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JOHN COSIN'S 'COLLECTION OF PRIVATE
DEVOTIONS', 1627

A thesis submitted for the Degree
of Master of Arts in the
University of Durham

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December, 1964

The printed title-page of the 1st edition of Cosin's
 "Devotions" is as follows :

A
 COLLECTION
 OF
 PRIVATE
 DEVOTIONS:
 IN
 THE PRACTISE OF
 THE ANCIENT
 CHVRCH,
 Called
 THE HOVRES
 OF PRAYER.

As they were after this ma-
 ner published by Autho-
 ritie of Q. ELIZ. 1560.

TAKEN
 Out of the Holy Scriptures, the
 Ancient Fathers, and the di-
 uine Service of our own
 Church.

LONDON,
 Printed by R. YOVNG. 1627.

Introduction.

The subject of this study is John Cosin's "Collection of Private Devotions", 1627. It is a work which has not had very much critical attention. Brief reference is made to it in a wide variety of studies, historical, liturgical, devotional and literary(1), but despite general recognition, close study of 'D' has been rather limited. P.H.Osmond, in his life of Cosin, makes a cursory study of the contents, and places 'D' in its historical setting (2), H.B.Porter has done a fairly detailed survey of Cosin's version of the canonical hours (3), and L.W.Hanson has done a bibliographical study of the editions of 1627 (4). The description of Cosin's compilation as, "next to the various versions of the Prayer Book itself, ... the most important Anglican liturgical compilation since the Reformation" (5), suggests that there is scope for a more comprehensive examination of our subject than seems to have been attempted so far.

The setting of 'D' is the early seventeenth century, and, more specifically, the early part of the reign of Charles I. The historical situation is well known. The attempt had been made to hold together in England two divergent religious forces on the comprehensive basis of Cranmer's reformed liturgy and Elizabeth's settlement; and the attempt seemed to be failing for ever as the two wings of the Church, puritan and episcopalian, each with its own political loyalty, and each claiming to be the authentic Church of England, moved towards mutual exclusion.

In such a period, with religious issues an important element in the general ferment of the times, it is not surprising that much religious literature was produced. "In the year 1620, for instance, ... about 130 books were entered at Stationers' Hall in London. Of this number a little more than half were of the various types of religious literature" (1). That this evident interest in religion was often a matter of deep conviction could perhaps be construed from the large number of devotional books published at the time. For example, of the books entered in 1620, "at least a dozen were in purpose and scope clearly devotional" (2). Helen C. White, in her study of the devotional literature of the period 1600-1640, goes on to say that this proportion of devotional literature is more or less representative of the whole period under review. "At a rough estimate something between three and four hundred of these devotional books must be still in existence ... it is probable that about three quarters of the books actually published have come down to us" (3).

Within this general setting, Cosin and his "Collection of Private Devotions" belong to the episcopal wing referred to above, to the distinctive development of which in the seventeenth century the term 'Laudian' is often given, although 'Arminian', 'Caroline' or 'High Church' are also used. In part an aspect of "that Catholic culture which Charles I and Laud were seeking to impose, as a stabilising mould, upon a society suffering from the disintegrating effects of change" (4), and developing to some extent in opposition to growing Puritan pressure, and partly also out of the controversy with the advocates of the papacy,

Laudian churchmanship, while continuous, certainly, with attitudes to be found in the Elizabethan Church, and particularly with those which find expression in the writings of Hooker, had its own peculiar character. Chadwick writes of it thus: "If we look at the group of Anglicans between (say) 1610 and 1640, we find that they are Protestants, and, in many respects, within the normal inheritance of Reformed thought . . . And yet the atmosphere was curiously different from the atmosphere anywhere else in Protestantism, even if parallels may be found among the Lutherans. In George Herbert, John Donne, Nicholas Ferrar, Launcelot Andrewes, John Cosin, Thomas Jackson, William Laud, there is an air which is somehow redolent of Catholicism while it is still Reformed . . . There is no question of repudiating the Reformation, and yet the air is fresh, and not blowing simply from the usual quarters in Protestant thought. Part of this freshness springs from patristic study; part from a measure of Platonic philosophy . . . (which imbued) their attitude to the visible world . . . (with) a sacramentalism which is not easy to find among the Protestant authors of the sixteenth century" (1). This distinctive atmosphere, Chadwick notes elsewhere (2), found its clearest expression not in doctrine but in devotion. It found it nowhere more clearly than in Cosin's "Collection of Private Devotions".

The bare facts about John Cosin at the time when 'D' was first published in 1627 are these: in his thirty second year, he was Archdeacon of the East Riding and had a prebendal stall at Durham and two Durham livings, Elwick and Brancepeth; in addition,

he was at about this time appointed Chaplain-in-ordinary to the King.

While it is generally maintained that he later modified his position, there is a great deal of evidence of Cosin's close association at this time with the chief figures of the Laudian group. Two early influences in this respect were John Overall and Lancelot Andrewes, who between them were something like the fathers of the Laudian movement. Cosin was librarian to the former from 1616 to 1619. Overall, with his opposition to Calvinism at Cambridge, his defence of episcopacy, and his extremely anti-Puritan approach to the Prayer Book, had a considerable influence on Cosin's outlook. Cosin, it would seem, used Overall's notes on the Prayer Book as the basis of his own "First Series", would frequently cite his example in points of doctrine and practice, and always spoke with affection and respect of his first employer, "that rare and excellent man" (1). Andrewes, whose works Laud himself, with Buckeridge, edited, and whom Cosin's friend Montague referred to as "our Gamaliel" (2), probably met Cosin before the latter left the University, and certainly offered him the post of librarian in the same year in which Bishop Overall secured his services. Cosin incorporated Andrewes's notes on ceremonial into his own "First Series" of notes on the Prayer Book, and evidently regarded him with considerable admiration, "a man so eminent in learning and piety, of such extraordinary worth and note, so orthodox and Catholic, so exact in all his writings, and so free from all novelties . . ." (3). With Laud and Laud's like-minded contemporaries, Cosin had much contact through his appoint-

ment as Chaplain to Richard Neile, Bishop of Durham, in 1619, meeting them at Neile's London home, "Durham House". There, John Buckeridge, a disciple of Andrewes and Laud's tutor at Oxford, Laud himself, and Richard Montague, all had quarters, and Cosin must have been much in their company. By the early 1620's, Laud was clearly recognised as the leader of the High Church clergy, Andrewes having retired into scholarly seclusion, and there are frequent references to him in Cosin's correspondence during these years. It seems that Laud held high opinions of Cosin, for in 1625 we find him inviting him to preach in a series of controversial anti-Puritan sermons that he is arranging, and a little later we find him, with responsibility for the arrangements for the coronation of Charles I, selecting Cosin to act as Magister Cereemoniarum. Probably of this group it was Montague whose views most upset the Puritans at this time, his "A New Gag for an Old Goose" and "Appello Caesarem" being the main sources of contention. Cosin's correspondence with him reveals a deep and sympathetic friendship; they submitted their writing to one another's scrutiny, and in the enquiry into Montague's views, held at York House in February, 1626, Cosin appears as his friend's principal champion. Later we find their names linked in the puns of the Puritan Prynne, "The crafty Mountebanques, who would silyly Cozen us of our religion . . ." (1). There are other evidences of Cosin's involvement with the Laudians at this time. A sermon which he preached at the consecration of Francis White in December, 1626, shows him firmly committed to the Laudian position, defending the Church and episcopacy against the "tumultuous faction" of the Puritans on the

one hand, and the "vanity" and "iniquity" of popery on the other (1). Finally, we may note how Charles I, with his own known predilection for the churchmanship of Laud and his associates, appointed Cosin as his Chaplain-in-ordinary probably shortly before 1627, and at about the same time commissioned him to undertake corrections in a new edition of the Book of Common Prayer.

Whether or not his later experiences of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism on the continent served to turn him into something of a central churchman, Cosin when he came to compile 'D' in 1627 clearly shared much common ground with the Laudians, and was evidently held in high esteem by them. We may also note at this point the many evidences amongst the above remarks of Cosin's interest in liturgical matters. This was, of course, to be a lifelong interest, but already, prior to his compilation of 'D', Cosin's interest is manifest, and already others are recognising him as an authority on liturgy.

Chapter 1. The making of 'D'.

The immediate occasion of Cosin's compiling 'D' is described in an entry in the diary of John Evelyn, dated 12 October, 1651. This records an occasion in Paris when Evelyn met the sequestered Cosin, referred to as "Mr. Deane" (he was Dean of Peterborough):

"It was upon this day that Mr. Deane, dining (as usually he did) at the Resident's, and speaking (amongst other things) of the little pray'r book, (which the Puritans used to call Cousin's cousining devotions) I ask'd him the occasion of its being publish'd, which was this: the Queene coming over into England, with a great traine of French ladys, they were often upbraiding our English ladys of the Court, that, having so much leisure, trifled away their time in the antichambers among the young gallants, without having something to divert themselves of more devotion; whereas the Ro: Catholick ladys had their Hours and Breviarys, which entertained them in religious exercise. Our Protestant ladys, scandalized at this reproach, it was complained of to the King. Whereupon his Majesty called Bishop White to him, and asked his thoughts of it, and whether there might not be found some forme of prayers amongst the antient Liturgys proper on this occasion, that so the Court ladys might at least appear as devout as the new come-over French. The Bishop told the King it might certainly be done, and believed it very necessary; whereupon his Majesty immediately commanded him to employ some person of the Clergy to sett upon the work, and compose an Office of that nature. The Bishop presently named Dr. Cosin, (whom the King

"exceedingly approv'd of) to prepare, as speedily as he cou'd, and as like to their pockett Offices, as he cou'd with regard to the antient forms before Popery.

This, Mr. Deane told me, he did three months after, bringing the book to the King, who commanded the Bishop of London to read it over, examine, and make his report; which was so well lik'd and approv'd, that the Bishop (contrary to the usual custome of referring it to his chaplain) wou'd needs give the Imprimatur under his own hand" (1).

It is known that a wave of fashionable 'conversions' to Roman Catholicism was taking place at the Court at this time, and that, sponsored for the most part by Endymion Porter's wife, Olivia, they were almost invariably feminine. "It was in a sense wounding that they should take place at the very centre of the manifestation of Anglican Kingship" (2). It seems likely that Charles and his advisers were hoping that a book of devotion such as that envisaged might help to retain the allegiance of some to the Church of England. This possibility is strengthened by Peter Heylyn's explanation, in his biography of Laud, as to why Gosin compiled 'D':

"About the same time also came out a Book entituled, A Collection of Private Devotions, or the Hours of Prayer, compos'd to Cozens one of the Prebends of Durhan, at the Request, and for the Satisfaction, as it was then generally believed, of the Countess of Denbigh, the only sister of the Duke, and then supposed to be unsettled in the Religion here established, if not warping from it" (3).

Heylyn's information is not necessarily inconsistent with that of Evelyn, but can be seen as shedding a little additional light on the situation. The Countess of Denbigh, to whom Heylyn refers, was certainly one of "our English ladyes of the Court" (Evelyn) - she was the first lady of the bedchamber to Henrietta Maria - and she may have been "warping from" the "Religion . . . established" at this time, for she is known to have become a member of the Roman Catholic Church later in life (1). Probably the Countess was one of the "Protestant ladyes" who, according to Evelyn, complained to the King.

That Cosin's name was put forward by Bishop White, as Evelyn recounts, is not surprising, for there are earlier evidences of White's acquaintance with and respect for him. It was White who called in Cosin to assist him in defending their mutual friend, Montague, at the conferences at York House in February, 1626, and at White's consecration on 3 December of the same year, Cosin preached and "executed" the service. Speaking more generally, we can say that Cosin was an obvious choice for this commission, closely identified as he was with the ecclesiastical party in favour with Charles I, and already recognised by both the King and Laud as an authority on liturgy.

Cosin makes no reference in the Preface to 'D' to the occasion of its compilation as described above. Instead, he gives four very general reasons why such a collection of "daily Devotions and Prayers . . . after the . . . manner and division of Hours", should at this time be published :

"I. . . to continue and preserve the authority of the ancient

"laws, and old godly canons of the Church, which are made and set forth for this purpose, that men, before they set themselves to pray, might know what to say, and avoid, as near as might be, all extemporal effusions of irksome and indigested prayers ...2. ... to let the world understand, that they who give it out, and accuse us here in ENGLAND to have set up a new Church, ... to have abandoned all the ancient Forms of Piety and Devotion ... do little else but betray their own infirmities ...3. ... that they who are this way already religiously given, and whom earnest lets and impediments do often hinder from being partakers of the Public, might have here a daily and devout order of Private Prayer ... 4. ... that those who perhaps are but coldly this way yet affected, might by others' example be stirred up to the like heavenly duty of performing their daily and Christian devotions to Almighty God" (pp.89-91).

Presumably, given the commission, Cosin saw it as an opportunity to produce, not merely an 'occasional piece' for the closed world of the Court, but a work of more general interest; hence the 'general' character of the Preface. In the 2nd edition, however, in a piece entitled "The Printer to the Reader", included in response to Puritan objections, Cosin seems to have felt the need to stress the essentially private nature of the original commission, and so we find this explanation :

" ... this handful of collections for private devotions, which was compiled out of sundry warranted books for the private use of an honorable well-disposed friend, without any meaning to make the same publick to the world; though (to save the labor and

"trouble of writing copies to be sparingly communicated to some few friends) a certain number of them by leave and warrant of the Ordinary were printed at the charge of the party for whose only use the same was collected" (1).

Later, Prynne was to misread this passage (either deliberately or accidentally), and so imply that Cosin had already made the compilation on his own account, long before being invited to publish it :

"The Author is a Scholler; he had long since collected these Devotions for his owne private use (as the Printer in his Epistle annexed to the latter editions testifies) ... which he hath published unto the world upon deliberation and advice" (2).

There is no evidence to support Prynne's contention, and the very fact that he bases it on a misreading of 'D', suggests that we should discount it. It is interesting to note, in the passage quoted above from "The Printer to the Reader", the information that the printing of the 1st edition was paid for by "the party for whose only use the same was collected", meaning, presumably, someone at the Court of Charles I.

Cosin told Evelyn that it took him three months to prepare 'D'. As the book was licensed by the Bishop of London on 22 February, 1627, that would take back the beginning of the work to about 22 November, 1626. It is, however, possible that Cosin slightly overestimated when he told Evelyn this, for the reference in Evelyn's account is to Bishop White asking Cosin to prepare the required book, and White was not in fact consecrated until 3 December, 1626. It is therefore possible that Cosin did not rec-

give his commission and start work on 'D' until some time after that date. He may, then, have taken even less than three months to prepare 'D'. Whether it was a full three months or not, however, Cosin must have worked with considerable application to complete such a substantial commission so soon.

Cosin must have been in London for most of the time in which he was compiling 'D'. There is evidence of his being in the north in September, 1626, when he received a letter dated the 11th and addressed to him at Durham, but after that he is known to have been in London on 3 December, when he preached at White's consecration. It is possible that he returned to the north for Christmas, but there are letters addressed to him in London again, dated 12th and 19th January. Certainly, Prynne's account of Cosin at work on 'D' implies that he was frequently at his printer, Robert Young's, at "The Sign of the Bishop's Head in Paul's Churchyard" (1) in London: "... the Printer had his written Coppy but by peecemeale, sheete by sheete, and not compleate together; ... there were sundry leaues reprinted and altered at the Presse by the Authors bare direction" (2). The "peecemeale" method of submitting his copy, and the correcting in a similar piecemeal way, as described by Prynne, may well be an indication of Cosin's efforts to hurry the work on "as speedily as he cou'd" (Evelyn).

We get a further glimpse of work in progress on 'D' from two letters written to him by his friend Richard Montague. They appear to refer to proof sheets or a draft of the Calendar. Hitherto, only the second of these two letters has been known, and it

was held to indicate no more than that Cosin submitted his version of the Calendar for 'D' to his friend's scrutiny (1). The earlier of these two letters, however, only recently discovered, throws a little more light on this matter. It has no address, but is dated "S. Thomas Day" (21 December, 1626 ?) and the relevant part is as follows :

"I have sent you half the Calendar and all the Saints whose days I found there briefly whatere: though our greite ffeſtivals somewhat enlarged. you may shewe there the partes that desire them, and lett me knowe whether this cease like the os have et quantocius. For after twelf tide I purpose ~~ov~~ Deũ for Essex where I have not a long time ben & books there I have none" (2).

Although somewhat obscure, this could, since it describes the state of the half of the Calendar that he has sent to Cosin, be taken to imply that Montague had actually been entrusted with the drafting of it, or with the insertion of descriptive matter ("briefly whatere") with the names of saints commemorated, and the amplification of the names of the greater festivals. The second letter is addressed to Cosin at Durham House in London, and is dated 12 January, 1627; the relevant part reads :

"Your calendar sheets I will dispatch Quanta potero brevitare" (3).

This could refer to a draft of the second half of the Calendar, or possibly even proof sheets of the whole. If these letters do, as seems likely, refer to the preparation of the Calendar for 'D', the allegations of Prynne and Burton (see Ch. 5) that Cosin had collaborators in compiling the book, if only in this small way,

is substantiated. Montague's "Quanta potero brevitate" is a further indication of Cosin's haste to complete his commission, communicated to his friend.

Cosin's work, and the printer's, appear to have been complete by 22 February, 1627, when the book was licensed. Under the governmental regulations of 1586, books legally published had to be approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London, which meant, in normal practice, by their chaplains. In the case of 'D', as Evelyn explains, the Bishop of London, George Mountain, gave the book his personal approval. This is not surprising, for Mountain's sympathy was evidently with the Laudians (1). The licence appeared on the verso of the printed title-page :

"The Approbation, Febr. 22. 1626. I have read ouer this Booke, which for the encrease of priuate Deuotions, I do think may wel be printed; and therefore doe giue Licence for the same. Geo: London" (p. 84).

Hanson says that this form seems "unusual but . . . unexceptionable" (2). What is unusual is the specification, "for the encrease of Priuate Deuotions", a precautionary measure, perhaps, lest 'D' be held to usurp some of the functions of the Book of Common Prayer. In his pamphlet against 'D', Prynne attempted to cast doubts upon the way 'D' was licensed. Although doubting its veracity, he repeats the printer's alleged disclosure that Mountain gave the licence at the instigation of Neile, Bishop of Winchester, without actually seeing the book himself :

"But were these Popish Deuotions Licenced in good earnest?"

"Why then was not the Approbation annexed to the written Copy as it ought to bee, but to a meere loose Paper, which was neuer ioyned with the Copy ? Why doth the Printer report abroad, that the Bishop of London neuer read the Booke; and that he carried him nothing but a bare white Paper, with a Message from the Bishop of Winchester, that now is, to Licence these Deuotions: to which he set his hand. ... But admit the Printer (whose dishonestie is reported to be such, that he will Print any thing whatsoever for his priuat gaine) hath mis-reported the carriage of this Licence. ... For mine owne part, I cannot but suspect, that most of the Popery, that is broached and couched in this Booke was foysted in at the Presse, without my Lord of Londons priuitie: and the more ieaalous am I of this, because the Printer had his written Coppy but by peecemeale, sheete by sheete, and not compleate together; because the written Copy was taken from the Printer as he Printed it, by the Author, against the vsuall course: and because there were sundry leaues reprinted and altered at the Presse by the Authors bare direction" (1). Henry Burton makes the same point as Prynne, that Cosin added what he wanted to the book after securing the licence, although he acknowledges that it was not simply licensed on a loose paper :

"I pray you in what maner was the Licence given ? Was it not some loose Paper ? No. Or if it were affixed to the Booke, yet hath not the Author added or altered at his pleasure ? For the Approbation, did it set downe how many sheets the Booke contained ? & was not the Rooke brought to you from the Author sheet by sheet, after the Approbation of it by Authoritie ? If so, was this square

"dealing ? Might not the Author add or alter at his pleasure & you never the wiser ?" (1). In the preface to his pamphlet, Burton explains how the report that 'D' was licensed on a loose paper had got about, accepting the printer's word that "the Authority or approbation was affixed to the book of Devotions, & it was no loose paper; only he acknowledgeth, that he cut off the approbation, & so caried it to have it entred in the Hall; whence might grow the report of a loose paper" (2).

It is not possible to determine with certainty whether or not there was any irregularity in the process of licensing 'D'. It seems, however, unlikely that Mountain, with his known sympathy with the Laudians, would have taken any exception to 'D', or that Cosin, in consequence, would have felt compelled to resort to the improprieties alleged by Prynne and Burton. The "peecemeale" method of producing 'D', which seems to have aroused their suspicions, may have been no more than an indication, as was suggested above, of Cosin's haste to complete the work. At the same time, it would not be surprising to find some laxity in the licensing process in the case of a book commissioned by the King, compiled by a favoured writer, and to be licensed by a sympathetic Bishop of London.

A week after the licensing, on 1 March, 1627, 'D' was entered in the Stationers' Register thus :

"Robert Younge. Entred for his Copie under the handes of the Lord Bishop of London and master knight-warden, A Collection of private devotions in the practise of the Auncient Church called the howers of prayer etc." (3).

With this, Cosin's commission was complete.

In conclusion of this chapter, it is to be noted that Cosin's book was first published anonymously. Cosin may have hoped thus to avoid the censure of the Puritans, or he may have felt that anonymity was more appropriate to a collection of devotions which claimed continuity with what the Preface calls "the ancient Forms of Piety and Devotion" (p.90) (cf. the proposed deletion of the printer's name from the title-page of the Book of Common Prayer, in "The Durham Book" (1)). It was only with the edition of 1676, after Cosin's death, that his authorship was acknowledged, the title-page of that edition stating that the book was "By the Right Reverend Father in God, John late Lord Bishop of Durham". Despite the anonymity of the earlier editions, however, there was never any doubt about the authorship of 'D'. It was first attributed to Cosin in a news-letter sent to the Reverend Joseph Mead, chaplain to Laud, on 16 May, 1627 :

"... it is said some fifteen hundred more of Mr. Cosin's prayer-books, called 'The Hour-Prayers, or Devotion of the Church of England', are commanded to be printed ..." (2).

Thereafter, there are many evidences (3) that the identity of the author was common knowledge.

Chapter 2. 'D' and the Primer tradition.

If Evelyn's account is correct, Cosin was required to find for the "Protestant ladys" of the Court "some forme of prayers amongst the antient Liturgys" equivalent to the "Hours and Breviarys" of the "Ro:Catholick ladys".

To meet this requirement, a most suitable tradition lay to hand for Cosin to develop, namely that of the Primer, the traditional Western book of private devotion, "the fruit of generations of accretion and selection, ... (with) a tradition of flexibility and adaptability" (1). The title-page of 'D' indicates that Cosin turned consciously to this tradition, basing his compilation on the Elizabethan Primers: "The Houres of Prayer. As they were after this manner published by authoritie of Q. Eliz. 1560". At the same time, 'D' has always been recognised as belonging to this class of devotional literature: Brightman states that "The book is in fact a Primer" (2), and Hoskins includes 'D' in his list of Primers (3).

The origin of the Primer lies in a series of devotions supplementary to the Divine Office, invented first by the piety of individuals, like Benedict of Aniane in the early ninth century, for the use of monks in their monasteries. These were gradually and voluntarily adopted in the course of two or three centuries by the secular clergy also, so that by the fourteenth century they had, by virtue of custom, come to be regarded as obligatory, and practically a part of the public daily (or only Lenten) office itself. They included offices of the dead and of

the Blessed Virgin (the latter, known as the Little Office, deriving from "that spread of devotion to the Blessed Virgin which was so marked a feature of the English Church from the close of the tenth century to the Conquest" (1)), framed in and following the model of the hours of the Divine Office, three groups of psalms (penitential, gradual and the commendations) and the Litany. With the need arising for a prayer book for the laity, these supplementary devotions, now a regular part of the worship of the Church, came to form its basis. They did so because they were invariable (or, in the case of the hours of the Blessed Virgin, were easily adaptable into an invariable office) - it would not have been practicable to adapt the Divine Office of the Breviary, with the perplexing intricacies of its continually varying texts, and its size, to an invariable form such as was required. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, then, we find the earliest Primers, with these six elements referred to above, as their main constituents. Thenceforward, to the period of the Reformation, the Primer, and especially the Salisbury form, the *Horae ad usum Sarum*, was to be the prayer book of the English lay people, "and of all the books of the middle ages, it was the most common and best known, ... in some form or other ... in the possession of all classes" (2). Frequently a certain amount of other matter came to be included along with the basic elements - an almanac or table to find the date of Easter, a calendar of saints' days, the Paternoster, Creed and Ten Commandments, with brief expositions, one or more edifying treatises, any number of approved special prayers and graces, a form for the confession

of sins, etc. - but invariably, the hours of the Blessed Virgin, and usually some others of the six basic constituents, recur in all the Primers of the period. Thus the Primer, in Latin or English or both, could be used to follow at least some of the services daily recited in Latin in the Church, if not the Divine Office itself, although, in fact, it was probably more frequently regarded and used as a book of private devotion.

During the upheavals of the sixteenth century, the Primer appears to have enjoyed a particularly extensive popularity; more than one hundred and eighty editions are known to have appeared during the crucial years from 1525 to 1560, most of them in English. (From 1549 onwards, of course, they can have been useful only for private devotion). Their contents reveal the shifting theological emphases of the Reformation. Several of them were officially authorised, by Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, and were clearly intended to establish and protect particular current theological positions. An early stage of the process of reformation is to be seen in Marshall's "goodly Primer", in the first edition of which, published before 1530, the Litany is omitted because of its invocations of saints, and only included in a 2nd edition in 1535 with a warning against its abuse; the 2nd edition contains, in the same vein, before the Dirige, an admonition on "soules departed", that "there is nothyng in the Dirige taken out of scripture, that maketh any more mention of the soules departed, than dothe the tale of Robyn Hood". A further stage is to be seen in Bishop Hilsey's Primer of 1539, in which many of the psalms, anthems, lessons

and hymns "are changed for others of more plain sentence" (1), a great number of the saints invoked in the Litany are omitted, prayers for the dead are retained in the Dirige but its lessons are changed for others, declaring the miserable state of man's life, the condition of the dead, and the general resurrection, and "An Instruction of the Manner in Hearing of the Mass" is included, opposing the "heretical opinion" of the sacramentaries. A major development is the Primer authorised by Henry VIII in 1545, "The Primer set forth by the King's Majesty, and his Clergy, to be Taught, Learned, and Read : And none Other to be used throughout All His Dominions". (A Latin version appeared in 1546). While still containing nearly all of the elements basic to the pre-Reformation Primers, the Little Office, the Dirige from the office of the dead, the seven Penitential Psalms, the Commendations and Litany, it is a simpler compilation than its predecessors, considerably revised, with the earlier emphasis on the worship of the Virgin Mary, and on the veneration of the saints, considerably toned down (2). The King's Primer of 1545 was followed by a whole series based upon it, but with successive alterations that show what Procter calls "the steady advancement of religious opinion" (3). In this series was a Primer published at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth in 1559, with a companion version in Latin, with some variation in contents, published in 1560 with the title "Orarium seu Libellus Precationum per Regiam maiestatem Latine editus" (or 'O' as we shall refer to it). At the same time, a new and distinct series of Primers began with that of 1553, its outstanding feature

being the substitution of "An order of private prayer for morning and evening, every day in the week, and so throughout the whole year" for the divisions of prayer according to the canonical hours. With some affinity to this, but deriving elements from 'O' also, was another Elizabethan Primer, in Latin, the "Preces Privatae, in studiosorum gratiam collectae, et Regia autoritate approbatae" (or 'PP' as we shall refer to it) of 1564, likewise substituting an order of morning and evening prayer for the canonical hours. More will be said of these two Latin Primers of Elizabeth's reign in the next section of this chapter.

Apart from a number of subsequent editions evidently deriving from the three Elizabethan Primers (Hoskins lists 6), and apart from the Roman Catholic versions (Hoskins lists 8, printed, ostensibly at least, on the Continent, but clearly intended for English recusants), no further versions of the Primer were published until the appearance of 'D' in 1627. The absence of new versions between the three authorised by Queen Elizabeth, and Cosin's, some sixty years later, is to be attributed in part at least to the emergence of the Book of Common Prayer. The Primer was no longer needed to help one to follow the services of the Church. At the same time, the demand for private prayers was being met with devotions of a more informal, non-liturgical type (1).

Cosin states at a number of points in 'D' that he used the Elizabethan Primers as a model :

a) On the printed title-page : "The Houres of Prayer. As

"they were after this manner published by authoritie of Q.Eliz. 1560" (n.b.this is slightly modified in the 3rd edition,1627: "As they were much after this manner published ...")(p.83).

b) In the Preface: "A part of which ancient piety are these daily Devotions and Prayers that hereafter follow;prayers which,after the same manner and division of Hours as here they are,having heretofore been published among us by high and sacred authority,are now also renewed,and more fully set forth ..." (p.89).

c) In a marginal note to the Preface,opposite the phrase "division of Hours" in b) above: "Horariam Regiâ autoritate editum,&c.The Horarie set forth with the Queen's authority 1560,and renewed 1573.Imp.with privilege at London by William Seers" (p.89).

d) In "The Printer to the Reader" in the 2nd and subsequent editions: "compiled out of sundry warranted books" (1).

It is evident from the above that by "The Horarie" Cosin meant the official Latin edition of the Primers published by William Seres in 1560,'O'.

Cosin's reference to his other model is curious.He refers to the Primer published by Seres in 1573 as if it were simply a later edition of 'O'.In fact,this second acknowledged antecedent of 'D' was a quite different version of the Primer.It was the 3rd edition of the compilation first published in 1564,'PP'. (Curiously,Prynne made the same mistake as Cosin,of identifying 'O' with 'PP': "... the 'Praeces Privatae' authorized by Qu. Elizabeth,which were thrice printed,viz.Anno.1560.1564.1573 ...")(2).

A brief description of these two Elizabethan Primers, 'O' and 'PP', would not be out of place at this point :

1. 'O' (1560), is in the tradition of the King's Primer, H.174 (1545), and follows the pattern of Elizabeth's first Primer, H.239(1559), fairly closely, but omits the Dirige and Commendations and adds the Catechism. Here is a summary of its contents:

Calendar - based on the calendar of the 1559 Book of Common Prayer, but with the addition of numerous names of saints.

Catechism - a Latin version of the short catechism in the 1549 Book of Common Prayer.

A few miscellaneous prayers - such as the Primers of 1545 and 1559 contained at this point.

The seven Canonical Hours - the arrangement is that of the King's Primer, but there is considerable change in the tone. They could no longer be called the Hours of the Blessed Virgin. "By now certain features of the Breviary and the Prayer Book, such as the Creed and the Collect for Grace at Prime, were introduced for the first time into the Little Office. Most of the Psalms were still drawn from the traditional offices of our Lady" (1).

The Penitential Psalms - besides the traditional seven, as in the Primers of 1545 and 1559, 'O' includes an extra four psalms.

The Litany - as in the 1559 Primer and, like it, omitting the prayers to be found in the 1545 version addressed to the "Holy virgyn Mari, ... Al holy angels and Archangels, ... All holy Patriarckes & Prophetes ...", etc.

The Psalms of the Passion, the Passion according to St. John,

the Prayers of the Passion - all these as in the Primers of 1545 and 1559, except for slight variations in the prayers.

Various prayers - forty six in all. Thirteen are from a book of prayers, "Precationes Christianae ad imitationem Psalmorum compositae" (1536), with several prayers by Erasmus; one is from Erasmus's "Precationes aliquot" (1535); one is from the Short Catechism of 1553; all the rest are from the Primers of 1545 and 1559.

Thus, while 'O' omits the Office of the Dead, the Commendations and the Gradual Psalms, it included the other recurring elements of the Primer, the Little Office, the Penitential Psalms and the Litany. Its unknown editor has been described as inept (1) (he retranslates, into his own Latin, prayers originally written in Latin, but which had appeared in the Primers of 1545 and 1559 in English, without reference to the originals), but the question of the quality of this compilation does not concern us here so much as the fact that, with such variation as is characteristic of the type, Cosin's first model, 'O', is firmly within the tradition of the Primer.

2. 'PP' (1564), was reprinted in 1568 and, in an enlarged edition, in 1573. The 1573 edition is "indisputably" (2) that to which Cosin alludes in his Preface. Its contents are as follows:

Calendar - largely as in 'O' but even fuller. Two stanzas appended to each month are from "Precationes Christianae" (see above).

Moveable and immoveable feasts - from the Latin Book of

Common Prayer, 1560.

The Office of all Estates - as in "Precationes Christianae" and several of the earlier Primers.

Carmina - verses taken from the Bishop of Norwich, John Parkhurst's "Ludicra, sive Epigrammata Juvenilia" (1573).

Catechism - as in 'O'.

Prayers on rising - some of these are in 'O', and others are from "Precationes Christianae", Erasmus's "Precationes aliquot", and the Primer "Hortulus Animae", H. 86 (1528).

Morning and Evening Prayer are composed of Matins and Lauds, and Vespers and Compline (largely as these occur in 'O') respectively, "ingeniously arranged to include much of the material previously assigned to the other Hours. Each pair of services paralleled the sequence of the Prayer Book. Matins, for instance, had only an Old Testament lesson; after its psalms, Lauds had a New Testament lesson, Benedictus, Creed, and prayers, Antiphons, hymns, and versicles were interpolated at appropriate points. The anonymous editor was the first to demonstrate to the Church that Cranmer had not exhausted the possibilities of Anglican liturgical creativity" (1). This arrangement associates 'PP' with the series of Primers which began in 1553 (see above, pp. 21-2).

The Litany - this is placed between the Morning and Evening offices, and is the same as that in the Latin Book of Common Prayer, 1560.

Bed-time prayers - as in 'O' and H. 86 (1528).

Psalms, lessons and prayers, on the Nativity, Passion, ...

Trinity - an unusual item, which seems to be original (Hoskins

gives no parallels.

The Penitential Psalms, and various other selections of psalms.

A large selection of prayers, verses, meditations, etc. - from a wide variety of sources (The Parker Society edition gives the sources of many of these in footnotes).

Thus, 'PP', Cosin's second acknowledged model, is still essentially a Primer, with a daily office, if not the canonical hours themselves, and the Litany and Penitential Psalms. It is a wide-ranging and independent compilation, clearly the work of an original and creative mind.

When Cosin came to compile 'D', neither 'O' nor 'PP' seems to have been at all well known (1). Cosin, however, as will be seen, knew them well and made considerable use of them. (His references to Queen Elizabeth on the title-page and in the Preface to 'D' were certainly not merely "to soothe some of the suspicions which he knew would be aroused" (2)). Cosin's acquaintance with the Primer tradition was not, however, limited to the Elizabethan Primers, nor even to the reformed Primers. His library contained (although, of course, these could have been acquired later), besides a copy of 'O', two earlier Primers, "Hore beatissime virginis Marie ad legitimum Sarisburiensis", printed in Paris by Francis Regnault, 1530, and "The Primer in English & Latin, after Salisburie", printed in London by Robert Gally, 1556. Whether he had these particular books in front of him at the time or not (there is no internal evidence to give a definite indication), it will be seen that he had a wide know-

ledge of this class of literature.

A compilation in the Primer tradition was exactly what Cosin's commission required. The "Ro: Catholick ladys" of the Court had their "Hours" (unreformed Primers, in fact) "and Breviarys", and what Cosin had to produce was a reformed equivalent to these. Already, as we have seen, the Church of England in the sixteenth century had produced a series of Primers appropriate to the various stages of its reformation. The task before Cosin was to build on the foundation of his Elizabethan models, adapting the Primer to the needs of the occasion and in the light of the contemporary theological outlook of which he was in favour, that of the Laudian churchmen.

Chapter 3. The Contents of 'D'.

A. Probable sources.

In setting out to identify the sources of Cosin's compilation, a number of guiding lines are available :

- i) In 'D' itself, Cosin provides a number of indications. The title-page states that 'D' is based on the Elizabethan Primer of 1560, 'O', and the Preface adds the 1573 edition of 'PP' ; these, then, provide a standard for comparison. The title-page adds, as sources, "The Holy Scriptures, the Ancient Fathers, and the Divine Service of our own Church", while in the body of 'D' we find, as footnotes, many scriptural and patristic references, and some references to the Book of Common Prayer. Also in footnotes, the Canons and Articles of Religion, the Injunctions of Edward VI, various writings of Andrewes, Overall and Hooker, and the "Liber Regalis", are given as sources for various items.
- ii) Cosin gives us a further clue when he says (as reported by Evelyn), " nor . . . was there any one thing in the whole office of my own composure (nor did I sett the name of any one as author) but those necessary prefaces, (the rest all taken out of those antient Liturgys) touching the times and seasons of prayer, &c. The rest being wholly collected and translated by authority of Q. Elizabeth, 1560, and our own Liturgys" (1). It would be helpful to know how much Cosin's "&c." includes ; certainly, some of the prefatory matter in 'D' has identifiable sources (not entirely, however, in "antient Liturgys"), but not all, and some of this, we might reasonably conclude, is Cosin's own work. His claim to have composed nothing but the "necessary prefaces . . . &c." must,

as will be seen, be taken cautiously - even a scriptural allusion in a prayer seems to be sufficient to permit Cosin to disclaim authorship. Likewise, his claim that, apart from the "necessary prefaces ...&c.", the rest was "wholy" from the Elizabethan Primers and the Book of Common Prayer, is, unless we are to give the "&c." an unusually wide significance, far from accurate.

Possible Evelyn was reporting Cosin carelessly.

iii) Cosin's early "First Series" of notes on the Book of Common Prayer, incorporating those of Andrewes and Overall, give us one or two sources, and indicate where Cosin's liturgical interest lay at this time, namely in the collection of early treatises on liturgical subjects in the "De Divinis Catholicae Ecclesiae Officiis et Mysteriis ..." of Hittorpius, the "Rationale Divinorum Officiorum" of Durandus, the works of Cassander and Maldonatus, the Sarum liturgy and the 1549 Book of Common Prayer. These yield sources for a few items in 'D' (1).

iv) The pamphlets of Prynne and, to a lesser extent, Burton (see Chapter 5) suggest pre-Reformation or Roman Catholic origins for many things in 'D'. They cite, in particular, a series of unreformed Primers, three other, Roman prayer manuals, the Breviary and Missal, and various works of Bellarmine, Vaux, Ledesma, and Azor, and the Douai-Rheims Bible. It has not been possible to check all of Prynne's and Burton's references (in particular, some of the Primers, and two of the Roman prayer manuals, "Matthias Ceschi his Otium Spirituale Mellifluarum Precationum (1617)" and the "Manuel de Devotion: per le Cardinall de Lorraine") but

those which have been seen cover all the points raised by

Prynne.

- v) Cosin's own library is not a reliable source of information in this matter, as there is nothing to indicate whether a particular work was acquired before or after 1627. (One book of prayers published before 1627, "Catholicum Precationum Selectissimarum Enchiridion" (Antwerp, 1594), has a few items as in 'D', and there are, besides a copy of 'O', two Sarum Primers, of 1530 and 1556).
- vi) Various contemporary works yield a few sources: late sixteenth and early seventeenth century translations of St. Augustine, Hooker's "Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity", Becon's prayers, the sermons of Donne and the poems of Jonson. Neither Andrewes's nor Laud's private devotions (both published after 'D', but possibly known to Cosin in manuscript form, through his acquaintance with the authors) yield any sources.
- vii) H. Boone Porter's study of the Canonical Hours in 'D' suggests a number of sources (see Bibliography, p. 216).
- viii) Hoskins's list of Primers, with its brief description of the contents of all the main types, is a means of verifying some sources and of establishing what constitutes typical Primer material (see Bibliography, p. 216).

Thus, a certain amount of guidance is available for the identification of Cosin's sources.

B. A description and survey of the contents of 'D'.

The purpose of this section is to describe, in the order of their inclusion, the contents of 'D', with some comments. An attempt is made to distinguish between what is Cosin's own original work, and what he derives from other sources. Comment on certain aspects of the compilation, its doctrinal character and churchmanship, and Cosin's own prayers, is reserved for later treatment. No attempt is made to specify more precisely Cosin's many references to the Fathers and early Councils of the Church, as this is done by the editor of the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology edition of 'D', but see section C of this chapter, a note on Cosin's use of ancient authorities.

Engraved title-page. "The top of the frontispiece had the name of Jesus, in three capital letters, I.H.S. Upon these was a cross, encircled with the sun, supported by two Angels, with two devout women praying towards it" (1). This is not reproduced in the L.A.C.T. edition of 'D', but can be seen in A.F. Johnson's "Catalogue of engraved and etched English Title-pages" (2).

Printed title-page (p. 83). For a transcription of this, see above, p. ii. Cosin's insistence upon precedents, both ancient and Reformed, is to be noted. It is an indication, not only that "when 1627 came, the English Church was in somewhat the same strategic necessity as that of 1560, this time against the Puritans and Independents" (3), but also of Cosin's real interest in earlier liturgical and devotional practice. This stress upon authoritative sources, and the omission of Cosin's

name as compiler, from the title-page, give the book an authoritative and official appearance.

The Approbation (p.84). For a transcription of this, see above, p.14, and for Evelyn's account of the enthusiastic reception given to 'D' by George Mountain, the Bishop of London, see above, p.8. Under the governmental regulations of 1586, books legally published had to be approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London.

The Printer to the Reader. This does not appear in the L.A.C.T. edition of 'D', as it was only added in the 2nd edition of 'D' in 1627, but is printed in full in Hoskins's summary of the contents of 'D' (1).

It was, Hanson claims, "clearly written by the author" (2). If this is not so, then the printer was remarkably sympathetic to Cosin's position.

The piece was evidently provoked by the hostile Puritan reception of the 1st edition. It emphasises the official approbation given to the 1st edition, and that the reprinting was also with the approval of "authority". The writer insists on the probity of the compiler: "... the collector hereof, and others that were therewith acquainted before the printing of the book, who are as ready to engage their credits and their lives in defence of the faith of the present Church of England, by law established, and in opposition of popery ..."(3). The measured and charitable tone is in marked contrast with the manner of Cosin's detractors.

The Preface, touching prayer and the forms of prayer (pp.87-91).

An original feature of 'D' is the series of explanatory passages which preface various sections of the book. Earlier Primers do not have anything like the amount of prefatory matter that Cosin includes. His primary purpose in including these passages was probably to counter, in advance, Puritan criticism, but they have an additional, intrinsic value as concise and lucid expositions of his views on a number of topics.

The Preface begins with some remarks on the importance of prayer, the unique pattern set in the Lord's Prayer, and its pre-eminent place in the public worship of the Church. It goes on to introduce 'D' as following in the traditions of "ancient piety", and gives four chief reasons why 'D' is now being published (see above, pp.9-10). These reveal stresses which, it will be seen, are characteristic of 'D': Cosin's love of tradition, and of order and formality in devotion, his sense of the continuity of the pre- and post-Reformation Church of England, his conception of 'D' as complementary to the Book of Common Prayer, and the high value he places on the practice of prayer. The numerous marginal and foot-notes are to be noted, with their references to the Bible, the Fathers, the Councils of the Church, the Book of Common Prayer, Canons and royal Injunctions. Much of this preface follows closely the sense of Hooker in Book V of his "Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity", chapters 23, "Of prayer", 25, "Of the form of Common Prayer", 26, "Of them which like not to have any set form of Common Prayer", and 35, "The number of our prayers for earthly things, and our oft rehearsing

"of the Lord's Prayer" (1). Several passages are verbatim from these chapters: "For the good ... of (our) souls, there is not in Christian religion any thing of like continual use and force throughout every hour of (our) lives (as is the) ghostly exercise (of) prayer ... as St. John the Baptist had (also) taught his disciples ... both for matter and form ... though men should speak with Angels' tongues, yet words so pleasing to the ears of God as those which the Son of God did compose ... (the) pattern whereby (she frames) ... with (much) efficacy, (though) not with (any) superfluity of words ... whatsoever may be defective in (all our other prayers) ... extemporal effusions of irksome and indigested prayers ... subject to no (good) order ... but pray both what, and how (, and when) they list ... (those prayers ... which with good) advice and meditation are framed beforehand ... the worthiest part of our Christian duty to Godward ... (not to lose ourselves with) confusion (in any) sudden (, abrupt, or rude) dictates (which are framed by) private spirit(s) ... (We shall enjoy a perpetual communion with the saints) triumphant as well as militant ... that so much of our life is celestial and divine, as we spend in (this holy) exercise of prayer ...". Cosin also quotes a passage from Tertullian's "De Oratione" which Hooker quotes in Chapter 35. Cosin does not acknowledge his borrowings from Hooker. Finally, reference is also made to works by Calvin and Nicholas Sanders.

The Calendar, with the Festivals and Fasting Days of the Church, and the Memories of such Holy Men and Martyrs as are therein registered (p. 93). Such an item, in some form or other, is to

be found in many of the Primers, including "O" (pp. 117-126) and "PP" (pp. 213-234).

Of the Calendar, and the special uses thereof in the Church of God (pp. 95-96). This short introductory piece precedes the Calendar. It describes the advantages of a Church Calendar, and lists the chief features.

Biblical and patristic references are again a feature, and again Cosin borrows from Hooker without acknowledgement, this time from Chapters 69 "Of festival days", 70 "The manner of celebrating festival days", and 71 "Exceptions against our keeping of other festival days besides the Sabbath". He follows in part the argument of the first two of these, quoting from the same places in Ecclesiasticus and Augustine's "De Civitate Dei", and borrows one or two phrases from the third: "∴ forcible witnesses of (His) ancient truth ∴ provocations to the piety ∴ everlasting records" (1).

The Calendar (pp. 97-102). This is basically the same as the Calendar which was compiled by the Commission of 1561, and which appeared in the later issues of the Elizabethan Prayer Book, and, with St. Enurchus added, in the Prayer Book of 1604. Cosin adds two commemorations: 27 March, "The day of King Charles his inauguration, 1625" (black letter), and 5 November, "Powder Treason Day, 1605" (red letter). The Act of Parliament, 3 Jac. I. c. 1., provided for this latter observance, and a form of prayer, drawn up by the Bishops, had been issued by royal authority in 1606.

In his book on the Church Calendar, Staley points out three cases of confusion of identity of saints of similar names in Cosin's calendar: 1. "The Valantine commemorated on February 14 as 'a Priest of Rome and Martyr' is not the Bishop of that name commemorated in the Kalendars of the Sarum Missal and our present Prayer Book"; 2. "The Cyprian commemorated in the Kalendar of 1604 on September 26 is apparently the Cyprian who, together with Justina, is commemorated on that day in the Sarum Books and the Kalendar of 1564; in the Kalendar of Bishop Cosin's 'Devotions', Cyprian of Carthage is specified as the saint intended"; 3. "Dionysius the Areopagite, October 9, St. Paul's distinguished Athenian convert, is confused with St. Denys, Bishop of Paris, who lived 200 years later" (1). Staley also points out that the addition of "and All Angels" to the commemoration of St. Michael on September 29, is an innovation; it had not occurred in the Sarum Missal Calendar or in the Calendar of the Book of Common Prayer at this time, and "Cosin may possibly have borrowed the addition ... from the Roman Kalendar of his day; for, but a few years before (in 1621) ... Pope Paul V ... added to the Roman Kalendar the festival of the Guardian Angels ... to be observed on October 2" (2).

Cosin's Calendar has those days printed in red for which there is an Epistle and Gospel in the Prayer Books of 1559 and 1604, and also "Powder Treason Day", and the rest in black. An interesting feature is the descriptive matter which Cosin appends to many of the commemorations, e.g. 7 March, "Perpetua, a Virgin and Martyr, often mentioned by Tertullian and S. August. 254.",

6 May, "S. John Evang. boyled in a Caldron of hot Oyle before Port Latin, in Rome. 98", 20 November, "S. Edmund, K. and Mart. of whom S. Edmund's Bury is named. 870.", 16 December, "O Sapientia, an Antiphona, anciently sung in the Church (for the honour of Christ's Advent) from this day till Christmas Eve" (pp. 98, 99, 102 — the second of these four examples is not given in full in the L.A.C.T. edition of 'D').

A calendar, and items such as those which follow it, tables, etc., were a common feature of the Primor; 'O' had a calendar only, but 'PP' had, in addition, several tables. Cosin seems to have made his own arrangement of the material.

A Table of the Moveable Feasts (pp. 103-5). The title is extended to explain what a moveable feast is. The table gives the dates of Septuagesima, Easter Day, Ascension Day, Whitsunday, and Advent Sunday for the years 1626-41.

Editions of the Book of Common Prayer current when Cosin compiled 'D' often contained a similar table entitled "An Almanack for thirty-nine years", but usually giving the dates for Easter Day only.

Rules to know when the Moveable Feasts and Holy-days begin (p. 107). The rule for finding Easter is first stated (although, as Blunt points out, it is "not quite exactly stated" (1)), and, in relation to it, Septuagesima, Sexagesima, Quinquagesima, Quadragesima, Rogation Sunday, Ascension Day, Whitsunday, and Trinity Sunday. Advent Sunday is established in relation to the Fast of St. Andrew.

A briefer version of this table, without Ascension Day, was

included in the Prayer Books prior to 1627.

The Fasting Days of the Church, or Days of Special Abstinence and Devotion(pp.108-9). These are given as the forty days of Lent, Ember and Rogation Days, the "Evens or vigils" of certain festivals, and, as "an ancient religious custom", all the Fridays of the year except those between Christmas and Epiphany.

"There were no tables of this nature in the English Prayer Books before 1662; fasting was based on ancient custom, and to a certain extent on Statutes"(1). According to Blunt, Cosin's table is based on Acts of Parliament of the reign of Edward VI (2).

Cosin appends to this table "The times wherein marriages are not solemnized"(p.109). These are given as Advent Sunday to the Octave of Epiphany, Septuagesima to the Octave of Easter, Rogation Sunday to Trinity Sunday; as the principal feasts and fasts of the year, it is explained, these are "fit to be spent in such sacred exercises, without other avocations". The times are those specified in the old Sarum rubrics(3). No such item had been included in the Prayer Book at this time, or in any of the reformed Primers described by Hoskins, but a rule of this sort was recognised by many Anglicans; e.g. by Hooker, Bishop King and Andrewes prior to 'D', and Laud, Montague, Pory and Gunning among Cosin's contemporaries(4). Some of the Primers of the Roman Use which were circulating in Cosin's time, refer to this rule, e.g. H.266(1571) and H.269(1607).

Catechetical material(pp.110-123). The whole of this next series of items, an arrangement of catechetical material, forms a distinct section of 'D'. Curiously, Cosin gives no special heading

to the section as a whole, especially as, later, in "The Durham Book", Cosin was so particular about titling and the distinction of the various sections of the book (1).

An arrangement like this, usually known as the "A.B.C." or the "Articles of the Faith", was a feature of the Primer from the earliest versions (2). In place of this section, many of the reformed Primers, among them 'O' and 'PP', included the Church Catechism, while none of those listed by Hoskins as using the more traditional collection of material, is anything like as comprehensive as 'D' ; the King's Primer, H.174(1545), for example, has only the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, Creed and Ten Commandments. For comparable collections, one must turn to Roman catechetical material. The material formed, in some cases, the whole substance of a book, as in the case of Laurence Vaux's "A Catechisme, or a Christian Doctrine, necessarie for Children and ignorant people" (Antwerp, 1573), Ledesma's "Dottrina Christiana" (1587), and "An ample declaration of the Christian Doctrine. Composed . . . by . . . Card. Bollarmino, Translated into English by Richard Hadock" (n.d.). All of these contain, in varying degrees of elaboration, practically the same items as Cosin includes in 'D'. This same material is also to be found in several of the Primers according to the reformed Latin of the Roman Use, e.g. H.266(1571) and H.267(1599), in the various editions of what Prynne calls "Kellam's Manuall of Prayers" (3) and in "Catholicum Precationum Selectissimarum Enchiridion" (see above, p.31). All sixteen items in this section of 'D' are included, among other things, in a similar section in the last two of

books mentioned, Kellam entitling the section "The Summe of the Christian Catholike Faith".

A feature of this section of 'D' is the large number of marginal notes and footnotes, mostly biblical references. Perhaps Cosin was anticipating criticism for modelling his "A.B.C." on the Roman pattern, and sought to show that, in fact, there was nothing specifically Romish about the material he used.

The Sum of the Catholic Faith, called the Apostles' Creed, divided into twelve articles (p.110). Cosin's title for the first item in this section is similar to the title Kellam gives to the section as a whole (see above). The division of the Creed into several articles represented the common belief that the twelve articles went back to the actual Apostles, each of whom made his individual contribution to the formula; the Creed is printed this way amongst the catechetical material in several of the Primers - H.131(c.1537), H.143(1539), H.144(c.1539), H.147(c.1539), H.159(1541), H.239(1559). Cosin adds the summary of the Creed as it appears in the Catechism in the Book of Common Prayer (1549 et seq.), turning it to the plural.

The Lord's Prayer, divided into seven petitions (p.111). Cosin divides the prayer into preface, seven petitions and doxology. Several of the reformed Primers included the prayer so divided (but omitting the doxology) amongst their catechetical material - H.115(c.1534), H.117(1535), H.161(c.1541), H.194(c.1550). The doxology appears to have been unknown in the Western offices until the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637, and Cosin only includes it in 'D' in his catechetical section (1). A short exposition of the

prayer is added, following closely that in the Catechism in the Book of Common Prayer (1549 et seq.).

The Ten Commandments (pp.111-20). These are divided into two "tables" (1-4, 5-10). there follows the longest item in this section of 'D', entitled "The duties enjoined, and the sins forbidden in the Ten Commandments". For each commandment, a list of duties is given, followed by a list of "Offenders against the ... Commandment", the whole being rounded-off with the reminder, "Many other offences there be against God's Commandments: ...".

A similarly arranged exposition had appeared in Marshall's Primer, H, 115 (1534), entitled "A short conclusion of the ten commandments ... of the transgression of the commandments ... the fulfilling of the commandments", but Cosin does not appear to have made use of it. At the same time, a book in Cosin's library, "Manuale Sacerdotii ... Ecclesie Parisiensis" (Kerver, Paris, 1537), has an "Exposition briefue des commandmens de Dieu", which, although Cosin does not seem to have used it directly, may, as, equally, Marshall's Primer may, have given him the idea for his exposition. Much of this exposition in 'D' has, in fact, a distinctive ring, and it would seem reasonable to assume that it is substantially Cosin's own work: "To honour and worship Him with the lowly reverence even of our bodies also ... as at all times of His service, so chiefly at the times, and in the places, of His public worship ... To submit ourselves lowly and reverently to them that are our spiritual guides and fathers, the prelates, and priests of God's Church".

H.R. McAdoo, in his study of Caroline moral theology, makes the following observation on this entry: "Anxious to provide prayers and devotions such as did the pre-Reformation manuals, and yet to work in the idea of individual moral effort as part and parcel of personal piety, Anglican writers speedily struck a balance in their books, and the type came to stay. This is emphatically confirmed by the rareness of books such as ... ('D') ... , which exemplifies our first class of prayer manuals, or works in which the traditional element is supreme and there is but little stress on instruction ... Yet even here there is a list of sins after each commandment in the decalogue, pointing to the type which had already come to be the accepted one amongst Anglican writers" (1).

The Two Precepts of Charity; or, the Laws of Nature (p.121). The alternative title is unusual; it does not occur in any of the Primers described by Hoskins, or in any of the Roman manuals mentioned above (see p.40). A marginal biblical reference marks the beginning of the series of items not normally found amongst Reformed catechetical material, but only in the Roman manuals.

The Precepts of the Church (p.121). A comparison with, for example, Bellarmine's version of these precepts, shows that Cosin has modified the scheme to fit the Anglican approach: Bellarmine gives "To be present at Masse on commanded feasts ... To fast the Lent, the foure Imbre Weeks, & cōmanded Eves of Feasts. Also to abstain from flesh upon Friday and Saturday ... To confesse at the least once in the yeare ... To receive the Blessed Sacrament at the least at Easter ... To pay tithes to the Church ... Not to

"solemnize Marriages in times prohibited"(1).Cosin,it will be seen,has,among other things,included the observance of the Prayer Book offices,and related confession to communion.He is particularly careful that his Precepts should be seen to be exemplarily Anglican,and every point made has its footnote, indicating the source in the Book of Common Prayer,the Canons, and visitation articles of Overall and Andrewes.

The Sacraments of the Church (p.121).Cosin is at pains to distinguish between the two "principal and truly so called", and the other five,sometimes called sacraments but having "not the like nature",and footnotes refer to the Catechism,the 25th Article and St.Augustine,and to New Testament texts held to be illustrative of Confirmation,Absolution,Orders,Marriage and Holy Unction.

The Three Theological Virtues (p.122).A marginal biblical reference is given

Three Kinds of Good Works (p.122).A marginal biblical reference is given.

Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost (p.122).With the marginal biblical reference,there is also a reference to the relevant prayer in the Prayer Book Order of Confirmation.

The Twelve Fruits of the Holy Ghost (p.122).A marginal biblical reference is given.St.Paul's nine "fruits" are expanded to the twelve normally given in this type of catechetical material (e.g. H.86(c.1528) has "Duodecim sunt fructus Spiritus Sancti").

The Spiritual Works of Mercy (p.122).A marginal biblical ref-

erence is given for each of the seven works.

The Corporal Works of Mercy (p.122). Marginal biblical references are given for six of the seven works.

The Eight Beatitudes (pp.122-3). A marginal biblical reference is given.

Seven Deadly Sins (p.123). A marginal biblical reference is given, the seven sins being taken from St. Paul's seventeen "works of the flesh".

The Contrary Virtues (p.123). No marginal note is given.

Quatuor Novissima, or the Four Last Things that Befal Any Man (p.123). Two marginal biblical references are given.

A Collection of Private Devotions for the Hours of Prayer (p.125). This is the title of this section, which forms the real 'core' of Cosin's compilation, as it does of all the Primers. No non-Roman prayer manuals containing the traditional offices had been published since the three Elizabethan Primers and the versions deriving from them, the last recorded by Hoskins being H.253 (c.1580) and H.254 (c.1580). In many quarters "the old canonical hours of prayer were discarded as superstitious attempts to consecrate particular portions of time, and were to be replaced by an effort to consecrate all times" (1), although the practice of keeping them had not entirely disappeared among Anglicans (see Chapter 4).

In 'D', as will be seen, the offices are accompanied by an unusually large amount of other matter, preparatory prayers, pre-fatory items, etc.

Of the Ancient and Accustomed Times of Prayer in General(pp.127-9).

Drawing on the Bible, the Fathers, and the Book of Common Prayer, Cosin produces a delightfully balanced little apologia for the use of the Canonical Hours.

Some of the early reformed Primers, H.122(1536), H.124(1536),, H.128(c.1537) and H.143(1539), have a corresponding item, "How the saying of the Hours first began", but such introductory matter does not seem to have been a common feature of the Primers. Cosin's biblical and patristic references in this passage, and in the matter prefatory to the various hours, may have been drawn (as Frynne suggests - see Chapter 5), but only partly, from such works as Bellarmine's "De operibus bonis in particulari in Controversia Principalis" (Ingolstadt, 1586-93), Azor's "Institutionum Moralium" (Rome, 1600), and the commentary included with the Douai-Rheims Bible (1582). Over a third of Cosin's references relating to the hours are identical with about half of the references included in the parts of these works which deal with the Canonical Hours. Of the nine patristic and five biblical references in this particular item of Cosin's, four of the former and one of the latter occur in the above mentioned works (1).

Perhaps there is a touch of humour in Cosin's apologetic concluding sentence : "And surely, so small a part of our time taken up from other common actions, if not perhaps from doing ill, or doing nothing ... will never undo us" (p.129).

Certain Choice Sentences out of Holy Scripture, whereby the Frequency of Prayer and Devotion is highly commended unto us (pp.130

-2). These consist of eleven quotations from the Bible, and five

from the Fathers. Of Cosin's references here, only one (Mk. 13,35) occurs in the works of Bellarmine, etc., mentioned above (see p.46). None of the Primers described by Hoskins has such a feature, but a Sarum Manual of 1604 contains (an innovation in the Manual) an appendix of "Annotationes in precedentem Sacram Institutionem", with, among other things, a series of references to the Fathers and other authorities, which seek to demonstrate the antiquity of particular rites and observances; perhaps Cosin got the idea of this feature from here (1).

Stranks remarks : "In the effort to forestall opposition, he prefaced each of the Hours with quotations from the Scriptures and from the Fathers to prove their necessity" (2).

Pious Ejaculations, or, Short Prayers (pp.133-5). These are "to be committed unto perfect memory, for our first holy exercise in the beginning of the day. According to the direction of S. Ambrose". This is a series of short prayers and sentences, the latter accompanied by marginal biblical references.

A collection of short prayers and sentences of this sort was included before the Hours in many of the Primers; the earliest Primer described in full by Hoskins, H.7(1494), has them, as have several of the reformed Primers; 'O' and 'PP' have a corresponding series of (mostly) longer prayers at this point. Cosin's arrangement is fuller and more orderly than was customary.

When we first awake (p.133). This consists of three verses of scripture. The arrangement seems to be Cosin's own. Hoskins

records no similar item in Primers before 'D', but "Kellam's Manuall" (see above, p.38) includes Cosin's first sentence under the head, "When ye awake".

At our uprising (p.133). This consists of an invocation and an ascription of praise to the Holy Trinity. Hoskins records several rather similar items among earlier Primers, e.g. H.124(1536) has "An invocation unto the Holy Trinity to be said in the morning when Thou shalt rise up", cf. two Primers of the Roman use, H.266 (1571) and H.267(1599).

Or this (p.133). This consists of a prayer and a verse from a psalm. The prayer had occurred in the Primer "Hortulus animae", H.86(1528), in the prayer manual "Catholicum Precationum Selectissimarum Enchiridion" (Antwerp, 1594) (see above, p.31), and in "Kellam's Manuall" in this form: "When yee doo aryse . . . In the name of oure Lorde Jesus Christe crucified, I doo ryse ; he blesse me, he gouverne me, keepe me, save me, and bringe me unto everlasting lyfe. Amen" (1).. Cosin is clearly basing his prayer on some such model. The verse is probably his own addition.

At our apparelling (p.133). This consists of a short prayer and a verse from scripture. This is an uncommon item in the Primers, hence, perhaps, the patristic reference with which it is introduced. 'PP' has a longer prayer at this point, "Oratio inter vestiendum" (p.244), bearing no significant resemblance to Cosin's.

At the washing of our hands (p.134). This includes a verse from a psalm, followed by a prayer. Hoskins does not record such an item in the Primers, except in 'PP', where there is a prayer,

"Inter lavandum manus" (pp. 244-5), which could be Gosin's model, though he does not follow it very closely: "Abiue, Domine Deus, aqua tuae divinae gratiae animum meum ab omnibus vitiorum sordibus et inquinamentis, quibus totus in conspectu tuo insordescit. Asperge illum hysopo verae poenitentiae et compunctionis, ut in limpidissimo gratiae tuae fonte lotus supra nivem dealbari, tibi que exinde jugiter inservire, valeam, per ...". For the conclusion of his prayer, Gosin uses a phrase from the Prayer for the Church in the Holy Communion: "truly serving thee in holiness and righteousness all the days of ... life".

And then humbly commending ourselves to God's protection upon our knees (p. 134). This is a conflation of two ancient prayers: a "Recommendatio ad Deum" which can be found among the morning prayers in the Primer, "Hortulus animae", H. 86 (1528), "In manus ineffabilis misericordiae tuae commendo animam meam ..."; and one of the collects included at the end of the Order of Holy Communion in the Book of Common Prayer (1549 et seq.), originally one of the Breviary collects for Prime. The running together of these two prayers was probably Gosin's own work; there are several further prayers in 'D' made up in this way.

At our going abroad (p. 134). This consists of three verses from the psalms. A similar item had occurred in some of the Primers: "Hortulus animae", H. 86 (1528), has "Exeundo domum dic. Vias tuas Domine demonstra mihi ...", the Latin of Gosin's first verse; cf. H. 266 (1571) and H. 267 (1599).

When we hear the clock at any hour of the day (p. 134). This consists of two verses from the psalms, and another sentence. None

of the Primers described by Hoskins has such an item, except 'PP', which has, with the heading "Quoties, Horam sonare audis, dic", a Latin sentence similar to Cosin's: "Concede mihi, Domine Deus, felicem ac salutarem vivendi ac moriendi horam" (p.394).

At our entrance into the Church (pp.134-5). Cosin has three verses from the psalms. 'PP' has a similar item, "Templum ingrediens sic era . . .", with a Latin version of Cosin's first verse (p.394).

Several other Primers have a similar item: H.7(1494), H.128(1537), H.266(1571), and H.267(1599).

When we are come into the Quire (p.135). This consists of parts of three verses from the psalms. Hoskins records no similar item in any of the Primers.

When we fall down to worship and adore before the presence of God (p.135). This is made up of verses from the Book of Revelation. Hoskins records no item of this sort in any of the Primers.

A Divine Hymn preparative to prayer (pp.136-7). The theme of this hymn is the importance of prayer, and of detachment in prayer. 'PP' contained a collection of "Carmina" (pp.403-19), but none of these appears to have inspired Cosin's hymn, nor has any other source been found; no reference is made to it in Julian's "Dictionary of Hymnology" (1). It is not impossible, however, that it is a translation, or version, of some earlier hymn; certainly five of the eight hymns in 'D' have identifiable sources. In the form in which Cosin gives this hymn, Stranks' comment on Cosin's hymn-writing in general is not inapposite: "Cosin was no poet. He had neither the imagination nor the technique necess-

ary, as often as not he never even troubled to make his lines scan" (1), (note, for example, the first four lines of the second stanza).

The Hours of Prayer (p.139). A further title introductory to the hours.

An Advertisement Concerning the Division of the Hours Following (p.141). Probably in further anticipation of criticism, Cosin explains in this short piece how the canonical hours are founded on the ancient division of the day, as "appeareth both by the histories of the Jews, and by plain observations out of the New Testament". The two quotations, from Mk. 15 and John 19, had both occurred in Bellarmine's discussion of the canonical hours (see above, p.46).

The First Hour, or the Morning Prayers (p.143). The title is followed by a quotation from Radulphus, explaining that the division of the first hour into several services (Matins, Lauds and Prime) was not primitive. The "De Canonum Observatione" of Radulphus was included in Hittorpius' "De Divinis Catholicae Ecclesiae Officiis et Mysteriis . . .", which Cosin is known to have used a great deal during this period (see above, p.30).

The Antiquity of the Mattins, or, Morning Prayer, Deduced as well from the Testimony of the Sacred Scriptures, as from the Holy Fathers of the Church (pp.145-150). A short introductory piece preceding the twenty one biblical and fourteen patristic references, emphasises the many precedents for this office. A small proportion of the references, two biblical and seven patristic, occur in Bellarmine, Azor, and the Douai-Rheims

Bible (see above, p.46).

Preparatory Prayers to All the Hours that Follow (pp.151-2).

Such a series of prayers occurs in several of the Primers.

"God be in ..."(p.151). Porter says of this verse : "Cosin's version ... derives (with slight alteration) from the anonymous English version which he probably obtained from the Sarum 'Enchiridion', ... the verse will be found on the title-page of the 'Hurdouyn' editions of 1530 and 1533"(1). It should be added that it occurs in the position in which Cosin has it, in two Primers, H.44(1514) and H.135(1538).

"Prevent me, O ..."(p.151). This is one of the collects included at the end of the Order for Holy Communion in the Book of Common Prayer (1549 et seq.). It also occurs in three Primers, H.62(1523) under the title "pro operatione justa", and, more interestingly, in two of the Primers according to the reformed Latin of the Roman Use, H.266(1571) and H.267(1599) under the title "Before the beginning of any office".

General Confession and Absolution (pp.151-2). These are as in the offices of the Book of Common Prayer, except that Cosin puts them in the singular, and the absolution in a precatory form suitable for private devotion. 'O' has these amongst some prayers immediately before Preces Matutinae, while 'PP' has them as the opening of Preces Matutinae and Preces Vespertinae (pp. 132-3, 246 and 264).

The Matins, or Morning Prayer, for the First Hour of the Day (pp. 153-68). In the following table, the arrangement of the First

Hour in 'D' may be compared with that in 'O' and 'PP' :

'O'	'PP'	'D'
	Penitential sents. Confession, Absoln.	
Our Father	Our Father	Our Father
Versicles	Versicles	Versicles
Venite	Venite	Venite
Antiphon	Antiphon	
Hymn	Hymn	Hymn
		Antiphon
Psalms	Psalms	Psalms
Antiphon	Antiphon	Antiphon
Benediction		Benediction
Lessons(1-O.T., 2-NT)	Lesson(OT)	Lesson(OT)
Versicle	Versicle	Versicle and ..
		... Response
Te Deum (Lauds)	Te Deum (Lauds)	Te Deum (Lauds)
Versicles	Versicles	
		Alleluiah
Antiphon	Antiphon	Antiphon
Psalm	Psalm	Psalms
		Antiphon
Benedicite	Benedicite	Benedicite
Psalm	Psalm	
Antiphon	Antiphon	
		Benediction
	Lesson(NT)	Lesson(NT)
		Versicle and Response
Hymn	Hymn	
Benedictus	Benedictus	Benedictus
Antiphon		
Versicles	Creed	Creed
Prayers	Versicles	Versicles
	Prayers	Prayers
(pp. 133-144)	(pp. 245-257)	

The first Hour in 'D', it will be seen, is rather long, a good deal longer than Morning Prayer in the Book of Common Prayer, although "it follows the Prayer Book in general arrangement" (1). It includes material traditional to Matins and Lauds, and, with slight variations, follows the arrangement of Preces Mautuinae and Laudes in 'O' and 'PP'. The substance of Lauds is restored by inserting the traditional psalms 148-150 before the Benedicite, on which Porter comments: "This simple interpolation may have

"its uses today, especially on festal occasions" (1).

Our Father (p.153). (Comments on the contents of the hours will be restricted to their more unusual features).

Versicles and Responses (p.153).

The Venite (pp.153-4). This is preceded by a note: "With which S. Ambrose saith, it was the use of the Church in his time to begin their service". The editor of the L.A.C.T. edition of 'D' adds a footnote: "No such passage has been discovered in the writings of this Saint, nor does Cosin refer to his authority in the corresponding annotation in the Book of Common Prayer". Cosin's "First Series" of notes on the Book of Common Prayer does, however, contain the following entry on the Venite: "So was the order in St. Basil's time, after the confession, in the beginning of the service, to sing psalms and hymns with solemn music, epist. lxiii" (2), and this reference has been identified. Perhaps for "Ambrose", in 'D', we should read "Basil".

The Hymn "Iam lucis orto sidere" (p.154). "Originally assigned to Prime in the breviary, the King's Primer (1545) introduced it into Matins of our Lady" (3). This is not the translation used in the King's Primer, and Julian attributes it to Cosin (4). It is extremely clumsy in parts: "To tame proud flesh, while we deny it // A full cup, and wanton diet", but keeps close to the sense of the original. 'O' and 'PP' have the Latin version of this hymn.

The Antiphona (p.155). This is Ps. 63, 5. For the most part, Cosin uses verses from the psalms as antiphons; 'O' and 'PP' use the beatitudes.

Psalms 8,19 and 24 (pp.155-7). "... those traditional to the Little Office"(1). 'O' and 'PP' have the same selection.

The Antiphona (p.157). Ps.63,5.

The Benediction (p.157). Ps.119,1. 'O' has a different benediction, while 'PP' has none.

The Lesson (p.157). "... a cento from Proverbs, based on one introduced in ...('O')" (2). 'PP' has this also.

Versicle and Response (p.158). Ps.119,24 and 73. 'O' and 'PP' have a different one.

Te Deum Laudamus (pp.158-9). The alternative title, "The Song of S. Ambrose", is also given, and a note on the (legendary) origin of the hymn, in which Cosin combines phrases from the similar but briefer note in 'PP', "Hymnus Sancti Ambrosii et Augustini, continens laudem Dei Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti" (p.250), and others from Ambrose's own account, "in quo una nobiscum divino quodam instinctu hymnum cantavimus de Christi Fide" (3).

The Laudes, or the Praises at Morning Prayer (p.159). This title marks the beginning of that part of Cosin's office which derives from the office of Lauds.

Alleluiah (p.159). A traditional feature at the beginning of Lauds, omitted, however, in 'O' and 'PP'.

The Antiphona (p.159). Ps.84,4.

Psalms 148-150 (pp.159-161). Traditional at Lauds. Of these, 'O' and 'PP' have only 148.

The Antiphona (p.161). Ps.71,8.

Benedicite (pp.161-163). This is provided as an alternative to the three psalms above.

The Benediction (p.163). Lk.11,27.

The Lesson (p.163). Mt.5,3-10. 'PP' has a different lesson at this point, but the use of the Beatitudes as antiphons in 'O' and 'PP' may have given Cosin the idea of using them as the lesson.

Versicle and Response (p.163). Ps.119,35.

Benedictus (pp.163-164). Cosin calls this "The Song of Zachary the Priest", probably after 'O' and 'PP', where it is "Canticum Zachariae"

The Creed (p.164). In three paragraphs, as in the catechetical section.

The Prayers (pp.164-165). These are exactly the versicles and responses and prayers at this point in the Prayer Book order for Morning Prayer. Provision is made for the inclusion of "the Collects proper for the week".

A Devout Prayer, which may be used at all times (pp.166-167). "A series of very fine personal prayers, unusual for their brevity" (1). There are ten prayers in all. They are of the epigrammatic, catalogue type, and although they seem to have no logical order, the cumulative effect is impressive. Four, or perhaps five, of the ten prayers are known to derive from Latin prayers, and of the whole series Milner-White says: "Internal evidence suggests that these prayers are derived, however remotely, from the Latin". He goes on to suggest that "it may be that Cosin is only echoing over a wide field" (2), but, since several of the prayers have an

identifiable source, perhaps it is more reasonable to assume that the others also have exact sources.

I "Grant me, gracious . . ." (p.166). No source has been found for this prayer.

II "Be Thou a . . ." (p.166). This is not unlike, and may be derived from a meditation, "Of the unspeakable sweetness of God", to be found in a little book of 1574, "Certain Select Prayers gathered out of S. Augustine's Meditations" : "My joy draw my hart unto thee, My sweete foode, let me feede upon thee. My head, direct Thou me, Thou light of myne eyes, inlighten me. My melodie, delight thou me . . ." (1).

III "Lord Jesu, I . . ." (p.166). Porter suggests that this prayer seems to be based on the "Suscipe" of Ignatius Loyola, and this may be so (2). cf. this modern version of the "Suscipe" : "Take, O Lord, into Thy hands my entire liberty ; receive my memory, my understanding and my whole will. All that I am, all that I have, Thou hast given me, and I will give it back again to Thee, to be disposed entirely according to Thy good pleasure" (3).

IV "I am not . . ." (p.166). No source has been found for this prayer. It runs on well from the previous prayer.

V "My Lord and . . ." (p.166). This could be based on a prayer entitled "Pro tollenda morum pravitate, et vita melius instit-uenda : ex Augustino", which occurs among the "Precationes Piae" in 'PP.' (pp.380-381), and which has the following phrases : "Da mihi in adversis patientiam, et in prosperis continentiam. Da mihi labiorum constantiam . . ."

VI "Make me humble ..." (pp.166-7). No source for this prayer has been found.

VII "Give me modesty ..." (p.167). No source for this prayer has been found.

VIII "Lord, let me ..." (p.167). Of this and the next two prayers, Porter says, "They are based on various clauses of the Precatio Aurea, a long daily prayer of St. Thomas Aquinas. The 1559 primer contained a famous translation by Queen Mary when eleven years old. The inept editor (of 'O') ... retranslated it into Latin. Cosin seems to have known Mary's translation, but here, as elsewhere, he feels free to alter" (1). It should be added that 'PP' also includes this prayer (p.396) in a different version from that in 'O' (p.201).

In this particular prayer, Cosin uses Queen Mary's translation almost word for word, but altering slightly the order of its constituent phrases: "(My God, make) me humble without (feigning), merry without lightness, sad without mistrust, sober without dullness, true without doubleness, fearing thee without desperation, trusting thee without presumption, ... obedient without arguing, patient without grudging, (and) pure without corruption" (2).

IX "Let me be ..." (p.167). Cosin does not follow his model quite as closely in this prayer. The corresponding passage in Queen Mary's translation is as follows: "... and that I may rejoice in nothing, but that which moveth me to thee, nor be sorry for nothing, but those things which draweth me from thee ... let me not be merry with the joy that is without thee, and let me desire nothing besides thee. Let that labour delight me, which is for thee,

"and let all the rest weary me, which is not in thee ..." (1).

X "Give me a ..." (p.167). Again, Cosin does not follow his model very closely. The corresponding passage in Queen Mary's translation is as follows: "O Merciful God, grant me to covet with a fervent mind those things which may please thee, to search them wisely, to know them truly, and to fulfil them perfectly, to the laud and glory of thy name ... give me a waking heart, ... grant me ... diligence to seek thee ..." (2).

The Final Prayers (pp.167-8). Two Prayer Book collects, the first two of those which are printed at the end of the Order for Holy Communion, and a doxology (I Tim.1,17), conclude the office.

The Third Hour of Prayers: or, the Middle Space between Sun Rising and Noon (pp.169-180).

The Ancient Use of Prayers at the Third Hour (pp.171-3). A short introductory piece, with three biblical quotations, and references to Durandus, Rupertus, Cyprian and Jerome and the "decrees of the Church", precedes a series of seven quotations from the Fathers. All three of the biblical references, and seven of the patristic, are the same as in the corresponding passages in Azor, Bellarmine and the Douai-Rheims Bible (see above, p.46).

The introduction emphasises the association of the Holy Spirit with this hour: "... this descent of the Holy Ghost was at the third hour of prayer, at which time and godly exercise the Apostles were then assembled". Mk.15,12-13 is added, indicating the further association of the Passion with this hour.

Prayers for the Third Hour (pp.175-180). In the following table,

the arrangement of the Third Hour in 'D' may be compared with that in 'O' (the Sixth and Ninth Hours follow the same pattern):

<u>'O'</u>	<u>'D'</u>
Versicle and Response	Our Father
Gloria	Versicle and Response
	Gloria
Hymn	Alleluiah
	Hymn
Psalm	Antiphon
Antiphon	Psalms
	Benediction
Versicles and Responses	Lesson
Prayer	Versicles and Responses
(pp.147-8).	Prayers

As this indicates, the Third Hour, and the other midday Hours, in 'D' follow the traditional pattern, as it is found in 'O' (except that 'O' omits the Lesson or Chapter, a traditional feature, which Cosin restores, along with the Our Father and the Alleluiah). Cosin's choice of material appears to be original, and Porter remarks: "(He) has created original and striking compilations of traditional and biblical material. Much more than in the Latin versions, Terce is an office of the Holy Ghost" (1).

Our Father (p.175).

Versicle and Response (p.175).

Gloria (p.175).

Alleluiah (p.175).

The Hymn, Veni Creator (pp.175-6). This hymn was appointed to be used at Terce during Pentecost in the Sarum Psalter, and is particularly appropriate to an office of the Holy Ghost. ('O' has the Sext Hymn, "Rector potens", at this point).

Porter describes this as "the first appearance of Cosin's now beloved Veni Creator" (1). In fact, it seems to have 'appeared' at a slightly earlier date, though not printed. In a copy of the order for the coronation of Charles I (at which Cosin had been Magister Cereemoniarum), "believed to be the very book which King Charles held in his hand on that occasion, ... the hymn Veni Creator (in Cosin's version) is written on one leaf (p.69) as a supplement or appendix" (2). Osmond suggests that it was perhaps included for the king's private devotional use (3).

It is a free adaptation of the Latin original, and Osmond goes on to say of it, "... a singularly happy piece of translation, sacrificing mere accuracy to the expression of the original ideas in an English version which is a noble specimen of the vernacular and yet in some subtle way suggests its Latin origin". It is certainly one of Cosin's most felicitous attempts at hymn writing, although there is a slight 'angularity' about the doxology: "Teach us to know the Father, Son, / And Thee, of Both, to be but One".

The Antiphona (p.176). Ps.31,18.

Psalms 15, 25, 145 (pp.176-9). "The psalms have no traditional connexion with their respective Hours (i.e. midday Hours). The author seems to have kept his choice within the limits of the perennial favourites. At least one psalm, however, is closely related to the theme of each Hour" (4). In the case of this Hour, in fact both psalms 25 and 145 are appropriate to an office of the Holy Ghost.

The Benediction (p.179). Ps.106,46.

The Lesson (p.179). Eph. 6,3-18, a lesson appropriate to the theme of the Hour.

Versicle and Response (p.179).

The Prayers (pp.179-180). "The two prayers or collects at the end of each of (the midday) Hours have a considerable interest. Although Cosin has in some way altered every one, they all have older sources" (1).

I "Almighty God, which . . ." (pp.179-180). Porter describes this as "an expanded version of the Whitsunday Collect (traditional for Memorial of the Holy Ghost at Lauds" (2). Up to and including the petition, the prayer is simply a slightly amplified version of this collect; the subsequent clause, defining the purpose of the petition, is the second petition in the collect for Epiphany I ; the ending is expanded by a clause associating the Passion with the Third Hour. It is a neat conflation.

II "Almighty God, the . . ." (p.180). The theme of the Hour, the Holy Spirit, is also reflected in this prayer, an expanded version of the Prayer of Invocation in the Order of Confirmation in the Book of Common Prayer. Cosin has expanded his original in all four of its parts, and made a flowing and unified prayer, admirable for private devotion.

"The Lord's Name . . ." (p.180). Ps.113,3.

The Sixth Hour of Prayer; or, Mid-Day (pp.181-9).

The Ancient Custom of Prayers at the Sixth Hour, or Noon-Day (pp.183-4). A short introductory piece, with a reference to Cyprian and three biblical quotations, is followed by a series

of six quotations from the Fathers. One of the biblical references and five of the patristic, are the same as in the corresponding passages in Azor, Bellarmine, and the Douai-Rheims Bible (see above, p.46).

The Sixth Hour is clearly intended to be an office of the Passion: "... At which time our Saviour offered His last prayers upon the altar of His cross".

Prayers for the Sixth Hour (pp.185-9). This office is on exactly the same pattern as that for the Third Hour, and differs from 'O' at the same points.

Our Father (p.185).

Versicle and Response (p.185).

Gloria (p.185).

Alleluiah (p.185).

The Hymn (pp.185-6). Porter calls this a brief original lyric (1), but it is not original, being an adaptation of part of Ben Jonson's "A Hymne to God the Father", which was first printed in the Jonson Folio of 1640-1 as part of the collection known as "The Underwood". The editors of Jonson's works add a note that the "Hymne" was "used as an anthem in one of the royal chapells in and after 1635 from a setting by William Crosse" (2). Its inclusion in 'D', hitherto unrecognised, is the earliest appearance of Jonson's hymn, or, at least, of a version of part of it. After three stanzas which bear no resemblance to the hymn in 'D', the concluding three stanzas are as follows (lines 17-32):

"Who more can crave // Then thou hast done ? // That gav'st a

"Sonne, // To free a slave, // First made of nought; // With all
 since bought. // Sinne, Death, and Hell, // His glorious Name /
 Quite overcame, // Yet I rebell // And slight the same. // But,
 I'le come in, // Before my losse / Me farther tosse, // As sure to
 win // Under his Crosse" (1). The resemblance to the hymn in 'D',
 it will be seen, is unmistakable; Cosin has used, in a different
 metre and with some rearrangement, lines 17-20 of Jonson's hymn,
 and has borrowed a rhyme ("my losse / Crosse") from lines 29 and
 32. The version in 'D' is particularly appropriate to an office
 of the Passion, with its reference to "that hour // When He
 repaired my loss". There is nothing to indicate how Cosin came
 across Jonson's hymn, nor any evidence in the printed works of
 either Cosin or Jonson, that the two were acquainted, but it is
 quite possible that they would come across one another at the
 Court.

"O" has the Matins hymn, "Rerum Creator omnium" at this point.

The Antiphona (p.186). Appropriate to the theme of the Hour.

Psalms 103, 116, 117 (pp.186-8). See the remarks on the psalms at
 the Third Hour. All three psalms refer to God active in redemption,
 and so relate to the theme of the Hour.

The Benediction (p.189). Ps.32,1, appropriate to the theme of
 the Hour.

The Lesson (p.189). Phil.2,5-11, appropriate, with its reference
 to "the death of the Cross", to the theme of the Hour.

Versicle and Response (p.189). Ps.69,13.

The Prayers (p.189). See the remark on the prayers at the Third Hour.
 Hour.

I "Save us, O ..." (p.189). A variant, with no outstanding divergences, on the Antiphon of the Cross, "O Saviour of the world".

II "O Lord Jesus ..." (p.189). "Adapted from the Collect for the Compassion of our Lady. This had been printed after every Hour in the Sarum Enchiridion" (1). It has not been possible to compare Cosin's adaptation with the original. The phrase, "have this Thy blessed Passion in devout remembrance", is reminiscent of the wording of the Canon in the 1549 Book of Common Prayer, "having in remembrance his blessed passion".

"The Lord's Name ..." (p.189). Ps.113,3.

The Ninth Hour of Prayer : or, Mid-Space between Noon and Sun-Set (pp.191-9).

The Ancient Use of Prayers at the Ninth Hour (pp.195-9). A short introductory piece, including three biblical quotations, is followed by a series of six quotations from the Fathers, in which the emphasis is on the Ninth Hour as an office of the Passion. Two of the biblical references and four of the patristic, are the same as in the corresponding passages in Azor, Bellarmine, and the Douai-Rheims Bible (see above, p.46).

Prayers for the Ninth Hour (pp.195-9). The office is on exactly the same pattern as that for the Third and Sixth Hours, and differs from 'O' at the same points. It will be seen that Cosin has made this also an office of the Passion, but with a distinctive emphasis on the Passion as a revelation of the divine love and mercy.

Our Father (p.195).

Versicle and Response (p.195).

Gloria(p.195).

Alleluiah (p.195).

The Hymn (p.195). This is an extremely brief and simple lyric, which Porter suggests is original (1) ; certainly, there is no hymn resembling this in Julian's dictionary (2), nor in the Primers described by Hoskins, nor amongst the hymns of the Breviary. Note, in connection with the theme of this office, the occurrence in seven short lines of "mercy" (twice), "pity" and "clemency".

'O' has the Lauds hymn, "Aeterna coeli gloria", from the Sarum Breviary.

The Antiphona (p.195). Ps.39,8, appropriate to the suggested theme of the Hour.

Psalms 34, 46, 54 (pp.196-8). All three psalms are appropriate to the theme of the Hour.

The Benediction (p.198). Mt.5,7. This is used as an antiphon at Preces Matutinae in both 'O' and 'PF'. Here it is appropriate to the theme of the Hour.

The Lesson (p.198). This is a cento based on Eph. 5,1-2 and Rom.12,1-2, appropriate to the theme of the Hour : "... as Christ loved us, and gave Himself for us ...".

Versicle and Response (p.198). Ps.145,9, appropriate to the theme of the Hour.

The Prayers (pp.198-9). See the remark on the prayers at the Third Hour.

I "Hear me, O ..." (pp.198-9). This is an arrangement of one of a series of medieval Passion prayers known as "The XV Oes of Saynt Brygitte" (1). These had appeared in many of the Primers, e.g. H.7(1494), H.104(1532-3), H.114(1534), H.124(1536), H.128(1537), H.143(1539), H.150(1539), H.151(1540). This particular prayer is taken from the fourteenth 'O' in, according to Milner-White, the translation in Bishop Hilsey's Primer, H.143(1539), (2) :

"O Jesu, the only begotten Son of Almighty God the Father, the brightness and figure of his godly substance, have mind of that entire commendation, in which thou didst commend thy spirit into the hands of thy Father ; and, with a torn body and broken heart shewing to us for our ransom the bowels of thy mercy, for the redeeming of us didst give up thy breath ; For mind of that precious death, I beseech thee, King of Saints, comfort me to withstand the fiend, the world and my flesh, that I may be dead to the world, and living ghostly toward thee. And in the last hour of my departing from the world, receive my soul, coming to thee, which in this life is an outlaw and a pilgrim ..." (3).

Comparing this with the prayer in 'D', it will be seen that Cosin has made his adaptation "with a disciplining of form and language, but with no change of content" (4). Cosin echoes the Prayer of Thanksgiving after communion in the Book of Common Prayer, in his phrase, "(I) beseech Thee ... so to assist (me)". It is an admirable prayer, and appropriate to the theme of the Hour.

II "Almighty God, Who . . ." (p.199). This is a variant on the Palm Sunday collect. Cosin omits the reference to the Incarnation ("to take upon Him our flesh"), and inserts an additional reference to having "His most precious Death and Passion in continual remembrance", an echo, perhaps, of the third Exhortation at the Holy Communion, "continually remembrance of his death". So altered, and with its reference to God's "tender love", this prayer is highly appropriate to the theme of the Hour.

"The Lord's Name . . ." (p.199). Ps.113,3a.

Prayers at the Vespers, or Time of Evensong (pp.201-211).

The Ancient Use of Evening Prayer (pp.203-4). A short introductory piece, with four biblical references and one patristic, is followed by eight biblical and six patristic quotations, in which the emphasis is not so much on a particular theme for this Hour, as on the appropriateness of evening prayers. Two of the biblical and two of the patristic references are the same as in the corresponding passages in Azor, Bellarmine, and the Douai-Rheims Bible (see above, p.46).

Prayers for the Evening (pp.205-211). The office is on the same pattern as the midday Hours, and differs from 'O' at the same points, with the additional difference that, while 'O' had placed the hymn at the traditional position, immediately before the Magnificat, Cosin keeps it between the opening prayers and the psalms, as in the midday Hours. Preces Vespertinae in 'PP' is a much longer Office.

Our Father (p.205).

Versicle and Response (p.205).Gloria (p.205).Allluiah (p.205).

The Hymn. Salvator mundi Domine (pp.205-6). This is a Compline hymn in the Sarum Breviary, but is used at this point in some of the earlier Primers (1), in 'O', for example. ('PP' has a different hymn at Preces Vespertinae, but includes this with some bed-time prayers).

Julian assumes that this is Cosin's translation, and no evidence to the contrary has been found ; it is a rather wordy version, and loses some of the concise effect of the original (2).

The Antiphona (p.206). Ps.65,8b, a reference to evening.

Psalms 111, 112, 141 (pp.206-8). "Psalms 111 and 112 are traditional to Sunday Vespers ; 141 is appropriate in view of verse 2" (3).

The Benediction (p.209). Mt.5,8. This is used as an antiphon at the Third Hour in 'O' and at Preces Matutinae in 'PP', but is equally appropriate here.

The Lesson (p.209). A cento from Mk.13,33-37 and Mt.11,28,29a,30, 29b ; this is possibly Cosin's own arrangement. 'PP' has quite different lessons for Preces Vespertinae.

The Magnificat, Or the Song of the blessed Virgin Mary (pp.209-10).

The alternative title had not occurred in the Book of Common Prayer at this time. 'O' and 'PP' have "Canticum Mariae exultantis et laudantis bonitatem Dei" (pp.153 and 266), and Hooker calls it "the song of the Virgin Mary" (4).

The Prayers (pp. 210-11).

I "O God, from . . ." (p. 210). This is the Prayer Book Collect for Peace, "a traditional element in the Little Office" (1). This is not in 'O', but is amongst the evening prayers in 'PP'.

II "Almighty God, the . . ." (p. 210). This is one of the collects included at the end of the Order for Holy Communion in the Book of Common Prayer. It first appeared in the Prayer Book of 1549. It is not included in either 'O' or 'PP'.

III "O Lord, our . . ." (p. 210). The original of this was an evening prayer by Erasmus in his "Precationes Aliquot" (2). Its subsequent history is traced by Porter §: "English variants were used in the King's Primer among the miscellaneous prayers not connected with the Little Office. The unhappy editor of . . . ('O') retranslated them into Latin. Two full-length variants . . . appeared in . . . ('O') (pp. 131 and 183), and a condensed form was used as the collect at Vespers (p. 154)" (3). 'PP', it should be added, contains the prayer in the original Latin of Erasmus, amongst the "Preces piæ . . ." (p. 372), and, in the condensed form as in 'O', in the Preces Vespertinae (p. 271).

Cosin does not seem to have used the translation in the King's Primer, but has made his own translation of the condensed form of the prayer as we find it in 'O' and 'PP': "Omnipotens Domine Deus, ex cuius ordine et voluntate iam nox et tenebrae appetunt, tuam clementiam deprecamur, ut nos misericorditer in tutelam tuam accipias, ne in nos principes tenebrarum aliquid potestatis habeant; et cum dormiendum pro corporis necessitate sit, nihilominus cor et animus noster ad te semper vigilant, et

" effice ne in conspectu tuo filii noctis et tenebrarum, sed diei et lucis perpetuo inveniamur. Qui vivis "...". It will be seen that Cosin has used his model with considerable freedom, and has replaced the concluding phrases with a passage from another source, the collect for the Second Sunday in Lent. The result is a fine, unified prayer.

IV. "O Thou that ..." (pp.210-11). This prayer has a similar history to the previous one. The original was a morning prayer of Erasmus, "Dilculo ad Christum", from his "Precationes Aliquot", An English version appeared among the miscellaneous prayers in the King's Primer, and then in several subsequent Primers. It is retranslated into Latin among the miscellaneous prayers in 'O' (p.183), while the "Precationes piae ..." in 'PP' include it in the original Latin of Erasmus (pp.371-2), thus: "Domine Jesu Christe, qui verus es mundi sol, semper oriens, nunquam occidens: qui tuo salutifero conspectu gignis, servas, alis, exhilaras, omnia, et quae in coelis, et quae in terris: illucesce, quaeso, propitius animo meo, ut, discussa nocte criminum ac nebulis errorum, te intus praelucente, citra affensionem per omnem vitam incedam, et tanquam in die decenter ambulem, purus ab operibus tenebrarum: qui vivis ...". Again, Cosin does not seem to have made use of the King's Primer version of this prayer, but has made his own translation. His version keeps fairly close to the Latin original (there is nothing to indicate whether he was working from 'O' or 'PP' at this point), but is shorter, omitting a phrase (ie. "et tanquam in die decenter ambulem") inappropriate to a Vespers prayer.

"The Lord's Name ..." (p.211). Ps.113,3.

The Compline, or Final Prayers : to be said before Bed-time

(pp.213-7). The title is followed by two quotations, one biblical and one patristic, referring to prayer before sleep. These take the place of the lengthier introductions which precede the previous Hours.

The Prayers (pp.215-7). Compline in 'D' is a very short office. Porter says that it "derives most of its contents not from the Little Office but from the Breviary" (1). A comparison with Completorium in 'O' and the end of Preces Vespertinae in 'PP' (the part of the office introduced, curiously, with the title "Laudes"), shows that Cosin derived the general form of his office from these two Elizabethan Primers :

<u>'O'</u>	<u>'PP'</u>	<u>'D'</u>
Versicle, Response	Versicle, Response	
Gloria	Gloria	Antiphon
Psalms	Psalms	Psalm
Antiphon	Antiphon	
Chapter	Lesson	Lesson
	Antiphon	
Hymn	Hymn	
Nunc Dimittis	Nunc Dimittis	Nunc Dimittis
Antiphon		
	Creed	Creed
	Kyrie	Kyrie
	Lord's Prayer	Lord's Prayer
Versicle, Response	Versicles, Responses	Versicle
Prayers	Prayers	Prayers
Blessing, Grace	Blessing	Blessing
(pp.154-7)	(pp.266-71)	

The Antiphona (p.215). Ps.67,1.

Psalm 91,1-6 (p.215). This was one of the Breviary psalms for Compline, and some of the Primers have it, though not 'O' or 'PP'. A note is added, on St. Basil's direction for its use at this time.

The Lesson (pp.215-6). I Pet.5,8 and II Pet.3,10a and 11.

I Pet.5,8 ff.was appointed for this Hour in the Breviary,but it does not occur in 'O' or 'PP'.Cosin's running together of these two separate exhortations to vigilance,is effective.

The Song of Symeon,called Nunc Dimittis(p.216). The title in the Prayer Book at this time was simply "Nunc Dimittis"; 'O' and 'PP' have "Canticus Simeonis justi".

The Creed(p.216). Traditional at Compline,in the Breviary.

Kyrie(p.216).

Lord's Prayer(p.216).

"The day is ..."(p.217).After the 1st edition,this is styled "The Versicle".It is made up of Ps.74,17a and a variation on Rev.4,11a.No model for this has been found.

I"Merciful Lord,Who ..."(p.217).This prayer,like Vespers III (see above,pp.70-1),derives from Erasmus's evening prayer,"Dilculo ad Christum".Cosin may have used some of the variations which occur in 'O' and 'PP',i.e."Domine Deus,qui noctem destinasti hominis quieti,sicut diem creasti,in quo se laboribus exerceat;effice,quaeso,ut sic quiescat hac nocte corpus meum,ne animus interea vigilare tibi desinat;ne fatiscat cor,aut torpore obruatur,quin semper erectum in amore tui perstat"(p.131,"... precor abs te,per largam atque inexhaustam bonitatem tuam, Domine, ... Oculi mei indormiant,cor vero ad te assidue vigilet ..."(p.183),"... ut hic somnus corpus simul et mentem in crastinum diem reddat ad tibi serviendum alacriora ..."(p.372). Again,Cosin has used his models very freely,to produce what is virtually a new prayer.

II "Lighten our darkness . . ." (p.217). The Third Collect at Evening Prayer in the Book of Common Prayer.

The Benediction (p.217). This looks traditional, but it does not occur in any of the Primers described by Hoskins. 'O' and 'PP' have "Benedicamus Domino. Deo gratias" (pp.157, 271).

Prayers at Bed-time (pp.219-20). Later editions of 'D' add to this title "To be committed unto perfect memory", cf. the "Pious Ejaculations" (p.133).

These prayers are not arranged in the form of an office, but the postscript, "The End of the Last Hour at Night", shows that Cosin intended them to be regarded as the seventh of the canonical Hours. (In 'O', which has a separate office of Prime, Compline is the Seventh Hour; 'PP', of course, does not have the seven Hours, but after Preces Vespertinae has a short office, entitled "Preces dicendae, cum itur cubitum", followed by various prayers, sentences, etc., under the headings, "Noctu si forte expurgisceris, ad hunc modum tecum meditare", and "Cum ad somnum te rursus componis, dic" (pp.272-3).

An admonition (p.219). No source for this has been found. It is an effective verse, neatly turned. Osmond remarks that it has "a rugged utility not to be despised" (1). While it may derive from some evening hymn, the curious combination in l.3, "judgement deep", seems to be distinctive of Cosin's style, cf. "cheerful strength" in the first prayer at Compline (p.217).

When we enter into our bed (p.219). This is traditional, but does not occur in 'O' or 'PP'. An almost identical version is in

"Kellam's Manuall" (1), except for the phrase, "and laid into his grave for me", which may be Cosin's own addition.

As we lie down to sleep (p.219). No source has been found for these two slight but pleasing verses. The careful and almost monosyllabic simplicity is reminiscent of the style of the hymn at the Sixth Hour, which derives from Ben Jonson.

I "I will lay ..." (p.219). Ps.4,8. Ps.4 is traditional (in the Breviary) at Compline. Ps.4,8a is included among the prayers, "Cum itur cubitum", in 'PP'.

II "Have mercy upon ..." (p.220). This has occurred earlier in 'D', among the "Pious Ejaculations" (p.134).

III "Preserve me while ..." (p.220). This is a version of the traditional Compline antiphon. It is included at Compline in 'O' (p.156), and under the title, "Cum ad somnum te rursus componis, dic", in 'PP' (p.273).

The End of ... (p.220). A rubric marks the end of the Canonical Hours in 'D'.

The Seven Penitential Psalms, with the Litany and Suffrages (pp. (221-38)). The title covers the next two items in 'D'.

The Seven Penitential Psalms (pp.223-30). A note is added, on when these psalms are to be used. The Penitential Psalms are a basic element in the Primer ; they occur in both 'O' (which has, however, several more than the traditional seven) (pp.157-66), and 'PP' (pp.297-304).

The Antiphona (p.223). This particular antiphon is traditionally

associated with the Penitential Psalms; it occurs, for example, with these psalms in the *Ordo ad Visitandum Infirmum* in the *Sarum Manual* (1), and when they were prefixed to the Litany in its pre-1544 versions (2), and in some of the earlier Primers, H.7 (c.1494) and H.124 (1536). 'O' and 'PP' have a longer version of it.

Psalms 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143 (pp. 223-30).

The Antiphona (p. 230). As above.

The Litany (pp. 231-8). To the title is added a list of the occasions on which the Litany is to be used. The Prayer Book at this time gave only Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. Cosin adds other traditional occasions, Rogation and fasting days, times of plague, famine, etc., and specifies, as the Prayer Book had not, "after the Morning Prayers, or any other Hour of Devotion".

The Litany is a basic element in the Primer, and occurs in many of the Primers prior to 'D', including 'O' (pp. 166-72) and 'PP' (pp. 257-63).

"Such miseries as . . ." (p. 232). The origins, purpose and development of the Litany are traced in this short piece. Nine marginal notes, mostly patristic references, are included. One note refers to Bk. V of Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity", and Cosin has, in fact, taken several things from chapter 41, "Of the Litany": four of the patristic references are as in Hooker; the description of the Litany's corrupt medieval accretions as "rust" clearly derives from his comment, "But this iron began at length to gather rust"; the latter part of his third paragraph is,

as his marginal note acknowledges, a rearrangement of Hooker's, "And by us not only such inconveniences being remedied, but also whatsoever was otherwise amiss in form or matter, it now remaineth a work, the absolute perfection whereof upbraideth with error, nor somewhat worse, then when in all parts it doth not satisfy" (1).

The Litany (pp. 233-8). Cosin reproduces the Litany exactly as it stood in the Book of Common Prayer at the time when he compiled 'D', except that he omits "A Prayer of St. Chrysostom".

The Collects for the Sundays and Holy-days throughout the Whole Year (pp. 239-68). These are included, presumably, because Matins in 'D', following the Book of Common Prayer, makes provision by a rubric for "the Collects proper for the week" (p. 165). Neither 'O' nor 'PP' include the Sunday and Holy-day collects, but they did occur in several of the earlier Primers, e.g. H. 156 (1540), H. 200 (1553), H. 243 (1560).

An interesting feature of this section is Cosin's inclusion of a number of those explanatory, prefatory passages, which we have noted as a distinctive feature of 'D' (see above, p. 34), concerned, in this case, with the exposition of the liturgical year.

The Collects for the Sundays and Holy-days throughout the Whole Year (pp. 241-68). The Collects are, with one or two minute and insignificant verbal variations, as they appeared in the Book of Common Prayer at the time.

Advent Sunday (p. 241). This is a short introductory piece on the meaning of the Advent season, "a solemn time of preparation to the blessed Birth of our Saviour". (There is no reference to the Second Coming).

The second paragraph is very similar to a note of Cosin's, "Why the year begins at Advent", included in his "First Series" of notes on the Book of Common Prayer. The main part of that note, as Cosin indicates, is a translation of a passage from a sermon by Joannes Ferus. A phrase of Cosin's own, introducing the passage, recurs here in identical form: "the peculiar computation of the Church", and Cosin's translation of Ferus, to which the paragraph in 'D', it will be seen, owes a great deal, is as follows: "(The Church) neither follows the course of sun or moon, to number her days and nights according to their revolution; but Jesus Christ being to her as the only Sun and Light whereby she is guided, she following His course alone, beginning and ending her year with Him: when this Sun of righteousness therefore doth arise, that is, when His first coming and incarnation is propounded unto us, then begins the year of the Church, and from thence are all her other days and times computed" (1).

The Collect for the First Sunday in Advent ... Fifth Sunday after the Epiphany (pp.241-4).

Septuagesima Sunday (pp.245-6). This introductory passage describes this day as marking the end of "our Christmas feasting and joy", and the beginning of "our Lenten fasting and sorrow", or at least as a time to begin to prepare for the latter. Cosin gives as his authorities St. Bernard and the Council of Auxerre. He transcribed the two relevant passages from these authorities into his "First Series" of notes on the Book of Common Prayer (2).

The Collect for Septuagesima Sunday ... Quinquagesima Sunday (pp.246-7).

The First Day of Lent (pp.247-9). The first part of this piece is an explanation of the Lent fast, its purpose and value; one phrase seems to be a distinct echo of Hooker on the same theme, "or otherwise abating not only the kind but the quantity of our diet", cf. Hooker's "or by abating both the quantity and kind of diet" (1). The later paragraphs gather patristic and conciliar testimonies, ten Greek and eight Latin, to show that "the Lent which we now keep, is, and ever hath been, an apostolical constitution".

The Collect for Ash Wednesday (p.249).

Three other Collects for this time of Lent (pp.249-50). Later editions of 'D' add, "as in the Communion, appointed to be used in the beginning of Lent". These are, in fact, the Prayer Book Communion prayers.

The Collect for the first Sunday in Lent ... fifth Sunday in Lent (pp.250-1).

The Week before Easter (pp.251-2). This is a lucid and finely written persuasive to the observance of Holy Week. Authorities cited include the Book of Common Prayer, the Apostolical Constitutions, Augustine and Epiphanius. The quotation from Epiphanius evidently derives from the translation which Hooker gives: "On church fasting-days, and especially the week before Easter, when with us, custom admitteth nothing but lying down upon the earth, abstinence from fleshy delights and pleasures, sorrowfulness, dry and unsavoury diet, prayer, watching, fasting, all the medicines which holy affections can minister; they are up

"betimes to take in of the strongest for the belly, and when their veins are well swollen, they make themselves mirth with laughter at this our service, wherein we are persuaded we please God"(1).

The Collect for the Sunday next before Easter ... Good Friday (pp.252-3).

Easter Day (pp.253-4). In this short exposition, the Bible, four of the Fathers, and the Book of Common Prayer, are quoted.

The Anthems ... Collect for Easter Day (pp.254-5).

Monday and Tuesday in Easter Week (pp.255-6). This short piece explains why these two days are observed. The reasons given are those given by Hooker, in his chapter on "The manner of celebrating festival days", and a number of Cosin's phrases are identical with his: "annexed to the feast of Easter ... their first institution ... greater honour (of the principals) whereupon they still attend"(2). A Latin and a Greek Father are quoted.

The Collect for Monday in Easter Week ... the Sunday after Ascension Day (pp.256-8).

Whit-Sunday, or the Feast of Pentecost (p.258). The commemoration is explained, and the meaning of 'Pentecost' and 'Whit-Sunday'. The former name does not occur in the Book of Common Prayer. There are references to the Bible, two of the Fathers, and the Book of Common Prayer, and one phrase, "the two attendant holy-days that are hereunto annexed", appears to derive from Hooker, in the passage quoted above with respect to the Monday and Tuesday in Easter Week.

The Collect for Whit-Sunday ... Monday and Tuesday in Whitsun Week (pp.258-9).

Trinity Sunday (p.259). An explanation is given of the significance of the commemoration of Trinity Sunday, as a "festival of holy service to the whole blessed Trinity".

The Collect for Trinity Sunday ... the twenty-fifth Sunday after Trinity (pp.259-64).

Collects proper for other Holydays (p.264). This entry is merely a note directing attention to the Preface to the Calendar in 'D'.

Saint Andrew's Day (p.264). This note explains why the sequence of Saints' days begins with this commemoration.

The Collect for Saint Andrew's Day ... Saint Simon and Saint Jude's Day (pp.264-8).

All Saints' Day (p.268). Attention is again directed to the Preface to the Calendar in 'D'.

The Collect for All Saints' Day (p.268).

Devout Prayers that may be used Before and After the Receiving of Christ's Holy Sacrament, His Blessed Body and Blood (pp.269-77). The wording of the title is reminiscent of Hooker's phrase: "the holy sacrament of Christ's most blessed body and blood"(1).

Many of the earlier Primers included eucharistic devotions, e.g. H.7(1494), H.122(1536), H.168(1542), H.207(1555), H.222(1556), H.266(1571) and H.267(1599), but these are not as full or as formal in arrangement as Cosin's. Only a few of the Primers described by Hoskins have them printed as a distinct and separate

section. 'O' has no such prayers, and 'PP' has only two, "Ante sacram communionem" (pp. 385-6) and "Gratiarum actio post communionem" (p. 386). Other English devotional books of the period laid considerable emphasis on prayerful preparation for, attendance at, and thanksgiving after the Holy Communion. In Bayly's "The Practice of Piety" (1619), for instance, "more space is given to this than to any other subject in the whole book" (1).

Cosin's inclusion of this section is a further indication that he intended 'D' to be used, not as a substitute for, but as complementary to, the public liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer (see above, p. 34). Liturgical silence is not a prescribed feature of the Prayer Book order for Holy Communion, although the 1549 Prayer Book had required parishioners to be present, "and there with devout prayer, or Godlye silence and meditacion to occupy themselves" (a phrase which Cosin was later to attempt to restore as a rubric "In the Communion time" (2)), cf. Andrewes's suggestion, in his notes on the Prayer Book, "Before the Blessing. Here the congregation ariseth, and having made their adoration, they go towards their seats to a little private devotion" (3). Cosin's eucharistic devotions are, on the whole, adapted to a rite which does not prescribe liturgical silence, and which stresses the corporate aspect of worship: the first two parts, "When we enter into the Church" and "When we are prostrate before the Altar", can be used before the service begins; the hymn and three prayers "At the Consecration" presuppose a reasonably long pause between the Consecration Prayer and the Communion; the remaining prayers, being of the short, ejaculatory type, are well suited for use with

the Prayer Book. With slight exception, these eucharistic devotions are, in fact, eminently usable.

Prayers before the Receiving of the Blessed Sacrament (pp.271-4).

When we enter into the Church (p.271).

I "Lord, I have ..." (p.271). Ps.26,8. This particular verse had already occurred amongst the "Pious Ejaculations ... in the Beginning of the Day" (p.134).

II "I will wash ..." (p.271). Ps.26,6. Ps.26 is the psalm used at the Lavabo in the Roman Mass. Andrewes was accustomed to use it, as celebrant (1).

When we are prostrate before the Altar (pp.271-2).

I "Thou art worthy ..." (p.271). Rev.4,11. This also had already occurred amongst the "Pious Ejaculations ... in the Beginning of the Day" (p.134).

II "Blessing, and glory ..." (p.271). Rev.7,12.

Psalm 51 (pp.271-2). This is one of the penitential psalms; only the first twelve verses are given.

At the Consecration (pp.272-4). The "Prayer of Consecration" was not so named in the Book of Common Prayer at this time.

Versicle (p.272). Mk.9,24.

The Hymn (p.273). This is a translation and adaptation of the second, fifth and sixth verses of the hymn, "Lauda, Sion Salvatorem" by St. Thomas Aquinas, which was included in the Sarum and York uses as a hymn for the feast of Corpus Christi, in the following form: "laudis thema specialis / panis vivus et vitalis /

"hodie proponitur. // quem in sacrae mensa coenae / turbae fratrum diodenae / datum non ambigitur. // quod in coena Christus gessit / faciendum hoc expressit // in sui memoriam. / docti sacris institutis / panem,vinum,in salutis / consecramus hostiam.// dogma datur christianis / quod in carnem transit panis / et vinum in sanguinem // quod non capis,quod non vides, / animosa firmat fides, // praeter rerum ordinem".Cosin's most significant alterations are doctrinal,and include the avoidance of the word "hostiam" (although he contributes "our altars" at this point),, and the replacement of "in carnem transit panis",etc.,by the more qualified "Christians are by faith assured / That by faith Christ is received".

The Prayer (p.273).The heading,in fact,for three prayers.

I "Almighty Lord,Who ..." (p.273).This is a paraphrase of the Corpus Christi prayer,"Deus qui nobis sub sacramento mirabili passionis tuae ...",by St.Thomas Aquinas,which occurs in the Roman and Sarum uses,and had occurred in some of the earlier Primers,e.g.H.25(1502) and H.86(c.1528),and in "Kellam's Manual"(1).Cosin's version follows the sense of the original faithfully,but amplifies it considerably,more than doubling its length.Some of the material Cosin adds is from the 1549 Canon: "... a perpetual memory ... upon the Cross ... remission of sins ... to assist the holy celebration (1549 "to celebrate")... obtain ... all ... benefits of ... Passion ... remission of ... sins ...";one phrase,"due reverence",is from the Prayer for the Church in the Prayer Book of 1552.

II "O Lord,our ..."(p.274).Cosin's prayer takes up several phrases from the 1549 Prayer of Oblation:"O Lord ... heavenly Father ... Thy humble servants ... do ... celebrate the memorial which Thy Son ... hath ... to ... in remembrance ... His ... blessed Passion ... that by the merits ... before Thy divine Majesty,we,and all Thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins,and ... of all other ... benefits of His ... Passion ... mighty resurrection ... and ... glorious ascension".

III "Be pleased,O ..."(p.274).Like prayer II,above,this prayer of Cosin's takes up several phrases from the 1549 Prayer of Oblation:"... to accept ... this our bounden duty and service, and command ... prayers and supplications ... by the ministry of Thy holy Angels be brought up into Thy ... Tabernacle ... not weighing our ... merits,but ... our offences ... with Thy grace and heavenly benediction".

Cosin's notes on the Prayer Book show that he wished to see the Prayer of Oblation restored to its 1549 position before the communion,an approach which is implied in the inclusion of these two prayers at this point (1).

Heavenly Aspirations immediately before the receiving of the blessed Sacrament (pp.274-5).

I "I will go ..."(p.274).Ps.43,4.

II "I will offer ..."(p.274).Ps.50,14.

III,IV "O Lamb of ..."(p.275).The "Agnus Dei".Cosin's notes on the Prayer Book show that he wished to see this restored to the Prayer Book order (2).

V "Grant me, gracious ..." (p.275). This is an adaptation of part of the Prayer of Humble Access. Cosin's notes on the Book of Common Prayer show that he wished to see this prayer also restored to a position immediately before the communion, as in the Prayer Book of 1549 (1).

At the receiving of the Body (p.275). Mt.8,8.

Adding with the Priest (p.275). The suggestion that the communicant reply "Amen" to the words of administration, Cosin may have derived from Andrewes, who had suggested the practice in his notes on the Prayer Book - although in his own "First Series" of notes, Cosin is able to quote several patristic authorities for the practice (2).

At the receiving of the Cup (p.275). Ps.116,11 and 12.

Adding with the Priest (p.275). See the last but one note, above.

Thanksgiving after we have received the blessed Sacrament (pp.275-6).

I "Oh, my God ..." (p.275). The source of this 'aspiration' has not been discovered, but Hooker refers to it in such a way as to suggest that it is a well-known element in eucharistic devotion: "Why should any cogitation possess the mind of a faithful communicant but this ? O my God, thou art true; O my soul, thou art happy !" (3).

II "Oh, the depth ..." (p.276). Rom.11,3.

III "Praise the Lord ..." (p.276). Ps.103,1 and 2.

IV "Glory be to ..." (p.276). This prayer conflates the opening of

the "Gloria in excelsis", "Glory be to God on high, and on earth peace, good-will towards men ... we worship Thee ... O Lord", with a phrase from the "Te Deum", "we magnify ... Thy Name ... ever", several phrases from the Prayer of Thanksgiving after communion, "hast vouchsafed to ... feed us ... mysteries ... Body and Blood ... humbly beseech ... Thee that ... we may ... walk in ... all ... good works", and a phrase reminiscent of the Collect for the second communion on Easter Day, "serve thee in ... pureness of living".

Meditations whilst others are communicated (pp.276-7). These are a selection from (and, in the case of number V, an adaptation of) the "Sentences of holy Scripture, to be sayd or song every daye one, after the holy Communion, called the post communion" from the 1549 Prayer Book.

I "Happy are those ..." (p.276). Mt.24,46, cf.Lk.12,37.

II "Know ye not ..." (p.276). I Cor.3,16 and 17a.

III "Behold, thou art ..." (p.276). Jn.5,13.

IV "The hour cometh ..." (p.276). Jn.4,23.

V "Be we followers ..." (p.277). An adaptation of Eph.5,1 and 2.

At the end of the Communion (p.277).

The Doxology (p.277). I Tim.1,17.

Divers Forms of Devout and Penitent Confessions of Our Sins (pp.279-85). Forms of confession are a common feature of the Primer. Some Primers have only one or two prayers of confession, in some cases using the Prayer Book version of the General Confession,

while others are much more elaborate, with methods of self-examination and forms for auricular confession; a good example of the more elaborate type is in "Hortulus animae", H. 86 (1528). 'O' and 'PP' both have the Prayer Book version of the General Confession and Absolution, the former a very long "Generalis confessio peccatorum" (pp. 204-6), and the latter an abridged version of this (p. 373).

'D' is probably the first post-Reformation Primer to make provision for auricular confession, Cosin's arrangement of his material in this section seems to be original.

Divers Forms of Devout and Penitent Confessions of Our Sins,
To be used, as at other times, so especially before the receiving
of Christ's blessed Sacrament, according to the direction of the
Church (pp. 281-5).

Exhortation before the Communion (p. 281). Cosin quotes the relevant part of the first Exhortation in the Book of Common Prayer, in substantiation of the phrase in the title, "according to the direction of the Church".

"If we confess ..." (p. 281). I Jn. 1, 9, as a note indicates.

The Preparation (pp. 281-2).

I "Almighty God, unto ..." (p. 281). This is the Prayer Book Collect for Purity, with the final clause omitted, making the prayer more appropriate to its purpose here.

II "Almighty and everlasting ..." (p. 282). This is the Collect for Ash Wednesday, turned to the singular.

The Confession (p.282). This is in a form suitable for use in auricular confession. There are some slightly idiosyncratic phrases that could be Cosin's own, "sins, which, if I would, I cannot hide ... against His heavenly and awful Majesty ... in all lowliness and humility of a broken heart", but the general arrangement suggests that the basis is some standardised form.

A footnote suggests that particular sins should be enumerated, such as are specified in the section on the Ten Commandments at the beginning of 'D' (pp.113-20), cf. the second Exhortation in the 1552 Prayer Book: "First to examine your lives and conversacion by the rules of goddes commaundements".

Other Forms of general Confession (pp.282-3).

I "Almighty and most ..." (p.282). This is the General Confession, as at the beginning of Morning and Evening Prayer in the Book of Common Prayer, put into the singular.

II "Almighty God, Father ..." (p.283). This is the General Confession, as in the Order of Holy Communion in the Book of Common Prayer, put into the singular.

III "Forgive me my ..." (p.283). This fine, flowing prayer is almost identical with a passage which occurs in a sermon preached by John Donne in London, probably on 11 February, 1626/7 (1), of which Milner-White says, "Donne himself was quoting it from a 16th c. source which I once stumbled across and since have been unable to trace" (2). It does not occur in any of the sixteenth century Primers described by Hoskins, or in any other of Cosin's known sources, and no exact source has been found.

A devout manner of preparing ourselves to receive Absolution (pp.284-5). No source has been found for this long prayer. For all its 'wordiness', it is finely phrased, and the references to the Passion and to Baptism are particularly felicitous.

The Prayer (p.285). This appears to be intended to precede immediately a prayer of absolution. It includes a number of phrases from the Book of Common Prayer: "O God, whose nature and property is ever to have mercy and to forgive", from a prayer among the "Prayers and Thanksgivings upon Several Occasions"; "hast compassion upon all men, and hatest nothing that thou hast made, nor wouldest the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turn from sin and be saved", from the second prayer at the end of the Communion service; "Mercifully hear ... prayers, and spare all those which confess their sins unto thee, that they whose consciences by sin are accused, by thy merciful ... pardon may be absolved", from the first prayer at the end of the Communion service.

After Absolution (p.285). Ps.32,1 and 2a.

Prayers for the King and Queen (pp.287-96). Several of the earlier Primers had prayers for the sovereign, e.g. H.7(c.1494), H.122(1536), H.194(c.1550), H.200(1553), H.267(1599). 'O' has only one such prayer, at the end of Preces Matutinae (p.143). 'PP' has several, the most interesting from our point of view being set in the form of a votive office in behalf of the Queen, under the heading, "Psalmi selecti et peculiare pro Rege, vel Regina" (pp.309-10); this office is made up of three psalms, 20, 21 and 72 (selected verses), a prayer and versicles. Of some

interest also are the various versions of the special service on the anniversary of the sovereign's accession. One of these was issued in 1626 for the accession of Charles I, and included as a lesson I Tim. 2, 1, and psalms 20, 21, 85 and 98 (1).

Helen C. White, in her study of the earlier Tudor books of private devotion, remarks that the prayer for the ruler "becomes one of the most important constituents of the 16th century prayer book ... It was a prime instrument for the encouragement of that loyalty to the established order in Church and state ..." (2). Compiling 'D', in the first instance, specifically for use amongst the ladies of the Court, "the very centre of the manifestation of Anglican Kingship", and in an age which has been described as that of "Stuart Byzantism" (3), Cosin's inclusion of prayers for the King and Queen is particularly appropriate.

As with the shorter office in 'PP', Cosin's prayers, etc., are arranged in the form of a votive office.

Prayers for the King and Queen (pp. 289-96).

Our Father (p. 289).

Versicle and Response (p. 289).

Gloria, Alleluiah (p. 289).

The Hymn (pp. 289-90). No source has been found for this, nor is there any reference to it in Julian's dictionary of hymnology.

The Antiphona (p. 290). Ps. 84, 9.

Psalms (pp. 290-1). These include 21, 1-7; 61, 1b, 1a, 6-8; 89, 21-25, 27, 29 (this last in precatory form). Of this selection, Ps. 21 is used in the comparable office in 'PP', and in the Accessionm

Service of 1626.

The Antiphona (p.291)Ps.84,9.

The Lesson (pp.291-2).I Tim.2,1,as in the Accession Service of 1626.

Versicle and Response (p.292).An appropriate one from among the suffrages at Morning and Evening Prayer in the Prayer Book.

The Prayers (pp.292-6).

I "Almighty God,Whose ..."(p.292).This is the first of the two collects for the Sovereign in the Prayer Book order for Holy Communion,composed in 1549.

II "Almighty and everlasting ..."(p.292).This is the second of the two collects for the Sovereign,referred to above.Both this and the previous prayer occur in several of the Primers,e.g. H.200(1553),H.239(1559).

III "We beseech Thee ..."(pp.292-3).This is an extract,with the concluding phrase slightly altered,from the Prayer for the Church in the Prayer Book order for Holy Communion.

IV "O Lord,our ..."(p.293).This prayer was included in the 1559 Book of Common Prayer,at the end of the Litany.It also occurs in both 'O' and 'PP' (pp.256,261).

V "O Almighty and ..."(p.293).Marginal notes indicate that this and the three subsequent prayers are from the Coronation Service.Cosin's appointment as Magister Cereemoniarum at the Coronation of Charles I will have acquainted him with the prayers of the "Liber Regalis".

This first is derived from the first Consecratory Prayer following the Litany, a much longer prayer than Cosin's. The relevant parts are as follows: "Almighty and everlasting God Creatour of all things King of Kings and Lord of Lords, who ... Give eare, we beseech thee unto our humble praier, and multiply thy blessings upon this thy servant Charles, whome in lowly devotion we consecrate our King, that he being strengthened with the faith of Abraham, endued with the mildnesse of Moses, armed with ye fortitude of Joshua, exalted with the humility of David, beautified with the wisdom of Solomon, may please thee in all things, may alwaies walk uprightly in ye way of righteousnesse, may nourish and teach, defend and instruct thy church and people, and like a mighty King minister unto them the government of thy vertue against all enemies: ..." (1). Cosin, it will be seen, has shortened and rearranged this quite considerably.

VI "God the unspeakable ..." (pp. 293-4). This is based on the third Consecratory Prayer, and follows it fairly closely, though with some trimming and tidying: "God the unspeakable Author of this world the Creator of mankind the governor of Empyres the establisher of Kingdomes whoe out of the loynes of thie faithfull freind our Father Abraham, didst chuse a King that should save all Nations, blesse we beseech thee this our King and his Armye with a rich blessing at the Interrogaçõn of all thie Saints. Establish him in the Throne of his Kingdome, visit him as thou dydst visit Moyses in the Bush, Joshua in the Battayle, Gedeon in the Feyld, and Samuell in the Temple: besprinkle him with the dew of thie wisdome and give unto him the blessings of David and

"Solamon, Be thou unto him a Coate Armor against his Enemyes, and a helmet in Adversitye and protect him allwayes with thie sheild. Grant that other countryes maye keepe Faith unto him and that his Nobles may live in peace, embrace Charitye, and absteyne from Covetousnesse, speak Justice, and maintaine Truth, and so this people may grow up together with the blessing of eternitye, that having overcome they may rejoyce in everlasting peace ..."(1).

VII "Look down, Almighty ..." (p.294). This is based on the first part of the prayer immediately preceding the Anointing in the "Liber Regalis", and follows the original fairly closely: "Looke down Almighty God wth thy favourable countenance upon this glorious King, and as thou didst bless Abraham, Isaac, & Jaacob, so vouchsafe, we beseech thee by thy power to water him plentifully with ye blessings of thy grace. Give to him of the dew of heaven & of ye fatnesse of ye earth, abundance of corne and wine & oile, & plenty of all fruits of thy godnesse long to continue; yt in his time there may be health in our cuntrye, & peace in our Kingdome, and yt ye glorious dignity of his Royall Court may brightly shine as a most cleare lightning farre and neere in ye eyes of all men ..."(2).

VIII "Grant, we beseech ..." (p.294). This is based on the second part of the above-mentioned prayer. Cosin has shortened it considerably: "Grant Almighty God that he may be a most mighty Protector of his Cuntrye, a bountifull comforter of ye churches and holy Societies, ye most valiant of Kings; yt he may triumph over his enemies, & subdue Rebels and Infidels; yt he may be loving & amiable to ye Lords and Nobles, & to all ye faithfull subjects of ..."

"his Kingdom, yt he may be feared & loved of all men, yt his children may be Kings to rule over this kingdom by succession of all ages & after glorious and happy daies in this life..."(1).

Prayers for the Queen (pp.295-6).

I "Almighty God, the ..."(p.295). No source has been found for this prayer, but the phrase, "Continually beautified with the royal ornaments of thy heavenly grace", suggests a prayer at the investment with regalia in the coronation of a queen, while the O.T. references are in the style of the first prayer of the "Officium coronationis Reginae" in the Sarum Pontifical: "... et una cum Sara atque Rebecca, Iya, Rachele, beatisque reverendis feminabus ..."(2).

II "Almighty God, our ..."(p.295). This prayer uses phrases from the second Collect for the Sovereign in the Prayer Book order for Holy Communion, "Almighty ... God, we are taught by Thy holy Word, that the ... in thy rule and governance ... we humbly beseech Thee so to dispose ... that ... she may", and others from Ps.127, "children and the fruit ... of the womb ... an heritage and ... that cometh from the Lord", 128, "as ... fruitful vine upon the walls of ... house", and 113, "a joyful mother of ... children".

III "O God, from ..."(p.295). This is an adaptation of the Confirmation Prayer for the gifts of the Holy Spirit.

IV "Almighty God, bless ..."(pp.295-6). A brief but eloquent prayer, based on Gen.49,25.

V A Prayer for the Prince Palatine ... (p.296). This is based on

"A Prayer for the Queen and Prince, and other the King and Queen's Children", which first appeared at the end of the Litany in the 1604 Prayer Book. Cosin alters the opening, which had referred to the royal "seed", as King Charles had no issue at the time of the compilation of 'D' (1).

Prayers for the Four Ember Weeks (pp.297-306). This section, after a prefatory paragraph, is in the form of an office, with fixed and seasonably variable prayers.

It is an extremely interesting item. Provision had long been made for the observance of the Ember seasons in the Western liturgies, but there appears to be no precedent for an Ember-tide office such as this. In the Primers described by Hoskins, all that we find is a commendation of the practice of fasting on Ember days in H.92(1530-1), "A general rule to know the Ember days" in H.130(c.1537), and, in 'PP', four seasonal prayers from Erasmus's "Precationes aliquot", "Oratio dicenda tempore Veris, ... in Aestate, ... in Autumno, ... in Hyeme" (pp.389-91). It is possible that the occurrence of these prayers in 'PP' suggested this section to Cosin, though he makes no use of the prayers themselves. The only other possible source which has been identified is "Kellam's Manuall", which has an entry entitled "Of the Ember dayes" (2), a 'prefatory' item, but with no accompanying prayers. It is possible, then, that in the idea of an Ember-tide office, and in its particular contents, we have an original contribution by Cosin.

Prayers for the Four Ember Weeks (pp.299-306).

"Among all the ..." (pp.299-300). This prefatory paragraph explains the antiquity of the Ember fasts, and gives seven reasons for their

observance. There are two marginal biblical references, and four patristic, and a reference to the Constitutions and Canons of 1603. The somewhat similar entry in "Kellam's Manuall" is as follows: "Foure times in the yeare have been also from ancient ages chosen, wherein we are bound to fast. Upon the Wensday, and Saturday, perfectly for to obtain the fruites of the earth, & to give thankes for the same, whereas at these times they are sowed, or begin their growth, or ripen, or are gathered in; partly to obtaine the grace of the holy Ghost, at such times as holy orders are given: for on the sonday of Ember, the church useth to give them. And it was the custome of the Apostles to fast when they gave holy orders. Partly also to give as it were to God, a part of every moneth, so that fasting three dayes in every quarter, we offer for every month a day, & partly because almighty God in the old law comaunded foure solẽme feastes in the yeare: and although the old law doth not binde us now, yet is it cõvenient that in workes of Christian vertues, the Church of Christ professe greater perfection than the sinagogue of the Jewes, and therefore institute convenient times of fasting" (1). It will be seen that there are similarities with Cosin's piece, and it seems possible that Cosin made use of it.

Versicles and Responses (p. 300). Ps. 124, 7 and 113, 1-2.

The Psalms (pp. 300-1). Ps. 119, 1-8, 33-40, 169-76.

After these Psalms ... (p. 302). The use of the Litany on all Wednesdays and Fridays was, of course, already required by the Canons of 1603.

The Prayers Common to all the Ember Days, Disposed According to

the Seven Reasons Before Specified (pp.302-4). Note the characteristic orderliness of the arrangement.

I For God's acceptance of our Humiliation (p.302). This prayer, for which no source has been found, has the normal collect structure, and there are allusions to Lev.16,29-31 and Mt.5,16.

II For consecrating the beginning of every Season unto God (p.302). This prayer has the normal collect structure, and there is an echo of part of the collect for Easter Day: "as thou dost put into our minds good desires, so by thy continual help we may bring the same to good effect", cf. Cosin's "that the good purposes which Thou puttest into our hearts may have full effect in our lives".

III For grace to spend the whole Season aright (p.302). No source has been found for this prayer; there are allusions to Heb.11,13 and 16.

IV For the fruits of the Earth (p.303). No source has been found for this prayer; there are allusions to Acts 17,28 and Mt.5,45; n.b. Ramsey's reference to "this beautiful and scriptural collect" (1). Although Cosin later proposed the use of this prayer, with an appropriate Epistle and Gospel, on Rogation Days (2), it is, in fact, suitable for use at any of the four Ember seasons.

V For pardon of Sins past (p.303). No source has been found for this prayer.

VI For the health of our bodies (p.303). Apart from the allusion to James 1.17, Cosin may, in this prayer, be echoing a collect from the Sarum Breviary: "O God, who through the grace of Thy

"Holy Spirit, dost pour the gift of love into the hearts of Thy faithful people, grant unto us health, both of mind and body, that we may love Thee with our whole strength, and with entire satisfaction may perform those things which are pleasing unto Thee, through ..."(1).

VII For the ordination of Priests and Deacons(p.304)."No trace of ... (this prayer) has hitherto been discovered in any early collections of prayers or in the ancient services, and therefore it may be concluded that it is an original composition of Bishop Cosin's, to whom we are thus indebted for one of the most beautiful and striking prayers in the Prayer Book, and one which is not surpassed by anything in the ancient Sacramentaries or the Eastern Liturgies"(2). Biblical allusions include Acts 20,28, I Tim.5,22 and I Pet.2,25, and there are phrases from the Prayer of Oblation ("Thy grace and heavenly benediction") and the Prayer for the Church ("that ... both by their life and doctrine ... they may ... set forth Thy"), from the Book of Common Prayer. The phrase, "Bishops and Pastors" is intended to denote merely bishops, Cosin maintaining that in antiquity the term "pastors" was applied only to bishops (3).

The Prayers Proper to the Four Several Ember Weeks(pp.304-6). Although the Fasts of the Four Seasons were originally related to the natural seasons(4), as in the four prayers by Erasmus in 'PP' (pp.389-91), Cosin associates all but the September prayer with the ecclesiastical calendar.

Milner-White writes of these four prayers: "... all follow the same pattern; highly Scriptural, ample in expression, and

"with comparable rhythms. They are far better than the majority of Elizabethan prayers, and to my mind bear the stamp of a single composer. I suspect that they are Cosin's own" (1).

I In the time of Advent (p.304). With the addition of allusions to Lk.2, Cosin may be echoing, in this prayer, a Sarum collect for Wednesday in the Advent Ember week: "Make haste, we beseech Thee, O Lord, and tarry not; and grant us the assistance of Thy strength from above, that they who trust in Thy goodness may be sustained by the consolations of Thy coming ..." (2).

II For the Ember Week in Lent (pp.304-5). This prayer, with the simple collect structure, is based on Jn.16,20 and 22, and with an ending incorporating Rom.4,25. A much shorter prayer in the Sarum Breviary, based on Jn.16,20, may have suggested this prayer to Cosin: "Most merciful God, the helper of all men, so strengthen us by Thy power, that our sorrow may be turned into joy, and we may continually glorify Thy holy Name; through ..." (3).

III For the Ember Week after Pentecost (p.305). No source has been found for this prayer. It has the regular collect structure, though with considerable amplification, and is full of scriptural allusions, Lk.24,49, Acts 1,14 and 2,1-4, Gal.4,26.

IV For the Ember Week in September (pp.305-6). No source has been found for this prayer. Like the previous one, it has the regular collect structure, with considerable amplification, and is full of scriptural allusions, Acts,17,25, Ps.104,15a and 14b, I Cor.7,31, Ps.65,11, Phil.3,20, Rev.7,16 and Ps.65,4.

"Assist me mercifully ..." (p.306). This is the first of the

occasional collects included at the end of the Order for Holy Communion in the Book of Common Prayer. It makes an appropriate conclusion to the Ember-tide prayers, with its reference to "these my supplications and prayers" and "among all the changes . . . of this mortal life".

Prayers for the Sick (pp.307-20). This section is in two parts, prayers for the sick and prayers at the hour of death.

Most of the Primers described by Hoskins have, at the most, a handful of prayers for the sick and dying (although an *Officium pro Defunctis*, known as the Dirge or Dirige, was a standard feature of the earlier Primers, e.g. H.7(1494), H.83(1528), H.245(1560)). A few have fuller prayers of this sort, e.g. H.7(1494) has three short offices, "To be said in the agony of death and also daily", H.86(1528) has various prayers, psalms and exhortations for the sick and dying, cf. H.43(1514) and H.156(1540). 'O' has merely three long prayers, "In afflictione" (p.190), "Apud aegrotum, dum invisitur" (pp.190-2), and "In gravis morbo" (pp.192-3), and an enlarged version of this last, "Precatio dicenda in hora mortis" (pp.202-3). 'PP' has *Piae Meditationes de vitae hujus fragilitate . . .* (pp.358-62), followed by "Precationes Funebres" (p.362) and a few prayers for the sick and dying among the "Ejaculationes Sacrae" (pp.367-71) and the "Precationes Piae" (pp.371-99).

Cosin's prayers are arranged in the form of offices, for the sick, and for the visitation of the dying. In their general character, their formality and length, Cosin's arrangements are more akin to the Office for the Visitation of the Sick in the

Sarum Manual and adapted in the Book of Common Prayer, than to anything we find in the Primers, but, strictly speaking, they do not supplant the Prayer Book's provision of an office for the visitation of the sick, Cosin's offices being for the use of a sick person, and for the visitation of the dying.

Stranks says of these prayers: "The devotions for the sick and dying are amongst the best we have" (1). Their considerable length, however, with the inclusion of the Penitential Psalms and the Litany, raises a doubt about their practical value.

Prayers for the Sick (pp.309-13). The versicles and responses and the prayers are all set in the first person singular in this office, so that it does not require the participation of a second person.

Our Father (p.309).

Versicles and Responses (p.309). Ps. 124, 7 and 113, 3.

Gloria (p.309).

The Antiphona (p.309). Ps. 94, 12.

Psalms (pp.309-10). This appropriate selection includes 25; 27, 8, 16; 11, 15-16; 31, 1-3, 17a, 18; 34, 15, 17-19, 22. The selection may have been influenced by the "Psalmi aliquot selecti" in 'PP' (pp.304-9), which includes Ps. 25 ("Oratio in tribulatione"), 31, 1-6 ("Oratio viri afflicti") and 34 ("Laus Dei, et gratiarum actio"). Ps. 25 and 27 also occurred in the Dirige in some Primers, e.g. H. 117 (1535) and H. 143 (1539).

The Antiphona (p.310). Ps. 94, 12, as above.

The Seven Penitential Psalms (p.310). These are accompanied by

the usual antiphon, "Remember not, Lord ...". The Order for the Visitation of the Sick in the 1549 Prayer Book had only the antiphon and one of the penitential psalms, 143, and subsequent editions retained only the antiphon. Cosin goes back to the Sarum Manual, where the rubric at the beginning of the Ordo ad visitandum infirmum prescribes "sacerdos ... in eundo dicat ... septem psalmos poenitentiales, cum Gloria Patri et cum antiphona, Ne reminiscaris ..."(1). One of the Primers, H. 86 (1528), in a section of prayers for the sick, recommends the use of the penitential psalms (among others) "si infirmus anxietur". The Litany (p. 310). No precedent for the use of the Litany in an office of this kind has been found.

The Confession (p. 310). The rubric, "As before", indicates that the form of confession provided earlier in 'D' (p. 282) is to be used at this point.

An humble protestation of free forgiveness to others (p. 311).

This takes up phrases from the corresponding rubric in the Prayer Book order, "Then shall the minister examine whether he be in charity with all the world", "heartily (cf. frō the botome of his herte) ... forgive ... all the world ... offended ... or done me ... injury". Cosin's "protestation" has, however, even closer affinities with a similar item in "Kellam's Manuall": "I wicked sinner moste unworthy, (redeemed with the precieuse bloode of our Lorde Jesus Christ) doe confesse openlye, that with an entyer and pure harte I forgyve all those that at any time have ever offended me, or done me iniurye, in what maner soever; desiring moste humblye all and everye one that I have offended, iniured,

"grieved, or any way angred (whyther they be present or absent) that they would vouchsafe also to forgyve me"(1).

The Creed (p.311). This corresponds to the rubric in the Prayer Book order, "Here the minister shall rehearse the articles of the faith, saying thus: Dost thou believe in God the Father ...".

After the Creed (p.311). The Prayer Book order does not include such an item, but its antecedent, the Sarum Manual, does ("Deinde respondeat infirmus: Credo firmiter in omnibus, sicut sancta mater credit ecclesia ..."), though Cosin's version is longer. A book of prayers which Cosin is known to have owned later, "Catholicum Precationum Selectissimarum Enchiridion" (Antwerp, 1594) contains a similar item (2), as does "Kellam's Manuall", the latter with several phrases as in Cosin: "I protest before ... I (protest to) beleve wholly ... Catholicke (fayth) ... a true ... if (it) happen by ... or (of) violence of sicknes, I come to thinke, say, or doe any thing contrary to this purpose, I doe revoke it ... & protest that I gyve no consent ... thanks to my lovinge creator and redeemer ... the (marvelouse) goodnes of his bounty ... I (recommende) my soule & body into his moste holy handes nowe and at the houre of my death. Amen" (3).

The Prayers (pp.311-13). The opening prayers, to the end of the versicles and responses, are as in the Prayer Book order.

"Lord have mercy ..." (p.311).

Our Father (p.311).

Versicles and Responses (pp.311-12).

I "God, Who declarest ..." (p. 312). This is a conflation of the Prayer Book collects for Trinity XI and Septuagesima.

II "O God, Who ..." (p. 312). This is the Prayer Book collect for Sexagesima, with an appropriate phrase added, "and be healed".

III "O Lord, look ..." (p. 312). This is the first of the prayers in the Prayer Book Order for the Visitation of the Sick, with two adjectives interpolated, "sick ... deadly".

IV "Hear me, Almighty ..." (p. 312). This is the second of the prayers in the Prayer Book Order for the Visitation of the Sick.

V "O sweet Jesus ..." (p. 313). This prayer, in a slightly more diffuse form, had occurred in "Kellam's Manuall", with the following ascription, "Dionys. Cart. in dial. de part. iudicio animarum", a reference, presumably, to the Carthusian ascetic writer, Denys of Rijckel, although it has not been possible to determine the significance of the reference. Cosin may well have based his version of the prayer on this: "O Swet Jesu, I desire nether lyfe, nor deathe, but thy most holy will. Thee O Lorde I loke for, be it unto mee according to thy pleasure. If thou wilt sweete Jesu, that I dye, receyve my soule. And albeit that I come to thee even at the verye eveninge, as one of the laste, yet grant that with thee, and in thee, I may receyve everlasting rest. If thou wilt sweete Jesu that I lyve longer on earthe, I purpose to amende the rest of my lyfe, and offer all into a burnt sacrifice unto thee, for thy honour and glorie, accordinge to thy blessed will: and for the performinge of this I desire the assistance of thy holy grace" (1).

VI "O God, Whose ..." (p.313). This is one of the prayers printed at the end of the Litany in the Prayer Book (1559 et seq.).

The Blessing (p.313). This is the closing prayer in the Prayer Book Order for the Visitation of the Sick.

Prayers at the Hour of Death (pp.313-20). These prayers are clearly intended for the use of both the dying person and also another person present.

With this particular devotion, Cosin provides an equivalent to two ancient offices which the Sarum Manual had contained, but which had not been taken over into the Book of Common Prayer, the "Commendatio animae in articulo mortis" (with which the administration of Extreme Unction was concluded) and the "Commendatio animarum" (after death)(1). Cosin appears to make only limited use of the Sarum matter, and has created virtually a new office.

Our Father (p.313).

Versicle and Response (p.313). Ps.82,26.

Psalms (pp.313-6). The numbering Cosin gives is a little misleading, and this selection is, in fact, as follows: Ps.13,3,4a,5;16,3,6a,7b,9-12;23,1-4,6;38,1-9,21;39,5a,6a,6c,7-8;102,1-5,11;40,16,21. The Sarum "Commendatio animae" has the seven Penitential Psalms, of which we have here only parts of two, 38 and 102. Cosin's very effective arrangement may well have been of his own devising, although this method of rearranging the Psalms is reminiscent of the "Flores Psalmorum" in 'PP' (pp.311-7).

Job 14,1-2 (p.316). This had been used in the Book of Common Prayer as the first part of the Burial Anthem in the Order for

the Burial of the Dead.

Versicle and Response (p.316).Ps.102,1.

The Litany (pp.316-8).The Sarum "Commendatio animae" has a Litany similar to Cosin's, and this, together with some prayers following in the "Commendatio animarum", appears to have provided, or suggested, several of the phrases in Cosin's version: "a periculo mortis (cf. from the fear of death) ... a pondere peccatorum (cf. from the burden of his sins) ... a penis inferni (cf. from the power of hell) ... per immensam pietatem tuam (cf. by the multitude of Thy mercies) ... a timore inimicorum (cf. from the power of his enemies) ... ut cuncta eius peccata oblivioni perpetue tradere digneris (cf. that it may please Thee ... to forgive him all his offences) ... et angelos tuos sanctos ei obviam mittas (cf. guard him with Thy holy Angels) ... viamque illi iustitiae demonstra et portas gloriae tuae illi aperi (cf. show him the path of everlasting life) ... ut ei gaudium et exultationem in regno tuo ... donare digneris (cf. show him ... the fulness of joy at Thy right hand) ... Dona ei pacem eternam (cf. The peace of God ... be with him evermore)"(1).

The manner of commending the soul into the hands of God, at the very point of time when it is departing from the body (pp.318-9).

"We brought nothing ..."(p.318). 1 Tim. 6,7 and Job 1,21. This is one of the anthems at the beginning of the Burial Order in the Book of Common Prayer.

"Into Thy merciful ..." (pp.318-9). This form of commendation has a 'traditional' air, and the second paragraph is, in fact,

reminiscent of a prayer in the Sarum "Commendatio animarum":

"Proficiscere anima christiana de hoc mundo: in nomine dei patris omnipotentis qui te creavit. Amen. In nomine Iesu Christi filii eius qui pro te passus est. Amen. In nomine spiritus sancti qui in te effusus (variant: infusus) est. Amen"(1).

Then let be said plainly, distinctly, and with some pauses, these ejaculatory Meditations and Prayers(pp.319-20). The characteristic precision of the rubric is to be noted.

The second item has not been identified. The others are from the following sources: Ps. 116,6 ; Job 19,25 ; Ps. 116,9 ; Te Deum v.29 ; Te Deum v.21 ; Ps. 31,6 ; Ps. 40,20 ; Phil. 1,23z ; Ps. 40,21 ; Rev. 22,20 ; Ps. 40,16 ; Acts 7,59b.

And these too ... (p.320). This, and the following rubric, "Then", indicate that Cosin intended the prayer following to be used after the death.

"O Thou Lamb ..."(p.320). The Agnus Dei, as in the preceding Litany.

"O Lord, with ..."(p.320). This is the concluding prayer in the Order for the Burial of the Dead in the form which it took in the pre-1662 editions of the Book of Common Prayer, except that Cosin has altered the wording very slightly, and inserted an appropriate phrase, "... having now received the absolution from all his sins ...". There is no significant deviation from the Prayer Book version.

Prayers and Thanksgivings for Sundry Purposes(pp.321-31). This section contains eighteen miscellaneous prayers and thanksgivings.

A selection of prayers of this sort was a common feature of the Primers, and both 'O' and 'PP' have them, entitled respectively "Precationes" (pp. 180-208) and "Precationes Piae variis usibus, temporibus, et personis accomodatae" (pp. 371-99). It will be seen that although several of the prayers in Cosin's selection may not have been used previously in the Primers, the subjects are typical of such selections.

A Prayer and Thanksgiving for the whole estate of Christ's Catholic Church, with a commemoration of the Saints before us (pp. 323-4). The basis of this prayer is, as a marginal note indicates, the Prayer for the Church, in the form which it took in the 1549 Canon. There are several phrases from this version of the prayer: "And here do we give unto thee most high praise, and hearty thanks, for the wonderful grace and virtue, declared in all thy saints, from the beginning of the world; and chiefly in the glorious and most blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of Thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord ... the holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs ... all other Thy servants ... departed ... with the ... of Faith, and do now rest in the sleep of peace ... examples ... and steadfastness in Thy faith: and that, at the ... day, we ... and they". Cosin has altered the prayer considerably, reducing the intercessory element and expanding the commemoration of the Saints. Several phrases which are not in the 1549 Prayer for the Church, are to be found in the form of Bidding Prayer which Cosin was accustomed to use in his own sermons: "... servants our fathers and brethren ... humbly beseeching Thee that we may continue in their holy communion here ... and the shining lights of the world in their several generations" (1).

The use of the Our Father at the end may have been suggested to Cosin by the practice of so concluding the Bidding Prayer (1), although it is introduced with a form of words similar to that used in the 1549 Canon. In addition to the marginal note already referred to, there is a marginal biblical reference, opposite the reference to the "most blessed Virgin Mary," and a footnote referring to the Injunctions of Edward VI and Canon 55(1603), which recommend prayer and thanksgiving to be made for the faithful departed, both of these, no doubt, in anticipation of Puritan criticism.

Porter's description of this very fine, long prayer as "exuberant" (2) is not inappropriate.

Both 'O' and 'PP' have prayers for the Church amongst their miscellaneous prayers (pp. 184-5, 377-8).

For our Parents (p. 324). No source has been found for the opening of this prayer, based on Eph. 3, 14b and 15, but the second part ("Give them peace ...") is similar to that of "A prayer for our parentes" in "Kellam's Manuall", where it is ascribed to "Jo. Ferus in lib. precat" : "... graunt unto my parentes, and the whole familye, health & peace: keepe them in the piety and trueth of thy fayth: defend them from all daungers bodily & ghostly: give them grace (I humbly beseeche thee) that they offende not thee in any things, but that they may alwaye find thee, a loving, gentle, and mercyfull father and God" (3).

'PP' has a prayer, "Pro parentibus nostris" (p. 394), from Erasmus, but neither this nor Cosin's next prayer derive anything from it.

Another for our Parents(pp.324-5).The opening of Cosin's prayer is based on that of Kellam's "A prayer for our parentes", the latter part of which Cosin's previous prayer follows:"O Almightye & omnipotente God,which haste strictly commaunded us, next unto thee to honour our father and mother,& to pray for their happy and good successe ..."(1).The body of the prayer, based,like the opening,on Exodus 20,12,derives from a prayer,"Of Children",in Thomas Becon's "The pomander of prayer"(1558), a prayer which had occurred earlier in a Primer,H.200(1553): "Thou hast given a commandment in thy law,O heavenly Father, that children should honour their fathers & mothers:I most humbly beseech thee therefore to breathe thy holy Spirit into my breast,that I may reverence and honour my father and mother, not only with outward gestures of my body,but also with the unfeigned affection of the heart;love them,obey them,pray for them, help them,& do for them,both in word and deed,whatsoever lieth in my power;that thou,seeing mine unfeigned hearty goodwill towards my parents,mayest become my loving heavenly Father,& number me among those thy children whom thou hast appointed from everlasting heirs of thy glorious kingdom.Through ..."(2)..

For our Children(p.325).This prayer derives from a prayer,"Of Fathers and Mothers",in Thomas Becon's "The pomander of prayer" (1558), a prayer which had occurred earlier in a Primer,H.200 (1553):"The fruit of the womb & the multitude of Children is thy gift & blessing,O Lord,given to this end,that they may live to thy glory & the commodity of their neighbours.Forasmuch therefore as thou of thy goodness hast given me children,I

"beseech thee, give me also grace to train them up even from their cradles in thy nurture and doctrine, in thy holy laws & blessed ordinances, that from their very young age they may know thee, believe in thee, fear & love thee, & diligently walk in thy commandments, unto the praise of thy glorious name"(1). It will be seen that Cosin does not follow Becon closely, and has created what is virtually a new prayer.

A Prayer to be used by Women that travail with Child(p.325).

This and the next two prayers may be the same as a set of three in an earlier Primer, H.243(1560). (Hoskin's practice of quoting only the opening phrase of a prayer does not permit one to compare them properly). This particular prayer may be the same as "A woman with child's prayer. Father of mercy, and God of comfort and all consolation ...".

Another(pp.325-6). This prayer may be modelled on the second prayer in the set of three in H.243(1560), but, if so, Cosin has expanded the opening to include a 'doctrine': "Prayer for a woman to say travailing of child. O almighty and merciful Father which of thy bountiful goodness has fructified my womb ...".

A Thanksgiving after Child-birth(p.326). This prayer may be modelled on the third prayer in the set of three in H.243(1560), but, if so, Cosin has expanded the opening by the use of Ps.139, 13a and 15: "Prayer for a woman to say when she is delivered. O Lord my God, I thank thee with all my heart ...".

A Thanksgiving for recovery from Sickness.(p.326). This is made up entirely of phrases from the Psalms, 103, 1 and 4; 30, 2 and 13a; 66, 12b; 30, 13b. None of the Primers described by Hoskins has a

prayer on this subject.

A Prayer in the time of War(pp.326-7).This prayer was included at the end of the Litany in the 1552 and subsequent editions of the Prayer Book.Several of the Primers,including 'O'(p.193) and 'PP'(p.395),have prayers for use in the time of war,but none of those described by Hoskins has this prayer.

A Thanksgiving for Peace and Victory(p.327).This prayer was included at the end of the Litany in the 1604 edition of the Prayer Book.Cosin has altered it very slightly.An earlier Primer,H.25(1502),has a different prayer on this subject.

A Prayer in the time of any Common Plague(p.327).This prayer was included at the end of the Litany in the 1552 and subsequent editions of the Prayer Book.Several earlier Primers,including 'PP'(pp.391-2) have prayers on this subject.

A Thanksgiving for deliverance from any Plague(p.328).This prayer was included at the end of the Litany in the 1604 edition of the Prayer Book.

A Prayer and Thanksgiving for every true subject,upon the Anniversary Day of the King's reign(p.328).No source has been found for this prayer.Cosin may well have taken it from the form of prayer issued in 1626 to commemorate the accession of Charles I, but it has not been possible to see this.

A Prayer and Thanksgiving upon the Anniversary Day of our Birth (pp.328-9).No source has been found for this prayer,nor is there one on this subject in any of the Primers described by Hoskins. It is packed with biblical allusions:Ps.139,13a;20,10 and 9;

Chron. 29, 13; Ps. 90, 12; Jn. 18, 37; Heb. 9, 14. There are also phrases from the Book of Common Prayer: "praise and magnify thy glorious Name", from the Sanctus at the Holy Communion, and "a godly, righteous, and sober life", from the General Confession at the beginning of Morning and Evening Prayer.

A Prayer and Thanksgiving upon the Anniversary Day of our Baptism (pp. 329-30). No source has been found for this prayer, nor is there one on this subject in any of the Primers described by Hoskins. It is very much in the style of the previous one, and may well be Cosin's own. There are allusions to Jn. 3, 3 and 5; Jas. 1, 27; Rom. 6, 3, and many phrases are taken from the Book of Common Prayer: "born in sin, and ... wrath ... be born ... of water and the Holy Ghost ... laver of Baptism ... and ... heir of ... life ... the world, the flesh and the devil ... die ... sin ... regeneration", from the Order of Holy Baptism, "with all the company of heaven ... in newness of life", from the Order of Holy Communion, and "made a member of Christ ... this wicked world ... and commandments", from the Catechism.

A Prayer wherewith St. Augustine began his Devotions; admiring the unspeakable Majesty and Attributes of God (pp. 330-1). Several of the Primers, including 'PP', have prayers and meditations taken from St. Augustine, but none of those described by Hoskins has this one. It is, as a footnote indicates, from the "Confessions". Cosin's version is based on the English translation of the "Confessions" done by Sir Tobie Matthew and published in 1620, the first, and, in 1626-7, only edition in English. Cosin has omitted one or two words and phrases, and very slightly altered the

order of others, but the version in 'D' is substantially Matthew's translation. Cosin's slight alterations are not doctrinal, and are probably simply an attempt at greater fidelity, with some stylistic trimming(1).

A Prayer wherewith to conclude all our Devotions(p.331). This is one of the Collects which was printed at the end of the Order of Holy Communion in the 1549 and subsequent editions of the Book of Common Prayer. Its place here, at the end of this section of 'D', is appropriate.

The Blessing(p.331). This is based on the Blessing at the end of the Prayer Book Order of Holy Communion, with references to the ministry of angels, the prayers of "all the chosen of God" (which could, but is not bound to, be regarded as an invocation of the saints), and the Cross and Passion, interpolated. None of the Primers described by Hoskins has anything quite like this.

(The version of this in the L.A.C.T. edition omits "the succour of all holy Angels, and the suffrages of all the chosen of God", which occurs in the 1st edition of 'D').

The Table(pp.333-4). A fairly comprehensive table of contents concludes 'D'. Several of the Primers described by Hoskins, including 'PP'(where it is at the beginning of the book), have such a table.

C. Cosin's use of ancient authorities.

Cosin makes considerable reference, in 'D', to the Fathers and later Catholic theologians and to the early Councils of the Church.

In all, there are one hundred and twenty six such references, to thirty three of the Fathers and theologians, nine of the Councils, and the "Constitutiones apostolorum". In almost all cases (one hundred and fifteen), Cosin gives a precise indication of the place to which he is referring, and the editorial annotations in the L.A.C.T. edition of 'D' demonstrate that these indications are substantially accurate. In some cases, such as the introductions to the various Hours, as we have seen, Cosin may have been drawing partly on existing collections of patristic references, but for the most part there is no evidence that he was relying upon anything other than his own extensive reading in patristic literature.

In some seventy instances, Cosin gives a quotation from his ancient authority. These quotations are in English. The "Short-title Catalogue" (1) shows that very few translations of the works from which he quotes existed in 1627 - only Augustine's "Of the Citie of God" (tr. 1610) and "Confessions" (tr. 1620), Chrysostom's "A godly exhortation made unto the people of Antioch ..." (tr. 1597), Cyprian's "A sermon made on the Lordes prayer" (tr. 1539), Eusebius's "The ecclesiasticall histories ..." (tr. 1579), and Isidore's "Gathered counsailes" (tr. 1534). We may, therefore, reasonably assume that, in the majority of cases, if not in all, Cosin did the translations himself.

D. Cosin's prayers

In the course of our survey of 'D', some observations on the prayers have been made. The purpose of these following paragraphs is to make some additional observations on Cosin's style as a writer of prayers.

Cosin disclaimed originality in 'D', except in the case of some of the prefatory matter. Certainly, with regard to the prayers, many are direct transcriptions from the Book of Common Prayer or from other sources, others are close translations of Latin prayers, the ejaculatory prayers and a few others are made up entirely of scriptural phrases, and some are entirely con-
flations of parts of other prayers. In many cases, however, Cosin has altered his model extensively, and in other cases seems to regard a brief scriptural allusion, or some faint echo of the Prayer Book, as sufficient justification for disclaiming originality. It is with prayers of these last types, as representing Cosin's own work, that we are concerned here.

We may note first that Cosin's prayers in 'D' are, in fact, like those which he later included in "The Durham Book", highly scriptural. In one instance, that of Compline I (p. 217), the prayer has a direct verbal relationship with the preceding Lesson ("Be sober and watch ... the day of the Lord will come": "that we may continually have a waking soul, to watch ... the time when our Lord shall appear", cf. Cosin's collects for Advent III, St. Stephen's Day, Epiphany VI and Easter Even in "The Durham Book"), and in almost all of his prayers, in fact, appropriate scriptural allusions occur.

From the Preface to 'D' we learn that Cosin's intention is

to reproduce "the grave and pious language of Christ's Church" (p.90), and certainly we will find in Cosin's work all the main characteristics of the Church's prayers, as these are exemplified in the Book of Common Prayer.

With regard to the structure of the prayers, in many cases where Cosin has used, but extensively altered, some earlier prayer, he simply follows the form of his model, as in Terce II (p.180), Sext II (p.189) and the first of the prayers "At the Consecration" (p.273). In prayers more strictly of his own devising, he uses the normal collect structure most frequently, as in the very simple Ember prayer "For the health of our bodies" (p.303), or the "Prayer to be used by Women that travaill with Child" (p.325). Even in the longer and more elaborate prayers, the collect structure is often used, as in the prayer "For the Ember Week after Pentecost" (p.305), with its beautiful correspondence between the various parts. The collect structure is used to particularly good effect in the prayer "For the Ember Week in September", holding together and unifying the eight varied phrases from scripture. The ending of these collect-type prayers is often striking, and appropriate to the subject of the prayer, as in "A Prayer and Thanksgiving for King's Reign" (p.328), the second prayer "for our Parents" (p.325), and the prayers "upon the Anniversary Day of our Birth" (p.329) and "upon the Anniversary Day of our Baptism" (p.330). Even in the longer prayers, where Cosin does not use the collect form, the structure is unified. For instance, in the "Prayer and Thanksgiving for the whole estate of Christ's Catholic Church" (pp.323-4), with over four hundred words, the framework of

the 1549 Prayer for the Church provides the necessary unifying factor, upon which Cosin elaborates, while in the extremely long "devout manner of preparing ourselves to receive Absolution" (pp. 284-5), with over five hundred words, the unity of the prayer is maintained by the careful progression of the 'argument'.

With regard to the question of rhythm, all four main types of the *cursus* are to be found in Cosin's prayers: *planus*, "unspeakable mercy"; *planus B*, "the riches of Thy goodness"; *tardus*, "inordinate appetites"; *velox*, "fasting and sober living". Except in one or two prayers, however, (e.g. Ember I, VII) the incidence of the *cursus* is very low, and it seems that Cosin used it no more consciously or deliberately than did the sixteenth century reformers of the Prayer Book. He seems to have turned rather to those habits and techniques which more definitely characterise the prayers of the Prayer Book.

The pairing of synonyms and near-synonyms, a practice first extensively developed in the 1549 Prayer Book, and often conferring great rhythmical benefits, is used by Cosin with great frequency: "a waking spirit and a diligent soul", "my wanton and evil words, my naughty and ungodly deeds", "happily and holily vowed and dedicated", "protect and strengthen me against all the dangers and pains of my labour and travail". In some cases of adapting or translating prayers, Cosin demonstrates his deliberate use of this technique by adding a synonym or near-synonym to the original: "didst instruct and replenish the hearts", where the original has merely "didst instruct the hearts", or "to shadow us under the blessed wings of Thy most mighty protection and to cover us with

"Thy heavenly mercy", where the original has "ut nos misericorditer in tutelam tuam accipias".

Cosin also uses, with variations, another Prayer Book principle, that of 'idem in alio', in which long monosyllables in one clause balance pairs of short syllables in the next: "dispose of me, and all that is mine", "a torn body and a broken heart", "my secret and my whispering sins".

An effective rhythmical device which seems to be a favourite with Cosin is the 'piling-up' of phrases, with a longer, more heavily stressed phrase to round-off the series: "Be Thou my sunshine in the day, my food at table, my repose in the night, my clothing in nakedness, and my succour in all necessities", "to love, and fear, and rest in Thee alone".

Perhaps the strongest affinity of Cosin's prayers with those of the Prayer Book lies in the use of those strongly supported rhythms which occur when syllables with a full accent come close together, and the lightly or unaccented syllables are few: "nor the works of darkness overwhelm us", "in all lowliness and humility of a broken heart", "the dreadful throne of His justice", "all kings and nations of the earth", "the glory of Thy Church triumphant in the heavens". Again, we can see Cosin consciously reaching after this effect in his improvement of his models, e.g. "His mighty resurrection from the earth, and His glorious ascension into heaven", where the original has "mighty resurrection and glorious ascension". Cosin frequently develops the rhythm of his prayers, as in this last example, by the introduction of an extra word or words into a well-known phrase: "blessed Son of God", "in the unity of the same blessed Spirit".

"the glorious and most blessed Virgin Mary", "in the communion of Thy glorious saints". The effect of this practice is not always merely rhythmical; it is, in fact, the device known as 'amplification', as Cosin was aware (1), which has the effect of enlarging the sense of wonder and worship, as in such phrases as "my most gracious and merciful God", "God's divine majesty", and "the holy celebration of so heavenly and wonderful a mystery".

Besides expanding phrases, however, Cosin can reduce a prolix and untidy prayer to a new compactness and clarity, as when he converts Bishop Hilsey's "O Jesu, the only begotten Son of the Almighty Father, the brightness of his godly substance" into "O Thou brightness and Image of God", cf. his treatment of the prayers from the "Liber Regalis".

Two other features of the prayers in 'D' seem to be distinctively elements from Cosin's own devotional experience. One is the frequently striking reference to the Passion. Where in the original we will find "that precious death", "Thy Passion", or "His blessed passion", Cosin will expand these into "this Thy most precious death", "that blessed Sacrifice which once Thou madest for us upon the Cross", and "His most precious Passion and Sacrifice". There are faint and restrained echoes of the medieval stress upon the torment of the cross, not only as in None I ("with a torn body and a broken heart"), where Cosin is adapting one of the "XV Oes", but also in phrases of his own devising, and always the emphasis is upon the atoning work of the crucified, receiving "the bitter sentence of death for us"; He suffered "and wast afflicted with extreme sorrow and anguish for the sins of the whole world", and not only for the whole world as such, but also for the sins

of the individual sinner, guilty of "that Death and Passion which Christ once suffered for me upon the tormenting cross". One feels very much in reading and using the prayers in 'D', the centrality of the Passion in Cosin's thought and belief.

The other particularly striking feature of Cosin's prayers is the frequent affirmation of the goodness and bounty of God and the joyful potentialities of life. While there is no discounting human sinfulness, in which every man is "guilty of that Death and Passion which Christ once suffered", and while "the only foundation of... (man's) hope" is in the crucified Christ, there is yet a strong 'affirmative' strain in the prayers in 'D'. God is "my loving heavenly Father", "by Whose blessed goodness I was fearfully and wonderfully made". He is "the fountain of all goodness and the well-spring of divine grace", Who, of His "infinite goodness", "doest good unto all men" "out of the riches of ... (His) bounty and goodness". Through His "tender pity and goodness", "His great goodness and blessing towards us", "cometh down every good and perfect gift", "the abundant riches of His glorious grace". Out of His "blessed providence" we receive "the blessings of heaven above, and the blessings of the earth beneath". Regarding the "temporal blessings wherewith ... (He) crownest the year", giving "life, and food, and gladness unto all things", we pray to the "God from whom all good graces proceed", to "send us ... (His) blessing from heaven, in giving us fruitful seasons, and filling our hearts with food and gladness". The woman that travails with child can speak of "this happy fruit which Thou hast created in my womb", and can ask to be blessed "with a joyful benediction", so that she may safely give birth, "to the joy and comfort of ...

"(her) own soul". Likewise, we pray that the King may be "a happy father", and the Queen "a joyful mother of many children, to the joy and welfare of this kingdom", and that the King may be so blessed with the fulness of God's mercy and grace, "that in his time there may be health in our country, and peace throughout all his kingdoms", "peace and plenty". In our life as members of the Church (that "blessed estate" which we entered on the "happy day" of our Baptism), after turning in penitence to God, Who "hath in His incomprehensible clemency so often invited ...(us) to repentance", we receive "the blessed Sacrament", source of "the fulness of all God's graces", in response to which we may say "Oh, my God, Thou art true and holy! Oh, my soul, thou art blessed and happy", for God has "vouchsafed to fill our souls with gladness". Likewise, keeping the penitential seasons with fasting and prayer, we are "filled with true joy and consolation", and, enjoying the "comfort" of continuing in the "holy communion" of the saints, we follow "with a glad will and mind their holy examples". At the end of each day, we pray so to sleep that "we may rise up again with cheerful strength and gladness, to serve ...(God) in all good works", and at the end of our life, "having ...(God our) merciful and gentle Father, after many happy days here in this life", our hope and prayer is to enter "the great happiness of ...(His) everlasting estate hereafter", "the place of eternal happiness and joy". There, in "the glorious estate of ...(God's) chosen saints in heaven", His "happy servants", we will be "satisfied with the plenteousness of His house, and filled with the abundance of His pleasure" in "a paradise of mercy", the "reign of light and His blessed presence".

The strongly 'affirmative' strain is, then, an especially striking element in Cosin's prayers, so striking as to suggest that it derives, along with the stress upon the Passion, not merely from the conventions of prayer-composition, but from the particular bent of Cosin's own thought and belief.

It would be wrong to conclude these observations without some reference to weaknesses which mar one or two of Cosin's prayers. There is an occasional lapse into the prosaic: "the succeeding ages of that Church appointed other set times of public fasting and humiliation", "here personally appearing and prostrate", "without unsaying, revoking, or repenting me of this my holy and sacred promise, or any part thereof"; sometimes there is an unsuccessful straining after effect: "with all my might and force from the very bowels of my heart"; and sometimes Cosin goes close to overloading his prayers by bringing in every relevant allusion, as in the prayer "For the Ember Week in September".

These, however, are small points, and the overall impression is of Cosin's considerable accomplishment in the writing of prayers, from the almost delicate beauty of the very brief prayer "At the washing of our hands", or the Ember prayers "For the health of our bodies", and "In the time of Advent", through the strong medium-length prayers, like Terce II, Sext II, None I, the longer Ember prayers and some of the "Prayers and Thanksgivings for Sundry Purposes", to the long and splendid "Prayer and Thanksgiving for the whole estate of Christ's Catholic Church".

Chapter 4. The doctrinal character and churchmanship of 'D'.

The purpose of this chapter is to make some assessment of Cosin's doctrinal position and churchmanship in 1627, as it is revealed in 'D', relating it, wherever possible, to earlier and contemporary Anglican thought. We would expect 'D' to reflect the High Church position of the Laudians, but a precise assessment can only follow a close examination of its contents.

Cosin's frequent appeal to ancient authority is a striking feature of 'D'. In his footnotes, prefatory matter, etc., he is constantly citing authorities and precedents for what he is doing; this is, presumably, partly for the benefit of those English ladies of the Court who were attracted to the Roman Catholic Church, to impress them with the sound provenance of Anglican devotion, and partly in anticipation of Puritan objections, but chiefly, perhaps, because Cosin shares the innately conservative approach of the Laudians, "with their veneration for tradition" (1). The passage from *Micrologus* which Cosin copied onto an inserted leaf in his "First Series" of notes on the Prayer Book, might serve as an appropriate text for the Laudians generally: "Facilius et melius observatur quod provida antiquitas et auctoritas instituit, quam quod inconsiderata novitas et infirmitas adinvenit" (2). The scriptures, both old and new testaments, are often cited (e.g. the later catechetical material, pp. 121-3), and where other authorities are also cited, as in the preface to each of the Hours, the scriptural references always precede them. There are likewise several references to apostolic precedent: Lent is called "an apostolical constitution" (p. 248), the Lord's day was

so named "by the Apostles" (p.254), and "holy and sacred Orders . . . were ever given as well by Christ and His Apostles, as their successors" (p.300). Quotations from and references to the Fathers are a very prominent feature of 'D', with the testimonies of the Eastern and Western Churches occasionally differentiated (e.g. p.247); along with these are many less specific references to "The Ancient Fathers" (title-page). Canons of the early Councils (pp.89,171,204,246,248) and the "Apostolical Constitutions" (pp.148,171,183,193,204,251) are also cited in support of various points, while less precise references to "the ancient laws, and old godly customs of the Church" (p.89) are frequent (cf. pp.91,96,102,116,128,145,171,246,247,251,256,258,299). This varied appeal to ancient authority is characteristic of the reformed Church of England, but especially, as has been said, of the High Churchmen of Cosin's time. While the earlier reformers had appealed to the Fathers, and some, such as Cranmer and Ridley, had shown considerable knowledge of and deference to them (1), the advances made by students of the early Church and the Fathers during the later sixteenth century and after were found "to support the Calvinists less, and the conservatives more, than the scholars of the middle sixteenth century had thought or expected" (2). It is for this reason that we find among the High Churchmen of the seventeenth century, and not least in 'D', this particularly high regard for the first four or five centuries, which was looked upon as a liturgical golden age, and a veneration for the Fathers less qualified than that of the sixteenth century.

Along with his references to antiquity, Cosin appeals, where

it seems necessary, to the authority of the reformed Church of England. Thus, he bases his compilation on two officially authorised Primers of the reign of Elizabeth (e.g. on the title-page), he refers to the Book of Common Prayer on the title-page, and in footnotes (pp.90,280), and draws on it extensively for his matter (e.g. many of the prayers), he quotes the Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical (pp.90,300), the Thirty Nine Articles (p.121), the Injunctions of Edward VI (pp.90,108-9), and some of the 'Fathers' of the reformed Church, Hooker (pp.98,232), and Overall and Andrewes (p.121). It is clear that for Cosin the doctrine and discipline of the reformed Church of England are authoritative: "And what can we resolve on less than the Church now teacheth us?" (p.252). Cosin can say such things because he sees an essential continuity in the English Church, and a close affinity between the reformed Church of England and the ancient Church; his assertion of this is a recurring note in 'D': "they who give it out, and accuse us here in ENGLAND to have set up a new Church, and a new Faith, to have abandoned all the Ancient Forms of Piety and Devotion, to have taken away all the religious exercises and prayers of our forefathers, to have despised all the old ceremonies, and cast behind us the blessed Sacraments of Christ's Catholic Church - ./. these men do little else but betray their own infirmities" (p.90), cf. "the names of ./. Saints are still preserved in the Calendar of the Church ./. as confirmations of the faith which we now profess to be the same that theirs then was" (p.96, cf. pp.247,248,254,255,264). This interpretation of the position of the Church of England is similar to

that of the Anglican writers of the sixteenth century. The Preface to the Book of Common Prayer, in its sixteenth century form, for example, speaks of the new book being issued for the redressing of corruptions which have crept into the Church's life since the times of the ancient Fathers, and Jewel asserts that with its reformation, the Church of England has "returned to the apostles and old Catholic fathers" (1). The same interpretation was common among the High Churchmen of Cosin's time. Laud, for example, in his dispute with Fisher, stated: "I have lived . . . in the faith of Christ, as it was professed in the ancient Primitive Church, and as it is professed in the present Church of England" (2). Similarly, Cosin's friend, Montague, wrote " . . . from my first entrance to the studie of Divinity, I . . . tooke my selfe to Scripture The Rule of Faith, interpreted by Antiquity . . . I have not found anie Canon, Order, Act, Direction in the Church of England against it; for it I have found manie . . . This totall, both Doctrine and Discipline (of the Church of England) I . . . will maintaine . . . to bee Antient, Catholick, Orthodox, and Apostolicall" (3). This is exactly the position which we find embodied in many passing references in 'D'.

The conviction of sixteenth century Anglicans was that at the Reformation, the reformers had, in Hooker's words, removed "only such things as the Church might best spare, retaining the residue" (4), and this is certainly the spirit of the piece, "Of Ceremonies", first included in the 1549 Prayer Book. We find this understanding of the Reformation in 'D' also. In the introductory piece, "Concerning the Calendar", Cosin speaks of "the great wisdom and moderation of those religious grave prelates, by whom

"God (of His especial blessing to our Church above others) did reform such things as were many ways remiss here among us" (p.96), and he goes on to show how in their reformation of the Church Calendar they "chose" and "retained" certain items. The note is exactly that of the Prayer Book and of Hooker. Cosin's suggestion here that the Reformation left the Church of England in a position of unique excellence, is echoed in his remarks on the Litany: he first describes, quoting Hooker, how the Litany in course of time "got some rust; the addition and invocation of the saints' names"; at the Reformation, these corruptions were removed, bringing the Litany "into that absolute perfection, both for matter and form, as not any Church besides can shew the like" (p.232). The claim to a uniquely favoured reformation had recently been heard in Laud's claim that "religion as it is professed in the Church of England, is nearest of any Church now in being to the Primitive Church" (1), and would be heard again a few years later, in the concluding stanza of George Herbert's "The British Church": "Blessed be God, whose love it was // To double moat thee with his grace, // And none but thee" (2), and in Charles II's contention that the Prayer Book form of service was the best in the world" (3).

Cosin refers to the Church of England as such, however, much less often in 'D' than he does to "the Church" (p.93) or "Christ's Catholic Church" (p.258). The implication is, as the title of the 1549 Prayer Book had suggested ("The Booke of Common Prayer ... of the Church after the Use of the Church of England"), and as the sixteenth century reformers generally had maintained (4), and as the Laudians reiterated (5), that the Church of England is a

sound branch of the Catholic Church. For Cosin, there exists by virtue of the death of Christ, "an universal Church" (p.304), and the Anglican is, by Baptism "a lively member" (p.326), and, by faith "a true member" (p.305) of it, "abiding in the unity of" (p.305) the "holy Catholic Church, the Mother of us all that bear the name of Christ" (p.325).

'D' gives us very little of Cosin's attitude to the Puritans, and to the Roman Catholic Church, except by implication. Dislike of the approach to prayer of the Independents and others, who disallowed all set forms, is evident in the Preface, where Cosin castigates, in terms borrowed from Hooker, "all extemporal effusions of irksome and indigested prayers, which they use to make that herein are subject to no good order or form of words, but pray both what, and how, and when they list" (p.89). Just as the clergy are "enjoined to say the Morning and Evening Devotions of the Church" and other prescribed set forms of words because "it is not so lawful for them to pray of their own heads, or suddenly to say what they please themselves" (p.90), so the warning stands for all who pray "not to lose ourselves with confusion in any sudden, abrupt, or rude dictates, which are framed by private spirits, and ghosts of our own" (p.90). In the same spirit, Cosin represents the Puritan dislike of any form of ceremonial as sinful: "They that rudely refuse, or carelessly neglect to kneel, bow, and prostrate themselves, to uncover their heads, or to stand with seemly awe and reverence before the presence of His Majesty" are classed as "Offenders of the Second Commandment" (p.114). Likewise, Cosin's attitude to "images" is at some remove from the iconoclasm of the Puritans, Cosin condemning only "They

"that make . . . images . . . with an intent to fall down and worship them" (p.114), while his remarks on "Offenders against the Fourth Commandment" would seem to be an attack on the sabbatarian excesses of the Puritans : "They that under a pretence of serving God more strictly than others (especially for hearing and meditating of sermons), do by their fasts, and certain judaizing observations, condemn the joyful festivity of this high and holy day, which the Church allows, as well for the necessary recreation of the body in due time, as for spiritual exercises of the soul" (p.116). On all of these issues, so important to the Puritans, extempore prayer, the use of ceremonial, images, the Sabbath, Cosin's attitude is typical of the Laudians (1). With regard to the Roman Catholics, Cosin says in the Preface that 'D' is set forth in the manner of "ancient piety" (p.89) to refute "the common conceit of recusant papists" and others that the English reformers have set up a new Church and faith (p.90). At another place, Cosin condemns such characteristically Roman practices as the invocation of saints, and the worship of saints' images "out of a false conception of demeriting the protection of the blessed Virgin, or any other saint of God" (p.114). At the same time, Cosin is not frightened to borrow from Roman Catholic sources (e.g. in assembling his catechetical section, pp.110-23) simply because they are Roman Catholic. In this respect, Cosin's attitude is similar to that of several of his High Church contemporaries, and of Hooker : "Where Rome keepeth that which is ancients and better, others whom we much more affect leaving it for newer and changing it for worse; we had rather follow the perfection of them whom we like not, than in defects resemble

"those whom we love" (1).

The very fact that Cosin should turn to a long-established tradition, that of the Primers, with its observance of the even longer-established Canonical Hours as its central feature, is typical of the reformed Church of England, which had, in its sixteenth century Prayer Books, to some extent merely rearranged ancient elements, and which had also in the sixteenth century, after all, produced the reformed versions of the Primer on which 'D' was based. It was typical, too, of the High Church school of seventeenth century, whose invariable purpose was restoration rather than innovation (2). Cosin is conscious of the ancient tradition of the Primer: "A part of which ancient piety are these daily Devotions" (p.89), and of the Canonical Hours, his version of them being "for the hearty imitation of that ancient Christian piety, to whom the distinction of hours was but an orderly and useful, no superstitious or wanton performance of their duties" (p.129). Although no Primers had been published since those deriving from the three Elizabethan versions, the last being H.253 (c.1580) and H.254(c.1580), the practice of keeping the Canonical Hours was maintained among the High Churchmen of Cosin's time. Andrewes, in his "Preces Privatae", recommends the observance of the ancient times of prayer(3); Laud kept them: "They said my prayers were in canonical Hours, Hora Sexta, and Hora Nona, &c. God grant this be my greatest sin" (4); Nicholas Ferrar told a visitor to Little Gidding in 1634 that "their Canonically Houres they usually prayed six times a day" (5); also slightly later than 'D', the anonymous "The Whole Duty of Man" (1658) advocated their use (6).

Cosin's way of referring to the practice of prayer, borrowed largely from Hooker, is suggestive of the high value he places upon it: "we shall have just cause to conceive that so much of our life is celestial and divine, as we spend in this holy exercise of prayer and devotion, ... the worthiest part of our Christian duty to God-ward", and he speaks of "the heavenly duty ... of ... daily and Christian devotions to Almighty God", in which we have "a perpetual communion with the saints triumphant" (pp.89-91). In all this, Cosin's attitude is close to that of many of his High Church contemporaries, who "constantly stress this classical attitude: the adoration of God is the height and end of all life ..." (1). We have already noted Cosin's dislike of the Puritan approach to prayer, "subject to no good order" (p.89). Although he makes some allowance for "sudden and godly ejaculations" (p.90), and provides such items as "Pious Ejaculations" (pp.133-5), the "Devout Prayer" (pp.166-8), "Heavenly Aspirations" (pp.274-5) and "Meditations" (p.276), Cosin sees all prayer, even private prayer, as an essentially formal activity: "these prayers are chiefly allowed and recommended unto us ... which with good advice and meditation are framed beforehand by them that best know what belong thereunto ... and that when we speak to, or call upon the awful Majesty of Almighty God, we might be sure to speak in the grave and pious language of Christ's Church" (p.90). This rather narrow approach, with its lack of reference to contemplative prayer, is a characteristic limitation among the seventeenth century High Churchmen (2), and the lack of inclination to encourage the mere luxury of religious feeling, a characteristic of Anglican devotion generally (3).

Cosin saw a value in the use of bodily actions as an aid to prayer, honouring and worshipping God "with the lowly reverence even of our bodies also" (p.114). In 'D' he suggests attitudes appropriate to adoration, "when we fall down to worship and adore" (p.135), and penitence, "prostrate before the appearance of the everlasting God ... casting my soul and body prostrate before the dreadful throne of His justice" (p.284). Cosin's own manner at prayer was evidently consistent with this, for Montague remarks to him, in a letter dated 8 January, 1625, "Since you went, it is reported att Windsore that you were a Jesuite ... because, contrary to our fashion, you carried your selfe so devoutly at prayers, which fewe of us doe" (1). In recognising the value of bodily actions as an aid to prayer, Cosin again identifies himself with the High Churchmen of his time (2).

Hooker had maintained that "this present world affordeth not any thing comparable unto the public duties of religion" (3), and, following him, the High Church divines of the seventeenth century believed "that liturgical worship, because it is the prayer of the Church, has a far greater spiritual value and is more acceptable with God than private prayer" (4). This belief is implicit in 'D', the use of which Cosin clearly regarded as complementary to, and not a substitute for common prayer. In the Preface, for instance, he explains that 'D' (presumably the Canonical Hours in particular) is for those "whom earnest lets and impediments do often hinder from being partakers of the Public (prayer)" (p.91). In the exposition of the Ten Commandments, he says that the fourth requires one on Sunday "to give God a solemne and a public worship in the congregation of His saints" (p.116), and he refers to "the

"joyful festivity of this high and holy day" (p.116), while he makes it a Precept of the Church "To repair unto the public service of the Church for Matins and Evensong, with other holy offices at times appointed, unless there be a just and an unfeigned cause to the contrary" (p.121). Cosin also provides in 'D' forms of confession to be used "especially before the receiving of Christ's Blessed Sacrament, according to the direction of the Church" (p.282), and private devotions to be used at the Holy Communion (pp.271-7), and says that "the Blessed sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ" is to be received "with frequent devotion" (p.121). All of these inclusions indicate that Cosin shared the Caroline conviction about the centrality of liturgical worship.

Citing the Book of Common Prayer, Cosin includes among the Precepts of the Church, "To observe the Festivals and Holy days appointed", and "To keep the Fasting days with devotion and abstinence" (p.121), while, for guidance in this matter, he includes in 'D' a Calendar, with introduction (pp.95-102), tables and rules for the moveable feasts and fasting days (pp.103-9), and notes, interspersed with the Collects, expounding the significance of certain days and seasons in the Church's year (pp.239-68). Such extensive inclusions, absent from the earlier Primers, are another indication of the priority Cosin gives in 'D' to the public, liturgical life of the Church. Hooker, refuting the Puritans, had insisted on the value of a proper observance of the liturgical year (1), and Cosin, quoting him in his own introduction to the Calendar, remarks on its "very beautiful distinctions of the days and seasons" (p.95), while later in 'D' he speaks of "the order of the Church" in the arrangement of the Calendar as being

"excellent to consider" (p.259). This stress is, again, characteristic of the seventeenth century High Churchmen(1).

The purpose of the Calendar, it is explained, is "to preserve a solemn memory and ... commemoration of those excellent and high benefits which God ... hath bestowed upon mankind, ... both holy Persons and holy Actions" (pp.95-6), but Cosin shares with his Laudian contemporaries the conviction that a function of the liturgy, and in this case of the liturgical calendar, is edification, in the sense of building up the whole personality in the process of sanctification(2): "And hence must be remembered, that the intent of the Church in the celebration of these her holy solemnities, is not only to inform us in the mysteries which are commemorated, but also, and that chiefly, to conform us thereby unto Him Who is our Head, and the substance of all our solemnities whatsoever: that if we be not thus affected with them, we can neither approve ourselves to be His followers and servants, nor any lively members of His Church" (p.252, cf. pp.245-6, 254).

The notion, characteristic of the seventeenth century High Churchmen(3), of the Christian life as essentially a corporate life in the Church, is implied in the wording of several prayers in 'D'. The concern of Christian parents should be that their children be brought up in "the godly nurture, virtue, religion and discipline" of God (p.325, cf. pp.324, 6), and the prayer of a mother "that this little infant ... may be made a lively member of Thy Church" (p.326). An individual praying to be strengthened by the Holy Spirit, does so "through Him who hath sent down the Spirit upon His Church" (p.180), while it is those who abide "in the unity of Thy Holy Catholic Church, the Mother of us all" who

may pray to "be evermore replenished with the heavenly grace of the Holy Ghost"(p.305).Prayer for the fruits of the earth is made "that both our hearts and mouths may be continually filled with Thy praises,giving thanks to Thee in Thy Holy Church" (p. 302),while gratitude to God for deliverance from plague involves "always praising and magnifying Thy mercies in the midst of Thy Church"(p.328).Part of the purpose of the life of both King and people is the endeavour "to set forth the beauty of Thy Church militant here on earth",that we "may at last be exalted to the glory of Thy Church triumphant in the heavens"(p.329).

Following Hooker,the seventeenth century High Churchmen were "intensely and constantly sacramental"(1).While Cosin does speak in a general way of a reverence due to the sacraments (and to "saints, ... His temples, ... His service")"because they have God's mark upon them,being set apart and dedicated to the service of His most holy and fearful Name"(p.115),his most frequent references are to the sacraments in the narrower sense.In the catechetical section of 'D',on "The Sacraments of the Church", Cosin keeps close to the Church of England's official formularies, quoting and referring to the 25th Article to distinguish between the two "principal and truly so called" and the other five sometimes called sacraments,but having "not the like nature that the two principal and true sacraments have"(p.121).

There are a surprising number of references to Baptism in 'D',an indication of the high place of the sacrament in Cosin's thought.His position is clearly strongly objective and sacramental,Baptism involving,for him,an inward renewal:Terce II recalls the "regeneration" effected in "the blessed laver of Baptism"

(p.180), while the "Prayer and Thanksgiving upon the Anniversary Day of our Baptism" speaks of it as a sharing in "the first regeneration" (pp.329-30). This position, compatible with the teaching of the Prayer Book (1), we find Cosin's colleague, Francis White, defending at the York House Conferences with his assertion "that it was Catholic faith that all infants baptized were regenerated" (2). Although no contemporary parallels have been found to Cosin's explanation that in the Baptismal rite "the holy resurrection of our Saviour is so lively set forth and commemorated in the Church" (p.255), there are patristic parallels (3). There are a number of other indications of the importance Cosin attached to the sacrament: the note on Whitsunday refers to "the mysterious descent" of the Holy Spirit in "the blessed Sacrament of Baptism" (p.258); the prayer before receiving Absolution speaks of the day of our Christening, in which we were "happily and holily vowed and dedicated unto ... God, to be His child, and to live in His continual service", and "the sacred profession" made there is solemnly renewed (p.284); the first of the two prayers "For our Parents" gives thanks for the parental care whereby we were first brought to Baptism (p.324); "A Prayer to be used by Women that travail with Child" includes the petition that the child "may be born again by Baptism" (p.326); "A Thanksgiving after Childbirth" speaks of the child "enjoying the benefit of Thy Holy Baptism" (p.326).

With regard to the Eucharist, it is evident from 'D' that Cosin shared the attitude of the seventeenth century High Churchmen, for whom it was "something infinitely precious" (4). Cosin's approach is, in one aspect, one of awe, as he speaks of "this

"dreadful sacrament" (p.274) and provides prayers for "When we are prostrate before the Altar" (p.272), while in the other it is one of affective warmth as the communicant gives thanks, "Oh, my God, Thou art true and holy ! Oh, my soul, thou art blessed and happy !" (p.275). Cosin's recommendation that the Holy Communion should be received "with frequent devotion" (p.121), his insistence on the value of sacramental confession "for better preparation thereunto" (p.121), and his provision of forms of confession "To be used especially before the receiving of Christ's Blessed Sacrament" (p.281), are further indications of Cosin's high and reverent regard for this sacrament. He understands the Eucharist as a memorial, and in no sense a repetition of Calvary : "a perpetual memory of that blessed Sacrifice which once . . . celebrate the memorial which Thy Son our Saviour hath commanded to be made in remembrance of His most blessed Passion and Sacrifice . . . the remembrance of Christ's Passion, which we now offer up unto Thee" (pp.273-4). It is clear, however, that Cosin shares the seventeenth century liturgists' understanding of this offering as "a mystical setting forth or representation of Christ's death, . . . a making present of that which is represented, . . . the actualization, the renewing, the revival of Calvary . . . in all its power and efficacy" (1) : "that by the merits and power . . . (of His most blessed Passion and Sacrifice) now represented before Thy divine Majesty, we, and all Thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins" (p.274). While Cosin 'translates' the lines from the hymn by Aquinas, "dogma datur christianis/quod in carnem transit panis/et vinum in sanguinem", into the more qualified "Christians are by faith assured/That by faith Christ is

"received, Flesh and blood most precious" (p.273), this being not incompatible with the 28th and 29th Articles, there are many indications in 'D' that Cosin held a doctrine of the Real Presence; the title, "Christ's Holy Sacrament, His Blessed Body and Blood" (p.269), the inclusion of the "Agnus Dei" (p.275) as a devotion before communion, the phrase "At the receiving of the Body" (p.275), and the recommendation that the communicant should say "Amen" to the words of administration (p.275) (1). In his understanding of the Real Presence, Cosin's position is identical with that of the High Churchmen of the period (2). Cosin's attachment to the 1549 Prayer Book is particularly evident in the eucharistic devotions in 'D': in the use of the phrasing of the 1549 Canon in the prayers "At the Consecration" (pp.273-4), in the implication in the second and third of these prayers that the prayer of Oblation should precede the communion ("the simplest way to express those ideas of offering and sacrifice which were dear to the hearts of the Laudians" (3)), and in the inclusion of the "Agnus Dei", etc. This evident preference for the 1549 Prayer Book is another indication of Cosin's affinity of outlook with his fellow High Churchmen (4). Another feature of the thought of the seventeenth century liturgists about the Eucharist, is that it is a corporate activity of the whole Church (5), in which everyone has a part to play. This idea is plain in 'D': the keeping of the Fourth Commandment requires that one be not only present but also "assistant at the public service of the Church" (p.116), and this is echoed in the prayers "At the Consecration", "Grant me . . . to assist the holy celebration, . . . Thy humble

"servants, who do now celebrate" (pp.273-4). The seventeenth century High Churchmen stressed the relationship between liturgy and life, the social significance of the Eucharist (1). This is not something that Cosin makes a great deal of, but we do find some awareness of the point : one of the thanksgivings after communion includes the prayer that "henceforth we may walk in all good works, and serve Thee in holiness and pureness of living" (p.276), while one of the "Meditations whilst others are communicated" includes the exhortation, from the Epistle to the Ephesians, to "walk in love, even as Christ loved us . . ." (p.277).

Cosin also gives us a few indications of his understanding of the other five, "sometimes called . . . sacraments" (p.121) Auricular or sacramental confession, which Cosin calls "Penitence" (p.121), is, as we have seen, given the sort of emphasis that it has in the Book of Common Prayer, although Cosin's advocacy of the practice is characteristic particularly of the High Church divines of the period, with whom it was "commonly regarded as normal" (2). The brief references to the sacrament of Order are likewise in keeping with the views of many of Cosin's contemporaries. He shares with several of them (3), and with some of the sixteenth century reformers (4), the belief that episcopacy is not merely of primitive origin but of divine institution : "which Orders were ever given as well by Christ and His Apostles, as their successors" (p.300). He regards non-episcopal ministries as essentially extraordinary, just as Hoeker had done : "the ordinary custom of the Church . . . by the imposition of her Bishops' hands, to give holy and sacred Orders" (p.300), cf. Hooker, "The whole Church visible being the true original

"subject of all power, it hath not ordinarily allowed any other than Bishops alone to ordain ... By the imposition of their hands it is, that the Church giveth power of Order" (1). The attitude of the laity to those in Holy Orders is to be that of good children to their parents, submitting themselves "lowly and reverently to them that are our spiritual guides and fathers, the prelates, and priests of God's Church" (p.117). Finally, the reference to "Visitation of the Sick, or Extreme Unction" (p.121) is interesting. In the year after the publication of 'D', Cosin explained, alluding to and quoting the 25th Article, that it is the "substance" of these minor sacraments to which the Church of England "hath ever given a preheminance and a most reverend regard ... for as for many ceremonies in them, and especially the ceremony of extreme unction in the Visitation of the Sick, it is now but a corrupt imitation of the Apostles" (2) - hence, presumably, Cosin's alternative description of this sacrament as the "Visitation of the Sick".

The close relationship between Church and State in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, to which Hecker gave the classical formulation (3), is reflected in 'D'. The king is "our sacred sovereign" (p.289), and "his sacred power and his sovereign authority over us" have a claim upon our reverence (p.117), while to his subordinate magistrates we are "to live in an orderly and quiet subjection" (p.117). A limitation upon the royal supremacy, however, because it was held to be constitutional and not absolute (4), and because kingship was seen as a function of the community (5), is implied in the conditional "that he, ruling us prudently with all his power, we may obey

"him loyally" (p.238). The general agreement of the period that the sovereign had the care of the Church (1), is reflected in the prayers in 'D' that he should be "a religious defender" of the faith and a "bountiful comforter" of the Church (p.294), preserving it "in truth and peace" (p.293), and, together with his subjects, "evermore endeavouring to set forth the beauty" of the Church militant here on earth (p.328).

A few further points complete our survey of the doctrinal position and churchmanship of 'D' : a) A growing feature of Anglican devotional literature in the seventeenth century was the introduction of the requirement of holiness, the idea of individual moral effort as part and parcel of personal piety; Taylor's "Holy Living" and "Holy Dying" might be taken as illustrations of this, while the development of Anglican casuistry is another aspect of the same development (2). While this is not a marked feature of 'D', the exposition of the Ten Commandments in the catechetical section, relates Cosin's compilation to this development. b) The ministry of angels (p.318), especially in carrying the Church's prayers into the "heavenly Tabernacle" (p.274, cf. the Canon in the 1549 Prayer Book), was a "favourite idea of the age" (3), if not with the Puritans, certainly with the High Churchmen (4). c) Prayer for the dead (p.320), likewise disliked by the Puritans, was held by the High Churchmen of the period, following the practice of the 1549 Prayer Book, to be a proper element in devotion (5). d) Perhaps there is a connection between what we have called the 'affirmative' strain in Cosin's prayers (see above, pp.122-4) and that characteristic of Caroline theology whereby it "returns with full force to the great saints.

"of creation doctrine: the School of St. Victor, St. Francis, and St. Thomas" (1); certainly, what Stranks says of Traherne is true also of Cosin: "Traherne's eyes are not fixed on the damnation from which the Passion of Christ saves mankind, but on the felicity into which it admits us" (2).

Thus 'D' gives us some sort of picture of Cosin's churchmanship and doctrinal position in 1627. It has been said that "Up to his exile he leant decidedly towards the Roman Church" (3), but there is little if any evidence of this in 'D'. Certainly, there is a stress on traditional Catholic devotional practice and attitudes, but there is none upon those doctrines which could be termed distinctive of the Roman Church, but rather, in fact, a clear-cut repudiation of the Roman position on certain points. Cuming notes the moderate character of 'D': "The chance of doing some Prayer Book revision in an unofficial way came with a commission to compile a book of devotions ... But although he made good use of Prayer Book material, suitably adapted to the special circumstances, significant variations are few" (4). Chadwick points out that what distinguishes 'D' from Puritan books of piety is less doctrinal content than devotional atmosphere (5). These are fairly accurate assessments of 'D'.

To sum up, the doctrinal position of 'D' is compatible with loyalty to the Book of Common Prayer, although Cosin, like several of his contemporaries, shows a distinct preference for the 1549 Book. It is likewise a position comparable at many points with that of the sixteenth century Anglicans, especially Hooker, but even more so with that of Cosin's High Church contemporaries, the Laudians.

Chapter 5. The subsequent history of 'D'.

It is not surprising that in 1627, when the disagreements between the King and the High Churchmen on the one hand, and the Puritans, sustained by the majority of the House of Commons on the other, were growing more acute and more bitter, opinions about 'D' were sharply divided. To the former group, with whom Cosin had already been associated for some years, 'D' was "a Jewel of great Price and Value" (1), while to the latter it was "a base begotten bratt, ... (a) painted fardle" (2). The purpose of this chapter is to give some account, first of the Puritan reaction to the publication of 'D', and then of those circles in which Cosin's work has been more favourably received.

Although there is no direct evidence of an open attack upon Cosin prior to 1627, it is possible that he had already been criticised by the Puritans, for, referring to the Puritan pamphlets against 'D' in a letter to Laud in the June of the following year, he wrote that he had been "long inured to such kinds of injurie and slander" (3). He clearly expected the publication of 'D' to provoke trouble; we have seen how he asserts that his models, the Elizabethan Primers, were published "by high and sacred authority" (p. 89), and how he constantly seeks to justify the contents of his compilation by referring to the Bible, the Fathers, the ancient traditions of the Church, and the formularies of the Church of England, as if (partly, at least) in anticipation of Puritan criticism.

The criticism came, fiercely hostile, and it is evident that the publication of 'D' contributed to Cosin's becoming the first

victim of the Long Parliament. The reaction to 'D' can be traced as a factor within the general Puritan attack upon Cosin throughout the years up to his withdrawal to Paris in 1643.

The first evidence of criticism of 'D' is to be found in a letter written to Joseph Mead, Laud's chaplain, dated 16 May, 1627, two and a half months after the issuing of the 1st edition. It speaks of this edition "to be distributed for private use", and goes on to refer to a report of a further edition, which, "now, by the jealousies and rash censures of the people, will be made public, and perhaps in that respect offensive"(1). This would seem to suggest that on account of rumours circulating concerning the private 1st edition, it was considered desirable to produce a 2nd edition for general circulation, in an effort to dispel misconceptions about 'D'. This is made clearer in the 2nd edition, which came out, presumably, shortly after the date of the letter to Mead, and contains a piece entitled "The Printer to the Reader"(2). Clearly written by Cosin himself(3), it suggests that "the malevolence of some dispositions of these times" has raised "the reprochful imputation of way-making to Popish devotion, and apish imitation of Romish superstition", and goes on to explain that the 2nd edition has been authorised for sale to the public, "whereby it is presumed, all well disposed christians may receive satisfaction, that there is no such cause of dislike as it seemeth hath been rumored". Slight errors, attributed to "the printer's haste, or the corrector's oversight", have now been emended. This last point refers to the alterations Cosin made in the 2nd edition, some purely typographical and stylistic, but some doctrinal. These doctrinal modifications include the omission

of the reference to the ministry of angels in the third of the prayers "At the Consecration" in the eucharistic devotions (p. 274); the alteration of the rubric before the last prayers in the "Prayers at the Hour of Death" from "And these to be repeated, until the soul be departed. Then ..." (p. 320), implying the provision of prayer for the dead, to "And these to be repeated, with the Prayers next following, until the soul be departed"; the omission of the reference to the ministry of angels, and the invocation of saints from "The Blessing" at the end of 'D' (p. 331) ("the succour of all holy Angels, and the suffrages of all the chosen of God"). In addition to these doctrinal modifications, Cosin altered the phrase on the title-page, "As they were after this maner published by authoritie of Q. Eliz. 1560", to "As they were much after this maner published ...", the point having been made, presumably, that 'D' does not follow the Elizabethan Primers as closely as the wording of the 1st edition suggested. These, then, are the sort of points to which the Puritans took particular exception. At the same time, it is interesting to note that at one point, in the prayer, Terce II, while the 1st edition refers to baptism as a receiving "into the number of Thine elect children", in the 2nd edition this becomes "into the number of Thy children"; thus Cosin seeks to dissociate 'D', where he can, from anything that looks like the distinctively Calvinist language of the Puritans.

It seems that the initiative for these alterations (all but the last mentioned, at least) did not lie with Cosin, but that he was persuaded by someone in authority to make them. This is suggested in a paper among the State Papers (Domestic), entitled

"Observations upon Dr. Cosin's Book, entitled The Hours of Prayers, principally with respect to the publication of a reprint of a first impression, which was called in, because it contained a prayer for a man after his soul is departed" (1). It is dated 13 September, 1627, and indorsements, some in Laud's hand, indicate that it was delivered by Sir Francis Nethersole to the Secretary of State, Lord Conway, who sent it to the King. This paper is an attempt to summarise the position with regard to the number of editions of 'D' published, and their varying contents. It appears that by this time there were three editions in circulation, the 3rd of which was a re-issue of the 2nd, but with the prayer for the dead restored. Apparently, on the appearance of the 1st edition, complaints being made about this prayer "and other passages in the said booke, . . . accordingly there was order then given for the callinge in of the bookes which had been soe misprinted, and for the reprinting of them, with certaine amendments"; this "order" is later referred to as "the prohibition", although there is nothing to indicate who issued it. It is clear that the writer of the "Observations" doubted the claim that the inclusion of the prayer for the dead, etc., in the 1st edition was simply a printer's error (as "The Printer to the Reader" in the 2nd edition claimed), or that its reappearance in the 3rd edition was an error of the same sort. Why the 3rd edition did restore the prayer for the dead, and a 4th, later in the same year, again omitted it, is not clear - Hanson, in his bibliographical study of the 1627 editions, only infers this order of the four editions, on which the above summary is based, after remarking that the information given in the "Observations" completely upsets a simpler pattern of textual

amendment(1). What is clear, and should be noted here, is the evidence in all this of the points which particularly worried the Puritans, of the strength of their criticism of 'D', and the sensitiveness of the authorities to it.

That criticism at this time was not directed merely at 'D', but also took the form of personal hostility towards the compiler, is indicated in a letter from Montague to Cosin at Durham, dated 4 November, 1627: "You may be extra anni solisque vias; but you can not be, deceive not your self, extra teli jactum. Ill tounge will follow you there, and malignant Puritans persecute you as well in the north as in the south"(2).

The full force of the Puritan attack upon 'D' becomes evident in two pamphlets, written by William Prynne and Henry Burton respectively, which appeared in the year following the publication of 'D'. They were both published between March and June, 1628, during that year's session of Parliament, Prynne and Burton being "no doubt sustained by the thought that they could command support in Parliament whilst it continued sitting"(3). It is not certain which pamphlet was written first, but Prynne must have been writing p. 91 of his, referring to Mountain as Bishop of London and Neile as "the Bp. of Winchester that now is", between 18 November, 1627, when Neile was nominated to Winchester, and 19 February, 1628, when Mountain was nominated to Durham. Both were ready for publication by March, 1628, their appearance being delayed, as Prynne complained, by the licensers, who "not onely deny to licence, but likewise diligently suppress and intercept all Answers and Replies vnto them, as the intercepting Mr Burtons Answer at the Presse, and the detaining of the Copie of this my present Censure in the ...

"Licensers hands, who will neither licence nor deliuer it"(1). The controversial pamphlet was a frequent weapon in the Puritan attack in this period, and Prynne and Burton were to become two of the most notorious pamphleteers.

c Prynne's pamphlet, one of his earliest, has as its full title, "A Briefe Survey and Censure of Mr. Cozens his, Couzening Devotions, Proving both the forme and matter of Mr. Cozens his booke of Private Devotions, or the Houres of Prayer, lately published, to be meerey Popish: to differ from the private Prayers authorized by Queene Elizabeth 1560: to be transcribed out of Popish Authors, with which they are here paralleled: and to be scandalous and prejudiciall to our Church and advantageous onely to the Church of Rome. By William Prynne, Gent. Hospitii Lincolien-sis ...". The "Epistle Dedicatory" explains the delayed publication of the pamphlet, as detailed above. Prynne repeated this explanation years later, saying that his pamphlet "by this Bishops (Laud's) meanes and his confederates was refused Licence, at London House; but afterwards Licenced at Lambeth House by Dr. Featly, and printed sitting the Parliament in the year 1628"(2). (It is interesting that in his pamphlet Prynne quotes Featly's views on fasting in support of his own). There were two issues of the pamphlet, and the position is further complicated by a good deal of reimposition and correction done at press(3). It has only been possible to study one version of the pamphlet(4), but it seems likely that the appearance of two issues, and the reimposition and correction, arose from Prynne's attempts to keep up with the successively revised editions of 'D' which appeared throughout 1627. The issue which has been studied takes account

of at least two revisions of 'D'. Prynne admits, as does Burton, that he has not seen the 1st edition, and can only criticise it on the basis of what he has heard.

The "Survey and Censure" has many of the marks by which Prynne's work is recognised: an intense hostility towards what he regards as the Romanising tendencies of the Laudians, a wide (if not very deep) learning, displayed in a mass of marginal notes and references (which led Milton to describe him as "marginal Prynne"), and, at times, a lively journalistic prose (1). It is a long pamphlet, over one hundred pages, and packed with references to pre-Reformation and contemporary Roman Catholic sources from which Prynne claims Cosin to have derived much of his matter.

Prynne begins by dedicating his work to Parliament, making the point that "Our State Enemies are no other but our Church Enemies; our State greivances, are but the fruites and issues of our Church annoyances: O therefore curbe, purge out, and quite suppress . . .". He then proceeds to divide his survey of 'D' into five sections, evidences that 'D' is popish, "Popishe doctrines underlying" the contents, "other points of Popery", "Papists and Mr. Cozens paralleled", and various "contradictions". The method Prynne uses is to work his way through the contents of 'D', citing the alleged Roman sources, piling up references "for the utmost immediacy of provocative effect" (2). He raises all the objections which had earlier caused Cosin to revise the 1st edition of 'D': he complains of the references to the ministry of angels, the prayer for the dead, the reference to "the suffrages of all the chosen of God", as being popish (although he acknowledges that all these points were removed after the first edition, "after great

"exceptions taken"), and says that the Elizabethan Primers, 'O' and 'PP', were themselves products of an early and imperfect stage of the Reformation, and that in any case they warrant neither "the forme nor matter of these new Devotions". Other sources of particular irritation to Prynne are the references to fasting days in the Calendar, and to the practice of fasting in the note on Septuagesima, the piece on the Sacraments, the use of the Canonical Hours, the encouragement to auricular confession, all of which he claims to be popish. Many other features of 'D', most of them very trivial, he shows to be paralleled in Roman books: the I.H.S. motif in the frontispiece, the printing of parts of the Calendar in red, the rules forbidding marriages at certain seasons, the division of the Creed and Lord's Prayer into articles, the suggestion, in "Offenders against the Second Commandment", that images and pictures are lawful, the use of particular words and phrases, "devotion ... altar ... the ancient Church". In addition, some of the catechetical items, prefatory matter and prayers, are shown to derive from Roman sources: "The Precepts of the Church", the "Three Kinds of Good Works", the "plees for the practice and observation of the Canonical Hours", the preface to the Prayers for the Ember weeks, some of the "Pious Ejaculations in the beginning of the day", the verse, "God be in my head", the "Benediction" at Compline, and the prayers "When we are prostrate before the Altar" and "At the receiving of the Body" in the eucharistic devotions. Prynne makes one or two other observations: he says that "Nonresidents are the onely men, that I can thinke of, who have ... leasure time to practise these Devotions", he questions

the regularity of the licensing process in the case of 'D' (see above, pp. 14-16), and he suggests that the question of Cosin having collaborators in the compilation of 'D' is "a matter worth inquirie". Prynne gives as the principal sources for the popish elements in 'D' a series of unreformed Primers (of 1556, 1593, 1604, 1621), two other devotional manuals (Kellam's of 1604, and one called Geschi's "Otium spirituale mellifluarum precat-ionum", 1617), Roman Breviaries and Missals, and various works by Bellarmine, Azor, Vaux and Ledesma. It has been possible to examine only some of these (see Chapter 3), but it is clear that in some cases Cosin has used them, borrowing from some unreformed Primers, "Kellam's Manual", and the writings of Bellarmine, Azor, Vaux and Ledesma. In some of the most controversial cases, those of doctrinal significance, Prynne gives a popish source where there is in fact also a reformed one which he omits to mention (e.g. the reference to the mediation of angels, the prayer for the dead, and the encouragement to auricular confession), all occur in various versions of the Book of Common Prayer, while the passage on "The Sacraments of the Church" is perfectly compatible with the Anglican formularies). The real root of Prynne's dislike of 'D', however, lies not in these particular matters, many of which are, after all, extremely trivial, but in the wide divergence of his general attitude, as a religious radical, from that of the conservative Cosin. Cosin, like Hooker and many of the sixteenth century reformers before him, like his own High Church contemporaries, is quite content to borrow from pre-Reformation and contemporary Roman sources anything doctrinally unexceptionable which proves to be devotionally useful. To Prynne, on the other

hand, nothing good can come out of Rome, the Reformation in England has still a long way to go, and anything reminiscent of the faith and practice of the Roman Church must be curbed, purged out, and suppressed. Hence, the uncompromising character of his attack upon 'D'.

Prynne later described the consequences of his publishing this pamphlet : "... for writing which Booke only against Dr. Cosins his Popery, hee (Prynne) was immediately after the Parliament ended, questioned in the High Commission by this Bishop's (Laud's) procurement, and thence delivered by a prohibition, to the Bishop's great griefe" (1), while a news-letter of Mead's, dated 15 November, 1628, refers to "Mr. Burton, Mr. Prynne, of Lincoln's Inn, and some others, having been long in the high commission for printing of inlicensed books against Arminianism" (2).

Henry Burton, a disgruntled man who had been dismissed from his position of clerk of the closet at Court in 1625 (3), was, like Prynne, a persistent campaigner on the part of the Puritans. He had already, in 1627, been in trouble for publishing a pamphlet called "The Baiting of the Pope's Bull", for which he was called before the Privy Council (4). The title-page of his pamphlet against 'D' has : "A Tryall of Private Devotions, or a Diall for the Houres of Prayer. By H. B. Rector of St. Mathews, Friday Street, Printed for M. S., London, 1628" (5). Burton later referred to the publication of his pamphlet : "A second Book, to which I made and published an Answer in time of Parliament, was Cosens Private Devotions, or Houres of Prayer, to which his Popish Canonick Houres I framed a fit Diall ..." (6).

"scripture, in his Decretalls". Is not the "Divine Service of our own Church", with its provision for reading the whole Bible, Burton asks, better than 'D', with its series of fixed lections, which may have been suitable for "Priest, Friars, Monkes" in the time of Gregory IX, "to refresh the tediousnesse of that austeritie, wherewith they exercised their extreame patience", but is quite unsuitable for courtiers, citizens, countrymen and most ministers of the Church of England, preparing "convenient Food for their Flocks on the Lords Day ... What doth it impart else, but a necessitie of bringing in Monkerie and so of erecting cells again".

Burton's attack on 'D's remarks on fasting is very long, and he cites many authorities in support of his own views. While he agrees that I Cor. VII, 5 implies that in seasons of fasting there should be no marriages, he will not have this turned into a rule: "yea and thirten weekes limitation from Marriage (by the Authors allegation) falls unhappily (if we goe according to the course of Nature rules) upon the most dangerous season of the yeere, the Spring-time, wherein the blood and spirits are most stirring". Even less appropriate is it "to restraine men from marriage in times of Festivitie and Joy", this doctrine having "lurked among some rubbidge of Romish Reliques". With regard to the prayer for the dead, Burton prints the first and second versions in parallel, with objectionable parts in black letter, to illustrate "a huge difference betweene your Impressions". He notes, too, (a point which Prynne missed) how "We know that Mr. Bucer, at the request of Abp Cranmer perused and corrected some things in the first Liturgie of Edw. 6., and among the rest, the Collect, out of which

"the Author of this booke . . . hath made his prayer for the Dead. Wherein yet he hath not kept him from false fingering, but puts out, where ever he meets with it, the word Elect". A critical scrutiny of Cosin's exposition of the Ten Commandments is another feature of Burton's pamphlet which Prynne does not include : on the Second, Cosin is "wholly Jesuiticall", on the Fourth, "he goes about to set open the very Flood-gate of all profue profanenesse . . . The main marke his envie and malice shootes at, is, especially, 'Hearing and meditating of sermons' . . . a man may easily conclude whether he be a Resident upon his Cure, or no, a faatfull Shepherd, or no", one's attitude to the Sabbath being "the true Touch-stone of a truely religious man". Like Prynne, Burton suggests that Cosin may have had collaborators in compiling 'D', referring to "The Author or Authors and Abbetters"; also like Prynne, he questions the regularity of the licensing process.

Much of Burton's pamphlet is well argued, with a greater appearance of reasonableness than Prynne's, but it differs most strikingly in its consistently vigorous style, e.g. "Like to the gloworme, or rotten post, that shines not, but in the night, so shines his devotion, without light, or heat, or at the best, like a wãdring ignis fatuus . . . Thus this man hopes to convert all England at a cast, and bring them within the circle of his Canon-icall houres, wherein they may traverse and turne round their Beads, as a blind mill-horse in the round 'Impius ambulat in circitu', and, of auricular confession, "Penance is a Popish word . . . Confession, a strict and exact enumeration of all a mans sinnes in the eare of the Priest, like the streame of a puddle or

"kennell, emptying itselfe into a common sinke or sewer". Basically, however, Burton's attitude is very similar to Prynne's ; he looks upon Rome, the alleged Romanising of Cosin, and the process of Reformation, in the same radical way : The Henrician Primers appeared "in the dawning of the Gospell in England before her (Elizabeth's) time"; the 1560 Primer, 'O', was merely an interim measure showing "a tender regard ... (for) the weaknesse of the time", and 'PP', especially the 1573 edition, is "yet more exact ... as the more distant still from the Herarium"; 'D', on the other hand, is an interim measure on the way back to Popery ; whenever Cosin refers to the Church, he means, of course, the Roman Church, so that his appeals to "authority" amount to high treason.

Burton later described the personal consequences of his publishing this pamphlet against 'D', and another, attacking Cosin's friend, Montague's "Apello Caesarem" : "and because such kind of Bookes were printed without licence when none could be obtained, I was brought the first and second time into the High Commission, whence I had not escaped without cinding at least, to make me smell of it for ever after, if not stigmatising either in my name or purse, had I not come in time to procure a Prohibition in the Court of Justice, before the door was shut" (1).

These pamphlets of Prynne and Burton must have done much to discredit Cosin and his compilation. To those who thought in the same radical way, Prynne's laborious citing of alleged sources, the appearance of solid and extensive scholarship, must have given the impression that here was a serious and well-substantiated piece of evidence against 'D', while Burton's vigorous, and at times rather

scurrilous style, will have appealed to the streak of intolerance which was a mark of Puritanism at this time.

The complaints embodied in these two pamphlets (and possibly other charges circulating at the time) appear to have upset one of the bishops, either Neile, or Mountain, or possibly even Howson, for we find among the State Papers Domestic of Charles I a paper marked "1628 May ?", and entitled "The Objections which some have been pleased to make against a Booke intituled the Houres of Praier : with briefe Answeres thereunto" (1). It is endorsed in Cosin's hand "For ye. R^{ty}. Rd. and my honorable good Lord, The Lord Bishop of Durham". There is a difficulty in determining to which Bishop of Durham this refers. Discussion of this point is relegated to Appendix B (q.v.), the conclusion being that the evidence is slightly in favour of it being Bishop George Mountain to whom Cosin sent the paper, sometime between February and June, 1628. This would corroborate the suggested dating given on the paper. Mountain had licensed 'D' and was presumably worried by the Puritan criticism. The paper seems to have been drawn up under Cosin's direction (it is not entirely in his handwriting), Cosin inserting many interlineations and additions. There can be little doubt that the answers are substantially Cosin's own; there is much of his characteristic attitude and phraseology : "the old holy Christians ... a Name of others the most comfortable ... His glorious Title ... her happie name ... the honour and praise of our Blessed Saviour ... lowly subjection to the anointed of the Lord ... so holy a dutie ... the Church of England hath ever given a preheminance and a most reverend regard to these five sacramentall misteries of our Christian Religion

"... aswell in the practice of the auncient as of our present Church ... aboundance and joy ... these holy and religious misteries ... his glorious saints ... the death of the Crosse a blessed death to us,whiles it was a cursed and most cruell death in it selfe ... happines and blessednesse was the fruite and effect of it".

Many of the points from the pamphlets of Prynne and Burton are quoted among the thirty two "Objections",and a few other Puritan complaints,with no indication of their source.All the main Puritan objections to 'D' are included,the reference to the Hours,the seven sacraments,the ministry of angels,the Lent fast,the emphasis upon auricular confession,the prayer for the dead.In addition,the paper deals with many minor and trivial points that had been raised,the use of the I.H.S. motif,printing parts of the Calendar in red,various terms disliked by the Puritans,and a number of minor objections,not found in the pamphlets of Prynne and Burton,to the exposition of the Ten Commandments.Curiously,at one point Cosin answers an objection "made by some Papists",that in the Calendar in 'D' "the blessed Virgin is called but 'the Virgin Mary'".

In his answers,Cosin draws attention,as 'D' itself would lead us to expect,to 'sound precedents' for what he has included in 'D':in ten of his answers he produces scriptural warrant for points complained against,in nine answers he refers to the example of the early Church,"long before eyther Jesuits or Papists were knowen",and in sixteen answers he cites the example of the Church of England,referring to the Prayer Book,Ordinal,Articles, Homilies,Acts of Parliament,"The authoritie of Q.Elizabeth,

"whose minde was far from superstition and poperie", "two learned and famous Bishops of this land (no Papists)", meaning Overall and Andrewes, "the Archbushopp of Armagh", and, at one point, a parish custom, "even in those parishes where there is no feare of Poperie at all". In many of his answers, Cosin simply appeals to what might be called 'reasonableness' or 'common sense', as when he asks "why should not red letters be made for distinction sake? The Collector did it, (as all other collectors of a Calendar had before him) for the ease of the reader", or, answering a criticism that 'D' includes a list of the seven deadly sins, he says "Why this should be accounted any fault no reason can tell us, unlesse they would have us condemne all the world, those 7 sinnes being acknowledged by every man to be the notorious and common sinnes of the wicked". In one case Cosin undercuts the objection by quoting a work popular among the Puritans, Perkins' "Cases of Conscience". Throughout, there is the sense of a coherent and consistent position, confidently held, and Cosin takes the opportunity to reproach his Puritan opponents with some vigour, as seeing "to have forgotten their duetie to their Holy Mother the Church of England, and to have presented their service unto some other congregation" ; he sees them as always "ready to catch and misinterpret any thinge", as ill-informed, ignorant "aswell in the practice of the auncient as of our present Church, . . . novell minded men", wanting a "true and holy humilitie" with respect to "the Churches autoritie, . . . prophane, . . . impious and hereticall". The answers illustrate well the divergence of Cosin's conservative attitude from that of his radical opponents, and nowhere more clearly than in answering the objection that the "old names of

"Holy Crosse, Rogations, Embers, Eves, &c., are renewed. Ans. Not renewed, for we never lost them. They be names that holy Christians were used unto of old tyme, before Poperie came in ; and our Church at the Reformation cast not away her good customes with her bad, nor forwent her religion and Christianitie with her Poperie, but lett passe the one that was new, and preserved the other that was old".

There is no evidence of any reaction to Cosin's answers, or that they were made public, but the very fact that it should be thought proper for Cosin to answer the Puritan objections to 'D' points to the effectiveness of the pamphlets of Prynne and Burton.

Their effectiveness is further attested in two letters, the first dated June 1628. In this, Cosin writes to Laud that "The licentious libells lately printed without licence, and vented out into all parts against me, have made me the subject of every man's censure". The object of this letter is to ask Laud to intercede with the King to protect him against the Puritan opposition : "It is his gracious defence against the evergrowing faction, more than any private revenge, that I seek, against these two barking libellers". Cosin, however, is resolved "to take no other revenge upon such intemperate malice then contempt and silence doth upon a scolding and unbridled tongue", preferring to rely upon "patronage and approbation above . . . (at the hands of) his Sacred Majestie, the only Supreme Governour", rather than allow himself to be too much troubled by "what they doe or say beneath" (1), a policy with which Montague agreed : "It is well resolved not to rejoyne to these bandoggs, . . . not to scold with scolds" (2).

The second letter suggests that the two pamphlets caught the

attention of Parliament, a Parliament marked by "fanaticism and incompetence" (1). Although Cobbett's record of the 1628 Parliamentary proceedings makes no reference to 'D', or to Cosin, a slightly later document refers to a declaration presented to the King by this Parliament "of the great dangers threatened to the church by diverse courses and practices tending to the change and innovation of religion" (2), and Osmond says that the question of 'D' "was taken up by the House of Commons, which gladly seized an opportunity of converting itself into a theological debating society" (3). This second letter, from Montague to Cosin, dated 7 July, 1628, confirms this. The matter had evidently got to the point where there was the possibility of Cosin being summoned to appear before Parliament (or some Parliamentary committee) : "I could in a sort have wished you had ben sent for, for then we should have enjoyed your company". From what Montague says here, Cosin must have written to ask him to intercede on his behalf with members of Parliament : "Your letter came too late for me to speak with any Parleament men concerning your businesse. The session was concluded and they risen" (4). The King's haste in proroguing Parliament on 26 June, to save Buckingham from impeachment, also saved Cosin from further trouble with this session of Parliament, although it seems unlikely that Cosin's appeal for the King's protection, in the earlier letter, would have been unavailing.

Despite the hurried conclusion of the 1628 session of Parliament, however, the pamphlets of Prynne and Burton had succeeded in focussing hostile attention upon Cosin's compilation, and the Puritan members would soon be raising the case of 'D' again.

Meanwhile, a fresh Puritan attack was launched upon Cosin from another quarter. On 27 July, 1628, one of Cosin's brother prebends at Durham, Peter Smart, preached a sermon in the Cathedral upon "The Vanitie and Downe-fall of Superstitious Popish Ceremonies" (1). Smart, "one of those rugged and unpopular prophets of a narrow religion, whose story ... serves as a glass to show the ferment and excess of religious fanaticism in the seventeenth century" (2), was to become one of Cosin's most persistent critics. Even Judge Yelverton, who intended to die as he had lived, a Puritan, found Smart's "natur and disposition was to hot, to revengefull, too fierce and violent, and, according to his name, to smart" (3). The main burden of Smart's complaint against Cosin, in this sermon, and in his later attacks, is the conduct of worship in Durham Cathedral, but from time to time he refers to 'D'. In this sermon there is only a passing allusion: "(St. Paul) saith not, woe to me, if I observe not the canonicall houres of devotion in singing". The preface to the printed version, however, which appears to have been published very soon after the sermon was preached (4), includes a piece entitled "A briefe, but historicall Narration of some notorious Acts and Speeches of Mr. John Cosens", in which Smart makes a further allusion to 'D': "We doubt not but that the world hath heard of Mr. JOHN COSENS his speculative and theoricall popery, which hee hath audaciously breached in his Booke of Private Devotions, or the howers of Prayer". Thus Smart gives a further indication that Cosin's notoriety in the eyes of the Puritans derived primarily from his responsibility for 'D'.

While Cosin had another problem to face during the rest of

the year, the repercussions of his alleged denial of the Royal Supremacy, there seems to have been a lull in the attack upon 'D'. But 'D' was not forgotten. On 20 January, 1629, Parliament re-assembled, and it was clear from the early stages that Cosin was likely to be in further trouble: "In matter of Religion they are quiet as yet for it is early dayes. But the greatest business is like to be about that ... His Majesty has also granted his pardon to Montagu, Cosens, Mainwaring and Sibtherpe. But that will hardly save some of them" (1). (The pardon was in the matter of the Royal Supremacy). On 26 January, "some good puritan speeches were spoken" (2), and a committee on religion, under the chairmanship of John Pym, was formed to consider the subject of religious grievances (3). The committee's deliberations resulted in the issuing of "Resolutions of a Parliamentary committee on religion, submitted to the House of Commons on 24 February, 1629" (4), and it is here that we find Cosin in further trouble on account of 'D'. The Resolutions begin by recalling the previous session of Parliament, in which the declaration had been presented to the King regarding "the great danger threatened to the church" (see above, p.163). The first part of the Resolutions is devoted to "what these dangers and inconveniences are", and refers to "an extraordinary growth of popery ... the subtle and pernicious spreading of the Arminian faction". The second part deals with the source of these "dangers and inconveniences", and the fourth paragraph specifies "the publishing and defending points of popery in sermons and books without punishment; instance Bishop Montague's three books - viz. 'The Gag', 'Invocation of Saints', and his 'Appeal'; also Dr. Cosin's 'Herary' and the Bishop of

"Gloucester's sermons". The third part suggests means of redress, and includes (para.4) : "That the said books of Bishop Montague and Cosin may be burned", and (para.5) "That such as have been authors or abettors of these popish and Arminian innovations in doctrine may be condignly punished". The "points of popery" are not specified, but the things that troubled the committee about 'D' were probably those which originally troubled the Puritans on the publishing of the 1st edition, and to which Prynne and Burton had drawn attention so (evidently) effectively. It is noteworthy that, although by this time there had been other charges, besides responsibility for 'D', laid against Cosin, it is still 'D' which is the chief cause of offence, worthy of the attention of this committee. Even when, a little earlier in the same session of Parliament, Cosin had been called to appear before the House on a quite different matter, his alleged denial of the Royal Supremacy, the "Minutes of Parliamentary Proceedings" referred to "Cossens the seven sacramentary man" (1), an allusion to Cosin's piece on the sacraments in the catechetical section of 'D', to which Prynne and Burton had taken strong exception.

The royal intervention, just after the committee had submitted its "Resolutions" to the House, whereby the King ordered a week's adjournment before their adoption, and the abrupt dissolution of Parliament on the day of its reassembling, 2 March, 1629, again saved Cosin from his Puritan opponents.

The "Eleven Years' Tyranny" which followed the silencing of Parliament in 1629, provided something of a respite for Cosin. A pamphlet by Prynne, "Anti-Arminianisme. Or the Church of Englands Old Antithesis to New Arminianisme" (1630) (2) is one of the few

places in which unfavourable reference to 'D' is to be found in the period. It is only a passing, punning reference, but it is noteworthy that it is on account of 'D' that Cosin is mentioned: Section 2 is addressed to the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England: "Let me now I pray ... excite your Episcopall power, and providence; to extirpate, to exile all semi pelagian Errors and Arminian Novalties ... with all those other corruptions and superstitious Reliques, which have lately crept into our Church ... through the audacious practises of some domestique crafty Mountebanques, who would slyly Cozen us of our Religion under the holy pretence of Canonically Devotion".

The year 1630 also saw Smart censured and degraded by the High Commission Court at York for the sermon he had preached at Durham two years previously. Before the execution of the censure, Smart delivered to Archbishop Harsnett "Articles, or instructions for Articles, to be exhibited by his Majestie's Heigh Commissioners, against Mr. John Cosin, Mr. Francis Burgoine, Mr. Marmaduke Blaxton, Doctor Hunt, Doctor Lindsell, Mr. William James, all learned clerks of the Cathedrall Church of Durham" (1). Amongst thirty "articles and objections", nearly all relating to the conduct of worship at Durham, Article 26 refers to 'D': "Item: we article unto you, John Cosin, Augustine Lindsell, etc., that you, not resting contented with the bringing into the church of Durham your schismaticall superstitions, and idolatrous ceremonyes, but to the intent you might poyson the whole Church of England with Arminianisme and Popery, you published in print, a paltry booke, collected out of Ladye's Psalters, and popish Prymers, called Houres of Prayer and private devotions; and fynding it

"well accepted of your favourites and abettours, persons schismatically and factiously affected lyke your selves, you caused the same, your base begotten bratt, to be borne againe in the printer's press, and to be published the 3 tyme to the world, contayning in it much offensive and scurvy stuff, well beseemyng the father, or rather the fathers, thereof : for John Cosin, proprio Marte, could never have compyled so worthy a worke without the helpe of his learned freinds, Lindsell, Burgoine, and Blaxton, etc. This pedler's pack, going under the name of John Cosin, hath been layd open to the vew of the world by many, but chiefly by 2 very excellent writers, Mr. Burton and Mr. Prinn, who have so wel discovered the hidden cosenage of the false wares, cunningly couched together in that painted fardle, that now there is little danger that any but very ideotts should be deceived therwith". Smart does not go into detailed criticism of 'D', being content with the assessment made by Prymne and Burton - a further testimony to the success of the pamphleteers with those who shared their outlook. The suggestion, in both pamphlets, that Cosin had collaborators in compiling 'D', is taken by Smart as an opportunity to name (without evidential justification) the other Durham prebends whom he disliked. This is the last attack that Smart is known to have made upon 'D'. It is interesting to note that for all the animosity of Smart's "Articles", Cosin wrote to the Commissioners of the High Commission Court in his favour(1).

During Cosin's Mastership of Peterhouse, 1634-43, 'D' was used in the college chapel, and this was held against him by the Puritans. Prymne, writing later in his "Canterburie's Deome. Or The First Part of a Compleat History of the Tryall of William

"Laud" (1646) (1), refers to "Dr. Cosins, his private Devotions or Hours of Prayer, printed three or four several times one after another, and digested into canonical hours : the practice whereof he not only there pleaded, but likewise afterwards introduced in Peter House ... (among other his Popish Innovations), as was attested upon oath by Mr. Le Gresse and others". Although no other evidence of this attestation has been found, it is clear from Prynne's account that the use of 'D' was one of the Puritan faction's charges laid against Cosin during this period. Since they only opposed him openly with the reassembling of Parliament in 1640, it may be reasonably assumed that the attestation was made in the closing years of Cosin's Mastership, cf. an entry in a Parliamentary journal for 24 November, 1640 : "Mr. Ellis saied the orders of his chapell at Peter howse were popish" (2).

The only other item we have to consider here is the pamphlet, written in 1641 to discredit the Ferrar community at Little Gidding, "The Arminian Nunnery or a Brief Description and Relation of the late erected Monasticall Place, called the Arminian Nunnery at Little Gidding in Huntington-shire ..." (3). It contains only a passing reference to 'D', but it indicates the enduring distaste of the Puritans for Cosin's work : "... and besides their lip-labour of troling out the Letanie foure times a day, they have promiscuous private prayers all the night long by nightly turnes ... which private prayers are (as it seems) taken out of John Cozens his Cozening Devotions (as they are rightly discovered to be by Orthodox men) and extracted out of divers Popish Prayer Bookes".

When the Puritan attack upon 'D' was renewed in 1640, we

find no references to 'D' in the records of the Long Parliament. This is the more surprising in that many of the charges now laid against Cosin were the old ones initiated by Peter Smart. From about the time of Smart's celebrated sermon, however, these charges (relating mainly to the conduct of worship at Durham) had come increasingly to the fore. Only the reference in Prynne's "Canterburie's Doome" suggests that Cosin was still, in the 1640's, in trouble for compiling, or, more precisely, in this case, for using 'D'.

From the above account, however, it is probably fair to state that Cosin's initial default in compiling 'D' first confirmed the Puritans in that opposition to him which was finally to bring about his ejection.

The hostile Puritan reaction to 'D' was, if vigorous, relatively short-lived, a reflection of one aspect of the particular tension which characterised the years leading up to the Civil War. In contrast, evidence of a more favourable estimate of Cosin's compilation can be found over a far longer period of time. This evidence takes a variety of forms: the eighteen editions of 'D' (see Appendix C), its influence on revision of the Book of Common Prayer and on subsequent books of devotion, the testimony of various individuals. The rest of this chapter will be concerned with sketching aspects of the enduring influence and popularity of 'D'. (The influence of 'D' on revision of the Book of Common Prayer will only be noted here, fuller treatment being reserved for a separate chapter).

We have no evidence of the response to 'D' in the Court

circles for which it was initially compiled, but only Cosin's account to Evelyn of how, when the King first submitted a copy to George Mountain, the Bishop of London, for his opinion, it "was so well lik'd and approv'd, that the Bishop (contrary to the usual custome of referring it to his chaplain) wou'd needs give the Imprimatur under his own hand" (1). The rapid issuing of a further two editions (of which one at least was much larger than the small 1st edition) before the end of 1627, is, however, indicative of a favourable public response. Heylyn makes the observation "that for all . . . (the) violent opposition, & the great clamors made against it, the Book grew up into esteem, & justified it self, without any Advocate; insomuch that many of those who first startled at it in regard of the title, found in the body of it so much Piety, such regular Forms of Divine Worship, such necessary Consolations in special Exigencies, that they reserved it by them as a Jewel of great Price and Value" (2). Smart and Burton make grudging admissions of the popularity of these early editions: "and fynding it well accepted of your favourites and abettours . . . you caused the same . . . to be published the 3 tyme to the world" (3), says Smart, and Burton asks "how comes it to bee printed againe & againe, & so lavishly communicated & dispersed everie-where?" (4). A slightly closer glimpse of the scene in 1627 is given in a letter of 2 July, from Montague to Cosin: "We did in the country talk strangly of your booke before it was commen. But now, for ought I heare, $\sigma\sigma\iota\gamma\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ What they say att London $\sigma\upsilon\kappa \acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega \phi\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\iota$, only this, you left order I should have 3, and I could scarce gett one, which I gave my daughter Stokes" (5), while Nethersole's "Observations" throw

light on this situation : "Upon this callinge in of the bookes, of which there had ben but one impression of some 200 ... the price of those faultie bookes was raysed to tenn, twelve shillings, and heigher, where ever they could be gotten. And soe they continued a while, beinge very hard to bee gotten. But of late they have ben to bee sould almost in every shopp in London, and at the same price with those which are printed according to the corrected copie" (1). Probably the Puritan outcry against the 1st edition gave 'D' some unsolicited publicity, and the fact that it was initially commissioned by the King for the ladies of the Court may have given it an added prestige in circles loyal to the King; these factors may help to explain the early demand for the book. There is no evidence that in 1627 'D' had a wide popular appeal, like, for instance, Lewis Bayly's "The Practice of Piety" (1612), which was re-published some fifty times during the century. 'D' was too formal, perhaps too scholarly in its appearance, and too definitely 'High Church' in its character, certainly as the Puritans portrayed it, to have more than a comparatively narrow appeal, but the evidence remains that there was an immediate favourable response of sufficient dimensions to suggest a not insignificant body of opinion sympathetic to the devotional approach of Cosin and the Laudians.

The 1630's, in which Laudian churchmanship continued to flourish under royal protection, saw two further editions of 'D' published. There is also evidence of the use of Cosin's version of the Canonical Hours at this time : it is possible that 'D' was used at Little Gidding. The pamphlet, "An Arminian Nunnery" certainly suspected that it was (see above, p.169), but this

pamphlet is known to have been based on a letter, describing a visit to Little Gidding in 1634, in which there is no specific mention of 'D' (1). The pamphleteer, then, may have been merely embellishing his account, although it is possible that he was interpolating a known fact. Certainly there was a link between the Ferrar household and Cosin a little later : "As an indication of the link between ... (Peterhouse while Cosin was Master) and Little Gidding, Ferrar Collett was admitted on 16 March 1636 'sub titulo Dmi. Crashaw' " (2). Certainly, too, the tone of 'D' was well suited to the ethos of the Ferrar community. At the same time, Cosin himself is known to have introduced the Canonical Hours from 'D' in the chapel at Peterhouse (see above, pp. 168-9), part of his wider programme of 'improvement' to the chapel and its worship.

During the years between the execution of Charles I and the Restoration, "the persistence of a Laudian viewpoint among the harassed and scattered clergy might be expected, but more remarkable was the re-emergence of a strong and determined High Church party as the principal legatee of the Anglican tradition" (3). This would help to explain the publication of the 7th edition of 'D' in 1655. Although the printer, Royston, was a man known to take risks (see appendix C), the appearance of this edition also serves to illustrate the leniency of the Cromwellian policy at this time, "which sought to move beyond a limited indulgence of Anglicans" (4).

The ecclesiastical settlement at the Restoration has been described as "a permanent achievement of the Laudian party (5), and the next thirty years as "in a measure the brilliant period

of Laudianism" (1). It is not surprising, then, to find considerable evidence of the continuing appeal of 'D' in this period.

A series of further editions of 'D', in 1664, 1672, 1676 and 1681, is the main evidence. In addition, while elements from 'D' and ideas embodied in it, did not influence the new edition of the Book of Common Prayer as extensively as Cosin would have wished, that they are to be found there at all (see the next chapter) is an indication of how influential the compilation was at this time. Other books published during these years were influenced by 'D' : "The King's Psalter" (1671), compiled by Samuel Speed, and described as "composed on purpose to succeed the King's Primer", borrows a good deal from 'D', all the hymns and verses included in the Canonical Hours, five prayers, and a large part of the catechetical matter ; Edward Lake's "Officium Eucharisticum. A Preparatory Service To A Devout and Worthy Reception of the Lord's Supper" (1677) includes all of the prayers, aspirations and meditations which follow the hymn in Cosin's eucharistic devotions, and fifteen other prayers taken from various parts of 'D'; Playford's musical edition of "Sternhold and Hopkins" (1677) includes Cosin's translation of the hymn, "Iam lucis orto sidere". Two further, individual 'testimonies' from the period are to be noted. In the long appendix which Peter Gunning added when his Sermon on the Lent Fast was printed (1662), he quotes, along with the opinions of Andrewes, Whitgift and Montague, one of the prefatory passages in 'D', as an authoritative statement on the subject under consideration : " And the right reverend father in God the lord bishop of Durham, in his Collection of Private Devotions in the

Practice of the Ancient Church, after many citations out the holy Fathers of the Greek and Latin Church concerning Lent, thus saith ..." (1). Amongst the papers of Dean Granville, Cosin's son-in-law, we find this enthusiastic entry on 'D' : "Counsell & directions which I gave in writing to my Godson Roger Prideaux on New Year's Day, 1680/1, which I conceived might be helpfull to him for the better regulating of his life, as to his devotions, studies, conversation, recreation... 7. Books of Private devotion. ... The most authentick book of Private devotions is that of Bishop Cosin's called the Hours of Prayer, not only because it is more suitable to the primitive practice of devout Christians, but because they have the stamp of high & sacred authority, that books being but as it were a renewall of the Horary set forth by Queen Elizabeth in the year 1560. Which book hath been, is, & will bee, in reputation among the more devout and knowing Christians, (notwithstanding all the prejudice that some have against it) & is made good use of not only by a multitude of understanding & well grown Christians, but by sundry eminent and godly Divines of the Church of England". Elsewhere, we find evidence of Granville's own use of 'D' : "My method for my discourses to my sister's family this Lent ... In the afternoons, expounding the 3 Theologicall vertues, & other principles in Dr. Cosin's book". At another place, he indicates his recognition of 'D' as authoritative : "Quaeries and Observations in the Rubricks of the Common Prayer Booke ... Most of the objections and quaeries in the Calendar are answered in Bishop Cosin's Devotions & ... "(2).

After 1689, the Laudian tradition lost its influence rapidly, chiefly perhaps because its foremost exponents were the Non-Jurors (1), but it is interesting that we can trace an interest in 'D' through at least the next thirty years. Further editions of 'D' were published in 1693 and 1719. The former followed on naturally from the earlier editions, Luke Meredith, the publisher being the son-in-law, and successor to many of the books, of Richard Royston, publisher of the previous five editions. There is no means of determining who initiated the publishing of the 1719 edition, put out by an impressive consortium of London booksellers and publishers, but its appearance betokens a continuing loyalty, in some circles, possibly those connected with the Non-Jurors, to the High Church tradition represented by 'D'. Also during these years, in 1700, a 5th and revised edition of Dorrington's "Reform'd Devotions" was published, including, for the first time; "a holy office, before, at, and after receiving the Holy Sacrament, by Dr. Edw. Lake". This is taken from Lake's "Officium Eucharisticum", which, as we have seen (see above, p. 174), derives extensively from 'D'. Dorrington does not appear to have known 'D', but takes a good deal of Cosin's material over from Lake's compilation (2). In 1707, Thomas Smith published a life of Cosin in his "Vitae quorundam eruditissimorum virorum", which bears witness to the continuing popularity of 'D' : "Sed istiusmodi vociferationes et calumniae compendium istud e manibus Lectorum excutere non poterant, imo iisdem magis commendabile(m) reddidere : prout ex editionibus crebro repetitis abunde constat. In tanta autem librorum eiusdem sacri argumenti, quantivis pretii, et maximi usus, a reverendis Praesulibus

et Presbyteris ad quos-vis sanctoris vitae aeternae et beatudinis fruendae studiosos, in viciis veritatis, pacis et sanctitatis quasi manu ducendos, ab A. MDCLX post nimirum extinctam impiam rebellionem, ad hunc usque diem compositorum copia, his quoque magni aestimatur legiturque, et cum fructu legetur in perpetuum" (1).

While it can be affirmed of the eighteenth century that "in no period since the Reformation has the typical Anglicanism (represented, Brillioth would say, by Hooker, and, in a contracted but intensive form, by the Laudians) been less typical of the Church of England", nevertheless, "the position, which at the beginning of the century had its typical representatives in the Non-Jurors, did not die out with them,... and the thoughts of the Caroline Age ... with Jacobitism ; 'Catholic traditions' ... (were) cherished as valuable inheritances in Anglican families. But a neglected ritual and slack Church discipline prevented them from coming to their own" (2). In such a period and such circumstances, we would not expect to hear very much about 'D', and in fact the edition of 1719 was the first and last to be issued in the eighteenth century. An extremely wordy eighteenth century book of private prayers, "A New Manual of Devotions" (18th ed., 1783) contains, under the title, "Some short prayers, proper to be used for the enforcing of our holy resolutions, and for the assistance of God's Grace, to enable us to perform them", among other things, parts of Cosin's "A Devout Prayer" with which Matins in 'D' concludes.- This is an extremely slight, but sufficient, indication that, in some circles at least, 'D' continued to be known during this period.

The revival, and partial re-shaping, of the High Church tradition effected by the Oxford Movement in the Nineteenth century, sees 'D' once more known and used. In its beginnings at least, the movement can be described as a continuation of Caroline Anglicanism. Seventeenth and nineteenth century circumstances and needs were of course different, and the Tractarians may well have over-estimated the approximation of their own position to that of the earlier High Churchmen (1), but it is clear that they intended to continue and revive the churchmanship of the Caroline divines. This was certainly the intention implied in the "advertisement" to the first collection of the Tracts, published in 1834 : "The following Tracts were published with the object of contributing something towards the practical revival of doctrines, which, although held by the great divines of our Church, at present have become obsolete with the majority of her members ... The Apostolic succession, the Holy Catholic Church, were principles of action in the minds of our predecessors of the seventeenth century" (2) This is an attitude which all the early leaders of the movement shared (3), and while there gradually developed, and persists still, another strand within the High Church tradition (Brillioth calls it the "progressive" element in Neo Anglicanism (4)), looking towards Rome, and endeavouring to remodel the English Church after the pattern of the Roman system, this original "static" approach of the early Tractarians, with the Apostolic Succession as its cornerstone, always referring back to the seventeenth century and the primitive Church, continued alongside it as a parallel strand.

It is to the presence of this "static" element in the Anglican revival that we can attribute the revived interest in 'D'. This interest showed itself first in the issuing of a new edition in 1838. The publishers, Rivingtons, were very much involved in the movement, being responsible for "The Library of the Fathers". It is interesting to note in the new Editor's Preface, a "progressive" modification of the "static" attitude, such as we might find in Keble or Pusey (1) : after referring to the Church of England's "intrinsically Catholic character", and detailing the views associated with this, the Editor continues, "the present work is a fair sample of those views, and is an attempt, in full consistency with the spirit, and in studied accordance with the formularies of the Church of England, to recover or retain, at least in private devotion, a portion of that undoubtedly Catholic and Apostolic character which forms so beautiful a feature in the Breviaries". The Preface concludes with the remark that since the last edition in 1719, "an age has passed over us which would be little likely to appreciate it, and it has become extremely rare". There followed, during the following thirty years, a further four editions of 'D', in 1843 (as part of the "Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology", a characteristic project of "static" Anglicanism, conceived by Keble), sometime between 1843-50 (as part of a 'popular' series), in 1845 (a reprint of the 1838 edition), and in 1867 (a re-print of the 'popular' edition).

There are a number of other indications of acquaintance with and interest in 'D' at this time. In a letter of

spiritual counsel written in 1838, Pusey recommended the use of 'D' ; "The observation of the ancient hours, or the chief hours of the day - 9, 12, 3 - if it were but short prayers (such as are in Bishop Cosin) learnt by heart in relation to the wants of those hours, is very healthful" (1).; Liddon, likewise, clearly knew 'D' : "A complemental yet most useful practice of the clergyman's life (if time allows) is the observance of the lesser canonical hours ... and here it is impossible not to express a decided preference for the Sarum use of the 119th Psalm in Prime, and the three following Hours, over the Psalms which Bishop Cosin in his devotions and the various Gallican breviaries of the reformed types, have in deference to Eastern precedent substituted for it" (2) ; and Bishop Armstrong of Grahamtown, in an undated letter, pays tribute to 'D' : "Do you know ... ('D') and Bishop Ken's 'Manual' ? They are most valuable, and I always incline to English devotional writers, as being more expressive of our peculiar English character, and more natural to us ... There is something very sober, very deep, in genuine English piety" (3) . Most of the early English Sisterhoods which came into being in the wake of the Oxford Movement, borrowed and adapted their liturgical life from Roman or Sarum sources, but one at least, the Church of England Sisterhood of Mercy of Devonport and Plymouth, over which Pusey had a considerable influence, was in the habit of using 'D'. A letter written by one of the members, and dated 3 February, 1849, describes the daily timetable : "the daily morning service at 8 o'clock in the Parish Church ... We have a portion of the psalms, a hymn, and

some collects, those from Bishop Cosin's in remembrance of the Passion of our Blessed Lord, at 9, 12, and 3 o'clock ... We attend the Evening Service" (1). When the Superior of the Community, Priscilla Lydia Sellon, produced a defence of the life and work of the Sisterhood before the Bishop of Exeter's inquiry, on 15 February, 1849, she referred to their use of 'D' ; "Why should they not aim to do to the letter what we say in the Psalms that we do ? 'Seven times a day do I praise Thee'. They learnt it from Bishop Cosin" (2). When Liddon produced the 1st edition of the Cuddesdon Office Book in 1856, under the title, "Hours of Prayer for Daily Use throughout the Year", although he took most of the material for the offices from the Breviary, two prayers were from 'D'. Also at Cuddesdon, when the experiment of a retreat was carried out under the guidance of Bishop Wilberforce, between 18 and 21 July, 1860, 'D' was used for the Hours, along with the Cuddesdon Office Book (3). There was also in the period various borrowings from 'D' : besides Liddon's borrowings for the Cuddesdon Office Book, mentioned above, a compilation entitled "The Office for the Visitation of the Sick" (1842) includes the whole of Cosin's "Prayers for the Sick" and "Prayers at the Hour of Death" from 'D' ; W.J.Blew's "Church Hymnary and Tune Book" (1852-5) contains part of Cosin's translation of the hymn, "Salvator mundi Domine", slightly altered ; an authorised book of private devotion, "The Book of Private Prayer ... Prepared by a Committee of the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury, and published by them with the permission of that House" (1886) contains fourteen prayers from 'D', of which one is attributed

to Edward Lake ; Vernon Staley's "The Catholic Religion : A Manual of Instruction for Members of the Anglican Church" (1893) includes Cosin's "Precepts of the Church", adding as an extra precept "The times when marriages are not solemnized" ; W.H.Frere and H.B.Illingworth's "Sursum Corda" (1898) has two prayers from 'D'.

In the twentieth century, there are still to be found conscious links with the High Church tradition of the seventeenth century. There are those who would advocate a deeper knowledge of this tradition in the development of a twentieth century spirituality (1), and for guidance in liturgical reform (2), and, indeed, what liturgical development there has been in the various churches of the Anglican communion has not been uninfluenced by it ; a type of churchmanship, sometimes calling itself "Prayer Book Catholic", sometimes represented in a movement like "Parish and People", has affinities with that of the seventeenth century High Churchmen ; the compendious book, "Anglicanism", a catena of Caroline theology, is published and made available to ordinands at a reduced price ; the great companion devotional compilation to 'D', Andrewes' "Preces Privatae", is still published and influential (e.g., note its influence upon E.Milner-White's "My God, My Glory" and his "Daily Prayer", both available in a popular 'paperback' form). In other respects, too, the Caroline approach has a sort of "submerged continuity" (3) . 'D', however, has very little part in this. There has been no further edition of 'D' since 1867, and interest has devolved chiefly into a few isolated academic exercises (4). Where the Canonical Hours are observed in the Anglican church, in religious communities and

retreats; the "progressive" element in Anglicanism is seen to prevail, for it is the breviary, and such derivatives as "Prime and Hours", that are commonly used. Borrowings from 'D' continue in a small way (e.g. in E.A.L.Clarke's "The People's Missal" (1916), Evan Daniel's "Nearer to God" (n.d.), E.Milner White and B.T.D.Smith's "Cambridge Offices and Orisons" (1921), J.Oldknow and A.D.Crake's "The Priest's Book of Private Devotion" (new and revised edition, 1929), "The Priest's Book of Private Prayers" (Calcutta, n.d.), F.B.Macnutt's "The Prayer Manual" (1951), E.Milner-White's "A Procession of Passion Prayers" (1951), F.B.Macnutt's "Prayers on the Passion" (1954)); even in some recent revisions of the Book of Common Prayer in various parts of the Anglican communion, a few items from 'D', not used in 1662, have appeared (see the next chapter). On the whole, however, twentieth century Anglicanism has paid little attention to, (next to the various versions of the Prayer Book itself), "the most important Anglican liturgical compilation since the Reformation": (1).

Chapter 6. 'D' and the later revisions of the Book of
Common Prayer.

'D' has had some influence on the revisions of the Book of Common Prayer, both the revision at the Restoration and those which have taken place in various parts of the Anglican communion in this century. The purpose of this chapter is to give some account of this influence.

"The Durham Book" (1). Cosin's considerable part, along with Wren, in the preparation of the proposals embodied in "The Durham Book", is well known. If Cuming's conclusions are correct, that "The Durham Book" is "unmistakably and wholeheartedly Laudian", and that Wren "desired only a conservative revision", then the Laudian character of the proposals must be attributed largely to Cosin. For this reason, we would expect to find affinities with his earlier work, 'D', compiled at the centre of the Laudian movement. In fact, there are many traces of 'D' and its influence, and many more of an affinity of outlook, to be found in "The Durham Book".

The following is a list, first of definite influences from 'D', and then of evidences of similarity of outlook (the number in brackets indicates the number Cuming gives to a particular Proposal in his edition of "The Durham Book") :

1 (36,37,38,41,53). Various items, "A Table of the moveable Feasts", "Rules to know wñ the moveable Feasts & holy Dayes begin", "A Table of ye Vigils, Fasts, & daies of Abstinence to be observed in ye yeare", and "times in the yeare, wherein Marriages are not usually solemnized", are transcribed from 'D', mostly verbatim. (Wren dissented from the inclusion of

the last of these items - see proposal 383).

ii (43). In the Calendar, the Conversion of S.Paul, and S.Barnabas, are restored to red-letter status, as in 'D', while to "John Evang" is added "ante port.Lat.", an abbreviated form of the description in 'D', and to "S.Peter Apost." is added "& St.Paul", as in 'D'.

iii (46). In a table of holy days, "S.Michael the Archangel" is altered to "St. Michael and all angels", as in the Calendar in 'D'. This is not noted by Cuming.

iv (62). To the penitential sentence I John I,8 at Morning Prayer is added v.9, which is used as a penitential sentence in 'D' at the beginning of the "Divers forms of Devout and Penitent Confession of our Sins". (Cuming calls it an 'addition' in 'D', but in fact 'D' does not have I John I,8).

v (80,82). The title "Te Deum Laudamus" in Morning Prayer is altered to "this Hymn of S.Ambrose (Te Deum laudamus)", similar to "The Song of S.Ambrose ... Te Deum Laudamus" in 'D', and the title "Benedictus" to "Benedictus (the Song of Zachary)", similar to "The Song of Zachary the Priest, called Benedictus" in 'D'.

vi (85,101). The Apostles' Creed at Morning and Evening Prayer is divided into three paragraphs, and the name "Ponce Pilate" altered to "Pontius Pilate", both as in 'D'.

vii (88,101). The rubric before the three collects at Morning and Evening Prayer is altered to "Then shall be said the Collect of the day .. And these two Collects following", similar to "Then the Collects proper for the week, with these Prayers following" in 'D'.

viii (92). The prayer "Almighty God, who hast promised to heare

ye petitions ...", is proposed as a conclusion to the prayers after the third Collect at Morning Prayer, which is similar to its use in 'D' as "A Prayer wherewith to conclude all our Devotions" at the end of the "Prayers and Thanksgivings for Sundry Purposes" (and not, as Cuming says, at the end of the Litany).

ix (97,99). The title "Magnificat" in Evening Prayer is altered to "Magnificat ye Song of the blessed Virgin Mary", similar to "The Magnificat, Or the Song of the blessed Virgin Mary" in 'D', and the title "Nunc dimittis" is altered to "Nunc dimittis (ye Song of Simeon)", similar to "The Song of Symeon, called Nunc Dimittis" in 'D'.

x (108). The addition of "after Morning Prayer" to the rubric before the Litany, is similar to the specification in 'D', "After the Morning Prayers, or any other Hour of Devotion". This is not noted by Cuming.

xi (122). In "A Prayer for the Prince, and other the Kings children" after the Litany, the opening, "Almighty God, which hast promised to bee a Father of thine Elect, and of their seed", is altered to "Almighty God, the fountain of all goodnes". Cuming says this alteration first appeared in the Book of Common Prayer in 1627. It also appears in 'D' in the same year, in "A Prayer for the Prince Palatine, with the Lady Elizabeth, &c." This is not noted by Cuming.

xii (123). In the alteration to the "Prayer for the Clergy and people" at the end of the Litany, "Almighty ... God, who didst powre out upo thy Apostles the great & merveilous Gifts of thy H. Ghost, & from whom all spirituall graces & gifts doe proceed, send downe upon our Bishops, the Pastors of thy Church, & all

others ...", Cosin seems to be echoing, besides the second Collect at Evening Prayer ("from whom all holy desires ... do proceed"), various sources in 'D' which Cuming does not note, the Ember prayer "For the Ordination of Priests and Deacons" ("the Bishops and Pastors of The flock"), the prayer "For the Ember Week after Pentecost" ("Who didst ... send down upon them (thy Apostles) the Holy Ghost"), and possibly even his quotation from S.Basil, "the most glorious gift of the Holy Ghost ... bestowed upon the Apostles".

xiii (125). The title to the occasional prayers, "Prayers & Thanksgivings upon severall occasions" may have been suggested by "Prayers and Thanksgivings for Sundry Purposes" in 'D' Cuming does not note this.

xiv (130,131). The inclusion of prayers "On the Ember dayes For those that are to be admitted into holy Orders" among the "Prayers & Thanksgivings upon severall occasions" may have been suggested by the Ember-tide office in 'D', with its prayer "For the Ordination of Priests and Deacons". This prayer is proposed, with slight differences in the text : "... mercifully look upon the same ... Ordeyned to any holy function ... of all men, to the glory of thy Sonne our Saviour, the great Shepperd ..."

xv (147,168). The heading for Christmas Day among the Collects, Epistles and Gospels, includes "The Nativitie of our Lord", as in 'D', and to the title "Thursday before Easter" is added "comonly called Mandie Thursday", cf. the Calendar in 'D', which has "Maundy Thursday".

xvi (172). The ending of the Collect for Easter Even (an adaptation of the Collect in the Scottish Liturgy), "who dyed,

& was buried, & rose againe for us", is almost as in the Scottish Liturgy, but both are similar to the ending of the prayer "For the Ember Week in Lent" in 'D', "Who didst die for our sins, and rise again for our justification". This is not noted by Cuming.

xvii (181). The Collect for the Rogation Days is the Ember prayer "For the Fruits of the Earth" in 'D', with two slight differences, "live, & move ... who call upon".

xviii (221). The Prayer for the Church at Holy Communion is headed "Let us offer up our prayers & praises for the good estate of Christs Catholick Church", which is similar to "A Prayer and Thanksgiving for the whole estate of Christ's Catholic Church" in 'D'. Cuming does not note this.

xix (224). In the above-mentioned prayer, with many alterations based on the 1549 Prayer Book, the proposed phrase, "thy holy name", is not in 1549, and appears to come from 'D' by way of the Scottish Liturgy; the phrase, "& the Lights of the World in their severall generations" is verbatim from the Scottish Liturgy but not in 1549, and is similar to the equivalent phrase in 'D', "have shined forth as lights in the several generations of the world"; the phrase, "most humbly beseeching thee, that we may have grace to follow ye example of", is probably closer to "most humbly desiring that ... and following ... their holy examples of", in 'D', than to "whose examples ... graunte us to folowe" in 1549. These similarities are not noted by Cuming.

xx (239). The new title, "The Prayer of Consecration", had been suggested by Laud for the Scottish Liturgy; it occurs earlier, among the eucharistic devotions in 'D', in the form "At the Consecration". This is not noted by Cuming.

xxi (263). The eucharistic canon derives largely from that in the 1549 Prayer Book and the Scottish Liturgy, but there are a few phrases from the prayers "At the Consecration" in 'D' : "commanded ... most (blessed Passion) and Sacrifice ... (Ascension) into Heaven ... now represented before".

xxii (251). The form of words for the Priest when himself receiving the Holy Communion is recommended, in 'D', for the ordinary communicant to add "with the Priest".

xxiii (252). The proposal, "And here each person receiving shall say, (Amen)", is as in 'D'. This is not noted by Cuming.

xxiv (259). The sentences to be sung during the communion are from the 1549 Prayer Book, with the exception of three. Two of the three (Rom.11,33 and Ps.101,1,2,ff.) are included in the eucharistic devotions in 'D' as "Thanksgivings after we have received the blessed Sacrament"; the third, Rev.5,12 and 13, is very similar to Rev.4,11 and 7,12, "When we are prostrate before the Altar" in 'D'. This is not noted by Cuming.

xxv (345). The phrase among the duties towards God in the Catechism, "To honour & worship him with ye outward reverence of my body", seems to come from the phrase in 'D', "To honour and worship Him with the lowly reverence even of our bodies also". This is not noted by Cuming.

xxvi (428). Cosin's version of the "Veni Creator", written for the coronation of Charles I, and included in 'D', is probably intended by the note, "as tis corrected pap. E.". "pap.E." is not now to be found, but Wren's "Advices", much of which is incorporated into "The Durham Book", includes a note, "If there be a more elegant Translation of (Veni Creator) it would here be

put in, instead of ye old (... rigmarole ?). I heare, that at ye Ks Coronation, there was another".

It is noteworthy that, amongst these proposals deriving from 'D', besides many which are stylistic, there are several which are indicative of the churchmanship and doctrinal position which characterised 'D'.

In addition to these more or less definite traces of the influence of 'D', there are in "The Durham Book" many features reminiscent of the churchmanship and style of Cosin's compilation. With regard to the former, we may note :

xxvii (1,9). The reversion to something very close to the 1549 wording of the title-page; "Of the Church according to the use of the Church of England" is reminiscent of Cosin's frequent reference in 'D' to "the Church" or "Christ's Catholic Church", with its implication that the Church of England is a true and worthy branch of it. The almost invariable alteration of "Congregation" to "Church" is indicative of the same approach.

xxviii (224). The restoration of prayer and thanksgiving for the dead at the end of the Prayer for the Church reminds one of the same feature in 'D'.

xxix (223,226,228,240,242,244,250,251,259,260). Cosin's eucharistic theology here shows all the same features as are apparent in 'D', and both are redolent of the theology of the 1549 Prayer Book. The death of Christ is frequently coupled with an allusion to His sacrifice, and the Eucharist is essentially a shewing forth and an offering of this "death & Sacrifice", all as in 'D'. The consecrated bread and wine are "the most comfortable Sacrament of ye Body & Bloud of Christ", an indication

of Cosin's continuing belief in the Real Presence; in this sense the reinsertion of the 1549 phrase, "these holy Mysteries", and of the "Agnus Dei", both as in 'D', are to be understood. We may note, also, the rearrangement whereby the Prayer of Oblation immediately follows the Consecration Prayers, as in 1549, an order implied in the prayers "At the Consecration" in 'D'. Finally, the recommendation that worshippers are to use the "Agnus Dei" and sentences provided, "at their owne private & devout meditations ... in the Comunion time", is reminiscent of the provision made in 'D' for such "meditations".

With regard to stylistic features of "The Durham Book" which are reminiscent of Cosin's style in 'D', we may note : xxx (103). The practice of conflating prayers is found here once, when Cosin conflates the third Collect at Evening Prayer with that for Advent III.

xxxii (145,150,162,172). There are four proposed new Collects, for Advent III, S.Stephen's Day, Epiphany VI, and Easter Even, which draw freely on appropriate phrases from the scriptures, to the extent, in the case of the third of these, of constituting the prayer almost entirely of such phrases.

xxxiii (145,150,162,172). All four of these proposed new Collects have examples of Cosin's use of synonyms and near-synonyms: "Ministers & Stewards ... prepare and make ready ... love & blesse ... power & great glory ... eternal & glorious ... grave and gate of death".

xxxiiii (150, 162). Two of the four prayers in question have especially appropriate endings : (S.Stephen's Day) "who standest at the right hand of God, to succour all yt suffer for thee, our

only Mediator & Advocate", and (Epiphany VI) "we may be made like unto him in his eternall & glorious kingdome where with Thee o Father & ye Holy Ghost he liveth and reigneth ...".

xxxiv (193,198,228,400). There are several examples of Cosin's habit of "amplification" : "thy blessed Evangelist S.Marke ... ye holy Evangelist Matthew ... religiously & devoutly disposed ... his blessed Sonne ... in hope of our generall & joyfull resurrection".

The considerable number of traces of the influence of 'D' in "The Durham Book", and of features reminiscent of its churchmanship and style, support Cuming's view that in 1660 Cosin wanted to go on where he had left off twenty years previously, and substantiate the contention (see below, Appendix A) that Cosin's churchmanship before the Civil War and after the Restoration were not appreciably different.

The Book of Common Prayer, 1662.

"The Durham Book" was merely a private manifesto, representing what Cosin and Wren wanted in the way of Prayer Book revision, and what Cosin at least had always felt and believed to be liturgically correct and desirable. Although he and his colleague must have seriously hoped to see their proposals accepted, and were sufficiently calculating (at Wren's instigation, Cuming suggests) to use the Scottish Liturgy as their model in many cases, rather than the 1549 Prayer Book, as a practical means of realizing Cosin's ideals, "The Durham Book" was essentially an idealistic project, taking little account of the nation's religious temper. In the subsequent, official stages of the revision

of the Prayer Book, the forces of compromise prevailed to the virtual exclusion of all that was distinctively and definitely Laudian in the proposals of "The Durham Book". While many of the less controversial proposals were accepted, the end of the process, the Prayer Book of 1662, was, in all significant respects, a reversion to the text of 1604.

In such circumstances, we could expect to find in the new Prayer Book very little trace of 'D', or, at least, of those elements which make 'D' so distinctively a product of Laudian churchmanship. While 'D' has certainly left its mark on the Prayer Book of 1662, it has done so only in a comparatively insignificant way, in elements that are for the most part doctrinally indifferent. The following is a list of borrowings from 'D', either direct, or by way of "The Durham Book" :

- i. The table and "Rules to know when the Moveable Feasts, and Holy dayes begin", "A Table of the Vigils, Fasts, and daies of Abstinence to be observed in the year", are, by way of "The Durham Book" and with only slight variations, based on the corresponding items in 'D'.
- ii. The table of holy days gives, by way of "The Durham Book", "S.Michael and all Angels", as in 'D'.
- iii. In the Kalendar, a total of ninety-five small explanatory details are added from the Calendar in 'D', only two of them by way of "The Durham Book". Full details are given in Brightman's "The English Rite" (1)
- iv. To the penitential sentence at Morning Prayer, IJohn 1,8, verse9, from 'D', by way of "The Durham Book", is added.
- v. In the Creed at Morning and Evening Prayer, and in the Holy

Communion, "Ponce Pilate" and "Pocius Pilate" become "Pontius Pilate", as in 'D', by way of "The Durham Book".

vi. The prayer for the royal family, included after Morning and Evening Prayer, has the phrase, "the fountain of all goodness", as in (according to Cuming) a Prayer Book of 1627, but also as in 'D', and then in "The Durham Book", although neither Brightman nor Cuming note this.

vii. The alternative titles, "Magnificat (or the song of the blessed virgin Mary)", and "Nunc dimittis (or the song of Simeon)", at Evening Prayer, are from 'D', by way of "The Durham Book". Brightman does not note this.

viii. The phrase, "after Morning Prayer", in the rubric before the Litany, is from 'D', by way of "The Durham Book". Brightman, like Cuming, does not give this.

ix. The title to the occasional prayers, "Prayers and Thanksgivings upon severall occasions", follows "The Durham Book", which may, in turn, follow 'D'.

x. The first of the prayers "In the Ember Weeks" is from 'D', with such slight alterations as were made to it in "The Durham Book".

xi. The heading for Christmas Day among the Collects, Epistles and Gospels, includes "The Nativity of our Lord", from 'D', by way of "The Durham Book". Brightman does not note this source.

xii. The ending of the Collect for Easter Even follows "The Durham Book", which follows the Scottish Liturgy, which, in its turn, is reminiscent of 'D'.

xiii. The reference to the departed in the Prayer for the Church at the Holy Communion, has two phrases deriving from "A Prayer

and Thanksgiving for the whole estate of Christ's Catholic Church" in 'D' which do not occur in the 1549 Prayer for the Church, or the 1559 Injunctions, "thy holy name", and "heavenly" (cf. "of heaven" in 'D'). Brightman does not note this, giving as sources only the 1559 Injunctions and the Scottish Liturgy.

xiv. The title, "The Prayer of Consecration", following "The Durham Book", which in turn follows the Scottish Liturgy, is reminiscent of the phrase "At the Consecration" in 'D'.

xv. Cosin's version of the "Veni Creator", from 'D', is included in "The Form and Manner of Ordering of Priests" and "The Form of Consecrating a Bishop", probably by way of "The Durham Book".

In addition to these more or less definite traces of the influence of 'D' in the Prayer Book of 1662, there are also a few features reminiscent of the churchmanship and style of 'D'. With regard to the former, we may note :

xvi. The retention of "The Durham Book" suggestions for the wording of the titlepage, is reminiscent of the frequent references in 'D' to "the Church", cf. the retention of "The Durham Book" alterations of "Congregation" to "Church".

xvii. The unexceptionable reference to the departed in the Prayer for the Church at the Holy Communion, is a faint reflection of what we find in 'D'.

xviii. At only one point, in the second Exhortation, is there a reference to the receiving of the Communion "in remembrance of the sacrifice of his death", a form of expression characteristic of the eucharistic language of 'D' and "The Durham Book".

With regard to stylistic features of the 1662 Prayer Book which are like Cosin's style in 'D', we may note :

xix. The highly scriptural collects, attributed to Cosin, which are taken from "The Durham Book" (Advent III, St. Stephen's Day, Epiphany VI, Easter Even), are reminiscent of Cosin's highly scriptural prayers in 'D', as is the interpolation of scriptural phrases in some of the collects of the 1662 Prayer Book, Advent IV, S. John the Evangelist, The Holy Innocents.

xx. Synonyms and near-synonyms, a feature of the prayers in 'D', are added in several of the Collects in the Prayer Book, Advent IV, Epiphany IV, Trinity III, Trinity XII.

xxi. Amplifications, such as we find in 'D', are introduced into the Collects for Trinity XX and All Saints' Day.

Thus, the Prayer Book of 1662 omits some of the more characteristically Laudian features which "The Durham Book" had derived from 'D', the reference to "Christ's Catholic Church", the unequivocal provision of prayer for the dead, most of the suggestions regarding the eucharist, and the encouragement to "outward reverence". It does, however, reflect something of the continuing influence of 'D', and it is not an influence entirely indifferent, doctrinally : the wording of the title-page and the invariable alteration of "Congregation" to "Church", the encouragement to the observance of the liturgical year, in the provision of tables and rules and the amplification of the Kalendar, the solitary retention of the word "sacrifice" in connection with the eucharist, the mild reference to the departed in the Prayer for the Church - these are echoes, if faint ones, of the High Church tradition in which 'D' stood.

Twentieth century revision of the Book of Common Prayer.

Most of the items from 'D' which were taken over in the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, have passed from there into the various revisions of the Prayer Book throughout the Anglican communion - those of the Anglican Church in Ireland (1926), England (1928), the United States (1928), Scotland (1929), South Africa (1954), Canada (1959), and India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon (1960). In addition, with regard to the Holy Communion, the English "Deposited Book", the South African alternative form, the American rite and the Holy Eucharist in the Indian book, all follow the main outline of the Scottish Liturgy - "Durham Book" Canon, the approach of which is reflected in the eucharistic devotions in 'D'. A number of hitherto unused items from 'D' have also been incorporated, as follows :

Ireland (1926) has Cosin's Embertide prayer, "for the fruits of the Earth", to be used "On the Rogation Days", and also incorporated in a prayer of "thanksgiving for the Blessings of Harvest", in both cases slightly modified.

Scotland (1929) has the same prayer, again slightly modified, for use "On Rogation Days".

South Africa (1954) has a phrase which appears to be from Cosin's "A Prayer and Thanksgiving for the whole Estate of Christ's Catholic Church", in a "Thanksgiving for the Church" : ('D') "... the holy Catholic Church, the Mother of us all that bear the name of Christ"; (S.A.) "Accept, we humbly beseech Thee, our thanksgivings for the Holy Catholic Church, the Mother of us all who bear the name of Christ".

India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon (1960) has the alternative

title to the Benedictus at Morning Prayer, "(or the Song of Zacharias)", which "The Durham Book" took, slightly altered, from 'D'.

Finally, we may note borrowings from 'D' in two English diocesan supplements to the Prayer Book :

Salisbury (1917). The "Book of Occasional Offices for use in the Diocese of Salisbury" has Cosin's Embertide prayer, "For the fruits of the Earth", at the Holy Communion on Rogation days.

Southwark (1926). "Services for use in the Diocese of Southwark" has the same prayer, again slightly altered, in a Rogationtide office.

As 'D' derives, in part, from the earlier editions of the Book of Common Prayer, so, in turn, Cosin's compilation has given things back to the later editions.

Conclusion.

'D' is the only extended work of either liturgical or private devotion to be completed by Cosin alone. It has, therefore, a uniqueness within the corpus of this great English liturgist, and its study is an aid to defining and assessing the character and quality of his work as a whole.

Cosin's compilation rests firmly in the tradition of the Primer, an important strand in Western spirituality. A good deal is derived from the Elizabethan Primers, but frequent reference, in our survey of the contents, to comparable material in other Primers, suggests that Cosin had a wide knowledge of this class of devotional literature. At the same time, 'D' stands out, not only by virtue of the intrinsic excellence of most of its contents as re-shaped by Cosin, but also because his extensive use of such non-Primer sources as the Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, the Fathers, and the collection of prayers known as "Kellam's Manuall" (or some very similar work), gives a flexibility and freshness to his work within the tradition.

In spite of its derivative character, 'D' is in many ways a distinctive work. Its distinctiveness has several aspects:

a) the general arrangement of the canonical Hours, described appropriately as "the classical Anglican version of the Canonical Hours" (1), and the provision of a special theme for each of the three mid-day Hours;

b) the provision of a completely new office for the four Ember Weeks;

c) the arrangement of the prayers for the sick and dying

in the form of offices - not a new thing in itself, but new to the Primer, and in a new arrangement;

d) the composition of some apparently completely new prayers, and the conflating and often extensive reshaping of some older ones;

e) the provision of an unusually long 'catechetical' section, such as is found in various Roman Catholic manuals, but, in the case of 'D', compatible with the doctrinal position of the Church of England as Cosin understood it.

f) the inclusion of a considerable amount of prefatory matter;

g) the frequent reference, in this prefatory matter and in marginal notes and footnotes, to the Bible, the Fathers, the Book of Common Prayer, and the laws and customs of the Church, which gives an authoritative appearance to the compilation as a whole.

h) the orderliness and formality of the arrangement of the contents, in which respect, as in others, the term 'Laudian' would appropriately describe 'D' ("The Laudian point of view appears principally concerned to conserve or where necessary to restore order in worship" (1));

i) the generally high literary quality of the work. 'D' has its weak points, stylistically (e.g. some of the hymns), but most is very good (e.g. many of the new and reshaped prayers, which stand up well to the tests of both private and public use, and the prefatory prose, which constitutes a very fine series of lucid and concise expositions);

j) the careful emphasis upon it as a book of essentially

private devotion, not in any way supplanting the Book of Common Prayer, but intended to be regarded as complementary to it;

k) the characteristically 'Anglican', and, more specifically, 'Laudian' tone of the whole of 'D'. Cosin was commissioned to provide something different from the Book of Common Prayer, and equivalent to the Roman Catholic manuals, but the Prayer Book is normative for his whole approach, doctrinal, liturgical, ascetical.

In many ways, then, Cosin has made an original and distinctive contribution to the Primer tradition.

The study of 'D' has another interesting aspect. A review of the historical circumstances of the commissioning of 'D', and of its reception, provides a glimpse of the religious and political scene in the early seventeenth century. The Laudian-Puritan 'polarity', in both its theological and its political aspects, is disclosed in these circumstances, as are a number of the specific points in which these opposed positions found expression. Such a review, then, gives us an illustration of that tension which characterised the English scene prior to the Civil War.

The particular distribution, over the years, of the long series of editions of 'D', and the various other evidences of acquaintance with Cosin's book at different periods, serve as indications of the varying configuration of English spirituality. Thus, the seventeenth century, both before the Civil War and after the Restoration, and the nineteenth century, with the coming of the Oxford Movement, have been the times in which most interest has been shown in 'D'.

This last observation leads us on to the question of whether 'D' has any value and importance for the life of the Church today. We have seen that, although there has not been a new edition of 'D' since 1867, its influence has persisted to the present day, if only in a comparatively minor way. There is, of course, much that is still quite useable in 'D' - especially the three mid-day Hours, the compline and bedtime prayers, the eucharistic devotions, and many individual prayers, while the catechetical and much of the prefatory matter is also useful. But what, perhaps, is more important about 'D', is its overall character, its essential complementariness to the Prayer Book, and the pattern it thus provides, partly explicitly and partly implicitly, for the whole life of a member of the Church. In this respect, that of its overall character, 'D' is seen to be a typical product of that mainstream of English spirituality which had its tone set by Hooker and found its fullest embodiment in the Book of Common Prayer (1). In this respect, also, it might reasonably be claimed that 'D' compares favourably with those currently circulating 'High Church' manuals which stem from what has been called "progressive" Neo-Anglicanism and which look towards post-Tridentine Roman models, books like "The Manual of Catholic Devotion", "The Anglo-Catholic Prayer Book", "St. Swithun's Prayer Book" and "The Centenary Prayer Book". Whatever the virtue of these manuals, they stand outside of this mainstream and, in fact, tend to be disruptive of it (2), while 'D' stands at the centre of it. A good case is not infrequently made out at present, on pastoral, liturgical and ecumenical

grounds, for a return to this mainstream within Anglicanism, for a recovery of what Addleshaw calls "the High Church tradition" of the seventeenth century, and Thornton, "the Caroline ascetic ... our native spiritual genius" (1). It need hardly be said that, if such a recovery is to be of more than antiquarian interest, the insights of the seventeenth century will require considerable adaptation. Before they are adapted, however, they need to be known. It is at this point that 'D', embodying and expressive of so much of that tradition and genius, might well have its uses.

As the Church seeks renewal, so her 'accessories' constantly need to be renewed. New aids to the spiritual life, new forms, will always be needed, and to these the old aids, the old forms, must give way. But certain stresses and values remain constant. To those stresses and values which characterise the English tradition of spirituality, John Cosin's "Collection of Private Devotions" bears a fine witness, with its clear prefatory insistence on "that true devotion wherewith God is more delighted, and a good soul more inflamed and comforted, than with all the busy subtilties of the world".

Appendix A. Cosin's churchmanship, 1627 - 1661.

It has been said that Cosin modified his views in the course of the years, that his hostility to Rome, accentuated by personal contact with popish practices, and his discovery of continental Protestantism, led to his returning to England in 1660 less of a High Churchman than he had been earlier (1). This assertion seems to be questionable. In the first place, Cosin's earlier views, if 'D' can be said to represent them, are by no means as extreme as has sometimes been suggested; although they are views shared by his High Church contemporaries, they are not incompatible with the position of Hooker, and the Book of Common Prayer, especially in its 1549 form. Perhaps the initial hostility of the Puritans, who looked at things from a radical point of view, did much to distort the idea of the character of 'D'. Osmond, who, with Cuming, makes the assertion that Cosin's views were progressively modified, himself demonstrates that on many issues, the Ornaments Rubric, the practice of fasting, belief in the continuity and catholicity of the Church of England, and the practice of praying for the dead, Cosin's views remained virtually constant throughout his life (2). With regard to the eucharistic sacrifice, Cuming draws attention to "all Cosin's diligent insertions of the word 'sacrifice'" in "The Durham Book" (3), after the Restoration, an indication, surely, of his continued concern to stress this aspect of the eucharist, while Osmond shows that the difference between

his earlier and his later remarks on the eucharistic sacrifice, in his earlier and later notes on the Book of Common Prayer, are largely a matter of more precise definition, and not of any essential doctrinal shift. (1). With regard to the question of the number of the sacraments, Osmond admits that while in later life Cosin was even more explicit in defending the assertion of the Article, the item in 'D' on "The Sacraments of the Church", "is a sufficiently cautious statement, one would have thought" (2). On the question of Cosin's known later liberal attitude to the continental reformed churches, Osmond gives no indication that this represented a modification of his earlier views. We have, in fact, no clear indication of what Cosin's early attitude to these churches was, but if we may take his remarks in the preface to his "Prayers for the Four Ember Weeks" in 'D' as an indication ("...the ordinary custom of the Church ... by the imposition of her Bishops' hands, to give holy and sacred Orders ..."), then his early views on the Church's ministry were not wholly uncompromising. At the same time, we may note that in 1618/9, Overall, from whom Cosin "had learnt his doctrine" (3), agreed to institute to a living, without insisting on prior episcopal ordination, Peter de Laune, who had been "ordained by the Presbytery at Leyden", while it appears that in 1628/9, the same man was instituted, very probably still without episcopal ordination, by Cosin's near-contemporary, Francis White, and with the subsequent acquiescence of Laud and Montague in the decision (4). While this does not tell us directly anything about Cosin's own views, it is an indication of the liberal attitude

of his High Church contemporaries in his early days, with respect to the foreign reformed churches. Finally, it is worth noting that, however sympathetic Cosin became to these churches, he remained convinced of their inferiority to the Church of England, and was able to write after 1662, "...the reformed Churches, whereof this Church of England is, both for doctrine and discipline, the most eminent, and the most pure, the most agreeable to Scripture and antiquity of all others ..." (1). In fact, the only substantial points which Osmond puts forward (Cuming does not give any) to illustrate a supposed modification of Cosin's views, are his modified understanding of the Real Presence in the eucharist, and his apparently 'un-rigorous' approach in the matter of the Roos Divorce Bill in 1670. On the issue of the Real Presence, Osmond attributes a somewhat 'extreme' view to the young Cosin on the basis of his transcribing, without comment, a note of Hayward's into his own "First Series" of notes on the Book of Common Prayer (2), while, examining the later "Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis" (composed 1656) for Cosin's "matured opinion", he finds that "though he denied 'that the Presence and participation of Christ in the Sacrament is effected merely by the power of faith', he held that the Presence is limited to the faithful communicant and to the act of distribution" (3). But is not this almost identical with the young Cosin's position in 1627, in his deliberate doctrinal alteration to the hymn by Aquinas in the eucharistic devotions in 'D' : "Christians are by faith assured / That by faith

Christ is received, / Flesh and blood most precious" ?

Osmond's argument is, then, at this point, a weak one. This leaves us with only the question of Cosin's support for the Roos Divorce Bill, an issue in which the position he adopted was directly contrary to that of nearly all the other bishops. Quite apart from the fact that Cosin was able to muster "strong arguments in support of his view" (1), and that "learned and orthodox theologians of our own time have agreed with Cosin's contention that re-marriage should not be forbidden to the innocent party to a divorce" (2), Osmond does suggest that "the King's wishes ... may have influenced Cosin" (3), and that his motive may have been "the hope of enabling Charles to 're-marry' and thus of frustrating the succession to the throne of the Duke of York, whose secession to Rome had by now become known" (4). There is not a great deal of evidence to go on, but if Osmond's suggestions are correct, then Cosin's 'un-rigorous' position is to be seen less as an abandonment, as such, of the principles of the High Churchmen, than as a manoeuvre of primarily political significance. It should be added that there is nothing in Cosin's published writings to indicate what were his early views on the subject of divorce and re-marriage, so that, whatever can be said of his later views, they cannot properly be held to illustrate a shift in Cosin's outlook. Osmond, then, fails to make out a very convincing case for the modification of Cosin's churchmanship. We may conclude by noting that the character of Cosin's

proposals for the revision of the Book of Common Prayer after the Restoration, is in many respects reminiscent of his early approach, as exemplified in 'D'. Cuming's assessment of "The Durham Book" stresses that, while "in controversial matters its two compilers showed a certain degree of caution ... by using (not the 1549 book, but) the more restrained phraseology of the Scottish Liturgy, ... even so the Durham Book is unmistakably and wholeheartedly Laudian, ... their object (being) to restore the characteristic elements of the 1549 Prayer Book ... Cosin in 1661 wanted to go on where he had left off twenty years before ... (so that) to Cosin at least the rejection of the most important changes must have been a severe disappointment" (1).

The argument that Cosin's doctrinal position and churchmanship were modified significantly between the time when he compiled 'D' in, 1626-7, and the time when he was in a position to influence the revision of the Book of Common Prayer, in 1661, is not an easy one to sustain.

Appendix B. The background to "The Objections" (see above, p.159).

The crux of this problem is to which Bishop of Durham Cosin sent the paper with his answers, "The Objections which some have been pleased to make against a Booke intituled the Houres of Praier : with briefe Answeres thereunto". There seem to be three possibilities :

1) Cosin may have sent the paper to Neile, who, Prynne suggests, had possibly been involved in the licensing of 'D', and may, in Osmond's words, "have been frightened by the storm which Prynne

and his friends had raised, and ... forwarded a list of the charges made against the book, for a rejoinder" (1). This could only be so if Prynne's and Burton's charges were known to Neile in advance of their publication, for by the time they were published, during the 1628 session of Parliament, Neile was no longer "The Lord Bishop of Durham". He was first nominated to Winchester on 18 November, 1627, and his translation was confirmed on 7 February, 1628, and the temporalities were conveyed on 19th February; Parliament did not meet until March. It is possible that Neile did know the contents of the pamphlets whilst he was still Bishop of Durham, and so was able to get Cosin's "Answeres" during that time (or, knowing the burden of them, made the text of the pamphlets available to Cosin, asking him to list the "Objections" himself, and answer them), for Prynne complains in his pamphlet that the clergy "not onely deny to licence, but likewise diligently suppress and intercept all Answers and Replies unto them, as the intercepting Mr Burtons Answer at the Presse, and the detaining of the Copie of this my present Censure in the Licensers hands, who will neither licence nor deliver it". Both Osmond & the editor of Cosin's correspondence assume, without considering other possibilities, that Cosin sent the paper to Neile (2).

2) Another possibility, which would make the answers later, is that the indorsement refers to Mountain. He had licensed 'D', and could therefore be expected to be concerned about complaints made against the book. Mountain was nominated

Bishop of Durham on 19 February, 1628, but nominated to York (to which he was translated on 1 July) on 5 June, probably before the Durham appointment was confirmed. Thus, he could have abstracted the objections from the pamphlets (or, knowing their burden, have passed them on to Cosin for him to do so), either before or after their publication, Cosin sending the answers to him between February and June, addressing them to him as the Bishop of Durham on the basis of his nomination.

3) A third possibility is that the answers were sent to the next Bishop of Durham, John Howson, whose nomination of 4 July, 1628, was confirmed on 17 September, but this seems less likely. The difficulty in this case would be to determine Howson's motives in asking Cosin to answer the pamphleteers objections. Howson appears to have disliked Cosin, and to have taken the side of Cosin's opponents in the disputes which arose at Durham (1). It is difficult to see why he should be concerned for Cosin to vindicate himself against the objectors.

It is far more likely that someone, who, feeling somewhat responsible for the publication of 'D' (as Mountain certainly was, and Neile may have been), really wanted convincing answers, such as would support the High Church position represented by 'D', should invite Cosin to reply to the objections. This leaves the first and second explanations, above, the most likely possibilities. There is little to choose between these, but one would have thought that an anxious bishop would be more likely to want Cosin's answers to the Puritan charges after these had been published and had created a public outcry. This

would weigh the balance in favour of the second, Cosin sending his "Answeres" to Mountain, who, in any case, had been responsible for licencing 'D', Neile's involvement in the matter being less certain. The fact that the paper is marked, among the Statepapers, "1628 May?", could be a further corroboration of this.

Appendix C. The various editions of 'D'.

Eighteen editions of 'D' have been identified (1). The following is a list of these, with some additional information and comments :

i) 1627, R.Young, London. This will be the edition entered in the Stationer's Register on 1 March of this year (see above, p.16). This edition was a small one, and contemporary estimates put the number at 150, 200 and 250 (2).

R.Young printed in London, at "The Sign of the Bishop's Head in Paul's Churchyard"(3), from 1625 to 1643. He was an important member of the Company of Stationers, and held the appointment of King's Printer in Scotland, which may have secured him the printing of 'D', compiled at the King's request(4).

ii) 1627. R.Young, London. "The general tendency of the textual amendment in the successive editions was towards the clarification or removal of those passages which could be interpreted as Romanist"(5) - see above, pp.146-7.

Prynne says this was an edition of 1000 copies (6), but a letter to Joseph Mead speaks of " some fifteen-hundred more "(7),

which could be a reference to this edition.

iii) 1627, R.Young, London. The reference to the mediation of Angels in the third of the prayers amongst the eucharistic devotions, is omitted. The Prayer for the Dead is restored.

iv) 1627, R.Young, London. This is largely a new, reset edition, but with most of two sheets in the same setting as in the 3rd edition. The Prayer for the Dead is omitted.

v) 1635, R.Young, London. It has not been possible to see this edition.

vi) "5th Edition". 1638, R.Young, London. This is in a different, smaller format than the earlier editions.

The engraved title-page in the B.M. copy (C.65.aa.3) is dated 1639.

vii) 1655, London, for Richard Royston(London). This is in a larger format than any of the earlier editions. The copy in the Bodleian Library (Douce C.111.) has the same engraved title-page as the 5th edition.

Richard Royston was well known as a Royalist printer - he published the 1st edition of "Eikon Basillike" in 1648, and had been in a good deal of trouble with the Commonwealth authorities prior to 1655. At the Restoration he was granted the monopoly of printing the works of Charles I (1).

viii) "5th Edition", 1664, J.F., London, for R.Royston(London). The Prayers for the King and Queen in this and subsequent editions are altered appropriately (e.g. here "Queen Catherine").

J.F. could have been one of several printers with these initials who were active in London at this time (1).

ix) 1672, London, for R.Royston, and sold by Will.Cademan,London.

This edition uses the engraved title-page of the 1664 edition.

William Cademan was "the publisher of much good literature" (2)

(Cosin died on 15 January, 1672. We can, then, say that there were probably 8 editions of 'D' published in his lifetime, and that this edition of 1672 was the first to be published after his death).

x) "7th Edition", 1676, J.Grover, London,for R.Royston,London.

J.Grover "began as a printer about 1676"(3). This is the first edition to be ascribed to Cosin.

xi) "8th Edition", 1681, London, by R.N. for Rich.Royston. R.N.

was possibly Richard Northcot of London, "chiefly a publisher of theological works between ...(1677-91)" (4).

xii) "9th Edition", 1693,W.H., for Luke Meredith,London. W.H.

could have been one of several printers with these initials who were active in London at this time (5). Luke Meredith "married a daughter of Richard Royston ... (and) succeeded to many of Royston's books ... The greater part of his publications were in divinity" (6).

xiii) "10th Edition", 1719, London, for T.Horne, J.Knapton,

R.Knaplock, J.Wyat, D.Midwinter, R.Robinson, W.Taylor, J.Bowyer, H.Clements, W.Meers, R.Goßling, W.Innys, W.Churchil, and B.Cowse.

This edition was put out by an impressive consortium : T.Horne

may have been the "Thomas H." who "began as a divinity publisher in 1686 ... (and) was still publishing in 1711"; J.Knapton was a "noted bookseller ... He held shares in all the most important books that were issued"; R.Knaplock was "one of the chief London publishers of his time ... (and he) held shares in the most important books"; J.Wyat was a "publisher for the Non-conformists"; D.Midwinter was "(one) of the largest booksellers of the day, holding shares in most of the chief undertakings"; R.Robinson was a "bookseller in London"; W.Taylor was a "bookseller in London"; J.Bowyer was a "bookseller, publisher"; H.Clements was "the publisher of many important books... (He) died 23 Aug., 1719"; W.Meers may have been the "W.Mears" who was a "bookseller in London"; R.Gosling was a "bookseller in London"; W.Innys was "one of the leading booksellers in London in the first quarter of the Eighteenth Century"; W.Churchil was a "bookseller in London"; B.Cowse was a "bookseller in London" (1).

xiv) "11th Edition", 1838, London, for J.G. and F.Rivington.

This edition includes an Editor's Preface : after referring to the Church of England's "intrinsically Catholic character", it continues, "the present work is a fair sample of those views, and is an attempt, in full consistency with the spirit, and in studied accordance with the formularies of the Church of England, to recover or retain, at least in private devotion, a portion of that undoubtedly Catholic and Apostolic character which forms so beautiful a feature in the Breviaries". The Preface concludes with the remark that since the last edition in 1719, "an age has passed over us which would be little

likely to appreciate it, and it has become extremely rare" (1). It has not been possible to identify the writer of this preface, but it is clearly the work of one who was in sympathy with the aims of the Tractarians.

xv) 1843, Oxford, Parker. Cosin's Works, Vol. 2, in the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, includes, inter alia, the complete text of 'D', based on a copy of one of the editions of 1627.

xvi) 1843-50, Oxford, Parker. This edition was one of a series published between 1840 and 1850, called "The Practical Christian's Library. A series of Cheap Publications. For general Circulation". ('D' is not included in an advertisement of the series which was printed at the end of the 1843 L.A.C.T. edition, hence the assumption that 'D' was only added to the series during or after 1843 (2).).

xvii) "13th Edition", 1845. London, F. and J. Rivington. This edition has the Editor's Preface which was included in the 1838 edition by Rivingtons.

xviii) "New Edition", 1867, Oxford, Parker. This is described as "A re-issue of the Devotional Portion of the Practical Christian's Library" - see the 15th Edition, above.

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Only a few of the most important books are given here. Other works referred to in this study are given in the Notes. The entries in parenthesis indicate the form in which these works will be referred to in the Notes.

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Notes.

The figures in the left-hand column indicate the page number, followed by the note number. Titles are only given in full in the Bibliography or at their first appearance here; thereafter, they are indicated in a shortened form, this shortened form being indicated at the end of the first reference to the work in question, in parenthesis.

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- 207.4 Osmond, 294.
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- 210.1 see, for example, Corr. i, 204-5.
- 211.1 Editions i) to iv) are differentiated by Hanson:
Edition v) is listed in STC - no. 5818.
Edition vi) is listed in STC - no. 5819 -, in the B.M. Catalogue, and by Hoskins.
Editions vii) to x) are listed in Wing - nos. 6352 to 6355 -, in the B.M. Catalogue, and by Hoskins.
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- 210.1 see,for example,Corr.i,204-5.
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Edition xi) is listed in Wing - no.6356 -,and by Hoskins.

Edition xii) is listed in Wing - no.6357 -, in the B.M. Catalogue, and by Hoskins.

Edition xiii) is listed in the B.M. Catalogue and by Hoskins.

Editions xiv) and xv) are listed in the B.M. Catalogue.

Edition xvi) is confirmed in correspondence with the publisher (24 May, 1963).

Edition xvii) - e.g. a copy in the possession of the writer of this study.

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211.7 Birch, 227.

212.1 Plomer-A, 158-9.

213.1 Plomer-A gives several.

213.2 Plomer, H.R., "Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers, 1668-1725", London, 1922, 63 (Plomer-B).

213.3 Plomer-B, 135.

213.4 Plomer-B, 221.

213.5 Plomer-B gives several.

213.6 Plomer-B, 203.

214.1 Plomer-B, 44, 70, 75, 84, 130, 161, 167, 181, 186, 202, 204, 256, 285, 322.

215.1 from a copy in the Bodleian (Bodl.38.59).

215.2 LACT,ii.