

Knox's Berwick Communion Service, 1549-1551.

ONE of the most interesting relics of the association of our Scottish Reformer, John Knox, with the "neighbour kirk" of England, is the fragment of the Communion Service which he used when Minister at Berwick-on-Tweed, 1549-1551. This was found by the late Professor Lorimer,¹ among the Morrice Manuscripts, preserved in Dr Williams' Library, Grafton Street, London, and published by him in "John Knox and the Church of England" in 1875;² the copy³ there preserved is not the original, but is believed to be a contemporary transcript, and cannot be dated later than about the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.⁴ Along with the Communion Service which is given here, there was discovered the letter of "John Knokk's to the Congregation of Bervik," written towards the end of the year 1552; as well as the "Declaration on Kneeling" which was submitted to the Privy Council of England about the same time, and of which Knox is believed to have been the "chief author."⁵

We are apt to think that Knox's work as a Reformer lay almost entirely within the Northern Kingdom, whereas it is the case that he was almost as many years a Minister of the Church of England, as he was of the Church of Scotland.⁶ The most vigorous years of his life were spent ministering to Englishmen, either in their own country or on the Continent; though it is a somewhat remarkable fact that in his own "History of the Reformation," which is largely an autobiography, he devotes only a few lines to his work in England.⁷ "The said John was first appointed preacher

¹ Professor of Theology, English Presbyterian College.

² 290-2.

³ Ibid, 250.

⁴ Lorimer was of opinion that the fragment "must have been penned by him (Knox) for his own use in Berwick either in 1548 or 1550—most probably in the latter year, because he must have been preaching for some months before the congregation could have been prepared to concur in the new Order of the Communion Service." As will be seen *infra* there is reason to believe that it is, in parts at any rate, of earlier date.

⁵ Lorimer: "John Knox and the Church of England," 275-6.

⁶ He was in England from 1549 to 1554 and ministered to English Congregations at Frankfort and Geneva from 1554 to 1559.

⁷ "Works," Vol. II.—280.

to Berwick, then to Newcastle, last he was called to London and the South parts of England, where he remained to the death of King Edward the Sixth."

Knox was freed from his slavery on the French galleys in the spring of 1549, and he appears to have proceeded at once to England, where he found Edward VI. and his Government engaged in the task of reforming the Church of England. At such a time the services of a man like Knox were invaluable; and he was not long in the country until he was actively employed in that work.¹ The earliest notice of his presence in England is contained in the brief notice in the Privy Council Records:² "Sunday the 7th April 1549, warrant to the receiver of the Duchy for 5 lib. to John Knock preacher by way of reward."

Apparently it was about this date that he came to Berwick-on-Tweed, which was to be his home for the next two years. Knox was at this time a man of about thirty-four years³ of age; but his experience as a Minister in the Reformed Church was confined to the short period during which he had officiated in St Andrews in 1547. Berwick was a very unpromising field for any preacher of the Reformed doctrines at this time.⁴ Romanism had still a strong grip of the North of England, and in addition Berwick was a garrison town, "swarming with a profligate soldiery."⁵ Only a short time before Knox went there, a correspondent of the Duke of Somerset declared that better order was kept "among the 'Tartars'" than in Berwick.⁶ A strong personality was evidently needed, if any impression was to be made on the people, and the hour found the man in John Knox. Probably the fact that he was a Scotsman had something to do with his being sent there, for it was almost as much a Scottish as an English town;⁷ and the Scottish population had in his day been increased by a

¹ It is usually believed that Edward VI. made John Knox one of his Chaplains. This, however, has been called in question. (Dixon, "History of the Church of England," II., 326-478. Gairdner, "Lollardy and the Reformation," III., 340-1. On the other side, Lorimer, "John Knox and the Church of England," 79-80. Hume Brown, "Life of John Knox" I., 122.) Strype, "Ecclesiastical Memorials," II., 531, says Knox was *probably* created a Royal Chaplain in December, 1551.

² Quoted by Lorimer, "John Knox and the Church of England," 15.

³ Hay Fleming has settled the question of the date of Knox's birth as being about 1515. (Bookman, April, 1905).

⁴ Some years later, when comparing Calais with Berwick, Knox declared that "in theft, debate, hatred, and all iniquity" the latter was pre-eminent. ("Works," V., 490.)

⁵ Hume Brown, "Life of John Knox," 108.

⁶ State Papers, Edward VI., November 14, 1548. John Brende, "Master of the Musters," was the writer of the letter to Somerset.

⁷ Hume Brown, "Life of John Knox," I., 108.

number of Scots who had had to flee from their own country.¹ In spite, however, of the unpromising nature of his congregation, Knox appears to have had a considerable amount of success in his labours. In an interview with Queen Mary in 1561, he defended himself against the accusation of having caused sedition and slaughter in England, by stating that his career in that country had had the very opposite effect.² "For in England I was resident only the space of five years. The places were Berwick where I abode two years, so long in Newcastle and a year in London . . . I am ashamed not to affirm that God so blessed my weak labours that in Berwick, (where commonly before there used to be slaughter by reason of quarrels that used to arise amongst soldiers) there was as great quietness all the time that I remained there as there is this day in Edinburgh."³ Hume Brown⁴ is of opinion that the bulk of his flock would be made up of his fellow-countrymen, but if so, then his influence must have extended to many "outsiders" as well.⁵ Lorimer thinks that the "great majority of his hearers were probably Papists, for as yet the Reformation had made very little way in the Northern counties," and that there could only have been a "sprinkling of Scots" in his congregation, these being soldiers in the pay of England.⁶ It is impossible to determine now what proportion of the population waited on his ministry; but it might be worth noticing, that in later days, whenever he refers to his congregations in England, he speaks of them as being small and weak flocks.⁷ In all probability, however, Knox was not breaking absolutely new ground at Berwick. He had been preceded⁸ there by another Scotsman—an old friend of his own—John Rough, who had been his co-Chaplain to the garrison in St Andrews Castle, and to whom he was indebted for his "call" to the Reformed Ministry.⁹ Rough had left Scotland in 1547, and through the influence of the Duke of Somerset was sent as a preacher first to

¹ From as early as 1537 Scotsmen, who had embraced the doctrines of the Reformation, had fled to England. (Lorimer, "Precursors of Knox," 187.)

² "Works," II., 280.

³ Considering the tumults in Edinburgh in the years around 1560, one can hardly speak of it as being in a state of "great quietness."

⁴ "Life of John Knox," 110.

⁵ We have to remember that to the people of Berwick Knox was more than a "Preacher." He had behind him the authority of the King and Privy Council, and so had considerable official standing in the place.

⁶ "John Knox and the Church of England," 18.

⁷ "Works," III., 328, &c.

⁸ It is barely possible that Rough followed Knox.

⁹ "Works," I., 187.

Carlisle, then to Berwick, and afterwards to Newcastle. He latterly held a benefice near Hull, being presented to it by the Archbishop of York. He had to flee on the death of Edward VI., but returning to England in the reign of "Bloody Mary" he was arrested, tried before Bishop Bonner of London, and burned at the stake at Smithfield in 1557.¹

Rough does not appear to have been as extreme in his views as Knox. He stated for example before Bonner, that he read the "Prayers of the Communion book set forth in the reign of King Edward VI."; and that he "did approve the same as agreeing in all points with the word of God."² He must have been a very successful preacher, for Watson, the Roman Bishop of Lincoln, declared that Rough "did more hurt in the North parts than a hundred besides of his opinion."³ It appears, therefore, that it was not to a place where nothing had been done before his time that Knox came, when he entered on his ministry at Berwick, though doubtless he found that there was still much to do. That he was abundant in labours there as he was elsewhere goes without saying. From one of his own letters, we learn that in addition to the ordinary services on the Lord's Day (certainly morning and evening worship and, perhaps, a third service as well) he preached regularly on week days; frequently on every day of the week.⁴

The scene of Knox's preaching in Berwick was not, as has some times been asserted⁵, the old Parish Church which stood a little to the south of the present building, and which was not removed until the present Church was built during the Commonwealth.⁶ Knox preached in St Mary's Church,⁷ which stood a little to the east of the Scots Gate on a site which is now covered partly by the Elizabethan Wall and partly by the Cattle-Market. Although Knox was not the only Reformed minister in Berwick, there can be little doubt that he was by far the most effective in his efforts to promote the Reformed doctrines. The Vicar of Berwick at that period was Sir Robert Selby, who also held the

¹ Calderwood, "History," I., 251-4.

² Spottiswood, "History," 87.

³ Calderwood, "History," I., 253.

⁴ M'Crie, "Life of John Knox" (1855), 44. M'Crie states that during Knox's ministry in Berwick, "numbers were converted by his ministry from ignorance, and the errors of Popery." Ibid., 40.

⁵ Scott, "History of Berwick-on-Tweed," 134.

⁶ It is the only Parish Church in England built during Cromwell's regime.

⁷ Sheldon, "History of Berwick-on-Tweed." The modern Church of St Mary's is situated a little to the north. On the south side of the Elizabethan wall, almost opposite the spot where Knox preached, stands St Andrew's Church (Church of Scotland).

benefice of Norham. He employed a curate, "a very simple" man, who was paid a stipend of £7 per annum. The Vicar was even more ignorant than the curate, and it was doubted whether he could say "his Paternoster truly either in Latin or English."¹ With such Knox was not likely to have had much intercourse.²

FORM OF WORSHIP.

What was the exact form of worship in Berwick, when Knox officiated, we do not know. The First Prayer Book of King Edward VI. came into use on 9th June, 1549, and Knox, like all other Clergy in the realm, was expected to conform to it.³ This fragment we are considering shows conclusively that so far as the Communion Service was concerned he did not do so, and the probability is that, so far as the prayers in that book were concerned, little use would be made of them at all.⁴ In a letter⁵ written from Geneva "to the Inhabitants of Newcastle and Berwick" in 1558, Knox mentions how his congregations there, doubtless as led by himself, "feared not to go before Statutes and laws" in matters of worship. And although the reference is to the "receiving the Sacraments not as man had appointed but as Christ . . . had instituted," there need be little doubt, from his views on the Litany,⁶ Responses, &c., that these were not used by him in worship. On the other hand he followed the practice, first established by the Anglican Book of Common Prayer, of reading through the Psalms once a month, and this practice he kept to the end of his life.⁷ It is probable that he would also conform to the Lectionary which it provided. Though Knox seems to have been more at home in the Old than in the New

¹ This information is contained in a letter from Sir Francis Leek to Cecil. State Papers (1560).

² There may be a reference to these clergymen in Knox's letter to Mrs Lock (1559). "Mr Parson's muttering of his constrained prayers and with the mass-munging of Mr Vicar." "Mr Parson and Mr Vicar shall cause his Chaplain mummill the Communion." ("Works," VI., 13.)

³ The concluding paragraph of the Preface to that book bound all to use it, who "from time to time in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, Parish Churches and Chapels to the same annexed, shall serve the congregation."

⁴ The earlier prayers of Knox, it may be noted, are much shorter than those he wrote in the later days of his ministry. At Frankfort he used some of the Anglican Prayers in public worship.

⁵ "Works," V., 477.

⁶ Letter to Mrs Anna Lock (1559), "Works," VI., 12. He also objected to the Burial Service, *Ibid*, 13.

⁷ "Which Psalms he passed through every month once," says Richard Bannatyne, his secretary, in his account of Knox's last illness and death. ("Works," VI., 634.)

Testament, we know from his secretary, Richard Bannatyne,¹ that "in his ordinary reading of the Bible . . . ilk day he read certain chapters both of the Auld Testament and of the New." The phrase "certain chapters" probably indicates the use of a Lectionary, and the only one in English in Knox's day was that in the Anglican Book,² which it may be noted owes a good deal to Cardinal Quignon's Revised Breviary, first published in 1535.

With regard to the form of prayer in the congregation, Knox³ tells us in his "Declaration of the True Nature and Object of Prayer," which it is believed he wrote when still in Berwick, that "Common Prayer such as all men hearing might understand" should be used when the people had gathered for worship. That "Common Prayer" means prayers taken from the Book of Common Prayer is most unlikely.⁴ Rather the phrase refers to prayers in the vulgar tongue which all the worshippers could understand, and so were "common" in a way that the Latin devotions of the Mediaeval Church could never be. In the fragment we are considering reference is made to "Common Prayer . . . in the form of Confession," but the prayer which follows is quite different from anything in the First Prayer Book of King Edward VI., or indeed in any edition of the Book of Common Prayer. One practice, however, which was not enjoined by the First Prayer Book,⁵ but which found a place in subsequent editions,⁶ seems to have been favoured by Knox and to have been in use in Berwick during his ministry. This was the custom of the worshippers responding with an audible "Amen" at the end of the prayer offered by the Minister. In the "Declaration" above noted, Knox⁷ writes that the prayers used in the sanctuary should be such "that the hearts of all subscribing to the voice of one might with unfeigned and fervent mind

¹ Account of Knox's last illness and death. ("Works," VI., 634.)

² In the "Letter of Wholesome Counsel," which he addressed to his friends in Scotland in 1556, Knox urged them to "join some books of the Old and some of the New Testament" in reading the Scriptures. He suggests that Genesis might be read with one of the Gospels, Exodus with another, and so on. "Be frequent," he adds, "in the Prophets and in the Epistles of St Paul." ("Works," IV., 129.)

³ "Works," III., 103. Earlier in the Declaration he insists that the Service should "be most reverently done." Ibid., 84.

⁴ Gasquet states that the term "Common Prayer" now so familiar, was a novelty in the reign of Edward VI. ("Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer," 54.) Knox uses the phrase in the "Letter of Wholesome Counsel."

⁵ The people did not make this response in the Mediaeval Church, but the person "serving" the Priest did.

⁶ In the Second Prayer Book of King Edward VI., at the end of the "Absolution," is the rubric, "The people shall answer, Amen." At the end of the collects, however, the "Amen" was said by the Minister.

⁷ "Works," III., 103.

say 'Amen.' " The usage passed into the Scottish Church,¹ and it was custom there for many years after the Reformation for the worshippers to say "Amen" or "So be it" at the end of the prayers. It is possible too that with Knox the congregation repeated the Lord's Prayer with the minister. This of course was almost unknown² in the services of the mediaeval Church, and there is nothing in either the First or Second Prayer Books of King Edward VI. to suggest that this should be done.³ When Knox was minister of the English Church at Frankfort an Order of Service⁴ based partly on the Anglican Book was prepared for use there, and in it we find the following rubric: "Then shall the Minister begin the Lord's Prayer all the people saying with him 'Our Father.'" In the Book of Common Order⁵ which Knox⁶ was largely instrumental in introducing into the Church of Scotland, the Lord's Prayer was said after the sermon, and it appears to have been the custom for the people to join audibly with the minister in repeating it.

PRAISE.

If congregational singing was engaged in at Berwick during Knox's ministry, then it would take the form of metrical psalms; but there is no evidence that anything of that nature was in use. Coverdale's "Goostly Psalms and Spiritual Songs" had been published before 1546,⁷ but his book was soon suppressed. It prepared the way, however, for the better known "Certayne Psalms" of Sternhold which was issued in 1549, and to which John Hopkins added other pieces in 1551. We do not know whether the first of these made its way to Berwick, and it seems

¹ M'Millan, "Worship of the Scottish Reformed Church," 63, 106. In certain circles among the laity the usage never died out.

² In some dioceses at Prone the people appear to have said the Paternoster in the vernacular, usually, however, privately. (Prone was a short service in the vulgar tongue inserted into the Service of the Mass. It was associated with the sermon and usually comprised the Lord's Prayer and a "Bidding Prayer." Sometimes a Confession of Sins and the Apostles' Creed were added. Dr Brightman held the view that the ordinary morning service of the Church of Scotland was derived from the Prone. ("English Rite," II., 1025.) This view has little to support it.)

³ Unless the injunction that the Priest was to say the Lord's Prayer "with a loud voice" was meant to indicate that the people were to join with him. This is, however, unlikely. In the mediaeval Church the Priest said the Paternoster "secretly" as a private devotion before the beginning of the service proper. The newer injunction was probably meant to put an end to that practice.

⁴ This order was called the "Liturgy of Compromise." It will be found bound up with "The Second Prayer Book of King Edward VI.," in the Church Service Society's series of reprints.

⁵ "Book of Common Order," edited by Dr Sprott (1901), 91.

⁶ Knox used the Lord's Prayer in his private devotions. ("Works," VI., 641.)

⁷ It was suppressed in that year, not in 1539 as stated by Foxe.

rather unlikely that it should have done so, but on the other hand we have Knox's own statement that in Scotland Wishart¹ and his friends sang together a metrical version of Psalm 51 the night in which the former was arrested. This according to him was in "Scotische meter," and in all probability was one of the collection² known as the "Dundie Psalms," from the fact that its authors were the Wedderburns of Dundee. The metrical Psalms in the "Gude and Godlie Ballads" appear to have been the same as those in the "Dundie" book. It is quite possible that Wedderburn's early book was known in Berwick;³ but it must remain conjectural whether the Psalms therein or any others were regularly sung in public worship. By 1554 we know that the practice of singing metrical Psalms—perhaps hymns as well—was firmly established among the English Puritans⁴ on the Continent to whom Knox ministered. It is one of the interesting facts, however, about the English Reformation that in the new book of Common Prayer, hymns were almost entirely omitted;⁵ there being none at all either in the Services for Morning and Evening Prayer or for the Communion. In this fragment we are considering, there is no mention of singing at all.

COMMUNION.

With regard to the Communion Service, we have from Knox's pen a short description of the manner in which it was conducted. In April, 1550, he was called⁶ to "give his confession" before the body called the "Council of the North" at Newcastle, as to why he had called "the Mass, idolatry." In the course of his "Confession" he says: "They (the Mass and the Lord's Supper) differ in use, for

¹ "Works," I., 139.

² In the inventory of Robert Smith, who died in 1602, were over a thousand copies of the "Dundie Psalms." (Dickson and Edmond, "Annals of Scottish Printing," 475.)

³ Some of the Scots may have carried copies there. It is thought that some of the earlier printed pieces were issued as broadsheets. (Hay Fleming, "Reformation in Scotland," 179.)

⁴ "Brief Discourse of the Troubles begun at Frankfort," where it is stated that after the confession of sins the people were to sing a Psalm in metre, in a plain tune, "as was and is accustomed in the French . . . and Scottish Churches." The "Brief Discourse," somewhat abbreviated, will be found in Knox ("Works," IV., 1-68.) Knox, it may be noted, did not think singing necessary in public worship. ("Works," II., 238.)

⁵ The only hymn in the First Prayer Book of King Edward VI. was the "Veni Creator Spiritus" in the Ordination Service. This was not printed as part of the 1549 book, but was apparently intended to be bound up with it.

⁶ M'Crie ("Life of John Knox," 41.) says he was summoned at the instance of Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, but this was not so.

in the Lord's Supper the minister and congregation sat both at one table, no difference between them in pre-eminence nor habit,¹ as witnesseth Jesus Christ and His disciples, and the practice of the Apostles after His death." It seems quite evident that his custom was to have the Communion Table placed in the centre of the Nave or Chancel with the communicants seated on either side. Wishart² had celebrated the Communion in a somewhat similar fashion at St Andrews on the morning of his martyrdom, and it is probable that Knox had done the same in 1547, in which year we know that he celebrated the Sacrament after the Reformed fashion there.³ The custom of having the communicants seated at a long Table was at one time universal in Scotland, and is still followed in most places in the Highlands, and in a few parishes⁴ in the South. It is a form which perhaps more than any other recalls the circumstances of the Last Supper.⁵ It is still the law of the Church of Scotland, that (in the words of the Directory for Public Worship), the Table "decently covered,"⁶ should be so "conveniently placed that the communicants may orderly sit about it or at it." In making this break with tradition Knox was not by any means alone. Thomas Becon,⁷ one of the Chaplains of Archbishop Cranmer, mentions that he had often seen "at the Holy Communion people sitting at the Lord's Table after they had heard the Sermon." When Ridley⁸ became Bishop of London, one of the first things he did was to replace the stone altar in St Paul's Cathedral with an "honest table decently covered." Ridley's custom⁹ was to stand at one of the long sides of the Table, with the communicants on either side and in front of him. This explains the phrase in the rubric of the

¹ Knox had no use for the sacerdotal vestments, chasuble, alb, amice, &c., which were retained in the First Prayer Book of King Edward VI. Ministers were, however, distinguished by their dress in the early Reformed Church in Scotland, and the gown was worn by many of them while officiating.

² Pitscottie, "Chronicles and Historie" (Scottish Text Society), II., 78.

³ "Works," I., 201. There appear to have been about two hundred communicants. Ibid, 202.

⁴ e.g., Keir, Linton, Carsphairn. During the Great War, when with the troops, the writer celebrated in this fashion more than once.

⁵ As shown for example in Leonardo da Vinci's picture. The late Professor Cooper said that this method "had a singular beauty and impressiveness."

⁶ The emphasis which is laid on the covering of the Table is somewhat remarkable. It is undoubtedly a survival of mediaeval practice, and Ninian Winzet challenged Knox to find scriptural precedent for so doing. ("Certain Tractates." Scottish Text Society, 84.) Bishop Hooper in England said "If a man have bread and wine, a table and a fair table cloth let him not be solicitous or careful for the rest." ("The Form how to celebrate the Lord's Supper.")

⁷ "Prayers and other Pieces of Thomas Becon" (Parker Society), 256.

⁸ Ridley's "Works," 321.

⁹ Professor Cooper, "Book of Common Prayer" (1637), 252.

Communion Office of the Church of England which orders the Priest to stand "at the North side of the Table," while conducting the Service.¹ As late as the sixties of last century Dean Burgon² administered the Elements to communicants in their seats in the Chancel of St Mary's, Oxford, fair linen cloths being placed over the broad book boards.³ There are still a number of Churches in England where there are seats on the North, South, and East of the Communion Table in the Chancel.⁴

COMMUNION ELEMENTS.

In the First Prayer Book of King Edward VI. it was enacted, that the Minister should put "a little pure and clean water" into the wine in the Chalice. We have no means of knowing whether Knox adhered to this, though we know that the practice of using the "mixed cup" continued from the Reformation to our own day in Scotland.⁵ With regard to the bread the First Prayer Book had continued the mediaeval (and primitive) use of unleavened bread, insisting "that it should be round as it was before, but without all manner of print and something more larger and thicker than it was so that it might be aptly divided in divers pieces." Lorimer⁶ states that the "practice of Knox in Berwick . . . substituted common bread for 'wafer breads'; thus anticipating by several years the same substitution as authorised by Edward's Second Prayer Book." Unfortunately he gives no authority for his statement, though it is probable that it is correct. In his "Faithful Admonition unto the Professors of God's Truth in England," written in Dieppe, in 1554, Knox⁷ speaks of the amendments made in the Second Prayer Book of King Edward, in a way which leaves no doubt as to his approval of them: "Also God gave boldness and knowledge to the court of Parliament to take away the round clipped God, wherein standeth all the holiness of the Papists, and to command common bread to be used at the Lord's Table." On the other hand the

¹ The rubric appeared for the first time in the Second Prayer Book of King Edward VI., and contemplated the Table as standing at right angles to the former position of the Altar.

² Goulburn, "Life of Dean Burgon," II., 116.

³ Though sitting "at the Table" the communicants would kneel for the reception. This is rarely done in Scotland, but the Directory in no way prohibits it.

⁴ The Protestant Dictionary, 391.

⁵ See M'Millan, "Worship of the Scottish Reformed Church," 203-5. Also Church Service Society Annual (1931-2), 27.

⁶ "John Knox and the Church of England," 31.

⁷ "Works," III., 279.

Church of Zurich,¹ on whose Liturgy the Communion Service we are considering was based, continued the use of unleavened bread at the Lord's Supper. In their case the cakes were square and were baked in such a way that the "breaking thereof maketh a noise or crack . . . to express and represent the better the breaking of our Saviour's Body on the Cross."² It is well known that in Scotland³ some of the districts where Reformation zeal, and later Covenanting fervour were at their highest, unleavened bread in the form of shortbread continued to be used at the Lord's Table until comparatively recently and in a few cases is still in use.⁴

HISTORY OF THE COMMUNION ORDER.

There is no doubt that this Communion fragment is based (at least in part) on that used in Church of Zurich, and the question immediately arises how such a service came to be used by Knox. He had never been to the Continent except as a galley slave, and as far as we know he had not been in communication with any of the Reformers⁵ up to this time. Professor Mitchell in his Baird Lecture,⁶ "The Scottish Reformation" (1899), advanced the theory that the "fragment of the Communion Office which was used by Knox . . . was almost certainly derived from Wishart. . . . It may even have been used by Wishart in 1545, when he dispensed the Communion in both hands at Dun." There is a great deal to be said for this conjecture. Wishart⁷ had sojourned on the Continent between 1539 and 1542, and his interest in the Churches of Switzerland is shown by his translation of the "Confessio

¹ In the English edition of the Liturgy published at London in 1692, under the title "Liturgia Tigurina," there is printed a defence of the use of unleavened bread, pp. 120-125. It is from this edition that the quotations given in this paper are taken.

² Quoted from the English version of the "Liturgia Tigurina" (1692).

³ M'Millan, "Worship of the Scottish Reformed Church," 199-200. It was also used in many of the older Presbyterian Churches in Ulster. (Doyle, "An Ulster Childhood," 41.)

⁴ Chiefly in Galloway. In St Michael's Church, Dumfries, unleavened bread was used up to 1865, the cakes being round and marked on the top with a cross.

⁵ Knox first met Calvin in 1554 after he (Knox) had been exiled from England. "Works," III., 235, where he says he had "travelled through all the congregations of Helvetia and reasoned with all the pastors." At this time, says Hume Brown, "Knox did not as yet defer to Calvin as he afterwards did." ("Life of John Knox," I., 155.) He must, of course, have been acquainted with the works of Calvin before 1554.

⁶ P. 77.

⁷ In his defence before his judges at St Andrews Wishart stated that he had sailed on the Rhine (Knox, "Works," I., 159). He may have visited Strasburg where Bucer was Pastor. The last prayer in this Communion fragment appears to have been modelled on some extent on one framed by Bucer about 1531. See *infra*.

Helvetica" from Latin into English.¹ This was no doubt meant by him to be the Confession of the congregations of the Reformed, which be formed in Scotland; and it is possible that he intended that the Prayer Book for those congregations should also be formed on the Swiss model. (It must be remembered that no branch of the Reformed Church, in its early days, was without its Prayer Book, or Book of Common Order). Mitchell's conjecture that this fragment is part of the Order used by Wishart himself at Dun is a most likely one, though there is no evidence as to the fact. Pitscottie gives the narrative of Wishart's last Communion, and though the account is not by any means a full one, the details given are in accordance with the Berwick Communion Order.

As will be seen, this Order breaks off abruptly with the heading "A Prayer for the Queen's Majesty." It has usually been considered that this must refer either to Queen Mary of bloody memory, or to her half-sister, Queen Elizabeth; it being taken for granted that in Knox's own copy, the prayer would be for the "King's Majesty."² But may it not be the case that the original in Knox's possession dated from Wishart's day. The Queen prayed for would then be our own Mary Queen of Scots who, though only a child of three years in 1545, was still the "Queen's Majesty." At that time the hopes of Scotland were centred on the little maid, and no part of the intercessions³ would be offered more fervently than that which referred to her. It tells against this theory, of course, that in the "Prayer for the Congregation" it is the "Congregation of England" that is mentioned, but that change may be due to the copyist.

THE ZURICH ORDER.

It is much to be regretted that all we have is but a fragment, and forms what may fairly be called the least

¹ This Confession is not to be confused with the Second Helvetic Confession approved by the General Assembly in 1566. Wishart's translation will be found in the Wodrow Society "Miscellany," 1-23.

² Lorimer, "John Knox and the Church of England," 292. "It is singular to find the last item of this "Practies" or Order described as a prayer for the *Queen's* Majestie, instead of *King's* as, of course, it must have stood in Knox's own manuscripts. The copy which has come down to us must have been made either early in Queen Mary's reign, before the congregation was compelled to return to the Popish form of worship, or early in Queen Elizabeth's, after the Protestant worship had been restored, and before strict conformity to the Prayer Book began to be enforced." The suggestion made above seems quite as likely.

³ It will be noticed that this "Prayer for the Queen's Majesty" is really part of the Intercessory Prayer for the Congregation. No "Amen" divides the one part from the other.

interesting part of the Service. In the Zurich Order,¹ after the reading of the "Warrant," the "Gloria in Excelsis Deo" is repeated (of course, in the vulgar tongue) responsively by the officiating Ministers.² Thereafter the Gospel as "contained in St John the 6th Chapter" is read, and the Apostles' Creed repeated in the same way as the "Gloria." The rubric following reads, "After the articles of Faith be read the Antistes beginneth to prepare the people for the Lord's Supper, exhorting them after the following manner." An exhortation is given in the Order, but apparently another might be substituted by the Minister if he so desired.³ The Lord's Prayer is then repeated by all, and thereafter the assistant Minister summons the Congregation to repeat a Prayer of Thanksgiving and Supplication, with words reminiscent of the "Sursum Corda" of the earlier liturgies: "Lift up your hearts unto God and say with devotion." The narrative of the Institution is then repeated by the Antistes, and as he reads it he performs the "manual acts." After all have communicated, the Antistes "exhorteth the Congregation to the praise of God," saying, "Rise up and let us render praise to God." The Thanksgiving is repeated responsively by the Ministers, and consists of verses from the 103rd Psalm⁴ and from the New Testament.⁵ The 113th Psalm⁶ is then read responsively (by the Ministers), a short exhortation follows, and then the Benediction (Numbers vi., 24-26) is pronounced. A short Prayer is then offered, and the offering for the poor taken. A "Christian Hymn" is sung, "which Hymn concludeth the whole Solemnity"; the Communicants being exhorted to pray for one another and to depart in peace.⁷ The final words are: "The Grace of God be with you."

¹ As given in "Liturgia Tigurina" (London, 1692).

² These are termed the Antistes and the First and Second Archdeacon. Apparently they are the Reformed representatives of the Priest, Deacon, and Sub-Deacon, of the Mediaeval Church. Maxwell points out ("John Knox's Genevan Service Book," 133.) that *Diaconus* is used by Pullain, and *Diacon* by Calvin, not as referring to Deacons in the Reformed Church sense, but to a Minister assisting at the Lord's Table, i.e., a Deacon in the older sense. The custom of the celebrant being assisted by another Minister seems to have been followed in the Church at Geneva, when Knox was Minister there.

³ Possibly it was from this that Knox or Wishart derived use of the exhortation, which immediately follows the "Warrant" in the Berwick fragment.

⁴ This, it need hardly be said, is the Psalm which the Book of Common Order indicates should be sung after Communion. It still has that place in the "traditional liturgy" of the Scottish Church.

⁵ The New Testament verses are adaptations of Romans v., 10, St John vi., 55, St John ii., 2, Romans viii., 32. The concluding versicles are from Psalm cxlv.

⁶ This is stated to be the Psalm "which the Hebrews were wont to read when they did celebrate their Passover."

⁷ The custom of dismissing the communicants with an exhortation to "Go in Peace," and with the invocation of the blessing of the God of Peace upon them, was long common in Scotland. See *infra*.

How far the order of 1692 represents the order used in Zurich in Wishart's day is not exactly known, but we have a German Liturgy which was in use in that city in 1525, and which differs only slightly from it.¹ This latter order is entitled "ACTION OR BREAKING OF THE BREAD, REMEMBRANCE OR THANKSGIVING OF CHRIST, AS IT IS HELD IN ZURICH AT EASTER, IN THE YEAR AS MAN COUNTS IT, 1525."² In it the Gloria in Excelsis is said in a somewhat curious way, the Minister saying the first verse, the men the second, and the women the third.³ Prayer⁴ is then offered, and the reading of the Epistle (from 1 Cor. xi.) follows. The Salutation and Response, "The Lord be with you. And with thy Spirit" is then given, and the Minister adds, "God be praised." The Gospel (from St John vi.) is read, and at the close of the reading the Minister says, "God be thanked for His glorious Gospel," the people responding "Amen." The Apostles' Creed is then repeated in the same way as the Gloria. A short exhortation follows, and the Lord's Prayer is said by the Minister alone, the people, however, saying "Amen." The Eucharistic or Consecration Prayer is then offered, this being very short.⁵ The words of institution are said, the "manual acts" performed, and all communicate. The 103rd Psalm is repeated verse by verse, again by Minister, men, and women.⁶ A brief Thanksgiving follows, and the congregation is dismissed with the words "Go in Peace," there being no final Blessing.

RECONSTRUCTION OF KNOX'S ORDER.

There is no means of knowing how much of the concluding portion of the Order of Zurich was used by Knox; but we have some hints as to what his later practice was, and we have also an account of the celebration which Wishart conducted on the morning of his martyrdom. From these

¹ I am indebted to Dr Maxwell, St Andrew's Church, Walton-on-Thames, for the information regarding this early Zurich Order. There is a copy in the British Museum which Dr Maxwell kindly consulted on my behalf.

² "Action oder Bruch des Nachtmals Gedechtnis oder Dancksagung Christi wie sy uff Osteren zu Zurich ausgeht wirt im jar als man zalt M.D., XXV."

³ Evidently the mediaeval custom of the men sitting in one part of the church and the women in another was continued in Zurich. The custom existed in some parts of Scotland until well into the 19th century. It still prevails in some Reformed Churches on the Continent.

⁴ The prayer is that on which Wishart's first prayer is modelled. See *infra*.

⁵ Thanksgiving and Remembrance of Redemption in Christ.

⁶ It will be observed that in the earlier order there appears to have been only one Minister officiating. At least there is no mention of any others. Accordingly the people have a larger part.

we may deduce that, following the Intercessory Prayer, of which we have part, would come the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. These may indeed have been part of the conclusion of the Intercessory Prayer, as they are in the Book of Common Order.¹ In that Book a metrical Psalm follows, and it is probable, if Knox had singing at all in his early form of service, that a psalm was used at this point. Then would follow an invitation to the Lord's Table such as is indicated in the Zurich Order, and which appears to have been used by Wishart.

The Prayer of Consecration² (Thanksgiving and Blessing) would follow, and then the Sacramental Elements would be distributed after the "manual acts" had been performed. Probably the history of the institution³ would be read, while this was being done, as is indicated in the Book of Common Order.⁴ When all had partaken a Prayer of Thanksgiving would be offered, and the communicants dismissed with the Blessing, perhaps after the singing of a metrical Psalm. The traditional Psalm at this part of the service is, of course, the 103rd, and, as we have seen, that is used in the Zurich Order. May it have been from Wishart that the tradition is derived?

There is another part of the Zurich Order which may have left its mark on our Scottish Communion Service. All over Scotland, it was at one time the custom to "dismiss" each group of communicants with the words "Go in peace from the Table of the Lord, and may the God of love and peace go with you," or with a similar phrase.⁵ This "Blessing," which was, of course, quite distinct from the Benediction with which the whole "action" was ended, was

¹ The Creed in all probability would be included in the prayer. This was objected to by the Westminster Divines, who thought it necessary to state that the Apostles' Creed was not a prayer, "as ignorant people have been apt to make both it and the Decalogue." It is interesting to find men like Knox and his fellow Reformers classed among the "ignorant."

² This is the name given by George Gillespie, the Covenanted Divine. "English Popish Ceremonies" (Presbyterian Armoury, I., 209). It is still retained by Presbyterians.

³ In the Book of Common Order the Minister is enjoined to break the bread and deliver it to the people, who distribute and divide the same among themselves, and likewise to give the cup. "During the which time some place of the Scriptures is read, which doth lively set forth the death of Christ." The marginal references, "Mat., 26, Mark, 14, Luke, 22, I. Cor., 10, 11," show that the portions read included the verses which tell of the institution of the Sacrament.

⁴ There is some reason to believe that in his St Andrews service Wishart used a formula similar to that in the Second Prayer Book of King Edward at the Distribution of the Elements.

⁵ M'Millan, "Worship of the Scottish Reformed Church," 189. The list of references given there could be much extended.

used by Episcopalians¹ (even where the Book of Common Prayer was in use) as well as by Presbyterians. Such a "dismissal" is still used in some places in Scotland to conclude the "After Communion Address," but one regrets to say that this ancient custom is now dying out. The phrase used at Zurich in early days² was the same as that used in the Apostolic Constitutions," (4th Century), "Go in peace," a phrase which is retained to this day, in the French Reformed Church.

THE ORDER.

The Practice of the Lord's Supper used in Berwick-on-Tweed by John Knox, Preacher,³ to that Congregation in the Church there.

First certain sermons⁴ of the benefits of God by Jesus Christ given unto us, John 13, 14, 15, 16 Chapters.⁵

Then after that the principal Minister⁶ standing in the pulpit⁷ that all the people might see begins "In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen."⁸

¹ Dowden, "Scottish Communion Office," 225. Eeles ("Traditional Customs") thinks this dismissal of the communicants with a blessing is rather an attempt to adapt Eastern practice than a survival of mediaeval usage. He thinks it most unlikely "that any remnant of such a (mediaeval) ceremony could have lived on through the seventeenth century." When one remembers how many other mediaeval practices have survived (see Church Service Society Annual, 1931-32) this latter objection will be seen to have little weight. Among Episcopalians the "dismissal" was said to each "railful" of communicants, among Presbyterians at the end of each Table address.

² See *infra*.

³ Knox would not allow that any one could be Minister of the Gospel unless he was also a Preacher, "Works," VI., 13, &c.

⁴ Apparently expositions of the Chapters read are meant.

⁵ The opening rubric of the Zurich Order begins, "First the Minister teacheth out of the Gospel what great truth, love and mercy God hath bestowed upon mankind, and how He hath purged them from their sins by the death of His beloved Son, Jesus Christ." When the people were communicating a Reader read the "Lord's Speech concerning the Holy Supper. He beginneth at the first verse of the XIII. Chapter of St John's Gospel and continueth reading until the breaking of bread be wholly ended and till all the Ministers (who administered the Sacrament) be come again unto the table."

⁶ In the Zurich Order the "Antistes." The expression "Principal Minister" may be taken as evidence that Knox did not prepare the Order. There was no other minister in Berwick with whom he was likely to associate.

⁷ In the Zurich Order the Minister stands at the Table. Calvin also appears to have done so at Strasburg. Pullain also conducted worship from the Holy Table, "Pastor mensae astans versus ad populum sic incipit." (Maxwell, "John Knox's Genevan Service Book," 93.) In the Book of Common Order the Minister remained in the pulpit until immediately before the offering of the Consecration Prayer, when he went to the Communion Table.

⁸ This is the opening sentence in the Zurich Order, as it is also that of the Roman Mass. It was likewise retained in the early Strasburg Liturgies, from which that of Calvin was derived. Maxwell, "Church Service Society Annual" (1931-2). Wishart, as we have seen, must have been acquainted with the Strasburg use. In the Zurich Order, the "Amen" is said by the First Archdeacon, "in name of the Congregation"; but in the Roman Mass it is said by the Celebrant. The MS. suggests that in this Knox followed the Roman usage.

Let us all Pray.¹

"Omnipotent² and everlasting God, whom all creatures do know and confess Thee to be Governor and Lord; but we Thy creatures created to Thine own image and similitude, ought at all times to fear, adore, love, and praise Thy godly Majesty; first for our creation, but principally for our redemption, when we were dead and lost by sin; Grant unto us Thy most unprofitable servants, that we come together to celebrate the Supper of Thy beloved Son, Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour, and that we might do the same with sincere faith in remembrance of Him and thanksgiving unto Thee, for Thy most liberal kindness shewed, granted, and given unto us, by Thy Son our Lord Jesus, who liveth and reigneth with Thee, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end, Amen."³

Then must be read this portion⁴ of Paul⁵ to the Corinthians, "When they⁶ come together" until this part "If we judge ourselves," with⁷ the declaration of the Apostles' mind

¹ It has been suggested that the introduction of the word "all" here may mean that the compiler intended this prayer to be said audibly by the whole congregation. This is, however, improbable.

² The Zurich Prayer is shorter. "O Almighty eternal God, whom all creatures justly honour, praise, and worship as their Creator, Maker, and Father, grant us poor sinners that we may perform with true uprightness and faith, Thy praises and thanksgivings which Thine only begotten Son, our Lord and Saviour, hath commanded us Thy faithful servants to do in remembrance of His death; through the same our Lord Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth with Thee in the unity of the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen." This prayer appears in the early Zurich Liturgy of 1525. See *supra*. It may be noted that both versions of the prayer are in "Collect" form, though each form is more lengthy than is usual in such cases.

³ It may be noted that in the following century a number of Scottish ministers who were possessed with "a tendency to hurry into the wilderness and formlessness of the English sectaries" condemned the use of the Doxology at the end of a prayer as "Episcopal." (Calderwood, "History," VIII., Appendix XXXI.)

⁴ The same portion is read in the Zurich Order by the second Archdeacon, but in that case it appears to have been regarded not so much as the "warrant" for the Service but as a permanent Communion Epistle. The reading of the Epistles and Gospels was continued in the Anglican Church at the Communion Service. Evidently in the 17th century in Scotland, a similar practice was followed at every Sunday morning Service, in some Presbyterian circles. See Hewat's "Form of Prayer," 9. "Scottish Liturgies," Church Service Society. All parties in Scotland came to regard this portion of Scripture as the "warrant." Bishop Archibald Campbell, who was closely associated with the English Non-Jurors, writes in 1717, "The words of Institution are not so properly words of consecration as of authority, or giving power to consecrate." Broxap, "Later Non-Jurors," 43. According to the late W. C. Bishop this was also the primitive Eastern doctrine. "Church Quarterly Review" (1908), 392.

⁵ Knox did not object in later days to giving the title "Saint," ("Works," IV., 134, 187; V., 75, 77, &c.)

⁶ Probably a slip of the copyist for "ye."

⁷ With the help of Dr Kilgour, late of the British and Foreign Bible Society, all the English versions of the Scriptures published before 1551 have been examined in the hope of identifying the version used in this Order, but without success. It is possible that the translations were made directly from the Vulgate, or (as Wishart was able to teach Greek) the translation may have been made from a version in that tongue. The Great Bible of 1539 would, of course, be in the Church of Berwick in accordance with the orders of Henry VIII. The version used in the Book of Common Order is taken from Huyche's translation of Calvin's Genevan Service Book. See Maxwell, "John Knox's Genevan Service Book," 129.

upon the same place for certifying the consciences of such as shall use the Lord's Table, without superstition.¹

(Here² is briefly declared in a summary, according to the Holy Scriptures, what opinion we Christians have of the Lord's Supper, called the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ.³

First, we confess that it is a holy action⁴ ordained of God, in the which the Lord Jesus by earthly and visible things set before us, lifteth us up unto heavenly and invisible things. And when He had prepared His spiritual banquet, He witnesseth that He Himself was Himself the lively bread wherewith our souls be fed with everlasting life.⁵ And therefore in setting forth⁶ bread and wine to eat and drink, He confirms and seals to us His promise and Communion, (that is we shall be partakers with Him in His Kingdom); and represents to us, and makes plain to our senses His heavenly gifts; and also gives Himself to be received with faith, and not with mouth,⁷ nor yet by transfusion of substance.⁸

¹ There is no declaration made at this point in the Zurich Order, but a short one is given by the Antistes after the recital of the Creed and before the Consecration Prayer. This exhortation is to be given "after the following manner," which indicates that the officiating Minister might vary it if he wished.

² The declaration used in the Berwick Order is not given in the MS., but the extract within brackets is believed by Professor Lorimer ("John Knox and the Church of England," 293) to be what Knox used at this part of the Service. The fragment from which it is taken was assigned by David Laing (Knox, "Works," VI., 72), to the year 1550, and while this was more or less a conjecture the finding of the Communion Order increases the probability of its truth. The extract is taken from a short summary which is annexed to the old copy of Knox's "Vindication of the Doctrine that the Sacrifice of the Mass is Idolatry," printed in 1556. The fragment as printed is about twice the length of the part given here; but there is some reason to believe that the additional part was added when the work was sent to the press.

³ From "Here" to "Our Saviour Jesus Christ" is given as the title of the fragment in the printed copy.

⁴ "A word used originally for the Canon of the Mass. Thus *infra actionem* in the rubrics of the Missal means "within the Canon." (Addis and Arnold, "Catholic Dictionary.") Some derive it from "*Actio Gratiarum*," Giving of thanks. "Action" as applied to the Lord's Supper is used both in the Book of Common Order and the Westminster Directory. The Sermon at Communion is still called in Scotland the "Action Sermon."

⁵ St John, vi., 48-57.

⁶ Is there a reference here to the placing of the Elements on the Communion Table during the Service? This was done by Calvin (Maxwell, "John Knox's Genevan Service Book," 102), and was certainly the custom in the Reformed Church in Scotland from an early date. Of late a similar practice has been introduced into some Roman Catholic Churches in this country, with the view of giving the laity a greater share in the service. ("Church Times," 6th January, 1933.)

⁷ This reminds one of the words of St Augustine quoted in the Church of England, Article XXIX., to the effect that though the wicked "carnally and visibly press with their teeth the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ." Beza, in his "Icones," states that Knox's doubts of the doctrines of the Roman Church were first aroused by his study of the works of St Augustine and St Jerome. Later in the declaration he quotes both writers.

⁸ Compare the marginal note in the Book of Common Order "Transubstantiation, transelementation, transmutation, and transformation as the Papists use them are the doctrines of devils."

But so through the virtue of the Holy Ghost, that we being fed with His flesh and refreshed with His blood may be received unto true godliness and immortality,¹ and also that herewith the Lord Jesus gathers us unto one visible body, so that we may be members one of another and make together one body whereof Jesus Christ is the only Head.²

And finally that by the same Sacrament, the Lord calls us to remembrance of His death and passion, to stir up our hearts to praise His most holy Name.³ Furthermore, we acknowledge that this Sacrament ought to be come to reverently, considering there is exhibited and given a testimony of the wonderful society and knitting together of the Lord Jesus and of the receivers; and also there is included and contained in this Sacrament, that He will preserve His Kirk;⁴ for herein we are commanded to show the Lord's death until He come. Also we believe that it is a confession, wherein we show what kind of doctrine we profess, and what congregation we join ourselves unto, and likewise that it is a band of mutual love among us. And finally, we believe that all who come unto this Holy Supper must bring with them their conversion unto the Lord, by unfeigned repentance in faith; and in this Sacrament receive the seals and confirmation of their faith, and yet must in no wise think that for these works, shall their sins be forgiven.)

Then there must be declared what persons be unworthy to be partakers thereof;⁵ and because no flesh is just in

¹ Compare the words of the Old Scots Confession (1560) which Knox helped to draw up: "We utterly damn the vanity of they that affirm sacraments to be nothing else than naked and bare signs."

² The "Thanksgiving after the Receiving of the Lord's Supper," printed in the Old Scots Psalter (1635) has the same thought, as has also the *Didache*.

And as the corns by unity
into one loaf are knit,
So in the Lord with His whole Church,
though He in heaven sit,
As many grapes make but one vine
so should we be but one
In faith and love in Christ above,
and unto Christ alone.

³ Compare the words of the Westminster Confession in relation to the Lord's Supper, "A spiritual oblation of all possible praise unto God," for the sacrifice of Christ. Robert Pont in his Latin Catechism, published at St Andrews in 1573, calls the Lord's Supper "*Sacram Eucharistiam*," The Holy Eucharist or Giving of Thanks.

⁴ Kirk was the name given to the Church in Scotland before as well as after the Reformation.

⁵ The "Fencing of the Table." There is nothing corresponding to this in the Zurich Order, but the Ministers were obliged, if they knew of any of their parishioners "to have committed some notorious crimes to the scandal of the Church, or to be inflamed with hatred and passion against any man," to call them before the officers of the Church, or deal with them privately. If the offenders would not repent and be reconciled, then they were not allowed to partake. It is sometimes alleged that the "Fencing of the Table" is not so much a prohibition as a declaration of Whose the Table is, in the same manner as Courts of Justice are "fenced" by a proclamation that they are the King's Courts. Such an interpretation is not borne out by what is mentioned here.

the sight of God Common Prayer should be made in form of Confession as after follows :—

Almighty and everlasting God universal, but yet most merciful Father, we have offended and daily do offend the eyes of Thy Majesty in all the actions of our life. Just cause hast Thou, O Lord, to thrust us unto hell for our manifold offences, the remembrance whereof is grievous to our conscience, so painful and dolorous that we can find no ease or relaxation in ourselves.¹ To whom shall we call ? To whom shall we seek ? Who may relieve our sorrow and restore gladness but Thou alone O Merciful Lord ?² Thou art the Father of Pity, the well of Mercy and infinite goodness, which may not be overcome. We are encouraged to ask mercy of Thee, for when we were Thine enemies dead by sin and could do nothing but blaspheme Thee to Thy face, Thou wast moved to have mercy. Thou loved and could not hate us ; and so Thou loved us that Thou didst give Thine only begotten Son for our redemption ; and by Him Thou hast made unto us a promise that whosoever two or three gathered together in His name ask anything of Thee the same they shall obtain by Him. We most humbly beseech Thee by Thy Son our only Saviour, first, that Thou wilt mercifully forgive all our sins and iniquities by past, which we acknowledge and confess here in Thy sight ; and that Thou wilt favourably turn away from us, through the blood and satisfaction of Thy Son our only Saviour, Thy most just wrath which we have deserved through so manifold transgressions of Thy commandments ; and confirm Thou in us Thy Holy Spirit, that we may utterly give ourselves to the obedience of Thee, both now and ever ; that calling upon Thee always for ourselves and others, we may obtain grace and help by Jesus Christ our only Lord. Amen.³

Some notable place of the Evangel, wherein God's mercy is most evidently declared, should then be read plainly,

¹ Compare the words of the Confession in the Anglican Communion Service, "The remembrance of them (our sins) is grievous unto us, the burden of them is intolerable."

² This form of prayer was used by Archbishop Cranmer before his martyrdom. "I have offended both against heaven and earth more than my tongue can express. Whither then may I go or whither shall I flee ? . . . To Thee, therefore, O Lord do I run, to Thee do I humble myself." Foxe, "Monuments."

³ In the Zurich Order there is no prayer of Confession given, the reason being that this was included in the ordinary "Prayer after Sermon," which preceded the observance of the rite of Communion. This prayer of Confession was said by the congregation "after the Minister." In the First Prayer Book of King Edward VI., the confession of sins came almost immediately before the reception and after the Consecration Prayer. This was altered in later editions of the Prayer Book.

to assure the penitent of full remission, of all offences,¹ and thereafter ought the Minister to pronounce to such as unfeignedly repent and believe in Jesus Christ, to be absolved from all damnation, and to stand in the favour of God.² And therefore ought the Minister to have there prayers made not only for themselves but also for others whereupon they ought to begin to pray for that congregation.

A PRAYER FOR THE CONGREGATION.³

Deliver O Lord Thy Holy Congregation, Thine own inheritance redeemed and bought by the blood of Jesus Christ, and principally this congregation of England from all wolves and hired servants,⁴ which either by tyranny or

¹ The "Comfortable Words" in the Anglican Book come after the Absolution and not before it as here. There is nothing corresponding to them in the Zurich Order, but in the Strasburg Liturgy of 1525 these two extracts, "This is a faithful saying" (I. Tim. i., 15), and "Lord I believe Help Thou mine unbelief" (St Mark, ix., 24), are said immediately after the Confiteor. In Schwarz's Mass, which is an almost literal translation of the Roman Mass, one Scripture sentence of Absolution (I. Tim. i., 15) is said after the Confession. This was the first German Liturgy. It is usually held, however, that those in the Anglican Book (St Matt., xi., 28, St John, iii., 16, I. Tim. i., 15, and I. St John, ii., 1) have been taken from Hermann's "Consultation," which the Archbishop of Cologne, with the aid of Bucer and Melancthon, published first in 1543 in German, and in Latin the following year. An English translation appeared in 1547, and the book had a very large influence on the English Prayer Book. In Hermann's book, it should be noticed, the "Comfortable Words" come between the Confession and Absolution as in the Berwick fragment, a position which the late Bishop Dowden thought a "more fitting position" for them than that they occupy in the Anglican Service. ("Workmanship of the Prayer Book," 26-27.) Calvin had this feature; "some striking promise of Scripture" following the Confession in his (1545) Prayer Book, followed by an Absolution in these words, "I pronounce Absolution to be made in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen." But he afterwards omitted both with reluctance. (Maxwell, "John Knox's Genevan Service Book," 97-8.)

² This feature has more or less vanished from the Scottish Service, though there is usually a Prayer for pardon and peace following the Confession of sins. The Absolution has been retained in the Anglican Service. Knox, however, had no objections to such a feature and in the "Order of Excommunication and Public Repentance," which he drew up before 1567 at the desire of the Assembly, and which was afterwards revised by a Committee of the Members before being printed in 1569, we have the following "Form of Absolution" which goes beyond anything in the Anglican Formulas. "In the name and authority of Jesus Christ, I, the Minister of His blessed Evangel, with consent of the whole Ministry and Church absolve thee from the sentence of excommunication, from the sin by thee committed, and from all censures laid against thee for the same, according to thy repentance; and pronounce thy sin to be loosed in heaven and thee to be received again to the society of Jesus Christ, to His body the Church, to the participation of His sacraments, and finally to the fruition of all His benefits. In the name of the Father the Son and the Holy Spirit. So be it." There is also a somewhat shorter form which reads thus, "If thou unfeignedly repent thy former iniquity and believe in the Lord Jesus Christ then in His name I pronounce and affirm that thy sins are forgiven not only on earth, but also in Heaven according to the promises annexed with the preaching of His word and to the power put in the Ministry of His Church."

³ This prayer much resembles the style of Knox and may have been re-written by him. A prayer of Wishart's preserved by Knox ("Works," I., 167-8), shows, however, similarity of expression. There is little doubt that it is based on a prayer by Bucer.

⁴ In a service drawn up by Bucer, circa 1531, we have the following "Redeem all thy congregation from all wolves and hirelings who seek self and not the salvation of thy flock." (Hubert, "Die Straszburger Liturgischen Ordnungen," 106.)

proud usurped authority or dominion molest and vex or through deceit and avarice spoil and oppress Thy scattered and miserable sheep. Destroy Thou them O Lord and suffer them no longer to prevail against us. Give unto us good and faithful Ministers, to whom it may please Thy goodness to give the true spirit of knowledge and understanding, that thereby they might open unto us the secrets of Thy evangel. Increase to us and them Thy Holy Ghost, that we may faithfully serve Thee to the good example and provocation of others; that Thy scattered sheep through the Gospel may be gathered to Thy dear Son, the high and only true Shepherd and Bishop of our souls, Jesus Christ, from all wrong errors; that briefly we may be brought again to the true communion of Him¹ that there may be one flock and one Shepherd.²

A PRAYER FOR THE QUEEN'S MAJESTY.³

¹ Ibid. "Give and increase in them (the Ministers) Thy Holy Spirit that they may be found faithful and serve Thee always to that end that thy poor wandering sheep everywhere may be gathered to Christ, Thy Son, their Shepherd and Bishop, and grow daily in Him to all holiness and righteousness to the eternal praise of Thy name." As noted *supra*, Wishart may have visited Bucer at Strasburg or he may have received copies of the Strasburg Liturgies when on the Continent or after his return.

² This is the translation given in Tyndale's New Testament. In the Great Bible the words are the same as in the Authorised Version, "One fold and one shepherd."

³ In the Anglican Communion Order the Prayer for the Monarch has always come much earlier in the Service. In other Reformed Orders, French and German, the prayer for the civil or national authorities stood before that for the Church. In the Book of Common Order the petitions for "Pastors, Shepherds, and Ministers" precede those for "Kings, Princes, and Magistrates."

The spelling of the Order has been modernised throughout.