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### An Historical Study of the Lutheran Sources of the Book of Common Prayer of 1549

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AN HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE VARIANTS OF THE  
OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYERS IN 1760

**SHORT TITLE**

**LITURGICAL SOURCES - COMMON PRAYER BOOK**

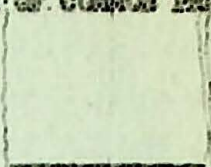
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of Theological Studies, W. 1960  
Department of Theological Studies  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Master of Divinity

by  
**WALTER A. FRANKLIN**

1960

Approved by Walter A. Franklin  
Dean of Theology

AN HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE LUTHERAN SOURCES  
OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER OF 1549



A Thesis Presented to the Faculty  
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,  
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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The phrase "common prayers" was used in the middle of the sixteenth century to signify what we call "public worship." It was in the public worship, particularly the celebration of the Eucharist, that the common man felt the spiritual bond between himself and the rest of the Church. It was in "common prayer" that the individual realized the catholicity of his faith. But by the end of the first quarter of that eventful century, the mighty tocsin of reform had sounded from the European continent, and that catholicity was threatened. The reforming voice of Martin Luther had caught the listening ear of all Europe, and England was forced to listen and to act. What started out to be a political maneuver on the part of King Henry VIII soon became outright religious reform. Once the papal supremacy was denied, together with most of the other excesses of Rome, it became imperative for the Church in England to reform from the ground up. The unity was broken. New unifying principles, apart from those that had existed for centuries before, had to be found. In the minds of the English Reformers, aside from the supremacy of the English King over the Church, it seemed that public worship, common prayer, was the most important of these unifying principles. That this principle might be realized in the lives of all Englishmen, uniform liturgical reform was inaugurated in 1549. In that year the first Book of Common Prayer was made the binding principle in liturgical worship by an Act of Uniformity. It is still that today. Luther Reed says that the Common Prayer Book "has been for centuries



a factor second only to the episcopacy itself in unifying and perpetuating the Church of England and the Anglican Communion."<sup>1</sup>

The Book of Common Prayer was not a new form of worship in the sense that the formulas and rubrics indicated were novelties. We might say, rather, that it was a translation and compilation of some of the best (and some inferior, too) of the ancient service books of the Catholic Church. The same could be said for those books that were being used in the Lutheran Church in Germany at that time. The problems of liturgical reform for both the Continental Reformers and those in England were virtually the same. According to Henry Eyster Jacobs, there were three tasks which the reformers of liturgical usages had to perform. They were

1. Translate the service.
2. Correct the Roman errors by omission and amendment.
3. Supplement what was lacking (Reintroduction of good older forms; inserting changes, etc.).<sup>2</sup>

In respect to these three tasks the Lutheran Reformation led the field, so to speak. This was only natural, since the Reform Movement had started in Germany. And it was only natural, too, that the leaders of liturgical reform in England should look to the Continental Reformers for guidance in carrying out their service reforms.

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<sup>1</sup>Luther D. Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, c.1947), p. 127.

<sup>2</sup>Henry Eyster Jacobs, The Lutheran Movement in England (Revised edition; Philadelphia: General Council Publication House, 1916), p. 220.



The question is, of course, how much influence did the German Reformers exercise over the English? Were their principles of liturgical reform the same? It will be the purpose of this research to try to discover just how much the Reformers in England depended on the influence of Lutheran reform; how much they actually took over into the Book of Common Prayer from the German service books. It cannot be denied that the Lutheran Reformation exerted a tremendous influence in England. Was this merely a political influence? Or did Lutheran theology penetrate deeply into the English system at that time?

We live in a time when there is a resurgence of historical interest in this climactic period of the world's history. Scholars are realizing the importance of re-examining the basic principles, methods, and conclusions of the Reformation. Parallel with this is a renewed interest in the liturgy of the Church. If we take seriously the fact that the external Church's unity has been broken; if we take seriously the fact that this unity should be desired; if we realize that this unity cannot be forced, but must be validated by a common history, a common purpose, and a common belief, then, if this research does what it sets out to do, its importance will at once be obvious. The study of history can, in no small way, enlarge our understanding of those not in agreement with us, eliminate prejudices and preconceived notions, and help set the stage, if possible, of any reunification, in the future.

This paper will be limited to a discussion of the <sup>1</sup>First Common Book of Prayer of 1549, under the reign of Edward VI. The succeeding Books were basically the same as the first one, with a few additions or changes. However, the changes that were made in later books



profoundly affected the doctrine contained therein; a discussion of these changes, therefore, will be in order. This is particularly true in the case of the form for Holy Communion; the first Book presents a decidedly Lutheran view, while the later Books definitely manifested a Reformed interpretation. Each part of the Book of Common Prayer will be examined insofar as it can be determined that it exhibits some sort of Lutheran influence, either directly or through other sources.

It will be necessary for the purposes of this paper to include a short summary of English reform history up to the publication of the First Prayer Book and shortly thereafter, together with a brief sketch of the important men involved in its production. It will also be necessary to include a chapter on the main sources of the Prayer Book exclusive of the Lutheran, since the Lutheran sources, in many instances, are more nebulous than other sources. This will be followed by a chapter on the actual Lutheran influence with reference to the men and events involved in the production of the Prayer Book. Such things as the tracing of German influence on English Bible translations will also be included in this chapter. In the succeeding chapter a comparison of the main Lutheran Orders with the forms used in the Prayer Book will prove the direct influence of the Continental Reformers on their brethren in England. Finally, we shall have to discuss the elimination of Lutheran elements in subsequent editions of the Prayer Book, with special reference to the Order of Holy Communion. Any attempt at ecumenicity will necessitate a summary of the doctrinal divergence of two church bodies in reference to their confessional or devotional literature; and the Book of Common Prayer is both of these.



For the historical events surrounding the production of the First Book of Common Prayer, this writer has relied mainly on Thomas Lindsey's A History of the Reformation; from the strictly Lutheran point of view, Henry Eyster Jacobs' The Lutheran Movement in England furnishes much valuable information. The eminent English scholar F. E. Brightman in the preface to his two-volume work, The English Rite is, of course, the last word on comparative studies of sources of the Prayer Book. This is supplemented by Francis Procter's A New History of the Book of Common Prayer and Leighton Pullan's The History of the Book of Common Prayer, both admirable in their scholarship. Luther Reed's The Lutheran Liturgy is valuable in pointing out the importance of the Prayer Book for us today. Gasquet and Bishop's Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer was used to some extent; but, although scholarly, it is quite biased in that it seeks to show that the Prayer Book is heretical.

This study found that the Lutheran sources of the Book of Common Prayer were many and varied. In some instances, the influence was quite direct; a Lutheran form was translated and simply incorporated into the English rite. A notable example of this is Luther's Litany. Generally, however, the influences seemed to be more vague. It is this writer's conclusion that it was not the direct perusal and requisitioning of the German forms that so much influenced English reform along Lutheran lines; rather, it was the Lutheran insistence, by pure example, on the value of remaining liturgically within the framework of the historic Church that bore so much fruit in the Anglican Communion.



## CHAPTER II

### PRELIMINARY HISTORICAL SURVEY

#### The Reign of Henry VIII

Henry VIII ascended the English throne in 1509. He was not quite eighteen when his father's death made him king. During his long reign (Henry died on Jan. 28, 1547) England was to witness their sovereign's indiscreet matrimonial affairs, his political maneuverings, and his break with the papacy. These events were all connected with the Reform Movement in England. The spirit of reform, stemming from the Continent, was in the air.

Not that there had been no attempts for reform made in England long before Henry's reign. We have only to think of John Wyclif and the Lollard Movement as an illustration of these attempts. Lollardy had never completely died out. It persisted, chiefly among the poor and often in outward conformity with the Church. The Lollards maintained that the giving of tithes (as were then being exacted) was not sanctioned by the law of God; they protested the hierarchical constitution of the church; they read the Scriptures and had the service in the vernacular; Wyclif himself denounced the Papal Supremacy on the ground that it did political harm to the English people.<sup>1</sup> Even as far back as the beginning of the fourteenth century, Thomas of Bradwardin had complained of the inroads of forms of Pelagianism and called for a

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<sup>1</sup>Thomas M. Lindsay, A History of the Reformation (2nd Edition; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1908), II, 316-8.



return to Augustinianism.<sup>2</sup> The so-called "New Learning" was creeping into the country. Christian Humanism, sponsored by such men as Tyndale and Sir Thomas More, began questioning the doctrines and practices of the Church. Erasmus was appointed Professor of Divinity and Greek at the University of Cambridge.<sup>3</sup> England was ripe for what was to follow.

Above all, Luther's writings began to pour into the country. The Universities, in particular, were being infected with the idea of reform. Already in March, 1521, Archbishop Warham wrote to Wolsey (then Primate of England), complaining of the situation at Oxford.<sup>4</sup> Men like Thomas Bilney, a young scholar at Cambridge, took up the Movement. He, in turn, "converted" Hugh Latimer who, in 1524, had been a bitter zealot against Lutheranism. There were others: John Nicholas (alias Lambert), Thomas Arthur, Robert Barnes, Skip, Ridley, and Haynes; in all, twenty-seven men banded together at Cambridge and formed a sort of club; they were called "Germany" by their scornful fellow-students. All this shows that England was keeping abreast of what was happening on the Continent.<sup>5</sup> Reform was ripening, but still it was not yet time. Jacobs aptly puts it this way: "The Church of England of 1525 was not prepared for what suited admirably an audience in Wittenberg in 1521."<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Henry Lyster Jacobs, The Lutheran Movement in England (Revised edition; Philadelphia: General Council Publication House, 1916), p. 3.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. ibid., p. 4, and Lindsay, op. cit., II, 319.

<sup>4</sup>Jacobs, op. cit., p. 5.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 1-13.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 12.



Henry VIII's impending divorce of Catherine of Aragon was the spark that set the fire for the eventual breach of the King with Rome. It is true, Henry had defended Rome in 1521 and had written against Luther. But this was for political reasons. And times were changing. Henry had no male heir by Catherine, and by this time she had become too old to give him one. His only apparent solution was to divorce Catherine and marry someone else. But the pope objected to this procedure, principally because he feared Charles V, the nephew of Catherine. Endless negotiations were carried on between Henry and the pope, all without success. Finally, Henry decided to take matters into his own hands. Wolsey, who had previously twice been assured of the papacy by the college of Cardinals had failed as the King's minister in the negotiations with Rome, and was dismissed and died in 1530. Thomas Cranmer was called from Germany to succeed to the See of Canterbury. In this capacity he declared Henry's marriage null and void on May 23, 1533.<sup>7</sup>

Events for reform, at least political reform, moved rapidly from then on. On May 15, 1532, the Convocation met and practically declared that the Church of England could neither make any rules for its own guidance without the King's permission, nor act according to the common law of the medieval Church when that, in the King's opinion, invaded the royal prerogative.<sup>8</sup> And on March 30, 1534, Parliament, acting on the submission of the clergy, passed an Act prohibiting all appeals to Rome from the Archbishop's Court, and ordering that, if any appeals

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 39-43.

<sup>8</sup>Lindsay, op. cit., II, 328.



were taken, they must be to the King's court of Chancery. This was the celebrated Act of Restraint of Appeals.<sup>9</sup> Further Acts of the 1534 Parliament, according to Lindsay, were these:

1. Forbidding payment of the annates.
2. Forbidding payment of Peter's Pence to the Pope.
3. The Act of Succession. The nullity of the marriage of Catherine to Henry was declared, and, thereby, Anne Boleyn's child was to become heir.
4. The Act of Supremacy. This made the English King supreme head of the English Church. (In 1535 Henry announced himself as "in terra supremum capit Anglicanae ecclesiae" and a royal proclamation erased the Pope's name from all the service books.)
5. The Treason Act. It was accounted as treason not to call the King head of the English Church or a heretic.<sup>10</sup>

One more thing was needed to complete the break from Rome. Thomas Cromwell was appointed Vicar-General, that is, vice-regent for the King in all ecclesiastical matters, outranking even the Archbishop of Canterbury. This resembled the former Papal legate's job. Henry had firmly established himself as head of the English Church.<sup>11</sup>

Now, however, a complication arose. Because of his divorce of Catherine, Henry feared an attack of Charles V and approached the Lutheran Smalcaldic League for an alliance. But they insisted as the first articles of any alliance that the English Church and King must accept the theology of the Augsburg Confession and adopt the ceremonies of the Lutheran Church. Henry refused to do this, and the League asked

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., II, 329.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., II, 331.

<sup>11</sup>cf. ibid., II, 332, and Jacobs, op. cit., p. 50.



him for a confession of his own. Henry then formulated the so-called Ten Articles, the first doctrinal symbol of the Church of England.

Besides the political angle, there was another cause for the formulation of the Ten Articles. As a result of the break with Rome great disorder ("heresy") had broken out in the Church of England. The leaders of the Church asked the King to have some standard laid down for the confession and the government of the Church of England. The Ten Articles were prepared with the Augsburg Confession, the Apology, and certain articles Melancthon had prepared against the Anabaptists as groundwork.<sup>12</sup>

Lindsay says of them:

It should be noted that while the three Sacraments of Baptism, the Eucharist, and Penance are retained, no mention is made of the other four, and this is not unlike what Luther taught in the Babylonian Captivity of the Church of Christ; that while the Real Presence is maintained, nothing is said about Transubstantiation; that while images are retained in Churches, all incensing, kneeling, or offerings to images is forbidden; that while saints and the Virgin may be invoked as intercessors, it is said that it is a vain superstition to believe that any saint can be more merciful than Christ Himself; and that the whole doctrine of Attrition and Indulgences is paralysed by the statement that amendment of life is a necessary part of Penance.<sup>13</sup>

The same author tells us that these Ten Articles were "an attempt to construct a brief creed which a pliant Lutheran and a pliant Romanist might agree upon," and that "Toxe the Martyrologist describes them very accurately as meant for 'weaklings newly weaned from their mother's milk of Rome.'"<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup>Jacobs, op. cit., pp. 88-96.

<sup>13</sup>Lindsay, op. cit., II, 334.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., II, 333, 335.



The negotiations of Henry with the Protestant princes in the years 1535-1536 failed. But a new danger arose when Pope Paul III and France made an alliance and threatened to attack Henry. The negotiations with the German princes were, therefore, again renewed in 1538. These, too, failed. But out of these negotiations came the Thirteen Articles which resulted in the Forty-two Articles of Religion of 1552 and the Thirty-nine Articles of 1563.<sup>15</sup>

But soon the pendulum was to swing to the other side. In 1539 what were known as the Six Articles were passed by Parliament in the presence and under the authority of Henry, and over the opposition of Cranmer. Latourette says,

They were much closer to the Catholic position than were the Ten Articles, for they came out flatly for transubstantiation, against the necessity of communion in both kinds, for the celibacy of the clergy, for the observance of vows of chastity taken by men or women, for private masses, and for auricular confession.<sup>16</sup>

These Six Articles (Act of Six Statutes) became known as "the bloody whip with six strings," and it made Lutherans liable to capital punishment. It was determined to enforce rigidly the Six Articles. But two things worked against it: (1) University students in the main were on the evangelical side; (2) the English Bible was making its influence felt throughout the entire kingdom.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, Cromwell was able to hinder its practical application for a time. But he was executed

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<sup>15</sup>F. E. Brightman, The English Rite (London: Rivingtons, 1915), I, lvi.

<sup>16</sup>Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of Christianity (New York: Harper & Brothers, c.1953), p. 804.

<sup>17</sup>Jacobs, op. cit., p. 190.



July 28, 1539. Two days later the Lutherans, Barnes, Garret, and Jerome were burnt at Smithfield.<sup>18</sup>

We shall pursue other events in Henry's reform in the succeeding sections of this chapter.

### The Reign of Edward VI

Henry VIII was succeeded by the son, Edward VI, whom his third wife, Jane Seymour, had borne to him. Edward was only nine years of age when he came to the throne and, always frail of body, died in 1553, when he was not yet sixteen. Naturally, the policies during his reign were largely determined by his seniors. First to rule was his mother's brother, Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford. He was followed in two and a half years by John Dudley, Earl of Warwick and then Duke of Northumberland.<sup>19</sup>

The early days of Edward's reign were transitional ones in the area of reform. At the opening of the Parliament and Convocation of 1547, the first Parliament of Edward VI, the mass was sung before the lords in the English tongue. Gasquet and Bishop claim that "this was undoubtedly the most important liturgical innovation yet attempted."<sup>20</sup> At the same Parliament the Council passed a resolution to administer

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<sup>18</sup>Lindsay, *op. cit.*, II, 348-9.

<sup>19</sup>Latourette, *op. cit.*, p. 805.

<sup>20</sup>Aidan Cardinal Gasquet and Edmund Bishop, Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer (Revised edition; London: Sheed and Ward, 1928), p. 37.



the Sacrament in both kinds. It was discovered that Henry's will contemplated even further reforms. Thus, a series of Injunctions were issued from the Council to the clergy. The latter were commanded to preach against the Pope's power; abused images were to be destroyed; the Gospels and the Epistles were to be read in English in the services; the Litany was to be said kneeling, not in processions; and, lastly, the Council issued the Twelve Homilies, three of which were composed by Crammer, to guard the people against "rash preaching."<sup>21</sup>

Then, late in 1547, Crammer sent a questionnaire to all the bishops regarding the form of Communion. The outcome of this was the Communion Book, a form for Holy Communion in three or four pages, finished on March 8, 1548.<sup>22</sup>

Further evidence of liturgical reform was seen on May 12, 1548, when the King Henry VII anniversary was kept at Westminster. The Mass was sung in English; the priest left out all the Canon after the Creed except the Pater Noster; and the officiant administered the communion after the King's Book. Gasquet and Bishop have this to say about this service: "The description of this service at Westminster is strikingly like a mass on the model of Luther's so-called 'Latin Mass,' with the addition of the "Order of Communion" (Communion Book) put forth in the previous March."<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>Lindsay, op. cit., II, 352-3.

<sup>22</sup>Gasquet and Bishop, op. cit., p. 61.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 73.



The years 1547 and 1548 were eventful years in the reign of the young King. Crammer was gaining more influence. Through his licensed preachers he used the pulpit as a means for bringing about the changes which he desired. England was certainly not isolated from the religious movements of the times. The popular mind was being stirred up by changes in old established ceremonial by novel introductions into the services. Continental reform literature was being promulgated everywhere. The time had come to issue the authoritative book for the public worship of the Church.

Thomas Crammer had chief charge of producing the new service. When it finally came out, it was brought before the House of Lords for acceptance. (It was in this debate that Crammer disclosed that he had definitely abandoned the theory of Transubstantiation.)<sup>24</sup> It was finally passed on January 21, 1549, and enforced by the Act of Uniformity. This required the Book to be in exclusive use on and after the following Whitsunday (June 9). The earliest known printed copy of the Book is dated March 7, 1549. Five other editions in thirteen impressions were issued the same year.<sup>25</sup>

The next sections will give some details of its production.

#### The Primers

Any historical study of the sources of the Book of Common Prayer should include some mention of the Primers. We shall confine the

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<sup>24</sup>Lindsay, *op. cit.*, II, 357.

<sup>25</sup>Brightman, *op. cit.*, I, lxxviii.



discussion to several of these, notably Marshall's Primer. No one knows just exactly when the first edition of this Primer was issued; quite possibly it was either in the year 1531 or 1534. This was taken from the *Joye Hortulus* of 1530. A second, revised edition of it appeared in 1535. Bishop Hilsey's Primer was revised under the direction of Crammer. King Henry's Primer of 1545 brought to an end the series of Primers of the so-called Old type.<sup>26</sup>

The Marshall Primers owed more than a little to the work of Martin Luther. Though the debt was not acknowledged in the Primers themselves, the clerical authorities of Henry's reign must almost certainly have been aware of the connection. In the 1534 edition of the Primer the indebtedness is more obvious, for in the revision of June, 1535, Marshall often expanded the wording with interpolations of his own. Not much is known of the actual process by which the Lutheran ideas were incorporated into the Primers.<sup>27</sup>

The Preface is an adaptation of Luther's preface to the Bethlichlein. And it is notable that in 1542, when Bishop Bonner drew up a list of forbidden books, he included this preface. Two of Luther's sermons are used, together with parts of the Bethlichlein and the Baustafel (Table of duties); as are also the thirty-first and the

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<sup>26</sup> Francis Procter, A New History of The Book of Common Prayer (Revised and rewritten by Walter Howard Frere; London: Macmillan & Company, Ltd., 1955), pp. 32-41.

<sup>27</sup> Charles C. Butterworth, The English Primers (1529-1545) (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953), p. 279.



fifty-first psalms with expositions by Savonarola, and which Luther had published with a preface in 1523. The Small Catechism of Luther was certainly also used to a large extent. Brightman says that this Primer has a "reformed" tone; that the expositions of the Ten Commandments, Creed, Pater Noster, and the Ave Maria were all derived from Luther's Enchiridion (Latin version of the Betbüchlein).<sup>28</sup> And Butterworth concludes that "Marshall was a staunch Lutheran."<sup>29</sup>

In 1537 the Bishops' Book was published. This contained certain rudiments of Christianity and a Catechism. It was composed mostly by Cramer, with the aid of Fox and others. It included the expositions of the Creed, Commandments and the Lord's Prayer, mostly derived from Luther's Enchiridion through Marshall's Primer. And it certainly owed much in plan and content to the Augsburg Confession and the Apology. It taught that faith was necessary for justification, and purgatory was stoutly denied; however, seven sacraments are mentioned. Jacobs says of it: "Although still retaining some Romish elements, it was a great triumph for the Lutheran side." The last revision of it by King Henry in 1543 became known as the King's Book.<sup>30</sup>

#### The Authors

There is no direct evidence for the commissioning of the Book of Common Prayer. Procter tells us that in September, 1548, a number of

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., pp. 279-85.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 67.

<sup>30</sup>Cf. Jacobs, op. cit., pp. 104-5; Lindsay, op. cit., II, 336-7; Brightman, op. cit., I, liv, lv; and Luther D. Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, c.1947), p. 133.



bishops and divines were assembled at Chertsey and at Windsor for the settlement of liturgical questions.<sup>31</sup> They were Archbishop Cramer, Bishops Ridley of Rochester, Holbeach of Lincoln, Thirlby of Westminster, and Goodrich of Ely; Drs. May, Dean of St. Paul's, Haynes (or Haynes), Dean of Exeter, Robertson, afterwards Dean of Durham, and Redman, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.<sup>32</sup> Gasquet and Bishop state that Fuller, in his Church History of 1657, gives these compilers: the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Ely, Rochester, Lincoln, Westminster, Hereford, and Chichester, and the doctors May, Cox, Taylor, Haines, Robertson, and Redman; in all, Cramer with twelve others.<sup>33</sup> Reed gives us his listing:

Archbishop Cramer was the leading spirit of the commission which prepared the Book of Common Prayer. Bishops Ridley, Holbeach, Thirlby, and Goodrich, and Drs. May, Haynes, Robertson, and Redman are supposed to have collaborated, but the archbishop was the master-craftsman of the group.<sup>34</sup>

It must be agreed that Cramer was the master-craftsman of this so-called Windsor Commission. Parsons and Jones comment on this:

a group of bishops and other scholars had conferred and assisted in the draft: but the plan and most of the execution were unquestionably Cramer's. His was the guiding and deciding hand, his the consistent mold of doctrine, his the masterly distinction of style which no subsequent pen has been able to equal, and which ranks his Prayer Book with the greatest liturgies of all time.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>Lindsay, *op. cit.*, II, 357 says that according to the King's record the divines met at Windsor, and according to the Grey Friars Chronicle they met at Chertsey Abbey.

<sup>32</sup>Procter, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-50.

<sup>33</sup>Gasquet and Bishop, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-6.

<sup>34</sup>Reed, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

<sup>35</sup>Edward Lanbe Parsons and Bayard Hale Jones, The American Prayer Book (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937), p. 33.



In closing this chapter it would be well to sketch briefly the life of this "guiding and deciding hand" of the Prayer Book. Cramer was born in Nottingham on July 2, 1489. He was sent to Cambridge at the age of fourteen and stayed there until he was twenty-two. There he studied scholasticism. After 1511 he fell under the influence of Erasmus. After reading Luther, he studied Scripture for three solid years and received his Doctor of Divinity degree in 1523. Previous to this he had married, but his wife died. He declined a transfer to Wolsey's new University of Oxford. Henry VIII then assigned him to a home in Durham with Sir Thomas Boleyn. In 1530 he was sent on a mission to France, Italy, and Germany, and became ambassador from England to Germany. While attending the Diet of Ratisbon (Regensburg) he made frequent visits to Nürnberg to confer with the elector of Saxony. It was in Nürnberg that he probably met Lazarus Spengler, who was the deputy from Nürnberg to Augsburg in 1530. He also met such men as Wenceslaus Link, preacher of St. Sebald's Church, John Brentz, and Andreas Osiander, preacher of St. Lorenz Church. He became particularly intimate with Osiander, stayed at Osiander's home, and eventually married Osiander's niece. Even on his first visit to Nürnberg he closely observed and criticized the Order of Service in use. This service was replaced by the Brandenburg-Nürnberg Kirchenordnung, in course of preparation that summer by Brentz and Osiander. It is not improbable that Cramer learned much of the details of the work in progress. Jacobs states that "Cramer's presence in Nürnberg, therefore, was destined to bear rich fruit in England in years to come."<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>36</sup>Jacobs, op. cit., p. 48.



Mary came to the throne on July 5, 1553. On September 14 of that year Cramer was imprisoned in the Tower of London. In all, he made six or seven recantations before he was eventually burned at the stake on March 21, 1556. In the face of death he repudiated his retractions and died a glorious death, praying a most beautiful confession of faith.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>37</sup>Cf. ibid., pp. 43-8 and Carl S. Meyer, "Cramer's Legacy," Concordia Theological Monthly, XXVII (April, 1956), 241-242.



### CHAPTER III

#### MAIN SOURCES OF THE PRAYER BOOK EXCLUSIVE OF THE LUTHERAN

✓ The liturgical reformation in England in 1549 was definitely conservative; that is, Cranmer and his associates certainly wished to retain the old usages as far as that was possible. Their task was, as we said before, to translate these ceremonies, retain what was doctrinally acceptable, correct the Romish errors, and supplement what was lacking.

✓ The principal rite in use in England at the time of the Reformation was the Use of Sarum; this rite was, in effect, the traditional Latin rite. Through the centuries it had developed and maintained a position of leadership among the different Uses. Brightman tells us that the enormous output of Salisbury (Sarum) books indicates the position of the Use of Sarum as the most important and influential of all the English Uses.<sup>1</sup> Of course, local usage was organized into "Uses," which created a situation similar to that in Germany at that time--many and varied uses in the different sections of the country. By the sixteenth century some of these uses had been abandoned. Five important ones, however, still survived. They were the uses of Hereford, York, Lincoln, Bangor, and Salisbury. For our present purposes it will suffice to consider, of the English uses, only the Sarum.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>F. E. Brightman, The English Rite (London: Rivingtons, 1915), I, xvii.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., I, xiii-xviii.



✓ Another "home" source that was used was the Holy Scriptures according to the version of the Great Bible. This, of course, supplies the greatest part of the Book of Common Prayer.

✓ The principal foreign sources, outside of the Lutheran Kirchen-ordnungen, that Cranmer used were the following:

- a. The Mozarabic rite used in Spain, the influence of which is shown in the English Baptismal Office, and perhaps in the Eucharist.
- b. The Greek Liturgy of St. Basil, the influence of which is shown in some words of the Eucharist.
- c. The Greek Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom.
- d. The revised Roman Breviary drawn up by Cardinal Quinones (or Quignon), in order to simplify the daily "divine service," the influence of which is shown in the introduction to the Book of Common Prayer, entitled "Concerning the Service of the Church," and in Matins and Evensong.<sup>3</sup>

We shall now briefly consider some of these principal sources.<sup>4</sup>

It must be remembered that throughout the history of the ancient and medieval Church no single book prescribed the rites of a particular Use. Each particular type of service had its own book. So many and varied were these individual books for the individual offices, that this paper will not attempt to enumerate them. A brief description of the major ones will suffice.

As we have previously stated, the Use of Sarum was a development of the Roman rite. This was the rite that had prevailed in the West since earliest times. It was composed of two groups of books: the

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<sup>3</sup>Leighton Pullan, The History of the Book of Common Prayer (3rd edition; London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1901), p. viii.

<sup>4</sup>The Great Bible will be considered in the following chapter.



Psalterium and Antiphonarius and the Responsoriale, which was known as the Sacramentarium.<sup>5</sup> These books were linked by the so-called Ordo Romanus, which described the manner of execution of the rites. This Roman rite, which we can say, generally, dated back to the time of Gregory the Great, filtered into Gaul in the seventh and eighth centuries. Here it underwent some revision, having come into contact with the Gallican liturgy. The Gallican liturgy was under close scrutiny by the See of Rome, and an effort was made to suppress it. This suppression was a by-product of the political alliance between the Pope and Pepin of the Franks. The attempt was not entirely successful, however, because under Charlemagne a Sacramentary was compiled by his chief minister, Alouin, which, although mostly Gregorian, bore evidence of Gallican influence.<sup>6</sup>

The Roman rite penetrated into Ireland in the eighth century and into Wales and Scotland by the end of the twelfth century. It was known in Spain by the second half of the eleventh century, and by the

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<sup>5</sup>The oldest Sacramentary known is the so-called Sacramentarium Leonianum, which is a collection of prayers for masses throughout the year. It was probably composed in the middle of the sixth century. It is a pure Roman book without any Gallican influence. It covers, however, only the months from April to December, but includes prayers for Ordinations, the ceremony of the Veiling of the Virgins, and the Marriage rite. Another important Sacramentary was the Gelasian, which was considerably de-Romanized, marked by a Gallican influence, and adapted for use in Gaul and the Frankish dominions. It was known among the Frankish writers of the ninth century. Cf. Brightman, op. cit., I, ix-x and Massey Hamilton Shepherd, Jr., The Oxford American Prayer Book Commentary (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950) p. xv.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. ibid., p. xv-xvi and Brightman, op. cit., I, v-viii.



fifteenth century the old Spanish rite had almost disappeared, except for the Mozarabic Use. This Roman rite was brought to England by St. Augustine in the year 597.<sup>7</sup>

The history of the Roman rite from the ninth to the sixteenth centuries is briefly this: Some new books emerged, containing parts of larger books, or new features were added to the rite, or there were developments and elaborations of older formulæ. The Ordnarium displaced the older Ordo as the fuller directory for the execution of Mass and Divine service. The Sacramentarium was broken up into three parts; the Graduale, the Lectioarius, and the Evangelium formed the Missale Plenum, which was the complete text of the Mass for the whole year. The episcopal offices were collected in the Pontificale, and the offices pertaining to the parish priest were combined in the Rituale and the Manuale or the Agenda. Those books that pertained to the Divine service were combined in the Breviarium, which enabled the clerk to say his service completely with the help of only a single volume. Thus the whole rite was contained in five books: (1) the Missal; (2) the Breviary; (3) the Ritual; (4) the Processional; and (5) the Pontifical. Uniformity at this time was neither known or aimed at or desired; but a broad Gregorian base generally prevailed; that is, the books exhibit Hadrian's text combined with Alcuin's supplement.<sup>8</sup> Brightman says of this (in relation to the Gallican influence in the Roman rite in use in England): "Consequently, any Gallican features that survived in later

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<sup>7</sup>Brightman, op. cit., I, v-viii.

<sup>8</sup>cf. ibid., I, x-xiii and Shepherd, op. cit., p. xiii.



English usage may have been the result of the intercourse between England and the continent in the ninth and tenth centuries rather than of any original inheritance."<sup>9</sup>

The codification of the Roman rite in the Sarum version is traditionally attributed to St. Oswald, but the real author, according to Brightman, appears to have been Richard le Poer. And, he adds in reference to the generality of its use, "in the middle of the fourteenth century Ralph Higden can write that nearly the whole of England, Wales, and Ireland uses the Ordinal of St. Oswald."<sup>10</sup>

Finally, Massey Shepherd argues for the catholicity of the Book of Common Prayer, because of its use of the Sarum rite, in these words:

Needless to say it was this form of the Missal that was current in England, according to the Sarum and other uses mentioned above, at the time of the Reformation. Thus, the liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer is directly continuous in substance with that liturgy brought to England by St. Augustine of Canterbury, in 596, which in turn is continuous with the liturgical traditions as developed by the Church in Rome from the days of the Apostles.<sup>11</sup>

There were two survivals of non-Roman rite in the Western Church at the time of the Reformation in England. These were the Ambrosian rite of the diocese of Milan and the Mozarabic rite observed in certain churches in Spain. The former appears to be Gallican at bottom, but is modified by Roman usage. It had no influence on the Book of Common Prayer. The Mozarabic was an old Spanish rite first coming into view in the writings of St. Isidore of Seville who died in the year 636.

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<sup>9</sup>Brightman, op. cit., I, xiii.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., I, xviii.

<sup>11</sup>Shepherd, op. cit., p. xvi.



Pope Alexander II attempted to suppress it in 1054, but with little success. It is still used in some parts of Spain to the present day.<sup>12</sup> The Mozarabic influence on the Book of Common Prayer was slight. It is directly evident in two places; there is a similarity in the Words of Institution (but Lutheran influence is more evident at this point), and in the ceremony of the blessing of the font.<sup>13</sup>

Through the centuries there had been a growing dissatisfaction with the Breviary. It was revised in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries and had become a long and complicated service. The last revision was called the officium modernum and was itself revised by Carafa, bishop of Chieti, who afterwards became Pope Paul IV. Nothing came of this revision for the time being. Then the first and second Breviaries of Quinones appeared, and in these revisions the reform of the book was drastic. Antiphons, responds, chapters and preces were abolished. The psalter was redistributed. These revisions were immediately assailed and condemned by the Sorbonne. So much pressure was brought to bear that in July, 1536, a revision was made of the original Quinones Breviary. In this revision the Antiphon is restored, and Vespers, Matins, and Lauds for the Dead are provided. More than one hundred editions of this book were issued between 1536 and 1556.<sup>14</sup> There is no

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<sup>12</sup>Brightman, op. cit., I, xviii-xix.

<sup>13</sup>Aidan Cardinal Gasquet and Edmund Bishop, Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer (Revised edition; London: Sheed and Ward, 1928), p. 151.

<sup>14</sup>Brightman, op. cit., I, xxiv-xxvii.

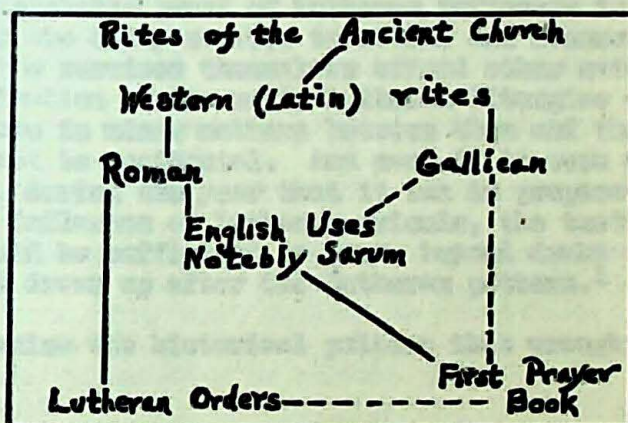


doubt that Cramer was much influenced by this Breviary. In fact, Parsons and Jones comment on the influence that Quinones exerted on Cramer's liturgical principles in this way:

Cramer's Preface to the First English Prayer Book, dealing as it does almost exclusively with the Choir Offices, is little else but a free translation of Quinones' preface to his work; indeed the Cardinal enunciated all of Cramer's guiding principles, and even enumerated the examples of detailed abuses which are such a striking feature of Cramer's Preface.<sup>15</sup>

In summary of this chapter, we shall present a diagram of the various influences which governed the production of the First Prayer Book.

#### INFLUENCES ON THE FIRST PRAYER BOOK<sup>16</sup>



<sup>15</sup>Edward Lanbe Parsons and Bayard Eric Jones, The American Prayer Book (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937), p. 30.

<sup>16</sup>Shepherd, op. cit., p. xxiii.



## CHAPTER IV

### LUTHERAN INFLUENCES

#### Negotiations Between Lutherans and Anglicans

In order to establish the fact that Lutheran influence is appreciable in the First Book of Common Prayer, it must be proved that there was, previous to its publication, enough contact between the two Reform Movements to warrant such an assumption. Gasquet and Bishop, though for different reasons from our own, rightly say:

In the three great rites of the First Book of Common Prayer, therefore, unmistakable proof of Lutheran influence is found. The reduction of the daily service to matins and evensong and the general order of the services themselves afford other evidence. Any attentive examination of the early Lutheran liturgies will disclose resemblances in minor matters between them and the book of 1549 which cannot be accidental. And even if it were not an ascertained fact that, during the year that it was in preparation, Cramer was under the influence of Lutheran friends, the testimony of the book itself would be sufficient to prove beyond doubt that it was conceived and drawn up after the Lutheran pattern.<sup>1</sup>

But we must examine the historical pattern that wrought such an influence.

We have already alluded to Cramer's trip to Germany and King Henry's dealings with the Smalcaldic League. That the former is a historical fact can no longer, this writer feels, be denied. We quote Bishop Dowden, an eminent Anglican scholar of the Prayer Book:

That Cramer was likely to have seen the Pfalz-Neuburg Order seems probable, if for no other reason, from the relationship of the

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<sup>1</sup>Aidan Cardinal Gasquet and Edmund Bishop, Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer (Revised edition; London: Sheed and Ward, 1928), p. 195.



archbishop to Oslander, who is said to have had a large hand in the compiling of that Church Order. Cramer had in 1531 married in Germany the niece of the German Reformer. In 1537 Cramer mentions that he had received a letter from Oslander. . . . He writes to Oslander with great freedom, "propter eam quae inter nos est, et jam diu fuit, maxima necessitudo et familiaritas," and adds that with the other German doctors his friendship is of a lighter kind and less close.<sup>2</sup>

This, then, was the initial contact with the continental Reformers of the principal framer of the Book of Common Prayer.

More important, however, are the negotiations which the English carried on with the leaders of the German Reform Movement for a period of about five years, from 1535 to 1539. How can we measure how much these negotiations strengthened the Lutheran ties of such men as Robert Barnes, Hugh Latimer, Ridley, Tyndale, Coverdale, and the like.

It will be remembered that Henry wanted to join the Smalcaldic League. To head negotiations for this political move, he sent Robert Barnes to Wittenberg on March 11, 1535. This was the so-called English Commission. Barnes returned to England with the proposition of the Germans: (1) Would Henry send someone to Wittenberg to confer with Luther? (2) Would Melancthon be allowed to visit England? (3) Would Henry join the League under its conditions? Henry refused an unreserved acceptance of the Augsburg Confession. This necessitated more conferences with Barnes. Then Henry sent Edward Fox and Nicholas Heath to Germany. Fox was the King's chaplain and Secretary of State. He later became a leading Lutheran in England. Heath was also chaplain to Henry, but in 1548 he returned to the Roman fold and became, in 1555,

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<sup>2</sup>John Dowden, Further Studies in the Prayer Book (London: Methuen & Co., 1908), p. 70.



Archbishop of York, and later Lord High Chancellor. Under Mary, it was he who issued the writ for the execution of Cramer.<sup>3</sup> It was at this meeting, Lindsay tells us, that Luther and Melanchthon "were charmed with the learning and courtesy of Archdeacon Heath. Bishop Foxe 'had the manner of prelates,' said Melanchthon, and his learning did not impress the Germans."<sup>4</sup> Following this meeting, Henry drew up the Ten Articles about which Melanchthon remarked: "ouden hyries" ("nothing good").

But headway toward Lutheranism was being progressively made in England. True, the Wittenbergers were shocked at the death of Anne Boleyn and felt that all negotiations with Henry should end. True, Barnes had warned Melanchthon not to come to England and Gardiner, a determined enemy of Lutheranism, was becoming more and more influential. But the publication of the translation of the Augsburg Confession and the Apology in 1536 by Taverner was certainly a step forward in establishing the idea of Lutheranism in the popular mind. Furthermore, a Convocation met in Canterbury in 1536 in which Lutheranism was stoutly debated and the lines clearly drawn. On the side of the Reformation were Thomas Cramer, Archbishop of Canterbury; Thomas Goodrich, Bishop of Ely; Nicholas Sherton, Bishop of Sarum; Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester; Edward Foxe, Bishop of Hereford; John Hilssey, Bishop of

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<sup>3</sup>Henry Eyster Jacobs, The Lutheran Movement in England (Revised edition; Philadelphia: General Council Publication House, 1916), pp. 55-73.

<sup>4</sup>Thomas M. Lindsay, A History of the Reformation (2nd edition; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1908), II, 341-2.



Rochester; and William Barlow, Bishop St. David's. Against the Reformation were Edward Lee, Archbishop of York; John Stokesley, Bishop of London; Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham; Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester; Robert Sherborne, Bishop of Chichester; Richard Nys, Bishop of Norwich; and John Kite, Bishop of Carlisle. A compromise of sixty-seven points was drawn up. But the thing to be noted about this convocation was that Alexander Alesius (Allan), who was sent by Melancthon to the meeting, made a convincing speech on behalf of Lutheranism and that Bishop Foxe also gave an emphatic "Lutheran" address.<sup>5</sup>

More overtures to union with Germany were made. In 1538 Henry sent Christopher Mount to Brunswick to a meeting of the League. In that same year a delegation composed of Francis Burkhard, Vice Chancellor of Saxony, George a Boyneburg, a Hessian nobleman, and Frederick Myconius was sent to England. Meanwhile, Luther had written to Foxe on May 12, but, unfortunately Fox had died four days before. The conference failed; Henry was his usual vacillating self. But the Articles drawn up at this conference are very Lutheran in tone.<sup>6</sup>

Final negotiations of the Germans with the English were carried on in 1539. This time Melancthon, Spalatin, Myconius, Aepinus, Blaurer, Osiander, and Sarcerius met with the Englishmen Christopher Mount and Thomas Paynel (or Parnel) at Frankfort. Meanwhile, Melancthon had written to Henry and Burkhard, urging reforms. Ludwig a Baumbach

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<sup>5</sup>Jacobs, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-8.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 127-39. Jacobs claims that England is not Lutheran today because of Henry VIII. This is doubtful. There are many other reasons.



was sent to England to arrange an alliance. All this was to no avail; the meeting failed. Soon after, Henry issued the Six Articles of 1539.<sup>7</sup> The reasons for the failure were sundry: Crommer was too yielding; Cromwell was too politic; Henry was too vacillating. The outcome of the events, too, was indicative of the changing atmosphere. Crommer sent his German wife back to Germany; Latimer resigned his bishopric; Ale-sius fled to Wittenberg, and Barnes did not return from there.<sup>8</sup> Then, in 1540, Gardiner became master of the field. Thomas Cromwell was executed on July 28. Henry divorced the daughter of a Lutheran prince, Anne of Cleves, on July 24. Finally, having returned from Wittenberg, Robert Barnes, Luther's "St. Robert," was martyred at the stake on July 30.<sup>9</sup>

Jacobs remarks about these events:

If, however, those who controlled the work of the reorganization of the English Church, after many vacillations, at last failed in a full appreciation and confession of the Lutheran faith, the results of the first glow of awakening love for the Gospel in England and of years of contact and negotiation with the leaders of the Lutheran Reformation in Germany, have not been without fruit, but have left their permanent record in the great ecclesiastical documents which are the glory and pride of the English Church, and upon which its very existence depends. Turn where we may in the history or the worship of the English Church and its descendants, we meet at every step with what they owe to that memorable time, and to the incomplete and greatly embarrassed work of the first English Lutherans.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Cf. supra, pp. 12f.

<sup>8</sup>Jacobs, op. cit., pp. 148-58.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 178.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp. 218-9.



## English Bible Translations.

Since the greater portion of the Book of Common Prayer is made up of the Holy Scriptures, we shall now examine the various Bible translations that contributed to that portion. The importance of a good translation of the Scriptures into English was paramount with the Reformers. Luther had supplied what was a first necessity for vernacular service and Mass--a translation of the Bible. He completed the New Testament in 1522 and the Old Testament in successive installments from 1524 to 1534. This translation was to be of extreme importance to the English Reformers.

William Tyndale's translation of the Bible is the version upon which all succeeding translations were based. Tyndale was a distinguished scholar, trained first at Oxford and then at Cambridge. When he was at the former University, he had belonged to that circle of learned and pious men who had encouraged Erasmus to complete his critical text of the New Testament.<sup>11</sup> Tyndale came under royal suspicion for his "Lutheran" views and was forced to flee from England to Cologne. There he was betrayed to the magistrates and went to Worms.<sup>12</sup> He finished his translation of the New Testament there in 1525 and issued two editions. These were condemned in 1530 by the Council. He was strangled and burned on October 6, 1536.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Lindsay, op. cit., II, 337.

<sup>12</sup>Jacobs claims that Tyndale went to Hamburg in May, 1524, and from there to Wittenberg. There is much testimony for this view.

<sup>13</sup>Lindsay, op. cit., II, 338.



It has definitely been established that Tyndale used Luther's translation. He also used the Greek, the Vulgate, and Erasmus' Latin version; but whole phrases, sentences, and even paragraphs are directly from the Luther translation. Yet he was confident of his own scholarship and liked Luther's freedom of translating.<sup>14</sup> Leighton Pullan says of Tyndale's Bible:

It is marked by some doctrinal bias, chiefly Lutheran. Instead of the words elders or presbyters, church, grace, charity, Tyndale wrote seniors, congregation, favour, love. The notes are of a somewhat partisan character.<sup>15</sup>

Miles Coverdale issued translations of the Bible into English in 1535 and 1537. Coverdale was one of the Cambridge students in the house called "Germany." He was a close friend of Robert Barnes and enjoyed the confidence of Thomas Cromwell. His translation is marked by a great dependence on the Zürich translation, which is mainly a translation of Luther's Bible. He also used Tyndale's version. Coverdale's Bible has a very musical quality, and much of the Authorized Version owes itself to Coverdale. (We can conclude, then, that much of the English liturgy of the Lutheran Church is traceable through the King James Version of the Bible, taken from Coverdale's version, and so ultimately back to Luther!) We might add that Coverdale's Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songs is also traceable to Lutheran sources.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Jacobs, op. cit., pp. 14-38.

<sup>15</sup>Leighton Pullan, The History of the Book of Common Prayer (3rd edition; London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1901), pp. 78-9.

<sup>16</sup>Jacobs, op. cit., pp. 115-26.



On December 19, 1534, Cramer induced the Convocation to petition Henry for an English version of the Bible. Shortly after Coverdale's Bible came out, Henry issued a proclamation to the effect that it could be used. And in 1538 Cromwell issued Injunctions to the effect that a Bible should be set up in each Church and be read by the people.<sup>17</sup>

Cramer, however, had another edition in mind; that was the so-called Matthew's Bible. This was not a translation so much as a compilation of the existing versions. Tyndale's friend, Rogers, had taken Tyndale's New Testament and the Old Testament up to Chronicles, added the rest of the Old Testament of Coverdale, and edited it. This edition was licensed "and became the foundation of all succeeding translations of the Bible into the English language."<sup>18</sup> Pullan comments on the irony of this licensing: "Matthew's Bible is the first royally authorized English version. It is even more Lutheran than the work of Tyndale, and yet had the license of a king who detested Luther and all his works."<sup>19</sup>

Some changes were made in Matthew's Bible in 1538 and 1539 by Coverdale. This was called the Great Bible, and because Cramer wrote the preface, it was also called Cramer's Bible. It was, for various

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<sup>17</sup>Francis Procter, A New History of the Book of Common Prayer (Revised and rewritten by Walter Howard Frere; London: Macmillan & Company, Ltd., 1955), pp. 29-30.

<sup>18</sup>Lindsay, op. cit., II, 339.

<sup>19</sup>Pullan, op. cit., p. 79.







## CHAPTER V

### LUTHERAN ORDERS USED

#### General Considerations

There has been some discussion as to whether the Lutheran Church Orders of the sixteenth century had any direct bearing on the Book of Common Prayer, or not. That influence exerted is not denied; the question lies in the realm of the extent of that influence. We quote two opposing view points. Luther Reed, in defending his premise that the Lutheran influence is appreciable, says:

The fact that there was no space given in the Prayer Book to doctrinal discussions similar to those which bulked so large in the Lutheran Orders does not prove that "there is no Lutheranism in the Prayer Book." For the Lutheran point of view is evident in the retention and simplification of certain parts of the Service, the rejection of other medieval features (e.g., the Offertory, the invocation of saints, the benediction of things, etc.); and in general the tone of the book. Definite Lutheran influence is, of course, also evident in the actual texts of parts of the Holy Communion, the Litany, Baptism, Confirmation, Marriage and Burial, etc., as well as in the retention or introduction of various other liturgical practices. . . . Relations between the Book of Common Prayer and the Lutheran Liturgy have been close and consequential. Lutheran influence upon the first Prayer Book was very important. It had to do with essential matters of content and arrangement, which have persisted in subsequent revisions and translations.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, Francis Procter (or perhaps the rewriter of his work Walter Howard Frere) contends:

It has proved very easy to over-estimate the influence of foreign reformed services upon the English Rites. Apart from the Consultation and the Lutheran Litany, where the indebtedness is evident,

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<sup>1</sup>Luther D. Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, c.1947), pp. 134, 128.



and in the former case traceable to a widely current English version of that document, the parallelisms are vague. . . . Jacobs from the Lutheran standpoint and Gasquet from the Roman Catholic standpoint have multiplied references to many of the countless host of German Kirchen-Ordnungen published between 1523 and 1552: but most of the similarities are slight and such as naturally occur in documents as similar as these are in purpose and origin. The family likeness, such as it is, is collateral, not lineal.<sup>2</sup>

And F. E. Brightman, in referring to Jacobs' book as Procter did, says:

"On Lutheran influence on the Book of Common Prayer, H. E. Jacobs' The Lutheran Movement in England . . . is exaggerated and misleading."<sup>3</sup>

It is our contention, in agreement with Reed, that the Lutheran Church Orders did exert a tremendous influence on the Book of Common Prayer, not only in a collateral, but also a lineal fashion. First of all, then, we must briefly examine some of the more important Lutheran Church Orders to see if and how they coincide with Lutheran theology. It must be remembered that Zwinglianism and Calvinism were making tremendous headway in Germany, particularly in the South German cities. Can any influence exerted by the books used in these areas truly be called "Lutheran?" If, for example, the Consultation of Hermann, the Archbishop-elect of Cologne, is truly a Lutheran Order, then there is no question that the Lutheran influence on the Prayer Book is close and consequential.

The first attempt at liturgical reform in the Lutheran Church was made by the great Reformer himself, when in 1523 he published his

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<sup>2</sup>Francis Procter, A New History of The Book of Common Prayer (Revised and rewritten by Walter Howard Frere; London: Macmillan & Company, Ltd., 1955), p. 90.

<sup>3</sup>F. E. Brightman, The English Rite (London: Rivingtons, 1915), I, lxxxi.



Formula Missae. This prescribed a reformed Latin order of the Mass; there was to be a sermon; and, most important, the offertory was reduced to a preparation of the matter of the Sacrament without prayers. Private confession was recommended, but not required as of necessity, and communion was given in both kinds. Lessons and expositions were to be given in the daily hour services.<sup>4</sup> The Formula Missae was followed, in 1526, by the publication of the Deutsche Messe, which fulfilled the desire for a vernacular Mass and Divine service. It is noteworthy that in this service, vestments, altar, and lights are expressly allowed.<sup>5</sup> It is basically from these two services that the later Kirchen-Ordnungen of the strictly Lutheran territories were developed.

Since the break from Rome in parts of Germany caused political upheaval, and since Lutheranism was definitely established in certain territories, reorganization of the basic type was needed. The instrument of this reorganization was commonly a visitation by commissioners with a program in the shape of Visitation Articles. These, however, were temporary. Permanent arrangement was embodied in a Church Order (Kirchen-Ordnung) which defined the doctrine, discipline and ritual of the territory effected. After 1530 they cover the whole Lutheran field, and are classified into three principle groups: those of the strictly Lutheran type, belonging to north and middle Germany; a conservative group, approximating more nearly to the traditional ritual, belonging, some to north and more of them to middle Germany; and those approximating

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<sup>4</sup>Brightman, op. cit., I, xxxi-xxxii.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., I, xxxii-xxxiii.



the Reformed usage of Switzerland, belonging to south Germany.<sup>6</sup> Brightman enlarges upon this classification:

Of these Kirchenordnungen it will be seen that those of both Saxones, and that of Brandenburg-Nürnberg are of the central Lutheran type; and those of Electoral Brandenburg, of Calenberg-Göttingen, and of the Neuburg Palatinate are more conservative; whereas that of Cologne, like the Cassel Order, while approximating to the Lutheran type, is exceptional, betraying the partly conservative influence of Bucer.<sup>7</sup>

Jacobs lists them this way:

The Church Orders may be distributed into three classes: 1. Those pure in doctrine, but adhering most strictly to the received Roman forms. Of these, Mark-Brandenburg, of 1540, the Pfalz-Neuburg and the Austrian of 1571, are types. 2. Those of the Saxon Lutheran type, among which Luther's Formula of the Mass is most prominent. Among them are the Prussian (1525), the various orders prepared by Bugenhagen, as Brunswick (1528), Hamburg (1529), Minden and Göttingen (1530), Lübeck (1531), Soest (1532), Bremen (1534), Pomerania (1535), the Brandenburg-Nürnberg (1533), Hanover (1536), Herzog Heinrich of Saxony (1539), Mecklenburg (1540), etc. 3. Those which mediate between the Lutheran and Reformed type, as Bucer's in Strassburg; the Württemberg Orders, and to a greater or lesser extent, the orders of Southwest Germany in general.<sup>8</sup>

We shall use the classification of Jacobs in briefly describing some of the more important Orders.

Of those Orders that were pure in doctrine, but adhering most strictly to the received Roman forms, we may count as the most important the ones for Electoral Brandenburg (Mark-Brandenburg) and for the Neuburg Palatinate (Pfalz-Neuburg). In the former Order, provision is made for private baptism like those of the Saxon Order; a didactic

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., I, xxxvii, xxxviii.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., I, lxviii.

<sup>8</sup>Henry Eyster Jacobs, The Lutheran Movement in England (Revised edition; Philadelphia: General Council Publication House, 1916), pp. 223-4.



element in Penance is taken from the Brandenburg-Nürnberg Order. In the Mass, the Confiteor is first recited and then the traditional rite is followed in exceptional detail. There is no form of committal of the body, in the service for the Burial of the Dead; a deficiency, which, Brightman says, is characteristic of the Lutheran rites. The Pflaz-Neuburg Order was compiled with the co-operation of Osiander and is closely related to the Brandenburg-Nürnberg Order of 1533. Some minor ceremonies are explicitly abolished. The Calenberg-Göttingen Order also falls into this classification. This Order was compiled by Anton Rebe (Corvinus), mostly from the Brandenburg-Nürnberg Order of 1533, the Saxon Order of 1539, and the Mark-Brandenburg Order of 1540.<sup>9</sup>

Of the Saxon Lutheran type of Orders we must consider primarily the Brandenburg-Nürnberg Order, issued in 1533. This Order is the work of Andreas Osiander, pastor of Nürnberg, and Johann Brentz (or Brenz), pastor in Schwäbisch-Hall.<sup>10</sup> This Order, endorsed by the Wittenberg faculty, is of great importance because, as Jacobs says: "It is a model, after which many succeeding Lutheran liturgies were constructed, holding a place, in the first rank, for conservatism, purity of doctrine and correctness of usage."<sup>11</sup> Nürnberg had been a stronghold of the Reformation. Here, Wolfgang Volprecht, Prior of the Augustinian cloister, on Maundy Thursday, 1523, administered the communion in both forms

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<sup>9</sup>Brightman, op. cit., I, xli-xliii, xliv-xlv, xliii-xliv. For a complete directory of these and the following Orders, cf. Brightman's excellent preface to vol. I of The English Rite.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., I, xxxviii, xxxix.

<sup>11</sup>Jacobs, op. cit., p. 223.



to the members of his order, and on Easter, 1524, to three thousand persons. In 1529, Osiander published an Order of Baptism, partly translated from the Bamberg Order, partly taken from Luther's Taufbüchlein.<sup>12</sup> This Order, therefore is of the strongest Lutheran type. The Order for Albertine Saxony (Saxon Order) is another important Order of this type. It was published in 1539 and is mainly the work of Justus Jonas.<sup>13</sup> John Dowden says this about its importance in relation to the Prayer Book:

It is not improbable, as it seems to me, that the Saxon Church-Order of 1539 was known to Cramer before the Einfältiges Bedencken of Hermann had reached England. And, it may be added, the Brandenburg Church-Order of 1540 followed the words of the Saxon Church-Order of the previous year in the form for Private Baptism. But whether directly or indirectly, the work of Jonas, senior, has unquestionably left its traces upon the English Prayer-Book.<sup>14</sup>

Of the third type of Orders which mediate between the Lutheran and Reformed classification we shall consider the Consultation of Hermann von Wied. This was by far the largest single influence of any German Church Order on the Book of Common Prayer. This fact is attested by Dowden when he says: "That Archbishop Cramer's liturgical reforms were largely influenced by the liturgical reforms of Archbishop Hermann of Cologne is a fact that has long been recognized."<sup>15</sup>

Hermann had, in 1536, instituted reforms in Cologne in matters of the liturgy. He repeated the old complaints against the Breviary, which

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Brightman, op. cit., I, xxxix, xl.

<sup>14</sup>John Dowden, Further Studies in the Prayer Book (London: Methuen & Co., 1908), p. 47.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 44.



had displaced the Holy Scripture and introduced an unsatisfactory character with its lessons from the lives of the saints. Baptism was to be administered, not privately, but in facie ecclesiae. Unauthorized festivals were rebuked and forbidden. It was required that the people be instructed in the meaning of ceremonies and that sermons to this end be preached. An official Encheiridion was to be issued to help the clergy in the instruction of the faithful, treating of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Sacraments, the Lord's Prayer, the veneration of saints, relics and images, and the explanation of ceremonies. This reform was called the Canons of Cologne.<sup>16</sup>

Hermann had, by 1543, definitely taken the Lutheran side. He introduced into Cologne Martin Bucer from Strassburg, despite the protests of J. Gropper and the Chapter of Cologne and the University. Hermann also invited Melancthon and others: Johann Becker, court preacher of Philip of Hesse and Caspar Hedio of Strassburg. At Hermann's request, a Church Constitution, with orders of Service were drawn up by Bucer and thoroughly revised by Melancthon, with the aid of Sarcerius and others. The book was called A Simple Decision concerning the Reformation of the Churches of the Electorate of Cöln (Simplex ac pia deliberatio), or more simply, the Consultation. Bucer was responsible for the ritual contained in it, and Melancthon for the dogmatic articles, with Becker and Hedio co-operating. The basis of the Order was the Brandenburg-Nürnberg Order of 1533; use was also made of the Cassel Order of 1539

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<sup>16</sup>Brightman, op. cit., I, xviii-xxx.



(Kymens), the Saxon Order of 1540 (the order of Herzog Heinrich of Saxony, prepared by Justus Jonas and revised by Cruciger, Myconius, and others), and the Schwäbisch-Hall Order of 1543. Some points are original. Brightman claims that it bears the mark of Bucer in the doctrine of the Eucharist which, he says, approximates to the Swiss. It is excessively didactic and hortatory.<sup>17</sup>

The Order was never used and, as a result of it, Hermann was excommunicated.

This Order of Hermann von Wied was disliked by Luther, although the Reformer never read it thoroughly. It guarded against any explicit statements of a polemical character towards both the Reformed and the Romanists; Luther said that both the positive and the negative should have been emphasized.<sup>18</sup>

We shall now briefly examine each of the offices in the Book of Common Prayer to see if we can determine if there are any Lutheran influences, and if these influences are legitimately Lutheran.

#### Holy Communion

These are the elements that are found in the Communion office of the Prayer Book that were taken directly from the German Orders:

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<sup>17</sup>Cf. ibid., I, xlv-xlvi; Jacobs, op. cit., p. 224; Pullan, The History of the Book of Common Prayer (3rd edition; London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1901), pp. 82-3; Massey Hamilton Shepherd, Jr., The Oxford American Prayer Book Commentary (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950), pp. xvi-xvii.

<sup>18</sup>Cf. Jacobs, op. cit., p. 224, and Procter, op. cit., pp. 27-9.



1. The Exhortation. This was constructed after the model of the first exhortation in the Reformation of Cologne which followed the Cassel Order of 1539. The second exhortation (the third in the Prayer Book) is modeled after the second exhortation in the Consultation, which is the Nürnberg exhortation of Volprecht (1524). A warning followed, following the idea of the conclusion of the Cassel exhortation.<sup>19</sup>
2. Confession. The prayer of confession is an adaptation of the Reformation of Cologne as is also the Absolution.<sup>20</sup>
3. The Comfortable Words. These are taken from the Reformation of Cologne.<sup>21</sup>
4. The Agnus Dei. The rubric that this should be sung "in the communion time" followed Lutheran precedent. The Second Book, 1552, omitted it altogether.<sup>22</sup>
5. Formula for the distribution is taken from the Nürnberg formula. The clauses "which was given for thee" and "which was shed for thee" is unknown in the Roman and Sarum Mass. In other respects, the formula resembles that of Schwabisch-Hall.<sup>23</sup>
6. The Prayer of Thanksgiving is from the Brandenburg-Nürnberg Order and is similar to Luther's Collect. In fact, the whole Post-Communion service was definitely influenced by the Reformation of Cologne.<sup>24</sup>
7. The rubric that the deacons shall collect alms for the poor and that the men shall be separated from the women standing in the choir (those partaking of the communion) is from the Reformation of Cologne.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>Cf. Reed, op. cit., pp. 311-2 and Jacobs, op. cit., p. 241.

<sup>20</sup>Jacobs, op. cit., p. 242.

<sup>21</sup>Cf. ibid. and Brightman, op. cit., II, 698.

<sup>22</sup>Reed, op. cit., p. 346.

<sup>23</sup>Cf. Jacobs, loc. cit.; Brightman, op. cit., II, 700.

<sup>24</sup>Reed, op. cit., pp. 355,8.

<sup>25</sup>Brightman, op. cit., II, 662.



8. That the priest is to put on the alb, surplice, with cope, and that all the liturgy be spoken up to the Offertory, even though there is no one to commune; also, that after the sermon, the Litany with a collect for peace and the Benedicamus Domino and the blessing are to be said are all directions from the Pfalz-Neuburg Order.<sup>26</sup>

Several divergences, however, are to be noted. In the first place, Luther was willing, though reluctantly, to retain the elevation of the Host at the Words of Institution in the Mass. But, says Massey Shepherd, "the English Reformers would have none of it, and specifically forbade it by rubric in the First Prayer Book of 1549."<sup>27</sup>

Furthermore, Luther and his followers had rejected as doctrinally impure the entire Canon of the Mass, retaining only the Verba and the Lord's Prayer. Cranmer and his associates composed a new and lengthy prayer of consecration that was evangelical in character, but closely modeled upon the features of the Roman Canon.<sup>28</sup> Parsons and Jones call this removal of the Canon by the continental Protestants a radical breach with tradition. They claim that Luther's Litany was magnificent, that his forms for Baptism, Marriage, and Burial were also intelligently conservative. "But," they say, "for the Eucharist, while he kept the unessential framework of the rite, he abolished the essential Canon, substituting the reading of the Scriptural narrative for the vital

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<sup>26</sup>Ibid., II, 714.

<sup>27</sup>Massey H. Shepherd, "Our Anglican Understanding of Corporate Worship," Report of the Anglican Congress (1954), (Edited by Fowel Mills Dawley; Greenwich, Conn.: The Seabury Press, 1954), p. 70.

<sup>28</sup>Reed, op. cit., p. 131.



prayer of Consecration"<sup>29</sup> Massey Shepherd says that this abolition of the Canon by Luther and the other Orders fragmentizes the whole Institution. He adds, however: "It is interesting to note that recent Lutheran revisions of the Eucharist have abandoned Luther's scheme of consecration by a series of formulae in favor of prayer more nearly akin to those of the ancient liturgies."<sup>30</sup> But even the substitution of the prayer for the Canon by Cranmer did not affect the theological leanings of the Prayer Book. In the light of Reed's statement that Cranmer's Prayer is closely modeled on features of the Roman Canon, it is noteworthy that Gasquet and Bishop can say: "Even the closest theological scrutiny of the new composition will not detect anything inconsistent with, or excluding, Luther's negation of the sacrificial idea of the mass."<sup>31</sup>

#### Holy Baptism

Gasquet and Bishop claim that hardly one-fourth of the office of Public Baptism in the Book of Common Prayer can be referred to the baptismal service of the ancient rituals. They report that Hermann's Consultation is commonly suggested as the source of much of the rest.<sup>32</sup> This is partially true; however, Luther's Taufbüchlein, as modified by

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<sup>29</sup>Edward Lanbe Parsons and Bayard Hale Jones, The American Prayer Book (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937), pp. 30-1.

<sup>30</sup>Shepherd, "Our Anglican Understanding of Corporate Worship," p. 74.

<sup>31</sup>Aidan Cardinal Gasquet and Edmund Bishop, Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer (Revised edition; London: Sheed and Ward, 1928), p. 191.

<sup>32</sup>Gasquet and Bishop, op. cit., p. 191. They also call this "Utter indifference to English traditions," p. 193.



Herrmann and the other Kirchenordnungen, can be said to be the primary basis of the Baptismal service in the Prayer Book. These are the elements that are found in the Baptismal office of the Prayer Book that were taken directly from the German Orders:

1. The Reformation of Cologne records the words of the historical development of the practice of baptism in facie ecclesiae.<sup>33</sup>
2. Parents are to give notice to the curate the night before children are to be baptized. (Reformation of Cologne.)<sup>34</sup>
3. The beginning of the baptismal ceremony. (Reformation of Cologne.)<sup>35</sup>
4. The prayer before baptism, probably taken directly from Luther's Taufbüchlein.<sup>36</sup>
5. The priest gets the name of the child and makes the sign of the cross on the forehead and upon the breast. (Reformation of Cologne.)<sup>37</sup>
6. The exorcism. This was taken from the Reformation of Cologne, which had reduced it to a single sentence from Luther's Taufbüchlein.<sup>38</sup>
7. The Gospel according to Saint Mark. (Reformation of Cologne.)<sup>39</sup>
8. Exhortation on the words of the Gospel and a prayer. (Reformation of Cologne.)<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Cf. Brightman, op. cit., II, 724 and Jacobs, op. cit., p. 254.

<sup>34</sup> Brightman, op. cit., II, 726.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., II, 726, 728.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. ibid., II, 728 and Jacobs, op. cit., p. 259.

<sup>38</sup> Jacobs, loc. cit.

<sup>39</sup> Brightman, op. cit., II, 730.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. ibid., II, 732, 734 and Jacobs, op. cit., p. 259.



9. The words "the Lord vouchsafe to receive you into his holy household, etc." are from Luther's Taufbüchlein.<sup>41</sup>
10. Exhortation to the godfathers and godmothers, who are asked the question in place of the child: "Do you forsake . . . the worlde, with all the concetous desyres of the same?" This is partially from the York and Sarum uses but, together with the final exhortation to the godparents, mostly from Oslander in his Taufbuche of 1524, and this passed on to the Brandenburg-Nürnberg Order.<sup>42</sup>

All of the Lutheran influence in the Book of Common Prayer on the office of Private Baptism comes from the Saxon Order. This includes an admonition of the pastor to the people not to delay baptism after the first or second Sunday or holy day; that there be no baptism in the homes except under great need; that there be no rebaptism if the minister sees that the child has been properly baptized, but say words of certification; and if the people make uncertain answers (like that it does not appear that the baptism was in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and without water, etc.) the priest shall then baptize.<sup>43</sup>

#### Confirmation

The Church Catechism is a part of the Book of Common Prayer, being included in the Order for Confirmation. Perhaps Luther was the first to fix the Decalogue, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Sacraments as the four heads of fundamental popular instruction, and to draw up manuals of exposition of these topics under the name of Catechism.

<sup>41</sup>Brightman, op. cit., II, 734.

<sup>42</sup>Cr. ibid., II, 734,744 and Jacobs, op. cit., pp. 260,263.

<sup>43</sup>Brightman, op. cit., II, 748,750,760.



These four topics became current on all sides as the heads of instruction, even in the catechism of the Council of Trent.<sup>44</sup> Luther's Small Catechism, published in 1529 was the principal model followed by the Reformers in England. It was designed especially for children preparing for Confirmation, which in Lutheran practice was deferred until they reached the age of discretion.<sup>45</sup> More specifically, however, the Church Catechism of the Book of Common Prayer was modeled after a Catechism by Brentz. This Catechism of Brentz was included in the Church Constitution for Schwäbisch-Hall of 1543, became the model for the Catechism of the Reformation of Cologne, which, in turn, became the model for the Cassel Catechism. This was translated and revised and used for the Book of Common Prayer.<sup>46</sup> Jacobs is convinced of this influence when he says: "If we now turn to the "Church Catechism," found in the Book of Common Prayer, its close dependence upon the Brentian type of Lutheran Catechisms is very manifest."<sup>47</sup>

The Act of Confirmation itself was the ancient form. But certain rubrics and prayers manifest Lutheran influence. For example, from the Albertine-Saxony Order comes the rubric for the curate to instruct every six weeks a half hour before evensong, that parents and others are also to instruct the children, and that when this is done, the Bishop shall confirm them.<sup>48</sup> A prayer after confirmation, in connection

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid., I, XLIV-XLVI.

<sup>45</sup> Shepherd, The Oxford American Prayer Book Commentary, p. 577.

<sup>46</sup> Jacobs, op. cit., pp. 327-9.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 329.

<sup>48</sup> Brightman, op. cit., II, 796,8.



with unction, is from the Cologne Order.<sup>49</sup> From the Brunswick Order comes the rubric: "When the children can say their faith in the mother tongue, they shall be brought to the Bishop by the godparents to have a witness of their confirmation."<sup>50</sup> The rubric that all those desiring confirmation must know the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments has its roots in the Taufbüchlein and the Brandenburg-Nürnberg Order.<sup>51</sup>

Gasquet and Bishop, in order to prove that the Prayer Book is lacking in much of the ancient forms, strengthen our contention that the Lutheran influence is telling in the Catechism and the rite of Confirmation, when they say:

In the same way the influence of the Lutheran spirit is evidenced in the service for confirmation. Into this the idea of a public profession of faith on coming to years of discretion is introduced which finds no counterpart in the ancient rite.<sup>52</sup>

This explains the insertion of the catechism into this part of the service: "In the Lutheran churches confirmation was regarded as the ending of catechetical instruction when the pastor by imposition of hands admitted the neophyte to full Christian communion."<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>cf. ibid., II, 796; Jacobs, op. cit., p. 269; and Shepherd, op. cit., pp. 297-9.

<sup>50</sup>Brightman, op. cit., II, 790.

<sup>51</sup>Jacobs, op. cit., p. 267.

<sup>52</sup>Gasquet and Bishop, op. cit., pp. 194-5.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 195.



## Matrimony

The marriage rite, to a large extent, was taken from the old English rite. Jacobs claims that much of the opening address contains statements found in various Lutheran Orders.<sup>54</sup> This, however, does not necessarily prove Lutheran influence, since the Lutheran Orders, no doubt, took the opening address from the ancient rites. But the words: "or else hereafter for ever holde his peace," and "to lyue together after Gods ordeynance in the holy estate of matrimonie?" are from the Taufbüchlein through Osiander's Order of 1526, followed by the Brandenburg-Mürnberg Order, the Mark-Brandenburg Order, the Ott-Heinrich Order to the Cologne Order.<sup>55</sup> The succeeding rites, where the priest joins the right hands of the couples and says: "What God hath joined together, etc." and the pronouncement as man and wife, Brightman feels comes from the Reformation of Cologne. Most English writers claim that this is peculiar to the English Church, but Jacobs counterclaims that this is Lutheran because it is found in every Lutheran Church Order.<sup>56</sup> The declaration: "Hear what Scripture says of matrimony, etc." is from the Taufbüchlein through the Order of Cologne.<sup>57</sup> The English service closes with a long address which is an elaboration of Luther's address in the Taufbüchlein.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>Jacobs, op. cit., pp. 269-71.

<sup>55</sup>Cf. ibid., p. 271 and Brightman, op. cit., II, 302.

<sup>56</sup>Cf. Jacobs, op. cit., p. 272 and Brightman, op. cit., II, 306.

<sup>57</sup>Cf. Jacobs, op. cit., p. 273 and Brightman, op. cit., II, 314, 6.

<sup>58</sup>Jacobs, loc. cit.



## The Litany

The Litany was the processional prayer of the early Church, used especially on occasions of great or impending calamity, appointed as early as 450 A.D. by Mamertus, Bishop of Vienna, for the three days before Ascension Day, known as Rogation Days. It was used also at other times, especially during Lent, and had a powerful hold upon the people.<sup>59</sup>

In the year 1519, Luther had no criticism of the Litany, but he was against the use of processions. He later abolished the Litany (1520 and 1521) because of Carlstadt. At the end of 1528 or early in 1529 Luther restored the use of the Litany as a method of prayer against the Turkish peril. In 1529 he issued a reformed Litany, first in Latin, and a few months later in German. The basis of this Litany was the Roman Litany, but Luther omitted the invocation of saints, twelve of the Roman suffrages, and the psalms. He added twenty-five suffrages and substituted a new series of collects.<sup>60</sup>

Cremmer's Litany of 1544 was really the beginning of the Book of Common Prayer. The first Prayer Book of 1549 did not actually include the Litany but had a rubric directing that it be sung on Wednesdays and Fridays and that it be followed by at least the ante-Communion service.<sup>61</sup> The main sources of the Litany are the Sarum use, Luther's Litany in its Latin form, and the Roman, from which certain details are derived through

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<sup>59</sup>Ibid., p. 231.

<sup>60</sup>Brightman, op. cit., I, xxxiii, xxxiv.

<sup>61</sup>Reed, op. cit., p. 549.



Luther. Like Luther's, the English Litany was prepared to meet a national emergency; in 1543 the crops were threatened with excessive rain, and in 1544 there was war with Scotland and France.<sup>62</sup>

Lutheran influence is exhibited in the reduction of the Preces after the Pater Noster to one; the Roman details: Sanctam with nativitatem, et sepulturem tuam, ad ventum, for gratiam, sanctam with ecclesiam tuam, all derived through Luther; "Thy" in the rendering of the Dona Nobis Pacem quoted in the Brunswick Kirchenordnung of 1523 and referred to in the Wittenberg Order of 1533; and the collect "O God Merciful Father" translated from Luther's Latin Litany.<sup>63</sup> In fact, nearly all of the new suffrages of Luther, which are much more concise and specific than the pre-Reformation forms, were incorporated by Cramer in his English Litany.<sup>64</sup> Procter says of this:

The form of the intercessions which now follow is common to all the Litanies, but the subjects vary considerably, and the signs of the influence of the Lutheran Litany become far more prominent in the English service.<sup>65</sup>

Furthermore, the clergy were described by Cramer, following Luther, under the names of "bishops, pastors, and ministers of the Church."<sup>66</sup> Finally, the directions to say the Litany on Wednesdays and Fridays are from the German Orders, notably the Saxon Order of 1539 and the Calenberg Order of 1542.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., p. 548.

<sup>63</sup>Brightman, op. cit., I, lxiv-lxvii.

<sup>64</sup>Reed, op. cit., p. 547.

<sup>65</sup>Procter, op. cit., p. 416.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., p. 417.

<sup>67</sup>Reed, op. cit., p. 549.



### Matins and Evensong

Shepherd says about the daily services of the German and English Churches:

It was the genius of the great Reformers, such as Luther and Cranmer, to see the potential advantage to the Church of making the Daily Offices a means of corporate worship for all the faithful, the laity as well as the clergy, and in particular, a vehicle for the recovery of the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures by all the people of God.<sup>68</sup>

The influence of the German Orders on the Matins and Evensong of the English Church are many and varied. For example, the general plan and form is the same. The Kirchenordnungen had drawn up forms of Matins and Vespers based on medieval German forms, and Cranmer decided upon a service practically identical with that drawn up in 1542 for use in Schleswig-Holstein. The same may be said of Evensong, except that the resemblance between the German and the English form is even more striking, for the German Vesper service contains the Munc dimittis, like the English.<sup>69</sup> The same may be said for the plan of Scripture readings. The Reformation in England took the earlier Lutheran forms as models and incorporated in these a systematic division of the psalms over the period of a month. In 1541, Cranmer, following the lead of the Lutherans, directed that chapters of the New Testament be read in English on Sundays and holy days after the Te Deum and the Magnificat.<sup>70</sup>

Martin Luther's simple Matins service is almost precisely that of the Prayer Book of 1549. If this is compared with the far more complex

<sup>68</sup>Shepherd, op. cit., p. 1.

<sup>69</sup>Pullen, op. cit., p. 161.

<sup>70</sup>Reed, op. cit., pp. 383, 376.



Matins service in Bishop Hilsey's Primer of 1539 or Henry's of 1545, it will be readily seen what determining influence the Lutheran liturgies had on it. The same is true of the Vesper service.<sup>71</sup> The Introits were not those of the Roman or Sarum Missals, but the entire psalms; this change was made according to Luther's advice in 1523 in the Formula Missae. Not all the Lutheran Orders followed this advice, however.<sup>72</sup> Regarding the collects in the daily offices, Jacobs says:

The compilers of the Book of 1549, however, also followed the example of the Lutheran reformers of the Service, in substituting for the old Collects a number which they either composed or, in some cases, probably derived from Lutheran sources.<sup>73</sup>

Finally, the Gospel and Epistles of the first Prayer Book show slight variation from the Lutheran. (The variation is more noticeable in the second Book.) For example, the Gospel and Epistles for the four Sundays in Advent in both the Lutheran form and the Common Book of Prayer differ from the Roman Missal. Often the Lutheran Orders followed Luther's Postils, and the Prayer Book followed Luther's "Register of Epistles and Gospels."<sup>74</sup>

#### Other Elements

Other elements of Lutheran influence are observed in the following:

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<sup>71</sup>Jacobs, op. cit., p. 245.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., p. 249.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., p. 251.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., p. 252.



As far as the Propers for the Saint's days are concerned, Anglican reform is almost along identical lines with the Lutheran. Both cut down the number of Saint's days to about twenty. The Book of Common Prayer does not observe the Visitation, Reformation, the festival of Harvest, and a Day of Humiliation and Prayer. It adds days for the Holy Innocents and St. Barnabas.<sup>75</sup>

For a General Prayer, Cramer followed the Allgemeine Kirchengebet which corresponds to the Prayer for "the whole State of Christ's Church in the Prayer Book."<sup>76</sup>

The Aaronic Benediction in the Prayer Book is a translation of the one in Hermann's Order of Cologne of 1548.<sup>77</sup>

In the rite for the Visitation of the Sick, part of the exhortation to the sick was taken from the Reformation of Cologne, and was originally found in the Saxon Order of 1539. Also, a rubric for the priest to move the sick to liberality toward the poor, and a prayer, is to be traced to the Reformation of Cologne.<sup>78</sup>

In the order for the Communion of the Sick, the Prayer Book uses a rubric of the Brandenburg Order to the effect that the curate is to admonish the people to take Communion often, especially in time of pestilence. If they can't take it publicly, then the priest is to reserve

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<sup>75</sup>Reed, op. cit., p. 493.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., p. 298.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., p. 361.

<sup>78</sup>Jacobs, op. cit., p. 273.



the Sacrament to be taken to the sick. After the church celebration of the Communion, the priest is to go immediately to the sick person's house. The rubric to reserve the Sacrament is also found in the Reformation of Cologne.<sup>79</sup> From this same source it is directed that there should be someone to communicate with the sick person. Bishop Dowden says of this:

I think that there can be little doubt that the requirement of our Prayer-Book that in the case of the Communion of the Sick there should be some to communicate with the sick person was derived from Hermann or from some other of the German Orders, in which this requirement was a frequent, if not universal, feature.<sup>80</sup>

In the case of the Burial of the Dead, the words said when the priest casts the earth upon the corpse is taken from the Reformation of Cologne. The rubric that I Corinthians fifteen is to be read is taken from the same source.<sup>81</sup>

The Book of Common Prayer originally contained no forms for the ordination of bishops, priests, and deacons, and consequently a simplified form of the medieval English rites was published in 1550.<sup>82</sup> However, in this form were, for example in the Form and Manner of Making Deacons, several phrases from Luther's Litany: "From all false doctrine;" "That it maie please thee, to bee defendor and keper, etc.;" and "That it maie please thee, to blesse and kepe the Magistrates, etc."<sup>83</sup>

<sup>79</sup>Brightman, *op. cit.*, II, 842, 846.

<sup>80</sup>Dowden, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

<sup>81</sup>Brightman, *op. cit.*, II, 858, 868.

<sup>82</sup>Pullan, *op. cit.*, p. viii.

<sup>83</sup>Brightman, *op. cit.*, II, 936, 938.



Scholars were formerly of the opinion that the Exhortation and other parts of the Ordering of Priests were based on Lutheran reformed writings. Shepherd says, however:

The long-accepted opinion that this Exhortation and other parts of the Office were based on a Latin writing of the Lutheran Reformer Martin Bucer, a close friend of Cranmer's (sic) and Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge from 1549 until his death in 1551, is no longer held by scholars.<sup>84</sup>

This is the only service, by the way, in which there is a hymn: the Veni Creator Spiritus.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>84</sup>Shepherd, op. cit., p. 539.

<sup>85</sup>Reed, op. cit., p. 374.



## CHAPTER VI

### ELIMINATION OF LUTHERAN ELEMENTS IN SUBSEQUENT EDITIONS

This research has limited itself mainly to a discussion of the Lutheran influences on the First Book of Common Prayer of 1549. It is not within the scope of this paper to examine all of the changes and revisions that were made in the later editions of the Prayer Book. However, a brief overview of some of the more important changes will give us an understanding of the problems involved in any attempt at ecumenicity on an outward basis between the Lutheran and Anglican communions.

#### The Second Prayer Book of 1552

Luther Reed says that "the book of 1549 was too radical to suit the moderates and too conservative to suit the extremists."<sup>1</sup> Already in 1548 Cramer was swinging toward a Reformed view of the Eucharist, and had expressed these views in the great debate of 1548. It was clearly seen that the first book was a sort of transitional thing.<sup>2</sup> Gasquet and Bishop tell us, concerning the afore-mentioned debate in which Cramer espoused Bullinger's views against the Bishop of Worcester, of a letter in which Traheron writes to Bullinger on December 31, 1548:

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<sup>1</sup>Luther D. Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy, (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, c.1947), p. 134.

<sup>2</sup>Aidan Cardinal Gasquet and Edmund Bishop, Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer (Revised edition; London: Sheed and Ward, 1928), pp. 196-202.



The truth never obtained a more brilliant victory among us. I perceive it is all over with Lutheranism, now that those who were considered its principal and almost only supporters, have altogether come over to our side.<sup>3</sup>

Traheron was undoubtedly overstating the case. Yet, the fact of the matter is that there was, in England at this time, a definite swing toward the Reformed point of view, particularly in regard to the Eucharist. As early as 1545, Nicholas Ridley had been influenced by Zwingli's doctrine of the Lord's Supper. John Hooper, the Bishop of Gloucester (then Bishop of Worcester), had been forced to flee to Switzerland; he returned to England a confirmed Zwinglian. Bullinger was directing the studies of Lady Jane Grey. Calvin was in correspondence with the Lord Protector, Edward VI and Cramer.<sup>4</sup>

Of equal importance was the fact that men like Martin Bucer, Peter Martyr, John a Lasco, and Bernardino Ochino had come to England by Cramer's invitation and were beginning to exert an appreciable influence. Bucer had been compelled to leave Strassburg in 1547; he found refuge and taught at Cambridge, for a time being regius professor of divinity there. He became an important adviser to Cramer until his death in February, 1551.<sup>5</sup> Of the influence of these men on Cramer, Jacobs says:

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 142.

<sup>4</sup>Henry Eyster Jacobs, The Lutheran Movement in England (Revised edition; Philadelphia: General Council Publication House, 1916), pp. 206-15.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. ibid., pp. 208-15, and Thomas M. Lindsay, A History of the Reformation (2nd edition; Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1908), II, 358.



It is no wonder, then, that a man of the temperament and disposition of Archbishop Cranmer, pressed on every side, gradually yielded to Calvinism . . . with Fox and Cromwell to aid him, he was a Lutheran; deprived of them, he drifted between the conflicting elements, in hope of a better day when he thought he would be able to act with less embarrassment.<sup>6</sup>

Martin Bucer at first gave the first Book of Common Prayer a hasty review. He approved of it in general, but disliked the retention of vestments, candles, etc. He made a formal and more thorough criticism of it, however, in the twenty-eight chapters of his Censura. In this work he approved of the Daily Prayers and the Communion service. But he objected to the use of the choir for Divine service as being an anti-christian separation of the clergy and the laity. He added that leavened bread could be used as well as the wafer. He objected to the use of the first part of the service without proceeding to the actual communion; to the receiving of oblations; to the practice of non-communicants remaining in the church; to certain gestures, as kneeling, crossing, knocking upon the breast; to delivery of the sacrament into the mouth instead of the hand; to the direction to place just enough elements on the altar as implying a superstitious notion about the consecration; to prayer for the dead; to the prayer of invocation of the Holy Spirit, that the elements "may be unto us the Body and Blood of Christ;" to the crossing at the consecration and all the Manual Acts as well as the words "who in the same night, etc." and all that signified consecration. These were all well-meaning, but unsatisfactory criticisms.<sup>7</sup> Two-thirds of

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<sup>6</sup>Jacobs, op. cit., p. 215.

<sup>7</sup>Francis Procter, A New History of the Book of Common Prayer (Revised and rewritten by Walter Howard Frere; London: Macmillan & Company, Ltd., 1955), pp. 72-6.



the objections contained in the Censura are recognized and dealt with in the second Book.<sup>8</sup>

The second Book of Common Prayer was approved by Parliament on April 14, 1552; it was issued in September of that year. Cranmer had had conferences with some of the Bishops as early as 1551 on the subject of revision, and also with some of the foreign divines then resident in England. It is more than likely that his intention was to frame such a liturgy as would bring the worship of the Church of England into harmony with that of the continental Reformers. There is no proof that the book was ever presented to Convocation for revision.<sup>9</sup>

This Book of Common Prayer deserves special notice, because, although some important changes were made, it is largely reproduced in the Book of Common Prayer which is at present used in the Church of England. The main differences between it and the first Prayer Book appear, for the most part, in the Communion service, and were evidently introduced to do away with all thought of a propitiatory Mass. The word altar is expunged, and table is used instead; minister and priest are used indifferently as equivalent terms. The vestments of 1549, that is, the alb, the chasuble, and the cope, are abolished. Ordinary or unleavened bread was to be used. The older book ordered the choir to sing the Agnus Dei during the communion; this was to be an invocation of Christ present in the elements. This was omitted in the new one.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> F. E. Brightman, The English Rite (London: Rivingtons, 1915), I, cli.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Reed, op. cit., p. 134; Lindsay, op. cit., II, 361.

<sup>10</sup> Lindsay, op. cit., II, 361-2.



The most important change, however, was that made in the words to be addressed to the communicants in the act of partaking. The first Prayer Book words were:

When the priest delivereth the Sacrament of the Body of Christ, he shall say to every one these words: "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life." And the minister delivering the Sacrament of the Blood, and giving every one once to drink and no more, shall say: "The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life."

In the second Prayer Book the rubric was altered to:

Then the minister, when he delivereth the bread, shall say: "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on Him in thy heart by faith and with thanksgiving." And the minister that delivereth the cup shall say: "drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful."<sup>11</sup>

Procter says of this change:

In the book of 1549 the Communion Service had been so constructed as to be consistent with the Catholic belief in the real presence. But the alterations in 1552 were designed to facilitate and foster the view that the prayer of consecration had reference rather to the persons than to the elements, and that the presence of Christ was not in the Sacrament but only in the heart of the believer. The pale of Church communion was thus enlarged for the more ultra reformers, and narrowed by the attempt to exclude those who were determined to retain the primitive doctrine apart from medieval accretions.<sup>12</sup>

And Lindsay comments in this way:

The difference represented by the change in these words is between what might be the doctrine of transubstantiation and a sacramental theory distinctly lower than that of Luther or Calvin, and which might be pure Zwinglianism.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., II, 362-3.

<sup>12</sup>Procter, op. cit., pp. 82f.

<sup>13</sup>Lindsay, op. cit., II, 363.



Furthermore, the Ten Commandments were introduced for the first time into the service. This is definitely a Calvinistic innovation, although John Dowden says, "On the whole I am inclined to think that the placing of the Ten Commandments in the service for the Holy Communion was due to suggestions from one or other of the German Kirchenordnungen."<sup>14</sup> But Jacobs says:

The increasing influence of Calvinism is shown in 1552 by the insertion of the Ten Commandments, probably as Procter supposes from the formula of Plianus, but having the precedent of the Lutheran Order of Frankfurt, 1530.<sup>15</sup>

Several other changes in the service appeared. A confessional service before the regular morning service was introduced. This was probably suggested by Pollanus, who succeeded Calvin in Strassburg. There was no absolution; and upon the basis of the Strassburg form, together with the form of Calvin and the Reformation of Cologne, the English Confessional Prayer was constructed. One thing was retained which the more advanced Reformers wished done away with: Communicants were required to receive the elements kneeling.<sup>16</sup>

Other changes were made in the other offices. In the Baptismal service the interrogations are directed to the godparents, not to the child. The Exorcism is omitted. The sign of the cross is changed to after the baptism; Luther's collect is abbreviated; the Lord's Prayer and the Creed after the Exhortation is omitted, etc.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>John Dowden, Further Studies in the Prayer Book (London: Methuen & Co., 1908), p. 171.

<sup>15</sup>Jacobs, op. cit., p. 243.

<sup>16</sup>Op. cit., pp. 275ff. and Lindsay, op. cit., II, 362.

<sup>17</sup>Brightman, op. cit., I, cliv and Jacobs, op. cit., p. 262.



In the Matins service the Jubilate is made to alternate with the Benedictus; the Apostle's Creed is changed from directly after, to directly before the Kyrie. In the Vesper service the Hallelujah is omitted, and the words, "O Lord, open Thou my lips," from the Matins service is inserted.<sup>18</sup>

In the Burial service the Prayers for the Dead are eliminated.<sup>19</sup>

The unction in the administration of the sick is omitted, as is also reservation for the communion of the sick.<sup>20</sup>

#### Later Editions

The second Book of Common Prayer of Edward VI lasted eight months. Then came the Roman Catholic reaction under Mary. The Prayer Book was suppressed, although its Litany was still allowed to be used. The ancient Mass was reintroduced. Latimer, Ridley, and Cramer were executed.

Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, was crowned on January 15, 1559. She succeeded in restoring the 1552 book with some doctrinal changes and improvements. Pullen says of the Elizabethan Prayer Book:

But we can remember with gratitude that the reign of Elizabeth not only gave us, almost in its present form, our Book of Common Prayer, with all its great capacities, but also produced men of the type

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<sup>18</sup>Jacobs, op. cit., pp. 278, 81.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 282.

<sup>20</sup>Brightman, op. cit., I, clv.



of Richard Hooker, who were able to understand the difference between reformation and revolution.<sup>21</sup>

During the seventeenth century the Puritans twice attempted to modify the Prayer Book, and once tried to destroy it. The Anglicans and Puritans met together in 1604 at the famous Hampton Court Conference under James I. Nothing came of this meeting however.

The history of the Prayer Book in America and the revisions it underwent in North America is a topic worthy of another research paper.

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<sup>21</sup>Leighton Pullan, The History of the Book of Common Prayer (3rd edition; London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1901), p. xii.



## CHAPTER VII

### CONCLUSION

We have found that at the time of the Lutheran Reformation in Germany, England, too, was ready for reform. The English Church carried out that reform principally in the area of its public worship.

For worship reform the leaders of the English Reformation, particularly Archbishop Thomas Cranmer of Canterbury, issued the Book of Common Prayer in 1549. This was mainly a translation into English of various existing Latin forms (principally the Sarum Use) with amendments and additions.

However, the Orders of Martin Luther and the so-called Kirchenordnungen played a large role in influencing English liturgical reform. This influence was felt in two ways: (1) The retention of ancient forms insofar as they did not disagree with Scripture, was practiced to a large extent. (John T. McNeill, in his book, Modern Christian Movements, rightly points out that "in practice, Luther retained very much that was medieval in worship, believing that what the Scripture did not condemn might still be kept in use."<sup>1</sup>) (2) Actual formulae and rubrics were translated from the German and incorporated in the Prayer Book. These Kirchenordnungen fall into several classifications, and Cranmer used the Bucerian type as exemplified in the Reformation of Cologne for the most part. Other more conservative Orders, particularly the

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<sup>1</sup>John T. McNeill, Modern Christian Movements (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, c.1954), p. 25.



Brandenburg-Wirtemberg Order, also show far-reaching effects in the Prayer Book.

We have seen Lutheran influence particularly in the Bible translations that made up a greater share of the Prayer Book. The influence that English Lutherans had on such media is immeasurable. The negotiations between the Lutherans in Germany and the English Reformers representing Henry VIII, though not ultimately successful, still bore some fruit in the English Reformation.

Yet, the tremendous influence on the first Prayer Book exerted by the Lutheran Reformation was viciated to some extent by the introduction of Zwinglian and Calvinistic elements in the second Book. These elements were retained in all the subsequent Prayer Books.

What are the implications of these various influences on the Prayer Book for us in the Lutheran Church today? First of all, our own liturgy derives much from the English rite. It is undeniable that the beauty of language, for example, in the Collects of our service, is traceable to the translations of Archbishop Cranmer. Luther Reed says:

In nearly every case when early Latin Prayers are found in both the German Church Orders and in the English Book of Common Prayer, the translations in the latter have been accepted in recognition of the literary grace and liturgical feeling so beautifully expressed in the work of Archbishop Cranmer and his associates.<sup>2</sup>

Yet, the Lutheran services are richer in content and in harmony with liturgical tradition. The Lutheran Church today has, for example, a fuller series of liturgical propers. The Lutheran Church, following the Lutheran Orders, has an ante-communion when there is no communion.

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<sup>2</sup>Luther D. Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, c.1947), p. 515.



This is the Anglican Morning Prayer, which has no propers.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, as Reed says:

Compared with the Lutheran reform, however, its Prayer Book worship was less consciously directed by an appreciation of the significance of the Word of God as the animating principle of worship. Instead we find a sacrificial conception stressed in the Prayer Book.<sup>4</sup>

Morning and Evening Prayer are still the monastic ideals of daily service; and, in the Holy Communion, the communicants and the elements are still, so to speak, offered.

It seems to this writer that the adoption of certain Reformed principles in the second and subsequent Prayer Books, especially in regard to the Holy Communion, has lessened the chances of eventual reunion of the Lutheran and Anglican communions. The English Church lives by its ritual, even as David Colin Dunlop has recently said: "We make of our common worship the principal means by which the Church lives true to and expresses its doctrine, rather than the giving of intellectual assent to doctrinal formulae."<sup>5</sup> Uniformity is important. The case is different, however, in the Lutheran Church; the Lutheran Church lives by its Confessions based upon Scripture. Only when living dogma, which can also be grounded in the common worship, is the basis for common faith, will union be achieved.

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<sup>3</sup>Reed, op. cit., pp. 131f.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 131.

<sup>5</sup>David Colin Dunlop, "The Liturgical Life of the Anglican Communion in the Twentieth Century," Report of the Anglican Congress (1954), edited by Powel Mills Davley. (Greenwich, Conn.: The Seabury Press, 1954), p. 99.



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