they generally consecrated but a small part of the Wine, and when it was exhausted they had a little barrel or some other such vessel at hand, from which they filled more, and straight used it without any consecration at all.”¹

The author then states that the rite of Confirmation was never used; and declares his belief (and

¹ Rattray's *Works*, p. 850-852.

one cannot doubt that there is much to support it) that the affinity of the Church services to those of the Presbyterians was the reason why the people so generally joined the Presbyterians in the beginning of the Revolution—there being no difference but that the Presbyterians omitted the Lord's Prayer and the Doxology.

“In this deplorable state,” writes our author, “we continued till about the year 1707 or 1708, only the English Common-Prayer Book had been used in some private families before, almost from the beginning of the Revolution, but about that time it began to be introduced into our more public assemblies; and as the gentry and people of better fashion were generally very zealous in promoting it, so it came to take very soon with our commons also; only some few of our older clergy showed some backwardness to it, as looking upon every alteration, how much soever to the better, from what they had been accustomed to, as a culpable innovation.” It is then related how one of the Dundee clergy resisted the wishes of his congregation who desired the Book of Common-Prayer, and it is added that there were “some few others of the old clergy—one or two at Edinburgh itself—who did not use the Common-Prayers during all Bishop Rose's lifetime.¹ But into most of our congregations

¹ Indeed, we learn from Robert Forbes, in 1756, that “it is notoriously known that several clergymen in Edinburgh in the

throughout the whole nation they were very quickly introduced, without the least opposition that I know of anywhere, even from the meanest of our commons." After praising the wisdom of Bishop Rose in this matter, the writer continues, "We were also very much assisted by the charity of the good people in England, who sent down, from time to time, great parcels of Common-Prayer Books, which were distributed among the common people to their great encouragement. This is what we ought ever to retain a grateful sense of, as well as of their other charities to us, and to pray that they may be rewarded by the blessing of God on them and on their posterity."

"Some people among us could have wished that instead of the English Prayer-Book, that which was formerly composed for the use of our own Church in King Charles the First's time, had been now introduced; but that could not have been so easily done, as for other reasons, perhaps so especially through want of books, whereof so great a number as was requisite to be distributed among the commons could not have been so soon provided. Besides the

lifetime of Bishop Rose *and afterwards* used no liturgy, but went on in the old Episcopal method which prevailed before the Revolution and long after it, of praying without book." [The names of some of these clergy are then given.] "There were several others at that time in Edinburgh who, though they joined in the use of the liturgy when others performed, yet could never themselves be prevailed upon to officiate by it."—Dean of Brechin's MS. Collection. Rose died in 1720.

differences betwixt them are not very material, save only in the Communion Office. Here, indeed, ours is allowed to have the preference, even by the judgment of the learnedst writers of the Church of England themselves; and accordingly it was used by several of the most intelligent clergy with the Bishop of Edinburgh's knowledge and allowance. And even some who did not use it, did yet interject a Prayer of Invocation for the descent of the Holy Ghost to bless and sanctify the Elements, and to make them the Sacramental Body and Blood of Christ, and read the first prayer in the Post-Communion immediately after the words of Institution for a Prayer of Oblation, as it was originally designed. It may not be improper also to remark, that even before we had the Common Prayers, it was the custom in many places to mix a little pure and clean water with the Sacramental Wine—not indeed at the Altar, but in preparing the elements before. This custom was almost universal throughout the North, perhaps from the very time of the Reformation, and after this time we are now speaking of, came to spread still somewhat more: several of our younger clergy especially, beginning to acquaint themselves with the principles and practices of the Primitive Church, and to pay great regard to them.”¹

¹ As explanatory of the passage now cited I may mention that the *Doxology* referred to was the metrical *Doxology* sung at the end

5. During the reign of Queen Anne the use of the English Prayer-Book became general among the

of the Psalms and varying according to the metre. Dr. Spratt (*The Book of Common Order*, etc., Spratt and Leishman's edition, p. 249 and p. 339) gives the following account of the Doxologies. "These," he writes, ". . . were renderings of *Gloria Patri*, 32 in number, to suit the great variety of metres in the psalter, so that one might be sung at the close of each psalm or part of a psalm. . . . The use of *Gloria Patri* in some or in all the metres was universal in 1638. Baillie speaks of it as the 'constant practice of our Church.' . . . In Scotland, up to this period [1645], the Psalm had always ended with what was known as the Conclusion, Doxology, or *Gloria Patri*. The laying of it aside was one of the Western *novations*, which had been disturbing the Church since the Glasgow Assembly. . . . An attempt was made in the Assembly of 1645 to lay it aside by a formal Act, as was done with bowing in the pulpit. But Calderwood, evidently against Gillespie's mind, defended it as a primitive usage, and 'it was thought good to let desuetude abolish it.' A story was still current after the Revolution, that when the motion was made, the old historian burst out with, 'Let that alone, for I hope to sing it in glory.' At the Restoration, the Doxology was again heard. Ray, in 1661, says that in Dunbar 'they sung their *Gloria Patri* at the end of the Psalm after sermon, as had been ordered by the Parliament, in these words :—

'Glore to the Father and the Sonne,
And to the Holy Gheast,
As it was in the beginning,
Is now, and aye doth last.'

In 1662 the Bishop of Aberdeen in Synod recommended 'that at the singing of the Doxologie, the people shall stand up and not sit,' showing that the usage was to sit at the singing of the Psalm. . . . It had come to be considered a form belonging exclusively to Episcopacy. So well was this understood, that the incumbent of Burntisland was, immediately after the Revolution, libelled, among other things, for 'keeping at his old forms of singing the Doxologie, etc.'" In the Scottish religious literature of the period of the Revolution we often find references that point to the omission of the Lord's Prayer and Doxology as being the chief difference

congregations of our Church.¹ To a poor and plundered church the large grants of English Prayer-Books, made by English Churchmen, were a considerable aid. The Queen herself contributed to their supply. The University of Oxford was especially generous. It is said that "above 19,000 Common-Prayer Books and other devotional and edifying books relating to it were remitted from London in the space of two years."² To reprint the Prayer-Book of 1637, and issue it with authority for actual use, besides involving an outlay that could be ill afforded, would have necessitated the altering the names of the King and members of the royal family between the worship of Presbyterians and Episcopalians. The Apostles' Creed was recited in some places, but not generally. The non-observance of the great festivals (for there does not appear to have been any observance of festivals of less dignity) and some differences in clerical attire were the only other changes that were very noticeable. Thus, Robert Calder, the author of 'Scottish Presbyterian Eloquence Displayed,' in his ironical eulogy of the Earl of Crawford declares "It is to you that the nation owes her miraculous deliverance from the idolatries of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Gloria Patri. It is your Lordship that hath rescued us from the superstitious observing of Christmas, Easter and Whitsunday and from all the popish fopperies of cassocks, close-sleeved gowns and girdles. It is your Lordship that hath enriched their Majesties' treasury with the revenues of fourteen fat Bishops," etc. There is a rare tract by Sir Hugh Campbell of Calder, *An Essay on the Lord's Prayer*, Edinburgh (1704), aiming at no more than to induce the Presbyterian ministers to introduce the Lord's Prayer into public worship.

¹ For details see Grub, *Eccl. Hist.*, iii. 358-360. Stephen's *History of the Church of Scotland*, iv. 27-102.

² See 'Representation of the state of the Church in North Britain,' pp. 11-20.

in the state prayers, which, altered in the only way possible, would have immediately brought the Church into collision with the civil authorities. In the use of the English books, so liberally supplied, it was easy, if desired, to omit the names of Anne and her Hanoverian successors.¹ In 1712 the Earl of Winton reprinted the Scottish Prayer-Book of 1637.² This was not done merely as a gratification of antiquarian tastes, for the book was used at Tranent;³ but the difficulty now alluded to was met by the awkward retention of the "nominal prayers" exactly as they stood in 1637, 'King Charles,' 'Queen Mary,' and 'Prince Charles' appearing in the printed text.

Dr. Grub⁴ considers the chief cause why the English book as a whole was "adopted rather than the Scottish one, was the advantage which the adherents

¹ I have now before me an Oxford edition of the Book of Common Prayer, which had been in use in a Jacobite family in Scotland. A piece of paper is neatly pasted over the names of the King and other members of the royal family wherever they occur in the prayers.

² The volume is in small 8vo. The title runs—"The Book of Common-Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments; and other Parts of Divine Service for the use of the Church of Scotland, with a Paraphrase of the Psalms in Metre by King James VI. Edinburgh: Printed by James Watson, and sold at his shop opposite the Lucken-Booths 1712. From the copy printed at Edinburgh in the year 1637, by Robert Young, Printer to King Charles the First."

³ "It was constantly used in the meeting-house of Tranent, and all this, no doubt, with the consent and approbation of the said Bishop" [*i.e.* Bishop Rose]. Robert Forbes (afterwards Bishop), from MS. in the possession of the Dean of Brechin.

⁴ *Ecl. Hist.*, iii. 360.

of Episcopacy thus had of appealing more effectually to the sympathy and support of the powerful hierarchy of England." With this I think must be taken into account the fact that there was in 1712 no desire among any very considerable number of either clergy or laity for the definite expression of the doctrine taught with emphasis in the Communion Service of 1637. Bishop Rose indeed used to add a Prayer of Invocation to the English form of consecration, and on some occasions (particularly at the consecration of Bishops) used the service of 1637.¹ The post-communion Prayer of Oblation in the English book was transferred by others to a place after the Words of Institution ; and Bishop John Falconer and some others actually used the liturgy of 1637. But the feeling in favour of the eucharistic doctrine afterwards expressed in the Scottish Office necessarily took some time to grow among a clergy and people that had so recently celebrated their Eucharists in the manner described above by Bishop Rattray. The main impulse towards the adoption of the views of the Eucharist which afterwards became general reached Scotland from the south.²

¹ Dean of Brechin's MS. collection.

² The persecutions suffered at this time by Scottish Episcopalians not, as at a later period, mainly for political reasons, but for their claiming liberty to worship God after their own fashion, do not come within the scope of the present sketch, which is but indirectly concerned with the external fortunes of the Church.

III.

THE NONJURORS ; ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH.

1. AMONG the many Bishops and Presbyters of the English Church deprived at the Revolution for refusing the oath of allegiance to the Prince and Princess of Orange were several who occupied high station in the Church and the Universities, and many who were men of ability, learning, and earnestness.¹

¹ Nine Bishops, including the Primate, refused to take the oaths but three were saved from deprivation by death. About 400 beneficed clergy, including Fellows of various Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, suffered. The majority of the nonjuring clergy belonged to the party in the Church that a little later, in the reign of Queen Anne, began to receive the name of 'high church.' They were, in belief and sympathies, successors of Andrewes, Laud, Bramhall, Wren, Cosin, and Jeremy Taylor.¹

At first, as might be expected, the whole intellectual force of the party was directed to justifying the extremely grave step which they had taken ; and any one who goes to the trouble of examining with care the extensive pamphlet literature of the period will find ample evidence of the intellectual power of the ejected clergy.

¹ "The Nonjurors were, for the most part, men distinguished for their devotion to Church principles, and of this element there was soon proved to be a grievous lack in the Church of England."—Canon Perry, *History of the Church of England*, p. 552.

2. When the first shock of the event so momentous in the lives of most of them had passed, and left them time to consider their positions, it must have been inevitable that many of them would desire to find forms of devotion that would express their faith and their desires more adequately than the English Book of Common-Prayer. They had loved the English Prayer-Book, but they had always thought it capable of very considerable improvement. The last revision, though largely influenced by divines of their own school, yet, in their judgment, had resulted like the revision of 1552, in a faulty compromise, to be borne with indeed for the sake of unity, but still painfully defective in some matters of grave importance. More especially in regard to the Eucharist they considered that there was room for a closer approach towards purer and more primitive models. What was now to prevent them adopting a more satisfactory form?

3. The four main features characteristic of the early liturgies which the divines of the nonjuring school desired restored to Eucharistic Worship of the Church of England were, 1st, The express invocation of the Holy Spirit in the consecration of the elements; 2d, The Prayer of Oblation; 3d, The Commemoration in prayer of the faithful departed; 4th, The addition of water to the wine in the chalice. These came to be known as the 'Usages' or sometimes the 'greater Usages' to distinguish them from certain other obser-

vances which they also desired to see restored to the worship and ritual of the Church, but which they regarded of less importance.¹ The word 'Usages,' as thus applied, is unhappy in suggesting the notion of mere ritual observances.

The four points here mentioned those who were acquainted with the history of the English Prayer-Book knew to be contained in the first Book of Edward VI.; and those who were versed in patristic studies knew they were characteristic of the Church's worship in early ages. Why, it was asked, should they not be restored?

But the clergy and laity in Scotland and England, who had ceased to regard themselves as in communion with the religious body now in possession of the Church's temporalities in England,² were not agreed among themselves upon the subject of liturgical change. The use of the English Prayer-Book had become general in Scotland, and the defences against Presbyterian animadversions which

¹ Among these were (1) Baptism by immersion; (2) Chrism at confirmation; (3) The anointing of the sick; (4) Reservation for the sick.

² One meets many periphrases in nonjuring writings to avoid designating the established Church *the Church of England*.

The Scottish and English Nonjurors were "the faithful catholic and orthodox remnant of the Britannic Church." As late as December 1783 we find Bishop J. Rose stating that his only objection to the consecration of Seabury is that the 'American doctor' had "got his orders from the schismatical Church of England." See *Scottish Church Review*, vol. i. p. 589.

had to be put forward so constantly on its behalf made the change proposed only a few years after more difficult than it would otherwise have been.

4. The constant intercourse between the Scottish and English Nonjurors was the outcome not only of the identity of their political, but also, very largely, of their theological sympathies. The literary activity of the party was chiefly displayed in the south; and, with the exception of Bishop Archibald Campbell (who, I may observe, lived chiefly in London), and subsequently Bishop Rattray, Scottish writers contributed little that can be of use for our purpose. The harsh repression, and at times the active persecution of the nonjuring clergy in Scotland was not favourable to literary enterprise.¹ The condition of the English Nonjurors was comparatively easy; and among both clergy and laity of the established Church they had many warm friends. Among the clergy, too, of the established Church in England were to be found several who sympathised with the theological views of the Nonjurors, except on the

¹ When Rattray's learned work, *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem*, was published as late as 1744, the name of the author (then deceased) was not allowed to appear. And the repressed life and furtive ways of churchmen at the time can hardly be better shown than by the mode in which the names of the Bishops of the Scottish Church are indicated in the list of subscribers to that work. An asterisk (a sign understood, I suppose, by the initiated) alone distinguishes them, as *e.g.* * Rev. Mr. William Dunbar, * Rev. Mr. William Falconar, * Rev. Mr. James Raitt, and so forth.

subjects of the Hereditary Divine Right and Passive Obedience, upon which there were many varying measures of agreement and difference. On the subject of the Eucharist, it was to a clergyman of the established Church, John Johnson, Vicar of Cranbrook in Kent, that the nonjuring divines owe the most powerful support of what is characteristic in their teaching. There are no theological writings more frequently referred to by the nonjuring theologians, and none referred to with greater respect, than those of Johnson.

5. Among the earlier Nonjurors in England there were not a few who, while unable to take the oath of allegiance and the oath of abjuration, as imposed by the Government in power, were entirely satisfied with the doctrine and ritual of 'the Church of England as by law established.' They desired no variation from the teaching of the Articles and Book of Common Prayer as ratified by the Act of Uniformity. They were unable—they felt—without a violation of conscience, to regard as naught their former oath of allegiance to James, and while very many were quite ready to submit honestly to the existing Government as *de facto* rulers, they found it wholly impossible, with their belief as to the Hereditary Divine Right of Kings, to give their solemn assent to the proposition that the royal exile had "no right or title whatsoever to the Crown" of England. But

in Church affairs they desired no change. In the first period of the history of the Nonjurors these formed an important and influential body, that at times, through causes about to be referred to, was in the ascendant. They resisted what they esteemed innovations in the services of the Church. While others might seek to find some compensation for the loss of their positions as clergy of the ecclesiastical establishment in the greater liberty which they now enjoyed in respect to the forms of the Church's worship, these declined to take any step towards change. In regard to things ecclesiastical as well as civil their eyes constantly turned to the exiled Court of St. Germain's. Some of these men, no doubt, were honestly alarmed at what seemed to them dangerous novelties, and honestly believed the Prayer-Book of the Church of England needed no improvement. Others, more especially within the first thirty years after the Revolution, always hopeful for the restoration of the Stuarts, sought to keep things as they were till the King and Head of the Church was restored. They would not consecrate a Bishop nor modify a rubric without the royal authority formally given. And to judge fairly we must remember that if there were many time-servers among those who took the oaths, there were among those who refused them self-interested and ambitious speculators in the politics of the day, who watched the fluctuations in

the fortunes of the rival parties in the state with all the eagerness with which men on 'change watch the wavering movements of the stocks and the share-market. The theology of the ancient Church and the primitive liturgies were topics of a mere idle antiquarianism for men the breath of whose nostrils was political intrigue. They staked heavily upon the success of the Stuarts, and they lost.

6. As time progressed the church-party, as we may call it, among the Nonjurors advanced in influence. It attracted men of ability and earnestness. Bishop Jeremy Collier, Bishop Hicke (the 'deprived' Dean of Worcester), and the elder Bishop Brett have no equals among the other section of the body. The Scottish Bishop Archibald Campbell was not only a man of curious and varied learning, but possessed much intellectual power. Bishop Gadderar was a man of ability, energy, and self-reliance. Even when the controversy as to the 'Usages' in Scotland seemed decided in favour of those averse to change, any who had eyes to see might have predicted that the victory won through the inertia of a declining party would before long be reversed.

7. It must not be forgotten that there were to be found in the ranks of the 'juring' clergy of the established Church of England some who contributed materially to the influence of the theological school of the Nonjurors. I have already referred to John

Johnson ; but there were many of the established clergy who sympathised with the nonjuring theology. In the perplexing problem as to their course of practical duty, they had come to a conclusion different from their nonjuring brethren, and probably, in many instances, with no less tender a regard for conscience. It is only those who possess but little power of thought and imagination that will refuse to acknowledge that the question of duty was at the time of such a kind as might fairly puzzle the most honest and the least self-regarding. The divines I refer to took the oath of allegiance to the *de facto* sovereigns, and afterwards, as might be, the oath of abjuration, but, with this exception, in their religious beliefs and sentiments their sympathies ran either wholly, or a long way, with the nonjuring theologians. Indeed some of the theological principles developed more fully by the Nonjurors are to be found in Anglican writers of a much earlier date, whose names are had in honour among the great theologians of the English Church.

As early as 1635 Joseph Mede maintained a sacrifice, a *material sacrifice*, in the Eucharist,—the Bread and Wine corresponding to the Mincha of the Old Dispensation : and in this oblation Christ is offered commemoratively. “As Christ, by presenting His Death and satisfaction to His Father, continually intercedes for us in heaven, so the

Church on earth semblably approaches the throne of Grace by representing Christ unto His Father in these holy mysteries of His death and passion" (*Christian Sacrifice*, chap. vi.¹). But Mede, though bringing into special prominence the analogy of the material Bread and Wine to the material offerings of the Old Testament, could not assert more strongly than his distinguished contemporaries Andrewes, Overall and Laud, Bramhall and Taylor, Cosin and Patrick, the truth of the Eucharist being a presentation of the death of Christ before the Almighty Father. Whether the Eucharist is "a proper sacrifice," upon which there were many warm debates, is in truth a purely verbal controversy. As Andrewes writes, "By the same rule that theirs [the Hebrews'] was, by the same may ours be, termed a sacrifice. . . . The Lamb but once actually slain in the fulness of time, but virtually was from the beginning, is, and shall be to the end of the world. *That*—the centre in which their lines and ours, their types and our antitype do meet" (Sermon vii. on the *Resurrection*).² And Bramhall in his *Answer to the Epistle of M. de la Milletière*—"We acknowledge a representation of that Sacrifice [*i.e.* of Christ on the Cross] to God the Father; we acknowledge an impetration of the benefit of it; we maintain an application of its virtue. So here is a commemorative, impetrative, applicative

¹ *Works*, p. 365. ² *Sermons*, vol. ii. p. 300 (Anglo-Cath. Lib.)

sacrifice." And he adds, "*Speak distinctly*, and I cannot understand what you can desire more."¹ Similarly Bishop Patrick, commenting on the word *ἀνάμνησις*, says "We do shew forth the Lord's death unto men. *We do shew it forth unto God*" (*Full view*, etc., in Gibson's *Preservative*, etc., p. 213): and Bishop Jeremy Taylor writes, "What Christ does in heaven He hath commanded us to do on earth, that is to represent His death, to commemorate His sacrifice by humble prayer and thankful record; and by faithful manifestation and joyful Eucharist *to lay it before the eyes of our heavenly Father*" (Worthy Communicant, iv.) And again in Jeremy Taylor's *Office for the Holy Communion* from his *Collection of Offices* (1658)² we find the following prayer, "Grant that with a holy fear and a pure conscience we may finish this service, presenting a holy sacrifice holily unto Thee, that Thou mayest receive it in heaven, and smell a sweet odour, in the union of the eternal sacrifice, which our Blessed Lord perpetually offers; and accept us graciously as Thou didst entertain the gifts of Abel, the sacrifice of Noah. . . . so vouchsafe by the hands of us miserable sinners to finish and perfect this oblation that it may be sanctified by the Holy Ghost."

On the subject of the *Sacrifice* the nonjuring

¹ *Works* (Anglo-Cath. Lib.), i. p. 55.

² This book was published by Taylor when the use of the *Book of Common-Prayer* was forbidden in England under severe penalties, to supply in some sort its place.

school, it will be seen, did scarcely more than emphasise the truth that we may, and should, present the sacrifice of Christ before the Father *in ritual act as well as in words*.

8. Another point to which the nonjuring school attached much importance was the 'mixed chalice.' They satisfied themselves that at the institution of the Eucharist the Lord, following the usage of the Jews at the Passover, used a cup of wine mingled with water. They had before them the same great storehouse of rabbinical learning to which the theologians of modern days still resort—Lightfoot's *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ* and *Temple Service*. The Fathers and the ancient liturgies were clearly consentient in its favour. The earliest notice of the ritual of the liturgy that they possessed,¹ Justin Martyr's account, was very express. Irenæus spoke of the 'mixed cup' and the 'mixture of the cup.' Clement of Alexandria explained the mystical signification of the rite. The weight of evidence has, by the most careful modern investigators, been acknowledged as strongly to preponderate in favour of the mixed cup being used at the original institution. The nonjuring school argued—If we have reasons that lead us to conclude that our Lord used the mixture

¹ It is also the earliest description of the ritual that we possess; for the recently discovered *Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων* assumes a knowledge of the ritual. Otherwise the brief utterances *περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου* and *περὶ τοῦ κλάσματος* are simply unmeaning.

of wine and water, have we any right to alter the matter of the Sacrament? That the Church of Rome did not consider the mixed cup necessary to the validity of the Sacrament was no difficulty to these strong anti-Romanists. Had she not departed from the primitive practice and the primitive faith on other matters of the highest moment?¹

9. Again, the liturgical and patristic studies of the nonjuring divines had satisfied them that the commemoration of the faithful departed had been so much obscured in the Communion Office of the English Book of Common-Prayer that it was highly desirable to restore it in its more primitive form. The first Prayer-Book of Edward VI. had been definite in its teaching. The bidding of the Prayer 'for the whole state of Christ's Church' did not contain the limiting clause 'militant here in earth'; and the contents of the Prayer embodied not only a thanksgiving to God for the manifestation of His grace in the lives of the Saints, but also an express commendation of the souls of the faithful departed to His mercy. Some of the greatest English divines had shown to the satisfaction of the Nonjurors that the prayers for the dead in the early Church were not only no support to the Romish doctrine of

¹ It is interesting to note that Mr. Warren (*The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, pp. 131, 133, 256) exhibits evidence to show that the Celtic Church of Ireland (and if so, no doubt its offshoots in Scotland) used the mixed chalice.

Purgatory, but on the contrary were inconsistent with it. Thorndike, who had been one of those engaged in the revision of the English Prayer-Book in 1661, declared that the practice of comprehending in the whole estate of Christ's Church the faithful departed "had been so general in the Church that no beginning of it can be assigned, no time, no part of the Church where it was not used."¹ They remembered Bishop Andrewes' prayer, *Viventium et mortuorum miserere O Domine*,² and, not to refer to other English divines whose declarations on the subject may readily be found,³ they recalled the words of William Forbes, first Bishop of Edinburgh, in his *Considerationes Modestæ*—"Would to God that the Church of England, which certainly in other respects deserves singular praise on account of the great moderation she has shown in many other things perhaps not of equal moment, had in this matter, and in a few others, rather conformed herself to the most ancient custom of the universal Church, than, on account of errors and abuses which crept in afterwards little by little, to have entirely abolished and utterly rejected it, to the great scandal of almost all other Christians."⁴

10. On the importance of the express Invocation

¹ *Works*, iv. 710 (Anglo-Cath. Lib.)

² Devotions.

³ See Bishop A. Campbell's *Middle State*, pp. 157-179 (Edit. 1721).

⁴ Vol. ii. p. 96 (Anglo-Cath. Lib.)

there was a strong feeling. The early liturgies were unanimous in asking a blessing on the Gifts. All those of the East (some of which the Nonjurors regarded as exhibiting the nearest approach to primitive worship) expressly prayed for the operation of the Holy Spirit in effecting the Consecration. Our Lord Himself "blessed" the bread: St. Paul spoke of the cup as "the cup of blessing which we bless." The English Prayer-Book wanted not only the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, but had no *explicit* prayer for a blessing upon the elements; while the rubrical direction how to act "if the consecrated Bread and Wine be all spent before all have communicated" seemed to make clear that the Consecration was supposed to depend simply upon the recitation of the history of the institution of the Sacrament. In this the English Prayer-Book might coincide with the Romish theory of consecration, but it was further removed than the Roman Missal from the primitive forms, in that it did not contain an explicit prayer for a blessing on the elements, while the Roman Missal did.

11. The introduction of various prayers into the text of the Communion Service of the Book of Common-Prayer was one plan adopted to satisfy scruples in some of these respects.¹ For this there

¹ Thus Bishop Rose of Edinburgh used the English Communion Office, but introduced the Invocation, and Bishop Ochterlonie, a

was the precedent of distinguished divines of the Church of England in a former generation. But finally, after much consultation and many differences, the leading divines of the Nonjurors resolved on the production of a liturgy of their own. The Office of the Nonjurors—entitled “A Communion Office taken partly from the Primitive liturgies, and partly from the first English reformed Common-Prayer Book”—appeared in 1718. Bishop Jeremy Collier and Bishop Thomas Brett, with probably the counsel of the two divines from Scotland (Bishop Archibald Campbell and Bishop James Gadderar), were the principal persons engaged in its construction. The learning of Bishop Hicke was no longer at their service; he had died in 1715.¹ Though the book did not appear till 1718, the exact lines which it follows had been formally laid down some two years before in the proposed concordate between “the Orthodox and Catholic remnant of the British Churches and the Catholic and Apostolic Oriental Church,”² the eighth article of which runs thus:

vigorous ‘anti-usager,’ introduced the post-communion collect after the Prayer of Consecration.

¹ From Campbell’s *Middle State*, p. 79, we learn that Hicke had used the first Prayer-Book of Edward VI. in the celebration of the Eucharist.

² See Lathbury’s *History of the Nonjurors*, p. 312. Lathbury transcribed and translated from the original Greek manuscripts preserved in the Library of Bishop Jolly, now contained in the library of the Theological College of the Episcopal Church, Edinburgh.

“That the most ancient English liturgy, as more near approaching the manner of the Oriental Church, be in the first place restored with such proper additions and alterations as may be agreed on, to render it still more conformable to that and the primitive standard.” In 1717 a reprint of the Communion Service from the first book of Edward VI. was issued by the Nonjurors, and in the same year Bishop Collier’s able and moderate tractate entitled, “Reasons for restoring some prayers and directions as they stand in the Communion Service of the First English Reformed Liturgy,” etc. The controversy among the Nonjurors which originated with Collier’s publication, and which quickly spread to Scotland, I need not delay to describe.¹ Bishop Spinckes ably opposed the change, but most of the learning and power were certainly on the side of Collier. Campbell and Gadderar, who at this time resided chiefly in London, very warmly adopted his views.

12. In the year of the publication of the Nonjurors’ Communion Office Collier’s party, or the ‘Usagers,’ as they were called, despatched an agent to Scotland to urge Bishops Rose and Falconar to procure, if possible, a synodical declaration in their favour.² At the same time letters were received from

¹ An account is given in Lathbury’s *History of the Nonjurors* of the replies, and rejoinders, defences, vindications of the defences, etc.

² See Skinner, ii. 628 sq.

Bishop Spinckes, soliciting their countenance for his line of action.

Against the usages "was arrayed," writes Professor Grub,¹ "the whole weight of popular prejudice, the force of habit, the aversion to ritual which, since the Reformation, had almost become a part of the Scottish character, and the power of those who acted in name of the exiled prince. The authority of the Episcopal College leant in the same direction. Falconar alone was a strenuous advocate for these practices; Gadderar had not yet arrived from London; Fullarton and Millar, though sometimes wavering, were generally adverse to them; the other bishops, particularly Irvine, were decidedly opposed to them. Their adoption was entirely owing to the zeal and learning of their principal supporters, and to the conviction on the part of those who maintained them, that they were warranted by the Scriptures, and sanctioned by the authority and example of the primitive Church."

13. Bishop J. Falconer is described as well versed in liturgical and patristic literature. Before the controversy had arisen he was accustomed to use the Scottish liturgy and the mixed cup. Writing to Bishop Rose he puts the case thus: "I have reason to believe that those primitive usages, the restoring of which is so much laboured by these pious and

¹ *Eccl. Hist.*, iii. 387.

learned persons, were indeed apostolical; they being delivered to us by men who contended for the faith once delivered to the saints, some of whom sealed that faith with their blood, who lived near the fountain-head, who, under God, were the conveyancers of the Holy Scriptures to posterity, and who themselves also were indued with charismata. These qualifications state them most veracious and unexceptionable witnesses; and, to think otherwise, is, in my opinion, to sap the foundations, even to shake the credibility of the blissful Scriptures themselves, and of the Church, the ground and pillar of truth. Hence it will follow that the restoration of them is most desirable; the rather that Catholic unity (which to procure when subsisting, and to restore when broken, is the indispensable duty of every Christian, chiefly of the governors of the Church) cannot be established but on this primitive footing."

14. The details of the controversy in Scotland may be gathered from the pages of Skinner and Grub, and do not illustrate the sense of our Office beyond establishing the extreme importance which was attached to the adoption of the primitive practices by the party of the Usagers. Bishop Campbell, indeed, in one place speaks of the four Usages as *essential*, in another he declares that unless the words 'militant here in earth' were omitted, and the 'Invocation rightly placed,' he could not con-

scientifically communicate with the Scottish Church.¹ Bishop Campbell, writing from London (27th May 1720), says: "If your people would use themselves to the Scotch Liturgy, two of the four things upon which we insist are there already; and the mixture could easily be introduced almost unperceivably; and the omitting the words *militant here on earth* would make all well. Thus all we insist upon were easily engrafted upon the Scotch Liturgy. . . . This engraftment on the Scotch Liturgy is what I laboured hard with the Bishop of Edinburgh for; and I did not find him so averse to it in his own inclinations as afraid of the unruliness of some of his old priests."² Gadderar, who had come down from London in 1723, was a man of determination and vigour, and pushed his principles in his own diocese of Aberdeen, unmoved by the appeals of the Erastian Lockhart of Carnwath, the agent of the court of St. Germain's, or the adverse sentiments of the majority of his fellow-bishops. The disputes were allayed for a time by what may be called the first concordate, signed (4th July 1724) by Gadderar on the one part and by the Primus (Fullarton) and four other bishops on the other. The parts relating to the usages are as

¹ See five interesting articles on "Bishop J. Falconar and his friends" in the *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal* for 1852 and 1853. The reader will find there printed several curious letters preserved in the Episcopal Chest.

² From a MS. copy in the possession of the Dean of Brechin.

follows :—“ Bishop James Gadderar, whatever may be his sentiments concerning the Mixture, yet being most desirous to have the bond of peace and cement of unity with his brethren firmly established, makes the following concession and declaration : First, That he is willing, whenever any occasion offers of communicating with his brethren, to receive the unmixed cup at their hands. Secondly, That he will not in his ministrations in any congregation mix publicly, and will use his best endeavours that all under his inspection shall walk by the same rule. Thirdly, And forasmuch as the Primus and the above-named Bishops, his colleagues, have also permitted the Scottish liturgy to such of the clergy as shall think fit to use it, therefore the said Bishop Gadderar declares and promises that he will not insist upon introducing any of the other ancient usages which have not been authorised and generally received in this Church ; and that, to prevent any divisions in the Church, he will discharge the introducing them into the public worship within his district, unless the Primus and the rest of his brethren, in a lawful convocation, shall see sufficient reason to order matters otherwise. . . . Fifthly, Forasmuch as the above articles are designed merely to preserve and establish peace and unity in the Church, it is thought expedient that, for removing all mistakes and misrepresentations, the said Primus, Bishop Millar,

Bishop Irvine, Bishop Cant, and Bishop Freebairn, now declare, as hereby they expressly declare, that nothing contained in the said articles shall extend, or be construed to extend, or imply, that they have approved of the Mixture, either in public or private administrations of the Holy Eucharist.”

15. In the same year, 1724, Gadderar published in Edinburgh what I think may be regarded as the first of the “wee bookies,” a reprint of the Communion Office of 1637 beginning at the Offertory, omitting the two exhortations to be used in giving notice, and the rubrics and collects after the Blessing.¹ His plan was to follow the advice of his friend Bishop Campbell—accept and utilise the Scottish Liturgy of 1637 and quietly ‘engraft’ upon it the two Usages not already there.

¹ The title runs—“The Communion Office for the Church of Scotland, as far as concerneth the ministration of that Holy Sacrament. Authorized by K. Charles I. Anno 1636. Edinburgh, Printed by Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, MDCCLXXIV.” In 1718 Rev. Mr. Peck (the envoy of the English Nonjurors), writing to Bishop Falconar suggests that, as the Scottish Prayer-Book of 1637 was scarce and costly, the Communion Office (10,000 copies) should be printed by itself with two changes. (1) In the rubric where the Presbyter is directed “to offer up and place,” etc., after the word “wine” should come a parenthesis (*i.e.* mixed with a little pure water), and (2) that the whole or at least the latter part of the title of the prayer “for the whole state,” etc., should be omitted. This gentleman was the first to suggest the disingenuous trick of still calling the book *The Liturgy of the Church of Scotland*, “for under this title,” he adds, “I believe it will go best down with the people.” From the MSS. belonging to the Dean of Brechin.

Nothing of importance in the usage controversy occurred till December 1731 when a second concordate was agreed to, of which the first article signed by all the Bishops runs as follows :—“ That we shall only make use of the Scottish or English liturgy in the public divine service ; nor shall we disturb the peace of the Church by introducing into the public worship any of the ancient usages, concerning which there has been lately a difference amongst us : and that we shall censure any of our clergy who shall act otherwise.” Here, then, was a formal recognition by the whole Episcopate of the Scottish liturgy by which was meant the Communion Office of 1637, which we have just seen Gadderar had reprinted seven years before. And thus, *indirectly*, two of the usages were distinctly sanctioned, viz. the Invocation and the Oblation. Strangely enough, a change in the *order* of the prayers does not seem to have been regarded at this period as a violation of the agreement. Bishop Ochterlonie, who used the English book, considered it legitimate to transpose the first post-communion collect to a place immediately after the Prayer of Consecration. And Gadderar, followed by many of his clergy, very freely transposed the parts of the Scottish book. The places were numbered with a pen in the margin of the Office-books ; and it must have required some adroitness to pass backwards and forwards from point to point. In the library of

Bishop Jolly, now belonging to the Theological College of the Episcopal Church, there is a copy of the original black-letter folio of the Scottish Prayer-Book thus marked in the margin, and obviously meant for use at the Altar.¹ There was accordingly nothing very blameworthy when, after Gadderar's death, two booksellers published in 1735, as a little commercial venture of their own, the Office as actually

¹ "No 1" is the Offertory with 1 Chron. xxix. 10, 11 by insertions and omissions made run thus:—"Blessed art thou, O Lord God, for ever and ever. Thine O Lord is the greatness and the power and the glory and the majesty: for all that is in the heaven and in the earth is thine. All things come of thee and of thine own do we give unto thee." "No. 2" is "Dearly beloved in the Lord," etc. "No. 3" is *Sursum Corda*, with prefixed, in a later hand [? Bishop Alexander's], "The Lord be with you." *Answer*, "And with thy spirit:" and Prayer of Consecration, with marks indicating the transposition of the parts of the prayer, and with some curious alterations and additions in the margin, which gives the following result:—"And here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, these thy creatures of bread and wine, together with ourselves our souls and bodies to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto thee, humbly beseeching thee to send down thy holy Spirit upon us and upon these thy gifts that he may make this bread the holy Bo-~~l~~-dy, and this Cup the precious Blo-~~o~~-od of thy Christ unto us that whosoever shall be partakers of this holy communion may be fulfilled with thy grace," etc. The earlier hand had continued with the Lord's Prayer, then "No. 4" Prayer for "the whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth:" "No. 5," "Ye that do truly," Confession, Absolution, and Comfortable Words: "No. 6," Prayer of Humble Access and Distribution. The later hand, which I take to be Bishop Alexander's, used the Prayer for the whole state, etc., after the consecration, and then the Lord's Prayer, and proceeds as before. At a later period we find Alexander using the form of 1764. See Hall's *Frag. Liturg.* v. 217.

recited. The fact of the change in the order was, however, distinctly stated on the title-page by the addition of the words "*All the parts of this Office are ranked in the natural order.*" There were, however, some changes for which there was no warrant, and which, it must be acknowledged, seem to be a clear violation of the concordate. The words "militant here in earth" are omitted, and the words "which we now offer unto thee" inserted.

At the Synod of 1738, beside some reasonable suggestions relating to Mattins and Evensong, Bishop Keith proposed "that a Collect be added to the 1st day of January for grace to pass the new year in the service and fear of God;" also "to insert a Collect (if not something more) with reference to Palm Sunday. 'Tis strange that no notice should be taken of so remarkable an event, and which all the four Evangelists have recorded." Further, he suggested "Might not a Collect, Epistle, and Gospel be appointed for Transfiguration day, August 6th, which is so marked in the English Liturgy." He might have added "and in the Scotch." Nothing came of these sensible suggestions.¹

16. In 1743 there issued a reprint of the 'wee bookie' of 1735 with no place of printing indicated, and the same note on the title-page as to the order of the parts.

The fact that an Episcopal Synod met in the

¹ From MS. copies in the Dean of Brechin's possession.

same year as the issue of this little reprint seems to have led Dr. J. M. Neale¹ and others to conclude that the strong recommendation of "the use of the Scottish Liturgy in the administration of the Holy Communion" must refer to this edition of 1743. But a reference to the MS. memoirs from which we learn the fact of the recommendation shows how insecure is this inference. The writer says: "The Bishops in Synod then agree that the several Bishops do recommend to their clergy, in the strongest manner, the use of the Scottish liturgy in the administration of the Holy Communion.—*Item.* That they administer the Sacrament of baptism, and solemnise the institution of matrimony according to the forms in the liturgy." Contemporaneously with the publication of the Book of Common-Prayer of 1637 the name 'Liturgy' came to be used, not in its proper and restricted sense, but as applying to the whole Book of Common-Prayer, whether English or Scottish, and the usage is still familiar. If the second recommendation did not appear, and if the first had been in the form of a recommendation of the "Communion Office authorized by King Charles I.," there would be better reason for assenting to Dr. Neale's conjecture.²

17. But though there is no sufficient reason for

¹ *Life and Times of Patrick Torry, D.D., Bishop of St. Andrews, etc.*, p. 269.

² Mr. Cheyne, to whose unpretending pamphlet, *The Authority*

supposing that synodical authority was given to the reprint of 1743, there can be scarcely any doubt that it was according to this form that the Eucharist was ordinarily celebrated. The earlier and unaltered reprints of the liturgy of 1637 must have been long unprocurable, and the Bishops at this period would readily condone such variations.

This seems the best place to insert an extract from a letter (1744) of Rev. Andrew Gerard (afterwards Bishop of Aberdeen) to Bishop Alexander. "Bishop Gadderar, on his coming to Aberdeen, caused some hundred copies of that Office (the Scottish of 1637), as it was first published, to be printed for this diocese; and though no manner of alteration¹ was made in those copies, yet he still used it, as did his clergy by his advice and the apparent reasonableness of the

and Use of the Scottish Communion Office Vindicated (1843), every inquirer into the history of the Office is deeply indebted, and whose guidance Dr. Neale followed, also considers that the synodical recommendation noticed above referred to the reprint of 1743, and assigns as his reason that one of the clergy, James Dundass, about this time declared that "the Communion Office which the Usage-men have generally used since its publication" is one with the order of the parts altered as above described. This description, as Mr. Cheyne observes, is applicable to the edition of 1735, and there is no reason to doubt that that form was coming into general use. But the actual synodical recommendation extends only to this book, so far forth as it corresponded to "the Scottish liturgy." The Scottish Bishops happily did not commit themselves to a sanction of the distinctly dishonest title of the Offices of 1735 and 1743.

¹ This statement, as we have seen, is not quite accurate. See p. 78.

thing, in that order of the parts in which the Office complained of appears. All the clergy marking that order on the back of the title-page with a pen for their own direction, as did several of the laity their own copies; but those who could not write, and others of the laity whose memories were not so prompt as to follow and readily join in performing the Office, being thus at a loss, two young merchants, hoping to make a penny by the ready sale of them, caused the new impression to be cast off for the benefit and ease of the laity, and gave it the title it has, without consulting with any clergyman in the thing; so that it was a good while ere we knew by whose procurement it was done. But the benefit of it being apparent, the copies were all bought up, and more called for, so that this country is now full of them. The blundering redundance in the prayer of Oblation shows that the clergy had no hand in the matter, and the addition in a different character to the first title-page shows that there is a transposition of the parts, and that these young men had no intention to palm a falsehood on the world. This impression was after Bishop Gadderar's death."¹

On this letter Mr. Cheyne observes "the 'impression' referred to was evidently that of 1735, which mentions no place or printer's name, but corresponds

¹ Cited by Cheyne from a MS. letter. *The Authority and Use, etc.*, p. 26.

to the description given by Bishop Gerard and to the date which he assigns—‘after Bishop Gadderar’s death.’ That eminent Bishop died in 1733, and it is not likely that there would have been an edition of the Office in the intervening year followed by another in 1735. This edition is evidently the exemplar which had been followed in that of 1743.” Mr. Cheyne admits that he is unable to explain what is meant by “the blundering redundance in the prayer of Oblation ;” but whatever may be referred to by the expression, when we remember that the Office of 1743 was only a reprint of 1735 it seems to me worth asking—Is it likely that Gerard would have used this language without further qualification or comment of an Office that had, only nine months before, received a full official recommendation from the Bishops in Synod,—including the Bishop to whom the letter was addressed. I cannot help thinking it highly improbable. If Mr. Cheyne, then, is right in supposing that the impression of 1735 is here referred to, there is an additional reason for doubting that any synodical sanction was given to the reprint of 1743. The fact is that various modifications of the liturgy of 1637, the outcome of the liturgical tastes or fancies of individuals, were in use (as may be seen from the MS. alterations in copies of that Service-book), all still being regarded as the ‘Scottish Liturgy,’—that is, the *Scottish* liturgy as distinguished from the *English*. And it would seem

that the expression 'Scottish Communion Office' was also used in this comprehensive way. Bishop Rattray's Communion Office was at this very juncture looked forward to with much interest. Bishop Dunbar, of Aberdeen, was too old and feeble to attend the Synod, but he wrote a letter to his brethren on the occasion in which he says, "I know not if it will be convenient at this time to enjoin the use of the Scots Communion Office, though it ought to be recommended. One more primitive and excellent, which cost Dr. Rattray much labour, and which he has left in a fair manuscript, may one day be published and received with universal approbation."¹ There was probably even less inclination among the Bishops in 1743 than at subsequent periods to determine synodically the exact form of the Office.²

18. Though I am unable to admit that synodical authority was given to any particular edition of the

¹ Sievwright's *Principles*, p. 292, cited by Stephen, *Hist. of Church of Scotland*, iv. 295.

² "The blundering redundance in the prayer of Oblation," referred to by Gerard in the letter quoted above, is perplexing. Mr. Cheyne in a hesitating way conjectures that it refers to the words "which we now offer unto thee" introduced in 1735 into the prayer of Oblation. In the 1752 edition and in the 1764 edition of this family of Offices (not to be confounded with either the 12mo or 8vo printed in the same year "for Drummond at Ossian's Head," Edinburgh) there is indeed "a blundering redundance,"—the words "which we now offer unto thee" being introduced into the middle of the Invocation thus—"Hear us, O merciful Father . . . bless and sanctify with thy word and Holy Spirit these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, which we now offer unto thee, that they may be unto us," etc., followed in due course by the prayer

‘Scottish Liturgy’ in 1743,¹ there can be no question that as a matter of fact the liturgy of the family type determined by Gadderar’s ‘use,’ and represented by the editions of 1735, 1743, 1752, 1759, and one of the three editions of 1764, was that most generally employed throughout Scotland.² It is, no doubt, the Office referred to in the following interesting account written in 1743³—“The majority who use the Scotch liturgy is so great, that they are now but very few who do otherwise, and these few in the southern parts mostly, overaw’d by some ignorant laity. All in this district (diocese of Dunkeld) are unanimous in the Scotch, save myself, who, not of inclination, but for reasons too well known, was obliged to comply entitled the Prayer of Oblation, thus—“ . . . do celebrate and make here before thy Divine Majesty the memorial,” etc. I should not be surprised to find some day an earlier exemplar of this type published shortly after Gadderar’s death. Then Gerard’s remark would be explained.

¹ The late Rev. Patrick Cheyne was kind enough to give me (25th Nov. 1874), in reply to queries of mine, his opinion on this matter. He is very express, and declares, with reference to the Synod of 1743, “The Office remained without authentication, sanction, or recommendation.”

² After 1764 there was no edition of this form printed. The edition issued, by the Primus (W. Falconar) and Bishop Robert Forbes, in the same year was rapidly adopted throughout Scotland, and the Gadderar type disappears from sight. Whether it was a case simply of “the survival of the fittest,” or whether ecclesiastical authority was assumed for the work of the Primus and his brother Bishop we need not here inquire.

³ From a letter of Rev. R. Lyon of Perth to Bishop Alexander, dated 28th Nov. 1743. Printed in Cheyne’s *Authority and Use etc.*, p. 30.

with borrowing only the Invocation and Oblation from the Scotch. All in Bishop Raitt's district (Brechin) use the Scotch Communion Office likewise, except two; but whether these two transpose the Oblatory Prayer or not, I cannot tell, but sure I am Bishop Ochterlony himself did so. I am likewise sure that the greatest part of the presbyters in Fife, if not all, do use the Scotch, but this you yourself have easy access to know; and besides, the most of all these clergy use it in its natural order, according to the edition printed at Aberdeen. It is also well known, and without doubt to yourself, that there is not one single presbyter benorth the Mearns, who does not officiate by the Scotch; so that those who use the English, or who transpose the Oblatory Prayer, though joined together, are few, yea, very few upon the comparison. And I'm persuaded the most of the clergy of my acquaintance, and with great sincerity I can say it of myself, would much sooner resign our several charges, than give up the Scotch to use the English Communion Office; yea, the greatest number even of our laity would desert us should we attempt it."

19. An event of deep moment in the history of the Scottish Office was the posthumous publication in 1744 of Bishop Rattray's work, *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem*.¹

¹ The full title of this work is as follows:—"The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem, being the Liturgy of St.

Thomas Rattray, laird of Craighall, in Perthshire, was elected to the bishopric of Dunkeld in 1727,¹ and succeeded Bishop Freebairn as Primus in 1739. He had long been interested in liturgical studies. He had been familiar with the leading Nonjurors of the South. When in London in 1716 he had assisted Bishop Spinckes in translating into Greek the proposals of union with the Eastern Church which originated in the visit to England of the Archbishop of Thebais.² His own studies confirmed him in the conviction that the order of the parts of the Prayer of Consecration which had been adopted in the

James, Freed from all latter Additions and Interpolations of whatever kind, and so restored to it's Original Purity: By comparing it with the Account given of that Liturgy by St. *Cyril* in his fifth Mystagogical Catechism, And with the Clementine Liturgy, &c. Containing in so many different Columns, I. The Liturgy of St. *James* as we have it at present, the Interpolations being only printed in a smaller character. II. The same Liturgy without these Interpolations, or the ancient Liturgy of the Church of *Jerusalem*. III. St. *Cyril's* Account of that Liturgy in his Vth Mystagogical Catechism. IV. The *Clementine* Liturgy. V. So much of the corresponding Parts of the Liturgies of St. *Mark*, St. *Chrysostom* and St. *Basil* as may serve for illustrating and confirming it. With an English Translation and Notes, as also an Appendix, containing some other Ancient Prayers, Of all which an Account is given in the Preface. London: Printed by James Bettenham. M.DCC.XLIV." This work (of which some large paper copies were printed) is in quarto (pp. xx. + 122).

¹ His episcopal seal, as Bishop of Brechin, still exists in the possession of Dr. J. C. Rattray, of Edinburgh. It is curious that there is no notice in Russel's edition of Keith's '*Scottish Bishops*' of Rattray's appointment to Brechin. He could not have held that See for more than a very short time.

² See Lathbury, *History of the Nonjurors*, chap. viii.

Nonjurors' Office of 1718 was the order of the Church's liturgy in its earliest age. He assumed that the Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem, *i.e.* the Liturgy of St. James, presented the norm that it was desirable to follow. But the Liturgy of St. James, as it had come down to modern times, was obviously interpolated, and he resolved to attempt a recension of it that would exhibit it substantially in its primitive purity. In this attempt, following the judgment of many other liturgical scholars of eminence, he assumed a high authority for the Clementine Liturgy. He argued that "the Clementine Liturgy, as never having been anywhere used, at least since it was inserted into the Apostolical Constitutions, is in consequence free from all those additions, of whatever kind, that were afterwards introduced into the worship of the Church : and it is so plain and simple, and withal so very decent, in its frame and order, and so exactly agrees with the best and earliest accounts we have of the holy Eucharist, and in the manner in which it was then celebrated (as has been fully shown by the learned Mr. Johnson, Mr. Bingham and others) that we may well say of it with the excellent Dr. Grabe, 'Apostolica omnino videtur, certe antiquissima est.' *It seems to be really apostolical, to be sure it is of very great antiquity.* Yet notwithstanding of all this, as learned men have observed how great freedoms the compiler of these

Constitutions [*i.e.* the Apostolical Constitutions in which the liturgy is found] hath taken in other instances with those more ancient materials out of which he hath collected them, so I must acknowledge that I think there is just ground to suspect that he hath used freedom with this liturgy also, and hath foisted in some words and phrases, and altered others in it" (Preface, p. vi.) In accordance with the views here expressed Rattray gives much weight in his recension to the Clementine Liturgy. St. Cyril's Mystagogical Catechism is also found helpful to some extent in reconstructing the liturgy of the Church of which he was Bishop; and further illustrations are drawn from the liturgies of St. Mark, St. Basil, and St. Chrysostom.

Bishop Rattray's volume is certainly a very remarkable production for its day; and even the liturgiologist of our own time, though he may come to adopt a modified estimate of the value of the various liturgies as representing more or less close approaches to the earliest forms of the Church's worship, cannot fail to admire the sagacity and sound judgment that marks so much of the Scottish Bishop's work. Indeed, Rattray's *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem* cannot be considered as yet superseded, and deserves even now a place in the library of every liturgical student.

20. Bishop Dunbar's letter of 1743 (see p. 86)

looked forward to the possibility of the Office prepared by Rattray being "received with universal approbation." What was there referred to is not Rattray's critical restoration of the liturgy of St. James but an adaptation of it intended for actual use which was printed in the same volume. It is entitled, *An Office for the Sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist, being the Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem, to which Proper Rubrics are added for direction and some few notes at the foot of the page, etc.*¹ Its influence on our present Office is plain; but it was too far removed in character from the service with which both priests and people were familiar to allow it any chance of being adopted in its own form by the Church. It may, not improbably, have been used at the altar by individuals here and there,² but it never obtained extensive circulation.

Bishop Alexander, writing in 1762, says: "It would be rash, if not ruinous, to furnish our enemies with so specious a handle as they would not fail to make of our offering to bring in St. James' Liturgy

¹ This is reprinted in Rattray's *Works* (Pitsligo Press Edit.), and in *Frag. Liturg.* vol. i.

² Manuscript copies of this Office, some with the rubrics in red, with or without slight alterations, suggest that it was intended for actual use at the altar. The Library of the Theological College, Edinburgh, contains some of this kind. I am informed by Canon Bell (the editor of the Second Part of Bishop Rattray's *Works*, Pitsligo Press edition), that there is reason to believe that after Bishop Rattray's decease it was used at Craighall, if not elsewhere.

at present. A proper time may come, which God grant may soon be!"¹

21. It is to the work of Thomas Rattray, of Craighall, that the Scottish and American Churches owe the most characteristic of the special features of their respective liturgies. His clear and impressive exhibition of the harmonious agreement of the liturgies of the East in the order and sequence of the parts of the Anaphora, and, more especially, of the Prayer of Consecration, could not but influence all liturgical students who became acquainted with it.

The English Nonjurors had long before, in their Office of 1718, recognised and followed the ancient order in which the recital of the history of the Institution precedes the Great Oblation, which in its turn precedes the Invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the Elements. But in Scotland various circumstances combined to delay the adoption of this sequence. When liturgical forms took the place of extemporaneous effusions in the public devotions of the Church, it was, as already described, the English Book of Common-Prayer that at once came into possession. At first with a few, and afterwards with an increasing number, the noble liturgy that had been prepared for their own Church in the preceding century won its way. That it had been authorised

¹ Dean of Brechin's MSS.

by the king, and that king 'the Royal Martyr,' imparted to it for many hearts high sanction and prerogative. Even when considerable change was made in its structure, it was the fashion still to claim for it that it was "authorized by K. Charles I." The study of the ancient liturgies was confined to very few. Gadderar had not made the change, and the order which he had adopted in practice was satisfactory enough to those who knew no better. At last the masterly work of their own Primus convinced the abler and more intelligent of the Scottish clergy that there was 'a more excellent way' than the Communion Office of 1637 or the modifications of it that were then current.¹

22. It was not, however, until eleven years after the publication of Rattray's work that the change now before us was first introduced into the Scottish Communion Office. In 1755 Bishop Falconar issued an edition of the Scottish Communion Office (without any indication of place or name of printer) which shows very plainly the influence of Rattray, and makes a close approach towards the form finally

¹ Jacobite feeling may in part account for the persistence with which it was sought to claim the authority of Charles I. for forms that were so widely diverse from the liturgy of 1637 as the Office of 1755. It is curious to find, even as late as the year 1838, that one of the reasons assigned for regarding the Scottish Communion Office as "of primary authority" is "respect for the authority which originally sanctioned the Scotch Liturgy."—(*The Code of Canons of the Episcopal Church in Scotland*, 1838. Can. xxi.)

assumed nine years later in our recognised Office.¹ This edition is the work of Bishop W. Falconar. Among Bishop Gerard's letters we find one (9th Oct. 1755) in which he says: "R. F. [orbes?] sent me lately a present from F [alconar] of his new Communion Office of which he is said to have cast off 1000 copies, desiring me to call for what number of them I might want or could dispose of, but I have excused myself from calling for any, or meddling in that matter. It differs in nothing essential from our own Scotch Office, as now regulated, used and approved everywhere hereabout [Aberdeen], and the better arrangement of the parts is but a circumstance and less material. . . . I hope F. [alconar] has advised with some others of his brethren, though not with me about his impression." In a later letter (16th Dec.) Bishop Gerard, though still resolving not to "meddle," consents to help to defray Falconar's expenses in printing the Office.²

Besides the sequence, (1) Institution, (2) Oblation, (3) Invocation, there are minor particulars in which the edition of 1755 shows that the person responsible for it was acquainted with Rattray's work;³ and

¹ Reprinted by Hall, *Frag. Liturg.* v. 169. Hall is quite wrong in supposing that it was issued by Bishop Gerard, of Aberdeen.

² MS. collection belonging to the Dean of Brechin.

³ There is a curious blunder in the *Gloria in Excelsis*, "O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty, and Holy Ghost": Canon Bell has pointed out to me that the words 'O Lord the only begotten son Jesus Christ,' would just make a line in the edition

there are other resemblances to our recognised Office traceable to Rattray's influence. Thus a note directs (1) the long Exhortation to be said before the Offertory, and (2) the words, "Blessed be Thou, O Lord God, for ever and ever," etc., "to be read by the Presbyter after presenting the Elements and Offertory on the Altar."¹

In 1762 an edition was printed at Leith by Reid, which I have not seen, but which is described by Hall, as similar to that of 1755. In 1762 Robert Forbes, minister in Leith, was consecrated Bishop of Caithness and Orkney. It seems probable that this edition came out with his sanction.

of 1755, and offers the conjecture, which seems to me very probable, that the omission is due to a line of type having dropped out. However this may be, the text as it stands points to the editor having seen Rattray's Appendix, No. vi.

¹ The change in our recognised Office that interjects these words between the presentation of the Alms and the Offering of the Elements was, I think, unfortunate. There is now no *verbal* first oblation [*i.e.* of the Elements regarded as fruits of the Earth in recognition of God's bountiful providence]. The concluding words of this address, "Of thine own do we give unto thee," would be appropriately applied to the Elements, and there might even be an anticipatory application in the sense of τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοὶ προσφέρομεν in the liturgies of St. Basil and of St. Chrysostom.

IV.

THE PRESENT RECOGNISED SCOTTISH
COMMUNION OFFICE.

1. IN the obscurity that surrounds the history of our communion in the last century, more particularly in the period immediately succeeding the rising of 1745, we must be thankful for any light that may help us to picture to ourselves with truthfulness the Church's life. The movement towards liturgical change, which we find exemplified in the Office of 1755, and which is distinctly traceable to the influence of Rattray's work, continued quietly to operate. It would seem that the Primus, Falconar, Bishop of Edinburgh, had in 1762 or the beginning of 1763 made proposals to his brethren with respect to 'the altering or amending the Communion Office.'¹

These proposals and the deliberations that followed

¹ An extract from an original letter of the Rev. George Innes (elected to the Bishopric of Brechin in 1778) to Bishop Alexander dated 23d Feb. 1763, is given by Cheyne (*Authority and Use*, p. 22). In this letter Innes says, "Bishop Gerard bids me tell you with regard to what Bishop F. [*quære* Falconar or Forbes] proposes about altering or amending the Communion Office, he is not fond

seem to have resulted in a revision of the Office being undertaken by two of the Bishops, the Primus and Bishop R. Forbes,—whether by the formal appointment of the College of Bishops, or at their request, or with their general sanction or approval, is uncertain.¹ Skinner, who is likely to have known correctly the circumstances of the case, says, “In this favourable appearance of returning serenity it was thought proper to revise our Communion Office, and bring it, now that there was no contention or difference about it, to as exact a conformity with the ancient standards of Eucharistic service as it would bear. The revisal was undertaken in 1765 [1764] by two of our Bishops who were well versed in these matters.”² The result of the labours of these two Bishops was the publication in 1764 of the book which has since become the recognised Scottish Communion Office.³ Though of any further alterations, as we have everything essential, and our enemies are so apt to make a bad use of anything of this kind. He said a good deal on this head, too long for me to write, but concluded with the Latin observation, ‘*Incertis de salute pro gloria minime certandum.*’” From this it would seem that Bishop Gerard’s objections to change were based only on prudential considerations.

¹ Mr. Cheyne, in a letter to the author, says we should now call it ‘a commission.’

² *Eccl. Hist.* ii. 681, 682.

³ It is stated that two editions of this text were published by Drummond, Edinburgh (one in 8vo, the other in 12mo), in 1764, and another in Leith in 1765, printed under the superintendence of Bishop R. Forbes. The text printed here *in reduced facsimile* (see p. 133) is from the 8vo edition. I have not succeeded in seeing either of the other editions.

it was not sought to give a formal synodical sanction to this edition, yet as having been the outcome of deliberations among the Bishops, and as having been issued under the authority of the Primus, it was rapidly and generally accepted throughout the whole Church. Its text is rightly regarded as presenting the recognised Scottish Communion Office—substantially the *textus ab omnibus receptus*.

2. The only alterations since made in the text of the Office that have any reasonable pretensions to claim authority, an authority based on general acceptance, are the following entirely unimportant changes, which cannot be tortured, I suppose, by any process into possessing deep doctrinal significance. They all proceed from the Aberdeen editions, chiefly those sanctioned by Primus John Skinner, and are as follows—(1) The insertion of the *name* of the reigning sovereign in the Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church; (2) the change of 'Our Father *who*' into 'Our Father *which*' in the Lord's Prayer; and the change of "*who* takest away" into "*that* takest away" in the *Gloria in excelsis*; (3) the addition of "meekly kneeling upon your knees" to the short Exhortation; (4) the change of "*in* earth peace" into "*on* earth peace" in the *Gloria in excelsis*; (5) the change of 'soul and body' into 'body and soul' in the Words of Delivery; (6) certain typographical differences in the use of italics and capitals, more particularly in the

printing the word *Amen*—in almost every instance the edition of 1764 being distinctly superior in correctness.¹ I have exhibited these in full, that my readers may see the entire extent of the differences between the text now most commonly printed, and the text which I believe to be of superior authority, and of which an exact facsimile reprint is given in this volume. The differences are entirely unimportant and insignificant; some of them, I believe, may be due simply to carelessness; not one in the remotest degree alters the character or doctrinal colouring of the Office.

3. The doubts that have arisen as to the text of the Office are due, beyond question, to certain alterations and additions which some two or three persons, taking advantage of the fact that we possess no 'Sealed Books' like the Church of England, or 'Standard Books' like the American Church, have introduced into the Office, but which never obtained any general acceptance. These have no more claim to be regarded as truly representing the Communion Office of the Scottish Church than would Mr. Orby Shipley's 'Ritual of the Altar' on the one hand, or a printed Service-book setting forth the actual liturgical practice of some of the, so-called, 'Evangelical' clergy on the other, have to represent the

¹ The collation, with the above results, has been made between the 8vo edition of 1764, Drummond, Edinburgh, and the Rev. John Skinner's carefully edited reprint of 1807, Aberdeen.

Communion Office of the Church of England. The Scottish Communion Office has a concrete existence. It is the Office in use in our churches. If there be, conceivably, one priest or two of our number who venture on variations of their own devisings, that does not affect the general fact.

I am not aware that one particular text of the liturgy of St. Basil, or of St. Chrysostom, or of St. James, has received conciliar authority in the Eastern Church. The printed editions vary in unimportant matters, but there is no doubt, for any practical purpose, as to what are the liturgies of the Holy Eastern Church. I repeat—beyond the insignificant differences noticed above, there can be no just or reasonable question as to what is the text of the Scottish Office.¹

After 1764 not a single edition of the Office following the liturgical type of 1735 and 1743, so

¹ Did one desire it, it would be easy to make a statement, truthful, but entirely misleading, on the discrepancies between the several 'Sealed Books' of the Church of England. Dr. A. J. Stephens' elaborate collation (1850) was only between eight of the 'Sealed Books,' and yet it shows very many differences; while Prayer-Books issuing from even such an admirable press as the University Press, Oxford, are shown to have abounded in errors. Dr. Stephens' comparison of only ten pages of the Oxford quarto of 1848 with the 'Sealed Books' gave five words "improperly inserted" and two words "omitted." I do not mention typographical variations, though these are not always unimportant; but Stephens calculates that if the first ten pages may be taken as a fair specimen, in the whole book there would be "above 12,500 deviations, typographical and other, from the 'Sealed Books.'"

far as I have been able to discover, has been printed for the space of nearly one hundred and twenty years.¹ Its sudden and complete extinction speaks loudly of the supposed authoritative character of the edition put out by the Primus and Bishop R. Forbes.

4. Brief descriptions of the several variations which Bishop Abernethy-Drummond, Bishop Torry, and the Rev. George H. Forbes sought to introduce, respectively, into the Office will be found among the Appendices. The circumstances connected with the publication of Bishop Torry's Prayer-Book, and the circumstances connected with the revision undertaken by Mr. George H. Forbes, are both perhaps too recent to allow a discussion of them which would be regarded as impartial. But with respect to the changes introduced by Bishop Abernethy-Drummond it is right to mention, as bearing on the authority of the recognised text, that we possess documentary evidence to show that he prepared his Office for submission to the judgment of his colleagues. Writing

¹ Last year (1883) there was issued 'the Communion Office for the Use of the Church of Scotland, 1743—Reprinted and Re-edited 1883, Edinburgh,' but I presume it may be regarded as only a literary and liturgical curiosity. In a 'Note,' appended to the Office, it is observed: "The advantage which this form of the Scottish Office possesses over the version now commonly used, is the position of the Prayer of Invocation *before* the Words of Institution. This is a feature which will commend its use to the great majority of Anglican Churchmen who are so firmly attached to the Western theory of the rite of Consecration."

to Bishop Watson (5th April 1794)¹ he says: "I am anxious to have another edition of the Scotch Communion Office with some additions and alterations which may be agreeable to my colleagues, and being sanctioned by the Episcopal College, may never more be changed." His episcopal brethren having been consulted, do not appear to have been pleased. Writing again in the following year (15th July 1795) to Bishop Watson, he observes: "Since my brethren do not approve, I shall not tease them to obtain consent. If I do print a new edition of the Scotch Communion Office it shall be a very small one, 50 or 100 copies, just to show posterity what I meant for the improvement of that part of the Liturgy, and perhaps there may arise Bishops in after times who will not object to it either from pique or prejudice, but be of opinion that I have done service to the Church."

Negotiations were, however, still carried on between Bishop Abernethy-Drummond and his brethren. Bishops Macfarlane and Strachan gave consent to the proposed changes, and assuming the consent of his friend Bishop Watson, he tells him (28th November 1796): "I may consider myself as having already a majority, and will *for that reason* certainly print an edition for myself with the additions pro-

¹ The letters from which these passages are taken may be found printed in the *Panoply*, iii. 185-192.

posed." In a letter to Bishop Jolly (15th December 1796), still assuming that he could count on a majority of the Bishops sanctioning his revision, so far at least as to permit him to use it, he writes : " I have cast off only 250 copies just for my own congregation and Mr. Jamieson's, to both which I give them gratis ; and the remainder I have put into Mr. Sangster's hands to be sold for the benefit of my poor people to such of my brethren of the clergy only as shall wish to have a copy of it. So that my colleagues cannot say that I have published an edition without their permission, because there will not be found one with any bookseller, far less will they be advertized for sale." There is no reason to suppose that Bishop Abernethy-Drummond's action, even when confined to this limited scope, ever obtained the formal sanction of his colleagues in the episcopal office. It is one thing not to proceed against Priest or Bishop for liturgical irregularities, it is another thing to sanction them.¹

5. At the time when efforts were being made for the repeal of the penal laws affecting the Scottish Church, Samuel Horsley, then Bishop of St. Davids, showed himself a warm friend to the cause of his oppressed brethren in Scotland. He was much interested in questions relating to the formularies of

¹ An account of the main peculiarities of Bishop Abernethy-Drummond's edition will be found in Appendix H.

faith and worship in our Church, and prepared, with a view to nothing more than his own private satisfaction, a Collation, in four parallel columns, of the Communion Offices in the first Prayer-Book of Edward VI., the Scottish Prayer-Book of 1637, the present English Prayer-Book, and the present Scottish Communion Office. This Collation (which, for the purpose that Horsley had in view, is sufficiently accurate) was printed in the spring of 1792, just before the bill for the repeal of the penal laws was introduced into the House of Lords, and copies dispersed—"in order," writes Bishop Skinner in his Preface to the Collation, "to confute certain false and malicious insinuations which have been circulated concerning the present practices of the Episcopalians in Scotland, with an evident intention to injure them in the esteem of the British Legislature." The accuracy of the Collation is attested by Bishop Skinner, who subscribes himself "Bishop and Delegate of the Scotch Episcopal Church"; and it is perfectly trustworthy as a refutation of the false and malicious insinuations referred to; but being given in parts in an abbreviated form, and occasional errors appearing, it is less helpful than might have been expected in supplying the exact text then in use in Scotland. We shall have occasion to refer to this Collation from time to time in the Liturgical Notes. The Collation was reprinted by Rev. John Skinner

(afterwards Dean of Dunkeld) in his annotated edition of the Scottish Office, published in 1807.¹

Though the text of the Scottish Communion Office has not been altered in this century, the Church's legislation with respect to the use of the Office has undergone various changes.

6. The first sanction given formally by Canon to the Scottish Communion Office under that name is to be found in the fifteenth of the XXVI. Canons adopted at the Synod held at Aberdeen in 1811. Liberty was given "to retain the English Office in all congregations where the said Office had been previously in use"; and then the Canon proceeded as follows:—"In respect, however, to the authority which sanctioned the Scottish Liturgy, and for other

¹ No history of the Scottish Communion Office would be reckoned complete which did not record the oft-quoted judgment upon the Office by the eminent English prelate and theologian, who had gone to the trouble of studying it. Writing to Rev. J. Skinner, in 1806, Bishop Horsley says:—"With respect to the comparative merit of the two Offices for England and Scotland, I have no scruple in declaring to you, what some years since I declared to Bishop Abernethy-Drummond, that I think the Scotch Office more conformable to the primitive models, and in my private judgment more edifying than that which we now use; insomuch that were I at liberty to follow my own private judgment I would myself use the Scotch Office in preference. The alterations which were made in the Communion Service as it stood in the First Book of Edward VI. to humour the Calvinists, were, in my opinion, much for the worse; nevertheless, I think our present Office is very good, our form of consecration of the elements is sufficient; I mean that the elements are consecrated by it, and made the body and blood of Christ in the sense in which our Lord himself said the bread and wine were his Body and Blood."

good and sufficient reasons, it is hereby enacted that the Scottish Communion Office shall be used in all consecrations of Bishops; and that every Bishop, when consecrated, shall give his full assent to it as being sound in itself, and of primary authority in Scotland, and therefore shall not permit its being laid aside, where now used, but by the authority of the College of Bishops." This Canon was framed by two clergymen of English ordination, Rev. Archibald Alison¹ and Rev. Heneage Horsley.²

In 1828, at a Synod held at Laurencekirk, the Code of Canons was revised. The twenty-sixth Canon, corresponding to the fifteenth of the Code of 1811, was altered so as to give the Bishop of the diocese the power of approving the change of one Office for another, and rescinding the clause requiring the authority of the College of Bishops for laying aside the Scottish Office.

The Canons of 1838 bearing on this subject and those at present in force will be found in Appendix D.

¹ Author of *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste*; father of the historian, Sir Archibald Alison.

² Son of Bishop Horsley; he was afterwards Dean of Brechin.

V.

THE AMERICAN COMMUNION OFFICE.

1. THE events next to be noticed are of the deepest interest to students of the Scottish liturgy, and have given an extension to its influence that could never have been dreamt of by the most sanguine of the divines and scholars of the poor and persecuted 'remnant' that first brought our Office to its present primitive form.¹

2. Samuel Seabury, who had in 1783 been elected by the clergy of Connecticut as worthy to exercise the episcopal office, was duly and solemnly consecrated at Aberdeen on 14th November 1784 by the

¹ Almost the entire material for this section of the Historical Sketch is drawn from Professor Hart's admirable work, entitled *Bishop Seabury's Communion Office, reprinted in fac-simile—with an Historical Sketch and Notes by the Rev. Samuel Hart, M.A., Seabury Professor in Trinity College, Hartford. Second Edition Revised*, New York 1883, and Dr. Beardsley's *Life and Correspondence of Bishop Seabury*, Boston 1881. Professor Hart's work should be in the possession of every student of the Scottish Office; and I have to thank him heartily for his kind permission to make free use of the results of his inquiries in these pages.

Primus (Bishop Kilgour), Bishop Petrie and Bishop J. Skinner. On the following day there were signed and sealed, by the three consecrators and the newly consecrated Bishop, Seven 'Articles,' which were intended "to serve as a Concordate or Bond of Union between the Catholic remainder of the antient Church of Scotland and the now rising Church in the State of Connecticut." The fifth of these Articles runs as follows:—

"Art. V. As the Celebration of the holy Eucharist, or the Administration of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, is the principal Bond of Union among Christians, as well as the most solemn Act of Worship in the Christian Church, the Bishops aforesaid agree in desiring that there may be as little Variance here as possible; and tho' the Scottish Bishops are very far from prescribing to their Brethren in this matter, they cannot help ardently wishing that Bishop Seabury would endeavour all he can, consistently with peace and prudence, to make the Celebration of this venerable Mystery conformable to the most primitive Doctrine and Practice in that respect: Which is the pattern the Church of Scotland has copied after in her Communion Office, and which it has been the Wish of some of the most eminent Divines of the Church of England, that she also had more closely followed than she seems to have done since she gave up her first reformed Liturgy, used in the Reign of King Edward VI., between which, and the form used in the Church of Scotland, there is no Difference in any point, which the primitive Church reckoned essential to the right Ministration of the holy Eucharist. In this capital Article therefore of the Eucharistic Service, in which the Scottish Bishops so earnestly wish for as

much Unity as possible, Bishop Seabury also agrees to take a serious View of the Communion Office recommended by them, and if found agreeable to the genuine Standards of Antiquity, to give his Sanction to it, and by gentle Methods of Argument and Persuasion, to endeavour, as they have done, to introduce it by degrees into practice, without the Compulsion of Authority on the one side, or the prejudice of former Custom on the other."

3. On his return to America Bishop Seabury, acting, as he declares, "by and with the advice and assistance of such of his clergy as he had the opportunity of consulting them," issued an "Injunction" dated New-London, 12th August 1785, authorising and requiring the following changes in the Communion Service of the English Prayer-Book—(1) in 'the prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church the part relating to Rulers and Ministers' was to be thus altered: "We beseech thee also to save and defend all Christian Kings, Princes, and Governors, and grant that they, and all that are put in authority may truly and impartially minister justice to the punishment of wickedness and vice, and to the maintenance of true religion and virtue. Give grace, O heavenly Father, to all Bishops, Priests and Deacons that they may," etc.; (2) "the prayers for the King that stand before the Nicene Creed in the Communion Service to be omitted."

In this first step towards liturgical change may

be observed the influence of the Scottish Communion Office. The substitution of 'Bishops Priests and Deacons' for 'Bishops and Curates' in the English Office is from that source; and the omission of 'the two Collects for the King' corresponds, we have reason to believe, to the Scottish *usage* of the time.

"Bishop Seabury sent a copy of the substitutes for the State prayers to Dr. (afterwards Bishop) White of Philadelphia, under date of 19th August 1785, with the words, 'Should more be done, it must be the work of time and great deliberation.'"¹

I do not intend to do more than notice in the briefest way what is known to students of the history of the Church in the United States as 'the Proposed Book.' A meeting of priests and laymen of several of the States (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and South Carolina), was held in Philadelphia on 27th Sept. 1785 and continued to 7th Oct. 1785. At this meeting, styled 'a Convention,' a rash attempt was made to revise the English Prayer-Book. Confining myself to the Communion Service, the Nicene Creed was wholly excised (as the Athanasian had been from the Morning Service), and no substitute offered. These grave proceedings naturally excited alarm, and 'the Proposed Book' never became the *actual* Book. The Proposed Book will be found reprinted in vol. v. of

¹ Hart, p. 31.

Hall's *Reliquiæ Liturgicæ*; and English students have been more than once misled by the title-page of that volume representing that it contained "The American Prayer-Book."

4. On the 22d September 1786 the clergy of Connecticut assembled in Convocation at Derby. Bishop Seabury, addressing them, declared with respect to liturgies that "the primitive practice seems to have been that the Bishop did, with the advice no doubt of his Presbyters, provide a Liturgy for the use of his diocese." Acting on this principle he set forth and "recommended" "to the Episcopal congregations in Connecticut" a Communion Office which is the Scottish Office of 1764 altered in a very few unimportant particulars.¹

"Bishop Seabury's Communion Office," writes Professor Hart,² "seems to have been almost, if not quite, universally adopted by the Clergy of Connecticut." Dr. Beardsley informs us that they "became very much attached to it, not only from the recommendation of their Bishop, but from conviction that this order was in more exact conformity [than the English liturgy] with the earliest usage of the Christian Church."³ Its use probably terminated in general when the duly authorised American Book of Common Prayer came into use (1st October 1790);

¹ See the collation of the two Offices in Appendix F.

² Page 40.

³ *History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut*, i. 388.

but Bishop Brownell found Bishop Seabury's Communion Office used by some of the older clergy in 1819, and its influence may perhaps be traced in the practice, followed by one of the old clergy as late as 1835, of using the Prayer of Humble Access immediately before communicating.¹

5. But the influence of the Scottish Office in America is not to be measured by the use or disuse in Connecticut of Bishop Seabury's edition of it. In the providence of God it was destined to affect the Eucharistic Service-book of the whole Church of the United States.

Writing to Bishop White (29th June 1789), Bishop Seabury observes :—

“That the most exceptionable part of the English book is the Communion Office may be proved by a number of very respectable names among her Clergy. The grand fault in that office is the deficiency of a more formal oblation of the elements, and of the invocation of the Holy Ghost to sanctify and bless them. The Consecration is made to consist merely in the Priest's laying his hands on the elements and pronouncing ‘*This is my body,*’ &c., which words are not consecration at all, nor were they addressed by Christ to the Father, but were declarative to the Apostles. This is so exactly symbolizing with the Church of Rome in an error; an error, too, on which the absurdity of Transubstantiation is built, that nothing but having fallen into the same error themselves, could have prevented the enemies of

¹ See Hart, pp. 41, 53; Beardsley, *Life of Seabury*, p. 264, note.

the Church from casting it in her teeth. The efficacy of Baptism, of Confirmation, of Orders, is ascribed to the Holy Ghost, and His energy is implored for that purpose; and why He should not be invoked in the consecration of the Eucharist, especially as all the old Liturgies are full to the point, I cannot conceive. It is much easier to account for the alterations of the first Liturgy of Edward the VI., than to justify them; and as I have been told there is a vote on the minutes of your Convention, anno 1786, I believe, for the revision of this matter; I hope it will be taken up, and that God will raise up some able and worthy advocate for this primitive practice, and make you and the Convention the instruments of restoring it to His Church in America. It would do you more honour in the world, and contribute more to the union of the churches than any other alterations you can make, and would restore the Holy Eucharist to its ancient dignity and efficacy."

In the autumn of 1789 the General Convention of the Church of the United States had under consideration the revision of the English Communion Office. "That it was owing to Bishop Seabury," says Professor Hart, "that the Prayer of Consecration followed the Scotch model is beyond a question." The strength of Bishop Seabury's conviction on this subject was further illustrated when, on the morning of Sunday, the 11th of October, during the Session of the Convention, Bishop White asked him to consecrate the Elements, and he twice declined, saying the second time "in a pleasant manner," "To confess the truth, I hardly consider the form to be used [that of the

English book] as strictly amounting to a consecration."¹

6. That the form of the words in the Prayer of Invocation in the Scottish Office is not followed in the American has been traced by Professor Hart to the influence of the delegation from Maryland. Rev. Dr. William Smith, a Scotsman by birth, was in the Convention of 1789 President of the Lower House.² In a letter written some three years before this date he states that the Maryland Convention had decided to recommend "an addition

to the Consecration Prayer, in the Holy Communion, something analogous to that of the Liturgy of Edward VI. and the Scots' Liturgy, invoking a blessing on the Elements of Bread and Wine," changing the prayer "that they may become the body and blood, etc." to "that we receiving the same, according to Thy Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy Institution, etc." He adds: "This I think will be a proper amendment, and it perfectly satisfies such of our Clergy and people as were attached to the Scots' and other ancient Liturgies, all of which have an Invocation of a blessing on the Elements, as is, indeed, most proper."³

"It may be worth while to note," writes Professor Hart, "that both the Concordate quoted at the beginning of this sketch, and Bishop Seabury's letter, as

¹ Bishop White's *Memoirs of the Church*, pp. 154, 155, cited by Hart, p. 43.

² In Appendix E will be seen a form of consecration suggested by Archbishop Sancroft, which closely resembles the American.

³ See Hart, pp. 45, 46.

well as Bishop White's words in his *Memoirs*, seem to imply that, in the opinion of the writers, the first Liturgy of Edward VI. and the Scotch office contained prayers of Consecration which were substantially the same; whereas in fact the Invocation in the first Book of Edward VI. stands in an anomalous place, followed as it is by the words of Institution, and that by the Oblation; while in the Scotch Book the order is that of the ancient Liturgies, as was noted above. Its compilers used the words of the book of 1549, but they put them in the order which they knew to have the sanction of antiquity."

On the 14th October 1789 both Houses of the Convention agreed to the present American Communion Office.¹ In the Upper House there was probably entire harmony. In the House of Bishops, writes Bishop White, the restoration of the Oblation and Invocation "lay very near to the heart of Bishop Seabury. As for the other Bishop [Bishop White himself] without conceiving with some that the service as it stood was essentially defective, he always thought there was a beauty in those ancient forms, and can discover no superstition in them."²

¹ See an article by the author in the *Contemporary Review* for Dec. 1872 (vol. xxi. p. 119), entitled *The American Prayer-Book—a Liturgical Study*. In some matters my judgment has been modified; but I repeat now what I wrote then: "The characteristic features of the American Revision belong rather to time than to place."

² *Memoirs*, p. 154.

In the Lower House there was some inclination to raise objections, but the tact and influence of the President, Dr. William Smith, the Scotsman whose name has been already mentioned, succeeded in carrying the motion for the approval of the Office without dispute.

How precious in the eyes of her children is the liturgy of the American Church may be gathered from the declaration of the successor of her first Bishop, the present Bishop of Connecticut,—that, in giving the primitive form of Consecration, “Scotland gave us a greater boon than when she gave us the Episcopate.”¹

It would be vain to speculate on the wide vista of possibilities opened up by the use of this liturgical Office in the prosperous and progressive Church of the United States of America.² May the blessing of God be shed ever more and more bountifully upon the labours of her children for the sake of Him whose precious death and sacrifice they and we unite in representing before the Almighty Father in every Eucharist. Amen.

¹ *American Church Review*, July 1882.

² In 1883 the Official Statement gives the number of Bishops (including Assistant and Missionary Bishops) as 65 ; Clergy, 3572 ; Communicants, 372,484.

VI.

TEXT OF THE OFFICE.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

FROM what has been already said it will be seen that the text of the part of the Office extending from the Exhortation to the Benediction is perfectly well established. The edition put out by the Primus and Bishop Forbes in 1764 I regard as being, for that portion, our 'Sealed Book.' Though the differences originating apparently in Aberdeen of adding "meekly kneeling upon your knees" to the Short Exhortation, and the change of the words of Delivery from the order "soul and body" to the order "body and soul" may by usage be regarded as having a claim to consideration, and no one, I am sure, will grudge the liberty to adopt these forms to any who prefer them.

With regard to the earlier part of the Office, which up to 1844 was never printed,¹ the case is altogether

¹ And then printed incorrectly. The edition referred to is "The Order of the Administration of the Holy Communion according to the Use of the Church in Scotland: London, Burns, 1844."

different. And it must be admitted that there are fewer grounds for feeling confidence as to any particular text. The principal materials which furnish us with evidence are (1) Bishop Horsley's collation attested by Bishop John Skinner as giving the usage of the time 1792, (2) other evidence as to traditional use in the last century and in this, together with (3) certain historical considerations that cannot be readily classed under the above heads.

It is obviously the comparative unimportance of the early part of the Office that has left it thus under some doubt.

I have printed here what I believe to be best representative of the text of the early part.

Persons unacquainted with the actual collation made by Horsley would fancy it to be of much more value than it really is. From the use of abbreviations one is often left in doubt as to the exact text. For example, when "Ten Commandments" is all that stands in three columns of the Collation, as appearing in the "Old Scotch Prayer-Book" (1637), in "the present English Prayer-Book," and in "the present Scotch Communion Office," it will be seen that it is impossible to decide whether the present Scottish Office followed the version adopted in the "Old Scotch Prayer-Book" or that of the "present English Prayer-Book."

The text commences abruptly without any authori-

tative title or any rubric prefixed (see Horsley's Collation).

The Ten Commandments are given exactly as printed in the Office 'authorized by King Charles I.' (*i.e.* from the 'Authorised Version' rather than from the English Prayer-Book, see p. 42), and in accordance with the analogy of the Comfortable Words, which are *certainly* from the Office of 1637. When Horsley said of the latter, 'the four texts the same as in the English Office,' he said nothing of the version in which they appeared, and they have never appeared in any version but that of the liturgy of 1637. The rubric of 1637 prefixed to the Commandments I have allowed to stand as it expresses exactly the view prevalent among the Scottish Bishops (see p. 36) with respect to the only possible sense that can be put upon the fourth Commandment. The convenience of having English Prayer-Books in abundance, while the Book of 1637 was rare, gave rise, no doubt, to the ordinary 'use.'

The Summary of the Law is (1) in accordance with the clue given by Horsley (who says "The Summary of the Law" in these words, "Jesus said, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God," etc.), (2) in accordance with the source from which it was no doubt derived, the Nonjurors' Office of 1718, (3) in accordance with the American Office, which we can scarcely doubt was a reflection of the Scottish Office

of the day in this respect. I can imagine Bishop Seabury asking that it should be an alternative, and having to be content with its being an addition.¹ For the response, in lieu of a better authority I have to take the form from Bishop Torry's edition, which runs close to that of the Nonjurors, and represents long usage.

The prayers for the Queen (although I regard them as liturgically out of place, and unnecessary when we use the express prayer for the Queen in the Prayer for the whole Church) I have felt bound to insert on the faith of Skinner's attestation of Horsley's Collation. They are also printed by Bishop Torry as alternatives with the collect, "O Almighty Lord and everlasting God," etc., which, as representing the prevailing usage, I have also printed.

The response after the announcement of the Gospel I have given, in accordance with the present Canon XXXIII., as 'Glory be to thee *O God*' rather than '*O Lord*' as in Horsley. The Canon is only permissive as to the response after the Gospel, and reluctantly I have followed it in the rubric.

Neither of the two first Exhortations of the English Book are to be found noticed in Horsley's Collation.

I have given what I think the best text of the preliminary part, but it is a *reconstruction*, and others may perhaps do the work more satisfactorily.

¹ See further the Liturgical Notes, *ad loc.*

I would, however, earnestly hope that any who may offer a text of the first, or pro-anaphoral, part of the Office will, at the same time, assign, as I have done, the reasons for the preference of each several reading; so that when the time comes,—and I think it cannot be very far distant,—when the proper ecclesiastical authorities will seek to determine definitively the text of this part of the Office, our reasons may be weighed, and our various efforts prove helpful as contributions towards the desired result. The easiest course, no doubt, is to lay down the text with an oracular pronouncement, but it is not the most useful in the end.

The text of the Office follows.

SCOTTISH COMMUNION OFFICE.

OUR Father, who 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.

The Collect.

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 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 thy self 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, &c.

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, &c.

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, &c.

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, &c.

Presbyter.

Thou shalt not kill.

People.

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

Presbyter.

Thou shalt not commit adultery.

People.

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

Presbyter.

Thou shalt not steal.

People.

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

Presbyter.

Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

People.

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

Presbyter.

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that *is* thy neighbour's.

People.

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

*Or instead of the Ten Commandments the
Summary of the Law.*

JESUS said, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great

commandment. And the second *is* like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.

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

¶ *Then shall follow one of these Collects and the Collect for the day, the Presbyter standing up and saying,*

Let us Pray.

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.*

Or,

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 *VICTORIA*, our Queen and Governour, that she (knowing whose minister she is) may above all things seek thy honour and glory: and that we, and all her subjects (duly considering whose authority she hath) may faithfully serve, honour, and humbly obey her, 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.*

Or,

ALTMIGHTY 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 *VICTORIA* thy Servant, our Queen and Governour, that, in all her thoughts, words, and works, she may ever seek thy honour and glory, and study to preserve thy people committed to her 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 devoutly say or sing, Glory be to Thee, O God. At the end of the Gospel, the Presbyter shall say: Thus endeth the holy Gospel, and the People may in like manner say or sing, Thanks be to thee, O Lord, for this thy Glorious Gospel. And the 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 sub-
stance 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 Catholick
and Apostolick 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.

A Sermon.

From p. 133 to p. 156 is a reprint in reduced facsimile of 8vo Edition 1764, published under the care of the Primus (Bishop W. Falconar) and Bishop R. Forbes. See pp. 97-100.

THE
COMMUNION-OFFICE

FOR THE USE OF THE

CHURCH

OF

SCOTLAND,

AS FAR AS CONCERNETH THE

MINISTRATION.

OF THAT

HOLY SACRAMENT.

EDINBURGH:

Printed for DRUMMOND, at OSSIAN'S Head.

MDCCLXIV.

THE
COMMUNION-OFFICE

For the use of the

CHURCH of SCOTLAND,

As far as concerneth the Ministration
of that HOLY SACRAMENT.

¶ *The Exhortation.*

DEARLY beloved in the Lord, ye that mind to come to the holy Communion of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, must consider what St 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 are one with Christ, and Christ with us); so is the danger great, if we receive the same unworthily; for then we are guilty of the body and blood of Christ our
A 2 Saviour;

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 fundry kinds of death. 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 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, who lay in darkness and the 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 for a continual remembrance of his death, to our great and endless comfort. To him therefore,

fore, 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 the Presbyter, or Deacon, shall say,*

Let us present our offerings to the Lord with reverence and godly fear.

¶ *Then the Presbyter shall begin the offertory, saying 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.*

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.*

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

to the blessing of the Lord your God which he hath given you. *Deut.* xvi. 16. 17.

Give unto the Lord the glory due unto his name: bring an offering, and come into his courts. *Pfal.* 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. *Matth.* 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. *Matth.* vii. 21.

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. 42. 43. 44.

Who goeth a warfare any time at his own charges?

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 who preach the gospel, should live of the gospel. *1 Cor. ix. 13. 14.*

He who soweth sparingly, shall reap also sparingly: and he who soweth bountifully, shall reap also bountifully. Every man according as he purposeth in his heart, so let him give; not grudgingly, or of necessity: for God loveth a chearful 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

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) some other fit person, 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, saying,*

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 :

jesty : 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. *Amen.*

¶ *And the Presbyter shall then offer up, and place the bread and wine prepared for the sacrament upon the Lord's table ; and shall say,*

The Lord be with you.

Answer. And with thy spirit.

Presbyter. 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, * [hol- * *These words (holy Father) must be omitted on Trinity Sunday.*
ly 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, &c.

B

¶ *Proper*

¶ *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, &c.

* *During the seven days after Christmas, say, as at this time.*

¶ *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, &c.

¶ *Upon 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

where he is, thither might we also ascend, and reign with him in glory. Therefore with angels and archangels, &c.

¶ *Upon Whitsunday, and six days after.*

THROUGH Jesus Christ our Lord; according to whose most true promise, the Holy Ghost came down* [as on this day] * *During the* from heaven, with a sudden *six days after Whit-* great sound, as it had been a *sunday, say, as at* mighty wind, in the likeness *this time.* 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, &c.

¶ *Upon the feast of Trinity only.*

WHO 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, &c.

¶ *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. Amen.

¶ *Then the Presbyter standing at such a part of the holy table as he may with the most ease and decency use both his hands, shall say the prayer of consecration, as followeth.*

ALL glory be to thee, Almighty God, our heavenly Father, for that thou of thy tender mercy didst give thy only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption; who (by his own oblation of himself once offered) made 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 memorial of that his precious death and sacrifice until his coming again. For, in the night that he was betrayed, (a) he took bread; and when he had given thanks,

(a) *Here the Presbyter is to take the paten in his hands :*

thanks, (b) he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, (c) THIS IS MY BODY, which is given for you : DO this in remembrance of after supper (d) he took the cup; and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this, for (e) 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.

(b) *And here to break the bread :*

(c) *And here to lay his hands upon all the bread.*

me. Likewise

(d) *Here he is to take the cup into his hand :*

(e) *And here to lay his hand upon every vessel (be it chalice or flagon) in which there is any wine to be consecrated.*

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, WHICH WE NOW OFFER UNTO THEE, the memorial thy Son hath commanded us to make; having in remembrance his blessed passion, and precious death, his mighty resurrection, and glorious ascension; rendering unto thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same. And

The Oblation.

we

we most humbly beseech thee, O
The Invocation. merciful Father, to hear us, and
of thy almighty goodness vouch-
safe to bless and sanctify, with thy word and
Holy Spirit, these thy gifts and creatures of
bread and wine, that they may become the
body and blood of thy most dearly beloved
Son. And we earnestly desire thy father-
ly 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 remis-
sion of our sins, and all other benefits of his
passion. And here we humbly offer and pre-
sent unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls
and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy and
lively sacrifice unto thee, beseeching thee, that
whosoever shall be partakers of this holy Com-
munion, may worthily receive the most pre-
cious body and blood of thy Son Jesus Christ,
and be filled with thy grace and heavenly be-
nediction, and made one body with him, that
he may dwell in them, and they in him. And
although we are unworthy, through our ma-
nifold sins, to offer unto thee any sacrifice; yet
we beseech thee to accept this our bounden
duty and service, not weighing our merits,
but

but pardoning our offences, through Jesus 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.*

¶ *Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's church.*

ALmighty and everliving God, who 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 oblations, 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 especially thy servant our King, that under him we may be godly and quietly governed: and grant unto his whole council, and to all who are 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 thy true religion and virtue.

Give

Give grace, O heavenly Father, to all Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, 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 to 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 those who in this transitory life are in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity. And we also bless thy holy name for all 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 to give us grace to follow the example of their steadfastness in thy faith, and obedience to thy holy commandments,

ments, that at the day of the general resurrection, we, and all they who 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 the Presbyter say,*

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

OUR Father who 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. For thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

¶ *Then the Presbyter shall say to them that come to receive the holy communion, this invitation.*

YE that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins, and are in love and charity with your neighbours, and intend to lead a new life,
 C following

following the commandments of God, and walking from henceforth in his holy ways; Draw near, and take this holy sacrament to your comfort; and make your humble confession to Almighty God.

¶ *Then shall this general confession be made, by the people, along with the Presbyter; he first kneeling down.*

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 are 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),*

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 who 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. *Matth. xi. 28.*

God so 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 St 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 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. *1 John ii. 1. 2.*

¶ *Then shall the Presbyter, turning him to the altar, kneel down, and 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 holy table, O merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness, but in thy manifold and great mercies. We are 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 most sacred 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 there be any present), and after to the people, in due order, all humbly kneeling. And when he receiveth himself, or delivereth the sacrament of the body of Christ to others, he shall say,*

THE

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

¶ *Here the person 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 soul and body unto everlasting life.

¶ *Here the person receiving shall say, Amen.*

¶ *If the consecrated bread or wine be all spent before all have communicated, the Presbyter is to consecrate more, according to the form before prescribed, beginning at the words, All glory be to thee, &c. and ending with the words, that they may become the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son.*

¶ *When all have communicated, he that celebrates shall go to the Lord's table, and cover with a fair linen cloth that which remaineth of the consecrated elements, and then say,*

Having now received the precious body and blood of Christ, let us give thanks to our Lord God, who hath graciously vouchsafed to admit us to the participation of his holy mysteries ;

mysteries; and let us beg of him grace to perform our vows, and to persevere in our good resolutions; and that being made holy, we may obtain everlasting life, through the merits of the all-sufficient sacrifice of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

¶ *Then the Presbyter shall say this collect of thanksgiving as followeth.*

ALmighty and everliving God, we most heartily thank thee, for that thou dost vouchsafe to feed us, who 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 are very members incorporate in the mystical body of thy Son, which is the blessed company of all faithful people, and are also heirs through hope of thy everlasting kingdom, by the merits of his most precious death and passion. We now most humbly beseech thee, O heavenly Father, so to assist us with thy grace and Holy Spirit, that we may continue in that holy communion and fellowship, and do all such good works as thou hast commanded us to walk in, through Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom, with the Father
and

and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. *Amen.*

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

GLORY be to God in the highest, 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; and to thee, O God, the only begotten Son Jesu Christ; and to thee, O God, the Holy Ghost.

O Lord, the only begotten Son Jesu Christ; O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, who 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.*

F I N I S.

AMERICAN COMMUNION OFFICE

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

[From "The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments; and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America."]

¶ *If among those who come to be partakers of the Holy Communion, the Minister shall know any to be an open and notorious evil liver, or to have done any wrong to his neighbours by word or deed, so that the Congregation be thereby offended; he shall advertise him, that he presume not to come to the Lord's Table, until he have openly declared himself to have truly repented and amended his former evil life, that the Congregation may thereby be satisfied; and that he hath recompensed the parties to whom he hath done wrong; or at least declare himself to be in full purpose so to do, as soon as he conveniently may.*

¶ *The same order shall the Minister 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 wherein he*

himself hath offended; and the other party will not be persuaded to a godly unity, but remain still in his forwardness and malice; the Minister in that case ought to admit the penitent person to the Holy Communion, and not him that is obstinate. Provided, that every Minister so repelling any, as is herein specified, shall be obliged to give an account of the same to the Ordinary, as soon as conveniently may be.

¶ *The Table, at the Communion-time having a fair white linen cloth upon it, shall stand in the body of the Church, or in the Chancel. And the Minister, standing at the right side of the Table, or where Morning and Evening Prayer are appointed to be said, shall say the Lord's Prayer and the Collect following, the People kneeling; but the Lord's Prayer may be omitted, if Morning Prayer hath been said immediately before.*

OUR Father, who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth, As it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; But deliver us from evil: For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

The Collect.

ALMIGHTY God, unto whom all hearts are 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 Minister, turning to the People, rehearse distinctly the Ten Commandments; and the People, still kneeling, shall, after every commandment, ask God mercy for their transgressions for the time past, and grace to keep the law for the time to come, as followeth.

Minister.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Minister. Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath-day. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all that thou hast to do; but the seventh day is

the Sabbath of the Lord thy God. In it thou shalt do no manner of work ; thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, thy man-servant, and thy maid-servant, thy cattle, and the stranger that is within thy gates. For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it.

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

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

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

Minister. Thou shalt do no murder.

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

Minister. Thou shalt not commit adultery.

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

Minister. Thou shalt not steal.

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

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

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

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

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

¶ *Then the Minister may say,*

Hear also what our Lord Jesus Christ saith.

THOU shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it ; Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets.

Let us pray.

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.*

¶ *Then shall be said the Collect of the Day. And immediately after the Collect the Minister shall read the Epistle, saying, The Epistle [or, The portion of Scripture appointed for the Epistle] is written in the — Chapter of —, beginning at the — Verse. And the Epistle ended, he shall say, Here endeth the Epistle. Then shall he read the Gospel (the People all standing up) saying, The Holy Gospel is written in the — Chapter of —, beginning at the — Verse.*

¶ *Here the People shall say,*

Glory be to thee, O Lord.

- ¶ Then shall be read the *Apostles'*, or *Nicene Creed*; unless one of them hath been read immediately before in the *Morning Service*.
- ¶ Then the Minister shall declare unto the People what *Holy-days*, or *Fasting-days*, are in the week following to be observed; and (if occasion be) shall Notice be given of the *Communion*, and of the *Banns of Matrimony*, and other matters to be published.
- ¶ Then shall follow the *Sermon*. After which, the Minister, when there is a *Communion*, shall return to the *Lord's Table*, and begin the *Offertory*, saying one or more of these *Sentences* following, as he thinketh most convenient.

LET your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven. *St. Matt. v. 16.*

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. *St. Matt. vi. 19, 20.*

Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, even so do to them: for this is the Law and the Prophets. *St. Matt. vii. 12.*

Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven. *St. Matt. vii. 21.*

Zaccheus stood forth, and said unto the Lord, Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have done any wrong to any man, I restore fourfold. *St. Luke xix. 8.*

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

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

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

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 grudgingly, or of necessity; for God loveth a cheerful giver. 2 *Cor.* ix. 6, 7.

Let him that is taught in the Word minister unto him that teacheth, in all good things. Be not deceived, God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth that shall he reap. *Gal.* vi. 6, 7.

While we have time, let us do good unto all men; and especially unto them that are of the household of faith. *Gal.* vi. 10.

Godliness is great riches, if a man be content with that he hath: for we brought nothing into this world, neither may we carry anything out. 1 *Tim.* vi. 6, 7.

Charge them who are rich in this world, that they be ready to give, and glad to distribute;

laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may attain eternal life. *1 Tim. vi. 17, 18, 19.*

God is not unrighteous, that he will forget your works, and labour that proceedeth of love; which love ye have showed for his Name's sake, who have ministered unto the saints, and yet do minister. *Heb. vi. 10.*

To do good, and to distribute, forget not; for with such sacrifices God is well pleased. *Heb. xiii. 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? *1 St. John iii. 17.*

Give alms of thy goods, and never turn thy face from any poor man; and then the face of the Lord shall not be turned away from thee. *Tobit iv. 7.*

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. *Tobit iv. 8, 9.*

He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth unto the LORD: and look, what he layeth out, it shall be paid him again. *Prov. xix. 17.*

Blessed be the man that provideth for the sick and needy: the LORD shall deliver him in the time of trouble. *Psalms xli. 1.*

¶ *Whilst these Sentences are in reading, the Deacons,*

Church-wardens, or other fit persons appointed for that purpose, shall receive the Alms for the Poor, and other Devotions of the People, in a decent Basin to be provided by the Parish for that purpose; and reverently bring it to the Priest, who shall humbly present and place it upon the Holy Table.

¶ *And the Priest shall then place upon the Table so much Bread and Wine as he shall think sufficient. After which done, he shall say,*

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

ALMIGHTY and everliving God, who 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 oblations, 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 those who 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, so to direct and dispose the hearts of all Christian Rulers, that they may truly and impartially administer justice, to the punishment of wickedness and vice, and to the maintenance of thy true religion, and virtue. Give grace, O heavenly Father, to all Bishops and other Ministers, that they may, both by their life and doctrine, set

** If there be no alms or oblations, then shall the words [to accept our alms and oblations, and] be left unsaid.*

forth thy true and lively Word, and rightly and duly administer thy holy Sacraments. And to all thy people give thy heavenly grace; and especially to this congregation here present; that, with meek heart and due reverence, they may hear, and receive thy holy Word; truly serving thee in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life. And we most humbly beseech thee, of thy goodness, O Lord, to comfort and succour all those who, in this transitory life, are in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity. And we also bless thy holy Name for all thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fear; beseeching thee to give us grace so to follow their good examples, that with them we may be partakers of thy heavenly kingdom. Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate. *Amen.*

¶ *When the Minister giveth warning for the Celebration of the Holy Communion, (which he shall always do upon the Sunday, or some Holy Day, immediately preceding,) he shall read this Exhortation following; or so much thereof as, in his discretion, he may think convenient.*

DEARLY beloved, on —— day next I purpose, through God's assistance, to administer to all such as shall be religiously and devoutly disposed the most comfortable Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ; to be by them received in remembrance of his meritorious Cross and Passion; whereby alone we obtain remission

of our sins, and are made partakers of the Kingdom of heaven. Wherefore it is our duty to render most humble and hearty thanks to Almighty God, our heavenly Father, 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 in that holy Sacrament. Which being so divine and comfortable a thing to them who receive it worthily, and so dangerous to those who will presume to receive it unworthily; my duty is to exhort you, in the mean season to consider the dignity of that holy mystery, and the great peril of the unworthy receiving thereof; and so to search and examine your own consciences, (and that not lightly, and after the manner of dissemblers with God; but so) that ye may come holy and clean to such a heavenly Feast, in the marriage-garment required by God in holy Scripture, and be received as worthy partakers of that holy Table.

The way and means thereto is; First, to examine your lives and conversations by the rule of God's commandments; and whereinsoever ye shall perceive yourselves to have offended, either by will, word, or deed, there to bewail your own sinfulness, and to confess yourselves to Almighty God, with full purpose of amendment of life. And if ye shall perceive your offences to be such as are not only against God, but also against your neighbours; then ye shall reconcile yourselves unto them; being 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 being likewise ready to forgive others who have offended you, as ye would have forgiveness of your offences at God's hand : for otherwise the receiving of the holy Communion doth nothing else but increase your condemnation. 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 ; repent ye of your sins, or else come not to that holy Table.

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, who by this means cannot quiet his own conscience herein, but requireth further comfort or counsel, let him come to me, or to some other Minister of God's Word, and open his grief ; that he may receive such godly counsel and advice, as may tend to the quieting of his conscience, and the removing of all scruple and doubtfulness.

¶ *Or, in case he shall see the People negligent to come to the Holy Communion, instead of the former, he shall use this Exhortation.*

DEARLY beloved brethren, on —— I intend, by God's grace, to celebrate the Lord's Supper : unto which, in God's behalf, I bid you all who are 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 by 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 who are 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 hindered with worldly business. But such excuses are 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, are ye not ashamed to say ye will not come ? When ye should return to God, will ye excuse yourselves, and say ye are not ready ? Consider earnestly with yourselves how little such feigned excuses will avail before God. Those who refused the feast in the Gospel, because they had bought a farm, or would try their yokes of oxen, or because they were married, were not so excused, but counted unworthy of the heavenly feast. Wherefore, according to mine Office, I bid you in

the Name of God, I call you in Christ's behalf, I exhort you, as ye love your own salvation, that ye will be partakers of this holy Communion. And as the Son of God did vouchsafe to yield up his soul by death upon the Cross for your salvation ; so it is your duty to receive the Communion in remembrance of the sacrifice of his death, as he himself hath commanded : which if ye shall neglect to do, consider with yourselves how great is your ingratitude to God, and how sore punishment hangeth over your heads for the same ; when ye wilfully abstain from the Lord's Table, and separate from your brethren, who come to feed on the banquet of that most heavenly food. These things if ye earnestly consider, ye will by God's grace return to a better mind : for the obtaining whereof we shall not cease to make our humble petitions unto Almighty God, our heavenly Father.

¶ *At the time of the Celebration of the Communion, the Priest shall say this Exhortation.*

DEARLY beloved in the Lord, ye who mind to come to the holy Communion of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, must consider how Saint Paul 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 ; so is the danger great, if we receive the

same unworthily. Judge therefore yourselves, brethren, that ye be not judged of the Lord ; repent ye truly for your sins past ; have a lively and steadfast 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, who lay in darkness and the 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 for us ; he hath instituted and ordained holy mysteries, as pledges of his love, and for a continual remembrance of his death, to our great and endless comfort. To him therefore, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, let us give (as we are most bounden) continual thanks ; submitting ourselves wholly to his holy will and pleasure, and studying to serve him in true holiness and righteousness all the days of our life. *Amen.*

¶ *Then shall the Priest say to those who come to receive the Holy Communion,*

YE who do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins, and are 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 with faith, and take this holy Sacrament to your comfort ; and make your humble confession to Almighty God, devoutly kneeling.

¶ *Then shall this general Confession be made, by the Priest and all those who are minded to receive the Holy Communion, humbly kneeling.*

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 are 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 Priest (the Bishop if he be present) stand up, and turning to the People, say,*

ALMIGHTY God, our heavenly Father, who of his great mercy hath promised forgiveness of sins to all those who 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 Priest say,*

Hear what comfortable words our Saviour Christ saith unto all who truly turn to him.

COME unto me, all ye that travail and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you. *St. Matt. xi. 28.*

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. *St. John iii. 16.*

Hear also what Saint Paul saith.

This is a true saying, and worthy of all men to be received, That Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners. *I Tim. i. 15.*

Hear also what Saint 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. *I St. John ii. 1, 2.*

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

Lift up your hearts.

Answer. We lift them up unto the Lord.

Priest. Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.

Answer. It is meet and right so to do.

¶ *Then shall the Priest turn to the Lord's Table, and say,*

IT is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, [*Holy Father,] Almighty, Everlasting God.

¶ *Here shall follow the Proper Preface, according to the time, if there be any specially appointed; or else immediately shall be said or sung by the Priest and People,*

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. Amen.

PROPER PREFACES.

Upon Christmas-day, and seven days after.

BECAUSE thou didst give Jesus Christ, thine only Son, to be born as at this time for us; who, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, was made very man, of the substance of the Virgin

* *These words [Holy Father] must be omitted on Trinity Sunday.*

Mary his mother ; and that without spot of sin, to make us clean from all sin. Therefore with Angels, &c.

Upon Easter-day, and seven days after.

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

Upon 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 we might also ascend, and reign with him in glory. Therefore with Angels, &c.

Upon Whit-Sunday, and six days after.

THROUGH Jesus Christ our Lord ; according to whose most true promise, the Holy Ghost came down as at this time 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 have been brought out of darkness and error into the clear light and true knowledge of thee, and of thy Son Jesus Christ. Therefore with Angels, &c.

Upon the Feast of Trinity only, may be said,

WHO 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, &c.

¶ *Or else this may be said, the words [Holy Father] being retained in the introductory Address.*

FOR the precious death and merits of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord, and for the sending to us of the Holy Ghost, the Comforter; who are one with thee in thy Eternal Godhead. Therefore with Angels, &c.

¶ *Then shall the Priest, kneeling down at the Lord's Table, say, in the name of all those who shall receive the Communion, this Prayer following.*

WE do not presume to come to this thy Table, O merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness, but in thy manifold and great mercies. We are 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.*

¶ *When the Priest, standing before the Table, hath so ordered the Bread and Wine, that he may with the more readiness and decency break the Bread before the People, and take the Cup into his hands, he shall say the Prayer of Consecration, as followeth.*

ALL glory be to thee Almighty God, our heavenly Father, for that thou, of thy tender mercy, didst give thine only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the Cross for our redemption; who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world; and did institute, and in his holy Gospel command us to continue, a perpetual memory of that his precious death and sacrifice, until his coming again: For in the night in which he was betrayed, (a) he took Bread; and when he had given thanks, (b) he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, (c) this is my Body, which is given for you; do this in remembrance of me. Likewise, after supper, (d) he took the Cup; and when he

(a) *Here the Priest is to take the Paten into his hands.*

(b) *And here to break the Bread.*

(c) *And here to lay his hand upon all the Bread.*

(d) *Here he is to take the Cup into his hand.*

had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this ; for (e) 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.

(e) *And here he is to lay his hand upon every vessel in which there is any Wine to be consecrated.*

WHEREFORE, O Lord and heavenly Father, *The Oblation.*

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, which we now offer unto thee, the memorial thy Son hath commanded us to make ; having in remembrance his blessed passion and precious death, his mighty resurrection and glorious ascension ; rendering unto thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same. And we most humbly

The Invocation.

beseech thee, O merciful Father, to hear us ; and, of thy almighty goodness, vouchsafe to bless and sanctify, with thy Word and Holy Spirit, these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine ; 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 his most blessed Body and Blood. And we earnestly 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 living sacrifice unto thee ; humbly beseeching thee, that we, and all others who shall be partakers of this Holy Communion, may worthily receive the most precious Body and Blood of thy Son Jesus Christ, be filled 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 are 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.*

¶ *Here shall be sung a Hymn, or part of a Hymn, from the Selection for the Feasts and Fasts, &c.*

¶ *Then shall the Priest first receive the Communion in both kinds himself, and proceed to deliver the same to the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, in like manner, (if any be present) and, after that, to the People also in order, into their hands, all devoutly 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 unto everlasting life. Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith, with thanksgiving.

¶ *And the Minister who delivereth the Cup shall say,*

THE Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. Drink this in remembrance that Christ's Blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.

¶ *If the consecrated Bread or Wine be spent before all have communicated, the Priest is to consecrate more, according to the Form before prescribed; beginning at—All glory be to thee, Almighty God—and ending with these words—partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood.*

¶ *When all have communicated, the Minister shall return to the Lord's Table, and reverently place upon it what remaineth of the consecrated Elements, covering the same with a fair linen cloth.*

¶ *Then shall the Minister say the Lord's Prayer, the People repeating after him every Petition.*

OUR Father, who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth, As it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; But deliver us from evil: For thine is the king-

dom, and the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

¶ *After shall be said as followeth.*

ALMIGHTY and everliving God, we most heartily thank thee, for that thou dost vouchsafe to feed us who 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 are very members incorporate in the mystical body of thy Son, which is the blessed company of all faithful people; and are also heirs through hope of thy everlasting kingdom, by the merits of the most precious death and passion of thy dear Son. And we 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, all standing, Gloria in excelsis, or some proper Hymn from the Selection.*

GLORY be to God on high, and on 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, Jesus 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 sitteth at the right hand of
 God the Father, have mercy upon us.

For thou only art holy ; thou only art the
 Lord ; thou only, O Christ, with the Holy Ghost,
 art most high in the glory of God the Father.
 Amen.

¶ *Then the Priest (the Bishop if he be present) shall let
 them depart with this Blessing.*

THE peace of God, which passeth all under-
 standing, 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.*

¶ *Collects that may be said after the Collects of Morning or
 Evening Prayer, or Communion, at the discretion of
 the 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 Jesus Christ our Lord. *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.*

DIRECT 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, who 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, who hast promised to hear the petitions of those who ask in thy Son's Name ; We beseech thee mercifully to incline thine ears to us who have now made 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 Sundays and other Holy Days (if there be no Sermon or Communion) shall be said all that is appointed at the Communion, unto the end of the Gospel, concluding with the Blessing.*

¶ *And if any of the consecrated Bread and Wine remain after the Communion, it shall not be carried out of the Church; but the Minister and other Communicants shall, immediately after the Blessing, reverently eat and drink the same.*

NOTES,

TEXTUAL AND LITURGICAL.¹

Our Father, who art]

'Who' rather than 'which' is read here, so as to be consistent with the form of the Lord's Prayer occurring after the Prayer for the whole Church in ed. 1764. In the latter place Seabury read 'who,' and it may have been due to him, and thus indirectly to ed. 1764, that the American Prayer-Book throughout reads 'who.' Skinner has 'which.' The Revisers (1881) of the Authorised Version of the N.T. had not the courage to venture on a change which is familiar (see modern editions of Rheinish Version) to all English-speaking Roman Catholics, and to which our ears would grow accustomed in a very short time.

¹ On the subject-matter which is common to the English and Scottish Offices the student will consult the works of Palmer, Procter, Blunt, Wheatly, Scudamore, etc. In the study of the Eastern Liturgies he will find the *General Introduction* to Dr. Neale's *History of the Holy Eastern Church*, though occasionally inaccurate, an invaluable aid. The earlier texts of the Greek liturgies may be best studied in Dr. Swainson's very valuable work, *The Greek Liturgies, chiefly from Original Authorities*, 1884; but for the practical purposes of most students Mr. C. E. Hammond's *Liturgies, Eastern and Western* will suffice. Help will be found in the Introduction, and Notes, and Appendices to *The Liturgies of SS. Mark, James, Clement, Chrysostom and Basil, and the Church of Malabar translated*, by Dr. J. M. Neale and Dr. R. F. Littledale. Brett's *Collection of the Principal Liturgies*, and his *Dissertation*, are still valuable. The works of Renaudot and of Assemani are still the great storehouses of information upon the minor Syriac and Coptic liturgies. Other references will be found in the notes.

Horsley here, merely writing "the Lord's Prayer," gives no help.

The American Prayer-Book adds the Doxology. It is fairly debatable whether this addition is appropriate as being the opening of the great Eucharistic service, or inappropriate as immediately preceding confession of sin.

God spake these words and said]

The Ten Commandments are printed above from the Scottish liturgy of 1637 which followed the Authorised Version, even to the preservation of its difference of type for words not found in the Hebrew. Horsley's *Collation* merely names 'The Ten Commandments' without transcribing them. A difference like this, which is not of a material character, Horsley would not have noted, nor inquired into. Similarly in respect to the 'Comfortable Words' (in which case there can be no question as to the text being from the Authorised Version), the difference of version is not noted by Horsley. Horsley's *Collation*, though sufficiently accurate and trustworthy *for its original purpose*, is not always helpful in deciding upon minor questions of reading.

The first printed text of the Scottish Communion Office that exhibits the earlier part of the service is, so far as I am aware, that contained in the handsome 4to with musical notes, published by Burns, London, in 1844.

The version there followed is that of the English Prayer-Book, and it does not contain the Summary; but not the slightest authority attaches to that edition. Torry's edition exhibits what was no doubt the prevailing usage, which the *convenience* of using the English Prayer-Book would have decided, in days when the beginning of the Scottish Office was not printed. The American Office follows the English Prayer-Book.

'The Summary of the Law']

This is given differently in different editions of the printed text of the Scottish Communion Office. In the text above I have followed the clue supplied in the opening words as found in Horsley's *Collation*. The English Nonjurors' Office (1718) (in which the Summary is not an alternative

with, but a substitute for, the Decalogue) opens with the same nine words as those given by Horsley, viz. "Jesus said, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God," etc., the rest of the quotation being from St. Matt. xxii. 37-40. When to these facts is added the further fact that the Summary as adopted by the American Church in 1789 is also from St. Matthew, I have but little doubt that the form generally found in the printed texts is incorrect. The introductory words 'Jesus said' (obviously preferable to the ordinary 'And Jesus answered and said unto him'—with its abrupt reference to some one not mentioned before, and to some unknown question put by the unknown person) are also from Horsley's *Collation*, and exactly correspond with the words in the English Non-jurors' Office (1718), which, I think, first suggested the liturgical use of the Evangelical Summary.

The error (in the Summary as quoted from St. Mark), 'Hear, O Israel; the Lord our God is one *God*' [Lord] is common to several editions. The error originated, so far as I have been able to ascertain, with Bishop Torry's edition; but I have manuscript evidence which goes to show that the form, as given by St. Mark rather than by St. Matthew, was used in the last century.

As early as 1636 a disposition towards Sabbatarianism made those responsible for the Scottish liturgy desirous to guard against a too literal and Judaic interpretation of the Fourth Commandment. An expression of this feeling may be found in the following rubric of the liturgy of 1637:—'Then shall the Presbyter, turning to the people, rehearse distinctly all the TEN COMMANDEMENTS: 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 Commandement.*' The Sabbatarianism of the later Puritans was still more offensive.

The same feeling suggested to the Nonjurors the substitution of the more searching and spiritual promulgation of the law which we find in the Summary. Bishop Gadderar, in a letter bearing date 21st Jan. 17 $\frac{1}{8}$, mentions the advantage of the Summary helping to lessen the length of the service, of which some had complained, and adds: "What is

of more weight is that several knowing and religious persons of our Communion cannot with a good conscience make the response to the Fourth Commandment, and indeed it is more to be wondered at that any of our people can." Other reasons for the change are also given by him, as, *e.g.* that the *love* of God is not set forth as a duty in the Decalogue. The letter is printed in full in the *Panoply*, vol. ii. p. 77 *sq.*

Students of the history of the English Prayer-Book will remember that the Puritans at the Savoy Conference were dissatisfied with expositions of the Fourth Commandment given in the Church Catechism, and would have added to the words "and to serve Him truly all the days of my life, —*particularly on the Lord's day.*"

The absence of the Decalogue from all the liturgies of the Church down to 1552 was not likely to commend its liturgical use to the scholarly and learned Nonjurors.

It should be remembered, too, that the Second Commandment as well as the Fourth must be understood in its "mysticall importance." Christians (despite the letter of the command given to the Hebrews),—not to speak of the devotional use of sculpture and painting,—have not confined themselves, like Mohammedan literalists, to 'arabesques' in the decorative arts.

In the American Office the Summary is an *addition* to the Ten Commandments, and is permitted, not enjoined.

O Almighty Lord, and Everlasting God]

Usage has naturally tended to give this very appropriate collect the preference over either of the prayers for the Sovereign. There are few impartial students who will not admit that the prayers offered for the King or Queen in the English Prayer-Book are too numerous. There is a story told of the late Prince Consort commenting, shortly after his marriage, on the frequency with which the Queen is prayed for in the services of the Church of England, and when some one said, "Surely the Queen cannot be too much prayed for," replying, "Not too *much*, but too *often*." The American Church uses this Collect in this place, and has here no special prayer for the President. And it is one of the few gains of the revision

of the Prayer-Book of the Church of Ireland that the Prayers for the Queen in this place may not be used "when the Queen has been prayed for in any service used along with this Office." The Queen is prayed for by name in the Prayer for the whole Church. Neale (*Life of Torry*, p. 441) is probably right in believing that the Scottish Nonjurors thought the adoption of this Collect preferable, for prudential reasons, to the Prayer for the King without the recitation of his name. He maintains also that, as at the Synod of Aberdeen in 1788, it was stipulated that "nominal prayer" for the King need only be made once in the course of the service, "any Scottish Prayer-Book which should enjoin one of the two Collects for the Queen would violate the enactment of that Synod."

Everything in the world will have its defenders; but he must be a stolid Anglican optimist who will not acknowledge in his heart that the *tone* of the State Prayers is generally much better suited to the days of the Tudor monarchs than to those of Queen Victoria.

It will interest some to know that in the thirteenth century a Scotch Provincial Council directed that in the celebration of Masses five collects should be said, of which one was to be for the King (cap. lxx.; Wilkins, i. 617).¹ See *Concilia Scotiæ*, ii. 38.

Glory be to thee, O God],

I cannot conceive why the Scottish Canons departed from the familiar form, "Glory be to thee, O Lord," as it stood in Ed. VI. 1st Book, ed. 1637, and in Horsley's Collation. In the Canons of 1838 we find the limitation "where the custom hath been so." Burns' edition of 1844 and Torry both follow the form in the text.

The American Office is right here.

The *Gloria tibi, Domine*, is not prescribed in any of the mediæval English Missals, nor in the Missal of Arbutnot,

¹ Cap. LXX. Sacræ Synodi approbatione salubriter duximus statuendum, ut per diocesim nostram in celebratione missarum, præterquam in festis duplicibus, dicantur quinque collectæ; una de pace ecclesiæ, scilicet, "Ecclesiæ tuæ quæsumus Domine preces," etc., alia pro domino nostro rege et regina et eorum filiis, scilicet "Deus in cujus manu corda sunt regum."

but it appears in the Roman. On the antiquities of the subject references will be found in Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, 2d ed., p. 262, and article "Gospel, The Liturgical," by the same writer, in Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*.

Thus endeth the Holy Gospel],

As in Horsley's Collation. "So endeth the Holy Gospel," ed. 1637.

I fancy its introduction into the Scottish liturgy may possibly be due to Wren, Bishop of Norwich (see p. 28). In Bishop Jacobson's *Fragmentary Illustrations of the History of the Book of Common-Prayer from manuscript sources* (1874) will be found among Wren's notes the suggestion, "So endeth the Holy Gospel;" but the notes were at least *transcribed* after the publication of Laud's liturgy. Cosin's suggested alteration is 'Here endeth the holy Gospel,' and this is followed by the Nonjurors (1718) and Torrey.

The American Office, while wisely improving on the English Book by enjoining the *Gloria tibi, Domine*, also, I think wisely, avoided our 'Thus endeth the holy Gospel.' Dr. J. M. Neale, in his able *Earnest Plea for the Retention of the Scotch Liturgy* (p. 17), says: "Now let us see in what other points the Scotch is superior to the Anglican rite. I know but one, and that a trifle, in which it is inferior. I allude to the 'Here endeth the Gospel' in Bishop Torrey's book. Ritualists, as you are aware, give two reasons why that which concludes the Epistle ought not to be said of the Gospel. The one, because it is the *everlasting* Gospel; the other, because, in point of fact, it is not then ended, since the Creed is simply its further development." The first of these two reasons may seem fanciful, but I should not be surprised if the feeling which suggested the statement of the second reason really, and as a matter of fact, lay at the bottom of the different treatment of Epistle and Gospel. The reasons assigned by the older liturgical commentators are often valueless, but still deserve consideration.

Thanks be to Thee, O Lord, for this thy glorious Gospel]

So the Canons, Horsley, and Torrey. In ed. 1637

“Thanks be to thee, O Lord,” and so Nonjurors (1718) and Deacon (1734). The Canons of 1838 enjoined, those of 1863 and 1876 permit, the use of these words. Cosin tried in 1661 to introduce the ‘Thanks be to Thee, O Lord’ into the English Book. For the antiquities of the subject see Scudamore (*Notit. Eucharist.*, p. 264).

The addition “for this thy glorious Gospel” seems to be wholly Scottish. We find in parts of the Scottish Office a tendency to amplification, but without excess. This may have been an outcome of studies in the Oriental liturgies, which to our Western taste are redundant and over-ornate in epithet; *e.g.* ed. 1637 has “We do not presume to come to this thy table”; ed. 1764, “this thy holy table.” Again, ed. 1637 has “that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body”; ed. 1764, “his most sacred body.”

¶ *Then the Presbyter, or Deacon, shall say,*

Let us present our offerings to the Lord with reverence and godly fear.]

On the choice of the word *Presbyter* rather than *Priest*, which is derived from the Scottish liturgy of 1637, see p. 48.

or Deacon],

The putting this short Exhortation into the mouth of the Deacon, and the Exhortation itself, exactly as it stands, come from Bishop Deacon’s *Holy Liturgy* (1734) and from Rattray’s Office.

The Deacon’s interposed ejaculations are a common feature in the Eastern liturgies. Rattray did not allow the alternative of the Priest saying the words, but in an Office intended for actual use it was obviously good sense on the part of the revisers to construct the rubric as it stands.

The suggestion of the Deacon’s exhortation is, one cannot doubt, from the Deacon’s words in the Clementine liturgy printed by Rattray (*Ancient Liturgy*, p. 7). Ὁρθοὶ πρὸς Κύριον μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου ἐστῶτες ὦμεν προσφέρειν. This occurs immediately before the Anaphora, and I have no doubt that the intention of the Scottish revisers was that the Deacon’s words should apply to the offerings of bread and

wine about to be 'offered up' as well as of money, and, perhaps even further, to the Greater Oblation at a later part of the service. The words "with fear and trembling" in the Clementine liturgy (and similar forms will be found in the same place in other ancient liturgies) refer to the Greater Oblation; so here they will be felt as strained in their application if referred exclusively to money-offerings with no reference to the Eucharistic Sacrifice. A few words from another work of Bishop Rattray's will illustrate what has been said. "In celebrating this Christian Sacrifice, the people are to bring their oblations of bread and wine, which the Priest receiving presenteth in their name to God on His Altar. . . . This was the practice in primitive times; but now the free-will offerings of the people are given in money at the offertory, which, being solemnly devoted to God, the charge of the bread and wine is to be defrayed out of it by the Priest. . . . And thus it comes to the same thing] whether we offer the elements or the money wherewith the charge of them is to be defrayed."—(*Some particular instructions concerning the Christian Covenant, Works, Pitsligo Press edit., part i. p. 17.*)¹

It should be observed in this connection that no celebration is authorised by the Scottish Office without the people's offertory. In the prayer "for the whole state of Christ's Church" there is no provision (as in the marginal rubric of the corresponding prayer in the English Book) for the omission of the words "our alms and oblations." The offering of the faithful is at once a privilege and an obligation of the Eucharist.

¶ *Then the Presbyter shall begin the offertory, saying 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.*

In process of time, etc.]

It will be observed that in the Scottish Office (as in the liturgy of 1637) the order of the sentences is that of the books of Holy Scripture from which they are taken.

¹ Bishop Deacon, with his indifference to any sense of humour, will have the whole address from the Clementine liturgy, including "Mothers, take care of your children."

The rubric follows with much closeness the rubric in the liturgy of 1637. The Sentences are all to be found in that liturgy (and, as in that liturgy, are taken from the *Authorised Version*, see p. 42) together with the passage 1 Chron. xxix. 10, etc. "Blessed be thou, O Lord God" etc. (but in a fuller form), which, in our existing Office, is used on presenting the bason and setting it upon the holy Table. The absence of the beautiful sentences from Tobit is due to the desire of the Scottish Bishops in 1636 to omit all quotations from the Apocryphal books. It will be observed that Luke xix. 8, 1 Tim. vi. 6, 7, Prov. xix. 17, Psalm xli. 1 (all found in the English Service-book), are absent from the Scottish liturgy of 1637. Why this is so it is not easy to guess; but, of a piece with this, it will be noticed that *alms* or offerings *for the poor* seem to be given a secondary place in the following curious rubric at the close of the liturgy of 1637. '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 publike relief of the poore at the discretion of the Presbyter and Churchwardens.'

For the use of such Sentences we have no authority in the ancient liturgies, but they "are very proper to stir up the People to offer willingly with a devout heart" (Rattray, *The Ancient Liturgy*, p. 114). On the source of our Sentences, see p. 39.

The 'Offertorium' of the mediæval 'uses,' though it suggested the idea of the English 'offertory sentences,' does not, in fact, correspond very closely to them,—being in thought connected with the offering of the Elements (which originally were, in the first instance, offered by the people), rather than with money-gifts for the support of the clergy or the relief of the poor. Mr. Warren (*Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, p. 131) points to a "short anthem in the Antiphonary of Bangor, which resembles an offertory sentence of the Anglican liturgy rather than the Offertorium of the

Roman Missal. 'Dispersit, dedit pauperibus, justitia ejus manet in sæculum sæculi,' etc.

The Scotch Bishops in 1636 had proposed to omit several of the sentences that now appear; but they were restored by Laud's directions. See his letter to the Bishop of Dunblane, 20th April 1630 (printed in Prynne, *Hidden Workes of Darkeness*, p. 153). Others that still stand in the English and American Books were happily removed, as, for example, the first sentence, "Let your light so shine," etc., which seems such a favourite with the English clergy, and which, to my mind, it needs much ingenuity to defend as appropriate to this place.

The American Prayer-Book follows the English; only adding, as do the Scottish liturgy (1637) and Office, the reference to verse as well as chapter.

Neale (*Earnest Plea*, p. 18) has observed that some of the Offertory Sentences of the Scottish Office are those to which "reference, more or less distinct, is made in the early liturgies; as for example, the very first, 'Abel he also brought of the firstlings of his flock,' reminds one of the 'Ἀβὲλ τὰ δῶρα of S. James's liturgy; and all those which differ from our own [the English] service speak more clearly and distinctly of the Eucharistic Sacrifice."

Blessed be thou, O Lord God, for ever and ever, etc.]

In Bishop Falconar's first edition, *i.e.* of 1755 (in the fuller form of 1637), though printed among the Offertory Sentences, there is a '*Direction*' on the *verso* of the title-page that the extract "Blessed be thou . . . do we give unto thee" is "to be read by the Presbyter after presenting the Elements and Offertory on the Altar." Its words would thus be applicable to the Bread and Wine as well as the offerings in money. At present there are no words prescribed to accompany the first oblation of the Bread and Wine. The revisers of 1764, instead of following the '*Direction*' of 1755, went back, in this instance unhappily, to the suggestion in Bishop Rattray's Office (p. 115), which gives the words their present position. This is one of the several instances of the influence of Rattray upon our

service-book. Bishop Horsley (*Collation*), p. 8, speaks of these words as being "introduced with peculiar propriety" in their present place.

I have heard the objection raised that the words of King David, on the occasion of his presenting his splendid offerings of gold and silver and precious stones, are too elevated for the presentation of a few pence. The reply to this objection seems to me suggested in another of our Offertory sentences (not found in the English book), "Verily I say unto you that this poor widow hath cast more in than all they that have cast into the treasury." If there be a felt unreality in the words, is it not due to our own grudging spirits? A liturgical service cannot be written down to the level of the mean and narrow-hearted.

The words 'of thine own do we give unto thee,' with a prospective reference to either the lesser or the greater oblation, has its parallel in the well-known words τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοὶ προσφέρομεν, and other corresponding phrases in the Eastern liturgies.

¶ *And the Presbyter shall then offer up, and place the bread and wine.]*

The rubric is derived from the liturgy of 1637. The contrast with the corresponding rubric in the present English Prayer-Book is striking, and rendered more striking when we notice that in the English Prayer-Book the Priest is directed to 'humbly present and place' the 'decent basin,' with the alms, but with respect to the Bread and Wine he is directed simply to "place upon the Table so much . . . as he shall think sufficient." Certainly if the English revisers of 1661 intended an *oblation* of the Bread and Wine at this point they could scarcely have used language better fitted to mislead. What I point to here is further supported by the fact that Cosin actually proposed the following rubric at the last revision in 1661, "And if there be a Communion the Priest shall then offer up and place the bread and wine," etc., but it was not accepted (*Works*, vol. v. p. 515, note).

This is not the place to discuss this difficult question; but I will state here that after a very minute and elaborate

investigation of the whole subject I am unable to feel satisfied that any oblation of the elements at this point was intended by the revisers of 1661, or that the word 'oblations' in the succeeding prayer for the Church Militant was intended even to *include* the elements, much less that it was intended to refer to them exclusively.

Bread and wine prepared for the Sacrament]

There is no direction for the mixed chalice in the Scottish Office. But the usage has long been, I believe, universal (see Append. J). Bishop Torry stated the prevailing practice in his time, in the rubric. "It is customary to mix a little pure water with the wine in the Eucharistic Cup, when the same is taken from the Prothesis or Credence to be presented upon the Altar."

"Wafer bread" is by *name* admitted to be "lawful" in the Office of 1637; but bread "such as is usual, yet the best and purest wheat bread that conveniently may be gotten," will "suffice." Prevailing usage in Scotland has not been in favour of wafer bread. Some remarks on the lesser oblation will be found below.

The Lord be with you. Answer. And with thy Spirit. Presbyter. Lift up your hearts, etc.]

The above Versicle and Response introductory to the *Sursum Corda* is not in the liturgy of 1637. I observe it in the Scottish books first in the edition of 1735, despite its claim to be "authorized by K. Charles I."; but it was in the Nonjurors' Book of 1718, following the English Book of 1549. Rattray followed the fuller form suggested by the Greek liturgies. Some such might be adopted in any revision of our Office with a gain in the direction of solemnity and fitting dignity. The introduction of the words above is an instance where the Scottish revisers showed their independence,—going back to Edward's First Book rather than follow the Scottish liturgy of 1637.

Presbyter. *It is very meet, etc., and the Prefaces]*

The following points may be considered deserving of notice :—

(1.) The direction to omit the words 'Holy Father' on Trinity Sunday shows the revisers willing to adopt from the English Prayer-Book of 1662 what they thought an improvement upon the Scottish liturgy of 1637. The English Non-jurors' Communion Office (1718), though based on the Prayer-Book of 1549, similarly followed in this particular the Prayer-Book of 1662, as do also the edition of the Scotch Communion Office of 1743 and that of 1755.

It is scarcely probable that the Scottish revisers were acquainted with the fact, but it would have further encouraged them to add the marginal rubric had they known that it was Bishop Wren, who had previously been engaged in examining, together with Laud, the Scottish liturgy of 1637 (see p. 28) that made the suggestion. See Bishop Jacobson's *Fragmentary Illustrations of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 80.

(2.) In the Proper Preface for Christmas-Day the emphatic words "as this day" of the liturgy of 1637 is retained in the form "as on this day," in preference to the vaguer "as at this time" in the English Book of 1662. Similarly on Whitsunday¹ "this day" is retained. In both cases the marginal note makes possible the emphasis for the festival, and obviates the objection made by the Puritans. This is a merit of real importance.

(3.) The introduction of the word "blessed" before "Virgin Mary" in the Proper Preface for Christmas-Day is characteristic of, and retained from, the Scottish liturgy, 1637. Again, in the Proper Preface for Whitsunday the words "are brought out of error," rather than the English "have been brought out of error," are retained, and, perhaps, not to the disadvantage of the sense.

Then the Presbyter, standing at such a part of the Holy Table as he may with the most ease and decency use both his hands, shall say]

This rubric is derived from that in the Scottish liturgy,

¹ 'Whit-Sunday' is the form of the word as printed by the Scottish revisers. In this they were following the best lights of their time, whether they regarded the first syllable as standing for *wit*, *white*, or *huict*, according to Hamon L'Estrange's conjecture.

1637. A charge was made against Laud on this foundation (see p. 35). A more rational defence of what is pointed out is that the celebrant is the organ and representative of the priestly character of the whole Church.

The Prayer of Consecration as followeth]

The first thing here to be observed is the position of the Prayer of Consecration in relation to the rest of the service. It will be seen that, as compared with the positions of the Prayer of Consecration in the English and American Offices, it comes early. In the English and American Offices the Prayer of Consecration comes immediately before Reception. In the Scottish, between the Consecration and Reception many prayers intervene, which are placed either before Consecration or after Reception in the two former liturgies. The Scottish liturgy of 1637 had embodied in the Prayer of Consecration what is the first post-communion collect in the present English Book, and had placed the Lord's Prayer and the Prayer of Humble Access between this and Reception; but it was the study of the early Greek liturgies which determined the present order of the Scottish Office.¹ The close parallelism of the structural arrangements of the Scottish and Eastern liturgies will be seen by comparing the early part of the anaphora of, for example, the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom with the corresponding part of the Scottish Office.

LITURGY OF ST. CHRYSOSTOM.	SCOTTISH COMMUNION OFFICE.
1. Benediction and <i>Sursum Corda</i> .	1. The Lord be with you, etc., and <i>Sursum Corda</i> .
2. Preface.	2. Preface.
3. Triumphal Hymn ("Holy Holy, Holy," etc.)	3. "Holy, Holy, Holy," etc.

¹ A reference to Appendix I will show that the structural arrangement of the present Scottish Office resembles that of the Scottish liturgy of 1637 less closely than it does that of the earlier liturgy of England, 1549. Much as our Scottish revisers of the last century valued the Scottish Prayer-Book, they valued still more highly antiquity and intrinsic merit.

LITURGY OF ST. CHRYSOSTOM.	SCOTTISH COMMUNION OFFICE.
4. Recital of Work of Redemption. Recital of Institution.	4. Recital of Work of Redemption. Recital of Institution.
5. The Great Oblation.	5. The Great Oblation.
6. The Invocation.	6. The Invocation.
7. The Great Intercession for Dead and Quick.	7. The Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church.
8. The Lord's Prayer [<i>with Embolismus</i>].	8. The Lord's Prayer.
9. Prayer of Humble Access.	9. Prayer of Humble Access.
10. Elevation, Fraction, Commixture, Infusion of Warm Water.	10. [<i>Nothing corresponding.</i>]
11. Communion.	11. Communion.

I have taken the liturgy of St. Chrysostom for comparison, but the liturgy of St. James (from which it was derived) would have shown a parallel even closer. Bishops Campbell and Gadderar had, together with the English Nonjurors, been engaged in the study that resulted in the Nonjurors' Office of 1718; and on Gadderar's settling at Aberdeen the Scottish liturgy of 1637, as we have seen in the historical sketch, though printed as originally issued, was in actual use, conformed to this order. The influence of Bishop Rattray's work at last secured in 1764 the authorised establishment of this sequence.

On the *position* of the great intercession for the whole Church Dr. J. M. Neale (*History of the Holy Eastern Church*, General Introduction, i. 507) observes: "It is clear that the position of the intercession can make no difference in its validity, but it seems also clear that the Eastern position, when the sacrifice has been already made, is the best."¹

¹ An able writer of a very different intellectual temperament, and one of the most 'judicious' prelates that the Church of England ever possessed—Connop Thirlwall—remarks on the same subject (*Charge* 1857, republished in *Remains Literary and Theological*, i. 279): "There are passages in the Scottish Office which, as it appears to

The following varieties in the position of the Great Intercession in relation to the Prayer of Consecration in various liturgies should be noted.

1. Before the recital of the history of the Institution. The Alexandrian liturgy (St. Mark), and certain cognate liturgies.
2. Partly before (for the Quick), and partly after (for the Dead). The Roman and Ambrosian liturgies.
3. Between the Institution and the Invocation. Three Nestorian liturgies.
4. But the great majority of liturgies, the main body of the liturgies of both Eastern and Western Syria, and their derivatives, including those of St. James, St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, St. Clement, and some forty Syro-Jacobite liturgies, place the Great Intercession after the Consecration is complete.

me, add much to its solemnity, without being liable to any misconstruction in point of doctrine. They express that which in the English Office is tacitly implied, but is left to be understood, and therefore may easily be overlooked. But the main difference between the two Offices consists in the greater prominence which is given in the Scottish to the commemorative character of the rite. This is indicated partly by the language used in the form of Consecration, which dwells much more emphatically than our own on the Memorial, and partly by the number of prayers and other acts of devotion which are interposed between the Consecration and the Communion, while in our Office the one follows immediately after the other. This portion of the Scotch service includes the Prayer for the Church militant (*sic*), the Lord's Prayer, Invitation to the Holy Communion, the General Confession and Absolution, the hortative sentences of Scripture, and the Prayer for a meet and salutary reception of the consecrated elements. It is clear that in the view of the framers of this liturgy the interval between Consecration and Communion is the most appropriate season for all manner of supplications, general and special, which are founded upon the great sacrifice commemorated in the Eucharist. I must own that I do not see any valid doctrinal objection to this view, though I am aware that it may be carried out in a manner liable to great abuse."

The rationale of the arrangement that places the great prayer for Christ's Church after the Consecration, as it presented itself to the Fathers who used the liturgies of the prevailing type, seems to have been that while the sacrifice lay upon the altar before God we might the more efficaciously entreat His mercy. Every Christian prayer is put up in the name of Christ, and through the merits of His sacrifice; and here, while the one great sacrifice of Calvary was represented before the Father, they would plead the precious death of the immaculate Lamb.¹

They put up their prayers "in such a manner as they thought most prevalent, that is, by virtue of the Eucharistical Sacrifice then lying in open view."²

Anglican divines have expressed themselves in similar language.

Thus Bishop Jeremy Taylor:—

"Our prayers can never be so holy as when they are offered up in the union of Christ's Sacrifice. . . . When we represent His death and pray in virtue of His passion, and imitate his intercession and do that which God commands, and offer Him, in our manner, that which He essentially loves; can it be that either anything should be more prevalent, or that God can possibly deny such addresses and such importunities?"³

"We do show forth," writes Bishop Patrick,⁴ "the Lord's death unto God, and commemorate before Him the great things He hath done for us. We keep it (as it were) in His memory and plead

¹ Thus, for example, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, in his *Mystagogical Catechism*, in treating of the Liturgy of St. James, says *εἶτα, μετὰ τὸ ἀπαρισθῆναι τὴν πνευματικὴν θυσίαν, τὴν ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν, ἐπὶ τῆς θυσίας ἐκείνης τοῦ ἰλασμοῦ παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν Θεόν, ὑπὲρ κοινῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης· ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου εὐσταθείας· ὑπὲρ βασιλέων· ὑπὲρ στρατιωτῶν καὶ συμμάχων· ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἀσθενείαις· ὑπὲρ τῶν καταπονουμένων· καὶ ἀπαξᾶπλῶς, ὑπὲρ πάντων βοηθείας δεομένων δεόμεθα πάντες ἡμεῖς, καὶ ταύτην προσφέρομεν τὴν θυσίαν.* (v. 327.) *Edit. Paris, 1720.*

² Johnson's *Unbloody Sacrifice*, i. 388.

³ Sermon VI., vol. v. p. 88.

⁴ *Mensa Mystica*, p. 15.

before him the sacrifice of His Son, *which we show unto Him*, humbly requiring that grace and pardon, with all other benefits of it, may be bestowed upon us. And as the minister doth most powerfully pray in the virtue of Christ's Sacrifice when he represents it unto God, so doth the people also when they show unto Him what His Son hath suffered. Every man may say—'Behold, O Lord, the bleeding wounds of Thy own Son; remember how His Body was broken for us; think upon His precious Blood which was shed in our behalf. Let us die, if He have not made full satisfaction.'"

I must not burden these pages with passages of a similar strain from other Anglican writers; but I note that the very fact that the Consecration comes immediately before Reception in the English Prayer-Book leads them chiefly to think, in this connexion, of the first post-communion prayer. In the passage above quoted the words "all other benefits of it" make one feel what the writer is thinking of.¹

But in the Scottish Communion Office the great prayer for the whole Church comes immediately after the Consecration, and the feelings, to which Taylor and Patrick have given such forcible expression, are granted full scope and gratification. I believe there are few devout priests, who have celebrated the Eucharist according to the Scottish rite, that do not feel the powerful attraction of this arrangement. They do not enter into metaphysical speculations as to the relations of time and its divisions to the Eternal God. They are human creatures, and they feel that God has condescended to their weakness, and helped it by this gracious *οἰκονομία*. And the same characteristic of the Scottish Office endears it in the hearts of thousands of the lay people.

From the writings of Scottish theologians I shall content myself with the following words of the Bishop of St. Andrews (Charles Wordsworth): "In the Scotch Office the Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church does not occur till after the Consecration; the same position which it occupies in the ancient liturgies, *and which obviously gives to it greater scope and intensity of feeling*" (*Three Short Sermons*, p. 38).

¹ Similarly, Sharp, Archbishop of York (Sermon XXIV.) thinks chiefly of the post-communion Collect.

It is of importance to bear in mind what has been now pointed out. It is sometimes assumed that those who are attached to the Scottish Office would be content if the Prayer of Consecration, according to the Scottish rite, were preserved, while the general structural arrangement of the liturgy were assimilated to that of the English Church. Most certainly of many of its supporters this is not true.

In regard to *general structure* the Scottish liturgy is superior, not merely to the present English Prayer-Book, but also to the liturgy in the first Prayer-Book of Edward VI., though in some other respects the advantages may be on the other side. And it is, in my judgment, to be much regretted that the American Prayer-Book, which allowed its Prayer of Consecration to be modified by the primitive form our rite exhibited, did not also alter the general structural arrangement of the parts of the service after the same model. This feeling is, I understand, shared by many American Churchmen. It may, however, be questioned whether the Confession and Absolution ought not to come before the Anaphora.

Having now briefly considered the *position* of the Prayer of Consecration, in relation to other parts of the service, we have, secondly, to say something of its internal structure.

Of the five great families into which all known liturgies may be divided (viz.—I. The liturgies of Western Syria and derivatives; II. The liturgies of Alexandria and derivatives; III. The liturgies of Eastern Syria and derivatives; IV. The Hispano-Gallican liturgies; and V. The Roman and derivatives¹), “it is certain,” says Dr. Neale, “that the first four had, from the very beginning, in the same place where the Scotch liturgy has it now (namely, after the words of Institution), an Invocation of the Holy Ghost that He, descending on the bread and wine, would make them the Body and Blood of Christ. It is *not certain* that the fifth, or Petrine, liturgy ever had this: *neither is the contrary certain*” (*Earnest Plea*, p. 10).

¹ The above nomenclature seems to me to be the best yet devised. It is due to Mr. C. E. Hammond.

Thus all liturgies, orthodox and heretical alike, with the exception stated, possessed the Invocation.

These are the facts, whatever may be their significance. But though the Roman liturgy does not possess in the Canon an express Invocation of the Holy Spirit, it does possess in the Canon, what the present English liturgy does not, an express prayer for God's blessing upon the bread and wine.

"The Roman Canon," writes Brett, "contrary to *all others*, does not invoke the descent of the Holy Ghost; however, it prays for God's particular blessing upon the elements, and that He would make them the Body and Blood of Christ, which is much the same in effect: for to pray to God to bless the elements and make them the Body and Blood of his Son, is not materially different from praying for the descent of the Holy Ghost for that purpose, since the spiritual blessings of God are all conferred upon us by the operation of His Holy Spirit" (*Dissertation*, p. 224).¹

The part of the English Prayer of Consecration which approaches nearest to the Prayer of Invocation, in fact, the only part that is a *prayer*, runs as follows:—"Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee; and grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine,

¹ The prayer to which Brett refers is "Quam oblationem tu, Deus in omnibus, quæsumus, benedictam, ascriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere digneris: ut nobis Corpus et Sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi." But though the *Canon* of the Roman liturgy contains no more express invocation than this, in the Ordinary of that liturgy, if not at first at least in later times, may be found something even more definite—I mean the prayer, "Veni sanctificator omnipotens æternæ Deus, et benedic hoc sacrificium tuo sancto nomini præparatum." Le Brun (tome i. 160), commenting on this, argues forcibly that the prayer is directed to the Holy Spirit. The prayer was added to the Roman Mass about 1050, according to Maskell (*The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England*, 3d. edit., p. 83). It is not found in the Ordinary of the Missals of Sarum, Bangor, York, or Hereford. It occurs in the Leofric Missal (p. 10), but its place is not very clearly indicated.

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 Body and Blood." It is said that the prayer for God's blessing to make the bread and wine the Body and Blood of Christ to us is here *implicitly* present; and I have no desire to subject the statement to any close analytical examination. The intention of the Church of England was, no doubt, to do, in the celebration of the Eucharist, what Christ did. He would be a bold man who would venture to maintain that all the blessings of the Sacrament may not be given, through God's infinitely gracious bounty, where there exists the intention to do as Christ commanded. But certainly pointing to the Scottish liturgy we may say, "I show you a more excellent way." What was urged by those to whom we owe our Scottish Office is that we have the Scripture authority for Christ's *blessing*, that is *asking a blessing upon*, the bread and wine. It is to ignore the main point of the objection to the English liturgy (as being imperfect, though not to such a degree as would involve invalidity) to lay stress on the absence of an express invocation of the Holy Spirit. The main point is that the English liturgy has at best only in a way obscure and involved, anything that corresponds to the *blessing* of the bread and wine by our Saviour. But to treat this subject more fully would necessitate entering upon the field of the interpretation of Scripture.

The Prayer of Consecration has three principal parts, following, in the Scottish liturgy, the order—(1) the recital of the history of the Institution, (2) the Oblation, (3) the Invocation of the Holy Spirit. This is the order of the corresponding parts in the great majority of all liturgies. We have here again to except those of the Roman family.¹

These are the facts: theories accounting for them historically, and theories of their *rationale*, may vary much. The

¹ I speak of the more clearly marked features; for we occasionally meet something like an anticipatory Invocation; and there are those who wish to find the parallel to the Invocation in the 'supra quæ propitio' and 'supplices te' of the Roman and Ambrosian Canons. Again, anticipatory oblations are sometimes

Nonjurors urged, with much persistence, that, because the Oblation is prior to the Invocation, the offering made in the Eucharist is only bread and wine set forth as 'symbols' of the Body and Blood of Christ. But of course they perceived that the great intercession was made while the *προκείμενα δῶρα*, fully consecrated, lay upon the altar. They could not fail to acknowledge the repeated ἔτι προσφέρομεν of the post-Invocation prayer; and they seem to have been embarrassed by it. The great controversy with Rome that had marked the years immediately preceding the Revolution could scarcely fail to affect their interpretation of the phenomena presented by the study of the ancient Fathers and liturgies; and they seized on the fact of the Oblation preceding the Invocation as establishing that in the earlier times there was nothing corresponding to the Romish sacrifice of the Mass. May I venture to commend to the student who feels embarrassed by these difficulties and others of a similar kind the following remarks of Mr. Hammond: "How are we to account for such a fact as . . . a transference to the earlier oblation of language more befitting the Great Oblation? Or what explanation shall we give amid the extraordinary unity which the reader must by this time have seen to exist among the liturgies, of the still more extraordinary variety of order, and that not only of minor details, but of the most important parts of the service? On what principle is the Great Intercession, for instance, placed now before, now after, and now in the midst of the Consecration; now partly before and partly after; and lastly wholly away and connected with the Offertory? Is it not that as it is in heaven, so when here a heavenly Mystery is being enacted *the element of time must be considered to be excluded?*"¹ Or, to put the same truth in another form, it is impossible for hearts and minds deeply stirred by emotion not at times to leap forward in anticipation. Nor is it possible to silence the sweet reverberations from the immediate found early in the service. These things should be borne in mind as indicating the absence of the sharply-defined limits of the various parts of the service, which a determination to find logical system sometimes invents.

¹ *Liturgies, Eastern and Western*, Introduction, p. xxxvii.

past, that enter, not inharmoniously, and mingle with the new movement of thought and feeling to which the service has reached.

by his own oblation of himself once offered]

So ed. 1755 ; previously 'one oblation,' as in the English and American Offices. As a misprint the word 'own' for 'one' appears in some editions of the English Prayer-Book (e.g. an 8vo edition 1665. London: printed by Bill and Barker). Here the intention of Bishop Falconar was, probably, to bring into prominence the voluntariness of the offering of Himself by Christ, as we find it expressed in the ancient liturgies in this place, just preceding the Words of Institution. Thus in the liturgy of St. Basil we read, μέλλων γὰρ ἐξίέναι ἐπὶ τὸν ἐκούσιον . . . αὐτοῦ θάνατον. In the liturgy of St. Chrysostom, τῇ νυκτὶ ἣ παρεδίδου ἑαυτόν, as it appears in the Barberini manuscript ; and as it appears in a later form, in Lady Burdett-Coutts' eleventh-century manuscript of the same liturgy, and in the liturgy of St. James in the Messana Roll, still further emphasised, τῇ νυκτὶ ἣ παρεδίδοτο, μᾶλλον δὲ ἑαυτὸν παρέδίδου (Swainson's *Greek Liturgies*). Bishop Rattray, in his liturgy, had adopted from the liturgy of St. James the words, "and when the hour was come that He who had no sin was to suffer a voluntary . . . death upon the cross."

a perpetual memorial]

First in 1764 ; previously 'memory,' though later on in in the prayer the word 'memorial' had appeared in 1549, and in 1637 and derivatives. The change is thoroughly justified ; 'memory' in the sense of 'memorial' being now obsolete. See the Authorised Version of 1 Mac. xiii. 29 : "And upon the pillars he made all their armour for a perpetual memory ;" and Shakspeare's *King Lear*, IV. vii. 7, where Cordelia says to Kent, "These weeds are memories of those worsen hours."

The student will see by an examination of the use of the word ἀνάμνησις in the Septuagint rendering of Lev. xxiv. 7, Num. x. 10, that when our Lord used the words εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν He probably used them with an allusion to the

Old Testament application of the words, and would have been so understood by the Apostles, the memorial being primarily *before God*.

of that his precious death and sacrifice]

So 1637. Sancroft says of the English form, it "seems to want 'and sacrifice,' which, if added, would be more consonant to the nature of that holy action, and the words of the Catechism following."—Nicholls' Appendix *ad loc*.

Take, eat, this is my body]

A discussion of the Eastern and Western theories of consecration would, in this small hand-book, be out of place. In any approaches that may hereafter be made towards the Orthodox Churches of the East, it will be important to be able to point to liturgies like the American and the Scottish, that possess the two essentials, according to the now prevailing Eastern view, viz. the recitation of the Words of Institution *and* the Invocation.

DO this]

On the sacrificial sense attributed to 'do' see Appendix K.

Which we now offer unto thee]

In the *explicit* teaching of the Scottish Communion Office there are *three* distinct oblations of material offerings.¹

1. The oblation of "alms and other devotions" by the people, 'humbly *presented before the Lord*, and set upon the holy Table' by the Presbyter.

2. The oblation of 'the Bread and Wine prepared for the Sacrament,' when the Presbyter is directed to '*offer up* and place them upon the Lord's Table.'

3. 'The Oblation,'—emphatically so called, and so designated in the marginal rubric,—which is made at the words WHICH WE NOW OFFER UNTO THEE, in 'the Prayer of Consecration,' after the Bread and Wine have (according to the theory of the nonjuring divines) been solemnly set apart by the manual acts and words of Institution as '*symbols*,' '*repre-*

¹ Ritual oblations are what is here in view. I am not concerned to consider (4) the precious oblation of "ourselves—our souls and bodies."

sentatives,' 'antitypes'¹ of the Body and Blood of Christ, and before the consecration is completed by the Invocation.

The *first* of these oblations is indicated by ritual action, and also by words,—“Of thine own do we give unto Thee,” though these words may also have perhaps a prospective reference to the Elements.

The *second* is indicated by a ritual action, but not verbally (the intention being expressed in the words ‘offer up’).

The third is an express verbal oblation in the words WHICH WE NOW OFFER UNTO THEE. It will be observed that the words are emphasised by the use of a larger type.² The intention of this would seem to be to emphasise the time in the service when it was supposed this oblation was made. The strong opinions of the divines responsible for the Office upon this subject must be well known to all students of nonjuring literature.³

I would here desire to express my own doubts as to the advantage of attempting to frame liturgical formulæ of this restrictive kind. I dislike the notion of devotional formularies

¹ So the Elements are styled (ἀντίτυπα) in the liturgy of St. Basil after the words of Institution have been pronounced and the Oblation made, and before the Holy Ghost is invoked to make the bread the Body of Christ, etc.

² This distinction of type is found in Bishop Seabury’s Office, and also in the two earliest authorised editions of the American Prayer-Book, where, according to Bishop White (who speaks of the first edition), this peculiar printing was allowed to appear “through inadvertence”; see Prof. Hart’s *Bishop Seabury’s Communion Office*, p. 44 (2d ed.) In some editions of the Scottish Office the distinction of type is not observed. The words are to be found as early as the edition of 1735, where they are inserted into the Consecration Prayer of the liturgy of 1637. They then disappear for a time, and again take their place in our recognised Office.

³ See Appendix K. No ritual act is prescribed; but the word *eleva*, inserted at this point in the margin of a copy of the edition of 1764, said to have belonged to, and been used by, John Alexander, Bishop of Dunkeld (1743-1776), probably points to a common usage. See P. Hall’s *Fragmenta Liturgica*, v. 221. In Bishop Deacon’s *Holy Liturgy* the ritual direction at this place is as follows: “We

being constructed with an eye to the *exclusion* of the views of those who differ from us in any matters that may not unreasonably be left open. The spirit of the highest devotion is expansive, not restrictive. It has no other purpose than to utter itself in acts of adoring worship. It does not aim at giving a slap to a theological opponent by a side-blow. It has no deliberately hostile aspect to those who would give a further intention to their prayers. It is possible, indeed, to understand the word NOW as referring to the whole *actus continuus* of the celebration ; but such was not the intention of the framers of the Office, and such is not the sense naturally suggested by the whole passage. I think it is to be regretted that those who sympathise with the view that would place the Oblation *after* the completed consecration may thus, unnecessarily, suffer a sense of dissatisfaction. To revert to the order of the parts of the 'Prayer of Consecration,' as found in the liturgy of 1637 and its various more or less modified reprints in the last century, would, of course, be directly in the teeth of the Scottish revisers that have given us our present Office, and would be contrary to the undeviating usage of the great early liturgies that were taken for its model. In the judgment of the present writer it would be as entirely undesirable as it is (he has no doubt) practically impossible. But to the emphasising the difficulty that is now presented to those who prefer the order of 1637 seems to me a blot.

I gladly cite, however, from Johnson,¹ the writer who on this subject exercised the most powerful influence upon the non-juring school, a passage which accurately states the facts, and may tend to allay the feeling of dissatisfaction to which I have referred. "Though the solemn oblation," he writes, "begins in all the liturgies after the Words of Institution, and before the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, or the Divine offer to thee, our King and our God, according to this institution (*And here to point with his right hand to all the bread :*), this Bread and (*And here to point with his left hand to the cup, and every vessel on the altar in which there is any wine and water :*) this Cup ; giving thanks to thee through him, that thou hast vouchsafed us the honour to stand before thee and to sacrifice unto thee."

¹ *Unbloody Sacrifice*, vol i. p. 340 (Anglo-Cath. Lib.)

benediction ; yet the sacrificial service is not ended until after the Consecration. For it is to be observed that the Clementine liturgy, St. James's, St. Chrysostom's, St. Peter's, St. Gregory's, contain a prayer for the acceptance of the Sacrifice, and particularly that it 'may be received up to the heavenly Altar,' after the consecration is fully ended : and the solemn propitiations, intercessions, reconciliations for the whole Church, for all orders and degrees of men, for all the most desirable graces and favours, follow after the Consecration in the Clementine liturgy. And these no doubt were esteemed a considerable part of the sacrificial service ; and these were performed after the symbols had been made the spiritual Body and Blood in the most perfect and complete manner that it was possible for one thing, its substance remaining, to become another. It was the Eucharistical Body and Blood, Which were the Gifts or Sacrifice, Which they desired might be assumed up to the Altar in heaven."

And I would point out to any who may still be discontented, that, when we pray, immediately after the Invocation in the Scottish and American Offices, that God would "mercifully accept this our sacrifice of prayer and thanksgiving," the prayer is obviously capable of the interpretation put by many commentators upon the words *hoc sacrificium laudis* (as it occurs in the Canon of the Roman liturgy), viz. the Oblation of the Body and Blood of Christ, *sacrificium laudis quia Deus per illud magnopere laudatur*.¹

Vouchsafe to bless and sanctify, with thy word and Holy Spirit, etc.]

The Invocation of the Holy Spirit is, as we have seen, a

¹ Bellarmine, *De Missa*, lib. ii. c. 21. Compare from the Leonian Sacramentary, *Laudis tuæ, Domine, hostias immolamus quibus nos et presentibus exui malis confidimus et futuris* (Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.*, i. col. 297). Illustrations of this expression, as equivalent to *the sacrifice by means of which we offer our praises*, may be found in the Septuagint at Lev. vii. 11, 12 ; 2 Chron. xxix. 31 ; Jer. xvii. 26. See also Bingham (*Antiquities*, etc., book viii. chap. vi.), who cites from Paulinus (Ep. 12 ad Sever.) a passage which speaks of the priest finding prepared in the Paratorium of the Church *hostias jubilationis*.

common feature of the liturgies, but in no liturgy is it so abrupt and bald as in the Scottish. Bishop Falconar, in the 1755 edition of the Scottish Office, though making many changes, still retained the words of the Office of 1637. The revision of this edition of 1755, which resulted in the received text (1764), did not in my judgment approach really nearer the forms of the primitive liturgies. There is no doubt that in the form of 1637 and in the form of 1549, from which it was derived, we find a mingling of the phraseology of the East and West; but it nevertheless, not unhappily (as it seems to me), conveys the *sense* of at least the most important of the liturgies actually in use. Bishops Falconar and Forbes may, or may not, have been right in preferring as their guide the liturgy of St. Clement to that of St. James; but then they followed their guide only a little way and suddenly stopped short,—they failed to give the conclusion of the passage, which is, in effect, the Greek equivalent to the *nobis* of the Latin formula. First, they take for guide the liturgy of St. Clement, which we have no reason to believe was ever used in any Church, and which may have been merely the recension of an existing Office by a literary and liturgical amateur; and secondly, they do not follow their guide. Here are the two forms:—

THE CLEMENTINE LITURGY.
(*Constitt. Apost.*, lib. viii.,
Ed. Ueltzen, 1853.)

And we beseech Thee that Thou wilt look graciously upon these gifts lying before Thee, Thou God who needest naught, and that Thou wilt in them be well pleased to the honour of Thy Christ, and that Thou wilt send down upon this sacrifice Thy Holy Spirit, the witness of the sufferings of the Lord Jesus, that He may make (*ἀποφύνη*)¹ this

SCOTTISH COMMUNION OFFICE.
(Ed. 1764.)

And we most humbly beseech thee, O merciful Father, to hear us, and of thy almighty goodness vouchsafe to bless and sanctify, with thy word and Holy Spirit, these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine that they may become the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son.

¹ I have been content with the usual rendering, because I cannot

bread the Body of Thy Christ and this cup the Blood of Thy Christ, so that (*ἵνα*) they who partake of it may be confirmed in godliness, may obtain remission of sins, may be delivered from the devil and his wiles, may be filled with the Holy Spirit, may become worthy of Thy Christ, may obtain everlasting life.

The chief liturgies of the Patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople, and the liturgy of Jerusalem, commence the Invocation with a prayer that the Holy Spirit might be sent down "upon us and upon the holy gifts." The only one of the liturgies commonly reckoned of the first rank that does not possess this form is that liturgy which, so far as we have evidence, was never used in any Church, viz. that named after St. Clement. The liturgies of St. James, St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, and St. Mark all possess it. We find it, too, in some of the liturgies of the heretical Churches—Nestorian and Jacobite,—a fact of much importance, as it points to the probability that the form stood in the Office before the separation of these communities from the Catholic Church.

Again, in the principal liturgies, beside the words 'upon us' *before* the Invocation upon the Elements, *after* the Invocation the abruptness was removed by the declaration of the purpose for which the change was sought. When Bishop Spinckes objected to the removal of "unto us" from the liturgy as adopted by the Nonjurors, Brett replied: "I confess that those words are in the Canon of the Mass, and in the first liturgy of King Edward, which was plainly taken from that Canon, and differs very little from it, except in the Rubrics: but they are in no other ancient liturgy. For in all the Greek and Eastern liturgies, as well as in the Gallican, Gothic, enter upon a discussion of the subject here, and the *ποίησον* of St. Chrysostom, and the *ποιήσῃ* of St. Mark, are plain enough. *Ἀποφήνη*, like the *ἀναδείξαι* of St. Basil, has another shade of meaning.

and Mozarabic liturgies, which were the ancient liturgies of the Western Church, before they gave place to the Roman Canon, there is no such word as *nobis* or *unto us* in this petition for the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the elements; they all, as has been showed, run in these words, *Make, or Let him make, this bread the Body of Thy Christ, and this cup the Blood of Thy Christ*, without any manner of restriction, and in as express terms as are in this prayer" (p. 250). Brett then proceeds to point out very justly what an advantage is given to "zealous transubstantiators" by maintaining that the ancient and widespread form just cited, without the restriction of *unto us*, implies the doctrine of transubstantiation. And Brett's was really effective, speaking as in behalf of the Nonjurors' Office of 1718; for the Nonjurors' Office, following the Clementine model, contained the real equivalent to *nobis*, in the words ". . . and this cup the Blood of Thy Christ, that they who are partakers thereof may be confirmed in godliness, may obtain remission of their sins, may be delivered from the devil and his snares," etc. But the Scottish revisers of 1764 omitted the *nobis*, and also the sentence that in some measure corresponded in meaning and intent to the above passage, which the Nonjurors had adopted from the Clementine liturgy, I mean the words—"so that we receiving them according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution may be partakers of the same, his most precious Body and Blood."

The reader is now referred to Appendix B for translations of the Invocation as it stands in some of the liturgies of the East, ancient and modern. I repeat here what I have already said in the Introduction. The formula of the Invocation in the Scottish Office is without precedent or parallel. It has neither antiquity, nor the analogy of other Offices, to countenance it.

Bishop Jeremy Taylor's authority has been sometimes cited on behalf of the Scottish formula, because he uses the word 'become' in the same sense. It is well, however, to read the whole context which will be found in Appendix B. The 'apostolic' Thomas Wilson, Bishop of Sodor and Man, in his *Short and Plain Instruction for the better understanding of the*

Lord's Supper (Works iv. 403, Anglo-Cath. Lib.), gives the following prayer to be said secretly at the Prayer of Consecration: 'Most merciful God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, look graciously upon the gifts now lying before Thee; and send down Thy Holy Spirit on this Sacrifice that He may make this Bread and this Wine the Body and Blood of Thy Christ, that all who partake of them may be confirmed in godliness, may receive remission of sins, may be delivered,' etc. There is in the Bodleian Library a Prayer-Book which had been used by Bishop Barlow, in which a similar Invocation is inscribed (*Tracts for the Times*, vol. iv. p. 165). On the use of the word 'become,' see Appendix L.

¶ *Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church.]*

In this invitation to prayer the Scottish revisers went back from the Scottish liturgy of 1637, where the words 'militant here in earth' had a place, to the form in the Prayer-Book of 1549. The editions of 1755, 1743, and 1735, etc., have the same omission. The Nonjurors' Communion Office, 1718, omits the whole sentence, but in the body of the prayer follows the intercessions for the departed as in the Prayer-Book of 1549. Though the words 'militant here in earth' are omitted from the Scottish liturgy of 1637, the words of the prayer for the faithful departed in that liturgy are (except for minute verbal differences made in the present Office as supposed improvements in the style) identical with those of the present Scottish Office.

While the form of bidding of the prayers stands as it does in the English Book,¹ it is plain that the interpretation that would make the words "that with them we may be partakers of thy heavenly kingdom" a prayer for the dead is inadmissible. The limitation suggested by Bucer is as full of force since the revision of 1661 as it was previously. One can only smile at the efforts of those who can even

¹ The effort was made in 1661 to change the 'bidding.' A reference to Colonel James' photozincographic reproduction of the book used for the draught of changes shows us 'Let us pray for the good estate of the Catholic Church of Christ' erased. See also Parker's *Introduction*, etc., p. cc.

express thankfulness that "the Providence of God has preserved [in the English liturgy] the prayer for the whole Church, departed as well living in the prayer that is too often regarded as being for the Church Militant alone" (Blunt, *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, revised edition, p. 380). In the liturgy of 1636 the same introductory 'bidding' is found, and gives a feeling of incongruity to the concluding "that we *and all they that are of the mystical body of thy Son,*" etc. The removal of the limitation in the present Scottish Office removes the sense of incongruity; though, it must be admitted, the prayer falls far short of the definiteness of the early liturgies, and of the beautiful form in the Prayer-Book of 1549. On the subject of prayers for the faithful departed much information will be found in Bishop Archibald Campbell's work on *The Middle State, and Prayers for the Dead*.

¶ *Then shall the Presbyter say, As our Saviour Christ hath commanded and taught us, we are bold to say,*]

This is found in the liturgy of 1637 (from the Prayer-Book of 1549), and in the Offices derived from it. It is curious that we do not find, in the Nonjurors' Office 1718, nor in Bishop Deacon's *Holy Liturgy* 1734, this, or any equivalent more like the Greek forms. The English mediæval 'uses' of Sarum, York, Bangor, and Hereford, and the earlier Leofric Missal, concur here (as might be anticipated) with the Roman in the words 'Præceptis salutaribus moniti et divina institutione formati audemus dicere.' The holy boldness (*παρρησία*, see Heb. iv. 16, x. 19) with which our approach may be made is the common feature characteristic of this introduction in both Eastern and Western liturgies.

Our Father who art . . .]

"Who art" rather than "which art" was perhaps suggested by Rattray's Office. It appears in the Scottish Office of 1755.¹

In the edition put out privately for the use of his own congregation by Bishop Abernethy-Drummond in 1796 the Lord's Prayer is made the conclusion of the Prayer of Con-

¹ See Note on the first occurrence of the Lord's Prayer.

secration in the following form. "And although we are 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: in whose sacred name vouchsafe us, with freedom, without condemnation, and with a pure heart to say: ¹

Bishop Abernethy-Drummond believed that the Lord's Prayer was always part of the Consecration Prayer "in the primitive Church." See a letter addressed to Bishop Watson (15th August 1796), printed in the *Panoply*, iii. pp. 188, 189.

Some letters of Bishop Jolly on this subject may also be found in the same place. In one of these letters Jolly writes, with characteristic earnestness and piety, "Your transportation of the Lord's Prayer certainly can do no harm, giving it a more eminent place; and surely it deserves the most eminent, the importance and value of it being inexpressibly great. I trust 'Give us this day our daily bread,' in the full sense and meaning of it, will supply whatever may be less perfect in our Form."

Ye that do truly and earnestly, etc.]

The absence of the words "with faith," which appear in the present English Prayer-Book after the words "Draw near," has been noted, as if it were thus taught that faith was not considered necessary to the worthy partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ; but it is sufficient to observe that in this particular the Scottish Office omits nothing which had been in the Scottish liturgy of 1637. The English Prayer-Book was not the basis of the Scottish revision. The revisers did not find the words in the Scottish liturgy, and they did not insert them. Faith is, of course, *implied* as existent in them that truly and earnestly repent them of

¹ The words "with freedom, without condemnation, and with a pure heart" are from Rattray's *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem* (pp. 72, 120), but Rattray knew too much of the early liturgies to make the Lord's Prayer part of the Prayer of Consecration, properly so called.

their sins, purpose to lead a new life, etc. The words 'with faith' were not introduced into the English Book till 1662.

The student will observe the words "meekly kneeling upon your knees," which had appeared in the earlier editions, disappear from the edition of 1764.¹ In the Scottish liturgy of 1637 they occurred reasonably enough at the conclusion of what was practically one lengthy Exhortation, during which the people would naturally have stood; but when the short Exhortation was dissevered from the long, and given its present place, the people would have remained still upon their knees. This is one of the instances of the carefulness of the revision of 1764.

¶ *Then shall this general Confession be made by the People along with the Presbyter; he first kneeling down.*]

Whatever be the exact object of the changes made here in the rubric, it is certain that they are intentional. In the liturgy of 1637 the rubric (retained up to and in the edition of 1755) ran: "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 on their knees." That the people should join in the saying of the Confession was, I suppose, suggested by the English Revision of 1662; but that the words 'Presbyter or Deacon' should now receive the above limitation is not so easily accounted for. The Deacon is in an earlier rubric a recognised officiant in the service, and I can only fancy that the object of the change must be to make it plain beyond doubt to the congregation that the Celebrant joined in the Confession. Perhaps the opening prayer of the liturgy of St. James (see Swainson's *Greek Liturgies*, p. 215)—a prayer of humble confession said by the Priest—may have been in the mind of the revisers. And it may well be questioned whether, in liturgical propriety, the Confession and Absolution should not come before the Consecration, as in the American and English Offices.

¹ They were restored, perhaps through carelessness, in several of the subsequent editions.

Hear what comfortable Words, etc.]

Why these sentences were taken from the Authorised Version of the New Testament and not from the English Prayer-Book will be found explained at p. 42.

Collect of Humble Access to the Holy Communion.]

So styled in 1637. The epithet 'most sacred' before 'Body' appears first in 1755, and is due to Bishop Falconar.

Or delivereth the Sacrament of the Body of Christ.]

In 1637 "delivereth the bread." The phrase we now have is taken from the Nonjurors' Office, which was followed by Rattray, and among the editions of the Scottish Office appears first in 1755. The Words of Delivery are as in 1637 and 1549, except that "body and soul" was changed in 1755 into "soul and body." In the Roman Missal, when the Celebrant communicates, he says both of the Body and of the Blood, "custodiat animam meam in vitam æternam." The York Missal used the more extensive word 'me'—thus: "Sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi conservet me in vitam æternam." In the Order of Communion, 1548, we have the very curious formulæ: "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, what was given for thee, preserve thy body unto everlasting life," and "The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, what was shed for thee, preserve thy soul." I cannot pretend to explain why the changed order was adopted by Bishop Falconar. Perhaps it was to follow the order of the words "our souls and bodies" in the Consecration Prayer; or to suggest the thought of the superior value of the soul; or, perhaps, it was suggested by the words of one of the prayers used by the Celebrant in the liturgy of St. Chrysostom when communicating himself, in which he entreats God that 'the participation of the holy mysteries' may be *εἰς ἰασιν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος*, even as in St. James' liturgy there is a post-communion prayer that it might be *εἰς ἀγιασμόν ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων*, and in the Clementine liturgy a similar expression. See below, note on 'Having now received,' p. 223.

Here the person receiving shall say Amen.]

From Nonjurors' Office, and Rattray. In 1637, "Here

the party receiving shall say Amen. "Person" for "Party" in 1755. Bishop Wren makes the suggestion in the manuscript suggestions for the revision of the English liturgy printed in Jacobson's *Fragmentary Illustrations*, p. 83. Did he suggest it for the Scottish liturgy of 1637? Cosin makes the same addition (*Nicholls' Commentary on the Book of Common Prayer. Additional Notes*, ad loc.) It was an ancient practice, and was enjoined in the Clementine liturgy (καὶ ὁ δεχόμενος λέγῃτω· Ἀμήν). So too in the Syriac (Renaudot, ii. 25) and the Coptic (Renaudot, i. 286). Augustine (c. *Faustum*, xii. 10) speaks of it as a universal custom. Other references will be found in the article COMMUNION, HOLY, in Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, vol. i. pp. 415, 417.

Presbyter or Minister that receiveth the cup himself or delivereth it to others]

So, in 1637, sanctioning the delivery of the cup by a Deacon. In the Clementine liturgy the Bishop gives the Bread; the Deacon the cup. For the antiquities of the subject see Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, 2d edit., pp. 750-752.

This Benediction]

I cannot guess the reason why the words 'this Benediction' were omitted from the rubric before the delivery of the Sacrament of the Body in 1755.

If the consecrated Bread or Wine be all spent]

This is an important rubric, and it will be generally acknowledged as much superior to the corresponding rubric in the English Office. The American Office, also, most happily in this instance, follows Scottish rather than English guidance. Neither the Scottish nor American Offices sanction (1) 'consecration in one kind'; nor (2) do they sanction the belief that the recitation of the history of the Institution (and that without the prayer which, it is said, is an *implicit* blessing of the elements) can effect the Consecration. Roman Catholic controversialists have taken serious exception to the partial Consecration of the English liturgy. Mr. Hutton, in his book on the *Anglican Ministry* (p. 59), says: "Such an attempted

Consecration is on Catholic principles certainly sacrilegious, and probably null." And similar objections are raised by Canon Estcourt (*Anglican Ordinations*, p. 290).¹

Having now received]

This first appears in 1764. It is a modification of the 'bidding' of the Deacon in the Clementine liturgy, which had suggested a similar form to Rattray. The Clementine form, which has analogues in other of the ancient liturgies, runs thus: Μεταλαβόντες τοῦ τιμίου σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ καταξιώσαντι ἡμᾶς μεταλαβεῖν τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ μυστηρίων, καὶ παρακαλέσωμεν μὴ εἰς κρίμα ἀλλ' εἰς σωτηρίαν ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, εἰς ὠφέλειαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος εἰς φυλακὴν εὐσεβείας, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, εἰς ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος. The conclusion, in which the Scottish Office departs from the Clementine liturgy, may probably have been coloured by the infrequency of Communion when the revision of 1764 was undertaken. No doubt it is always in a measure applicable, but its significance is somewhat diminished in the case of frequent celebrations. I should prefer the form of direct address to God, some such, *e.g.*, as is given in St. James's liturgy. "We give thanks to thee, O Christ our God, for that Thou hast vouchsafed to make us partakers of Thy Body and Blood unto the remission of sins and unto life everlasting. Keep us from condemnation, we beseech Thee, Thou who art good and the Lover of men."

Gloria in Excelsis]

There are some interesting variations from this Hymn as it appears in the English Office.²

¹ I am indebted for these references to the introduction to a beautiful reprint—verbal and literal—in black and red (but not a facsimile) of the Communion Office of the Prayer-Book of 1637, which appeared some three years ago, without name of publisher or place of publication. It was printed by 'Robert Anderson, Glasgow, 1881.'

² Blunt's *Annotated Book of Common Prayer* (revised and enlarged edition, 1884) is in error in saying that the Office (which the index professes to have been given *in extenso*) "closes with the

1. 'Glory be to God in the highest' appears first in 1764. It will be seen that the revisers had before them the two earliest forms of this Hymn, that from the Alexandrian Manuscript (Cod. A. of the New Testament) in the British Museum, and that from the *Apostolic Constitutions*, lib. vii. c. 47, both having been printed by Rattray. It was natural for them to render correctly Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῶ.

2. The next variation is much more important. It is the addition to the words "Heavenly King, God the Father Almighty" of "and to Thee, O God, the only begotten Son Jesu Christ; and to Thee, O God, the Holy Ghost."

Bishop Wordsworth, of St. Andrews, justly observes: "In the Scottish form of the 'Gloria in excelsis' the thanksgiving to God for His great glory is extended and applied distinctively to each of the Three Persons of the ever blessed Trinity. The distinct mention of the second and third Persons may be well felt to be due, more especially after the mention made of them in the Prayer of Invocation" (*Three short Sermons*, p. 44).

It is curious that the late Dr. John Mason Neale should seem to be ignorant of what cannot be doubted to have been the true origin of this variation. In his letter to the Bishop of Brechin, published under the title, *An Earnest Plea for the Retention of the Scotch Liturgy*, after enumerating the various points in which the Scottish Office comes nearer than the English to the earliest Christian liturgies, Dr. Neale proceeds thus:—"The alteration of the 'Gloria in Excelsis' is perhaps indefensible; yet I confess that in that century of Arianism [the eighteenth], when the enemy came in like a flood, there is something noble in the courage with which an obscure and persecuted Church interpolated the Catholic faith of the blessed Trinity into a hymn which, in the altered sentence, had not previously borne witness to the doctrine of Nicæa and Constantinople" (p. 17). Now whether the clauses in which we here differ from the English rite are really an interpolation or not, the Bishops of Scotland *Gloria in Excelsis*, the Peace, and the Blessing, as in the English Use" (p. 368). Nor is this the only error of Appendix IV., on "The Scottish Liturgy, A.D. 1764."

deserve neither, on the one hand, all this praise for their courage in doing, in support of the Catholic faith, what had never been done before ; nor, on the other, the blame that would rightly attach to a wanton free handling of so venerable a formula of the Church's devotion. The history of the Scottish Communion Office still needs much to clear it up ; and I am not aware that in respect to the particular matter before us we possess any definite information from external sources, yet I cannot doubt that the true account is as follows :—The ancient Greek liturgies had been taken by the Scottish Bishops as their guides in the most solemn parts of the Office ; and here, in the 'Gloria in Excelsis,' so far were they from introducing changes, that, on the contrary, they judged—whether rightly or wrongly—that by their revision they brought the hymn much nearer to its original form. They took as their exemplar what was in their day, and is still, the most ancient Greek copy of the 'Gloria' which is known to exist—that which is found under the heading ὕμνος ἑωθινός in the Codex Alexandrinus. In the Appendix (No. VI.) to Rattray's *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem* we find the 'Gloria in Excelsis,' as given in the Alexandrian manuscript ;¹ and the clauses in question run thus :—

Θεὸς πατὴρ παντοκράτωρ
 Κύριε υἱὲ μονογενὲς
 Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ
 Καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.

That it was this form that suggested the inserted clauses of the Scottish revision is distinctly stated in Skinner's *Illustration* of the Office (p. 169) ; and if there were any tradition on the subject when he wrote, he would certainly have been as likely as any one to have known it. His words seem to

¹ The hymn as there exhibited had been previously printed (and more correctly) by Thomas Smith in his *Account of the Greek Church* (1680) ; and in Walton's *Polyglot*, vol. vi. ; and Usher had it before him when he wrote *De Symbolis*. See Usher's works (Elrington's edit.), vol. vii. p. 355. It is to be found also in Grabe's *Septuaginta : Psalms* (1709).

show a desire to vindicate the revisers from the suspicion of tacitly censuring those responsible for the English Prayer-Book :—“When the first reformed liturgy was published, the Alexandrian copy had not been discovered ; but, after its appearance, the compilers of the present Scotch Office did well to profit by it.”

But not only does our present form of the ‘Gloria in Excelsis’ agree, as regards the particular under consideration, with Eastern forms, both ancient and modern, but also with the form which we cannot doubt was in use in the ancient Scottish Church. This interesting fact, indeed, can scarcely have been known to our Bishops in the last century, as it is only the researches made in our own day by the learned antiquarians Dr. Reeves, Dr. John Stuart, Dr. Todd, and the late Bishop of Brechin that have established, I believe, finally, that the earliest Scottish service-books differed in no material respect from those of Ireland—that the Scoti of the two islands used the same formularies of devotion.¹ And we may be confident that none of the four manuscript copies of the ancient Irish ‘Gloria,’ which I am about to transcribe, was known to our Bishops when our present Office was compiled.

One of these ‘Glorias’ is in the *Liber Hymnorum*, now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. It appears in the second *Fasciculus* (pp. 179, 180) of Dr. Todd’s edition of that manuscript, and in Mr. F. E. Warren’s *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, p. 196. The second is in the *Antiphonary of Bangor* (Ireland), now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. The third is to be found in a MS. book of hymns, now in the library of the Franciscan Friars, Merchants’ Quay, Dublin. The fourth is in the Stowe Missal. The ‘Gloria’ in the *Antiphonary of Bangor* was given by Muratori only to the word *pax* of the opening verse.

The hymn runs thus :—“Gloria in Excelsis Deo et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis. Laudamus te, benedicimus te, adoramus te, glorificamus te, magnificamus te, gratias agimus tibi propter magnam *misericordiam* tuam,

¹ The researches of Dr. Skene and Mr. F. E. Warren confirm these results.

Domine rex celestis, Deus Pater omnipotens, Domine *Fili unigenite Jesu Christe, Sancte Spiritus Dei, et omnes dicimus amen.* Domine Fili Dei Patris, agne Dei qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis, Suscipe orationem nostram qui sedes ad dexteram patris miserere nobis Domine, quoniam tu solus sanctus, tu solus dominus, tu solus gloriosus cum Spiritu Sancto in gloria Dei Patris, amen.”¹

But, moreover, the ancient Churches of Scotland and Ireland were not the only Western Churches in which this peculiarity is to be found. It appears in the ‘Gloria in Excelsis,’ as used daily at matins, in the Ambrosian rite (see Thomasius’ *Opera*, tom. iii. p. 613). We find, too, in that form of the ‘Gloria’ the following curious interpolations, which present to us a vivid picture of the time when perhaps the clause before us was introduced in the West:—“ . . . O Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer. Thou who sittest at the right hand of the Father have mercy upon us, *help us, direct us, preserve us, cleanse us, give us peace, deliver us from enemies, from temptations, from heretics, from Arians, from schismatics, from the barbarians,* for Thou only art holy—Thou only art the Lord,” etc.

The clause, ‘and we all say amen,’ in the form in use in new and old Scotia, is interesting; so, too, the (reasoned out) variation, “we give Thee thanks for Thy great *mercy*,” instead of ‘*glory*’; and to those accustomed to compare together Eastern and Western forms it will appear a change characteristic of the West. It is certainly observable that adoration, worship, triumphant praise, as distinguished from *thanksgiving*, is a feature in which the Eastern services are much more rich than those of the West. No one even slightly versed in the art of textual criticism would hesitate to pronounce, even were the diplomatic evidence more nearly balanced, that the original ran, ‘we glorify Thee for Thy great *glory*,’ and that the substitution of ‘*mercy*’ for ‘*glory*’ was made by way of correction.

We saw that the form of the ‘Gloria in Excelsis’ in the

¹ This hymn will be found printed in Mr. F. E. Warren’s *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, p. 193.

Codex Alexandrinus is entitled 'Morning Hymn'; and the other ancient Greek form, that in the Apostolic Constitutions (lib. vii. cap. 47, *Patr. Apost. Coteler*, i. 385), bears, in some of the MSS., the similar inscription, 'Morning Prayer.' So too, the Irish codices leave no doubt that in Ireland it was also used in the daily prayer. In the *Antiphonary of Bangor* the heading is "ad vesperum et ad matutinam." The contents also of the ancient forms of the hymn which extend beyond the termination of the 'Gloria,' as we are familiarly acquainted with it, point to the same conclusion. Thus we have in the Alexandrian copy words now appearing in the 'Te Deum,' "day by day we magnify Thee," and "Vouchsafe to keep us this day without sin;" and in Dr. Todd's *Liber Hymnorum* we have the interesting variation, "Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us *this night* without sin." Other testimony, showing that in Western Europe the hymn was originally used in the hour-services, will be found in Professor Swainson's article, "Gloria in Excelsis," in Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*. The kindness of Mr. Henry Bradshaw, the librarian of the University of Cambridge, enables me to add that the 'Gloria in Excelsis' forms part of a curious sort of private mattin office in the *Book of Cerne*.¹ Unfortunately it is treated there as so familiar that only the opening words are given. In Scotland we can scarcely doubt that the form of the 'Gloria' which we have described continued till the general introduction of the Southern 'uses,' more especially that of Salisbury. With regard to its use in Ireland we can speak with even yet more confidence. The Franciscan manuscript may be by a hand about 1100 A.D., according to Dr. Reeves (see his account of the MS. in the appendix to a sermon on the Athanasian Creed by Archdeacon William Lee, D.D., Archbishop King's Lecturer in Divinity in Trinity College, Dublin; Dublin: Hodges and Foster, 1872), which brings us close to the time of the Synods of Holmpatrick and of Kells, when Ireland's subjection to the Papacy became complete. Ireland was too weak to resist the pressure that has always been exerted to

¹ Mr. Bradshaw's latest judgment is that the *Book of Cerne* was written at Canterbury in the ninth century.

extinguish local 'uses,' and among the Churches of the Roman obedience it was, I believe, left to the powerful Church of Milan to maintain the peculiar form of the 'Gloria' which we are now considering.

The peculiar nature of the change—the omission of an act of worship addressed to the Holy Spirit—may well illustrate the relative strengths in the twelfth century of the ancient Irish Church and of the Roman Church in Ireland. To introduce the clause would, we may imagine, have been comparatively easy; but being once in possession, it could only have been the vastly superior power of Rome that suppressed it. Changes much less serious have in other circumstances convulsed Churches, and even issued in civil violence and bloodshed; while in Ireland this was only one minute particular in a great liturgical revolution acquiesced in, of necessity, by the weak.

The clause in the present Scottish liturgy, which we are considering, may probably have been in use in the ancient Churches of the Scoti for a period of nearly 600 years.

To us whose liturgical affinities with the American Church are so close, it will be interesting to remark that among the Churches whose rites are based mainly on Western models, the American Episcopal Church alone allows a place to the 'Gloria in Excelsis' at mattins and evensong. It is permitted as an alternative with the 'Gloria Patri' after the end of the daily Psalms. But, although this arrangement possesses ancient liturgical precedent, I cannot but feel that there is, on the grounds of the natural associations of thought and feeling, a gain in confining, where it may be done, the chief features of the Eucharistic Service, each to its one appropriated place.

We find the altered sentence in the Scottish Office first in the edition of 1764. But I observe in the edition of 1755 the following very curious form: "God the Father Almighty and Holy Ghost," which, inaccurate as it is, suggests that Rattray's liturgy was in the hands of the reviser.¹ It will be seen, then, that the Scottish Bishops, believing perhaps, as has been hinted by Skinner, that the ordinary form of the

¹ See p. 95, note 3.

'Gloria in Excelsis' had been tampered with by the Arians, found in the Alexandrian copy of the hymn a justification for the course they adopted.

It would exceed my design to enter into a critical examination of the Greek text of the hymn. I shall only here state the conclusion I have arrived at—namely, that the earliest copy extant does not give us the earliest form of the hymn. Yet we may surely pardon the happy error which has given the Scottish Church the superb form which we now possess. And if the Church had the right to make the *creeds* more precise as exigencies arose, surely she had the right to make her *hymns* speak with a clearer voice. The addition of the words relating to the Holy Spirit, as we find them in the Alexandrian copy, show us that the Pneumatomachi then afflicted the Church; and in the last century the Anglican Communion was suffering from a similar evil. In the Offices of the Greek Church the passage in question runs:—"Father Almighty, O Lord the only-begotten Son Jesu Christ, and the Holy Ghost."

3. The third point in which the 'Gloria in Excelsis' in the English Office differs from the Scottish is the peculiarity of introducing the sentence, "Thou that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us," thus causing the phrase "that takest away the sins of the world" to be said *three* times, and "have mercy upon us" *three* times. This appears for the first time in the Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI. How is it to be accounted for? Could the English Reformers have been following some Greek manuscript containing the additional sentence? They appear to have done something of the kind in their treatment of the Athanasian Creed. If so, where is the manuscript of the 'Gloria'? The 'Gloria' in Cod. Alex. has in reality a third ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, but the MS. was unknown. Yet the fact that the addition was made suggests the possibility of a form like that in the English Office appearing in some manuscript known to the Reformers.¹

I reject as highly improbable the theory I have seen urged, I cannot now remember where, that the introduction

¹ The third ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς is not, I believe, written in a later hand, as has been alleged.

of the second "that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us" was designed by the Reformers to correspond to the second "Qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis" in the repetition of the 'Agnus Dei' in the unreformed service. Clumsy as no doubt the revision sometimes was, this mode of treatment seems incredible. The Scottish Bishops of the last century were, no doubt, not the less inclined for the change because the Greek MS., in the form in which Rattray had printed it, confirmed the form of the First Prayer-Book of Edward VI.

APPENDIX A.

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

[From "The Booke 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 Kings Most Excellent Majestic MDCXXXVII Cum Privilegio."]

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 by 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 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 thy self 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, &c.

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, &c.

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, &c.

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, &c.

Presbyter. Thou shalt not kill.

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

Presbyter. Thou shalt not commit adultery.

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

Presbyter. Thou shalt not steal.

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

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

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

Presbyter. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that *is* thy neighbours.

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 Catholick Church, and in this particular Church in which we live so rule the heart of thy chosen servant *CHARLES* our King and Governour, 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 doest 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 Governour, 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 Catholick and Apostolick 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. 4. 3.*

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. 25. 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. 16. 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. 29. 10.*

Give unto the Lord the glory due unto his name, bring an offering, and come into his courts. *Psal. 96. 8.*

Lay not up for your selves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break

through and steal. But lay up for your selves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal. *Matth.* 6. 19, 20.

Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven: but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven. *Matth.* 7. 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* 12. 41, 42, 43, 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.* 9. 7.

If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great thing if we shall reap your carnal things? *1 Cor.* 9. 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.* 9. 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.* 9. 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. *Galat. 6. 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. 6. 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 ministred to the saints, and do minister. *Heb. 6. 10.*

To do good, and to communicate forget not, for with such sacrifices God is well pleased. *Heb. 13. 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 Church-wardens 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

If there be no alms given to the poor, then shall the words (*of accepting our alms*) be left out unsaid.

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 Governours, and specially thy servant *Charles* our King, that under him we may be godly and quietly governed: and grant unto his whole counsel, 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 Gods 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,

When there is no communion, these words thus inclosed [] are to be left out.

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 Lords supper, unto the which in Gods behalf I bid you all that be here present, and beseech you for the Lord Jesus Christs 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 your self, and say that you be not ready? Consider earnestly with your selves, 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 Christs 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 ye will in no wise thus do, consider with your selves 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 your selves. 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 your selves, from whom ye depart; ye depart from the Lords table, ye depart from your brethren, and from the banquet of most heavenly food. These things if ye earnestly consider, ye shall by Gods 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 Gods 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 Gods commandments, and wherein soever ye shall perceive your selves to have offended, either by will, word, or deed, there bewail your own sinful lives, and confess your selves 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 your selves 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 Gods 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 Gods 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 Gods 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 Gods word he may receive comfort, and the benefit of absolution, to the quieting of his conscience, and avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness.

¶ *Then shall the Presbyter say this Exhortation.*

DEARLY beloved in the Lord, ye that mind to come to the holy Communion of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, must consider what S. Paul writeth to the Corinthians, how he exhorteth all persons diligently to try and examine themselves, before they presume to eat of that Bread, and drink of that Cup. For as the benefit is great, if with a 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 Lords body: we kindle Gods 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 entred into Judas, and fill you full of all iniquities, and bring you to destruction both of body and soul. Judge therefore your selves (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 alway 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 our selves 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 Christs 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. *Matth. 11. 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 3. 16.*

¶ Hear also what S. Paul saith.

This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptance, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners. *1 Tim. 1. 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 2. 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, &c.

¶ 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, and archangels, &c.

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

BUT chiefly are we bound to praise thee, for the glorious resurrection of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord: for he is the very Paschal lamb, which was offered for us, and hath taken away the sin of the world, who by his death hath destroyed death, and by his rising to life again, hath restored to us everlasting life. Therefore with angels, &c.

¶ *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 and archangels, &c.

¶ *Upon Whitsunday, and six days after.*

THROUGH Jesus Christ our Lord, according to whose most true promise the holy Ghost came down this day from heaven, with a sudden great sound, as it had been a mighty wind in the likeness of fiery tongues lighting upon the Apostles, to teach them, and to lead them to all truth, giving them both the gift of

divers languages, and also boldness with fervent zeal constantly to preach the Gospel unto all nations, whereby we are brought out of darkness and error, into the clear light, and true knowledge of thee, and of thy Son Jesus Christ. Therefore with angels, &c.

¶ *Upon the Feast of Trinity only.*

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

¶ *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 Christs 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.

At these words [took bread] the Presbyter that officiates is to take the Paten in his hand.

At these words [took the cup] he is to take the chalice in his hand, and lay his hand upon so much, be it in chalice or flagons, as he intends to consecrate.

¶ *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, our selves, 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, 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. For thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

¶ *Then shall the Presbyter kneeling down at Gods 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 Lords Table, and cover with a fair linnen 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 doest 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 presenee of the Presbyter, and the Church-wardens, 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 publick relief of their Poor, at the discretion of the Presbyter and Church-wardens.*

¶ *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 con-

tinual 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 Sons name, we beseech thee mercifully to encline 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 publick Celebration of the Lords 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 Collegiat 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, &c.)

¶ *The Bread and Wine for the Communion, shall be provided by the Curate and the Church-wardens, 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.*

[*Note.* — It has not been attempted to aim at exactness in reproducing the old spelling with its numerous inconsistencies. The *Amens* however in every instance are printed, as in the original, in the same type as the preceding prayer.]

APPENDIX B.

THE FORMULA OF THE INVOCATION IN SOME
LITURGIES, AND LITURGICAL SERVICES.

I.

[ORTHODOX CHURCH.]

LITURGY OF S. JAMES.

[From the Greek of the Messana Roll. Swainson's *The Greek Liturgies, chiefly from Original Authorities*, 1884, p. 276.]

HAVE mercy upon us, O God, according to Thy great mercy, and send forth upon us and upon these holy gifts, set forth,¹ Thy all-holy Spirit ✠ the Lord and Giver-of-life, enthroned together and reigning together with Thee, God and Father, and with Thy only-begotten Son, co-eternal and consubstantial,—Who spake in the Law and the Prophets and Thy New Testament,—Who descended in the form of a dove upon our Lord Jesus Christ in the river Jordan, and abode upon Him—Who descended upon Thy holy Apostles in the form of fiery tongues in the upper-room of the holy and glorious Sion at the day of

¹ τὰ προκείμενα ἄγια δῶρα, *i. e.* set before God; cf. Lev. xxiv. 7 (LXX.).
καὶ ἐπιθήσετε ἐπὶ τὸ θέμα λίβανον καθαρὸν καὶ ἄλα, καὶ ἔσονται εἰς ἄρτους εἰς ἀνάμνησιν προκείμενα τῷ κυρίῳ.

the holy Pentecost. Send down, O Lord, Thy Spirit, the same all-holy One, upon us and upon these holy gifts set forth—(*with a loud voice*) that coming He may by His holy and good and glorious presence (*παρουσία*) hallow and make this bread the holy Body of Christ,

The People. Amen.

And with reference to the cup he says with a loud voice—and this cup the precious blood of Christ,

The People. Amen.

That they may be to all who partake of them unto¹ the remission of sins and unto everlasting life, unto sanctification of soul and body, unto the bringing forth the fruit of good works, unto the strengthening of Thy holy, catholic, and apostolic Church, which Thou hast founded upon the rock of the faith.

II.

[ORTHODOX CHURCH.]

LITURGY OF S. BASIL.

[From the British Museum MS. 22749. Swainson, p. 82.]

WHEREFORE, all-holy Lord, we sinners, and Thine unworthy servants, who are thought worthy to minister at Thy holy altar, not for our righteousness, for in Thy sight we have done nothing good upon earth, but according to Thy mercies and pity which Thou hast richly poured out upon us, venture to approach Thy holy altar, and setting before Thee the antitypes (*τὰ ἀντίτυπα*) of the holy Body and Blood of Thy Christ, we pray and beseech Thee, O Holy of Holies, that in the good pleasure of Thy goodness Thy Holy Spirit may come upon us, and upon these gifts set forth, and may bless

¹ *εἰς ἄφεσιν κ.τ.λ.* On the use of the preposition cf. John iv. 14; Rom. i. 16, x. 10, etc.

them, and sanctify, and render (*ἀναδειξαι*)—*and standing up he thrice makes the sign of the cross upon the gifts*—this bread the very, precious, Body of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ.

The Deacon. Amen.

The Priest. And this cup the very, precious, Blood of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ,

The Deacon. Amen.

The Priest. Which was shed for the life of the world ;

The Deacon. Amen.

The Priest. And that we all who have partaken of the one bread and of the cup may be made one with each other in the communion of the one Holy Spirit, and that none of us may receive the Holy Body and Blood of Thy Christ to judgment nor to condemnation, etc.

III.

[ORTHODOX CHURCH.]

LITURGY OF S. CHRYSOSTOM.

[From the Barberini MS. Swainson, p. 91.]

WE beseech, pray, and supplicate, send down Thy Holy Spirit upon us and upon these gifts set forth,

And standing up he makes the sign of the cross (σφραγίζει), saying in a low voice (μυστικῶς).

And make (*ποίησον*) this bread the precious Body of Thy Christ, changing [it] (*μεταβαλὼν*) by Thy Holy Spirit. Amen.

And what is in this cup the precious Blood of Thy Christ, changing [it] by Thy Holy Spirit. Amen.

The Priest in a low voice.

So that it be for those who partake unto sobriety of soul, unto remission of sins, unto communion with the Holy Spirit, unto the fulness of the Kingdom, unto

confidence towards Thee, not to judgment or to condemnation.

IV.

[ORTHODOX CHURCH.]

THE LITURGY OF S. MARK.¹

[From the Greek of the Rossano Codex. Swainson, p. 56.]

AND we pray and beseech Thee, O Thou good Lover-of-men (*φιλάνθρωπε ἀγαθέ,*) to send forth from Thy holy height, from Thy prepared habitation (*ἐξ ἐτοίμου κατοικητηρίου*)² from Thy boundless bosom, (*ἐκ τῶν ἀπεριγράπτων κόλπων σου*),³ the very Paraclete, the Spirit of truth, the Holy, the Lord, the Giver-of-life, Who spake in the Law, and the Prophets and the Apostles; Who is everywhere present and filleth all things; Who, of His own authority and not as a minister, worketh sanctification, according to Thy good pleasure, in those in whom He will; one in his nature, manifold in His working, the fountain of the Divine gifts (*χαρισμάτων*), consubstantial with Thee, proceeding from Thee, sharer of the throne of Thy Kingdom and of Thy only-begotten Son, our Lord, and God, and Saviour, Jesus Christ. May Thy Holy Spirit look upon us, and upon these loaves, and upon these cups, that He may sanctify and perfect them, as Almighty God, (*aloud*) and make the bread the Body, [*The people, Amen.*] and the cup the Blood of

¹ The liturgy of the Church of Alexandria. The speculative turn of thought that marks it is observable, and characteristic of the philosophic Church of Alexandria.

² So in LXX., 3 Reg. viii. 39. *καὶ σὺ εἰσακούσῃ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἐξ ἐτοίμου κατοικητηρίου σου καὶ ἰλεως ἔσῃ.* Cf. Exod. xv. 17; 2 Paralip. vi. 33. It seems used in the sense of 'fixed,' 'established.'

³ Cf. John i. 18. The word *ἀπερίγραπτος*, 'uncircumscribed,' is frequently used of God by Greek ecclesiastical writers. See Suicer's *Thesaurus*, s. v.

the New Testament of our very Lord and God and Saviour and King of all Jesus Christ,

[*The Deacon.* Come down, ye Deacons.]

The Priest, aloud. That they may be to all of us who partake of them, unto faith, unto sobriety, unto healing, unto temperance, [joy. *Rotulus Vaticanus*] unto sanctification, unto renewal of soul, body, and spirit, unto participation of the blessedness of eternal life and immortality, unto the glory of Thy all-holy name, unto the remission of sins, that here, as also in every place, Thy all-holy, and precious, and glorious Name may be glorified, hymned, and hallowed, with Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost.

V.

[It is unknown whether this liturgy was ever used.]

LITURGY OF S. CLEMENT.

Translated at p. 214.

VI.

[MONOPHYSITE.]

THE SYRIAC LITURGY OF S. JAMES.

[Translated from the Syriac by Etheridge, *Syriac Churches*, etc., p. 206. From the *Liturgy of the Holy Apostle, Mar Jacob, the Brother of our Lord.*¹]

HAVE mercy upon us, O God, the Father Almighty, and send upon us and upon these oblations here set forth, thy Holy Spirit the Lord and Author of life, who

¹ This is the liturgy that has always had most favour in both the Jacobite and Maronite Churches. Etheridge, *The Syriac Churches*, p. 191.

Its agreement with the liturgy of S. James as used in the Orthodox Church points to an antiquity for this portion that dates before the Council of Chalcedon, 451.

is equal in thy throne with thyself, Aloho Abo, and with thy Son, is equal in thy Kingdom, consubstantial and co-eternal, who spake in thy law, and thy prophets and thy new covenant, who descended in the likeness of a dove on our Lord Jeshumeshicha at the river Jordan, and who descended upon the holy Apostles in the likeness of tongues of fire. Answer me, O Lord!

People. Lord have mercy. *Priest.* That coming down to overspread the mystery, He might make it a living Body, ✠ a saving Body, ✠ a heavenly Body ✠ for our souls and bodies: the Body of our Lord God and Saviour Jeshumeshicha, and that they who take it may do it unto the remission of sins and life everlasting.

People. Amen.

Priest. And this cup [some copies "the mixture of this cup"] to be the Blood of the New Covenant, the salutary [or saving] Blood, ✠ the Blood that giveth life, ✠ the heavenly Blood, ✠ the Blood all cleansing for our souls and bodies, the Blood of the Lord God and Saviour Jeshumeshicha, for remission of sins and everlasting life to those who receive it.

People. Amen. *Priest.* That they may be to us, and to all those who receive and participate of them, for the sanctification of our souls and bodies, the bringing forth of good works, etc.

VII.

[MONOPHYSITE.]

LITURGY OF S. JAMES, AS USED BY THE CHRISTIANS
OF S. THOMAS.

[Translated from the Syriac by Rev. G. B. Howard. *The Christians of S. Thomas and their Liturgies*, p. 229.]

Priest. *The Invocation of the Holy Spirit.* Have mercy upon us, O God the Father, and send upon these offer-

ings Thy Holy Spirit, the Lord equal to Thee and to the Son in the throne and kingdom and essence eternal; who spake in Thy Old and New Testament; and descended like a dove upon our Lord Jesus Christ in the river Jordan, and like tongues of fire upon the Apostles in the upper room.

Priest. Hear me, O Lord; hear me, O Lord; hear me, [O Lord;] and spare and have mercy upon us.

People. Kurillison, Kurillison, Kurillison.

Priest. So that He may come down, and make this bread the life-making Bo \times dy, the saving Bo \times dy, the Bo \times dy of Christ our God.

Amen.

And may thoroughly-make this Cup the Blo \times od of the New Testament, the saving Blo \times od of Christ our God.

Amen.

So that they may sanctify the souls, and spirits, and bodies that partake of them; for the burthen of the fruit of good works; for the confirmation of the holy Church, which is made strong upon the rock of the faith, and is not prevailed against by the infernal gates [or, the gates of Sheul].

VIII.

[NESTORIAN.]

LITURGY OF THE BLESSED APOSTLES.

[Composed by S. Adæus [or S. Thaddæus] and S. Maris.¹
Renaudot, *Liturg. Orient.*, ii. 592.]

AND may Thy Holy Spirit, O Lord, come, and rest upon this Oblation of Thy servants, which they offer, and may He bless it, and hallow it that it may be to us,

¹ Neale (*Hist. of Holy Eastern Church*, General Introduction, i. 321), says of this liturgy: "It bears every mark of the remotest age," it "has not a taint of Nestorianism." This is one of the

O Lord, unto the forgiveness of transgressions, and unto the remission of sins, and the great hope of resurrection from the dead, and unto new life in the Kingdom of Heaven, together with all who have been well-pleasing in Thy sight.

IX.

[NESTORIAN.]

LITURGY OF THEODORE THE INTERPRETER.

[Renaudot, ii. 621.]

Priest. And may the grace of Thy Holy Spirit come upon us, and upon this oblation, and descend and dwell upon this bread, and upon this cup, and bless and hallow, and seal them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit; and may the bread, this bread, I say, become through the power of Thy name the holy Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and this cup the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, that to him, whosoever shall with true faith eat of this bread and drink of this cup, they may be unto the forgiveness of transgressions and remission of sins, unto the great hope of the resurrection from the dead, etc.

X.

[NESTORIAN.]

LITURGY OF NESTORIUS.

[Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. ii. p. 232. This has been translated by Renaudot and Assemani, but not, according to Mr. Badger, with perfect correctness.]

“AND now, O Lord, we Thy frail and sinful servants, extremely few liturgies that does not possess the Words of Institution. It is, according to Etheridge (*The Syrian Churches*, p. 217), the liturgy most commonly used in the Nestorian Church.

who were once afar off from Thee, but whom, in thine abundant mercy, Thou hast made to stand and to administer before Thee this awful and holy service, and with one accord to make our supplications to Thy adorable God-head, which reneweth all creation, beseech Thee that the grace of the Holy Spirit may descend and abide and rest upon this Oblation which we have offered before Thee, bless it, sanctify it, and make this Bread and this Cup the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. Change Thou them by the operation of the Holy Ghost, that these glorious and holy sacraments may be effectual in all such as shall partake of them unto everlasting life, the resurrection from the dead, the forgiveness of body and soul, the light of wisdom, openness of face before Thee and eternal salvation," etc.

XI.

[MONOPHYSITE.]

FROM THE LITURGY OF THE COPTIC CHURCH.

[Translated by Dr. C. Bezold, of Munich, from two Coptic MSS. brought from Magdala, now in the British Museum, *Orient.* 545 and *Orient.* 546 'printed in parallel columns with the Coptic in an appendix to Dr. Swainson's *Greek Liturgies, chiefly from Original Sources*, 1884.]

The Priest says the Prayer of the (mystical) Anaphora: O my Master Jesus Christ, Partner of the primitive Word of the Father, and of the Word of the Holy Ghost the Giver of Life, Thou art the Bread of Life which camest down from the heavens, and didst prophecy of Thyself that Thou went [wert?] to become the pure lamb, without spot, for the life of the world; and now we ask and beseech of the goodness of Thy good things, O thou lover of men, show Thy countenance upon this bread—(monstratio [i.e. pointing with the finger]) and upon this

*But is not this from the metaphorical portion
of a mass, & not an epiclesis at all?*

cup—(*monstratio*)—which we have placed upon this Thy spiritual altar: bless—(*one genuflection*)—the bread, and sanctify (*genuflection*) the cup, and purify them both (*one genuflection upon both*), and change this bread (*monstratio*) so that it may become Thy pure Body, and that which is commingled in this cup (*monstratio*) may become Thy precious Blood, and that it may be for us all elevated and be the healing and salvation of our souls and of our bodies and of our minds.

XII.

[ARMENIAN.]

FROM THE LITURGY OF THE ARMENIAN CHURCH.

[Translated by Rev. C. S. Malan (D. Nutt. 1870), from the Armenian liturgy as printed at Constantinople (1823), with the sanction of Ephrem, Patriarch and Catholicos of Etchmiadzin.]

WE worship and we beseech and request Thee, O beneficent God, shed abroad upon us and these oblations, which we now present [unto Thee], Thy Spirit who is both eternal and of the same essence with Thee. [Exclamations of the Clerks and of the Deacon.] *Then the Priest shall sign the offerings with the sign of the Cross, saying privately:—*Whereby Thou wilt make the bread, when blessed, truly the Body of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ (*Thrice repeated*). And the cup, when blessed, wilt Thou really make the Blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ (*Thrice repeated*). Whereby Thou wilt make the bread and wine, when blessed, truly the Body and Blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, changing them by Thy Holy Spirit (*Thrice repeated*).

The Deacon. Amen, Amen, Amen.

Then shall the Priest say aloud: So that it be to us

all, who draw near to it, our release from condemnation, and for the expiation and remission of our sins.

It may be interesting to add to the above the following illustrative formulæ from various sources:—

A.

FROM BISHOP JEREMY TAYLOR'S *Collection of Offices*, 1658.

[This work was intended for use when the use of the Prayer-Book was prohibited during the Usurpation.]

HAVE mercy upon us, O Heavenly Father, according to thy glorious mercies and promises, send thy Holy Ghost upon our hearts, and let Him also descend upon these gifts that by His good, His holy, His glorious presence, He may sanctifie and enlighten our hearts, and He may blesse and sanctifie these gifts *That this Bread may become the Holy Body of Christ—Amen—And this Chalice may become the life-giving Blood of Christ—Amen*—That it may become unto us all that partake of it this day a blessed instrument of union with Christ, of pardon and peace, of health and blessing, of holinesse and life eternal through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

B.

[From the Coronation Service, as used at the Coronation of William IV. (Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ*, 4th edit., ii. 353.)]

BLESS, O Lord, we beseech Thee these Thy gifts, and sanctify them unto this holy use; that by them we may be made partakers of the Body and Blood of Thy only begotten Son, Jesus Christ.

C.

PRESBYTERIAN FORMULÆ.

[(1) From the Westminster *Directory for the Public Worship of God*, adopted by the "Act of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland (Feb. 3, 1645) for the establishing and putting in execution of the Directory."]

"Let the Words of Institution be read out of the Evangelists, or out of the First Epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Corinthians."

"Let the Prayer, Thanksgiving, or Blessing of the Bread and Wine be to this effect:—

* * * * *

"Earnestly to pray to God, the Father of all mercies, and God of all consolation, 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," etc. (Sprott & Leishman's edit., pp. 309-310).

To this may be subjoined

[(2) From 'The Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion,' in "The Book of Common Prayer, as amended by the Westminster Divines, A.D. 1661. Edited by Charles W. Shields, D.D., with a Historical and Liturgical Treatise: Philadelphia, 1867."]

"¶ *After which the Minister proceeds, saying:*

"And we most humbly beseech thee, O merciful Father, to hear us; and of thy infinite goodness vouchsafe to bless and sanctify, with thy Word and Holy

Spirit, these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that we receiving them, according to our Saviour Christ's institution, in remembrance of his blessed passion and precious death, his mighty resurrection and glorious ascension, and rendering unto thee all possible praise for the same; may by faith be made very partakers of his body and blood, with all his benefits, to our spiritual nourishment, and for the glory of thy holy Name. *Amen.*"

To this we add

[3] From the *Euchologion: A Book of Common Order*, issued by the Church Service Society. 5th edit., 1884.

"AND we most humbly beseech Thee, The Invocation.
O merciful Father, to vouchsafe unto
us Thy gracious presence, as we do now make that memorial of His most blessed sacrifice which Thy Son hath commanded us to make: and to bless and sanctify with Thy Word and Spirit these Thine own gifts of bread and wine, which we set before Thee; that we, receiving them, according to our Saviour's institution, in thankful remembrance of His death and passion may, through the power of the Holy Ghost, be very partakers of His body and blood, with all His benefits, to our salvation and the glory of Thy most holy name. Amen."

The Presbyterian divine, Dr. Sprott, to whose writings reference has been made by me more than once, declares that there "is ample evidence that our greatest theologians [*i.e.* of the Scottish Presbyterians] have held both the invocation and the words of institution to be essential." (*The Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland*, p. 121.)

To this I add

D.

[From 'The Order for the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist and for the Administration of the Communion on the Lord's Day.' *Liturgy and other Divine Offices of the Church* (Irvingite).]

THE CONSECRATION.

Look upon us, O God, and bless and sanctify this bread.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost we bless ✠ this bread; and we beseech Thee, heavenly Father, to send down Thy Holy Spirit, and make it unto us, the Body of thy Son Jesus Christ WHO THE SAME NIGHT . . . IN REMEMBRANCE OF ME.
R. Amen.

Look upon us, O God, and bless and sanctify this cup.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost we bless ✠ this cup; and we beseech Thee, heavenly Father, to send down thy Holy Spirit and make it unto us the Blood of Thy Son Jesus Christ WHO IN LIKE MANNER . . . IN REMEMBRANCE OF ME.
R. Amen.

APPENDIX C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE SCOTTISH COMMUNION OFFICE.

THE following bibliographical notices are founded, as regards the more obscure editions, chiefly from inspection of the Collection of Offices in the Forbes Library, from notes made by the late Rev. G. H. Forbes, and from examination of the Collection made by Rev. G. Sutherland, of Portsoy, and given by him to the Library of the Theological College, Edinburgh.

1. "The Booke of Common Prayer" etc., "for the use of the Church of Scotland," folio. Printed by Robert Young, Edinburgh, 1637.
2. "The Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper," etc. Printed from 1 in Hicckes' "Two Treatises," etc., 1707-11.
3. "The Book of Common-Prayer," etc. (a reprint of 1). J. Watson, Edinburgh, 1712. (See p. 56.)
4. An edition without title-page, year, or place of printing; described by Peter Hall *Frag. Liturg.*, vol. i. p. lii.) as "a verbal and literal reprint" of the Communion Service in the Prayer-Book of 1637. A copy is in the British Museum. Reprinted by Hall (*Frag. Liturg.*, vol. v.) Supposed

to be a reprint made by Bishop Gadderar, or by Rattray in 1723.

5. "The Communion Office for the use of the Church of Scotland, as far as concerneth the ministration of that Holy Sacrament. *Authorized* by K. Charles I., *Anno* 1636." Edinburgh, printed by T. Ruddiman, 12mo, 1724. Reprinted by Hall (*Frag. Liturg.*, vol. v.)

Here for the first time we find the title afterwards so generally adopted, and here for the first time we find the earlier portion of the service omitted.

6. "The Communion Office," etc. "*All the Parts of this Office are ranked in the Natural Order.*" 12mo, s.l., 1735.

This edition, Bishop Gerard says, was put out "by two merchants," "hoping to make a penny" by the speculation. See Peter Hall (*Frag. Liturg.*, i. liii.) The change of order referred to in the title is found in the placing the Prayer "for the whole state of Christ's Church" after the Consecration. Other changes are the omission of the words "militant here in earth," and the insertion of "which we now offer unto thee." Copy in Forbes Library.

7. "The Communion Office," etc. (same title as last), s.l., 1743.

Reprinted by Hall (*Frag. Liturg.*, vol. v. p. 145). It follows the arrangement of the edition of 1735; also claims to be that authorised by Charles I., but makes the same verbal alterations as edition of 1735.

8. "The Communion Office," etc., "very small size." Hall (*Frag. Liturg.*, i. liii.), s.l., 1752.

Collated by Hall (vol. v. p. 168).

9. "The Communion Office," etc., s.l., 1755.

Reprinted by Hall (vol. v. p. 169). Copies in Perth Cathedral Library and Forbes Library. See p. 94.

10. "The Communion Office," etc., s.l., 1759.

(Follows edition 1743.) Collection of Rev. G. Sutherland. (Theol. Col., Edinburgh.)

11. "The Communion Office," etc. Printed Edinburgh, for Reid, Leith, 1762.

This edition is remarkable as following with considerable closeness the original edition, 1637. The general arrangement of parts is the same, and the 'natural order' (so-called), is abandoned. It reads "miltant here on earth," and "Charles our King." P. Hall (*Frag. Liturg.*, i. liv.), is entirely misleading. Rev. G. Sutherland's Collection. Theol. Col., Edinburgh.

12. "The Communion Office," etc. (title same as 1743), s.l., 1764.

Closely resembles 1743, but see p. 87. Forbes Library.

13. "The Communion Office," etc. Drummond, at Ossian's Head, Edinburgh, 8vo, 1764.

See p. 97. Forbes Library. Theol. Col., Edinburgh. This is the Office reprinted in this volume, pp. 133 *sq.*

14. "The Communion Office," etc. Drummond, Edinburgh, 12mo, 1764.

Same as 13. Sutherland Collection.

15. "The Communion Office," etc. Robertson, 8vo, Leith, 1765.

A line-for-line reprint of 13; with no difference

except the incorrect use of italics in some of the 'Amens.' Sutherland Collection.

16. "The Communion Office," etc. Alexander Robertson, Edinburgh, 1767. Forbes Library. Sutherland Collection.
17. "The Communion Office," etc. Drummond, Edinburgh, 1771. Forbes Library.
18. "The Communion Office," etc. Chalmers, Aberdeen, 1771.
19. "The Communion Office," etc. Robertson, Edinburgh, 1774.
20. "The Communion Office," etc. Chalmers, Aberdeen, 1780. Forbes Library.
21. "The Communion Office," etc. (No publisher's name.) Edinburgh, 1781. Forbes Library.
With private devotions.
22. "The Communion Office," etc. Chalmers, Aberdeen, 1786. Forbes Library.
23. "The Communion Office," etc. (No publisher's name.) Edinburgh, 1787. Forbes Library.
With private devotions.
24. Bishop Horsley's "Collation of the several Communion Offices in the Prayer-Book of Edward VI., the Scotch Prayer-Book of 1637, the present English Prayer-Book, and that used in the present Scotch Episcopal Church." London, 1792.
May perhaps be mentioned here. It is a thin quarto of 14 pages. See p. 105.
25. "Communion Office," etc. Aberdeen, 1795.
26. "Communion Office," etc. Moir, Edinburgh, 1796.
With private devotions. This was edited by

Bishop Abernethy-Drummond ; and, whatever were his original intentions (see p. 102), it was reprinted four or five times.

27. "Communion Office," etc. Burnett, Aberdeen, 1800.
 28. "Communion Office," etc. Chalmers, Aberdeen, 1800.

To these should be added.

29. "An Oifig chum ceart fhrithealadh an Comuin Naomh do reir Gnathachadh Eaglais na h'Alba." Duneadin, 1797.

Bishop Macfarlane's Translation into Gaelic. It is stated that the translation appearing with the Bishop's sanction was actually made "by the second master of the Inverness Academy, who taught the Bishop Gaelic." Dean of Brechin's MSS.

Having noticed, so far as I am aware, all the editions up to 1801, I purpose noticing among subsequent editions only a few that possess some special interest:—

"The Office for the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion, according to the use of the Episcopal Church in Scotland: with a preliminary dissertation on the doctrine of the Eucharistical Sacrifice, a copious local illustration, and an appendix containing the Collation of Offices, etc., drawn up by the late Dr. Samuel Horsley, Lord Bishop of St. Asaph." By Rev. John Skinner, A.M. Aberdeen, 1807.

The text, except for some trifling typographical alterations, scarcely differs from that of 1764. It unhappily reads "meekly kneeling upon your knees," and the changed order "body and soul" rather than "soul and body."

"The Order of the Administration of the Holy Com-

munion according to the Use of the Church in Scotland." London, James Burns, 1844.

This is a handsome quarto printed in black-letter, with an ornamental border round each page; rubrics in red; and musical notes. The text is unfortunately not satisfactory. The rubrics of the English Office are prefixed. The Commandments are transcribed from the English Office; the summary of the Law does not appear. "Soul and Body" in Words of Delivery. This is the first edition of the Scottish Office that contains the part of the Service preceding the Exhortation.

"The Book of Common Prayer as printed at Edinburgh, 1637, commonly called Archbishop Laud's." Folio. London, W. Pickering, 1844.

This beautiful reprint in black-letter (though not in facsimile), by Whittingham of Chiswick, is well known.

"A Form for the Ministration of the Holy Communion as authorised and used by the Church in Scotland." Folio. No title-page, date, or place of printing.

This is the most splendid edition of the Scottish Communion Office that has been printed. It is obviously from the same press as the last,—is in a black-letter of larger size, with ornamental capitals, and with rubrics in red. It is said to have been printed for binding with the English Prayer-Books of the same size and type in the chapel of Trinity College, Glenalmond. The text apparently follows the text of Skinner. It commences with the Exhortation.

'The Office for the Holy Communion' in Bishop Torry's "The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church according to the use of the Church of Scotland," etc. Edinburgh, R. Lendrum & Co. 1849.

This book is of interest with regard to the earlier portion of the Office, as exhibiting the usage according to the knowledge and practice of the venerable prelate under whose sanction it appeared. In the later part it omits "meekly kneeling" (with 1764), but follows the Aberdeen order in the words "body and soul." Several rubrics are attached to the Office. One directs Reservation, another directs that after the sermon "*when the Holy Eucharist is Celebrated the Minister shall dismiss the non-communicants in these or like words, Let those who are not to communicate now depart.*"

The Office is reprinted in the Appendix to Dr. Neale's *Life and Times of Patrick Torry, D.D., Bishop of St. Andrews, etc.* (1856), and an account is given of the origin and subsequent fate of the book in chapter VII. See also Lendrum's *Principles of the Reformation*, 1862, pp. 259, 260.

"The Communion Office for the use of the Church of Scotland as far as concerneth the Ministration of that Holy Sacrament." *Revised Edition.* Burntisland, at the Pitsligo Press, 1862.

The chief interest of this edition, which (so far as I am aware) was used only at St. Serf's, Burntisland, is that it contains many variations deserving consideration, as coming from one who was, beyond all question, the most learned liturgiologist in the Scottish Church since the death of Rattray—the late Rev. George Hay Forbes. A few particulars may be noticed. The Office begins with the Exhortation, which "may be omitted at the discretion of the Presbyter." Before the offering up of the elements the alms are to be removed from the altar. The Prayer of Consecration commences with a fuller form of thanksgiving, for creation, etc. (somewhat like Abernethy-Drummond's form).

The ritual *fraction* is not ordered in the Prayer

of Consecration. We find the form, "He took bread into His holy and spotless hands." The Invocation runs ". . . vouchsafe to bless and sanctify with Thy Holy Spirit, these, Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may become the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son, for the forgiveness of our sins, for our growth in grace, for the bringing forth of good works, and for obtaining everlasting life." . . . "Accept this, our sacrifice," etc. In the Prayer 'for the whole state of Christ's Church,' we find ". . . truly and impartially minister justice" . . . "need, sickness, or any other adversity [especially those for whom our prayers are desired]." In the Confession the words "we do earnestly repent . . . is intolerable" are omitted. The Absolution is called in the preceding rubric "this Benediction." After the Prayer of Humble Access the Presbyter is to "break the bread into as many pieces as will be required." . . . "And when he [the celebrant] receiveth the consecrated bread he shall say *The Body of Christ. Amen.* Likewise, etc." The Words of Delivery are as in the recognised text. The short address after the people have communicated is given to *the Deacon*, and ends thus ". . . participation of His holy mysteries: and let us beg of Him grace that we may persevere unto the end and obtain everlasting life."

Among several curious rubrics at the end of the Office we find, "the wine shall be of pure red wine of the grape":—"It was the ancient and universal custom for the presbyter when he offered upon the altar the bread and mixed wine to place the paten in the middle and the chalice close to it at its south side." Reservation for the sick is directed.

"The Communion Office for the use of the Church of Scotland. As attested in 1792." Aberdeen, 1868.

This edition is mentioned here merely to warn the reader against believing that it answers the description of the title-page.

“H ΘΕΙΑ ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑ. The Scottish Communion Office done into Greek.” London, 1865.

This is a translation by the late Bishop of Brechin (Forbes) revised by Dr. Littledale.

“Liturgia Scoticana quæ in usu habetur in Ecclesia Scoticana Episcopali.” A Latin translation of the Office by Canon Bright, Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Oxford, and Mr. Medd, appended to the third edition of their “Liber Precum Publicarum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.” London, 1877.

The “Liturgia Ecclesiæ Americanæ” is to be found in the same volume.

“Reliquiæ Liturgicæ,” vol. ii., edited by Rev. Peter Hall, contains a reprint of “Laud’s Prayer-Book.” Bath, 1847.

“Fragmenta Liturgica,” vol. v., edited by Rev. Peter Hall, M.A., Bath, 1848, contains reprints of (1) The Non-jurors’ Office of 1718 ; (2) Gadderar’s (?) reprint of Office of 1637 ; (3) The Communion Office for the use of the Church of Scotland so far as concerneth, etc., Edinburgh, 1724 ; (4) The Office of 1743 ; (5) The Office of 1755 ; (6) The Office of 1764 ; (7) The Office of 1796 ; (8) The Office of 1800 ; (9) The Office of 1844, Edinburgh.

This is a very useful work ; but the reprints must not be trusted, in minute points, for perfect accuracy.

“AN DREUCHD airson frithealaidh A CHOMANACH-AIDH NAOIMH Reir Gnathachaidh Eaglais na H-ALBA.” Dun-eidean, 1847.

“AN DREUCHD,” &c. Dun Eidean, 1879.

English and Gaelic in parallel columns. It follows an unauthorised text in the *Gloria in excelsis*, and Skinner’s edition in the Words of Delivery.

“The Order of the Administration of the Lord’s Suppe

or Holy Communion. Reprinted from the Booke 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 Majestie. M.DC.XXXVII. *Cum Privelegio.*" Without place or date, on title page.

This is a very beautiful reprint—verbal and literal—in small black letter ; but not in fac-simile. The rubrics are in red ; in the original edition they are in black : and the pagination does not correspond throughout. It was printed by Robert Anderson, Glasgow, 1881, and has an Introduction (pp. xxxiii) prefixed.

APPENDIX D.

THE CANONS OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH
BEARING UPON THE USE OF THE SCOT-
TISH OFFICE.

[The Canons of 1863 given below were re-enacted at the General Synod of 1876, and are now in force.]

CANONS OF 1838.

CANON XXVIII.

On the Uniformity to be observed in Public Worship.

As in all the ordinary parts of Divine service, it is necessary to fix, by authority, the precise form, from which no Bishop, Presbyter, or Deacon, shall be at liberty to depart, by his own alterations or insertions, lest such liberty should produce consequences destructive of "decency and order" it is hereby enacted, that, in the performance of Morning and Evening Service, the words and rubrical directions of the English Liturgy shall be strictly adhered to: And it is further decreed, that, if any clergyman shall officiate or preach in any

CANONS OF 1863.

CANON XXIX.

On the Use of the Book of Common Prayer in the celebration of Divine Worship and administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church.

WHEREAS in the Preface to the first Reformed Prayer-Book of the Church of England (1549), it was provided, in order to remove the inconveniences arising from 'diversity' in the celebration of Divine Worship, that 'henceforth all the whole Realm shall have but one use'; and whereas in consequence of the communion and intercourse that exist between the United Church of England and Ireland and the Episcopal Church in Scotland, it is expedient to

place publicly without using the Liturgy at all, he shall, for the first offence, be admonished by his Bishop, and, if he persevere in this uncanonical practice, shall be suspended, until, after due contrition, he be restored to the exercise of his clerical functions. In publicly reading Prayers and administering the Sacraments, the Surplice shall be used as the proper Sacerdotal Vestment.

have as little diversity as may be between the practice of this Church and that of the Sister Churches of the United Kingdom in the use of Divine Offices; and whereas, the English Book of Common Prayer is, and has been for many years past, in general use amongst us, not only for the performance of Morning and Evening Service, but for the Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church; it is hereby enacted that the Said Book of Common Prayer, as now authorised according to the Sealed Book, is, and shall be held to be, the Service Book of this Church for all the purposes to which it is applicable; and that no Clergyman shall be at liberty to depart from it in Public Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, or in the performance of other Divine Offices, except so far as the circumstances of this Church require, and as specified in the Canons of this Church.

CANON XXI.

Respecting the Communion Service as the most Solemn Part of Christian Worship.

WHEREAS it is acknowledged by the Twentieth and Thirty-

CANON XXX.

Of Holy Communion.

1. WHEREAS the Episcopal Church in Scotland, under the guidance of divers learned and orthodox Bishops, has long

fourth of the Thirty-Nine Articles, that "not only the Church in general, but every particular or National Church, hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying"; the Episcopal Church in Scotland, availing herself of this inherent right, hath long adopted, and very generally used, a form for the celebration of the Holy Communion, known by the name of the *Scotch Communion Office*, which form hath been justly considered, and is hereby considered, as the authorised service of the Episcopal Church in the administration of that Sacrament. And as, in order to promote an union among all those who profess to be of the Episcopal persuasion in Scotland, permission was formerly granted by the Bishops to retain the use of the English Office in all congregations where the said Office had been previously in use, the same permission is now ratified and confirmed: And it is also enacted, that in the use of either the Scotch or English Office no amalgamation, alteration, or interpolation whatever shall take place, nor shall any sub-

adopted and extensively used a Form for the celebration of the Holy Communion, known by the name of the 'Scotch Communion Office,' it is hereby enacted that the adoption of the Book of Common Prayer as the Service Book of this Church shall not affect the practice of the congregations of this Church which now use the said Scotch Communion Office. In such Congregations the use of the said Scotch Communion Office shall be continued, unless the Incumbent and a majority of the Communicants shall concur in disusing it.

2. The Office of the Book of Common Prayer shall be used in all new Congregations, unless the majority of the applicants mentioned in Canon XX., section 1, shall declare to the Bishop at the time of sending their resolutions to him that they desire the use of the Scotch Office in the new Congregation, in which case the Bishop shall sanction such use. The use of the said Office shall be continued in such Congregation, unless the Clergyman and a majority of the Communicants shall concur in disusing it.

3. Whenever it may appear to the Bishop that any undue influence has been exercised in

stitution of the one for the other be admitted unless it be approved by the Bishop. From respect, however, for the authority which originally sanctioned the Scotch Liturgy, and for other sufficient reasons, it is hereby enacted, that the Scotch Communion Office continue to be held of primary authority in this Church, and that it shall be used not only in all consecrations of Bishops, but also at the opening of all General Synods.

an application for the use of the Scotch Office, it shall be in his power to refuse such application, subject to an appeal to the Episcopal Synod.

4. At all Consecrations, Ordinations, and Synods, the Communion Office of the Book of Common Prayer shall be used.

5. In every congregation the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper shall be administered on the great Festivals of the Church, and at least once in every month, except under special circumstances, to be approved of by the Bishop.

6. In the use of either the Scotch or English Office, no amalgamation, alteration, or interpolation whatever shall take place.

7. Every Clergyman shall observe the Rubrics applicable to the Office used.

8. When persons join a congregation, with the intention of remaining therein, they shall, previously to receiving Holy Communion, produce, if required by the Clergyman, from the Incumbent of the congregation to which they previously belonged, or, in the event of the Incumbency of that Congregation being vacant, from a Communicant of this Church, an attestation that they are Communicants in the Episcopal Church.

APPENDIX E.

FORM OF CONSECRATION SUGGESTED BY
ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT.

[From a copy of the Book of Common-Prayer in the Bodleian Library.]

THE following, closely resembling the American form in the wording of the Invocation, was known to the Scottish Bishops at the time of Bishop Rattray. It is here transcribed from a copy in the handwriting of Bishop Jolly on the fly-leaf of a Scotch Prayer-Book of the original edition of 1637, with the remark: "The following is taken from a copy in the handwriting of the Rev. Mr. Alex. Mitchel, corrected by Bp. Keith." It has a heading in Bishop Jolly's Prayer-Book as follows: "Taken from Archbishop Sancroft's own handwriting in a Common Prayer-Book corrected and amended by him, probably for the last Review after the Restoration in 1660. Some of which corrections and amendments were received and printed in the Common Prayer-Book as we now have it, but more left out, and among the latter the following excellent primitive form of Consecration."

“Another method of Consecration, Oblation, Address, and Distribution.

When the Priest, standing before the Table, hath so ordered the Bread and Wine, that he may with the more readiness and decency break the Bread before the People, and take the Cup into his hands, he shall say the Prayer of Consecration, as followeth.

ALMIGHTY God, our heavenly Father, who of thy tender mercy didst give thine only Son Jesus Christ, to suffer death upon the Cross for our Redemption; who made there (by his one Oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient Sacrifice, Oblation and Satisfaction for the sins of whole World; and did institute and in his 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 by the Power of thy holy Word and Spirit vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these thy Gifts and Creatures of Bread and Wine; that we receiving them according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy Institution, in Remembrance of him, and to shew forth his Death and Passion, may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood. Who in the same night that he was betrayed, † took Bread, and when he had blessed and 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.

At these words (took bread) the Priest is to take the Paten into his hands; at (brake it) he is to break the Bread; and at (This is my Body) to lay his hand upon it.

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. Amen.

At the words (Took the Cup) the Priest is to take the Chalice into his hands; and at (this is my Blood) to lay his hand on every Vessel (be it Chalice or flagon) in which there is wine to be consecrated.

Immediately after shall follow this Memorial, or Prayer of Oblation.

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 and commanded us to make; having in remembrance his most blessed Passion and Sacrifice, his mighty Resurrection and glorious Ascension into Heaven; 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, now represented unto thee, and through Faith in his Blood, who maketh Intercession for us at thy Right Hand, we and all thy whole Church may obtain Remission of our sins, and be made partakers of 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 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."

The form of the Invocation, in the Prayer here

printed, may be traced farther back than Sancroft. In a printed Prayer-Book of 1619, now in the Cosin Library at Durham, are many corrections and alterations, apparently made at different dates, and chiefly in Cosin's handwriting. In this book we find the form, "Vouchsafe by the powers of thy holy word and spirit so to blesse and sanctifie these thy gifts and Creatures of Bread and Wine that we receiving them according to. . . ." Sancroft was Cosin's chaplain and secretary. See Parker's *Introduction to the History of the Successive Revisions, etc.*, p. ccxiii.

APPENDIX F.

COLLATION BY PROF. HART OF SCOTTISH
OFFICE 1764, WITH BISHOP SEABURY'S
OFFICE 1786.

THE following collation shows the changes which Bishop Seabury introduced into the Scotch Office of 1764. Every difference in words has been noted; only unimportant changes in punctuation and in the use of capitals have been omitted.

Page	<i>Scotch Office, 1764.</i>	<i>Bishop Seabury's, 1786.</i>
3	what St. Paul writeth to the Corinthians; how he exhorteth unworthily. For then we are 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.	how St. Paul exhorteth unworthily, not considering the Lord's body; for then we are guilty of the body and blood of Christ our Saviour; we kindle God's wrath against us, and bring his judgments upon us.
4	humble	most humble
5	<i>Presbyter</i>	<i>Priest</i>

[and so throughout.]

Page	Scotch Office, 1764.	Bishop Seabury's, 1786.
5	<i>by his discretion, according to the length or shortness of the time that the people are offering.</i>	<i>in his discretion.</i>
7	a great thing if we shall live of the things of the temple?	a great matter if we should live of the sacrifice?
8	He who soweth <i>people there present bring the said bason with the oblations therein, and deliver it</i>	He that soweth <i>people bring, and deliver it</i>
9	<i>upon the Lord's Table; and shall say,</i>	<i>upon the Lord's table, putting a little pure water into the cup: and shall say,</i>
12	Amen. <i>both his hands, shall say</i>	<i>Amen.</i> <i>both his hands, and shall say,</i>
14	who (by his own oblation of himself once offered) made a full, a perpetual memorial beseeching thee, that who-soever shall be partakers and be filled	who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full, a perpetual memory humbly beseeching thee, that we and all others who shall be partakers be filled
15	and especially thy servant our King, that under him we may be godly and quietly governed. And grant unto his whole Council, and to all who are put in authority under him, that they may truly and indifferently administer justice,	and grant that they, and all who are in authority, may truly and impartially administer justice
16	which is here assembled labours. And we yield unto thee wonderful grace and virtue	here assembled labours: yielding unto thee wonderful goodness and virtue
17	¶ <i>Then shall the Presbyter say:</i>	[No rubric.]

¹ Evidently a misprint.

Page	Scotch Office, 1764.	Bishop Seabury's, 1786.
17	<i>Then the Presbyter shall say</i>	<i>Then shall the Priest say</i>
18	Draw near, and take	Draw near with faith and take
	<i>with the Presbyter ; he first kneeling down.</i>	<i>with the Priest ; all humbly kneeling upon their knees.</i>
19	all them who	all them that
	<i>Then shall the Presbyter also say,</i>	<i>Then shall the Priest say,</i>
	I will give you rest.	I will refresh you.
	[No "Private Ejaculations" or "Private Devotions for the Altar."]	
21	<i>And the Presbyter, or Minister, that receiveth the cup himself, or delivereth it to others, shall say this benediction :</i>	<i>And when the Priest receiveth the cup himself, or delivereth it to others, he shall say,</i>
22	resolutions ; and that, being and dost assure us	resolutions ; that being and doth assure us
	with the Father, and	with Thee and
23	to God in the highest,	to God on high,

The pagination above is that of the Office 1764, as given at pp. 133-156. The reference to lines I have omitted, and I have corrected some five or six errors, into all which Professor Hart was, no doubt, led by trusting to Peter Hall's reprint. For that he cannot be blamed ; the "wee bookies" are very scarce here, and are, I presume, still more difficult to get sight of across the Atlantic. In every instance my corrections bring Bishop Seabury's Office nearer that of 1764.

APPENDIX G.

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

[Printed from the Nonjurors' book, entitled *A Communion Office*, taken partly from the Primitive Liturgies and partly from the First English Reformed Common-Prayer Book, together with Offices for Confirmation, and the Visitation of the Sick. London. Printed for James Bettenham, at the Crown in Pater-noster-Row. MDCCLXVIII.]

- ¶ *Every Priest shall take particular care not to admit any to the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, but those whom he knows to be in the Communion of the Church, or else is certified thereof by sufficient testimony. And to the end this Order may be observed, so many as intend to be partakers of the Holy Communion, shall signify their names to the Priest at least some time the day before.*
- ¶ *And if any of those be an open and notorious evil-liver, or have done any wrong to his neighbour by word or deed, so that the Congregation be thereby offended; the Priest, having knowledge thereof, shall call him, and advertise him, that in any wise he presume not to come to the Lord's Table, until he hath openly declared himself to have truly repented and amended his former wicked life, that the Congregation may thereby be satisfied, which before was offended; and that he hath recompensed the parties to whom he hath done wrong, or at least declare himself in full purpose so to do, as soon as he conveniently may.*

- ¶ *The same order shall the Priest 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 remaineth still in his frowardness and malice ; the Priest in that case ought to admit the penitent person to the Holy Communion, and not him that is obstinate. Provided that every Priest, so repelling any, as is specified in this or the next precedent paragraph of this Rubric, shall be obliged to give an account of the same to the Bishop, or the Ordinary of the place, within fourteen days after at the farthest.*
- ¶ *The Altar at the Communion-time, having a fair white linen cloth upon it, shall stand at the east end of the Church or Chapel. And the Priest and People, standing with their faces towards the Altar, shall say or sing (in the same manner as the Psalms for the day are said or sung) for the Introit the Psalm appointed for that day, according to that translation which is in the Book of Common Prayer.*
- ¶ *Note, that whenever in this Office the Priest is directed to turn to the Altar, or to stand or kneel before it, or with his face towards it, it is always meant that he should stand or kneel on the North side thereof.*

THE INTROITS.

For every Sunday and Holy-day throughout the Year.

SUNDAYS IN ADVENT.

	Psalm.
I.	1
II.	120
III.	4
IV.	5
<i>Christmas-Day</i>	98
<i>S. Stephen's Day</i>	52
<i>S. John Evangelist</i>	11
<i>The Innocents' Day</i>	79
<i>Sunday after Christmas-Day</i>	121
<i>Circumcision</i>	122
<i>Epiphany</i>	96

SUNDAYS AFTER EPIPHANY.

I.	13
II.	14
III.	15
IV.	2
V.	20
VI.	30
<i>Septuagesima</i>	23
<i>Sexagesima</i>	24
<i>Quinquagesima</i>	26
<i>Ash-Wednesday</i>	6

SUNDAYS IN LENT.

I.	32
II.	130
III.	43

	Psalm.
IV.	46
V.	54
<i>Sunday next before Easter</i>	61
<i>Good-Friday</i>	22
<i>Easter-Even</i>	88
<i>Easter-Day</i>	16
<i>Monday in Easter-week</i>	62
<i>Tuesday in Easter-week</i>	113

SUNDAYS AFTER EASTER.

I.	112
II.	70
III.	75
IV.	83
V.	84
<i>Ascension-Day</i>	47
<i>Sunday after Ascension-Day</i>	93
<i>Whitsunday</i>	33
<i>Monday in Whitsun-week</i>	100
<i>Tuesday in Whitsun-week</i>	101
<i>Trinity Sunday</i>	67

SUNDAYS AFTER TRINITY.

I. <i>Blessed are, &c.</i>	PART 1	119
II. <i>Wherewithal shall, &c.</i>	2	—
III. <i>O do well, &c.</i>	3	—
IV. <i>My soul cleaveth, &c.</i>	4	—
V. <i>Teach me, O Lord, &c.</i>	5	—
VI. <i>Let thy loving mercy, &c.</i>	6	—
VII. <i>O think upon thy servant, &c.</i>	7	—
VIII. <i>Thou art my portion, &c.</i>	8	—
IX. <i>O Lord, thou hast dealt, &c.</i>	9	—
X. <i>Thy hands have, &c.</i>	10	—
XI. <i>My soul hath longed, &c.</i>	11	—
XII. <i>O Lord, thy word, &c.</i>	12	—
XIII. <i>Lord, what love, &c.</i>	13	—

		Psalm.
XIV. <i>Thy word is a lantern, &c.</i>	PART 14	119
XV. <i>I hate them, &c.</i>	15	—
XVI. <i>I deal, &c.</i>	16	—
XVII. <i>Thy testimonies, &c.</i>	17	—
XVIII. <i>Righteous art thou, &c.</i>	18	—
XIX. <i>I call with, &c.</i>	19	—
XX. <i>O consider, &c.</i>	20	—
XXI. <i>Princes have, &c.</i>	21	—
XXII. <i>Let my complaint, &c.</i>	22	—
XXIII.		124
XXIV.		125
XXV.		127
<i>S. Andrew's Day</i>		129
<i>S. Thomas</i>		128
<i>Conversion of S. Paul</i>		138
<i>Purification of the blessed Virgin Mary</i>		134
<i>S. Matthias</i>		140
<i>Annunciation of the blessed Virgin</i>		131
<i>S. Mark</i>		141
<i>S. Philip and S. James</i>		133
<i>S. Barnabas</i>		142
<i>S. John Baptist</i>		143
<i>S. Peter</i>		144
<i>S. James</i>		148
<i>S. Bartholomew</i>		115
<i>S. Matthew</i>		117
<i>S. Michael and all Angels</i>		113
<i>S. Luke</i>		137
<i>S. Simon and S. Jude</i>		150
<i>All Saints</i>		149

Note, that the Introit, Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, appointed for the Sunday, shall serve all the week after, where it is not otherwise ordered.

¶ *At the end of every Introit shall be said,*

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost ;

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

Then the Priest shall turn to the People, and say,

The Lord be with you ;

People. And with thy Spirit.

Priest. Let us pray.

¶ *Then the People shall kneel with their faces towards the Altar ; and the Priest, turning to it, and standing humbly before it, shall say :*

Lord, have mercy upon us.

People. Christ, have mercy upon us.

Priest. Lord, have mercy upon us.

¶ *Then the Priest shall say the Lord's Prayer, with the Collect following.*

OUR Father, &c. *Amen.*

Collect.

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

¶ *Then shall the Priest turn him to the People, and say :*

JESUS said, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind : this is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets. Matt. xxii. 37-40.

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

Priest. Let us pray.

¶ *Then the Priest shall turn to the Altar, and say one of these two Collects following for the King.*

ALMIGHTY God, whose kingdom is everlasting, and power infinite, have mercy upon the whole Church ; and so rule the heart of thy chosen servant our King and Governor that he (knowing whose minister he is) may above all things seek thy honour and glory : and grant that we and all 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.*

¶ *Or :*

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, we are 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 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.*

¶ *Then shall be said the Collect of the Day. And immediately after the Collect, the People shall rise, and the Priest shall turn to the People, and read the Epistle, saying :*

The Epistle [*or*, the portion of Scripture appointed for the Epistle] is written in the — chapter of —, beginning at the — verse.

¶ *And the Epistle ended, he shall say :*

Here endeth the Epistle ; or, Here endeth the portion of
Scripture appointed for the Epistle.

¶ *Then shall he read the Gospel, saying :*

The holy Gospel is written in the — chapter of —, beginning
at the — verse.

¶ *And then the People, all standing up, shall say :*

Glory be to thee, O Lord.

¶ *The Gospel ended, the Priest shall say :*

Here endeth the holy Gospel.

¶ *And the People shall answer :*

Thanks be to thee, O Lord.

¶ *Then shall be sung or said the Creed following, the Priest and
People standing with their faces towards the Altar, and
saying :*

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.

¶ *Then the Curate shall declare unto the People what Holy-days or Fasting-days are in the week following to be observed. And then also (if occasion be) shall notice be given of the Communion; and the Banns of Matrimony published; and Briefs, Citations, and Excommunications read. And nothing shall be proclaimed or published in the Church, during the time of Divine Service, but by the Priest or Deacon; nor by them anything but what is prescribed in the rules of this book, or enjoined by the Bishop or the Ordinary of the place.*

¶ *Then shall follow the Sermon or Homily.*

¶ *When the Priest giveth warning for the celebration of the Holy Communion, (which he shall always do upon the Sunday or some Holy-day immediately preceding,) after the Sermon or Homily ended, he shall read this Exhortation following.*

¶ *Note, This Exhortation shall be read once in a month, or oftener, according to the discretion of the Priest.*

DEARLY beloved, on — I purpose, through God's assistance, to administer to all such as shall be religiously and devoutly disposed, the most comfortable Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; to be by them received in remembrance of his meritorious cross and passion, whereby alone we obtain remission of our sins, and are made partakers of the kingdom of heaven. Wherefore it is our duty to render most humble and hearty thanks to Almighty God our Heavenly Father, 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 in that holy Sacrament. Which being so divine and comfortable a thing to them who receive it worthily, and so dangerous to them that will presume to receive it unworthily; my duty is to exhort you in the mean season to consider the dignity of that holy mystery, and the great peril of the unworthy receiving

thereof; and so to search and examine your own consciences, (and that not lightly, and after the manner of dissemblers with God, but so) that ye may come holy and clean to such a heavenly feast, in the marriage-garment required by God in holy scripture, and be received as worthy partakers of that holy table.

The way and means thereto is: first, to examine your lives and conversations by the rule of God's Commandments; and whereinsoever ye shall perceive yourselves to have offended, either by will, word, or deed, there to bewail your own sinfulness, and to confess yourselves with full purpose of amendment of life. And if ye shall perceive your offences to be such as are not only against God, but also against your neighbours, then ye shall reconcile yourselves unto them, being ready to make restitution and satisfaction, according to the utmost of your powers, for all injuries and wrongs done by you to any other; and being likewise ready to forgive all others that have offended you, as ye would have forgiveness of your offences at God's hand: for otherwise the receiving of the Holy Communion doth nothing else but increase your condemnation. Therefore if any of you be a blasphemer of God, an hinderer or slanderer of his word, and adulterer, or be in malice, or envy, or in any other grievous crime, repent you of your sins, or else come not to that 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.

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 whose conscience is troubled or grieved in any thing, and requireth comfort or counsel, let him come to me, or some other discreet and learned Priest,

and confess and open his sin and grief, that of us (as of the Ministers of God) he may receive the benefit of absolution, together with ghostly counsel and advice, to the quieting of his conscience, and avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness.

¶ *Or in case the Priest shall see the People negligent to come to the holy Communion, instead of the former he shall use this Exhortation.*

DEARLY-BELOVED brethren, on ——— I intend, by God's grace, to celebrate the Lord's Supper: unto which, in God's behalf, I bid you all that are 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 by 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 who are 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 hindered with worldly business. But such excuses are not 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, are ye not ashamed to say ye will not come? When ye should return to God, will ye excuse yourselves, and say ye are not ready? Consider earnestly with yourselves, how little such feigned excuses will avail before God. They that refused the feast in the Gospel, because they had bought a farm, or would try their yokes of

oxen, or because they were married, were not so excused, but counted unworthy of the heavenly feast. I for my part shall be ready ; 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 yield up his soul by death upon the cross for your salvation ; so it is your duty to receive the Communion, in remembrance of the sacrifice of his death, as he himself hath commanded : which if you shall neglect to do, consider with yourselves how great injury ye do unto God, and how sore punishment hangeth over your heads for the same, when ye wilfully abstain from the Lord's Table, and separate from your brethren, who come to feed on the banquet of that most heavenly food. These things if ye earnestly consider, ye will by God's grace return to a better mind : for the obtaining whereof, we shall not cease to make our humble petitions unto Almighty God our Heavenly Father.

¶ *At the time of the celebration of the Communion, the Communicants standing with their faces towards the Altar, the Priest, being turned to them, shall say this Exhortation.*

¶ *In Cathedral Churches, or other places, where there is daily Communion, it shall be sufficient to read this Exhortation only on Sundays and Holy-days.*

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 how St. Paul 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 are one with Christ, and Christ with us :) so is the danger great, if we receive

the same unworthily. For then we are guilty of the body and blood of Christ our Saviour; we eat and drink a judgment against ourselves, 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. 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, who lay in darkness and the 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 alway 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 for a continual remembrance of his death, to our great and endless comfort. To him, therefore, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, let us give (as we are most bounden) continual thanks, submitting ourselves wholly to his holy will and pleasure, and studying to serve him in true holiness and righteousness all the days of our life. *Amen.*

¶ *Then shall the Priest begin the Offertory, saying one or more of these Sentences following, as he thinketh most convenient in his discretion; the People kneeling with their faces towards the Altar.*

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. 3-5.

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.

They 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, 17.

Blessed is he that considereth the poor: the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble. Psalm xli. 1.

Give unto the Lord the glory due unto his name: bring an offering, and come into his courts. Psalm xvi. 8.

He that hath pity upon the poor, lendeth unto the Lord: and that which he hath given, will he pay him again. Prov. xix. 17.

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. Matth. vi. 19, 20.

Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven: but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven. Matth. vii. 21.

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. 17-19.

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.

¶ *Whilst these Sentences are in reading, the Deacons, Churchwardens, or other fit person appointed for that purpose, shall receive the devotions of the people there present, in a decent basin provided for that purpose. And that no one may neglect to come to the Holy Communion, by reason of having but little to give, the person who collects the Offerings shall cover the basin with a fair white linnen cloth, so that neither he himself nor any other may see or know what any particuler person offereth. And when all have offered, he shall reverently bring the said basin with the oblations therein, and deliver it to the Priest, who shall humbly present and place it upon the Altar.*

¶ Then shall the Priest take so much Bread and Wine, as shall suffice for the persons appointed to receive the Holy Communion : laying the bread in the paten, or in some other decent thing prepared for that purpose ; and putting the wine into the chalice, or else into some fair and convenient cup prepared for that use, putting thereto, in view of the people, a little pure and clean water : and then, setting both the bread and the cup upon the Altar, he shall turn to the people, and say,

Let us pray.

¶ Then the Priest shall turn to the Altar, and standing humbly before it, he shall say the Collect following.

O ALMIGHTY God, who hast created us, and placed us in this ministry by the power of thy Holy Spirit : May it please thee, O Lord, as we are Ministers of the New Testament, and Dispensers of thy holy Mysteries, to receive us who are approaching thy holy Altar, according to the multitude of thy mercies, that we may be worthy to offer unto thee this reasonable and unbloody sacrifice for our sins, and the sins of the people. Receive it, O God, as a sweet-smelling savour, and send down the grace of thy Holy Spirit upon us. And as thou didst accept this worship and service from thy holy Apostles ; so of thy goodness, O Lord, vouchsafe to receive these offerings from the hands of us sinners : that, being made worthy to minister at thy holy Altar without blame, we may have the reward of good and faithful servants at that great and terrible day of account and just retribution ; through our Lord Jesus Christ thy son : who, with thee and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth ever one God, world without end. *Amen.*

¶ Then shall the Priest turn him to the People, and say :

The Lord be with you ;

Answer. And with thy spirit.

Priest. Lift up your hearts :

Answer. We lift them up unto the Lord.

Priest. Let us give thanks unto our Lord God :

Answer. It is meet and right so to do.

¶ *Then shall the Priest turn him to the Altar, and say :*

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.

* These words [Holy Father] must be omitted on Trinity Sunday.

¶ *Here shall follow the proper Preface according to the time, if there be any specially appointed; or else immediately shall follow,*

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

¶ *Here the People shall join with the Priest, and say,*

HOLY, Holy, Holy, Lord God of hosts : Heaven and earth are full of thy glory : Hosanna in the highest : Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord : Glory be to thee, O Lord most High. Amen.

PROPER PREFACES.

¶ *Upon Christmas-Day, and seven days after.*

BECAUSE thou didst give Jesus Christ thine only Son to be born as at this time for us : who, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, was made 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, &c.

¶ *Upon Easter-Day, and seven days after.*

BUT chiefly are we bound to praise thee for the glorious Resurrection of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord : for he is the very Paschal Lamb, which was

offered for us, and hath taken away the sin of the world ; who by his death hath destroyed death, and by his rising to life again hath restored to us everlasting life. Therefore with Angels, &c.

¶ *Upon 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 we might also ascend, and reign with him in glory. Therefore with Angels, &c.

Upon Whit-Sunday, and six days after.

THROUGH Jesus Christ our Lord : according to whose most true promise the Holy Ghost came down as at this time 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 have been brought out of darkness and error into the clear light and true knowledge of thee, and of thy Son Jesus Christ. Therefore with Angels, &c.

Upon the Feast of Trinity only.

WHO 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, &c.

¶ *After each of 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 :

Here the People shall join with the Priest, and say,

HOLY, Holy, Holy, Lord God of hosts : Heaven and earth are full of thy glory : Hosanna in the highest : Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord : Glory be to thee, O Lord most High. Amen.

Immediately after, the Priest shall say :

HOLINESS is thy nature and thy gift, O eternal King. Holy is thine only-begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom thou hast made the worlds ; holy is thine ever-blessed Spirit, who searcheth all things, even the depths of thine infinite perfection. Holy art thou, almighty and merciful God ; thou createdst man in thine own image, broughtest him into Paradise, and didst place him in a state of dignity and pleasure : and when he had lost his happiness by transgressing thy command, thou of thy goodness didst not abandon and despise him. Thy Providence was still continued, thy Law was given to revive the sense of his duty, thy Prophets were commissioned to reclaim and instruct him. And when the fulness of time was come, thou didst send thine only-begotten Son to satisfy thy justice, to strengthen our nature, and renew thine image within us. For these glorious ends thine eternal Word came down from heaven, was incarnate by the Holy Ghost, born of the blessed Virgin, conversed with mankind, and directed his life and miracles to our salvation. And when his hour was come to offer the propitiatory sacrifice upon the Cross ; when he, who had no sin himself, mercifully undertook to suffer death for our sins ; in the same night that he was betrayed, he ^atook bread : and when he had given thanks, he ^bbroke 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.

a Here the Priest is to take the paten into his hands :

b And here to break the bread :

c And here to lay his hand upon all the bread.

Here the People shall answer,

Amen.

Then shall the Priest say :

LIKEWISE after supper he ^dtook the cup : and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this ; for ^eTHIS IS MY BLO^d 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.

d Here he is to take the cup into his hands :

e And here to lay his hand upon every vessel (be it chalice or flagon) in which there is any wine and water to be consecrated.

Here the People shall answer,

Amen.

Then shall the Priest say :

WHEREFORE, having in remembrance his passion, death, and resurrection from the dead ; his ascension into heaven, and second coming with glory and great power to judge the quick and the dead, and to render to every man according to his works ; we offer to thee, our King and our God, according to his holy institution, this bread and this cup : giving thanks to thee through him, that thou hast vouchsafed us the honour to stand before thee, and to sacrifice unto thee. And we beseech thee to look favourably on these thy gifts, which are here set before thee, O thou self-sufficient God : and do thou accept them to the honour of thy Christ ; and send down thine Holy Spirit, the witness of the passion of our Lord Jesus, upon this sacrifice, that he may make this ^fbread the Body of thy Christ, and this ^gcup the Blood of thy Christ : that they who are partakers thereof may be confirmed in godliness, may obtain re-

f Here the Priest shall lay his hand upon the bread :

g And here upon every vessel (be it chalice or flagon) in which there is any wine and water.

mission of their sins, may be delivered from the devil and his snares, may be replenished with the Holy Ghost, may be made worthy of thy Christ, and may obtain everlasting life ; thou, O Lord Almighty, being reconciled unto them, through the merits and mediation of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ : who, with thee and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth ever one God, world without end. *Amen.*

ALMIGHTY and everliving God, who 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 these our oblations, and to receive these our prayers, which we offer unto thy Divine Majesty ; beseeching thee to inspire continually the universal Church with thy 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. Give grace, O Heavenly Father, to all Bishops 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. We beseech thee also to save and defend all Christian kings, princes, and governors ; and especially thy servant our King, that under him we may be godly and quietly governed. And grant unto his whole Council, and to all that are 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 thy true religion and virtue. 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 this congregation, which is here

assembled in thy name to celebrate the commemoration of the most glorious death of thy Son. And we most humbly beseech thee of thy goodness, O Lord, to comfort and succour all them, who in this transitory life are in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity ; (**especially those for whom our prayers are desired.*) And here we do give unto thee most high praise and hearty thanks for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in all thy saints, from the beginning of the world : and particularly in the glorious and ever-blessed Virgin Mary, mother of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord and God ; and in the holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, and Confessors : whose examples, O Lord, and stedfastness in thy faith, and keeping thy holy commandments, grant us to follow. We commend unto thy mercy, O Lord, all thy servants, who are departed hence from us with the sign of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace : grant unto them, we beseech thee, thy mercy and everlasting peace ; and that at the day of the general resurrection, we, and all they who are of the mystical body of thy Son, may all together 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.*

** This is to be said, when any desire the prayers of the Congregation.*

¶ *Then the Priest shall say the Lord's Prayer, the People repeating after him every petition.*

OUR Father, &c. For thine, &c. Amen.

¶ *Then shall the Priest turn to the People, and say :*

The peace of the Lord be always with you.
Answer. And with thy spirit.

Priest.

CHRIST, our Paschal Lamb, is offered up for us, once for all, when he bare our sins in his body upon the cross. For he is the very Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world. Wherefore let us keep a joyful and holy feast unto the Lord.

¶ *Then the Priest shall say to all those that come to receive the Holy Communion :*

YE that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins, and are 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 with faith, and take this holy Sacrament to your comfort, and make your humble confession to Almighty God, meekly kneeling upon your knees.

¶ *Then shall this General Confession be made by the Priest and People, both he and they kneeling humbly upon their knees with their faces towards the Altar, and saying :*

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 are 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 honor and glory of thy Name, Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

¶ *Then shall the Priest (or the Bishop, being present) stand up, and, turning himself to the People, pronounce this Absolution.*

ALMIGHTY God, our heavenly Father, who of his great mercy hath promised forgiveness of sins to all them that 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 Priest also say:*

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

Come unto me, all that travail and are heavy-laden, and I will refresh you. *S. Matth. xi. 28.*

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. *S. John iii. 16.*

Hear also what St. Paul saith:

This is a true saying, and worthy of all men to be received, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners. *1 Tim. i. 15.*

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. *1 S. John ii. 1, 2.*

¶ *Then the Priest shall say to the People,*

Let us pray.

¶ *Then shall the Priest, turning him to the Altar, kneel down, and say, in the name of all them that shall receive the Communion, this Prayer following.*

WE do not presume to come to this thy table, O merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness,

but in thy manifold and great mercies. We are 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 Priest that officiateth, kneel down, and receive the Communion in both kinds himself, and then proceed to deliver the same to other Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, in like manner, if any be there present; and, after that, to the People also in order, into their hands, all meekly kneeling.*

¶ *And when he delivereth the Sacrament of the Body of Christ to any one, he shall say,*

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

¶ *Here the person receiving shall say,*

Amen.

¶ *And the Priest or Deacon that delivereth the Sacrament of the blood of Christ to any one, shall say,*

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

¶ *Here the person receiving shall say,*

Amen.

¶ *Note, When the Priest receiveth the Communion himself, he shall say aloud the same words which he doth when he delivereth it to any one, excepting that instead of thee he shall say me, and instead of thy he shall say my.*

¶ *If there be a Deacon or other Priest, then shall he follow with the chalice; and as the Priest ministereth the Sacrament of the Body, so shall he (for more expedition) minister the Sacrament of the Blood, in form before written.*

¶ *When all have communicated, the Priest shall return to the Altar, and reverently place upon it what remaineth of the consecrated elements, covering the same with a fair linen cloth.*

¶ *Then the Priest shall turn to the People, and say :*

The Lord be with you.

People. And with thy spirit.

Priest. Let us pray.

¶ *Then the Priest shall turn to the Altar, and, standing before it, he shall say the following Collect of Thanksgiving.*

ALMIGHTY and everliving God, we most heartily thank thee for that thou dost vouchsafe to feed us, who 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 are very members incorporate in the mystical body of thy Son, which is the blessed company of all faithful people; and are also heirs through hope of thy everlasting kingdom, by the merits of the most precious death and passion of thy dear Son. And we 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, by the Priest and People, Gloria in Excelsis, in English, as followeth :

GLORY be to God on high, and in earth peace, goodwill towards men. We praise thee, we bless thee, we worship thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks to thee for thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty.

O Lord, the only-begotten Son Jesu Christ; O Lord

God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer. Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father, have mercy upon us.

For thou only art holy; thou only art the Lord; thou only, O Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father. Amen.

Then the Priest (or Bishop, if he be present) shall turn to the People, and 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.

Collects to be said 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 of Morning or Evening Prayer, Communion, or Litany, by the discretion of the Priest.

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 Jesus 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, who 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, who 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.*

After the Sermon or Homily is ended, (or, if there be no Sermon or Homily, after the Nicene Creed is ended,) if there be no Communion, the Priest shall turn to the People, and say, Let us pray. And then, turning to the Altar, he shall stand before it, and say one or more of these Collects last before rehearsed, concluding with the Blessing.

And there shall be no celebration of the Holy Communion, except two persons, at the least, communicate with the Priest.

And every Priest shall either administer or receive the Holy Communion every Festival, (that is, every Sunday and Holy-day,) except he cannot get two persons to communicate with him, or except he be hindered by sickness, or some other urgent cause.

And every Priest shall inform the people of the advantage and necessity of receiving the Holy Communion frequently. He shall likewise exhort them not to neglect coming often to God's Altar, because they have but little to give at the Offertory. For he shall instruct them, that, provided they frequent the Holy Communion, their offering will be accepted by God, though it be never so little, if it be given according to their abilities, with a cheerful and devout heart.

And to take away all occasion of dissension and superstition, it shall suffice that the Bread be such as is usual to be eaten, but the best and purest wheat Bread that conveniently may be gotten.

If there be any Persons who through sickness, or any other urgent cause, are under a necessity of communicating at their houses; then the Priest shall reserve at the open Communion so much of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood, as shall serve those who are to receive at home. And if after that, or if, when none are to communicate at their houses, any of the consecrated elements remain, then it shall not be carried out of the Church; but the Priest, and such other of the Communicants as he shall then call unto him, shall immediately after the Blessing reverently eat and drink the same.

The money given at the Offertory being solemnly devoted to God, the Priest shall take so much out of it as will defray the charge of the Bread and Wine; and the remainder he shall keep, or part of it, or dispose of it, or part of it, to pious or charitable uses, according to the discretion of the Bishop.

APPENDIX H.

BISHOP ABERNETHY-DRUMMOND'S EDITION
OF THE SCOTTISH COMMUNION OFFICE.

ABERNETHY DRUMMOND was consecrated in 1787 to the Bishopric of Brechin, and a few months later was removed to the charge of the Diocese of Edinburgh. Some account has already been given (p. 102 *sq.*) of the negotiations of Bishop Drummond with his episcopal brethren on the subject of his edition of the Office. The Office as modified by Bishop Drummond appeared in 1796, and was reprinted three or four times—1801, 1806, 1809, etc. It may be expected that some account of its chief peculiarities would be found in this volume.

After the Offertory sentences there appears a rubric as follows:—"When the offering is to be given away in charity the last five verses of the Offertory in the English Office may very properly be used."

In the next two rubrics "the Presbyter" is converted into "the Clergyman" and "the Officiating Clergyman." After the Prefaces etc. comes the rubric, "Then the Bishop, if present, or the Presbyter, standing at such a part of the holy Table as he may with ease use both his hands shall say *alone* the following prayer of Consecration, the people *only* joining at the *end* of the Lord's Prayer with an audible and hearty *Amen.*" The Prayer of Consecration opens as follows:—"All glory

be to thee, Almighty God, for creating man after thine own image, and graciously giving him the enjoyment of Paradise ; and when he had forfeited happiness both for himself and his posterity, by transgressing thy commandment, that thou of thy tender mercy didst give thy only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption : who (by his own oblation of himself once offered) made," etc.

The Invocation has the peculiarity "that they may become the spiritual body and blood," etc. And the prayer at its close continues ". . . not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Jesus Christ our Lord, in whose sacred name vouchsafe us with freedom, without condemnation, and with a pure heart, to say : Our Father, etc. Amen."

In the next Prayer "alms and" are to be omitted except when the offering is to be given away in charity, and there is added, "N.B. The offerings of the people, when for the support of the clergy, are not alms but a debt. See 1 Cor. ix. chap. from 7 to 15 ver."

In the Prayer for the whole Church to the words "need, sickness, or any other adversity" are added "especially such as desire [or are recommended* to] the aid of our prayers," with the marginal rubric, "* what is between the hooks to be omitted when no person is recommended." This is a good suggestion.

After each of the Scripture sentences beginning with the Comfortable Words of Christ, a pause is enjoined for the offering up of ejaculations by the people ; whether aloud or secretly does not appear. The *Gloria in excelsis* reverts to the form in the English Office. Private devotions are interspersed.

APPENDIX I.

CONSPICUOUS OF THE STRUCTURAL ARRANGEMENT OF PARTS IN CERTAIN LITURGIES.

Ancient Eastern Liturgies.	English, 1549.	Scottish (<i>'Laud's'</i>), 1637.	Scottish, 1764-1884.	American, 1789-1884.	English, 1552-1884.	Scottish, 1735-1755.
	1 ^a	1		1 ^c	1	1 ^a
	19	2	1. Lord's Prayer, Collect, X. Commandments. ^a	2	2	2
	2	3	2. Collects, Epistle, Gospel.	3	3	3
	3	4	3. Creed.	4	4	4
	4	6	4. Sermon.	6	6 ^f	6
	5	12	5. Exhortation.	12	12	5
7	6	5	6. Offertory, and Minor Oblation (<i>i.e.</i> of Elements).	5	5	7
8	7	14	7. Sursum Corda, Preface, and Sanctus.	14	14	10
9	12	15	8. Words of Institution. ^b	15	15	8
10	10	7	9. Great Oblation.			
			10. Express Invocation for the Descent of Holy Spirit.	7	7	9
11 ^e	8	10	11. Intercessions.	16	16	11
	9	8	12. Prayer for the Church.	8 ^b	8	12
	11	9	13. Lord's Prayer.	9	—	13
	13	11	14. Invitation.	10	—	14
	14	13	15. Confession, Absolution, Comfortable Words.	11 ^d	17	15
	15	16	16. Prayer of Humble Access.	17	17	16
	16	17	17. Communion.	13	13	17
17	17	18	18. Thanksgiving.	18	18	18
	18 ^h	19	19. Gloria in Excelsis.	19 ^e	19	19
	20	20	20. Blessing.	20	20	20

^a Or Christ's summary of the Law.

- ^a Or Christ's summary of the Law.
^b Preceded by a Thanksgiving.
^c With summary of the Law, at discretion.
^d Followed by a Hymn.
^e Or some other Hymn.
^f Offertory only till 1662. It is questionable whether any Minor Oblation is intended in the present Book.
^g Lord's Prayer, Collect, Introit, and Kyrie.
^h Preceded by a sentence of Scripture said or sung.
ⁱ Corresponding to both 11 and 12; its position is variable

[*Note*.—The idea of this conspectus is due to Professor Hart (*Bishop Seabury's Communion Office*, p. 65). But for the purposes of this book some changes seemed desirable. The figures 8, 9, 10 are printed so as to catch the eye, as indicating the relative positions of the Institution, Oblation, and Invocation.]

APPENDIX J.

SOME TRADITIONAL PRACTICES CONNECTED
WITH THE CELEBRATION OF THE EU-
CHARIST ACCORDING TO THE SCOTTISH
OFFICE.

1. THE mixed chalice is not enjoined in the Scottish Office, but the practice of the mixture has been, I believe, general. Bishop Torry was in his eighty-fourth year when, in 1847, he was petitioned by certain of the clergy of his diocese to 'attest the usages of the Church in Scotland' which had prevailed during his ministry. Among the final rubrics of the Office, as printed in his Prayer-Book, we read, "It is customary to mix a little pure and clean Water with the Wine in the Eucharistic Cup, when the same is taken from the Prothesis or Credence to be Presented upon the Altar." 'The Usagers' of the early nonjuring controversies ceased to be a party; they became the main body of Scottish Churchmen during the second half of the last century.

2. Of a very different kind, and very different in importance, was the practice, once general, at least in the north and north-eastern parts of Scotland, of giving, sometime before the Communion, 'tokens' (*i.e.* small pieces of metal, with, generally, some sacred device, such as a cross, or IHS., stamped upon them) to those who were to be admitted to the Holy Communion,

which 'tokens' were returned by the Communicants at the Service. The writer well remembers seeing in the year 1874 the late Bishop of Brechin (A. P. Forbes), on the Sunday before Christmas, after evensong, standing in his robes at the chancel steps of S. Paul's, Dundee, and giving a 'token' to each member of the congregation who purposed to communicate at the great Festival. After they had left the church he said to the writer, "I keep up this old practice, as a last relic of church-discipline."

A priest of extended experience in the Scottish Church, the Rev. W. Webster, of New Pitsligo in Aberdeenshire, in a letter (September 1884) to the writer, observes, "The practice of giving tokens was certainly not *common* within my memory, and was gradually being discontinued. Since I remember it prevailed chiefly in country congregations, of which the Incumbents were well advanced in years, and before the Tractarian movement had taken effect in any marked degree in Scotland, and had led to more frequent celebrations. With the increasing strength of that influence, the practice was gradually discontinued, and for many years, as far as my knowledge goes, it has existed in very few congregations, and exists now perhaps only in two or three."

3. With regard to another practice the same writer says: "The dismissal of each railful of communicants was, I believe, general in this Diocese [Aberdeen], at least; it was practised also in Brechin and Moray, but less generally. The formula varied considerably; there was no fixed form, every one had his own, but all were to the following effect:—'Depart—or go—in peace and the God of love and peace with you. While others are communicating let your hearts and minds be occupied in thankful meditation on the great blessings of which you have now been partakers, and on the solemn responsibilities which these blessings lay upon you. After you have joined

in singing the first (or next) verse of the Communion Hymn.' The Hymn was that which is given in the S. Andrew's (Aberdeen) Collection."

Bishop W. Skinner made use of a similar, though somewhat longer form, which may be found in Hall's *Fragmenta Liturgica*, vol. i. lxvii. The same authority gives Bishop Torry's form in these words: "Arise in peace from the Table of the Lord, and the God of Peace be with you."

Both of these practices, the giving of tokens and the dismissal of each railful, were the relics—the latter in a modified form—of usages of the pre-Revolution period, and have parallels in the existing practices of the Presbyterians. The Supplementary Act of Assembly (1645) enjoins, "That while the Tables are dissolving and filling, there be always singing of some portion of a Psalm, according to the custom." Dr. Sprott (*Worship and Offices*, etc., p. 135) refers to Wither's Poems as establishing the existence of a similar practice in the Church of England in 1621.

4. Bishop Jolly was accustomed to make the mixture at the credence, repeating aloud the words, "A soldier with a spear pierced His side, and forthwith came thereout blood and water"; but I am not aware that this formula was used by any one else. It was no doubt a reminiscence of his studies of the Service of the Prothesis in the Eastern Church.

5. How far Reservation has been practised it is not easy to say. There was, without doubt, occasional Reservation for the Sick. Bishop Jolly's practice of Reservation, for communicating himself upon the Sundays and Festivals, when he did not celebrate (his public Celebrations were only five in the year) was probably unique. See the *Life of Bishop Jolly* by Rev. W. Walker, p. 57.

APPENDIX K.

EUCCHARISTIC DOCTRINE OF THE NONJURING SCHOOL.

SOME of the doctrinal conceptions of the nonjuring school of theologians have impressed themselves upon the Scottish Office; others, which were given a prominent place in their writings, have left upon it no trace at all. Thus the sacrificial aspects of the Eucharist are presented frequently throughout, while the prevailing belief among the Nonjurors as to the nature of the Presence could not be discovered after the most minute critical examination of the language of the Service. The great divines of the Caroline period had been content to maintain the Anglican position, denying the Roman doctrine of Transubstantiation, without allowing themselves to speculate upon the nature or modus of the Presence. They strenuously maintained that the Presence was a 'real Presence,' but, for the most part, abstained from entering on further positive statements as to its nature. The nonjuring school, under the guidance of John Johnson of Cranbrook, departed too far from this wise course. It must be admitted, however, that their theory of the nature of the Presence was put forward by some of their leading writers with much diffidence and modesty. Thus Archibald Campbell, Bishop of Aberdeen (1721-1724) writes:—"Since God hath nowhere determined the *modus* or manner of Christ's real

Presence in this Sacrament, therefore we are at full liberty to conceive or think differently of the *modus* or manner of His Presence in the Holy Eucharist, provided we believe that He is present, verily, and indeed, and are in charity with those who differ from us, and that we maintain no *modus* which is not consistent with the analogy of faith.”¹

If this modest attitude on the high mysteries of the Faith had been more generally observed, it would have been happier for the Church. The fault is in no sense peculiar to any one theological school. Instances could be cited where the unwarranted dogmatism of those who like to be called ‘Protestant’ is completely paralleled by writers of the Anglican communion that style themselves ‘Catholic.’

At this point it may be desirable to state succinctly the prevailing view of the nonjuring school upon the whole subject. In doing so I will chiefly employ the words of the *Shorter Catechism* contained in Bishop Deacon’s “Full, true, and comprehensive view of Christianity” (1734). The author, though not concurring in other matters with the main body of the Nonjurors, represented, I believe, with perfect accuracy, their general belief on the Eucharist, and at a time when it had become well defined and consolidated. It would be easy, were it worth while, to support every sentence with confirmatory passages from the more distinguished writers of the School—Hickes, Brett, Collier, and John Johnson. The answers to the questions of the Catechism placed in order have the advantage of giving the opinion of the Nonjurors in their own words and in a systematic form. But there is another reason why I have chosen in this way to exhibit the doctrine of the nonjuring school. This

¹ See *An Essay on the Eucharist* appended to *The Doctrine of the Middle State* (1721).

part of Bishop Deacon's Catechism was used a hundred years later by Bishop Jolly for the instruction of his people.¹ It coincides closely with his well-known work on *The Christian Sacrifice in the Eucharist*, and it seems also to correctly represent the belief of the Scottish Bishops in the intervening period, so far as we can ascertain them. We have here before us what we may take as the teaching of our Scottish theologians for at least a century.

We learn, then, that "The Eucharist is both a Sacrament and a Sacrifice. Our Lord instituted the Sacrifice of the Eucharist when He began to offer Himself for the sins of all men, *i.e.* immediately after eating His last Passover. He then offered the Sacrifice of His natural Body and Blood, as separate from each other, because His Body was considered as broken, and His Blood as shed. He made the offering in mystery, *i.e.* under the symbols of Bread and mixed Wine, which He therefore called His Body and Blood. He did not offer the Sacrifice upon the Cross: It was *slain* there, but was *offered* at the Institution of the Eucharist. We know this because He expressly says that His Body was then given to God for the World (St. Luke xxii. 19). The great Sacrifice of Christ was represented, before it was offered, by all the sacrifices of the old Law, and since, by the Eucharist, a Sacrifice of Thanksgiving. The nature of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, when it is celebrated according to Christ's Institution, is a solemn Memorial or Representation of Christ's great Sacrifice, offered to God the Father. And the design of it is to procure us the Virtue of the great Sacrifice (Lesson xxxvi.)

"None can consecrate the Eucharist but a Bishop or Priest. The true primitive manner of celebrating the

¹ The copy of the *Catechism, or the Principles of the Christian Religion explained*, which I have before me, was published in Aberdeen, 1829.

Sacrifice is that the Priest should, first of all, give God thanks for all His Benefits and Mercies, especially those of Creation and Redemption. He then recites how Jesus Christ instituted the Sacrament, with a view to show the authority by which he acts, and in order to perform Christ's command. He *does* as Christ did: he takes the Bread into his hands and breaks it,—(the broken Bread representing the dead Body of Christ pierced upon the Cross). He also takes into his hands the Cup of Wine and Water, (representing the Blood and Water that flowed from the dead Body of Christ upon the Cross). He next repeats our Saviour's powerful words, 'This is my Body,' 'This is my Blood,' over the Bread and Cup. The effect of the Words is that the Bread and Cup are made authoritative Representations or Symbols of Christ's crucified Body and of His Blood shed; and in consequence they are in a capacity of being offered to God as the great Christian Sacrifice. Immediately afterwards the Priest does this, making a solemn Oblation of them. This is the highest and most proper act of Christian worship.

"God accepts the Sacrifice, and returns it to us again to feast upon, in order that we may be thereby partakers of all the benefits of our Saviour's Death and Passion. The Bread and Cup become capable of conferring these benefits on the Priest praying to God the Father to send the Holy Spirit upon them. The Bread and Cup are thereby made the Spiritual, Life-giving Body and Blood of Christ, in Power and Virtue. And we call the Bread and Cup the Spiritual Body and Blood of Christ, because the Holy Spirit makes them to be so to all spiritual intents and purposes.

"After this the Priest continues his Prayer and Oblation in behalf of the whole Church and of all the members of it.

"The Bread and Wine remain after Consecration:

they are not destroyed, they are sanctified. They are changed, not in their substance, but in their qualities. They are Bread and Wine and the Body and Blood of Christ at the same time,—not the *natural* Body and Blood of Christ, but the *sacramental*. That is they are still Bread and Wine by nature, but they are the Body and Blood of Christ in mystery and signification. They are Bread and Wine to our senses, the Body and Blood of Christ to our understanding and faith. They are Bread and Wine in themselves, the Body and Blood of Christ in power and effect.

“The Priest then partakes himself and distributes to the people, as a feast upon the Sacrifice. Feasting upon the Sacrifice denotes that we are in favour and friendship with God. This spiritual feast is called in the New Testament ‘The communion of the Body and Blood of Christ’ (1 Cor. x. 16), because it conveys all the benefits of Christ’s natural Body and Blood to those who worthily receive it. The chief of these benefits are the pardon of past sins, fresh supplies of the Holy Spirit, and a principle of immortal life to their bodies as well as souls.”

The reader has now before him, in brief, a simple and accurate account of the prevailing teaching of the nonjuring school.

As has been already said, the doctrine of the Presence here taught is wholly absent from the Scottish Office, which admits, so far as its language is concerned, every variety of interpretation which the original words of Institution admit. It has been often said by supporters of the Scottish Office that it is opposed to the Roman doctrine of Transubstantiation; but this is a mistake. On its face, indeed, it is opposed to the Roman *theory of Consecration*; but, the Consecration once complete, it is as patient as the English Office, or as our Lord’s own words, of Transubstantiation, or Consubstantiation, or

the 'real spiritual Presence' of Anglican divines, or 'the Presence in power and efficacy' of the Nonjurors. I must say, however, that I think it is less patient of a Zuinglian gloss than the English Office.

In the above passages from Bishop Deacon's catechism there is one particular that deserves comment in connection with the interpretation of our Office. The phrase '*Do this*' is not expressly giving the interpretation which the nonjuring theologians ordinarily put upon it. It will be observed that in the Scottish Office the phrase is printed 'DO this'; and according to most of the nonjuring exegetes the word ποιείτε (Luke xxii. 19; 1 Cor. xi. 24) signified 'sacrifice' or 'offer' (See Hickeys' *Christian Priesthood*, pp. 58-68; *Treatises*, vol. ii., Anglo-Cath. Lib.; Johnson's *Unbloody Sacrifice*, vol. ii. p. 353, Anglo-Cath. Lib.)¹ So Bishop Rattray understood it.

¹ I cannot but think that the sacrificial sense of ποιεῖν in these two passages has been too lightly dismissed by most modern interpreters. The accumulation of irrelevant or doubtful passages is especially damaging in an impatient age, but, after all these have been set aside, there remain many where the verb can only have this signification. Here we believe it *may* have that sense. Of course the sacrificial surroundings and atmosphere—so to speak—of the institution of the Eucharist must be established on other grounds. The student is specially referred to the following passages in the LXX., Exod. xxix. 36, 39; Lev. ii. 7, xiv. 30; Num. xv. 5 compared with xv. 7; Ps. lxvi. 15. Special attention is called to Exod. xxix. 38. See the illustrations well exhibited by Scudamore *Notitia Eucharistica*, 2d edit., pp. 622-625, and Rev. F. E. Willis' *Sacrificial Aspect of the Eucharist*, p. 17. The unquestioned scholarship of Bishop Wordsworth, of St. Andrews, attaches high value to his judgment that "do this" should be rather rendered "make this," that is "make this offering" (*Three Short Sermons*).

The words of Justin Martyr yield the best sense when similarly interpreted, *περὶ τοῦ ἁποῦ δὲ παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ ἡμέτερος Κύριος ποιεῖν εἰς ἀνάμνησιν* (*Dial. c. Tryph.*, c. 41). Another example of this use of the word will be found in c. 70 of the same. Justin Martyr being a native of Palestine, and engaged in controversy with a

(*Instruction concerning the Christian Covenant*, p. 18. Works, Pitsligo Press ed.) So Bishop Jolly maintained, preserving the Scottish tradition (*The Christian Sacrifice*, p. 53. 2d edition).

The fact that the Oblation was, in the ancient liturgies, made before the Invocation, was of course observed by the Nonjurors, and they had their theory to account for it. This *theory*, however, does not show itself in the language of the Communion Office; unless, indeed, it may be supposed to appear in the emphasis thrown upon the words WHICH WE NOW OFFER UNTO THEE. I have already pointed out that the NOW *may* be taken as referring to the *actus continuus* of the whole service, but the Nonjurors no doubt would have pressed the point that the Oblation was made before the consecration was completed. I am not here engaged in criticising the views of the nonjuring school, but in stating them. The following quotations will bring out their meaning: "Christians set before God bread and wine in the eucharist as figures or images of the precious Blood of Christ shed for us and of his precious Body, as it is expressed in the Clementine liturgy" (R. Nelson, *The Great duty of frequenting the Christian Sacrifice*, p. 25. Edit. Hawkins, London: J. Burns, 1841). "There were two oblations of the elements in the Eucharist; one before the consecration, in which they were presented to God the Father upon the altar as the first fruits of His creatures to acknowledge Him for our sovereign Lord and Benefactor; the other at the consecration, when they were offered to Him as the symbols of Christ's Body and Blood, or as the mystical Body and Blood of Christ, to represent the oblation He made of

Jew, used language which his opponent would readily understand. Otto (*ad. loc.*) declares *ποιεῖν* to be equivalent to the German *dargeben*; and Canon Scott Holland understands the word in the same sense (Smith and Wace's *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, iii. 581).

both upon the cross, and to obtain the benefits of his death and passion, ‘who by the oblation of Himself once so offered made a full and perfect satisfaction for the sins of the whole world’” (Hickes’ *Christian Priesthood*, chap. ii. § 10, Anglo-Cath. Lib. *Treatises*, vol. ii. p. 119).

But the reader will prefer a statement from a representative Scottish theologian. And we select Bishop Rattray (*Works*, Pitsligo Press edit., p. 14). He writes:—

“That we may have a right understanding of this tremendous and mystical service [the Eucharist] we must observe,

“(1.) That our Lord Jesus Christ, as our High Priest after the order of Melchizedek, in the same night in which He was betrayed did (while at His own liberty, and before He was in the hands of His enemies) offer up Himself a free and voluntary sacrifice to His Father, to make satisfaction for the sins of the world, *under the symbols of bread and wine*, the bread representing His Body and the wine His Blood: and having eucharistized or blessed them, that is not only given thanks to God over them, and praised Him as Creator and Governor of the world, and the Author of bread and all other fruits of the earth, for His making such plentiful provision of good things for the use of man; and for the signal instances of His providence towards the Jewish nation in particular, as was the custom of the Jews, and towards all mankind also in general, especially for their redemption by His own death, but likewise *offered them up to God, as the symbols of His Body and Blood*, and invoked a blessing, even the divine power of the Holy Spirit, to descend upon them; having I say thus eucharistized or blessed them, He gave them to His disciples as His Body broken, and His Blood shed for them and for many, as many as should believe and obey Him, for remission of sins.

“(2.) That this sacrifice of Himself, thus offered up by Him as a High Priest, was immediately after slain on the cross, and after He had, by the power of the Spirit, raised Himself from the dead He entered into Heaven, the true Holy of holies, there to present His sacrifice to God the

Father, and, in virtue of it, to make continual intercession for His Church whereby He continueth a Priest for ever.

“(3.) That He commanded the apostles, and their successors, as the Priests of the Christian Church, to *do* (*i.e.* to offer) this (bread and cup) in commemoration of Him, or as the memorial of His one sacrifice of Himself once offered for the sins of the world, and thereby to plead the merits of it before His Father, here on earth, as He doth continually in Heaven.”

After giving a sketch of the early part of the service of the Eucharist we come to this important statement of Rattray’s opinions:—

“Then the priest rehearseth the history of the institution, not only to show the authority by which he acteth contained in the words ‘Do this’ (*i.e.* ‘offer this bread and cup’) ‘in commemoration of Me’; but also, that by pronouncing over them these words ‘This is my Body,’ ‘This is my Blood,’ he may consecrate this bread and cup to be the symbols or antitypes of the Body and Blood of Christ.”

Rattray here has the following foot-note:—

“Besides, it is by the virtue of these words spoken by Christ, that the following prayer of the priest is made effectual for procuring the descent of the Holy Ghost upon them whereby they become the spiritual and life-giving Body and Blood. See Chrysost. de Prod. Judæ, tom. v., p. 463, cited in Johnson’s *Unbl. Sacrif.*, Ap. p. 38, and in Bingham’s *Orig. Eccles.*, B. xv. ch. 3.

“Then as Christ offered up His Body and Blood to God the Father under the symbols of bread and wine as a Sacrifice to be slain upon the cross for our redemption; so here the priest offereth up this bread and cup as the symbols of this Sacrifice of His Body and Blood thus once offered up by Him; and thereby commemorateth it before God with thanksgiving; after which he prays that God would favourably accept this commemorative Sacrifice by sending down upon it His Holy Spirit, that by His descent upon them He may make this bread and this cup (already so far consecrated as to be the symbols

or antitypes of the Body and Blood of Christ and offered up as such) to be verily and indeed His Body and Blood; the same Divine Spirit by Which the Body of Christ was formed in the womb of the Blessed Virgin, and Which is still united to It in Heaven, descending on and being united to these elements, and invigorating them with the virtue and power and efficacy thereof, and making them one with It. Then the Priest maketh intercession in virtue of this sacrifice thus offered up in commemoration of, and union with, the one great personal Sacrifice of Christ, for the whole Catholick Church, and pleadeth the merits of this one Sacrifice in behalf of all estates and conditions of men in it, offering this memorial thereof not for the living only but for the dead also," etc.

This quotation, I believe, fairly represents the prevailing doctrine among the theologians of the Scottish Church for at least one hundred years; represents the doctrine of Bishops Gadderar, Campbell, W. Falconar, Alexander, John Skinner, and Jolly, as well as of its author. It also truthfully represents the doctrine taught by the first Bishop of the American Church.¹

It may be observed here that what was taught by the nonjuring school, and expressed in the passage cited above, as to Christ not *offering* Himself on the Cross (where the Sacrifice was slain), but at the institution of the Eucharist, is, not improbably, the reason why the word 'there' was omitted, in edition 1775 and the *textus receptus*, from the sentence "who made *there* . . . a full, perfect," etc. But, of course, the omission does not necessitate the acceptance of the nonjuring doctrine on this subject.

Of late years there has been (happily, I think) a greater disposition among us to be content with the language of Scripture and the primitive church, and to avoid speculation upon the mystery of the Eucharist.

¹ See *Discourses on Several Subjects* by Samuel Seabury, D.D., Bishop of Connecticut and Rhode Island, vol. i. p. 145, *sq.*

APPENDIX L.

ON THE USE OF THE WORD "BECOME" IN
THE INVOCATION IN THE SCOTTISH COM-
MUNION OFFICE.

THE words "that they may become the body and blood," etc., are not, in fairness, open to the objection sometimes made to them. It might be indeed closer to the language of our Lord Himself (Who said "This *is* my Body," "This *is* my Blood") if the words ran "that they may *be* the body and blood, etc.; but the word 'become' does not in itself, as is obvious, suggest the notion of a change in the substance of the bread and wine. When it is said in Scripture that "the stone which the builders refused is become the head of the corner," the language does not suggest that the stone ceased to be a stone, when it became the head of the corner. Writers of approved repute among Anglican theologians do not scruple to use, or accept, the word. Thus in Wheatley's familiar work on the Book of Common-Prayer, which some years ago was, I believe, used universally as a text-book of divinity students, we read that "the sense" of the Invocation in the first liturgy of Edward VI. is, in the words of the present English Prayer-Book, "still implied," "and consequently by these the Elements are now consecrated, and so become

the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ." (*A Rational Illustration*, etc., chap. vi. § 22.) Similarly Thorndike, after declaring that the elements become "the instrument of God's Spirit," adds that all ecclesiastical writers speak of the consecrated elements "as the Body and Blood of Christ, which they are become." (*Works*, Anglo-Cath. Library, iv. i. 69.) Bishop Bull, evidently expressing his own belief, declared that "the ancient Fathers generally teach that the bread and wine in the Eucharist, by or upon the consecration of them do become and are made the Body and Blood of Christ." (*Corruptions of the Church of Rome. Works* (1827), ii. 256.) Bishop Jeremy Taylor (see Appendix B) used the word in the Office published by him in 1658. The ancient Greek liturgies ordinarily used a verb in its active voice,—“may make,” or “render,” and such like. The Canon of the Roman liturgy uses an intransitive form. The sense is the same.

Bishop Terrot, of Edinburgh, commenting on the language of the Scottish Office, writes: "I cannot venture to say what sense individual members of the Scottish Episcopal Church attach to the word *become*. To me it appears that *become* is equivalent to *come to be*; and that we are most likely correctly to state the doctrine of the Eucharist when, without note or comment, we adopt the expression of Him, who, when He instituted the sacrament, said of the bread 'This is My body,' and of the wine 'This is My blood.' Every interpretation that can be legitimately applied to Matt. xxvi. 26 may be legitimately applied to the quotation from the Scottish Office." (*Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, i. 89.)¹ The spirit and intention of these words of Bishop Terrot are indeed excellent; but we must not fail to observe that our Lord said more than "This is My Body,"

¹ Cited by Professor W. Bright in an interesting letter in the *Scottish Church Review*, vol. i. p. 708.

"This is My Blood." He said, "This is My Body which is given for you," "This is My Blood of the covenant which is shed for many unto the remission of sins." And it is to an apprehension of the sense of these words, in their fulness, that the ancient liturgies owe the passages which invariably speak in the immediate context of the purpose for which it is prayed that the consecration should be effected. It is not in the employment of the word 'become' that the divergence of the Scottish Communion Office from the ancient liturgies strikes upon the senses of the reader.

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