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### The Prayer Books of Edward VI Written in the Years 1549 and 1552

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THE PRAYER BOOKS OF KING EDWARD VI  
WRITTEN IN THE YEARS 1549 AND 1552

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A Thesis Presented to  
The Faculty of Concordia Seminary  
Department of Historical Theology

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In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Bachelor of Divinity

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by  
Ralph Lindemann

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Approved by:

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THE PRAYER BOOKS OF KING EDWARD VI  
WRITTEN IN THE YEARS 1549 AND 1552

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THE PRAYER BOOKS OF KING EDWARD VI  
WRITTEN IN THE YEARS 1549 AND 1552

I. MEDIAEVAL BACKGROUND

The Church in England used slightly different forms of the Latin Mass before the Protestant Reformation. After the mission of Augustine the few remnants of the old Celtic rite had all but vanished, and the Roman Canon of the Mass, which he brought with him from Pope Gregory I, was in general use, substantially as we know it today. However, in the Middle Ages, the Roman Mass, apart from its unchangeable Canon, varied somewhat, in its prayers as well as in its ceremonial rubrics, from diocese to diocese. Such variations in the Roman Rite were known as Uses. So in England we find a special Use of Sarum (i.e., Salisbury), of Lincoln, of York, of Hereford, and others. Of all the English Uses the Sarum is the most important. Its use spread until it became the acknowledged standard of south England, including London and Canterbury. The liturgy and ritual which we find in the England of the sixteenth century are, therefore, based on the Roman Rite and colored by the prominent local use. (1)

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1. Hurlbut, Stephen A., *The Liturgy of the Church of England*, The St. Alban's Press, Washington, D. C., 1941, p. 1.



The term Use included both the form and method of services executed in the Cathedral church. In other words, the books required for the Use of Sarum were of two kinds, first, the actual Service books themselves, and, secondly, the books of directions explaining the method of execution. (1) The most important of these Service books, used in England immediately before the Reformation, were the following:

1. The Missale or Mass Book, containing all that was required in the Mass for every day throughout the year.
2. The Processionale or Processional. This contained the hymns, litanies, and all parts of the service which pertained to the processions, whether within the church or outside it.
3. The Manuale corresponded with the book called on the continent the Rituale. It included the occasional offices which can be performed by a priest, such as services for Baptism, Matrimony, Churching of Women, Visitation of the Sick, Extreme Unction, and Burial of the Dead.
4. The Pontificale or the Pontifical contained the sacraments or rites which can be performed only by the Bishop, viz., Confirmation, Ordination, the Consecration of a Church, etc.
5. The Hymnarium or the Hymnal contained the Latin hymns with their musical notation.
6. The Portiforium, Portors, or Portius, contained the "divine service" or "office" strictly so-called, viz., the eight daily services or offices. This became the later Breviarium (2).

The Book of Common Prayer embodied the Missale, Processionale, Manuale, and Portiforium, in an abbreviated and purified form. It was

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1. Proctor, Francis, and Frere, Walter Howard, a New History of the Book of Common Prayer, Macmillan, London, 1902, p. 15.

2. Pullan, Leighton, The History of the Book of Common Prayer, Longmans, Green, and Co., London, 1900, p. 70.



the first book of its kind ever compiled, a book which endeavored to put into the hands of the common people in their own tongue all the services and acts of the church which were profitable for their learning and edification.

Of special interest in connection with the daily offices is the Primarium or Primer. This book may be described as a layman's companion to the Breviary Offices. The Primers used in England were sometimes in Latin and sometimes in English. The earlier ones probably contained the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments. The later were much fuller and "contained those liturgical accretions to the divine service which were devised after the ninth century, and became interwoven with the authorized daily (or Lenten) services." (1) By the fourteenth century these additions were regarded as obligatory on the clergy. (2) The following table shows the full contents of a Primer about the year 1400:

1. Mattins and the Hours of Our Lady.
2. Evensong and Compline of Our Lady.
3. The Penitential Psalms.
4. The Psalms of Degrees. (CXX-CXXXIV)
5. The Litany.
6. The Placebo. (The vesper hymn for the dead which began with the words "Placebo Domino".)
7. The Dirge. (The Office for the Dead, so-called from the opening words of the Anthem, "Dirige in conspectu tuo viam meam." Ps.V:8.)
8. The Psalms of Commendation. (Ps.CXIX).
9. The Pater Noster.
10. The Ave Maria.
11. The Creed.
12. The Ten Commandments.
13. The Seven Deadly Sins. (3)

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1. Pullan, op. cit., p. 70

2. Ibid., p. 70

3. Daniel, Evan, The Prayer Book, Its History, Language, and Contents, Wells Gardner, Darton and Co., 1894, pp. 15-16.



## II. LITURGICAL CHANGES UNDER HENRY VIII.

The movement for reform was well under way on the Continent before it took definite shape in England. Here the issue was bound up with political affairs. Money was pouring out of the country into the pockets of the Pope and his friends; much of England's land was in the hands of the Church; and the Pope had refused to grant Henry his divorce from Catherine of Aragon. This latter fact offered Henry the occasion for his break with Rome. The death of Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1532 allowed Henry to secure the appointment of Thomas Cranmer, a man favorably disposed toward him. In January, 1533, the King married Anne; on July 11th the Pope excommunicated him; and in June, 1534, the Act of Supremacy was passed. This act provided that "The King our sovereign Lord shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of England." (1) It merged into one royal and national institution the two provinces of Canterbury and York and placed that single body under Henry's direct and sole jurisdiction. England's Church was now separate and independent of Rome. To make manifest this fact, Henry in 1535 ordered the Pope's name deleted from the church service-books. There was little opposition to these acts for Henry's object was to remain a good "Catholic" but to throw off the yoke of Rome. In worship, liturgy, and ceremonies he, therefore, unlike the continental reformers, made little attempt to purge out false doctrine and abuse.

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1. Morrison, Stanley, English Prayer Books - an Introduction to the Literature of Christian Public Worship, University Press, Cambridge, London, 1943. p. 40.



But, while no far-reaching liturgical reconstruction was undertaken, some changes were effected in the reign of Henry. According to the Kings Injunctions of 1538 images and relics were not to be licked or kissed, beads were not to be used, money and candles were not to be offered to the images or pictures of saints, and all pilgrimages to the shrines were to be abolished. Also included in the Injunctions was the order that a Bible in English be set up in every church, "where it might be read without noise or disturbance of any public service and without any disputation." In addition, the people were to be taught the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in English.(1)

In February, 1543, the Convocation of Canterbury ordered that on "every Sunday and Holy Day throughout the year the curate of every parish church, after the Te Deum and Magnificat, should openly read to the people one chapter of the New Testament in English without exposition, and when the New Testament was read over, then to begin with the Old." (2) The edition used for this was Coverdale's The Bible in English of 1539, known as the Great Bible, or in later editions, to which Cranmer added a preface, as Cranmer's Bible. This became the liturgical text for the Book of Common Prayer and, in respect to the Psalter and some incidental quotations, still is today. (3) By introducing the reading of the Scriptures in English into the public service of the church the way was prepared for the further substitution of English for Latin in the prayers. The first change in this respect was made in the Litany.

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1. Proctor and Frere, op. cit., p. 30.

2. Ibid., p. 31.

3. Hague, Dyson, The Story of the English Prayer Book, Longmans, Green and Company, London, 1926. p. 74.



During the war with Scotland and France, Henry ordered a Litany (originally a popular religious processional) to be set forth in English. This form of petition had been in the hands of the people in their own tongue for at least a hundred and fifty years, but we have here the first official version in English. (1) This work, usually known as Cranmer's First Litany, was printed in June, 1544. Though portions are Cranmer's original composition, by far the greater part is taken from the Sarum Processional, Luther's litany, and the Greek Orthodox Liturgy. (2) With the exception of those clauses in which the prayers of the Blessed Virgin, of angels, and of Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apostles were invoked, this Litany scarcely differs in any respect from the one in use today.

At about this time the Primer was also in a process of reform. The first reformed English Primer was printed by John Byddel, probably in 1534. In 1535 Byddel printed another for William Marshall. This primer is considerably simplified and contains a Litany which is partly based on Luther's Litany. In it the accustomed requests to the saints for their prayers are retained, but "with a strong warning against the popular abuse of such a practice." (3) In 1539 John Hilsey, Bishop of Rochester, published another reformed Primer in English and Latin, somewhat more conservative than that of Marshall. Both were superseded in 1545 by King Henry's Primer, which also contained the English Litany of 1544, with the direction that it no longer be said in

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1. Proctor and Frere, op. cit., p. 31.
  2. Hunt, J. Eric, Cranmer's First Litany and Merbecke's Book of Common Prayer Noted, 1550, S.P.C.K., London, 1939, p. 16.
  3. Pullan, op. cit., pp. 74-75.



procession but in church immediately before Mass. (1) With the exception of this Litany the services continued to be read in Latin.

In 1542 Cranmer had informed Convocation that it was the King's will that the service books be reformed, and so a committee was appointed, consisting of Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, and six clergy from the Lower House of Convocation. It was ordered that "the old Mass-books, Antiphoners, and Portuasses (Breviaries) existing in the Church of England should be corrected, reformed, and castigated from all manner of mention of the Bishop of Rome's name, and from all feigned legends, superstitious oraisons, collects, versicles and responses." Next that "the names and memories of all saints not mentioned in Scripture, or authentic doctors, be put away." (2) There was an undercurrent of feeling that a Prayer-book, constructed on different principles and suited to the wants of the Church at large was needed. The work of the Committee was greatly hindered, however, by the statute of the Six Articles, and any radical reform had to wait until after the death of Henry. The Committee set themselves first of all to simplifying the rubrics. Then in 1544 they issued the Litany, already referred to above. Nothing further was issued by them during the reign of Henry, but the research they did formed an excellent groundwork for the later Book of Common Prayer. (3)

During the last years of Henry's reign Cranmer revised the

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1. Pullan, op. cit., p. 75.  
2. Daniel, op. cit., p. 21.  
3. Ibid., p. 22.



Breviary twice, but neither revision was ever published, though certain features were used in the Book of 1549. These include the monthly instead of the weekly recitation of the Psalter, the elimination of all non-Scriptural lessons, and the formation of two new services, Mattins and Evensong, from the Daily Hours. (1)

### III. THE REIGN OF EDWARD VI.

#### A. The Development Toward a Prayer Book.

Edward VI succeeded Henry VIII on January 28, 1547. The reigns of government now came into the hands of men who were definitely of the "reformed persuasion", and liturgical matters took a definite swing toward the "Protestant" side. "With a king a precocious boy brought up in the new learning, and hailed by Cranmer at his coronation as a 'second Josiah', 'to see God truly worshipped', and with Somerset as Protector, already recognized as 'well disposed toward pious doctrine', and a council of whom the majority were either disciples of the new learning or without definite convictions, Cranmer and the reform party were free to promote the changes they desired with the consent and cooperation of the Government. And accordingly new measures soon followed." (2) The question of the hour in 1547 was "What will Cranmer do?", for Cranmer was free to carry out his life's ambition of a thorough reform of the worship of the Church of England.

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1. Proctor and Frere, op. cit., p. 34.

2. Brightman, F.E., and Mackenzie, K.D., The History of the Book of Common Prayer Down To 1662, in Liturgy and Worship, edited by W. K. Lowther Clarke and Charles Harris, S.P.C.K., London, 1936. p.151.



Changes, impossible a year before, were now made with ease. (1)

In July, 1547, appeared the First Book of Homilies, consisting of twelve sermons, four of them by Cranmer and the rest by various authors. (2) In August a series of Royal Injunctions was issued and a General Visitation of the Kingdom was planned to be carried out by visitors armed with articles of inquiry, who were also to distribute the Injunctions and the Book of Homilies. These Injunctions required that besides a Bible the Paraphrases of Erasmus upon the Gospels should be set up in the churches, and, further, that the clergy should possess these, study them, and be examined in them by the Bishops. It was also ordered that one of the homilies be read every Sunday and that the reading of the Gospel and Epistle at High Mass be in English. The English Litany was no longer to be recited in procession but was to be "said or sung by the priest or other of the choir kneeling in the midst of the church immediately before High Mass." The public recitation of the Hours of the Blessed Virgin and of the ferial Dirges was abrogated, and the Injunctions concluded with "The form of bidding the common-prayers," i.e., the Bidding of the Bedes, according to a revised form. (3)

These measures were taken by the Council without reference to Parliament or Convocation, which did not meet until November. However, when they met they followed the trend. In Parliament two bills were introduced and passed, the one providing for the restraint and punishment of revilers of the Sacrament of the Altar, the other for the

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1. Hague, op. cit., p. 96.  
 2. Brightman and Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 152.  
 3. Proctor and Frere, op. cit., pp. 35-36.



communion of the people in both kinds. At the opening Mass of Parliament the Gloria in Excelsis, Creed, and Agnus Dei were sung in English, and in the first session it approved of communion in both kinds. (1)

In the fifth of the Homilies Cranmer had denounced holy bread, holy water, palms, candles, etc., "as papistical superstitions and abuses", and, in January, 1548, the Council prohibited the use of candles on Candlemas, ashes on Ash Wednesday, and palms on Palm Sunday. The following month holy bread, holy water, and veneration of the Cross on Good Friday were abrogated, and all remaining images in any church or chapel were abolished. (2) This was done without the approval of either Convocation or Parliament. The reformers were having their way despite the objections of conservatives like Gardiner.

Since Parliament had directed that communion should be given in both kinds, a commission of certain bishops and divines was assembled at Windsor, and after much deliberation they issued the Order of Communion in March, 1548. Who these men were is not known, but without a doubt Cranmer had the chief hand in the compilation. This order was not a full communion office, but it inserted into the Latin Mass immediately after the priest's communion a form in English for the communicating of the people in both kinds. The order itself is based upon the Consultation of Hermann, Archbishop of Cologne. (3) It consists of an exhortation, notifying on what day communion would be given, with instructions how to prepare for it, to be recited at least one day

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1. Brightman and Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 152.
  2. Proctor and Frere, op. cit., p. 40
  3. Pullan, op. cit., p. 82.



before the Communion; an exhortation, warning, and invitation at the time of communion; a General Confession, about half of which is based on the Cologne Order; the general Absolution of the Breviary and the Missal, with the opening clauses of Hermann's Absolution prefixed; four "Comfortable Words" derived via Hermann from the Strassburg rite; the prayer "We do not presume --", now known as the Prayer of Humble Access; the Words of Institution; and a blessing. (1) There was no instruction given as to how often this order was to be used, but we have records that soon after it was issued many churches used it at all Masses. In other words, private masses were no longer said in these churches. (2) A study of the contents of this order is of utmost importance to any one studying the Prayer Book, for much of the order was carried over into the Communion Service of the Prayer Book. We have here in embryo the present Anglican Order of Communion. (3)

The state of things in England's Church at this time was, in many ways and in many places, confusion worse confounded. On the one side the great mass of the people still clung to their familiar ceremonies and customs. On the other, the more radical of the innovating spirits took upon themselves to destroy the images, to break down the altars, and in the most drastic manner to carry through, by their own hands, the abolition of the remaining elements of Popery. (4) The order of Communion was not accepted without opposition. Some Bishops

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1. Brightman and Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 153.
  2. Ibid., p. 152.
  3. Hague, op. cit., p. 112.
  4. Ibid., p. 116.



refused to direct the use of this new form, and many parish priests even incited the people against the Government, declaring that the real intention of the Government was to lay a tax of half-a-crown upon every marriage, christening, and burial. The Council was obliged not only to control the innovations of the more fervent reformers, but it also had to counteract the opposition of the conservative section. And so to remedy these disorders, a proclamation was issued forbidding all preaching, except under license from the King, the Lord Protector, or the Archbishop of Canterbury. (1)

But the old order was changing, and despite the opposition of the bishops to the vulgar tongue in the Mass, the use of the vernacular in the services was spreading. (2) In the King's Chapel Compline had been sung in English as early as April, 1547, and in the Mass at the opening of Parliament in November the Gloria in Excelsis, the Credo, and the Agnus Dei. So, as we have seen, was the Order of Communion, and by May, 1548, vernacular Mattins, Mass, and Evensong were in use at Saint Paul's and other London churches. (3) In the meantime a Protestant crusade was being carried on in literature which had the sanction of the Council. (4) Books and pamphlets in great quantities, both by English and foreign writers, poured from the presses. These all attempted to expose the falsities of the Roman Mass and the idolatry of its worship. The new order of Communion was followed by The Psalter or Books of the Psalms, whereunto is added the Litany and certain other

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1. Proctor and Frere, op. cit., p. 39.
  2. Brightman and Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 153.
  3. Proctor and Frere, op. cit., p. 41.
  4. Hague, op. cit., p. 116.



devout prayers set forth with the King's most gracious licence of July, 1548. It is strongly Calvinistic in tone and exhorts the people to conceive of the Sacrament "as a Memorial of his death, and not to eat it thinking or believing Him to be there really." (1)

In the proclamation prefixed to the Order of Communion Edward stated that more changes in the Mass and Services were contemplated. He said, "We encourage our loving subjects to receive this our ordinance, that we may be encouraged from time to time, further to travail for the reformation and setting forth of such godly orders." A rubric requires the order to be used "without varying of any other Rite or Ceremony in the Mass (until, other order shall be provided)." (2) This other order was provided a year later in the First Book of Edward VI. Concerning the compilation of the Book little is known. The King had appointed "certain bishops and notable learned men to set forth a uniform order for the realm." This company, generally referred to as the Windsor Commission, according to the most probable account consisted of Cranmer and six bishops and six divines, "some favoring the old, some the new learning". (3) It is generally conceded that Cranmer himself drafted the Book and that the Commissioners merely discussed, criticized, and amended it. The bill embodying the Book passed both houses in January, 1549, and received royal assent on March 14. This First Act of Uniformity required that the Book should come into exclusive use at latest on Whitsunday, June 9, and imposed severe penalties on those of the clergy who failed to use it. (4)

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1. Pullan, op. cit., p. 85.

2. Brightman and Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 154.

3. Ibid., p. 154. Quoted from Cranmer's Miscellaneous Writings, p. 450.

4. Ibid., p. 155.



## B. The Author and Sources of the First Prayer Book.

A word here about the author of the Book of Common Prayer is in order. Among the group of men who were in power during the reign of Edward VI, Cranmer stands apart, trying to steer his own uncertain course. In him there was little of that thirst for wealth and power which characterized most of the leaders, but he was no Luther to cry in the face of the world, "Here I stand; I can do no otherwise." Yet, though his will was certainly molded by others, he was able to bring his own great gift to the Reformation - "a power of liturgical art which places him among the great prose writers of the world." (1)

Cranmer had doubtlessly been working at the translation of the Latin services for some years previous to the issuing of the Prayer Book. (2) We can imagine with what joy he had turned from the racking cares of State to the quiet solace of that literary work for which God had destined him. It is probable that the main part of the English Prayer Book was ready nearly a year or two before it was issued. (3) He could not well have rested after the production of his English Litany in 1544. He must have felt his powers and rejoiced in them. One pictures him with the manuscript ready, waiting his opportunity. With the death of Henry it soon came. In the Spring of 1548 he produced his second great work - The Order of Communion, what we might call the second installment of the Prayer Book. Then he must have had

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1. Dearmer, Percy, *Everyman's History of the Prayer Book*, Morehouse Publishing House, Milwaukee, Wis., 1931, p. 60.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 63.



also copies made of "Mattins, Mass, and Evensong," so that two months later these services could be sung in English at St. Paul's, and a few days later at Westminster Abbey. With the experience thus gained, Cranmer and his committee put the finishing touches on the work, testing it in the Royal Chapel between May and September, and working also at the rest of the Prayer Book. We know that in September a further step was taken by an order to the college-chapels of Cambridge to conform in "Mass, Mattins, and Evensong, and all divine service" to the use of the King's Chapel. (1) Three months later the bishops were discussing the new book in the House of Lords.

The sources from which Cranmer derived the material for the Prayer Book are many. In the first place Cranmer was an earnest student of the Bible. The zeal with which he threw himself into the study of Holy Scripture may be proved by his library. There, in addition to the Fathers and the Schoolmen, we find the celebrated Complutensian Polyglott, the Vulgate with Commentary by Nicholas de Lyra, the Paraphrases and Annotations of Erasmus upon the New Testament, and many other commentaries. And the Archbishop was no mere collector of books. His volumes of manuscript collections of extracts afford clear signs of his diligence as a student. (2)

Cranmer also was a student of the ancient liturgies. The works attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, The Offices of the Church by

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1. Brightman and Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 155.

2. Burbidge, Edward, Liturgies and Offices of the Church, - in illustration of the Book of Common Prayer with a catalogue of the remains of the library of Archbishop Cranmer, George Bell and Sons, London, 1885, pp. 150-151.



Isidore of Seville, and the Mozarabic Missal of Cardinal Ximenes, all came under his attention. Strype remarks: "There was no book either of the ancient or modern writers, especially upon the point of the Eucharist, which he had not noted with his own hand in the most remarkable places..... So that his library was the storehouse of ecclesiastical writers of all ages, and was open for the use of learned men. Here old Latimer spent many an hour." (1).

Besides the Bible and the ancient writings two more modern works guided the formation of the Prayer Book. The first of these was a revised edition of the Roman Breviary by Cardinal Quignonius, a Spanish Bishop. This work appeared in 1536 and afforded the English Reformers some suggestions for the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer. (2)

The second of these, The Simplex ac Pia Deliberatio, commonly called The Consultation of Hermann, Archbishop of Cologne, was compiled by Bucer, Melancton, and Sacerius, and based upon the service which Luther had drawn up for the use of Brandenburg and Nuremberg. (3) The greater part of the book was doctrinal, but in the discussion of the Sacraments more or less complete forms are given incidentally for Baptism, Confirmation, the Lord's Supper, Visitation and Communion of the Sick, Marriage, and Burial. (4) Carefully avoiding any polemical statements, it did not meet with Luther's favor, "who demanded that beyond the positive presentation of doctrine in the service, the negative should also be unmistakably expressed, and, therefore, had not

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1. Strype, *Cranmer*, vol. 1, p. 630, - quoted on Burbidge, *op. cit.*, p. 152, note 2.

2. Daniel, *op. cit.* p. 13.

3. Daniel, *op. cit.*, p. 20

4. Proctor and Frere, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-29.



patience to read it thoroughly." (1)

C. The Contents of the Prayer Book of 1549.

The original title for what we call the Book of Common Prayer or the Prayer Book was THE booke of the common prayer and administration of the Sacraments and other rites and ceremonies of the Church: after the use of the Church of England. Thus the contents of the book were threefold. 1. "The common prayer of the divine service", i.e., the choir office of the canonical hours, here reduced to two, Mattins and Evensong. Together with this may be included "The Litany and Suffrages," which from the first was called "the common prayer of procession". 2. "The administration of the sacraments" - Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Matrimony, and the Unction of the Sick - all except Ordination, for which no provision was made. 3. The "other rites and ceremonies of the Church", viz., the Churching of Women, the Visitation of the Sick, the Burial of the Dead, and the penitential office for Ash Wednesday.

There are two things which we should especially note in the title of the Prayer Book. In the first place it was THE book. Never before had a book of this kind been produced. It is true that since the Psalms and Lessons were not included another book was needed, viz., the Bible, and since the ordinal was not provided for, a third book was necessary. Yet up to this time there had been no single book so comprehensive as the Prayer Book. During the Middle Ages the rites of

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1. Jacobs, Henry Eyster, *The Lutheran Movement in England during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI and its Literary Monuments*, General Council Publication House, Philadelphia, 1908, p. 224



the church had been contained in five or more books; here we have everything contained in one book.

In the second place it was "after the use of the Church of England." As in the rest of Europe, so in England there had been many uses. Now, contained in the Prayer Book, was a national use for England. All the churches from the Cathedral at Canterbury to the little chapel in the mountains of Northumbria were to follow the same orders and perform them in the same way.

The contents of the Book of Common Prayer are:

The Preface, in which Cranmer gives the reasons for the liturgical reformation. The main reasons are six.

1. Great stress is laid on the need of reading the Bible as a whole in the Divine Service each year.
2. Abuses must be gotten rid of. The "uncertain stories, and Legends," and "vain Repetitions" had crowded out the Bible reading which had been the "godly and decent order of the ancient Fathers, so that after three or four chapters of a book had been read out, all the rest were left unread."
3. The language spoken in the church must be such "as they might understand and have profit by hearing the same," as St. Paul had urged.
4. The psalms must be said properly as the ancient Fathers had said them; instead of a few being "daily said, and the rest utterly omitted."
5. "The number and hardness of the Rules called the Pie must be amended." This Pie was a perpetual kalendar, showing what



things should be said at all possible services and combination of services. If a parson did not give considerable study to these intricacies before he began his office, he could hardly help going wrong. Indeed, as the Preface says, "many times there was more business to find out what should be read, than to read it when it was found out."

6. There had been a great diversity of uses. The Preface mentions the uses of Salisbury, Hereford, York, and Lincoln; and declares that "now from henceforth all the whole realm shall have but one Use." (1)

The Kalendar, with the tables of Psalms and Lessons then follows. The Kalendar contains no commemorations, except those of New Testament saints and All Saints, for which proper service is provided in the book. The Table of Lessons follows the civil year not the ecclesiastical year.

Both Mattins and Evensong are constructed on the same plan, except that Mattins has the Venite before the Psalms of the day. Both open with the Lord's Prayer said by the officiant, no longer silently, but aloud, and the traditional introduction, the Psalms, Lesson, Canticle, "Preces" and three Collects. Mattins represents the old Mattins, Lauds, and Prime. Evensong is derived from Vespers and Compline.

The next section concerns The Supper of the Lord, and the

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1. The First Prayer Book of Edward VI, 1549, reprinted from a copy in the British Museum, Griffith, Farran, Okeden, and Welsh, London, n.d., Preface, pp. 3-5.



Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass. It begins with the Introits, Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, to which are added references for the proper Psalms and Lessons of those days to which any are assigned. The Introits are whole Psalms. The Collects, Epistles, and Gospels of the Temporale are for the most part those of the Sarum Missal, only nine of the Collects being new. Some of the Epistles and Gospels are lengthened or shortened, and a few changed. In the Sanctorale fourteen of the collects are new, replacing collects which were rather monotonous petitions for the help and merits and intercessions of the saints. (1)

At the Mass the priest is to wear a plain alb with a vestment or cope, and the other ministers are to wear albs and tunics. Some authorities hold that this rubric regarding "vestment" enjoins the practice of wearing chasuble, stole, and maniple; others merely the chasuble. (2)

The structure of the Mass remains unchanged; but of the private prayers of the ministers, all that remains are the Lord's Prayer and the Collect to be said during the singing of the Introit. Those at the Offertory, at the Communion, and at the end disappear, along with the Gradual and Alleluia or Tract. All allusion to incense or hand-washing is omitted. The sermon is shifted and now follows the Creed. The structure of the Canon is unaltered, except that one prayer is differently placed. In the Prayer of Consecration Cranmer included an Epiclesis, taken mainly from the Eastern Liturgy of St. Basil. (3)

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1. Brightman and Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 157.

2. Ibid., p. 157.

3. Dearmer, op. cit., p. 68.



All non-Scriptural additions to the record of the Institution are omitted, and elevation is forbidden. Fraction and commixture are omitted, but one of the final rubrics requires that each wafer shall be divided into at least two parts. The Pax Domini is followed by a new feature, a sort of invitation, compiled from I Cor. 5:7,8; Heb. 10:10; I Pet. 2:24; and St. John 1:29. (1) Then comes the Order of Communion from "You that do truly" down to the administration of the Chalice, with little change. During the Communion the Agnus Dei was sung, and after the Communion is sung or said one of a series of verses from the New Testament, called the post-Communion.

After the Blessing are a number of rubrics. It is permitted to omit the Gloria in Excelsis, Creed, Homily and Exhortation on weekdays and at celebrations for the sick. On Wednesdays and Fridays the Litany is required to be used. Some people are to communicate with the priest at every Mass. Everyone is to resort to his parish church for divine service and then to communicate once a year at least and "receive all other sacraments and rites" appointed in the Book, on pain of excommunication or such other punishment as the ecclesiastical judge shall inflict. Lastly, the people were directed to receive the Sacrament of Christ's Body in their mouths, not in their hands.

The Litany is the same as that of 1544, except that the invocations of the saints and three of the final prayers are omitted.

The Administration of Public Baptism is revised and greatly

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1. Brightman and Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 159.



simplified from that of the Sarum Rite. The influence of the Albertine-Saxon Order of 1540 and of Hermann's work is evident throughout. (1) A revised order for Private Baptism with proper directions and rubrics is also given.

Confirmation wherein is contained a Catechism for children opens with a note to the effect that it is thought good that none hereafter shall be confirmed unless he can say the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in English, and can answer the questions of the Catechism. The Catechism is exceptional in omitting any treatment of the Sacraments, and in leaving so much, through its extreme conciseness, to be developed by the catechist. The influence of Hermann's works is again evident here. (2)

The Form and Solemnization of Matrimony is that of the Sarum with alterations, some of which are derived from Hermann and some through Hermann from Luther. (3)

In the Order for the Visitation of the Sick and the Communion of the Same the Sarum order is revised and shortened, and material from Hermann is again substituted in several places. Unction is to be administered if the sick person desire it, but the form is simplified. The preliminary rubrics of The Communion of the Sick reproduce in substance those of the Lutheran Order of Electoral Brandenburg, 1540. (4) Reservation is practiced. In celebrating in the house of the sick, it is directed that the people present shall communicate with the priest and

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1. Brightman and Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 160.
  2. Ibid., p. 162.
  3. Ibid., p. 163.
  4. Ibid., p. 164.



sick person.

The Order of the Burial of the Dead consists of the Procession, the Burial, an Office of the Dead, and the Mass. It is an office of great simplicity and of reasonable length in comparison to the immensely long obsequies of the Sarum Manual.

The Order of the Purification of Women is a translation of the Sarum Order.

The section which is headed The first day of Lent commonly called Ash-Wednesday is the penitential office of Ash-Wednesday in the Sarum Missal, also known as Commination. (1)

The dissertation Of Ceremonies Why some be abolished and some retained follows here, and the book ends with Certain notes for the more plain explanation and decent administration of things, contained in this book. The first note orders the surplice and allows the hood for Mattins, Evensong, Baptizing, and Burying. The second note appoints the rochet, surplice or alb, cope or vestment, and the pastoral staff for the Bishop. The third is - "As touching kneeling, crossing, holding up of hands, knocking upon the breast, and other gestures: they may be used or left as every man's devotion serveth without blame." (2) The fourth allows the singing of an anthem instead of the Litany on the Great Feasts; and the fifth gives the curate discretion to omit the Litany, Gloria in Excelsis, Creed, Homily, and Exhortation, "if there be a sermon, or for other great cause."

An interesting note is appended after the statement of printer, place and date. The "ceiling price" for the book was given by order of

1. Brightman and Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 166.

2. First Prayer Book of Edward VI, op. cit., p. 268.



the king. The new book, as a substitute for the old range of liturgical books, was designed to be a light drain on the parish funds. In those days a Manuale and Processionale together would cost seven shillings. The old Missal cost more than double that amount. The Prayer Book took the place of these and of several other books too. In order to prevent opposition to the requirement of the book's purchase, the king kept the price as low as possible. The book was printed in black only and on cheap paper. "The king's majesty," read the proclamation, "strictly chargeth and commandeth that no manner of person do sell this present book unbound above the price of 2 shillings and 2 pence the piece. And the same book in paste or in boards not above the price of three shillings and eight pence the piece." (1)

#### D. The Reception of the First Prayer Book.

Despite the fact that the Act of Uniformity made the Use of the Prayer Book obligatory to all priests, many did not use it, or, if they did, they revised it to their own tastes. A new visitation was therefore projected, and articles were drawn up revoking some of the Injunctions of 1547. The two altar lights were no longer sanctioned, it was forbidden "to counterfeit the popish Mass", and not more than one mass was to be celebrated on days other than Christmas and Easter. (2)

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1. Ketley, Joseph, (editor), *The Two Liturgies, A. D. 1549 and A. D. 1552*, with documents set forth by Authority in the reign of King Edward VI, edited for the Parker Society, University Press, Cambridge, 1844, p. 158.

2. Brightman and Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 168.



On Christmas Day, 1549, an order was issued that all of the old ritual books should be destroyed. The Pontificals, however, were not included in this order, since they were still needed for the rites of ordination which were not provided in the new book. This lack was soon supplied. By March a Form and Manner of Making and Consecrating Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and other Ministers was published. These rites were undoubtedly compiled by Cranmer, who was influenced by suggestions of Martin Bucer of Strassburg. (1)

There was <sup>also</sup> popular dissatisfaction with the new Book ~~else~~. The rebellions of 1549, if at bottom agrarian, were partly occasioned by the situation created by the new Book. This is specially true of the rising in Devon and Cornwall, the first program of which demanded the restoration of the old rites and an indiscriminate return to the conditions of the latter years of Henry VIII. (2)

It is probable that the Book of 1549 was never satisfactory to Cranmer, that he regarded it as a temporary compromise, and only waited for further innovations. (3) In this period reformed opinions, originating in Switzerland and southern Germany, were being diffused in England. There was an influx of continental refugees from the pressure which culminated in the Interim of 1548. From Strassburg Peter Martyr was welcomed in 1548 and Bucer in 1549. Others were Valerand Pullain, a successor of Calvin in Strassburg, and John Laski of Emden. Englishmen who had been abroad returned, Coverdale from the Rhenish Palatinate, and Hooper from Zurich. The relaxation of censorship also made it possible for a

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1. Brightman and Mackenzie, op. cit., pp. 169-171.

2. Ibid., p. 168

3. Ibid., p. 171.



flood of foreign reformed works to come into England. More and more the thought of the land was being turned into reformed channels. (1)

As early as 1548, Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's, two months after his consecration by the bishops of the Windsor Commission at Chertsey, preached at Paul's Cross, "not in his habit of a bishop, but like a priest, and he spoke against all manner of things of the church and the sacrament of the altar, and vestments, copes, altars, with all other things." (2) In the Lent of 1550 Hooper, preaching before the king, expressed his no doubt representative criticism of the Book of 1549. He said he would have the magistrate "shut up the partition called the chancel" and "Turn all altars into tables"; "the memory of the dead should be left out"; "sitting" at communion "were best"; the priest "should give the bread and not thrust it into the receiver's mouth"; and in Baptism whatever is added to "pure water", "oil, salt, cross, lights, and such other should be abolished." In the Ordinal he "wonders" at the "oath by the saints"; at the requirement that the candidates wear albs; and asks "where and of whom they have learned that he that is called to the ministry of God's word should hold the bread and chalice in one hand and the book in the other", referring to the ordination ceremony. (3) With the moderate and cautious spirit of Archbishop Cranmer, Hooper had no sympathy. "He was the leader of an agitation that, within two years of the authorization of the Prayer Book, secured the appointment of a committee for its revision." (4) "He was the moving spirit behind the

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1. Brightman and Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

4. Beckett, W. H., *The English Reformation of the Sixteenth Century*, The Religious Tract Society, London, 1890, p. 203.



fanaticism against ecclesiastical habits." (1)

In the summer of 1550 Ridley also was carrying things with a high hand, and in spite of the Book ordered the destruction of altars throughout the diocese of London. In this he was supported by Northumberland and the Council, who in a letter from the king, dated November 24, 1550, proceeded to order the same throughout the kingdom. This measure was plainly an attempt to pacify the radical elements, but it did not accomplish that end. (2) It is evident that Cramer felt it necessary to calm such objectors, however unreasonable they might be, in order to save the English Church from utter disruption. Consequently, towards the end of 1550 the Archbishop wrote to Martin Bucer, who had been appointed Divinity Professor at Cambridge, desiring his opinion of the Book. In order that Bucer might study it more easily, the Book was translated into Latin for his use. His opinion was published in a letter to Archbishop Cranmer, which is commonly spoken of as the Censura of Martin Bucer.

In his Censura Bucer began by stating that in the description of the Communion and the daily prayers he saw nothing enjoined in the Book but what was agreeable to the word of God, either in word, as in the Psalms and Lessons, or in the sense, as in the Collects. But he desired alterations in respect to the following matters: There should be stricter discipline to exclude scandalous livers from the sacrament; the old habits (i.e., vestments) should be laid aside; the first half of the Communion

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1. Burbridge, op. cit., p. 103.

2. Maxwell, William D., *An Outline of Christian Worship - Its Development and Forms*, Oxford University Press, London, 1936, p. 148.



Service should not be said at the altar when there is no sacrament; the frequency of communion should be increased; distinct reading of prayers should be practiced; the Sacrament should be delivered into the hands of the people; prayers for the dead should be given up; and the prayer that the elements might be unto us the body and blood of Christ should be varied so as to bring it nearer to a scriptural form. (1)

It appears from the Censura that the revision had already been begun, since Bucer implores that some alterations which appear in the Book of 1552 should not be made. (2) Peter Martyr also wrote a criticism on the basis of an inadequate Latin version of the book, but on learning more of it from the Censura he adopted Bucer's criticisms and added a few other objections. (3)

#### E. The Second Prayer Book, 1552.

And so in 1551 under pressure from all sides, the king caused "the order of common service, entitled The Book of Common Prayer, to be faithfully and Godly perused, explained, and made fully perfect, by a great many bishops and others of the best learned within the realm appointed for that purpose." (4) It is evident that the objections of the foreign Protestants, especially Bucer and Martyr, had great might in urging the king and the Privy Council to appoint a commission for this purpose. (5) It is singular that little is known about the members of it.

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1. Burbidge, op. cit., pp. 164-165.
  2. Brightman and Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 172.
  3. Ibid., p. 173.
  4. The Act of Uniformity, 5 and 6, Edw. VI, cap. 1. - quoted in Brightman and Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 174.
  5. Burbidge, op. cit., p. 165.



We are certain only of Cranmer, Ridley, and Peter Martyr. (1)

Parliament made little difficulty about passing the statute which embodied the revised book, since the natural leaders of the opposition, Gardiner, Bonner, Heath, Day, and Tunstall, were all in prison. By April 14, 1552, The Second Act of Uniformity had passed through both houses. (2) There is some debate, however, whether or not the Second Book was passed by Convocation. It seems quite certain that the lower house definitely did not sanction the liturgical changes which were enacted. (3)

The main motive in the Second Act of Uniformity seems to have been to satisfy the reformed enthusiasts, but it is also evident that there was a deliberate intention of making the position of conservatives like Gardiner impossible. The very things which seemed to make the First Prayer Book acceptable disappeared in the Second. Two such deletions were the statement that "the whole body of our Savior Jesus Christ" is received in each fragment of the Sacrament, and the prayer that the bread and wine "may be unto us the body and blood of Christ." (4)

The effect of the revision may be summarized as follows: -

The recitation of the Divine Service was made obligatory on all priests. The titles of the offices were changed to Morning and Evening Prayer, and minor changes were made in their order.

The Communion Service has a new title, The Order for the Admin-

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1. Cranmer's Letter, dated October 7, 1552, contained in Henry Gee's Elizabethan Prayer Book and Its Ornaments, with an appendix of Documents, Macmillan and Company, London, 1902, p. 225.
  2. Brightman and Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 174.
  3. Ibid., p. 174.
  4. Ibid., p. 175.



istration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion. The word Mass disappears. "Table" is substituted for Altar. The Introit and various salutations are also dropped. In the place of the Kyries the recitation of the Ten Commandments with "Lord, have mercy upon us and incline our hearts to keep this law" as a response was substituted for them. At the same time the ancient hymn, Glory Be To God On High, was transferred to the very end of the service. In the prayer of Consecration the invocation of the Holy Spirit (Epiclesis), the crossings, and the manual acts are all removed. The bread is delivered into the hand.

In the Book of 1549 exorcism, anointing with oil, reserving the Sacrament for the sick, and prayers for the souls of the departed were recognized; but in the Book of 1552 they are omitted. In the Baptismal service the anointing, the chrisom-vesture, and the triple repetition of the immersion were removed. In 1549 the sign of the cross was directed to be used in the consecration of the elements and in the services of Confirmation, Marriage, and Visitation of the Sick; in 1552 no such directions occur. Further signs of the anti-Roman views of the revisors may be seen in the rubric respecting clerical vestments. A surplice is to be the only vestment worn by the priest or deacon, and a rochet by the archbishop or bishop. Albs and copes are expressly forbidden. (1) The great doctrinal alteration in the Second Book referred to the presence of Christ in the Eucharist. "In the Book of 1549 the

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1. Compare First Prayer Book of Edward VI, op. cit., with the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI, (same publisher). Also confer Beckett, op. cit., p. 205; Brightman and Mackenzie, op. cit., pp. 175-178; Daniel, op. cit., pp. 36-38; Burbidge, op. cit., pp. 169-172.



Communion Service had been so constructed as to be consistent with the belief of a real or perhaps a substantial and corporal presence. But the alterations in 1552 were such as to authorize and foster the belief that the consecrated elements had no new virtues imparted to them, and that Christ was present in the Eucharist in no other manner than he is ever present to the prayers of the faithful." (1)

Of especial interest in this connection is the so-called Black Rubric, inserted by the king in the Book five days before it was to come into use, because of the protests of John Knox and others concerning kneeling when receiving the Sacrament. This Black Rubric declared that by the requirement to kneel "it is not meant.....that any adoration is done or ought to be done, either unto the Sacramental bread or wine, there bodily received, or unto any real and essential presence of our Lord in the Sacrament of the Altar." (2) This amounted to an absolute denial of the real presence of our Lord in the Sacrament of the Altar.

That the radical reformers were not even satisfied with the new edition of 1552 is evident from the Black Rubric which was added after the Book was printed. The irritation of Cranmer at these men is indicated in a letter of his to the Council, dated October 7, 1552. In this he says: "I trust ye will not be moved by these glorious and unquiet spirits, which can like nothing but that is after their our fancy, and cease not to make trouble and disquietness when things be most quiet and in good order. If such men should be heard, although the Book were

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1. Procter, Francis, A History of the Book of Common Prayer, Macmillan and Company, London, 1892, pp. 36-38.

2. The Second Prayer Book of King Edward VI, (reprinted from a copy in the British Museum), Griffith, Farren, Okeden, and Welsh, London, n.d., p. 172.



made every year anew, yet should it not lack faults in their opinion." (1)

It is not possible to say how long this Second Book would have continued had Edward VI lived longer. He died in 1553, and Mary, an ardent Romanist, came to the throne. She restored the old Latin services, sent the reforming bishops into exile or to the stake, and formally reconciled the kingdom to Rome. By her First Act of Repeal on December 20, 1553, such divine services and administration as were most commonly used in the last year of Henry VIII were to be restored.

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1. Burbidge, op. cit., p. 168.



A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE ORDER OF THE HOLY COMMUNION

IN THE TWO PRAYER BOOKS OF EDWARD VI

THE BOOK OF 1549

Lord's Prayer.  
Collect for Purity.

Introit.

Gloria Patri.  
The Kyrie.  
The Gloria in Excelsis.  
Salutation.  
Collect for the Day.  
Collect for the King.  
The Epistle.  
The Gospel.  
Gloria Tibi.  
The Nicene Creed.  
The Sermon or Homily.  
The Exhortation.

The Offertory.

Salutation.

Sursum Corda.  
The Preface, (five proper).  
The Sanctus.  
Prayer for the Church Militant.  
Commemoration of Saints and  
prayer for departed.  
Prayer of Consecration.  
Prayer for the Holy Spirit.  
Words of Institution.  
(Priest taking the bread into  
his hands, and cup.)  
Memorial of the Passion.  
"Mercifully accept this our  
sacrifice."  
Lord's Prayer, with short preface.  
The Pax Domini.  
Christ Our Paschal Lamb.  
Invitation, Confession, Absolution,  
the Comfortable Words.

THE BOOK OF 1552

Lord's Prayer.  
Collect for Purity.

Ten Commandments and Responses.

Collect for the Day.  
Collect for the King.  
The Epistle.  
The Gospel.

The Nicene Creed.  
The Sermon or Homily.

The Offertory.  
Prayer for Church Militant.  
Exhortation.

Invitation, Confession,  
Absolution.  
The Comfortable Words.  
Sursum Corda.  
The Preface, (five proper).  
The Sanctus  
Prayer of Humble Access.  
Prayer of Consecration, containing  
the Commemoration of Sacrifice  
of Death of Christ; and the Words  
of Institution.  
(No manual acts mentioned)



THE BOOK OF 1549

Prayer of Humble Access.  
The Agnus Dei, during the  
distribution.

Sentences of Holy Scripture, one  
daily.

Salutation.  
Thanksgiving.

The Blessing.

THE BOOK OF 1552

The Distribution.

Lord's Prayer.

Post-Communion Prayer or  
Thanksgiving.

The Gloria in Excelsis.  
The Blessing.



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