

A Bibliographical Treasure.

A Second Edition Copy of

KNOX'S LITURGY OR THE ORDER OF GENEVA.

THE Kirk Session of Bothwell (St. Bride's) Parish Church are the custodians of a very rare and precious volume which came into their possession in the spring of last year. The story connected with it is of more than local or even national interest, especially in view of the fact that the only other copy of it known to be in existence is housed in one of the most famous libraries of America.

Printed in Geneva in 1558 and popularly called Knox's Liturgy, the book is a copy of the second edition of *The Forme of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacramentes, etc., used in the Englishe Congregation at Geneva*. The origin of that work is well known. During the persecutions in England under Queen Mary many of the leaders of the Reformation took refuge in Germany, particularly at Frankfort-on-the-Main. There they formed an English Congregation and called Knox to be their minister. He, with the assistance of four others, produced in 1555 a form of worship intended to be "meete for their state and time". This form, however, did not satisfy the whole of the congregation, some of whom preferred the English Prayer Book of Edward VI. There was accordingly a split, those in favour of Knox's form removing to Geneva, where they established themselves into a congregation in November, 1555. No time was lost in printing their form, for three months later—in February, 1556—it issued from the press of John Crespin in Geneva. After a lapse of two years a second edition appeared, printed in the same city, but by James Poullain and Antonie Rebul. It is a copy of this edition which has found a resting-place in the old parish church of Bothwell.

Knox, it will be remembered, returned to Scotland in 1559. Whether copies of the Genevan book of 1556 or 1558 were in circulation in his native country prior to his return, we cannot say; but immediately thereafter some

unquestionably were, as appears from the First Book of Discipline (1560), where it is referred to as 'the Ordour of Geneva quhilk now is used in some of our kirks'. Bothwell seems to have been one of the kirks where it was in use. The period of use could not, of course, have been very long, for it would be displaced, either in 1562 by the Scottish edition which then appeared under authority of the General Assembly, or in 1564 by the revised and enlarged edition which was made obligatory on "every Minister, Exhorter and Reader". What happened to the Bothwell copy after that, we cannot categorically assert. No mention of it has been found anywhere in the parish records, but it seems to have lain within the church premises, unseen and unknown, for nearly three centuries. Then, in the year 1833, when the present nave was built, it was discovered by one of the architects behind a wall in the ancient choir—an incident somewhat reminiscent of II. Kings, xxii., 8, "I have found the book of the law in the house of the Lord". At that time it passed into the hands of a parishioner, John Steel, in whose family it has remained ever since. Its importance and significance, however, were not quite realised until last year, when it was offered on loan to the Kirk Session and the offer was readily accepted. The precious volume has been well insured and now rests in an oak and glass cabinet in the north transept of the church where, along with old silver and pewter sacramental vessels, it may be seen at any time by visitors to the historic sanctuary of St. Bride's.

THE NUMBER OF COPIES.

How many copies there were originally, we cannot say for certain; but it is unlikely that there were many. The book was prepared, not for a national church, but for a single congregation, that of the English exiles in Geneva, which never had more than 186 members. It is not surprising, therefore, that the edition rapidly disappeared and that, as a result, it has received scant attention from succeeding generations. True, the Rev. William Dunlop, in the Contents to his *Collection of Confessions of Faith*, &c., vol. ii., Edinburgh, 1722, says that his reprint of *The Forme of Prayers* follows the edition of 1558; but it is not until the present century that we find clear evidence of the survival of a copy. In 1913 appeared volume x. of the *Publications of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, containing an article by William Cowan and entitled 'A Bibliography of the Book

of Common Order and Psalm Book of the Church of Scotland 1556-1644'. There it was mentioned that a copy was in the private collection of T. E. Aylward, Cardiff. But when, last year, the Bothwell copy came into the light of day and the present writer took steps to collate it with the one in Cardiff, he found that the latter had gone to the United States of America in 1926 and that it was in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California—a library, by the way, which possesses a good deal of valuable Scots material, including papers of the Darien Company.

TWO SURVIVALS—A COMPARISON.

Only two copies, then, of the 1558 edition of Knox's important work appear to have survived. A comparison of them reveals some interesting points. Both are extremely small. The Bothwell volume measures approximately 3 inches broad, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick; bound in vellum and stitched together by stout leather thongs, it bears every evidence of its great age. The American copy, on the contrary, according to information kindly supplied by the bibliographer of the Huntington Library, is bound in blue morocco and has gilt edges; the top and bottom margins are cut closely to the text, with an occasional head-line or catch-word partly cut off; while the pages measure 9.4 by 6.4 cm. This description of the book across the waters would indicate that at some time or other, probably during the Victorian era, an unwise owner had thought to improve its appearance and enhance its value by giving it over to someone for re-binding and gilding. In the process, however, the binder has damaged and defaced it, cutting the leaves to such an extent that the book has been "bled" and its value consequently reduced. Our Scottish copy, though it has a few leaves missing, is on the whole superior to the American, as it retains what are obviously the original binding of vellum and the original size of leaf (10.4 by 6.8 cm.).

A DESCRIPTION.

The book has three main sections. The first contains what might be described as a Directory of Public Worship, the second some of the Psalms in metre and with music, and the third John Calvin's Catechism. Each section had a title-

page, but unfortunately the first two have disappeared from the Bothwell copy. By the kindness of the authorities at the Huntington Library, however, we are able to reproduce them.

I. THE DIRECTORY OF PUBLIC WORSHIP.

The title-page of the first section is as follows :—

THE FOR-

ME OF PRAYERS

AND MINISTRATION

of the Sacramentes, &c., used in the English Congregation at Geneva: and approved, by the famous and Godly learned man, John Caluin.

I. CORINTH. III.

NO MAN CAN LAYE

*any other foundation, then that which
is laid, even Christ
Iesus.*

PRINTED AT GENEVA,

By James Poullain, and Antonie Rebul

M. D. LVIII.

The contents are :—

THE CONFESSION OF OUR FAITH, which are assembled in the English Congregation at Geneva. "I believe, and confesse my Lord God eternal, infinit" (12 pages).

OF THE MINISTERS AND THEIR ELECTION

What Things are chiefly required in the ministers (1 page).

Of their office and dutie. (1 page).

The maner of electing the Pastors or Ministers. (2½ pages).

OF BAPTISME.

¶ And as he speaketh these wordes, he taketh water in his hand, and layeth it vpon the chilles forehead. Which done he giueth thanks, as followeth:

FOR as much, moste holy and mercifull Father, as thou doest not only beautifie and blesse vs with common benefites, like vnto the rest of mankinde, but also heapest vpon vs most abundantly, rare and wonderful giftes: of durie we lift vp our eyes and mindes vnto thee, and giue thee most humble thâkes for thy infinite goodnes: which haste not only nombred vs amōgest thy Saintes: but also of thy free mercie doest call our children vnto thee, marking them with this Sacramēt as a singular token and badge of thy loue. Wherefore most louing Father, though we be not able to deserue this so great a benefite (yea if thou woldest hadle vs according to our merites, we should suffer the punishment of eternall death and damnation) yet for Christes sake

1
Eph. 2. b. c.
1. pet. 2. b. o.
1. cor. 1. d. 1. p. c.
2. d.

2
1. pet. 2. b. c.
phil. 2. d.

3
Rom. 2. a. 1. c.
rom. 3. g. 1. a.
1. cor. 1. d. 1. p. c.
2. d.

OF THE LORD. 34

sake we beseeche thee, that thou wilt confirme this thy fauour more and more towards vs, and take this infant into thy tuition and defense, whom we offer and present vnto thee with cōmon supplicatiōs, and neuer suffer him to fall to such vnkindnes, wherby he should lose the force of Baptisme, but that he may preceiue thee continually to be his mercifull Father, through thy holy Spirit, working in his hart, by whose diuine power, he may so preuaile against Satan, that in the end, obteining the victorie, he may be exalted into the libertie of thy kingdome.
So be it.

1. Cor. 6. d.

The maner of the Lordes Supper.

¶ The day when the Lordes supper is ministered, which commonlie is vsed once a month, or so oft as the Congregation shall thinke expedient, the Minister vseth to saye as followeth:

E 2

OF THE ELDERS and as touching their office, and election. (1 page).

OF THE DEACONS, and their office and election. ($\frac{3}{4}$ page).

[OF TEACHERS OR DOCTORS] *We are not ignorant that the Scriptures make mention of a fourth kind of Ministers* (2 pages).

THE WEEKLY ASSEMBLIE of the Ministers, Elders, and Deacons. (2 pages).

INTERPRETATION OF THE SCRIPTURES. ($\frac{1}{2}$ page).

[THE ORDER OF PUBLIC WORSHIP]

When the Congregation is assembled, at the houre appointed, the minister useth one of these two confessions, or like in effect

A CONFESSION OF OUR SINNES, framed to our time, out of the 9 chap. of Daniel. "O Lord God which art mightie" ($3\frac{1}{2}$ pages).

AN OTHER CONFESSION for all states and times. "O Eternal God and moste mercifull Father" (2 pages).

This done, the people sing a Psalme all together, in a plain tune: which ended, the minister prayeth for the assistāce of God's holy Spirit, as the same shall move his harte, and so procedeth to the sermon, using after the sermon, this prayer following or suche like.

A PRAYER FOR THE WHOLE STATE OF CHRISTES CHURCHE. "Almightie God, and most merciful Father" [Concluding with the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed]. (6 pages).

Then the people sing a Psalme, which ended, the Minister pronounceth one of these blessings, and so the Congregation departeth.

"The Lord blesse us, and save us, the Lord make his face shine upon us"

"The grace of our Lorde Jesus Christ"

It shall not be necessarie for the minister dayly to repete all these thinges before mentioned (1 page).

THE ORDRE OF BAPTISME. (10 pages).

THE MANER OF THE LORDES SUPPER. ($12\frac{1}{2}$ pages).

THE FORME OF MARIAGE. ($8\frac{1}{2}$ pages).

THE VISITATION OF THE SICKE. (1 page).

OF BURIAL. ($\frac{1}{2}$ page).

THE ORDER OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE. (6 pages).

II. THE PSALMS.

According to the American copy, the title-page of the Second Section reads:—

PSALMES
OF DAVID

IN ENGLISH ME-

tre by Thomas Sterneholde and others :
conferred with the Ebrue, and in certain
places corrected, as the sense of the Pro-
phet required :

AND

IN THIS SECOND EDI-
*tion are added eleven mo, newly
composed.*

JAMES V.

If any be afflicted, let him pray, and if any
be mery, let him sing Psalmes.

1558.

It is not difficult to understand why the Psalms should be included in such a volume. The Reformers found it necessary to provide, not merely an order or directory of public worship, but also suitable material for congregational praise. What more appropriate than the ancient devotional songs of the Jewish race? These, however, had to be put into metrical form to suit a people largely illiterate and as an aid to memorising.

To students of the Scottish Psalter the number of psalms in our book is of special interest. Certainly it was the first thing that made the writer of this article suspect that the volume was an unusual specimen of Knox's Liturgy. It is well known that the first edition, printed in 1556, contained fifty-one psalms in metre—thirty-seven of them having been metricised by Thomas Sternhold, a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber of King Henry VIII., seven by John Hopkins, a clergyman and schoolmaster in Suffolk, and seven by William Whittingham, brother-in-law of Calvin and afterwards Dean of Durham, though at the time minister of the exiles in Geneva. But it is not so well known that when, two years later, the second edition was published, the number of metrical psalms had increased to sixty-two; there were "eleven mo, newly composed"; as the title-

page quaintly puts it. Nine of the new ones were from the pen of Whittingham and two from that of John Pullain, afterwards Archdeacon of Colchester. In addition, the Ten Commandments and part of Simeon's Song appear in metrical form. Here is the list of psalms versified by the several authors :—

Sternhold : 1 to 17, 19, 20, 21, 25, 28, 29, 32, 34, 41, 43, 44, 49, 63, 68, 73, 78, 103, 120, 123, 128.

Whittingham : 23, 37, 50, 51, 67, 71, 114, 115, 119, 121, 124, 127, 129, 130, 133, 137.

Hopkins : 30, 33, 42, 52, 79, 82, 146.

Pullain : 148, 149.

The poetical standard of the metrical versions in our 1558 book is not high. "Their authors' piety was better than their poetry, and they had drunk more of Jordan than of Helicon." Yet it has to be admitted that while most of the renderings are poor, others possess real dignity and majesty. This has been recognised by subsequent compilers, with the result that portions at least of some of them have been incorporated, almost unchanged, in the psalter we use at the present time. Here, for instance, is the 124th by Whittingham, which is our famous second version of that psalm with but one or two minor differences.

Now Israel
may say, and that truly,
If that the Lord
had not our cause mainteined,
If that the Lord
had not our right susteined,
When all the worlde
against us furiously,
Made their uproares,
and said we shuld all dy.

Now long ago
they had devoured us all :
And swallowed quicke,
for oght that we could deme :
Such was their rage,
as we might wel esteme.
And as the floodes
with mightie force do fall,
So had they nowe
our life even brought to thrall.

The raging streames
 moste prowde in roaring voice
 Had long ago
 overwhelmed us in the depe :
 But loved be God
 which doth us safely kepe
 From bloody teethe,
 and their most cruel voice,
 Which as a pray
 to eate us wolde rejoyce.

Even as the birde
 out of the foulers grenne
 Escapeth away :
 right so it fareth with us :
 Broke are their nettes,
 and we have scaped thus.
 God that made heaven
 and earthe is our helpe then :
 His Name hath saved
 us from these wicked men.

Some of the phrases in the 23rd psalm, also by
 Whittingham, are most captivating:—

The Lorde is onlie my support,
 and he that doth me feed :
 How can I then lacke any thing
 whereof I stand in need.

He doth me fould in cottes most safe,
 the tendre grasse fast by :
 And after driveth me to the streames,
 which runne most pleasantly.

And when I feele my selfe nere loste,
 then doth he me home take :
 Conducting me in his right pathes,
 even for his owne names sake.

And though I were evē at deathes doore
 yet wold I feare none ill :
 For with thy rodde ād shepherdes crooke
 I am comforted still.

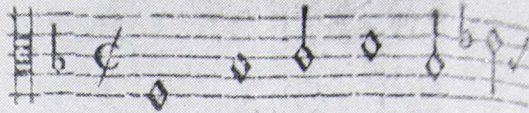
Thou haste my table richely deckt,
 in despite of my foe :
 Thou haste my heade with baume refresht,
 my cuppe doth overflowe.

And finally while breath doth laste,
 thy grace shall me defend :
 And in the house of God will I,
 my life for ever spend.

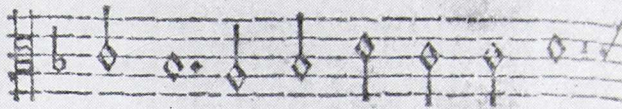
A feature of this portion of our volume is the music
 which accompanies a large number of the psalms. Thirty-

PSALME XXII.

T



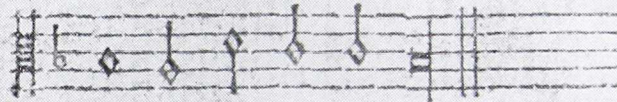
He Lord is on lie my



sup port, and he that doth me feed:



how can I then lacke a ny thing,



wherof I stand in need?

2 He doth me fould in cottes most safe,
the tendre graspe fast by:
And after driueth me to the streames,
which runne moste pleasantly.

3 And when I feele my selfe nere losse,
then doth he me home take:
Conducting me in his right pathes,
euen for his owne names sake.

+ And

nine of them have a melody printed at their commencement, as also have the Ten Commandments and the *Nunc Dimittis*; the remainder have a note to the effect that they are to be sung to one or other of the tunes already printed. It is important to observe that no harmonies are provided; in each case only the melody is given. Geneva apparently frowned on part-singing in church. The notes are diamond-shaped, and there is one for each syllable, thereby yielding tunes of a plain syllabic type which are easy to learn and readily become popular. The melodies, which appear sometimes in the tenor clef and sometimes in the alto, are strong and masculine in character and, having no bars, are rhythmically very free; several of them are suggestive of the modes; some are double metre tunes, extending over eight lines of verse. The tune for Psalm 124 is the one which we sing to-day and which we call "Old 124th", one of the most noble in the whole history of psalmody. Those for Psalms 25 and 68 have been incorporated in our Scottish Psalter of 1929, where they appear as "Old 25th" and "Old 68th" and are numbered 177 and 153 respectively. "Old 25th" is also included in the Revised Church Hymnary as an alternative tune to Hymn 583, "For ever with the Lord".

III. CALVIN'S CATECHISM.

The third and last section of the book reproduces the Catechism of John Calvin. In this case we are not dependent on the American copy for the title, as it is fortunately preserved for us in the volume at Bothwell. It reads thus:—

THE CATECHIS-

ME OR MANER TO

teache childrē the Christiā religion, wherin the Minister deman-
deth the question, ād the childe
maketh answer. Made by the ex-
cellent Doctor and Pastor in
Christes Church, Iohn Caluin.

EPHES. 2.

THE DOCTRINE OF
the Apostles and Prophets, is
the foundation of Chri-
stes Church.

1558.

This catechism of Calvin's, published originally in French in 1536, was speedily translated into various languages and became an acknowledged standard of the Reformed Churches. The First Book of Discipline of the Scottish Church (1560) directs that the children be taught it every Sunday afternoon in the presence of the people. Like our Shorter Catechism, which is obviously based upon it, it has questions and answers on—

THE ARTICLES OF THE FAITH (e.g., Man's Chief End, the Worship of God, the Creed, Faith, Repentance, the Commandments, Prayer, the Lord's Prayer, the Word of God, the Sacraments—all extended over a period of fifty-five Sundays).

THE MANER TO EXAMINE CHILDREN BEFORE THEY BE ADMITTED TO THE SUPPER OF THE LORD.

Then there follow—

A FORME OF PRAYERS to be used in private houses every morning, and evening.

Morning prayer.

A prayer to be saide before meales.

A Thankes giving after meales.

An other thankesgiving before meate.

An other.

An other thankesgiving after meate.

An other.

Evening prayers.

A PRAYER made at the first assemblie of the Church, when the confession of our faith, and whole orders were there red, and approved.

A COMPLAINT of the Tyranny used against the saints of God. (The leaf containing the opening part of this Complaint is missing).

A GODLY PRAYER to be said at all times.

ERRATA.

The last page of the book contains a list of printer's errors. These have a delightfully frank heading and one which should appeal to all who know and sometimes speak the old Scots tongue :

“ Fautes committed in the printing ”

The word here used for “ errors ” is another indication of the book's Genevan origin. Six “ fautes ” are noted.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL.

For bibliographical purposes the book may be described thus :—

16mo. A-F⁸, A-Z⁸, Aa-Cc⁸

—indicating the size of page and the sequence of the printer's sheet signatures.

As regards pagination, it should be noted that the leaves, not the pages, are numbered, and that there are two series of numbers—1 to 48 and 1 to 207. The Directory of Public Worship is contained in leaves 1 to 48 of the first series, the Psalms and Catechism in leaves 1 to 114 and 115 to 207 respectively of the second series. This arrangement might be regarded as suggesting that the book was originally printed in two stages.

The following table gives details of sheet signatures and pagination, the square brackets indicating what is missing from the Bothwell copy :—

I.	[A1 ^a	Title : The Forme of Prayers And Ministration of the Sacraments] (Page 1 ^a).
	[A1 ^b	Contents] (page 1 ^b).
	A2 ^a –B2 ^b	The Preface (pages 2 ^a –10 ^b). (Note : The Preface is so badly worn and torn and crumpled as to make connected reading of it impossible).
	B3 ^a –F8 ^b	Text (pages 11 ^a –48 ^b).
II.	[A1 ^a	Title : Psalmes of David] (page 1 ^a).
	[A1 ^b	blank] (page 1 ^b).
	A2 ^a –P1 ^a	Text : Psalmes with music (pages 2 ^a –113 ^a).
	P1 ^a –P2 ^b	Table of the Psalmes (pages 113 ^a –114 ^b).
III.	P3 ^a	Title : The Catechisme Or Maner To teach (page 115 ^a).
	P3 ^b	blank (page 115 ^b).
	P4 ^a –Cc7 ^a	Text : Catechism and Prayers (pages 116 ^a –207 ^a). (Note : Signature sheet Cc1 or leaf 201 is missing, while Cc2 is numbered leaf 20 instead of leaf 202).
	Cc7 ^b	Matth. xv., and Fautes committed in the printing. (page 207 ^b).
	[Cc8	probably blank] (pages 208 ^a and 208 ^b).

CONCLUSION.

The book is one of extreme importance and value to liturgical students, in particular to those concerned with the history of the Church of Scotland's Book of Common Order. Though drawn up and printed on the Continent,

it became so popular in Scotland that in 1562, as we have already observed, it was authorised by the General Assembly and a new edition of it appeared from the press of Robert Lekprevik, Edinburgh. Two years later a revised and enlarged edition was issued, and the General Assembly of December, 1564, made its use obligatory. That book embodied the law of the Church of Scotland as to public worship for over eighty vital years—from 1564 to 1645. Yet how many people have seen or handled the work on which that historic liturgy is based—the Genevan Order of 1556 ! Fewer still can have had the opportunity of examining and studying its second edition of 1558.

Scotland should be indeed proud to have so rare a volume within her borders, and we trust that it will continue to abide in the church of the parish where it seems unquestionably to belong. As already stated, it is only on loan to the Kirk Session of Bothwell. The owners are Mrs Beardmore, Lymington Lodge, Bothwell, and her sisters, Mrs Darby of Edinburgh, and Miss Ralston of Cupar, Fife ; but they recognise that its association with Bothwell Church is so ancient and close that they have generously agreed to leave it there for an indefinite period.

R. J. THOMSON.

February, 1939.