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and yet, again, we can but conjecture, with a certain reverent awe, what will be the verdict of the last Great Day on those departed brothers and sisters of ours. Will the Divine judgments coincide with the human? How many of those inscribed in these earthly registers are written down in "the Lamb's Book of Life"?

W. B. RUSSELL-CALEY.



ART. IV.—THE REFORMATION ILLUSTRATED BY THE PRAYER-BOOK.

THE student of the Reformation period of the Church of England will find himself grievously misled if he forms the conclusion that each step in that momentous change which came over the spirit of Church and State in this land was the result of a peaceful, deliberate policy, carried out after calm consideration. Had these been the conditions under which the Church freed herself from the errors of Rome, the ritual and doctrinal controversies of the present century would probably never have arisen.

Our Reformers, such, *e.g.*, as Archbishops Warham, Cranmer, and Parker, and Bishops Latimer, Ridley, etc., were men who retained a devoted attachment to the catholicity of the Church, and merely desired the repudiation of the Bishop of Rome's jurisdiction, and the return to primitive faith and practice. They were as strongly opposed to the revolutionary and destructive tendencies of the foreign Protestants as they were to the maintenance of the subservience to Rome. The idea of breaking away from the Apostolic continuity of the Anglican Church never entered their minds. At the same time, they needed all the support they could obtain in resisting the onslaught of the Papal See.

The result was that a compromise had to be arrived at, and, like most compromises, it pleased neither side. From the Anglican point of view, the independence and freedom which she secured were a sufficient compensation for the ritual and practices that, unfortunately, fell into temporary abeyance. The gain was in matters of principle and doctrine; the loss included a vast variety of questions, but none of them were vital to her position as a branch of the Catholic Church, being of the nature of details. She secured the universal opportunity of the study of Holy Scripture for all her members, and the privilege of common and public worship in the vernacular; she retained the threefold order of the Apostolic ministry, and the primitive administration of the two great

Sacraments; she retained in their original simplicity the creeds of the Universal Church; she lost—though, happily, she has regained much during recent years—a considerable number of ancient practices and ceremonies in the conduct of Divine worship, as well as certain doctrines which, while inferior in importance to the fundamental truths of Christianity, she would gladly have retained.

We may illustrate the character of the compromises which our Reformers were compelled to make by a retrospect of the vicissitudes of the Anglican Prayer-Book during the sixteenth century.

Its origin was as follows: When St. Augustine landed in Kent, he found various service-books in use in the Gallican and British Churches, which were probably based on the model of the Eastern liturgies, and differed considerably from the authorized Roman "use" in his time. In his desire for uniformity, he appealed to Gregory as to the advisability of enforcing the Roman ritual. The answer came that he should not, in preparing a liturgy for the Anglican Church, tie himself down to any others, but should select out of every Church what is pious, religious, and right; for "things are not to be valued on account of places, but places for the good things they contain."¹ The variety of service thus caused was still further increased by the fact that Christianity was widely spread throughout the north and centre of England by native Celtic missionaries. Hence we find the existence of various "uses" throughout the country when England had become wholly Christianized. The most important of these was the Sarum use, drawn up by Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury, in 1085 A.D., which really formed the basis of our present Prayer-Book.

The service-books, which were written in Latin, were several in number, and consequently were somewhat voluminous and inconvenient for the ordinary purposes of worship.

(a) There was the Breviary, called in England the Portiforium,² which contained the "offices" for the Canonical Hours,³ consisting of prayers, psalms, hymns, canticles, with lessons taken from Scripture or the writings of the Fathers.

(b) The Missal, or "Order of the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist," with its own calendar, rubrics, and elaborate ritual directions, together with the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels for the various seasons of the ecclesiastical year.

¹ Bede, "Eecl. Hist."

² Also called Portfory, Portean, Portuise, or Portas.

³ Mattins, or Lauds, at daybreak; Prime at 6 a.m.; Terce at 9 a.m.; Sext at noon; Nones at 3 p.m.; Vespers at sunset; and Compline at bed-time.

(c) The Manual, comprising the Baptismal and other occasional services, which might be performed by a priest.

(d) The Pontifical, which includes such "offices" as could only be used by a Bishop—viz., the Ordination Services, Confirmation, Consecration of a Church or Burial-ground, etc.

Besides these, there were issued from time to time what were called Prymers, which were vernacular books of private devotion for the people, including the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, with the addition of the Seven Penitential Psalms, the Litany, and other matter.

As early as the year 1516 A.D., a revised edition of the Sarum Breviary was issued; and in 1533 A.D. a somewhat similar revision was published of the Missal of the Use of Sarum, thus demonstrating the fact that there was an ever-growing tendency towards the demand for a service in which the people could join, and which they could understand and appreciate. For a long time prior to the sixteenth century there had been a strong feeling of dissatisfaction with the part allotted to the laity in public worship, and a determination to claim for them a share in a distinct and intelligent service, wherein the Latin tongue, the use of which was fast dying out, should be superseded by the English language.

The Reformation in England, so far as it was purely a religious movement, had two great objects in view. These were the publication of an English Bible and the issue of an English Prayer-Book. The former was commenced in 1525 A.D.,¹ when the first edition of Tyndale's New Testament appeared. Ten years later Miles Coverdale produced his translation of the Bible into English. In 1537 A.D. Matthew's Bible was published, which was practically a reprint from Tyndale's and Coverdale's versions. This was followed, two years afterwards, by the "Great Bible," prepared by Cranmer and his fellow-commissioners, which was the first version issued by authority. A copy was ordered to be set up in every parish church, the proclamation to this effect being dated May 6, 1541 A.D.

The way was thus cleared for a similar treatment of the service-books. In 1542 A.D. Convocation appointed a committee to make a thorough revision of the Sarum Breviary, Missal, etc., and translate them into English, omitting all reference to the Bishop of Rome, and abolishing the memorials of mediæval saints. The work entrusted to this body of revisers was laborious, and the results did not appear until seven years later. We are, however, indebted to Cranmer for the interim publication of the first English Litany, which

¹ See "The Bible in the Church," pp. 281, *et seq.*

appeared in 1544 A.D., and, with the exception of three clauses invoking the prayers of the Blessed Virgin, of the angels, patriarchs, prophets, and of the Apostles, is practically identical with that which we now use.

The first Prayer-Book of Edward VI., issued in 1549 A.D., was the fruit of the labours of this committee, of which Archbishop Cranmer was the president, and the leading spirit throughout the deliberations. It was the first complete version in English of the service-books of the Anglican Church, and gives clear evidence of the Catholic spirit by which the Primate was prompted. As we have seen, he repudiated the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, but he had no desire to yield to the influence of those who were swayed by the foreign Protestants, by sweeping away those beliefs and practices which had been the heritage of Anglicanism from primitive times.

The desire of Cranmer and his coadjutors, as stated in the Preface,¹ was :

(a) That the whole realm should now have but one "use" in Divine Service.

(b) That the rubrical directions should be simplified.

(c) That the Psalms should be repeated in their order, a certain number being said daily.

(d) That the Holy Scriptures should be publicly read in a continuous course.

(e) That legends, with a multitude of responds, anthems, and invitatories, should be omitted.

(f) That all should be in the English tongue.

The Act of Uniformity, enjoining the use of the Prayer-Book, was passed in 1549 A.D., and the volume immediately came into general use.

It is interesting to notice that, in the Communion Office, the Exhortation, the Confession, and the Comfortable Words, were borrowed from the Consultatio of Hermann, Archbishop of Cologne, which in its turn had been adapted by Bucer and Melancthon from the Nuremberg Office; but that, with this exception, the Prayer-Book now compiled for the use of the English Church owed nothing to the foreign Reformers, but was almost entirely based on the ancient service-books, which had closely followed the primitive liturgies. Such a book appearing by authority in those critical times may almost, without exaggeration, be said to have been the salvation of the Church of England.

The Prayer-Book gave great offence to the more violent Reformers, who wished for the entire abolition of Catholicity

¹ See Book of Common Prayer.

in the Church, and its appearance was made the pretext for disturbances in various parts of the country, the cause of which was, for the most part, purely political.

It very soon became evident that the Puritan faction, supported by the sympathy of the Protector and his Council, would do their utmost to prevent the Reformation from going forward on the lines laid down by Cranmer. The leader of the movement against the revised English Liturgy was John Hooper, who was in many respects the most remarkable figure of that generation. He was the stern, uncompromising, unsparing enthusiast. The altars were to him "altars of Baal." He had resided for seven or eight years abroad in the closest intimacy with Calvin and the Swiss Reformers, and nothing short of their views would satisfy him. He was appointed to preach a course of Lenten sermons before the young King in 1550 A.D., which he utilized for implanting in his hearer a stronger leaning than before towards Puritanism, and was shortly afterwards made Bishop of Gloucester. For some months he declined to wear vestments at his consecration, or to take the oath of supremacy. Two months' incarceration in the Fleet, however, convinced him of his error, and he was consecrated on March 8, 1551 A.D. His entrance into Convocation was coincident with the first formal complaints against the Liturgy and service-books. Some months later a committee was appointed to review the book, especially in regard to the Communion Office. In this it had followed somewhat closely the service of the Mass, and had utterly refused to lend itself to the Zwinglian notion of a commemorative feast. The attacks of the extreme reforming party, with the sympathy and support of the young King, were now directed against the whole service, but specially against its sacrificial character, and against the recognition of the Divine Presence.

The second Prayer-Book of Edward VI. was produced in 1552 A.D., as a concession to the extreme party. The most important alterations are found in the Communion Office, the entire character of which was changed. The words in the title, "commonly called the Mass," were struck out; the ancient vestments and the introits were abolished; the prayer for the dead, the manual acts, the mixed chalice, the Agnus Dei, and other ritual observances, were discontinued. Above all, the words used at the reception of the sacred elements (the first half of those at present in use) were replaced by a new form taken from the Polish reformed liturgy of John à Lasco (the second part of the words of reception). This Prayer-Book had only been issued a few months, and had hardly begun to be circulated before the death of the young King in July, 1553 A.D.

The triumph of the thorough-going Reformers was complete. The moderate party had yielded to them for the sake of peace, and a new character was given for the moment to the worship of the Church of England. Like most concessions, however, it gave dire offence to the party to whose wishes the utmost deference had been paid. The foreign refugees abused the new Prayer-Book as virulently as they had abused that of 1549 A.D., Calvin speaking of it as "intolerable stuff"

The accession of Mary to the throne arrested the progress of the Reformation, although the ultimate effect of the persecutions during her reign did much to reconcile the nation to the rupture with Rome.

When Queen Elizabeth succeeded her sister, it was fully expected, by the more fanatical of the Puritans, that she would at once throw herself heart and soul into the fray, and give them the support of her influence. But she had no intention of compromising her position, or of endangering her throne by any partisan action. She realized that, if the State was to be preserved from danger, and the Church reinstated in its national position, she must proceed with the utmost caution. Her object was, if possible, to reconcile the great mass of the people to the principles of the Reformation, including those who desired to return to the state of things existing in the reign of Henry VIII. The Queen was a Catholic at heart, in the sense in which her father and Archbishop Cranmer were Catholics. She desired, while repudiating the Papal supremacy and the mediæval dogmas of Rome, to retain the primitive practices and doctrines of the Anglican Church. Accordingly, a further revision of the Prayer-Book was made in 1559 A.D., based, not on the first Prayer-Book of Edward VI. (which she herself is believed to have wished), but on that of 1552 A.D. The principal alterations at this revision were: (1) the royal title of "Head of the Church" was superseded by that of "Supreme Governor"; (2) the vestments of 1549 A.D. were provisionally restored; (3) the petition against the Pope¹ was struck out of the Litany; (4) the "Declaration on kneeling"² (generally called the Black Rubric), was removed; (5) the words of administration in the Holy Communion were changed to their present form, combining the usage of the two previous books. When this Prayer-Book appeared in print, it contained a proviso which was not in accordance with the description of it (as being all but identical with that of 1552 A.D.) given in the Act of

¹ "From the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities, good Lord, deliver us."

² Inserted in the Prayer-Book of 1552 A.D., and intended to deny any "real and essential presence of Christ in the Sacrament."

Uniformity¹ enjoining its use. This proviso, generally called the Ornaments Rubric, which was accepted and authorized at the last revision in 1662 A.D., was probably inserted by Queen Elizabeth herself, a royal interference with the constitution of the Church which happily has not been regarded as a precedent.

A considerable amount of the ritual litigation of the present generation has centred round this apparently simple and unambiguous injunction, the vagueness of the phraseology having unfortunately allowed of a variety of interpretation by different schools of thought in the Church.

The Elizabethan Prayer-Book was gradually and almost universally accepted, and out of 9,400 clergy not more than 189 preferred to resign their benefices rather than use it. For the first ten years of the new reign men of all shades of opinion joined in the services in their parish churches "without contradiction or show of misliking." Moreover, there is evidence that Pope Pius IV. professed himself willing to accord it his sanction—which proves that the catholicity of the liturgy had not been destroyed—if only the Papal supremacy might be recognised and accepted in England.

During the reign of Elizabeth there grew up the great Puritan party—Puritan in ritual and discipline, Presbyterian in its views of Church government, and Calvinistic in doctrine. Step by step, through the exercise of a firm and temperate policy, which was largely due to the able and statesmanlike character of the Primate, Archbishop Parker, the Puritan resistance to the ritual and order established throughout the land was overcome. The result was the origination of Dissenting bodies. The first Puritan schism took place in 1573 A.D. In a few years several subdivisions among the sect occurred, such as the "Precisians" and the "Brownists."² The latter were so-called after Robert Brown, who subsequently founded the Independents or Congregationalists.

The Romish schism in England dates from the year 1570 A.D., and took its rise within a few months of the publication of the Bull of Pope Pius V., excommunicating Queen Elizabeth, and commanding her subjects to violate their oaths of allegiance. The existing Roman hierarchy in England was only established in 1850 A.D.

It will be seen from the above sketch of the variations in the form and character of our Anglican liturgy, which were successively made during the twenty years between 1540 A.D. and 1560 A.D., that our Reformers were confronted

¹ 1 Eliz., cap. 2.

² See "Dissent in its Relation to the Church of England," Lecture 2.

with difficulties requiring the exercise of almost superhuman judgment to overcome. It would be impossible, within the limits of space allotted to me, to attempt to trace the influence of the opposing parties in the framing of the Articles, of Church legislation, etc., or on the progress of thought at the Universities and elsewhere. Nor must it be forgotten that both Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, while the general tendency of their policy gave an impetus to the efforts of the Reformers, constituted in many respects a grave hindrance to the accomplishment of the scheme on which the leaders of the Reformation had set their heart. Of Queen Elizabeth's religious views we have the following account by Burnet. "The Queen," he says, "had been bred up from her infancy with a hatred of the Papacy and a love for the Reformation; but yet, as her first impressions in her father's reign were in favour of such old rites as he had still retained, so in her own nature she loved state and some magnificence in religion as in everything else. She thought that in her brother's reign they had stripped it too much of external ornaments, and made their doctrine too narrow on some points. She inclined to keep up images in churches, and to have the manner of Christ's presence in the Sacrament left in some general words, that those who believed the corporal presence might not be driven away from the Church by too nice an explanation of it."

Our Reformers desired, primarily, to set at rest the question of supremacy by repudiating the Papal jurisdiction. They then wished to purge the Church of mediæval superstitions, which were unscriptural, and unknown in the primitive Church. They aimed at giving an English Bible to the nation, and causing the Church services to be rendered in English. Beyond this they had no wish to go. But the virulence of the Romanizing party, who displayed their sentiments during the reign of Queen Mary, when they obtained the upper hand for a few years, and the fanaticism of those who had imbibed the principles of the foreign Protestants, alternately rendered it hopeless for Archbishops Cranmer and Parker, and those who realized the importance of retaining the catholicity of the Anglican Church, while correcting abuses and errors, to act with the statesmanlike deliberation that was essential.

With the work of the Convocation of 1571 A.D., the Reformation of the Church of England was practically completed. Although much remained to be done in the way of discipline, and of consolidating her organization, the lines had been laid down, the framework constructed, and the way prepared for further progress.