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## Abstract

This article examines the development of the earliest published un-official altar books in the Church of England that were produced as part of the *Ritualist Movement* of the Anglo-Catholic revival in the late nineteenth century. The content of the three earliest works, *Ritual of the Altar*, the *Altar Service Book*, and *Priest to the Altar*, is examined. This study establishes a context and a foundation for the development of perhaps the most important Anglo-Catholic altar book of the twentieth century, *Missale Anglicanum: The English Missal*. Henry William Gordon Kenrick compiled a single manuscript copy in 1906 which was the progenitor for the five published editions from 1912 to 1958. This article provides a detailed examination of the contents of all of the editions of the *English Missal*.

## Keywords

Anglo-Catholicism | English Missals | History and Criticism | Ritualist Movement | 19<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> Centuries

## Anglo-Catholic Altar Books and the Genesis of the *English Missal*

STEPHEN HILL

The Anglo-Catholic Movement gave rise to a large number of liturgical books. Most of these were not official liturgical books of the Church of England. Their authors often claimed an authority for them deriving from the pre-reformation liturgies of the English Church. Some of these books were designed to be, and were, used at the altar. Amongst the most well-known of these are *The English Missal*<sup>1</sup> and *The Anglican Missal*<sup>2</sup>. These

<sup>1</sup> This study shall consider only the English Altar Missal versions of the *English Missal*, the editions of which are as follows: Missale Anglicanum. The English Missal, Hoxton 1906 [Manuscript, Pusey House Library, 265.331]; Missale Anglicanum. The English Missal, London <sup>1</sup>1912; Missale Anglicanum. The English Missal, London <sup>2</sup>1923; Missale Anglicanum. The English Missal, London <sup>3</sup>1934; Missale Anglicanum. The English Missal, London <sup>4</sup>1940; Missale Anglicanum. The English Missal, London <sup>5</sup>1958; Missale Anglicanum. The English Missal, London <sup>5</sup>2001 [2001 reissue of the 1958 fifth edition]. Henry William Gordon KENRICK was the compiler of the 1906 manuscript edition, and the first and second editions. As he never formally identifies himself as the author, his name is not shown in the references so as to avoid confusion over responsibility for the various editions.

<sup>2</sup> The *Anglican Missal* was first published by the Society of Saints Peter and Paul (SSPP) in 1921. Unlike the *English Missal*, it was not founded upon loyalty to the contemporary *Missale Romanum*, but rather a preference for the original 1549 Edwardine Prayer Book. The *Anglican Missal* was effectively a compilation of material that the SSPP had previously published. Cf. The

publications, however, did not come into existence out of nowhere, but emerged well into the Anglo-Catholic Movement. This paper will examine the origins and development of the earliest printed Anglo-Catholic altar books which, each in their own way, became templates for the unofficial altar books that would follow. The single copy manuscript prototype *English Missal*, will then be examined, along with a comparison of the five printed editions of the *English Missal*.

## 1 *Ritualist Beginnings*

Generally acknowledged as a development of the *Oxford Movement*,<sup>3</sup> the *Ritualist Movement* was noted by the inclusion of elaborate ceremonial in the celebration of the *Book of Common Prayer* Communion Service, and the other ceremonies of the Church. As the *Ritualist Movement* developed, the ceremonial embellishments increasingly included so-called “Romish” elements, such as the use of chasubles, the mixed chalice, incense, elevations, processions, lights upon the communion table, and the eastward-facing position of the Celebrant. These interpolations initially concerned elements pertaining to ceremonial rather than to words or to the liturgical

Anglican Missal, London 1921; The Anglican Missal containing The Supper of the Lord, and the Holy Communion commonly called The Mass together with Propers of the Season and of The Saints, Customary to be used in Churches and also the Forms of Prayer necessary for the Administration of the Lord’s Supper or Holy Communion set out in the order of the first English Liturgy of 1549, London <sup>2</sup>1939; The Anglican Missal containing The Supper of the Lord, and the Holy Communion commonly called The Mass together with Propers of the Season and of The Saints, Customary to be used in Churches and also the Forms of Prayer necessary for the Administration of the Lord’s Supper or Holy Communion set out in the order of the first English Liturgy of 1549, London <sup>3</sup>1946.

<sup>3</sup> For the emergence of Ritualism and its relationship with the Oxford Movement, see John Shelton REED, *Glorious Battle. The Cultural Politics of Victorian Anglo-Catholicism*, London 1998, 3–28. See also Nigel YATES, *Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain, 1830–1910*, Oxford 1999.

texts as such.<sup>4</sup> They were intended to improve the ceremonial, without changing the texts. Later, interpolations were made to the texts themselves, with these being said silently by the Celebrant. As Ritualism advanced, more and more insertions, both in terms of ceremonial and the words of liturgy, either recited silently or aloud, were made to the Communion Service.

This caused great concern amongst those within the *Church of England* who considered themselves faithful to its Protestant principles. A growing number of complaints to the authorities were made.<sup>5</sup> The Ritualists argued that they were doing nothing illegal. There was, however, no clear consensus on precisely what was legal and what was not, leaving the courts as the only avenue to make a theoretically binding determination. As Ritualism advanced, various attempts were made to rein the Movement in.

Amongst these, was the *Church Association*, which was formed in 1865 to resist what its members considered to be the dangerous direction that Ritualist priests were taking the *Church of England*, even to the point of pursuing them in the courts.<sup>6</sup> Of course, to commence court action, an actual complainant was needed.<sup>7</sup> If one could not be found in the parish in question, the *Church Association* would provide one. A number of Ritualist priests were imprisoned for contempt of court.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Ritualism emerged within the context of, and was influenced by an anti-quarianism and medievalism that was highly influential upon the Victorian age as a whole. See *ibid.*, 40–69.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, William ACWORTH, *The Acts of Uniformity Set at Nought in the Diocese of Oxford. A Letter to His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*, Oxford 1866.

<sup>6</sup> The Ritualists already had an association of their own, the *English Church Union*, so at an organisational level the *Church Association* can be seen as a response to the existence of the ECU. Cf. YATES, *Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain*, 151 f.; G[eorge] Bayfield ROBERTS, *The History of the English Church Union 1859–1894. Compiled from Published Documents, together with a Sketch of the Origin of Church Unions, and a Vindication of the Position of the English Church Union*, London 1895.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. REED, *Glorious Battle*, 241; Michael REYNOLDS, *Martyr of Ritualism. Father Mackonochie of St. Alban's Holborn*, London 1965, 205.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. REED, *Glorious Battle*, 241–243.

One of these was John Purchas, who in 1858 published the *Directorium Anglicanum*,<sup>9</sup> which was a detailed instruction on Ritualist practice.<sup>10</sup> Purchas was prosecuted, with the case going to the Privy Council on appeal, which in 1871 ruled against Purchas on all but one point.<sup>11</sup> Although the judgement meant that most Ritualist practices had been adjudicated to be illegal, many simply ignored the ruling, including some bishops.<sup>12</sup> As Ritu-

<sup>9</sup> See John PURCHAS, *Directorium Anglicanum. Being a Manual of Directions for the Right Celebration of the Holy Communion, For the Saying of Matins and Evensong, and for the Performance of Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the Ancient Uses of the Church of England*, London 1858. Purchas' name was replaced as editor of the second edition; Frederick George LEE, *The Directorium Anglicanum. Being a Manual of Directions for the Right Celebration of the Holy Communion, for the Saying of Matins and Evensong, and for the Performance of Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the Ancient Use of the Church of England*, London 21865. Similar books of directions followed, such as W[illiam] E. SCUDAMORE, *Notitia Eucharistica. A Commentary, Explanatory, Doctrinal and Historical, on the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion According to the use of the Church of England, with an Appendix on the Office for the Communion of the Sick*, London 1872; and into the twentieth century, *Ritual Notes*, which became a standard text of liturgical directions for many Anglo-Catholics. See *Ritual Notes. A Complete Guide to the Rites and Ceremonies of the English Church*, London 71926.

<sup>10</sup> As Dalby notes, the *Directorium* reproduced the Roman Canon from *Unde et memores* onwards, however this does not appear to be intended for supplementary use at the altar, but for reference purposes. Cf. PURCHAS, *Directorium Anglicanum* (1858), 54; Mark DALBY, *Anglican Missals and their Canons: 1549, Interim Rite and Roman* (JLS 41), Cambridge 1998, 7.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. YATES, *Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain*, 218.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 219. While many Ritualist sympathisers thought that Purchas had gone too far in his Ritualistic practice, they objected to a secular body making decisions about Church matters, and thus the matter was no longer so much about the rightness or wrongness of Purchas' actions, but whether a secular body had any place being involved in such matters at all. For further on Ritualist objection to the involvement of secular courts, see Dan D. CRUICKSHANK, *Debating the Legal Status of the Ornaments Rubric. Ritualism and Royal Commissions in Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century England*, in: SCH 56 (2020) 434–454, here: 447 f.

alism advanced, so too did demand for some sort of an official response to what, to some, seemed like a challenge to the very nature of the *Church of England*.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> The Ritualist argument centred around interpretation of the *Ornaments Rubric* within the Prayer Book. These stated that “Chancels shall remain as they have done in times past”, and “Ornaments of the Church, and of the Ministers thereof [...] shall be retained, and be in use, as were in this Church of England, by the Authority of Parliament, in the Second Year of the Reign of King Edward the Sixth.” Brian CUMMINGS (ed.), *The Book of Common Prayer. The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662*, Oxford 2011, 239. Some of the Ritualists saw sufficient leeway here to claim authority for adopting what they saw as historical practices. The so called *Royal Commission on Ritual* of 1867–1870 sought to resolve this question. See *First Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Rubrics, Orders, and Directions for regulating the Course and Conduct of Public Worship, &c. according to the Use of the United Church of England and Ireland, with Minutes of Evidence and Appendices*, London 1867; *Second Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Rubrics, Orders, and Directions for regulating the Course and Conduct of Public Worship, &c. according to the Use of the United Church of England and Ireland, with Minutes of Evidence and Appendices*, London 1868; *Third Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Rubrics, Orders, and Directions for regulating the Course and Conduct of Public Worship, &c. according to the Use of the United Church of England and Ireland, with Minutes of Evidence and Appendices*, London 1870; *Fourth Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Rubrics, Orders, and Directions for regulating the Course and Conduct of Public Worship, &c. according to the Use of the United Church of England and Ireland, with Minutes of Evidence and Appendices*, London 1870. The four reports were consistent only in their inconsistency, with the commissioners unable to agree and some refusing to put their names on some of the findings. Nonetheless, the Royal Commission led to the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874, which provided a channel for complaints to be made to the authorities. See *An Act for the better administration of the Laws respecting the regulation of Public Worship in: The Public General Statutes Passed in the Thirty-Seventh & Thirty-Eighth Years of the Reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, 1874. With a List of the Local and Private Acts, Tables Showing the Effect of the Year’s Legislation, and a Copious Index*, London 1874, 419–427. The Act was ineffective in reining in Ritualism. As such, in the early twentieth century the Ritualist problem was approached as a matter of discipline, with the 1904–1906 Royal Commission on Eccle-

## 2 *Early Published Altar Books*

The early rubrical directories were what their name suggested – they did not supplement the words of the liturgy itself but provided instruction for its celebration. Indeed, the clergy were legally required to faithfully use the text of the approved liturgy. Yet, it was common for the laity to make use of additional devotions during the liturgy.<sup>14</sup> Many Ritualist clergy formed the view that there was no reason why they could not do exactly the same thing and utilise their own private devotions in the midst of the Communion Service, for example, as long as the integrity of that Service was maintained. Whether these “private devotions” happened to be drawn from liturgy of the Church of Rome, was, in their mind, irrelevant as it was still a private devotion. As such, it became more and more common for

siastical Discipline. See Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, London 1906. This Royal Commission, while being condemnatory of many Ritualist practises, sought a middle ground, also acknowledging the need for Prayer Book Revision, which ultimately led to the Prayer Book Crisis of 1928. Thus, in reality, this Royal Commission was not the deathly blow for Ritualism that had been hoped for by some. – For a synthesis of the history relating to the Royal Commissions and the Public Worship Regulation Act, see CRUICKSHANK, *Debating*, 434–454.

<sup>14</sup> The medieval Primers had served as liturgical companions for the people prior to the reform of the English liturgy. After the break from Rome, official Primers were published, such as the *Kings Primer* of 1545, the *Edwardine Primer* of 1553, and the *Marian Wayland Primer* of 1555. See Edward BURTON (ed.), *Three Primers put forth in the Reign of Henry VIII*, Oxford 1834; Joseph KETLEY (ed.), *The Two Liturgies, A.D. 1549, and A.D. 1552, with other Documents set forth by Authority in the Reign of King Edward VI*, Cambridge 1844; *The Primer in Latin and Englishe (after the use of Sarum)*, London 1555. Later, it was common for worship aids for the people to be bound into the back of Prayer Books. For example, a Prayer Book printed in 1767 in the author’s library contains *The Companion or Spiritual Guide at the Altar containing Prayers, Ejaculations, Meditations, and The Order for the Administration of the Lord’s Supper: According to the Usage of the Church of England. Directions and Devotions at the Lord’s Table and at Home, after Receiving the Sacrament and an Introductory Discourse explaining the Nature and End of this Sacrament; and the Obligations we are under to receive the Lord’s Supper*. This guide contains various reflections and prayers to be used during the Communion Service.

Ritualist clergy to create their own hand-written “private prayers” on an individual basis for this purpose.<sup>15</sup>

As this practice became widespread among Ritualists, so too would open up an opportunity for something better than scraps of paper or home-made devotional books on the altar. This perceived opportunity was met in 1861 by the first printed book intended to be used on the altar during the celebration of the Communion Service, Peter Medd’s anonymously published *The Priest to the Altar*.<sup>16</sup>

## 2.1 *Priest to the Altar*

*Priest to the Altar*, at least in its first edition, was primarily a priests’ book of devotions, with a broad range of material intended, as the title suggests, to assist the priest in his celebration of the Communion Service. As a percentage of the material, the actual content intended for use *during* the Communion Service is relatively small.<sup>17</sup> Most evidently seen in the first edition, *Priest to the Altar*, was a supplement, designed to be used

<sup>15</sup> Cf. DALBY, *Anglican Missals*, 4.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *ibid.* Dalby gives a date of 1861 for the first edition, which was a private printing. The preface to the fourth edition (the first to include a preface) states that the “first edition was privately printed in 1861”. I have a copy of the first edition in my personal library, and it is dated 1865. Published by Rivingtons, it states that it was “privately printed”. A scanned copy of the first edition is available electronically, and this edition matches that in my library, with a date of 1865. There is, however, also available a scan of an undated edition that matches the 1865 edition, without publishers details. This scan has a handwritten date of “63” on the front leaves. The description of the *schema* of the first edition given by Dalby matches that of the 1865 first edition. This evidence leads to the conclusion that the first edition was re-printed in 1865 by Rivingtons. *Priest to the Altar* ran to five editions as follows: [Peter Goldsmith MEDD], *The Priest to the Altar, or Aids to the Devout Celebration of Holy Communion, chiefly after The Ancient English Use of Sarum*, London 1861 [reprinted by Rivingtons in 1865], <sup>2</sup>1869, <sup>3</sup>1879, <sup>4</sup>1898, <sup>5</sup>1910.

<sup>17</sup> Much of the supplemental material, whilst drawing from the Sarum liturgy, was used strictly speaking outside of the Communion Service. For example, Psalm 43 was recited as the priest left the sanctuary. The Last Gospel was recited after the conclusion of the Communion Service.

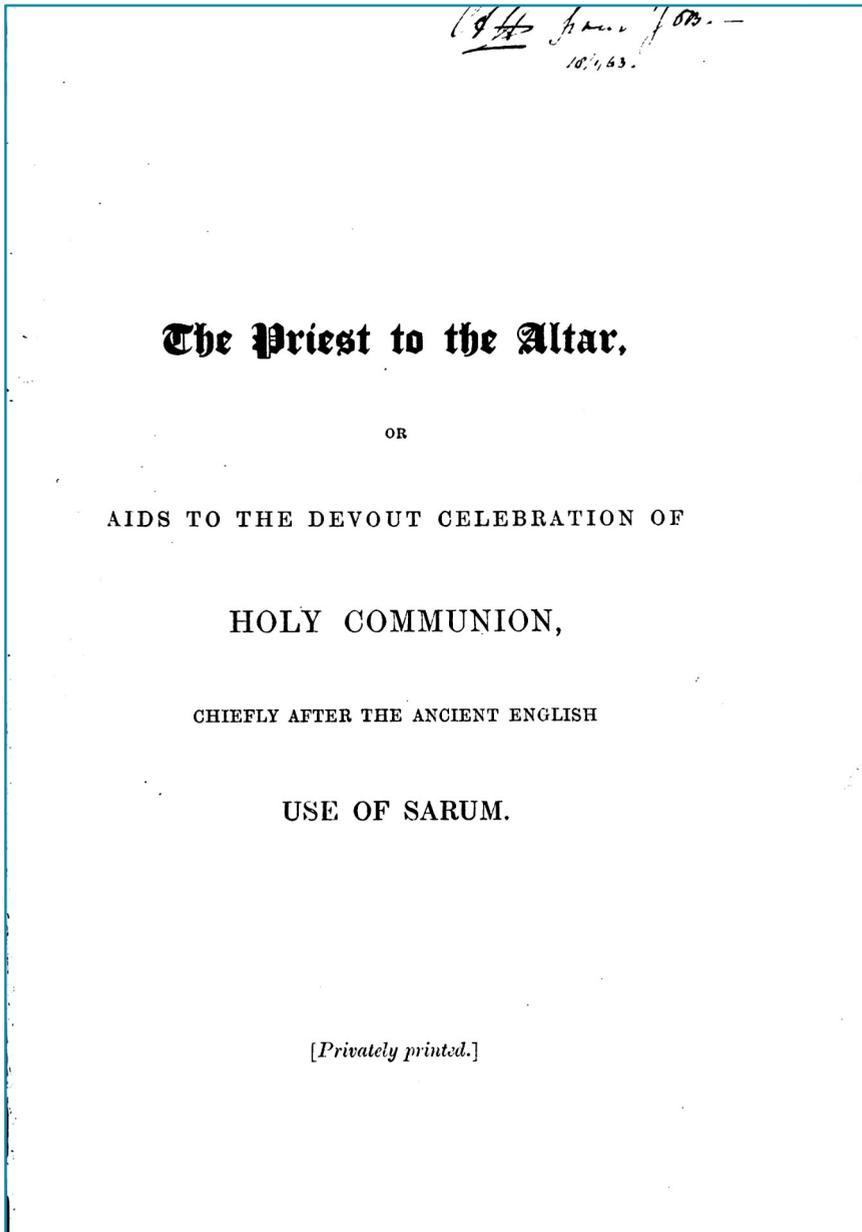


Figure 1: Title Page of First Edition of 'Priest to the Altar'.

alongside the Prayer Book and not replace it.<sup>18</sup> Later editions provided more content however none of them could have been mistaken for a *Missale Romanum* in English, but were essentially enhanced Prayer

Books. As Mark Dalby notes, “*Priest to the Altar* was very much a traditional communicants’ manual adapted for the use of the celebrant.”<sup>19</sup>

The first edition lacked the Lections and Collects, and as such necessarily must have been used alongside a Prayer Book.<sup>20</sup> Later editions did include the Lections and Collects, so it was indeed possible to celebrate the Communion Service using only *Priest to the Altar*. None of the editions of *Priest to the Altar* contain the Roman Canon in English in full, but rather extracts from it. As such it was not possible to say the Prayer Book Prayer of Consecration *with* the Roman Canon in full, but rather to embellish the Prayer Book with elements from the Roman Canon under the guise of the personal and private prayers of the priest celebrant.

Medd was faithful to the Reformation English ideal of the fundamental value of the use of the vernacular. Prior to the fourth edition, the only Latin found in *Priest to the Altar* is the incipits. The fourth and fifth editions include an appendix containing the “Ordinarium et Canon Missae” from Sarum, in Latin.<sup>21</sup> This appears to be for study purposes, rather than anyone actually attempting to celebrate Mass according to the Sarum Use.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. DALBY, *Anglican Missals*, 4. On the tendency for the earlier companions to supplement but not replace the Prayer Book, see E[dward] C. R. LAMBURN, *The Liturgy Develops*, London 1960, 54 f. See also Cf. Stephen HILL, *The Language of Divine Worship and its Pastoral Implications* [unpublished dissertation University of Vienna], 2023, 98.

<sup>19</sup> DALBY, *Anglican Missals*, 4.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> The *Sarum Use* of the Roman Rite, centred on the great medieval cathedral at Salisbury, was the most dominant local use of the Roman Rite in England (others being York, Hereford, Lincoln, Bangor) prior to the introduction of the *Book of Common Prayer* in 1549. It was briefly restored during the reign of Mary I (1553–1558), only to be definitively abrogated by Elizabeth I (reigned 1558–1603). For a comparison of the uses within England see William MASKELL, *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England According to the uses of Sarum York and Hereford and the Roman Liturgy arranged in parallel columns with preface and notes*, Oxford <sup>3</sup>1882. See also Richard W. PFAFF, *The Liturgy in Medieval England. A History*, Cambridge 2012, 350–442; J[ohn] Wickham LEGG (ed.), *The Sarum Missal*. Edited from Three Early Manuscripts, Oxford 1916.

As *Priest to the Altar* developed through its editions, more and more options were made available to the priest, from a growing variety of sources.<sup>22</sup> Also evident is perhaps what might be described as a growing confidence in the correctness of the author's position. For example, from the third edition onwards, an appeal to the Ornaments Rubric is placed immediately before the Communion Service<sup>23</sup> – apparently to claim that the Prayer Book itself authorises the interpolations to that book which follow immediately.

Whilst not explicitly claiming to be a service book, it is clear that *Priest to the Altar* was treasured by many of its owners, who certainly self-identified as priests rather than ministers, and did indeed make use of the material provided. The third edition copy of *Priest to the Altar* in the author's library has had the owner's name gold embossed on the cover, "Alexander Low Rhind, Priest". The flyleaf contains details of ordination and admission to the "Holy Order of Priesthood". The copy of the fourth edition in my personal library has neatly had pieces of paper pasted over the monarch's name at the Collects for the King and at the Prayer for the Church Militant with "George" written on them – something that would probably not be done for a mere study resource. The pages for the Communion Service are extensively browned from thumbing in a way that the other pages are not.<sup>24</sup>

*Priest to the Altar* ran to five editions. The fifth edition is identical in content to the fourth. The following table is intended to demonstrate the development of supplemental liturgical material provided for use with the

<sup>22</sup> From the third edition, material from the 1549 Communion Service, the Scottish Communion Service, and the American Communion Service is included, and from the fourth edition the Ordinary and Canon of the Sarum Use in Latin is provided.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. MEDD, *Priest to the Altar* (31879), 150; MEDD, *Priest to the Altar* (41898), 154.

<sup>24</sup> Morison notes that it appears *Priest to the Altar* was indeed used at the altar. Cf. Stanley MORISON, *English Prayer Books. An Introduction to the Literature of Christian Public Worship (Problems of Worship)*, Cambridge 31949, 157.

Communion Service throughout the editions of *Priest to the Altar*.<sup>25</sup> The intent here is to allow the reader to see the differences in content which would otherwise be impossible to see without having access to all five editions, and making a detailed comparison between each edition. Remembering that *Priest to the Altar* began as a companion to the *Book of Common Prayer*, this table allows the reader to see precisely what supplemental material was made available by Medd in each edition.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> The first edition does not include page numbers. Therefore the page number used is the page number of the PDF file of the 1865 Rivingtons reprinted first edition found on Google Books. [↗](#)

<sup>26</sup> For the purposes of the table the Latin incipit is used even where Medd provides only an English translation so as to make it easier to identify what material is being referred to. For Medd, the authority for the additional devotional content that *Priest to the Altar* provides is a historical authority, drawing primarily from the most dominant historical Use of the English Church, being the Sarum Use. As such, the ascriptions of the additional content to various sources are primarily Medd's. This is not to claim that this is the *only* place this content may be found, but that Medd is seeking to situate it historically in a manner that suits his own purposes. This is seen especially in the subtitle of *Priest to the Altar* – “Chiefly after the Ancient Use of Sarum”.

	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	4 <sup>th</sup> /5 <sup>th</sup>
Vesting Prayers <sup>a</sup> (English)	p. 42	p. 196	p. 151	p. 155
<i>Veni Creator</i> <sup>b</sup> (English)	(p. 42)	p. 196	p. 151	p. 155
Ps. 43 (English, Coverdale)	p. 43	p. 198	p. 154	p. 160
<i>Aufer a nobis</i> (English, from Sarum) Take from us O Lord, all our iniquities...	p. 43	p. 198	p. 154	p. 160
<i>Habete pacis osculum</i> (English, from Sarum) Grant to us, Lord, the spirit of peace and love...		p. 198	p. 154	p. 160
<i>Dominus sit in corde</i> (English, from Sarum) The Lord be in thy heart and in thy lips...	p. 46	p. 201	p. 157	p. 163
The Lord open thy mouth to read ... (English, Benediction before the Gospel. Both Sarum & York are provided) <sup>c</sup>	p. 46	p. 201	p. 157	p. 163
After the announcement of the Gospel: Glory be to Thee, O Lord		p. 201	p. 157	p. 163
After the Gospel: Thanks be to Thee, O Lord				p. 163
At the offering of the Alms, Blessed be Thou, Lord God of Israel our Father... (English, from the Scottish Liturgy)	p. 48	p. 204	p. 159	
At the offering of the Alms, Blessed be Thou, O Lord, for ever and ever... (English) This is an expanded version of the above versicle				p. 165

- <sup>a</sup> Vesting prayers are provided only for the putting on of the alb (or surplice), stole and chasuble. Prayers are not provided for amice, maniple or girdle.
- <sup>b</sup> The first edition notes the Sarum custom of praying the *Veni creator* during vesting however the text is not provided. From the third edition onwards three forms of the *Veni creator* are provided for the Priest to choose from *ad libitum*.
- <sup>c</sup> Cf. MASKELL, *Ancient Liturgy*, 64.

	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	4 <sup>th</sup> /5 <sup>th</sup>
<i>Ave in eternum celestis</i> (English, from Sarum) Hail, heavenly drink of Jesu's blood...	p. 59	p. 217		
<i>Gratias tibi ago domine</i> (English, from Sarum) I yield Thee thanks, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty everlasting God...	p. 59	p. 217	p. 169**	p. 177
<i>Quod ore sumpsimus</i> (English, from Sarum) That which outwardly with our mouth we have taken...	p. 63	p. 223	p. 174	p. 182
<i>Haec nos communio</i> (English, from Sarum) Lord, may this communion cleanse us from sin...	p. 63	p. 223	p. 174	p. 182
<i>Placeat tibi</i> (English, from Sarum) O Holy Trinity, may this service be pleasing unto Thee...	p. 63	p. 223	p. 174	p. 182
Last Gospel (Authorised Version)	p. 63	p. 223	p. 174	p. 182
Secret <sup>h</sup> (English)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Postcommunion (English)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
1549 Communion Service			177–201	359–372
Scottish Communion Service			203–223	185–205
American Communion Service			225–244	207–226
Ordinary and Canon of the Sarum Use (Latin)				347–358

<sup>h</sup> Medd draws the additional proper prayers from a variety of sources, which he describes as: "The Sacramentary of S. Leo, The Sacramentary of S. Gelasius, The Sacramentary of S. Gregory, The Salisbury Missal [Sarum], The Roman Missal, The Mozarabic Missal, The Mozarabic Breviary, The Latin Edition of the Prayer Book published in 1560." [MEDD], Priest to the Altar (1865), [73]. The Secret and Postcommunion prayers are provided in their own section in the first edition. From the second edition they are provided with the Collects, Epistles and Gospels.

	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	4 <sup>th</sup> /5 <sup>th</sup>
<i>In spiritu humilitatis</i> (English, from Sarum) In the spirit of humility and with contrite hearts...	p. 56	p. 204	p. 159	p. 165
<i>Spiritus sancti gratia</i> (English, from Sarum) The grace of the Holy Ghost enlighten thy heart...		p. 204	p. 159	p. 165
<i>Te igitur</i> <sup>d</sup> (English, from Sarum) Most merciful Father, we humbly pray and beseech thee...		p. 213	p. 166	p. 173
<i>Hanc igitur</i> (English, from Sarum) And that thou wouldest dispose our days in thy peace...		p. 213	p. 166	
<i>Quam oblationem</i> (English from Sarum) We beseech Thee, O God, to bless, sanctify, and accept this Oblation...		p. 213	p. 166	p. 173
Most merciful God, look graciously upon the Gifts... (from the Clementine liturgy <sup>e</sup> )	p. 56	p. 213	p. 166	p. 173
<i>Exaudiat te Dominus</i> (Ps. 20. English, Coverdale, after York) <sup>f</sup>		p. 213	p. 166	p. 173
<i>Unde et memores</i> (English, from Sarum) Wherefore in memory of His most blessed Passion	p. 59	p. 216	p. 169*	p. 176

<sup>d</sup> In the fourth and fifth edition, the *Hanc igitur* is omitted, while the *Te igitur* and *Quam oblationem* are abridged and condensed together.

<sup>e</sup> Medd ascribes this to the Clementine Liturgy, more properly from the Eighth Book of the Apostolic Constitutions. This is a paraphrase, likely Medd's, of *The Invocation*. Cf. R[ichard] H. CRESSWELL, *The Liturgy of the Eighth Book of 'The Apostolic Constitutions' commonly called The Clementine Liturgy*. Translated into English, with Introduction and Notes, London <sup>2</sup>1924, 63 f.

<sup>f</sup> Cf. MASKELL, *Ancient Liturgy*, 100.

	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	4 <sup>th</sup> /5 <sup>th</sup>
<i>Supra quae</i> (English, from Sarum) Upon which vouchsafe to look with favourable and propitious Counte- nance...	p. 59	p. 216	p. 169*	
<i>Supplices te rogamus</i> (English, from Sarum) And humbly we beseech thee, O Almighty God, command these Holy Gifts...				p. 176
1549 Prayer of Oblation	p. 59	p. 216	p. 169*	
<i>Agnus Dei</i> (English, from Sarum)	p. 59	p. 216	p. 169*	p. 176
<i>Domine Jesu Christi</i> (English, from Sarum) O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the Living God, who by the will of the Father...		p. 216	p. 169*	
<i>Domine Jesu Christi</i> (English, from Sarum) O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the Living God, who by the will of the Father...		p. 216	p. 169*	
<i>Domine, Sancte Pater</i> (English, from Sarum) O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty everlasting God, grant me so worthily to partake...		p. 216	p. 169*	p. 165
<i>Corporis et sanguinis</i> (English, from Sarum) Let the Sacrament of thy Body and Blood, which I although un- worthy...		p. 217	p. 169*	p. 176
<i>Domine non sub dignus</i> (English, Ro- man) <sup>9</sup> Lord I am not worthy that Thou shouldest...		p. 217	p. 169**	p. 177
<i>Ave in eternum sanctissima caro</i> (Eng- lish, from Sarum) Hail, most holy Flesh of Christ...	p. 59	p. 217		

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *ibid.* 170.

## 2.2 *Altar Service Book*

The second printed altar book was compiled by the editor of the second and subsequent editions of the *Directorium Anglicanum*, Frederick George Lee. The *Altar Service Book*<sup>27</sup> of 1867 is important not so much because of its content but its typographic style.<sup>28</sup> The *Altar Service Book* contained much less content than *Priest to the Altar*.<sup>29</sup> *Priest to the Altar*, in its overall style and form resembled a Prayer Book. The typography of the *Altar Service Book*, on the other hand, resembled a Plantin *Missale Romanum*,<sup>30</sup> even to the extent that a picture of the Crucifixion is placed adjacent to the beginning of the Prayer of Consecration<sup>31</sup> – a practice mimicked in the 1869 second and subsequent editions of *Priest to the Altar*.

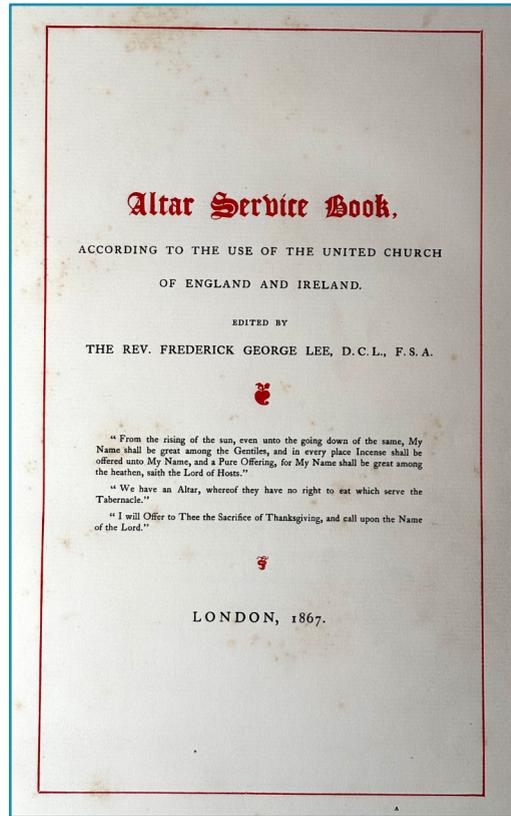


Figure 2: Title Page of the 'Altar Service Book'.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Frederick George LEE, *Altar Service Book, According to the Use of the United Church of England and Ireland*, London 1867.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. DALBY, *Anglican Missals*, 7 f.; MORISON, *English Prayer Books*, 156.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. DALBY, *Anglican Missals*, 8.

<sup>30</sup> Christophe Plantin († 1589) was a French publisher and printer, who established the Plantin Press in Antwerp. He had exclusive right to print the Tridentine *Missale Romanum* in parts of Europe. Plantin Missals were noted for their high quality design and typography. Cf. *ibid.*, 7; MORISON, *English Prayer Books*, 156.

<sup>31</sup> In his Introductory Note to the *Altar Service Book* Lee refers to the Plantin editions of the *Missale Romanum*, noting their placing of a crucifixion scene adjacent to the beginning of the canon.

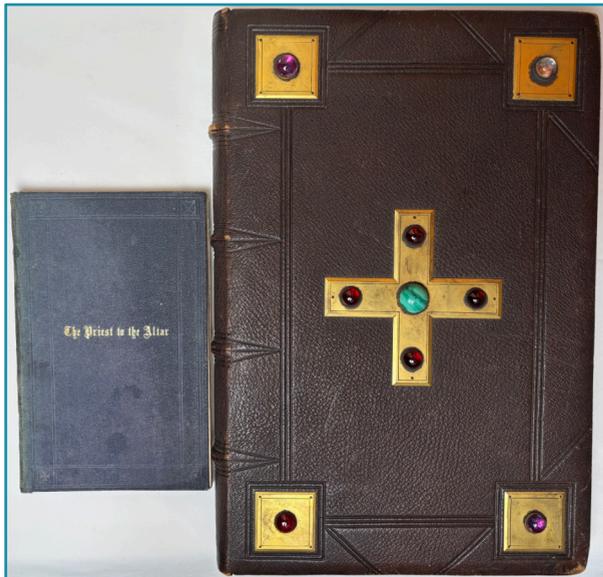
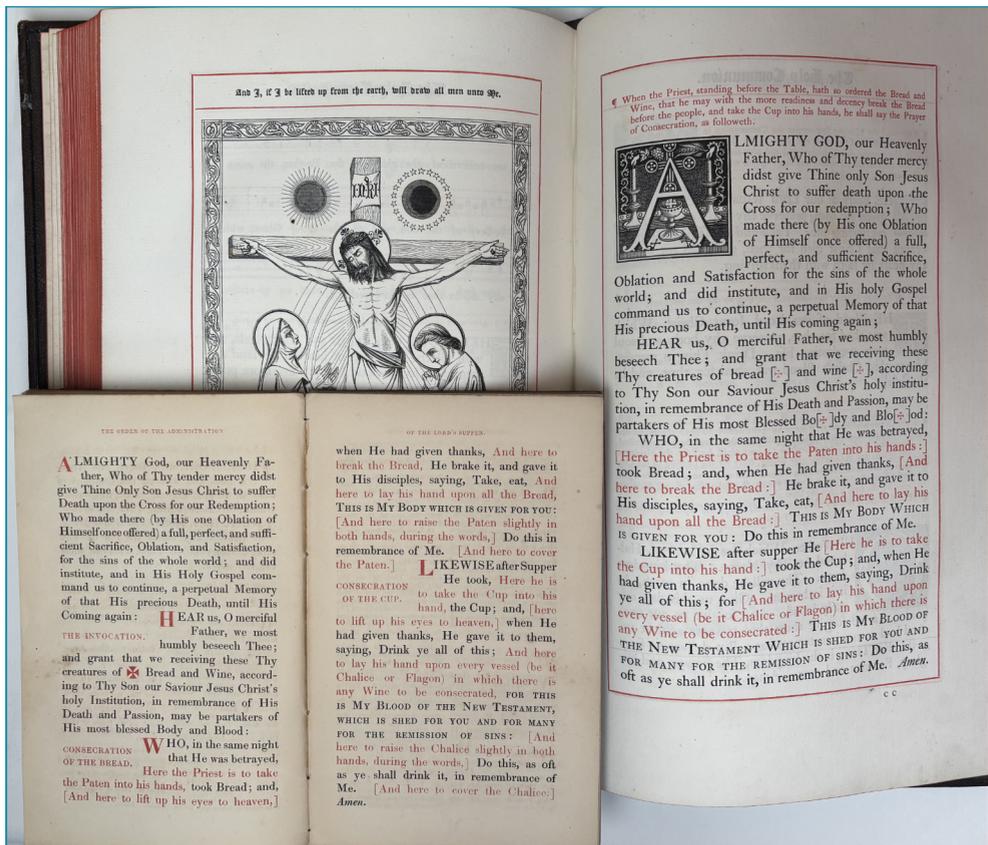


Figure 3 (left): 'Priest to the Altar' (1865 Rivington's first edition reprint) and the 'Altar Service Book'.

Figure 4 (below): The difference in typographical style between 'Priest to the Altar' and the 'Altar Service Book'.



In terms of content, the *Altar Service Book* was in essence a Prayer Book. It lacked the interspersions of additional material that was found in *Priest to the Altar*. Lee gives his motivation for producing the *Altar Service Book* as to meet “[t]he need of suitable books for use in the service of the Altar”.<sup>32</sup> Lee includes a dedication to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Immediately after the Table of Contents he includes the *Ornaments Rubric*, and beneath it a quotation from the 1549 Prayer Book specifying the rubrics concerning ornaments of the ministers. The contents of the book are the Table of Feasts, Vigils, Fasts and Days of Abstinence, The Kalendar, Collects, Epistles and Gospels, the Communion Service, the Orders for Confirmation and Solemnization of Matrimony, and the three Ordination rituals for Deacons, Priests and Bishops. The Communion Service includes chant notation for the Creed (Merbecke and Festal tones), for the Comfortable Words, the Sursum Corda (cantus solemnus), for the Prefaces, for the Sanctus (Merbecke), for the Our Father (Ferial Sarum, Cantus Solemnus number 1 and 2), and for the Gloria (Merbecke and Cantus Solemnus). Chant notation is also given for the Blessing.

The style of the *Altar Service Book* would influence the next printed altar book, which was Orby Shipley’s 1870 *Ritual of the Altar*.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>32</sup> LEE, *Altar Service Book*, introductory note.

<sup>33</sup> See Orby SHIPLEY (ed.), *The Ritual of the Altar. Containing the Office of Holy Communion with Rubrical Directions, Private Prayers, and Ritual Music, according to the Use of the Church of England, together with Directions for the Sacred Ministers and Assistants, the Preparation and Thanksgiving, Various Collects, Epistles and Gospels, and an Appendix of General Rubrics*, London 1870; ID. (ed.), *Ritual of the Altar. The Order of the Holy Communion with Introits, Collects, Epistles, Graduals Gospels, Offertories, Secrets, Communions and Postcommunions Throughout the Year according to the Use of the Church of England together with Rubrical Directions Secret Prayers, Ritual Music and the General Rubrics Illustrated*, London 1878. See also DALBY, *Anglican Missals*, 9–11; HILL, *Language of Divine Worship*, 99.

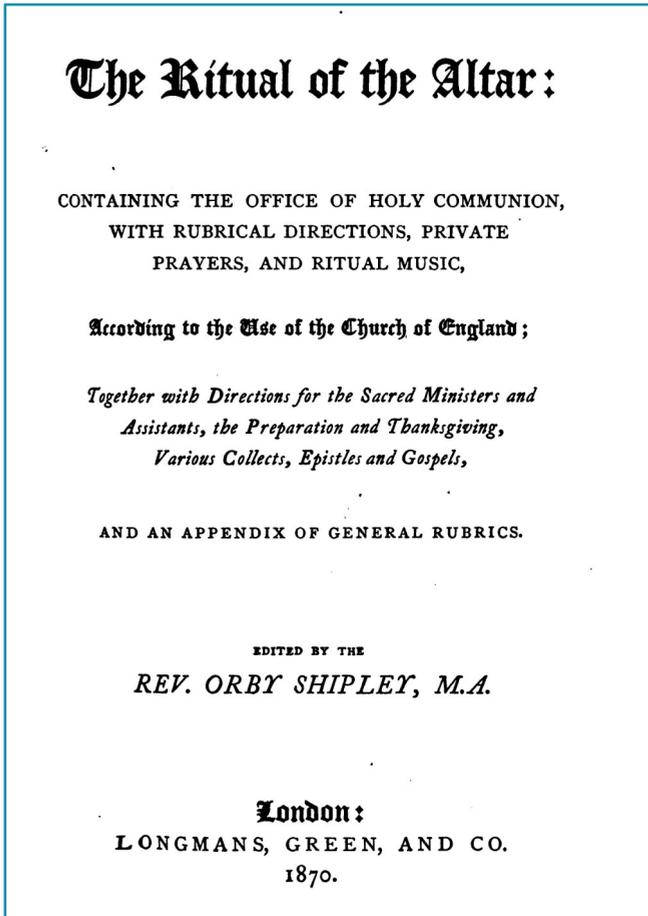


Figure 5: Title Page of the First Edition of 'Ritual of the Altar'.

### 2.3 *Ritual of the Altar*

In contrast to *Priest to the Altar*, and following the precedent established by the *Altar Service Book*, *Ritual of the Altar* made no attempt to look like a Prayer Book, and intentionally in its typography resembled an *Missale Romanum*, whilst also including the text of the English Communion Service from the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer*. As Shipley notes in the preface to the first edition, *Ritual of the Altar* contains

all the prayers and every direction from the Ordinary and Canon of the Mass, by which the Liturgy of the English Church may be supplemented

from those rich stores of ritual and devotion which are contained in the venerable Latin type of the Office for Offering the Eucharistic Sacrifice.<sup>34</sup>

While Medd had looked primarily to Sarum for his sources, Shipley looked to the contemporary Roman Use. Shipley was a member of the SSC, the Society of the Holy Cross,<sup>35</sup> which had stated its preference for Roman Sources.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, Shipley notes, “the English Office is avowedly taken from the Latin Rite. From the same majestic Rite have the devotions and directions in the present volume been drawn”<sup>37</sup>.

Unlike Medd, who had issued the first edition of *Priest to the Altar* anonymously, Shipley placed his name on *Ritual of the Altar* from its first edition. Indeed, by this time Shipley was already a notorious Ritualist, and his use of “Ritual” in the title can be seen as a deliberate nailing of colours to the mast.<sup>38</sup> Although the first edition lacks the Collects and Lections, a note in the preface indicates that the “present volume will bind up with the

<sup>34</sup> SHIPLEY, *Ritual of the Altar* (1870), xiii f.

<sup>35</sup> *Societas Sanctae Crucis*, or the Society of the Holy Cross, is an Anglo-Catholic society of priests formed in 1855. The society and its members played an important role in the Anglo-Catholic Movement. See J[ames] Em-  
bry, *The Catholic Movement and the Society of the Holy Cross*, London 1931.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. DALBY, *Anglican Missals*, 9. Dalby references Walsh, who describes discussions at the 1874 SSC synod relating to Sarum vs Roman Use. Cf. Walter WALSH, *The Secret History of the Oxford Movement*, London 1899. Shipley, justifying his preference for the Roman Use over that of Sarum, notes in the preface to the first edition: “the custom of the West [...] is that of the living Church, not that of a Use [...] which has ceased for centuries to possess more than an archaeological interest.” SHIPLEY, *Ritual of the Altar* (1870), xxvii.

<sup>37</sup> SHIPLEY, *Ritual of the Altar* (1870), xvi. Shipley uses “Office” here in the broader sense of *officium*, meaning all of the ceremonies of the English Church as found in the *Book of Common Prayer*.

<sup>38</sup> For background see REED, *Glorious Battle*, 228 f. See also Orby SHIPLEY (ed.), *The Church and the World. Essays on Questions of the Day in 1867*, London 1868.

'Sealed Copy' of the Prayer Book, or its edition of the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, as published by Mr. Masters."<sup>39</sup>

While *Priest to the Altar* always hid behind the guise of being a devotional companion to the Prayer Book, from its first edition *Ritual of the Altar* explicitly stated that it may be "used by the Priest at the time of Divine Service"<sup>40</sup>. In terms of its content, although theoretically maintaining the integrity of the Prayer Book by reproducing the Communion Service in full, "every prayer that could be incorporated with, and each rubric that might be adapted to the Use of our own Office, has been transplanted from the Ordinary and Canon of the Latin Mass into the Liturgy of the Church of England"<sup>41</sup>. Shipley goes on to make the somewhat far-fetched claim, "The Liturgy itself has been preserved inviolate. It has been printed *verbatim*, with rubric and prayer in full."<sup>42</sup>

Although *Priest to the Altar* technically did reproduce the English Communion Service, it also reproduced almost the entirety of the Ordinary and Canon of the *Missale Romanum*, both in Latin and in English,<sup>43</sup> refraining from doing so only when the Communion Service itself provided its own texts, for example, the *Gloria* and *Credo*. As such, *Ritual of the Altar* was the English Communion Service with everything that could possibly be interpolated from the *Missale Romanum* inserted into the corresponding positions. Due to the sheer volume of insertions, it could be very easy to mistake *Ritual of the Altar* for the *Missale Romanum* with the English Communion Service inserted, rather than being the other way around.

<sup>39</sup> SHIPLEY, *Ritual of the Altar* (1870), xiii. Collects, Epistles and Gospels for liturgical celebrations not provided for in the Prayer Book were included, cf. *ibid.*, 97–188.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, xiii.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, xx. The first edition contains the rubrics, in English, in full, adapted only insofar is necessary to avoid (obvious) contradictions with those of the Prayer Book. An appendix of General Rubrics adapted from the *Ritus Servandus* for English Use is given in an appendix. Cf. *ibid.*, 189–218; DALBY, *Anglican Missals*, 10. In the second edition the General Rubrics are moved to the front of the Missal, before the Propers. Extensive additional direction is given by means of woodcut drawings. Musical notation was provided to show how various parts of the Mass should be chanted.

<sup>42</sup> SHIPLEY, *Ritual of the Altar* (1870), xx.

<sup>43</sup> The rubrics are provided in English only.

Although it may seem that content from the *Missale Romanum* had overwhelmed that from the Prayer Book, Shipley does still indicate what is from where. Rubrics originating from the *Missale Romanum* are placed within square brackets, while content from the Prayer Book is printed in larger type, “so that the Celebrant may almost instinctively see the change from public prayer to private devotion and *vice versa*.”<sup>44</sup>

Shipley repeatedly makes the claim that *Ritual of the Altar* is not published without authority. In the first edition, he makes an appeal to liturgical history.<sup>45</sup> He also appeals to the Ornaments Rubric, noting them at the beginning of the Ordinary.<sup>46</sup> His general approach is that anything that is not directly contradictory to the Prayer Book is permissible. In the preface to the second edition, he states this principle as follows: “Everything Catholic, not at issue with Anglican formularies is our right”.<sup>47</sup> He continues: “The Ritual of the Altar aspires to be, though it is not called, a Missal for daily use in the English church, unauthorized indeed, but not without authority.”<sup>48</sup>

*Ritual of the Altar* from its first edition was exceedingly ambitious, not just in terms of the volume of content, but in the manner in which it diverged from the Prayer Book, despite its claims to be loyal to that Book.

The following table seeks to show both the structure and content of the two editions of *Priest to the Altar*. The first column will identify the section of the liturgy under consideration, usually using its Latin incipit. Sources from the Prayer Book will be shown in SMALL CAPS. Content in normal font originates from the *Missale Romanum*, unless noted otherwise. The remaining columns relate to the first and second editions of *Ritual of the Altar*. Firstly, the page numbers whereon the content may be found is shown. Then, it is identified as to whether the content is provided in Latin (L) and or English (E). Where additional clarification is required this is done with a footnote.

<sup>44</sup> SHIPLEY, *Ritual of the Altar* (1870), xxi.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. *ibid.* xvii f.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>47</sup> SHIPLEY, *Ritual of the Altar* (2<sup>nd</sup> 1878), preface.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup> <sup>a</sup>
Vesting Prayers <sup>b</sup>	p. (11)	p. 32 f. E
<i>Asperges</i>	p. 3 f. L/E	p. 405 E
<i>Vidi Aquam</i>	p. 5 f. L/E	p. 405 E
Preparatory Prayers. English version of Ps. 43, Coverdale	p. 8–11 L/E	p. 190 f. E
<i>Aufer a nobis</i> Take away from us all our iniquities...	p. 12 L/E	p. 191 E
<i>Oramus Te, Domine.</i> We pray thee, O Lord	p. p. 12 L/E	p. 191 E
<i>Ab Illo bene+dicaris</i> [blessing of incense]	p. 12 L/E	p. 191 E
OUR FATHER	p. 13 E	p. 192 E
COLLECT FOR PURITY	p. 13 E	p. 192 E
DECALOGUE	p. 13–16 E	p. 192 f. E
Summary of the Law (from the Scottish Office)		p. 193 E
Kyrie		p. 193 E
COLLECTS FOR THE MONARCH	p. 16 f. E	p. 193 f. E
The Lord be with you. And with thy spirit.		p. 194 E
COLLECT OF THE DAY <sup>c</sup>	p. 17 E	p. 194 E
THE EPISTLE <sup>d</sup>	p. 17 E	p. 194 E
After the Epistle: Thanks be to God	p. 17 E	p. 194 E

<sup>a</sup> The second edition does not have page numbers. Therefore the page numbers from the PDF available for download from Google Books are used. [↗](#)

<sup>b</sup> Vesting Prayers are included for all of the sacred vestments, including the Tunicle and Dalmatic. The second edition adds the vesting prayers for a bishop.

<sup>c</sup> In the first edition, the Collect was to be read from the Prayer Book, or drawing from the additional English Collects given for observances not provided for in the Prayer Book. The second edition included the Prayer Book Collects.

<sup>d</sup> In the first edition, the Epistle was to be read from the Prayer Book, or drawing from the additional English Epistles given for observances not provided for in the Prayer Book. The second edition included the Prayer Book Epistles.

	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>
THE ANNOUNCING OF THE GOSPEL	p. 17 E	p. 194 E
<i>Munda cor meum.</i> Cleanse my heart and my lips...	p. 18 L/E	p. 194 E
<i>Jube Domine.</i> Sir, give me thy blessing. The Lord be in thy heart...	p. 18 L/E	p. 194 E
<i>Dominus vobiscum</i>	p. 19 L/E	p. 194 E
Glory be to Thee, O Lord.	p. 19 E	p. 194 E
THE GOSPEL <sup>e</sup>	p. 19 E	p. 191 E
Praise be to Thee, O Christ.	p. 19 E	p. 194 f. E
<i>Per Evangelica dicta.</i> By the words of the Gospel...	p. 19 E/L	p. 195 E
CREED	p. 20 f. E	p. 195 f. E
THE SENTENCES <sup>f</sup>	p. 23–25 E	p. 197 E
Then follows the contemporary Roman Offertory prayers:		
<i>Suscipe, Sancte.</i> Receive, Holy Father, Almighty, Eternal God...	p. 26 L/E	p. 197 E
<i>Deus, Qui humanae.</i> O God, who didst wonderfully create...	p. 27 L/E	p. 197 E
<i>Offerimus Tibi, Domine.</i> We offer unto Thee, O Lord...	p. 27 L/E	p. 197 E
<i>In spiritu humilitatis.</i> In an humble spirit and with a contrite heart...	p. 28 L/E	p. 198 E
<i>Veni, Sanctificator.</i> Come, O Almighty and Eternal God...	p. 28 L/E	p. 198 E
<i>Per intercessionem Beati.</i> At the intercession of Blessed Michael...	p. 28 L/E	p. 198 E
<i>Incensum istud.</i> Let this incense...	p. 29 L/E	p. 198 E
<i>Dirigatur, Domine.</i> Let my prayer, O Lord, be set forth in Thy sight as the incense...	p. 29 L/E	p. 198 E

<sup>e</sup> In the first edition, the Gospel was to be read from the Prayer Book, or drawing from the additional English Gospels given for observances not provided for in the Prayer Book. The second edition included the Prayer Book Gospels.

<sup>f</sup> In the second edition only two of the Sentences are included.

	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>
<i>Accendat in nobis.</i> The Lord enkindle...	p. 29 L/E	p. 198 E
<i>Ps 26. Lavabo inter.</i> I will wash my hands in inno- cency... English, Coverdale	p. 30 L/E	p. 198 E
<i>Suscipe Sancte.</i> Receive, O Holy Trinity...	p. 31 L/E	p. 199 E
<i>Orate, Fratres.</i> Pray, Brethren...	p. 31 L/E	p. 199 E
<i>Suscipiat Dominus.</i> The Lord receive...	p. 32 L/E	p. 199 E
PRAYER FOR THE CHURCH MILITANT	p. 32–35 E	p. 199 f. E
WARNING FOR THE CELEBRATION OF THE HOLY COMMUNION	p. 36 f. E	
THE EXHORTATIONS	p. 37–40 E	
THE INVITATION. YE THAT DO TRULY...	p. 40 E	p. 200 E
THE GENERAL CONFESSION	p. 41 E	p. 200 f. E
THE ABSOLUTION	p. 41 f. E	p. 201 E
THE COMFORTABLE WORDS	p. 42 E	p. 201 f. E
Prefaces with musical notation:		
☩ Lift up your hearts.	p. 43 E	p. 203 E
☩ We lift them up unto the Lord.		
☩ Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.	p. 43 E	p. 203 E
☩ It is meet and right so to do.		
PREFACES FROM THE PRAYER BOOK	p. 43–53 E	p. 203–218 E
HOLY, HOLY, HOLY	p. 53 E	p. 218 E
<i>Benedictus.</i> Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord...	p. 53 E	p. 218 E
Then follow Prefaces without note according to the same schema as above.	p. 54–60 E	p. 219–223 E
PRAYER OF HUMBLE ACCESS	p. 60 E	p. 223 E
Then follows the Canon of the Mass:		
<i>Te igitur.</i> Therefore, O most Merciful Father...	p. 61 f. L/E	p. 226 E
<i>Memento, Domine.</i> Commemoration of the Living	p. 62 L/E	p. 226 E

	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>
<i>Communicantes, et memoriam.</i> Joining in communion with...	p. 63 L/E	p. 226 E
<i>Hanc igitur.</i> We therefore beseech Thee, O Lord...	p. 63 f. L/E	p. 226 E
<i>Quam oblationem.</i> Which oblation do Thou, O God, we beseech Thee, vouchsafe in all respects...	p. 64 L/E	p. 199 E
PRAYER OF CONSECRATION. ALMIGHTY GOD, OUR HEAVENLY FATHER, WHO OF THY TENDER MERCY... AND WORDS OF INSTITUTION, HOST <sup>9</sup>	p. 64–66 E	p. 227 f. E
<i>Qui pridie</i> (Roman Canon Words of Institution, host)	p. 67 L	
WORDS OF INSTITUTION, CHALICE. LIKEWISE AFTER SUPPER HE TOOK THE CUP...	p. 68 E	p. 228 E
<i>Simili modo postquam</i> (Roman Canon Words of Institution, wine/chalice)	p. 69 L	
<i>Unde et memores.</i> Wherefore O Lord, we Thy servants...	p. 70 L/E	p. 229 E
<i>Supra quae propitio.</i> Upon which vouchsafe to look, with a favourable and gracious countenance...	p. 70 f. L/E	p. 229 E
<i>Supplices te rogamus.</i> We most humbly beseech Thee, Almighty God, command that these Oblations...	p. 71 L/E	p. 229 E
<i>Memento etiam Domine.</i> Commemoration of the dead.	p. 72 L/E	p. 229 E
<i>Nobis quoque peccatoribus.</i> To us also, thy sinful servants...	p. 72 f. L/E	p. 229 E
<i>Per Quem haec omnia.</i> By Whom, O Lord, Thou dost ever create...	p. 73 L/E	p. 229 f. E
As our Saviour Christ hath commanded... Our Father...		p. 230 E
<i>Libera nos, quaesumus.</i> Deliver us, O Lord, we beseech Thee from all evils....	p. 74 L/E	p. 230 E

<sup>9</sup> In the second edition, the Latin Words of Institution were omitted. As such the Prayer Book Prayer of Consecration was presented in its integrity without interspersions from the *Missale Romanum*.

	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>
<i>Qui Tecum vivat et regnat.</i> Who liveth and reigneth (as he breaks a Particle)	p. 74 f. L/E	p. 230 E
<i>Pax Domini.</i> The Peace of the Lord be always with you.	p. 75 L/E	p. 230 E
<i>Haec commixtio.</i> Let this commingling...	p. 75 L/E	p. 230 E
<i>Agnus Dei.</i> (English from 1549)	p. 75 L/E	p. 230 f. E
<i>Domine Jesu Christi, qui dixisti.</i> O Lord Jesu Christ, Who saidst unto Thine Apostles—Peace I leave...	p. 76 L/E	p. 231 E
<i>Domine Jesu Christi, Fili Dei Vivi.</i> O Lord Jesu Christ, Son of the Living God...	p. 76 f. L/E	p. 231 E
<i>Perceptio Corporis.</i> Let not the partaking of Thy Body, O Lord...	p. 77 L/E	p. 231 E
<i>Panem Coelestem.</i> I will receive the Bread of Heaven....	p. 77 L/E	p. 231 E
<i>Domine, non sum dignus.</i> Lord, I am not worthy...	p. 78 L/E	p. 231 E
<i>Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi.</i> The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve my soul...	p. 78 L/E	p. 231 E
Hail, for evermore, most Holy Flesh (from Sarum) <sup>h</sup>		p. 231 f. E
<i>Quid retribuam.</i> What reward shall I give...	p. 78 L/E	p. 232 E
<i>Sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi.</i> The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve my soul...	p. 79 L/E	p. 232 E
THE BODY + OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST	p. 79 E	p. 232 E
THE BLOOD + OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST	p. 79 E	p. 232 E
OUR FATHER	p. 80–83 E	p. 233–236 E
PRAYER OF OBLATION	p. 83 f. E	p. 236 f. E
PRAYER OF THANKSGIVING	p. 85 E	p. 237 E
GLORIA	p. 86 f. E	p. 237 f. E
THE BLESSING	p. 88 f. E	p. 238 E
COLLECTS PROVIDED FOR AFTER THE OFFERTORY	p. 89 f. E	p. 402 E

<sup>h</sup> Cf. MASKELL, *Ancient Liturgy*, 180.

	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>
<i>Quod ore sumpsimus</i> . Grant, O Lord, that what we have taken with our lips...	p. 91 L/E	p. 233 E
<i>Corpus Tuum, Domine</i> . Let Thy Body, O Lord, which I have taken...	p. 91 L/E	p. 233 E
<i>Placeat Tibi</i> . Let the performance of my bounden duty be pleasing to Thee...	p. 92 L/E	p. 239 E
Last Gospel (English from the Authorised Version)	p. 93 f. L/E	p. 239 f. E
Collects, Epistles and Gospels not provided for in the Prayer Book <sup>i</sup>	p. 97–188 E	

<sup>i</sup> The second edition provides a full set of propers, including minor propers, allowing for observances included in the Prayer Book and those not. As such there is not a separate section for those not provided in the Prayer Book.

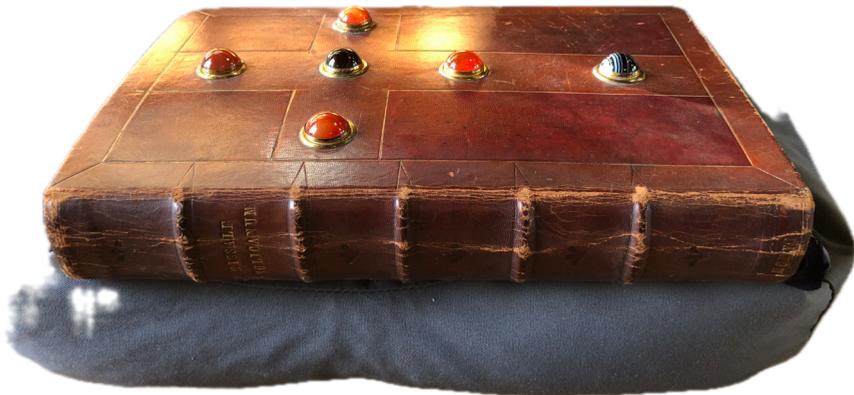
*Priest to the Altar* and *Ritual of the Altar* were very much templates for the flood of similar books that followed them. Essentially, they were enablers for what was to come, and it is for this reason that the content of these works has been examined. Mark Dalby’s *Anglican Missals and their Canons* discusses many of the subsequent altar books. Ironically, in the absence of a bibliography of such books, the closest resource to a bibliography is the 1906 *Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline*, which mentions by name many of the “offending” publications up to that time.<sup>49</sup>

### 3 *The Origins of the English Missal*

The origins of the *English Missal* date well into the period of unofficial Anglo-Catholic altar books.<sup>50</sup> Yet, almost seventy years after the publication of its fifth and final edition, the *English Missal*, is still held in an esteem that transcends all the other altar books, except for, perhaps, the *Anglican*

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, London 1906, 49–52.

<sup>50</sup> This section draws from my earlier work on the *English Missal* in: HILL, Language of *Divine Worship*, 100–110.



*Figure 6: Manuscript edition of the English Missal. Leather bound by Kenrick, with Title on side, and gemstones in the shape of a Cross on the cover. Reproduced with the permission of the Principal and Chapter of Pusey House, shelf mark 265.331.*

*Missal*. Some forty years after the publication of the earliest altar books, the *English Missal* began in the same fashion as many of the even earlier books had – as a single hand-made copy produced by a priest for his personal use at the altar. That priest was Henry William Gordon Kenrick, who was Vicar of Holy Trinity Hoxton, London from 1905 until 1937.

This first prototype *English Missal* was, like its published successors, entitled *Missale Anglicanum: The English Missal* and is dated 1906. Towards the end of his life, Kenrick donated this unique work to the Pusey House Library in Oxford.<sup>51</sup> A hand-written letter to the librarian accompanied the *Missal*:

September 4, 1942

Reverend Father

Will you accept the enclosed volume as a gift to Pusey House Library. It is I believe a unique specimen of an illuminated M.S. *Missal* of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. Done entirely by myself manuscript illuminations (mostly) and bound by my own hands.

I do not know what to do with it and shall be glad to think it has found a permanent home in your library. I used it at the altar for some time and then

<sup>51</sup> *Missale Anglicanum. The English Missal, Hoxton 1906* [Manuscript, *Pusey House Library, 265.331*].

translated into English, made many additions and then got it printed as (The English Missal).

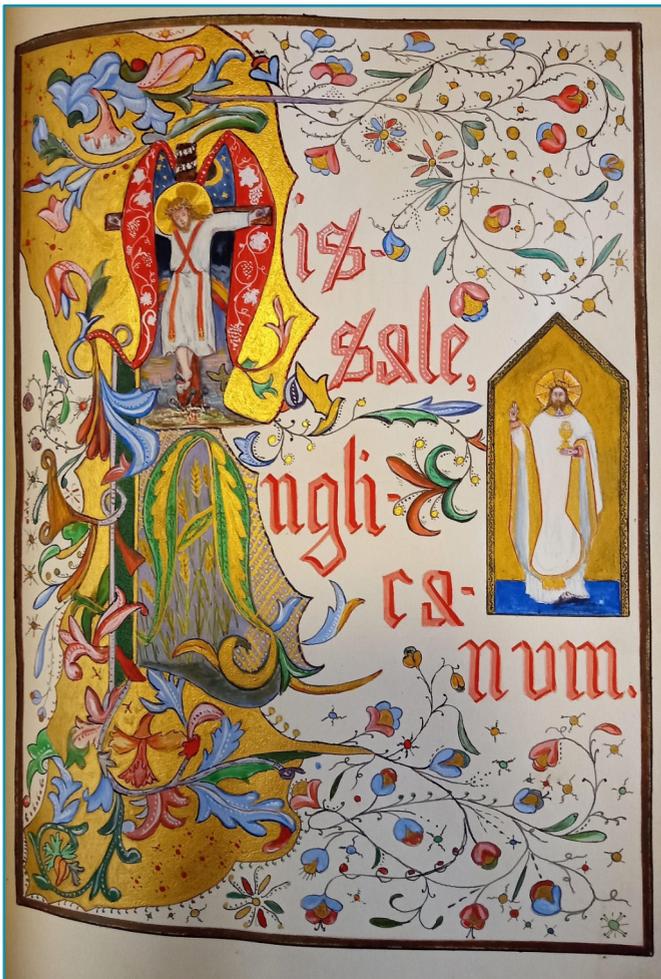
I hope you will think it good enough to keep.

Yours sincerely,

H. W. G. Kenrick

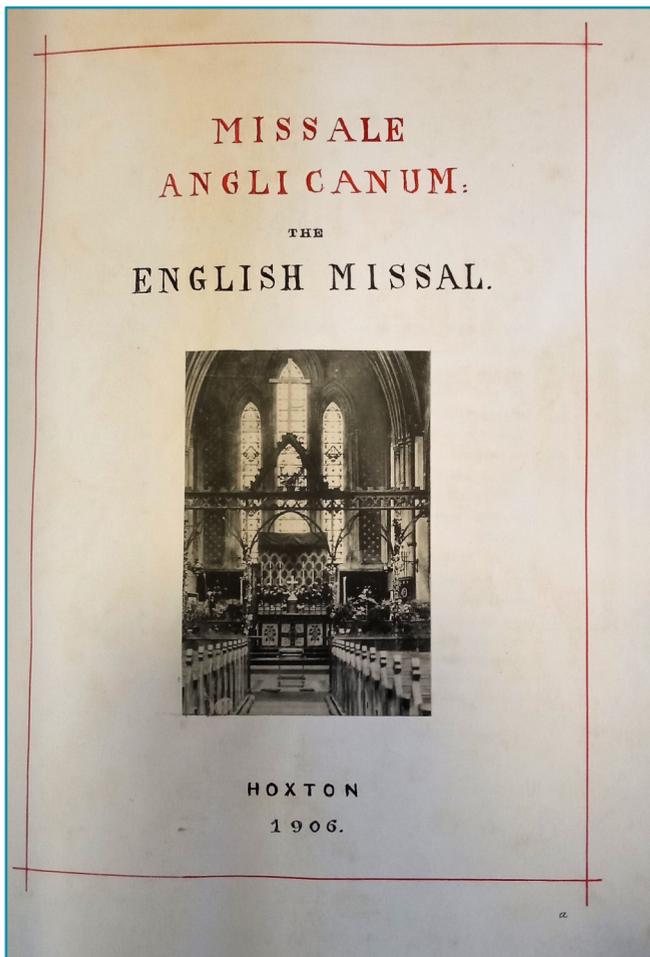
The Librarian of Pusey House

Oxford<sup>52</sup>



*Figure 7: The frontispiece is gloriously decorated, and very much sets the tone for what is to follow. Reproduced with the permission of the Principal and Chapter of Pusey House, shelf mark 265.331.*

<sup>52</sup> English Missal (1906), accompanying letter, reproduced with permission of the Principal and Chapter of Pusey House.



*Figure 8: Title Page. Reproduced with the permission of the Principal and Chapter of Pusey House, shelf mark 265.331.*

In the preface Kenrick makes clear what his intention was in producing the first manuscript edition of the *English Missal*. His rationale was very much after those earliest altar books, which were intended to supplement and not supplant the authorised liturgy of the *Book of Common Prayer*.

The idea of this book is to group the great pictures of the world around the Altar; and so to shew Art in captivity to Christ in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.

There is here also an attempt to combine absolute loyalty to the English Church and Liturgy with the felt want of systematic aids to the private devotions of the priest.

The Latin parts are sanctioned in principle by the Preface of the Book of Common Prayer 'Concerning the Service'.

One who desires to use only the Prayer Book can do so by reading only the English parts of this book. Any exceptions need the sanction of the Bishop.

H. W. G. Kenrick<sup>53</sup>

For Kenrick, the supplementation in his first *English Missal* was primarily by means of art. This embellishment with art takes two primary forms. The first is in terms of decoration whether it be by means of borders, lettering or original decorative artwork. The second is in terms of art that has been obtained from other sources, and has then been pasted onto the manuscript pages. Kenrick refers to these as the "great pictures of the world". In terms of the hand produced artwork, Kenrick gives a list of pages for which he is responsible for the "Initial Letters and borders", "[a]ll the others are by Sister Elizabeth".

In terms of the text of the liturgy, as Kenrick notes in the Preface, he is faithful to the text of the Prayer Book, and provides that text in its integrity. For the "private devotions of the priest", Latin texts from the *Missale Romanum* are given. No English translations of these texts are provided. For the Propers, the Prayer Book Collects and Lections are provided, supplemented with the Propers, in Latin, from the *Missale Romanum*. The Ordinary of the *Missale Romanum* is interspersed with the English text of the Prayer Book Communion Service. The rubrics of the *Missale Romanum* have been translated into English, but none of the Latin liturgical text has been translated. The Words of Institution from the *Missale Romanum* are omitted. A significant amount of plainchant is included, and where this is given for the Mass Parts, Merbecke's setting is used, although no chant is given for the *Agnus Dei*.

<sup>53</sup> English Missal (1906), preface, reproduced with permission of the Principal and Chapter of Pusey House. Note especially "There is here also an attempt to combine absolute loyalty to the English Church and Liturgy with the felt want of systematic aids to the private devotions of the priest."



Figure 9 (left): The typical schema for the propers is exemplified by the propers for Easter Day. Material from the Prayer Book is in English, that from the Missale Romanum is in Latin. Reproduced with the permission of the Principal and Chapter of Pusey House, shelf mark 265.331.

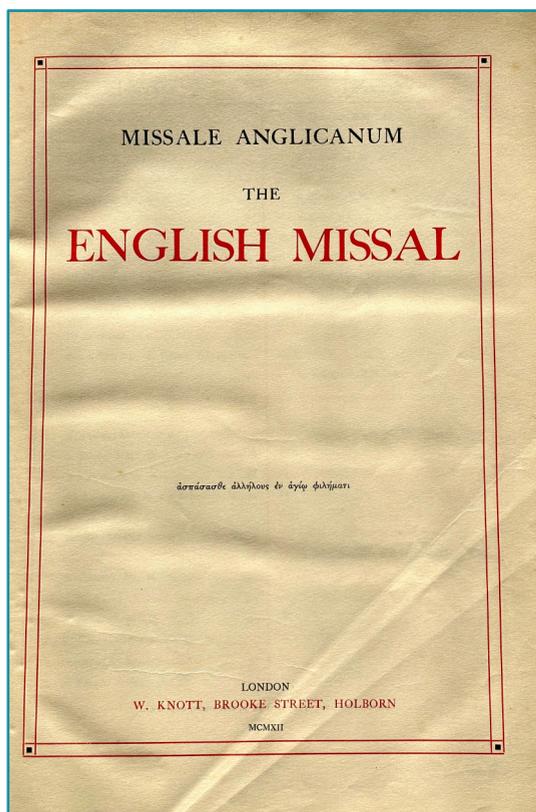
Figure 10 (below): Corpus Christi shows especially lavish decoration. Reproduced with the permission of the Principal and Chapter of Pusey House, shelf mark 265.331.



As was noted earlier, Kenrick explicitly states in his letter gifting the Missal to Pusey House, that he had “used it at the altar for some time”. There are various hand-written annotations and loose paper insertions found throughout the Missal that indicate this. This places the *English Missal* from its very beginnings amongst a stream of altar books that were used regularly by their owners at the altar during the celebration of the liturgy.

#### 4 *The English Missal is Published*

In his letter to the Librarian of Pusey House, Kenrick stated that he had his manuscript *English Missal* “translated into English, made many additions and then got it printed as (The English Missal)”. This edition, published in 1912, is known as the first edition.<sup>54</sup>



Little is known about the process of transforming the 1906 manuscript *English Missal* into the first published edition of 1912 aside from Kenrick’s own testimony, and the scant clues left in the Missal itself. Further distorting the situation is that for those familiar with the *English Missal*, that familiarity generally comes from the later editions. The first edition is the rarest, with the later editions being somewhat different from

*Figure 11: Title Page of the 1912 First Edition of the English Missal.*

<sup>54</sup> Missale Anglicanum. The English Missal, London 1912.

the first, as shall be examined later. It was published by W. Knott of Holborn, London, and printed by Herbert Fitch and Co., also in London. The focus on art is completely gone. No doubt it would have been prohibitively expensive to attempt to produce even a small portion of the artwork that had adorned Kenrick's manuscript Missal. A black and white crucifixion scene appears adjacent to the beginning of the Canon. It is on different paper to the rest of the Missal, and thus likely to have been produced or sourced separately, and then bound in with the rest of the leaves.

With a leaf size of 14 ¼ × 9 ½ inches (36 × 24 cm), the first edition was the largest of all the editions. It was bound in decoratively embossed leather with gold edging in the inside covers. The text was red and black, with red page borders.

Kenrick gives no information as to just who was responsible for translating the Latin texts into English. He never names himself within the *English Missal*, simply referring to "The Compiler". He does, however, acknowledge a number of sources in a paragraph found adjacent to the title page:

The Compiler desires to thank the Proprietors of the "English Hymnal"<sup>55</sup> and the "New Office Hymn Book"<sup>56</sup> for permission to reprint their translations of the Sequences; and Messrs. R. & T. Washbourne<sup>57</sup> for the use of many of their translations of the Collects, Secrets, and Post-communions, and the Holy Saturday service. Also the translator of the Friday Feasts of the Passion; the Compiler of the "Day Office of the Church"<sup>58</sup> for his translation of the Order of Blessing Holy Water; and the Proprietors of the "Order

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Percy DEARMER (ed.), *The English Hymnal*, with Tunes, London 1906.

<sup>56</sup> *The New Office Hymn Book* was jointly published by Novello and W. Knott. Cf. *The New Office Hymn Book* Parts I. and II. Part I. consisting of Introits for the Sundays and Festivals with the Graduals and Alleluias, and some Sequences. Part II. Consisting of Office Hymns, chiefly from the Roman and Sarum Breviaries, together with the Proper Melodies, London 1908.

<sup>57</sup> R & T Washbourne were a prolific publisher of the time. Kenrick does not specify which publication(s) the translations were taken from.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. *The Day Office of the Church According to the Kalendar of the Church of England*, to which are added the Order for the Administration of the Reserved Eucharist, Penance, and Unction; together with the Office of the Dead, Commendation of a Soul, Divers Benedictions, and Offices, and Full Rubrical Directions, London <sup>3</sup>1901.

of Divine Service”<sup>59</sup> for translations of the Candlemas, Ash-Wednesday and Palm-Sunday services.<sup>60</sup>

This would seem to account for the translations of many of the Propers, however not for the Ordinary of the Mass, for which no clues are given as to the source of its translation.

In terms of the overall *schema* of the first edition *English Missal*, it is very similar to that of the manuscript edition of 1906. The most significant difference is that the Latin text has been translated into English. With the exception of the Vesting Prayers, the only Latin to be found in the entire Missal is in the incipits. It retains the principle by which the Ordinary of the Mass reproduces the entirety of the 1662 Prayer Book, along with the entirety of the *Missale Romanum*, except for the Words of Institution. Like in the 1906 edition, the Prayer Book Prayer of Consecration is inserted after the *Quam oblationem*. Although the Words of Institution from

<sup>59</sup> This should not be confused with the *Order of Divine Service* by W. E. Orchard, which was first published in 1919. It seems most likely that Kenrick is referring to the *Order of Divine Service* that is referred to in *Ritual Notes*. From the first edition, *Ritual Notes* is referred to as “by the editors of ‘The Order of Divine Service’”. The preface to the first edition, which was reproduced in subsequent editions, names these editors as J. Nelson Burrows and Walter Plimpton. The Preface to the seventh edition of 1926 describes the *Order of Divine Service* as a “companion manual to ‘Ritual Notes’” which is “issued annually”. Cf. *Ritual Notes* (?1926), vi f. The Bodleian Library catalogue contains editions from 1887–1972. The 1893 edition can be found online (Gale Nineteenth Century Collections Online, British Politics and Society, The Oxford Movement: Tractarian Pamphlets at Pusey House: The Halifax and Church Sub-Collections). Its full title is *The Order of Divine Service for the Year of Our Lord 1893, According to the Kalendars of the English and Scottish Churches, with Ritual Notes*. It is essentially an *Ordo*, giving the liturgical calendar for the year. The “Ritual Notes” section appears to be a serialised publication, with a few pages published each year. This would seem to be the pre-cursor to the more familiar *Ritual Notes*, first published in 1894 as a stand-alone publication, with the *Order of Divine Service* serving as a companion. Cf. *The Order of Divine Service for the Year of Our Lord 1893, according to the Kalendars of the English and Scottish Churches, with Ritual Notes*, Oxford 1893.

<sup>60</sup> *English Missal* (1912), frontmatter.

the Roman Canon are not included, their corresponding rubrics are shown, alongside those from the Prayer Book. The Prayer Book rubrics are shown in small red italics while those from the *Missale Romanum* are in black italics. The result is that for the Prayer of Consecration, there are two sets of rubrics, which are inconsistent with one another.

This rubrical inconsistency can be seen throughout the entirety of the Ordinary. Apart from the Words of Institution, as noted above, rubrics from the Prayer Book and the *Missale Romanum* are both shown in red italic, however those from the *Missale Romanum* are in a larger font than those from the Prayer Book, apparently establishing a rubrical priority towards the *Missale Romanum*. Certainly, many of the rubrics originating from the *Missale Romanum* are inconsistent with what one might call a faithful celebration of the Prayer Book Communion Service, such as, for example, the direction that the entire Prayer of Consecration is said secretly after the Roman practice.

Concerning the Ordinary of the Mass, like the 1906 manuscript edition, everything from the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* is reproduced alongside most of the *Missale Romanum*.<sup>61</sup> The *Gloria* is in the Prayer Book position. This does result in inconsistencies and contradictions which, presumably, it falls upon the Celebrant to resolve.

In terms of content, the first edition *English Missal* is rather restrained. Firstly comes a calendar, including feasts from the Prayer Book and Roman calendars. Then, four pages of General Rubrics and Latin Vesting Prayers. The ordering of the Propers and Ordinary is typical of an altar missal: the Proper of the Season up to Holy Saturday, the Ordinary of the Mass, followed by the remainder of the Proper of the Season from Easter Day. Next, the Proper of Saints, the Common of Saints and Mass for Various Needs. Then a selection of Various Prayers are provided, consisting of Collect, Secret and Post-communion that can be used during Mass by the priest *ad libitum*. Subsequently follow Masses for the Dead, the Order for the Blessing of Holy Water, and Votive Masses. An appendix provides for Mass to be celebrated in certain places. Lastly are two indexes, the first of feasts and names, the second of Votive Masses.

<sup>61</sup> As Dalby has observed, cf. DALBY, *Anglican Missals*, 19.

## 5 *The English Missal throughout its Editions*

The *English Missal* ran to five editions, with the final edition published in 1958.<sup>62</sup> The *English Missal* began as an altar Missal, however, there developed various close relatives, which are beyond the scope of this study.<sup>63</sup> There were four people's editions produced, being *The English Missal for the Laity*<sup>64</sup> compiled by Herbert Drew.<sup>65</sup> It was not a study edition of the altar Missal, having its own translations and, as such, was often inconsistent with the altar editions.<sup>66</sup>

### 5.1 *The Second Edition*

As with the first edition, Kenrick was the compiler of the second edition, which contains an acknowledgement of sources similar to that found in the first edition.<sup>67</sup> As Kenrick notes in his acknowledgement, a number of

<sup>62</sup> The fifth edition was re-issued by Canterbury Press in 2001.

<sup>63</sup> There was an American Edition of the *English Missal*. Cf. The English Missal (American Edition), London 1958. There was also a *Rituale* which, like the *English Missal*, drew heavily from Roman sources. Cf. The English Ritual. The Book of Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church according to the Use of the Church in England, Wales and Scotland, together with the Form and Manner of Blessing Certain Persons and Things and with Sundry Prayers and Devotions, London 1944.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. [Herbert DREW], The English Missal for the Laity, London <sup>1</sup>1933; [ID.], The English Missal for the Laity, London <sup>2</sup>1943; [ID.], The English Missal for the Laity, London <sup>2</sup>1949; [ID.], The English Missal for the Laity, London <sup>3</sup>1958. The 1949 edition was a reprint of the second edition with alterations.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Michael YELTON, *Outposts of the Faith. Anglo-Catholicism in some Rural Parishes*, Norwich 2009, 22.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. *ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> "The Compiler desires to thank the Proprietors of the 'English Hymnal' and the 'New Office Hymn Book' for permission to reprint their translations of the Sequences; and Messrs. R. & T. Washbourne for the use of many of their translations of the Collects, Secrets, and Post-communions, and the Holy Saturday service. Also the Compiler of the 'Day Office of the Church' for his translation of the Order of Blessing Holy Water; and the Proprietors of the 'Order of Divine Service' for translations of the Candlemas, Ash-Wednesday and Palm-Sunday services. By arrangement with the Society of

the translations for the prayers had been changed, which, according to Michael Yelton, “drew on” the rival *Anglican Missal*.<sup>68</sup> These revised translations do not perfectly match those of the *Anglican Missal*. Yelton uses the nuanced phrase “drew on” in linking these revisions to the *Anglican Missal*, rather than them being taken *verbatim*. The change can be observed, for example, in the propers for the Fourth Sunday in Advent (see *following page*).

As can be seen, the revised prayers of the second edition of the *English Missal* do not match those of the contemporary first edition of the *Anglican Missal*, yet they may well have been influenced by them.

Like the first edition, the second was published by W. Knott, and printed by Herbert Fitch & Co. It is smaller in size than the first edition. The printing is black, with the exception of the Ordinary of the Mass, in which the rubrics appear in red, as do the paragraph initial letters. As with the first edition, the only illustration to be found in the entire Missal is the crucifixion scene adjacent to the beginning of the Canon of the Mass. No doubt it would have been much more economic to produce (and presumably purchase) than the first edition.

The overall *schema* of the second edition is similar to that of the first. Like the first, it begins with a calendar drawing from both Prayer Book and Roman calendars. Then follow the General Rubrics which are slightly expanded from those of the first edition. Vesting Prayers in Latin conclude the General Rubrics rather than being on their own page as in the first edition.

Then is found the Proper of the Season up until Holy Saturday. The Ordinary of the Mass follows. The rubrics take the same format as the first edition, with rubrics from the Prayer Book in smaller font than those of the *Missale Romanum*. The *Gloria* is printed in full in both the Roman and Prayer Book positions. This again shows that although Kenrick showed absolute loyalty to the texts of the Prayer Book and the *Missale*

SS. Peter and Paul, many of the prayers between Advent and Easter have been re-translated, and a few phrases from the ‘Exeter books’ have been incorporated.” *English Missal* (21923), frontmatter. The Exeter books were the predecessor to the 1921 *Anglican Missal*.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. YELTON, *Outposts of the Faith*, 21.

English Missal (1912), 9	English Missal ( <sup>2</sup> 1923), 9 f.	Anglican Missal (1921), A26 f.
<p><b>Introit</b> Drop down, ye heavens, from above, and let the skies pour down righteousness: let the earth be opened, and let it bring forth salvation. Ps. 19. Let the heavens declare the glory of God: and the firmament sheweth His handy-work. ℣. Glory.</p>	<p><b>Introit</b> Drop down, ye heavens, from above, and let the skies pour down righteousness: let the earth open, and bring forth salvation. Ps. 19. The heavens declare the glory of God: and the firmament sheweth his handy-work. ℣. Glory.</p>	<p><b>Introit</b> Drop down, ye heavens, from above, and let the skies pour down righteousness: let the earth open and bring forth a Saviour. Ps. 19. The heavens declare the glory of God: and the firmament sheweth his handy-work. ℣. Glory be.</p>
<p><b>Secret</b> Do Thou favourably regard these Sacrifices, we beseech Thee, O Lord; that they may both increase our devotion and advance our salvation.</p>	<p><b>Secret</b> We beseech thee, O Lord, favourably to regard these our oblations; that they may effectually avail both to the increase of our devotion and to the advancement of our salvation. Through.</p>	<p><b>Secret</b> We beseech thee, O Lord, mercifully to have respect unto these our oblations: that the same may be profitable unto us for our increase in all godliness, and for the attainment of everlasting salvation. Through.</p>
<p><b>Post-communion</b> Having partaken of Thy gifts, we beseech Thee, O Lord, that, with the frequenting of this Mystery, the working out of our salvation may advance.</p>	<p><b>Post-communion</b> Grant, O Lord, that we who have been partakers of these thy gifts may by continual drawing near unto this holy Mystery advance the working out of our salvation. Through.</p>	<p><b>Post-communion</b> O Lord, who hast here vouchsafed unto us to be partakers of thy bounty: grant, we beseech thee, that we may so continue to draw near unto the same, that growing more and more in grace, we may attain in the end to everlasting life. Through.</p>

*Romanum*, a priest who undiscerningly prayed the Mass from beginning to end would end up with, amongst other things, two *Glorias*.

The most immediately obvious difference of the second edition from the first is in the Canon of the Mass. Kenrick's manuscript *English Missal* includes the Latin texts from the *Missale Romanum*. In the first edition, those Latin texts have been translated into English. The original Latin text is not provided. In the second edition, the Canon of the Mass shows the texts from the *Missale Romanum* in both English and Latin. These stand side by side in columns, with Latin on the left, and English on the right. The rubrics are in English. On reaching the Words of Institution, even though there is no direct correlation between the two, the *Missale Romanum* Words of Institution in Latin are placed adjacent to the those from the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer*. The Last Gospel is given in both Latin and English, with the English text, as in the first edition, coming from the *Authorised Version*.

Similarly to the first edition, the Ordinary is followed by the remainder of the Proper of Season from Easter Day onwards, Proper of Saints, Common of Saints, Votive Masses, and Various Prayers. Then follow Masses for the Dead, with the addition of the Absolution over the Bier, Order for the Blessing of Holy Water, Various Benedictions and Benedictions reserved to a Bishop, and Masses for Certain Places. The second edition concludes with a single index which is divided into sub-categories.

## 5.2 *The Third Edition*

Before considering the contents of the third edition of the *English Missal*, the establishing of some context is necessary. The second edition had been published in 1923. The third was published in 1934. During those years England had witnessed a momentous liturgical crisis in the refusal of parliament to approve the so called *Deposited Book*, which would have become the 1928 *Book of Common Prayer*.<sup>69</sup> The push for a new Prayer Book was very much a response to the Ritualist and later Anglo-Catholic Movements originating in the nineteenth century. The Anglo-Catholic

<sup>69</sup> For more detail from an Anglo-Catholic and Anglo-Papalist perspective, see Michael YELTON, *Anglican Papalism. A History: 1900–1960*, Norwich 2005, 65–85.

Movement in the 1920s held high hopes for a revised official liturgy that could be understood as a Catholic liturgy of the Church of England, rather than the manifestly protestant liturgy of the 1662 Prayer Book. Those hopes were dashed when parliament refused to approve the *Deposited Book*.

As such, the events of 1928 marked a pivotal moment where it became clear that there would be no liturgy acceptable to Anglo-Catholics stemming from official sources, and as such there was a continuing need for publications such the *English Missal*. Anglicans who desired an English liturgy that could be understood in a Catholic sense would need to continue to do what they had been doing since the second half of the nineteenth century and provide that liturgy for themselves. It was in this spirit that there developed hopes to create a single Missal that would replace the *English Missal* and the *Anglican Missal*, and talks took place in 1932 towards this end.<sup>70</sup>

By now, Kenrick was 70 years old. In 1934 Knott's published the third edition of the *Missale Anglicanum* under their own initiative rather than it being the project of Kenrick.<sup>71</sup> As a result, the third edition was a significant departure from the *schema* and *ratio* that had been followed since 1906 with Kenrick's first manuscript Missal. The typographical style was very different to that of the first two editions, and was maintained into the fourth edition. As such, the third and fourth editions are the only two editions to exhibit a consistency in typographical style and layout.

It is obvious in examining the first and second editions that there were substantial cost pressures that adversely affected the quality of the end product. The third (and subsequent) editions used black and red text, with a selection of artwork and decorative motifs appearing throughout. The translations have once again been revised. As such, in the first three editions are three different sets of translations. With Kenrick no longer being the "compiler", the acknowledgment of sources that had been present adjacent to the title page in the first two editions is gone, replaced by a full page woodcut style artwork of God the Father, surrounded by angels and

<sup>70</sup> Cf. ID., *Outposts of the Faith*, 21 f.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 22.

the four evangelists. Knott's had by this point become W. Knott & Son, who are indicated as being both the publisher and the printer.

New to the third edition is a table of moveable feasts, for the years 1933 to 1975. Then comes the calendar, and General Rubrics, expanded from the second edition, but drawing from the text of that edition. Then follows two new sections, The Rites to be Observed in the Celebration of the Mass, and Preparation for Mass, concluding with the Vesting Prayers. In the second edition, the prayers themselves had been given in Latin with the rubrics in English. In the third edition, the prayers are in English rather than Latin. The Benedicite and Psalm 150 with prayers are given for Thanksgiving After Mass. There are then shown two full-page illustrations, the first for The Order of the Censing of the Oblations, and The Order of the Censing of the Altar.

Then follows the first part of the Proper of the Season from The First Sunday in Advent up to Holy Saturday. An innovation for the third edition is that the liturgical precedence is indicated for each set of propers. As previously noted, the translations have been again revised. Some of the more significant propers are accompanied with a black and white artwork, calling to mind Kenrick's original manuscript *English Missal* which had been adorned with artwork.

The Ordinary of the Mass is preceded by a woodcut of the Trinity. The Ordinary is quite similar to that of the first two editions. The difference between the rubrics from the Prayer Book and those from the *Missale Romanum* is maintained, however the difference in font size is much less noticeable than it previously had been. As with the second edition, the full text of the *Gloria* is given in the Roman position and the Prayer Book position. The general principle established by Kenrick is maintained, in that everything from the Prayer Book and everything from the *Missale Romanum* is provided. The Offertory Prayers are for the first time given in both Latin and English in side by side columns, along with rubrics in the corresponding language for each column. In the second edition, the Offertory had concluded with the secret, however in the third edition, the rubrics continue in their dual columns of Latin and English up until the conclusion of the *Benedictus*.

The page facing the Canon of the Mass is adorned with a woodcut crucifixion scene. The Canon itself represents a departure from the

*schema* established by Kenrick. To this point, the *English Missal* had provided what was essentially a single Canon of the Mass, notwithstanding the occasional inconsistency. In the third edition, this is no longer the case. The Canon is given in English only, whereas the second edition had provided Latin and English side by side. The English translation is different to that of the second edition. The entirety of the Roman Canon is provided, interspersed amongst the relevant sections from the Prayer Book, as had been done in the first editions. However, the Words of Institution are not in columns side by side as had been done in the second edition, but those from the Prayer Book first followed by those from the Roman Canon. As such, if the priest were to celebrate using the text within the Missal sequentially, he would pray the Words of Institution *twice*. As such, the logical structure and flow of the Eucharistic Prayer is somewhat confusing.

The only place in the entire Ordinary where Latin is given is the dismissal, where *Ite, Missa est* is provided as an option. Then the *Placeat tibi* in English, the final blessing, and the Last Gospel, from the Authorised Version. Then follow the Collects provided in the Prayer Book to be said after the Offertory when there is no Communion.

After this first Canon, another Canon is provided, this time entirely in Latin, including the rubrics, and is the *Canon Missae* of the *Missale Romanum*. It is faced with a full page woodcut of the crucifixion, which is identical to the woodcut facing the preceding English Canon.

Next follows the remainder of the Proper of the Season and Proper of Saints, a Supplement of additional Propers, a Table of Prayers that may be used within Mass, Common of Saints, and Votive Masses. Next are provided further Various Prayers that can be said *ad libitum* within the Mass. Then is given Masses of the Dead, Various Prayers for the Dead with Absolution over the Bier. Finally is given The Order for Blessing of Water and Various Benedictions.

### 5.3 *The Fourth Edition*

The fourth edition of the *Missale Anglicanum* was published by W. Knott & Son in 1940, only six years after the third edition. This would be the shortest interval between publication of any of the editions. As in the third edition, Knott's self-identify themselves as the printer. The general style and

layout is similar to the third edition. The leaf size is identical to the third edition. The same woodcut of God the Father is found adjacent to the title page. Then follows a table of moveable feasts, running from 1940 to 1982, the Calendar, which again distinguishes feasts not found in the Prayer Book by italics, and General Rubrics. The text of the General Rubrics is identical to the third edition, however the font size has been reduced so as to take up fewer pages. The Rites to be Observed in Celebrating Mass are also identical to the third edition, albeit with reduced font size.

Preparation for Mass, Vesting Prayers in English, and Thanksgiving after Mass are all identical to the third edition including artwork, except for reduced font size for the Preparation and Thanksgiving. Two pages of illustrations showing the Order of the Censing of the Oblations and the Order of the Censing of the Altar, again identical to the third edition, are provided.

The Proper of the Season up to Holy Saturday is identical to that of the third edition, not only in content, but in layout and artwork.<sup>72</sup> Even the page numbering and printers marks are identical. As the translations of the Propers are identical to those of the third edition, the fourth edition is the first edition to retain the translations found within its predecessor.

Then follows the Ordinary of the Mass. It begins with a Trinitarian woodcut illustration, identical to that found in the third edition. Likewise, the content and typography of the Ordinary is identical to that of the third edition, including page numbers and printers marks, up until the Offertory. The last page of the Offertory (page 200) has the same content as the third edition, however the Prayer for the Church is no longer at the bottom of the page as in the third edition.<sup>73</sup> Rather, the fourth edition places it on the adjacent page, in much larger font, such that it takes up all of page 201 and half of page 202. Then follows the remainder of the Ordinary, the text being identical to the third edition.

<sup>72</sup> A previous owner of the fourth edition in this author's library has obtained coloured artworks and pasted them over the top of some of the black and white woodcut illustrations, in a manner remarkably similar to Kenrick's manuscript *Missale Anglicanum*.

<sup>73</sup> To make the point clear, the third and fourth editions are identical from pages 1 to 199.

The artwork on the first page of the Prefaces has changed from the third edition. As with the third edition, a variation to the Prefaces for “Thrones and Dominations” is included for some Prefaces, however the third edition simply referred to the first instance of this text, whereas in the fourth edition it is reproduced in the Prefaces where it is given as an option. The fourth edition provides fewer Prefaces in ferial chant than the third edition. The Prefaces are followed immediately by the Prayer of Humble Access, as in the third edition.

As in all previous editions, the leaf to the left of the beginning of the Canon of the Mass displays an artwork of the crucifixion, in this case identical to that found in the third edition. The Canon of the Mass itself is identical to that of the third edition. It is almost identical in typography, with only the slightest changes. Due to the reduced length of the Prefaces in the fourth edition, the page number sequencing of the fourth edition trails the third by twenty pages.

Following this Canon, there is an innovation to the fourth edition, being the Prayer of Consecration from the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer*, which, as with the third edition, had been included in the preceding English language Canon. In this instance, however, additional rubrics and actions have been added such that celebration according to this Canon would result in use of the 1662 Prayer Book Canon with similar actions to that of the *Missale Romanum*. Furthermore, the Prayer of Oblation<sup>74</sup> is given immediately after the Consecration, according to the so called *Interim Rite*.<sup>75</sup> This section has its own page number system, ranging from 285\* to 289\*.

<sup>74</sup> The Prayer of Oblation is the prayer which begins with “O Lord and heavenly Father, we thy humble servants”, appearing immediately after the Lord’s Prayer in the 1662 Prayer Book. In the first (1549) Prayer Book, it appeared immediately after the Words of Institution. See CUMMINGS, *Book of Common Prayer*, 31 f. 403 f.

<sup>75</sup> It was this form of the Prayer of Consecration, including the actions and gestures, that were most commonly used by this author when an Anglican priest. The *Interim Rite* was a practice adopted whereby the Prayer of Oblation was moved from its 1662 position to its 1549 position, meaning that the overall shape of the Eucharistic Prayer looked more like the Roman Canon, rather than abruptly terminating immediately after the Consecration.

At the conclusion of the Our Father, a rubric directs to page 280 where the initial Canon in English continues.

There then follows another Canon, which is, as in the third edition, the *Canon Missae* of the *Missale Romanum*. Again, it is faced with the same full page woodcut of the crucifixion used in the two preceding. The typography has been completely revised from that of the third edition, with a larger font size. The initial capitals are of a more decorative style. Unlike the third edition, this Canon has no page numbers. The much larger typography would seem to indicate a clear intention for the priest to be able to celebrate from this Canon, rather than it being provided only for “reference” purposes.

Unlike the third edition, the Communion Rite up to the conclusion of the *Pater Noster*, gives firstly an English version, along with musical notation, and the rubrics in English, and then the Latin equivalent, albeit without music. The Fraction is given firstly in Latin and then in English. At the Dismissal, forms additional to those in the third edition are provided, with the rubrics for each form in English, with the texts “Let us bless the Lord” and “May they rest in peace” given in English only. Then follows the remainder of the Proper of Seasons from Easter Day. The typography is very similar to that of the third edition, however the content is not identical.

The Table of Prayers which in the third edition had followed the Proper of Saints and Supplement has been moved to immediately after the Proper of Seasons. Then are the Proper of Saints, the Supplement of prayers, and a single leaf two page “Common of One or Many Supreme Pontiffs”, which has no page numbers, and is on thicker paper than the surrounding leaves. Then follows the Common of Saints and Votive Masses. As with the third edition, Various Prayers for use *ad libitum* during the Mass are then provided. As with the third edition, Various Prayers for use *ad libitum* during the Mass are then provided, with Masses of the Dead, Various Prayers for the Dead, Absolution Over the Bier, Order for Blessing of Water, Various Benedictions, Blessings, and finally an Alphabetical Index of All Feasts.

The fourth edition is very similar to the third in its overall look and feel, something that cannot be said of the editions which Kenrick was the compiler. However, the fourth edition seems to manifest, in places, a particularly incoherent structure. This is especially noted in the various page

numbering systems, including some sections and pages that have no number at all. Some sections look as if they have, more or less, been copied and pasted from the third edition. In some instances, one wonders whether the printer's plates have even been reused from the third edition. Other sections, however, have been completely re-worked. The choices for the Eucharistic Prayer are especially confusing, with three provided, along with various options.

#### 5.4 *The Fifth Edition*

Knott's published the fifth edition of the *Missale Anglicanum* in 1958. This would also be the last. The entire *ratio* of the *Missale Anglicanum* from the very beginning had been faithfulness to the Latin *Missale Romanum* in the context of the English Prayer Book. The Second Vatican Council made it clear that the Roman Missal was to be revised, with the ultimate result being, for Anglophones, a liturgy spoken aloud in English with responses made by the people. For Anglo-Catholics, and certainly Anglo-Papalists, who sought to demonstrate their catholicity by importing and imitating as much of the Roman Mass as possible, and with the Anglican Church preparing for its own liturgical revisions, it seemed there were only two logical options. The first was to simply use the Roman *novus ordo* faithfully, and many Anglo-Catholics did precisely this. The second was to pretend that nothing had happened and to keep on using the *Missale Anglicanum* in its pre-Vatican II guise. Either option led to the same conclusion – there could be no justification for any further editions of the *Missale Anglicanum*.

As has been previously noted, the third and fourth editions were very similar in typography, sharing identical leaf sizes, and in places looking even as if the plates from the third edition may have been reused in the fourth. The fifth edition uses a slightly smaller leaf size than the third and fourth editions. The rectangular border which had surrounded the pages from the first edition is gone. Indeed, the entire look and feel is notably different from that which had been maintained across the first four editions. Much had changed at Knott's since 1940. Knott's were no longer at their 26 Brooke Street, Holborn address, and were now at 8-16 Coronet Street, Hoxton – ironically less than a mile from what had been Kenrick's

church, Holy Trinity Hoxton. According to Peter Elliott, the printers plates for the *Missale Anglicanum* were destroyed in the London blitz around 1940 or 1941.<sup>76</sup> While this has not been confirmed, the web site “bomb-sight.org” shows two bomb strikes very close to the Knott premises falling sometime between October 7, 1940 and June 6, 1941.<sup>77</sup>

There is no woodcut adjacent to the title page. W. Knott & Son Ltd. are again identified as the publisher and printer. A table of moveable feasts from 1956 to 1982 is provided and then the Kalendar. No distinction is made between feasts originating from the *Missale Romanum* and the Prayer Book. All of the pre-matter of the fourth edition is absent, except for the artworks indicating the Order of the Censing of the Oblations and the Order of the Censing of the Altar. The artwork is similar, although not identical to that of the fourth edition.

Then follows the Proper of the Season. The first page is faced by Raphael’s *Anisdei Madonna*. The content has clearly been revised from the fourth edition. There are additional alternative Collects. There is a note at the beginning of the Proper of Season indicating that where alternatives are given, the first option is from the Prayer Book. The translations are similar to those of the fourth edition but are not always identical. The Propers for Christmas Day are faced with Boticelli’s *Mystic Nativity*.

One of the fundamental principles of the *Missale Anglicanum* from its very beginnings was absolute faithfulness to the *Missale Romanum*. As such, as changes were made to the *Missale Romanum* these were also reflected through the editions of the *Missale Anglicanum*. Amongst the most notable example of this found in the fifth edition is the changes to the Holy Week ceremonies which reflect the 1955 changes to Holy Week promulgated by Pius XII.<sup>78</sup>

As in previous editions, the Ordinary begins immediately after the Propers for Holy Saturday. Firstly, the entirety of the Prayer Book Communion Service is given. This is then followed by the Order of Mass, in Eng-

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Peter ELLIOTT, The English Missal ‘Secret Code’, email to the author from 26 September 2020, Melbourne.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. High Explosive Bomb at Waterhouse Square. URL: [bombsight.org](http://bombsight.org). 

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Ordo Hebdomadae Sanctae Instauratus, Vatican City 1956; *Missale Anglicanum*. The English Missal, London <sup>5</sup>1958, 142–223.

lish, from the *Missale Romanum*. The Offertory Prayers are presented after the manner of the fourth edition – side by side columns including rubrics, with Latin on the left and English on the right. As with the fourth edition, this continues up to the *Benedictus*. The Prefaces follow after the Prayer for the Church Militant. The Prayer of Humble Access is then given, with a note “When it is to be said here”, followed by a rubric indicating to the priest the beginning of the Canon, and then giving page numbers for the Canon in either English or Latin. The Canon of the Mass, in English, follows, faced by a full colour print of Valasquez’ *Crucifixion*. This English translation of the Canon is different to that of the fourth edition.

After the *Quam oblationem*, the Prayer Book Prayer of Consecration is inserted, including Words of Institution, with the Prayer of Oblation, up until the beginning of the Our Father. Then, the *Missale Romanum* Words of Institution and the remainder of the Roman Canon, all in English are given. The *ad libitum* nature of the Eucharistic Prayer is amplified by additional rubrics which appear at the end of the Prayer Book Prayer of Consecration, which tell the priest which page numbers to turn to if he wishes to omit the Prayer of Oblation and continue immediately with the *Missale Romanum* Canon of the Mass.

The Prayer of Thanksgiving<sup>79</sup> is located in its Prayer Book position, however, the Prayer of Oblation is not reproduced again, having being inserted after the Prayer Book Words of Institution. The *Gloria* is not given in its Prayer Book position. The Last Gospel is according to the *Authorised Version*.

After the Ordinary, and unique to the fifth edition, is an Order for the Administration of Holy Communion. This is followed by the Canon Missae in Latin, again faced by Valasquez’ *Crucifixion*. The same English options as found in the fourth edition for the Pater Noster, the Fraction, and the Dismissal are provided.

The Proper of Seasons resumes with Easter Day, faced by Piero della Francesca’s *Resurrection* in full colour. In addition to Sundays after

<sup>79</sup> The “Prayer of Thanksgiving” is found in the Book of Common Prayer. In the 1662 Prayer Book, it appears immediately after the Prayer of Oblation. It begins “Almighty and everliving God, we most heartily thank thee”. CUMMINGS, Book of Common Prayer, 404.

Trinity, propers for Sundays after Pentecost are provided. This is followed by a Table of Prayers, Proper of Saints, Additional Feasts Proper to England and Wales, Common of Saints and Votive Masses, Various Prayers for use *ad libitum*, Masses of the Dead, Various Prayers for the Dead and the Rite of Absolution at Funerals, and the Rite of Absolution When the Body of the Departed is absent, from the English Ritual. Then follows the Order for Blessing of Water, Various Benedictions and Blessings, and finally an Alphabetical Index of all Feasts.

Despite the apparent loss of the printer's plates and the passage of eighteen years since the last edition of the *Missale Anglicanum*, the fifth edition is, on the whole, faithful to what had been established in the fourth and third editions before it. Overall, it is much better ordered in terms of consistency of page numbering, and does not appear to suffer from "copying and pasting" in the way the fourth edition did. That being said, the options for Eucharistic Prayers are even more bewildering in the fifth edition than the fourth.

### 5.5 *The Missale Anglicanum Across the Editions*

The published editions of the *Missale Anglicanum* manifest three distinct phases. The first phase is the first two editions, which Kenrick was responsible for. The second phase is the third and fourth editions, both of which Knott's was responsible for. These two editions were published only six years apart, and are very similar in their style and typography. The third phase is the fifth edition, also the responsibility of Knott's, however almost twenty years after the fourth edition, and completely re-typeset.

The development of the *English Missal* was such that the structural variations between the editions make it impossible to produce a table to show the variations as was done above for *Priest to the Altar* and *Ritual of the Altar*. For example, the earlier editions contained a single Ordinary of the Mass, with content from the Prayer Book and *Missale Romanum* interspersed together. The later editions contained not only multiple Ordinaries, but also multiple Eucharistic Prayers. As such, the later editions do not contain a single Order of Mass, but multiple Orders which can be selected from *ad libitum* by the priest.

What should be clear from the preceding sections is that whilst all of the editions of the *Missale Anglicanum* share many commonalities, there are also significant differences between all of the editions, including in translation. There are three distinctive translations of the Roman Canon across the editions of the *Missale Anglicanum*. It is common for people who would describe themselves as Anglo-Catholics or as lovers of the Anglican Patrimony to reference the *English Missal* as an exemplar and indeed an authoritative source of this tradition. This study should, however, make it clear that the substantial differences between the editions demand that any claim to authority must qualify just *which* edition is being referred to.

While the *English Missal*, along with the *Anglican Missal*, might be amongst the best known of the Anglo-Catholic altar Missals, this article has sought to show how the earliest of the Anglo-Catholic altar books were enablers for the *English Missal*. It was they that had established what was possible in terms of form and content.

The Movement had survived two royal commissions. The peak of the Anglo-Catholic Movement in the early to mid-twentieth century corresponded with the publication run of the *English Missal*. With a widespread belief that corporate reunion with Rome was inevitable<sup>80</sup>, for many Anglo-Papalist<sup>81</sup> priests, it seemed logical that there should be a copy of the *English Missal* in their sacristy, perhaps next to a *Missale Romanum*.<sup>82</sup> The early altar books had made the *English Missal* possible. The circumstances of history are what popularised it.

<sup>80</sup> As seen, for example, in the exchange of rings between Pope Paul VI and Archbishop of Canterbury Michael Ramsay in 1966.

<sup>81</sup> That is, Anglo-Catholic priests with a strong belief in the role of the Pope and favourable towards reunion with Rome.

<sup>82</sup> For many Anglo-Papalists, the *English Missal* was favoured over the *Anglican Missal* precisely because of the loyalty of the EM to the *Missale Romanum*.

## *Abbreviations*

AM	The Anglican Missal
ECU	English Church Union
EM	Missale Anglicanum: The English Missal
JLS	Joint Liturgical Studies
SCH	Studies in Church History
SSC	Societas Sanctae Crucis (English: Society of the Holy Cross)

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