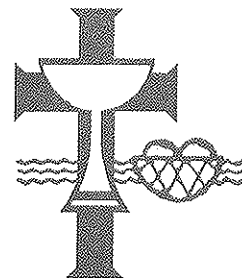


ASSOCIATED PARISHES  
AND  
THE MAKING OF THE  
1979 PRAYER BOOK

Celebrating the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary  
of Associated Parishes,  
this republication  
has been made available  
as a memorial to  
Henry Breul



Associated Parishes  
50 Years of Service

# Associated Parishes and the 1979 Prayer Book

The 1979 American Book of Common Prayer is a tangible fruit of the work of Associated Parishes, a group founded in 1946 that helped reorient the church's worship and self-identity by naturalizing the modern liturgical movement in an Episcopal context.

Associated Parishes prepared the ground for the 1979 prayer book throughout the 1950s and 1960s: parishes committed to A.P.'s program sought to be laboratories of a renewed life of worship and work centered on the altar; A.P.'s brochures, newsletter, and liturgical books spread the liturgical movement by showing parishes how to do liturgical renewal; A.P.'s three major liturgical conventions focused the national church's attention on the liturgical agenda and built a body of informed opinion in favor of change; and in its members' meetings, A.P. was a place for scholars as well as pastors and laity to think, talk, argue, and pray about liturgical renewal.

When prayer book revision began in the 1960s, A.P. members sat on key drafting committees of the new rites and on the Standing Liturgical Commission which directed the process. At general conventions of the 1960s and 1970s, A.P. was in the thick of the prayer book revision debates - addressing committees, publishing news reports, talking to delegates on the floor, and organizing and celebrating liturgies at the conventions' request.

A.P. never was absorbed with narrow questions of ceremonial, but with the relation between liturgy and world; A.P. had a vision of renewing the church by drawing people to the worship of God in order that they might turn around and minister to the world in God's name. A.P.'s program included the eucharist as the principal act of worship; the centrality of baptism for ecclesiology, ministry, and mission; and an emphasis on the role of the laity. With the 1979 prayer book, A.P.'s cause was taken up by the whole church.

## *Influences and Background*

The modern liturgical movement in the Episcopal Church owes its origin to William Palmer Ladd (1870-1941), a pragmatic, plain-speaking priest, educator, and author, who insisted on the distinctive strengths of the American prayer book and the potential within Anglicanism for the recovery of past usage and the creation of new synthesis.<sup>1</sup>

The liturgical movement represented to Ladd an opportunity for evangelically-minded churchmen<sup>2</sup> to carry a step forward the liturgical ideals of the Reformation - ideals like the place of the laity in worship, frequent communion, criticism of individualism in worship, an appeal to the liturgical usage of the ancient church, and worship in a language understood of the people.<sup>3</sup>

Ladd frankly scorned both Roman Catholic and anglo-catholic liturgical practice.<sup>4</sup> "What we need is more of the Non-jurors's love of learning and of John Wesley's zeal for the realities of religion, he said.<sup>5</sup>

Ladd, however, was alert to the ecumenical dimension of the liturgical revival that was stirring in Europe and America; he was the first person to popularize the liturgical movement in the Episcopal Church and to set it in relation to the ecumenical movement, Christian social action, and a sound liturgical art.<sup>6</sup> Ladd was in touch with European centers of the Roman Catholic liturgical renewal like the Benedictine abbey at Maria Laach in Germany where he "had many friends who helped him become conversant with the pioneering liturgical scholarship in pre-war Germany."<sup>7</sup>

But as far as Ladd was concerned, the modern liturgical movement in Anglicanism was the bringing to fruition in a new cultural and intellectual context the work of the Reformation. "It would be a mistake," he wrote, "to regard the liturgical movement in the Roman Catholic Church as something novel and original."<sup>8</sup> The modern movement's goals "are precisely the ideals which animated the Anglican liturgical movement of the XVI century and produced our Book of Common Prayer."<sup>9</sup>

The new cultural and intellectual context which Ladd saw posing new questions and new needs was the world of post-Christianity. Given the "eruption of paganism and barbarism in the World War and since," Ladd said, the urgent question facing the church was "whether England, America, and the modern world will ever again listen to the gospel of Jesus Christ."<sup>10</sup> In the face of what he called "our new polytheism" of commercialism and humanism in America, and fascism, communism, nationalism, and totalitarianism in Europe, Ladd pleaded for a rediscovery of the bonds of community centered in God the Father and in Christ and sacramentalized in the eucharist.<sup>11</sup> The liturgy must speak to the lives and circumstances of men and women today, spark their imagination and will, and arouse a sense of participating in what lies behind the struggles of life, the millennial drama of redemption, Ladd said. If it did not, the church would become increasingly irrelevant to the questions and concerns of modern society.<sup>12</sup>

The liturgical movement confronted the Episcopal Church with a great opportunity to influence this emerging world, said Ladd, but inept leadership or

refusal to adapt the liturgy to modern needs would kill it. "Nothing is more important than that the liturgical movement should take the right direction in this country at the present time," Ladd wrote. What that involved, he said, was "adapting our inherited forms of worship to the modern situation" so that the church could be prepared "to meet the needs of a generation it has done so much to mislead and to alienate."<sup>13</sup>

Ladd's *Prayer Book Interleaves*, published in 1942 after his death at 71, is a milestone in the modern liturgical history of the Episcopal Church. Ladd began collecting these occasional magazine articles into a book during his final illness because, he said, he wanted those "who have the liturgical destiny of the Church in their hands" to "seriously consider the facts and ideas" to which he had devoted his life.<sup>14</sup>

Theodore O. Wedel was one of those who "heard that there was resident in New Haven an expert in liturgical learning" and "made bold to ask for an interview."<sup>15</sup> A series of dialogue sessions followed, and Wedel began to read liturgy under Ladd's guidance, which led him to "a major, even revolutionary, event in my imaginative understanding of the Eucharist."<sup>16</sup> As a result of his commitment to the liturgical movement, Wedel later befriended and encouraged the fledgling A. P.; he hosted the group's founding meeting, and frequented subsequent meetings, at the College of Preachers in Washington, D.C., where he was warden. "A.P. will always be indebted to him," said one of A.P.'s co-founders, Samuel E. West.<sup>17</sup>

In particular, Ladd had a profound influence on Massey H. Shepherd, Jr. (1913-1990), who was a founding member of A.P. and one of the most important figures in Episcopal liturgical scholarship and prayer book reform leading to the 1979 revision. Ladd and Shepherd were "very close" and there is "no question of the impact of the personality and thought of Ladd upon the guiding spirit of liturgical reform in the Episcopal Church."<sup>18</sup> According to one friend who had known Shepherd for nearly fifty years, Ladd "greatly influenced" Shepherd's "thinking and his liturgical style."<sup>19</sup>

The 25-year-old Shepherd, fresh from earning his Ph.D. at the University of Chicago in 1937, first met Ladd in the winter of 1938. Shepherd had written to Ladd about making a visit to Berkeley and received from him "a letter of urgent welcome (he always wanted to know young people)."<sup>20</sup>

What the young Shepherd found "remarkable" about Ladd was his "very progressive . . . outlook" coupled with historical scholarship.<sup>21</sup> Shepherd went into residence at Berkeley periodically from 1938 to 1941 and also spent six months studying and lecturing there near the end of Ladd's life in 1941.

Shepherd modeled a 1946 collection of his own liturgical commentaries on that of his "teacher and friend," and Ladd was one of two to whom Shepherd dedicated his book.<sup>22</sup> Ladd himself, in his preface to *Prayer Book Interleaves*, mentioned in particular the help of his "friend and pupil," while Ladd's wife, in an addition to the preface after Ladd's death, acknowledged her "incalculable" debt to Shepherd in bringing Ladd's written legacy to fruition.<sup>23</sup> When *Prayer Book Interleaves* was reissued in 1957 to bring Ladd's testament to a "younger

generation that did not know him face to face," it was Shepherd who wrote a foreword.<sup>24</sup>

Ladd was the forerunner of the liturgical movement in the Episcopal Church, but he was not alone in shaping awareness of liturgical issues. American scholars like Walter Lowrie, Edward Lambe Parsons, Bayard Hale Jones, Charles Winfred Douglas, and others also were educating the church in liturgical values and actually helping to change the church's practice.

These men recognized the affinity of the Episcopal liturgical movement with its manifestations in Roman Catholicism and in other churches. The difference was that they started with the prayer book. The internal political and pastoral issues which Roman Catholics of the time faced necessarily meant that the liturgical movement in that church had its own configuration.<sup>25</sup> Among the differences Shepherd mentioned to a 1958 A.P. audience were the Roman Catholic Church's "policy of nonco-operation with other Christian bodies" which "has largely excluded from all its several activities in liturgical revival the active participation of members of other Churches who are deeply interested in the movement" — so that the impact at that time of the Roman Catholic liturgical movement on other churches had been "indirect and undirected."<sup>26</sup> Other divergences Shepherd pointed to were "the extensive discussions concerning the use of the vernacular in the liturgy . . . the complications of adjusting liturgical experiment to the intricate corpus of canon law, and . . . the restrictions laid about theological speculation by the rigid dogmatic structure of the Roman Church."<sup>27</sup>

Not only its liturgical, but its political starting point gave the liturgical movement in the American church its particular quality. Open church government by laity as well as clergy at the parish, diocesan, and national levels; limited, constitutional episcopacy; a toleration of theological plurality in the absence of a confessional document or a magisterium; and the creation in 1928 of the Standing Liturgical Commission with an explicit mandate for continuing prayer book revision<sup>28</sup> — all channeled the Episcopal liturgical movement in courses dug by the Reformation, the American political temperament, and Anglican experience of periodic prayer book revision. Together, these formed people's presuppositions, perceptions of what was possible, and expectations.

Shepherd characterized the interaction of influences of liturgical renewal among the churches as occurring through "an indefinable free play of ideas and personal acquaintances"<sup>29</sup> and through "exact scholarship [that] is not bounded by ecclesiastical commitments."<sup>30</sup> Books by English scholars, like A. G. Hebert's *Liturgy and Society*,<sup>31</sup> published in 1935, and, ten years later, Dom Gregory Dix's *The Shape of the Liturgy*<sup>32</sup> were read on this side of the Atlantic. The liturgical movement in the Church of England, however, had a negligible effect on the American scene.

The problems, from an American point of view, of the English liturgical movement are summed up in the history of the Parish and People Movement, which was founded three years after A.P.<sup>33</sup> From 1949 to 1970, Parish and

People worked to revive the principles of corporate worship in the Church of England, primarily through advocacy of the parish communion. Though Parish and People was generally well-regarded in the English church,<sup>34</sup> it expired because it was unable to link its advocacy of parish communions and offertory processions with the deeper issues of the liturgical movement. The parish communion proved to be widely popular — but Parish and People did not seem to have the same success in articulating a theological and liturgical rationale for the centrality of the eucharist, nor was it able to work out the connections between liturgy and society.<sup>35</sup> Its constituency, too, represented an uneasy alliance between two mutually exclusive points of view — anglo-catholic and evangelical — so that its liturgical policies sometimes grew out of expediency, sometimes out of liturgical and theological enlightenment.<sup>36</sup> Nor could the prayer book serve as a focus of unity for the English movement when part of its constituency repudiated the book and all it stood for, while the other practically equated it with the ark of the Lord. Parish and People reflected this circumstance in that it had no clear position on the prayer book and its authority and teaching<sup>37</sup> nor, therefore, on the future direction of liturgical reform. A.P. maintained a nodding acquaintance with Parish and People from about 1950 until that group's death in 1970, but the complex of circumstances and problems that defined the English group's work meant that there was a gulf fixed between the English movement and the American, even if they had common ideals and goals.

*"Divine Discontent With Things As They Are:" A.P. Is Born, 1946*

A.P. was founded "by a group of clergy who were in despair over eleven o'clock Sunday morning," according to Henry H. Breul, onetime president of the organization.

The reign of *Solemn Morning Prayer* was in place, but a titanic war had shuffled peoples' value structures so that static-intellectual worship no longer carried the faith along. The Liturgical Movement had come to fruition in the publishing of Dix's *The Shape of the Liturgy* in 1945 and dramatic changes were in the wind. A.P.'s despair led to years of effort culminating in the Book of Common Prayer 1979 . . .<sup>38</sup>

In the common room of the College of Preachers, Washington, D.C., on the evening of 6 November 1946, A.P. was born. John Oliver Patterson (1908-1988), rector of Grace Church, Madison, Wisconsin, had called together eleven other clergymen, including Shepherd, to see if they could not "stir up divine discontent with things as they are."<sup>39</sup>

Patterson, like Ladd, was "convinced that the Church is not making the impact it might upon our world today." He was "disturbed by the gap which exists between our Christian ideals and their expression in the lives of individuals and parishes" and believed that "the Holy Spirit is at work in that

movement known as the 'Liturgical Revival' and that our own Church has a rare opportunity to apply the principles behind that movement."<sup>40</sup>

The twelve clergy gathered at the College of Preachers spent the entire first morning of their meeting in a two-and-a-half hour meditation led by Bishop Noble Powell of Maryland. They attended the Holy Communion each morning in the cathedral next door to the college, and prayed daily Morning and Evening Prayer. They heard presentations on the liturgical movement, organization of the parish, worship in the parish, christian education, evangelism, and the liturgical arts. Finally, on the concluding two days of the meeting, Patterson spoke on the projected organization of A.P. Articles of incorporation, a constitution, by-laws, and an "Accepted Corporate Program" were adopted, giving A.P. an identity and a course of action.<sup>41</sup>

Underlying the superstructure was a simple plan. These twelve priests would begin to implement the liturgical movement in their parishes — first by restoring the eucharist as central. They would keep in touch with one another for mutual accountability and support. They would use their own parishes as laboratories and, when they had some concrete results, they could think about sharing the results of their experiment with other parishes of the Episcopal Church.<sup>42</sup>

Forty years later — after seeing the 1979 prayer book adopted and all that A.P. stood for recognized by the whole church — Patterson recalled to a new generation of A.P. members what those early years were like.

To some degree A.P. was organized to aid and serve battered clergy who had perhaps found that by themselves they were making little progress against firmly entrenched attitudes in what Julian Bartlett once called "incestuous" parishes. So also A.P. was organized to aid and serve battered parishes in which concerned laity were making little progress against status-quo entrenched clergy. It worked both ways!

It is fair to say that, for many clergy and laity, Associated Parishes offered a secure sense of belonging to something larger, wiser, stronger than they themselves were. The group offered the parishes of the Church a witness and testimony saying in effect: "Look, this is what we are doing and at least this part of it works."<sup>43</sup>

A.P.'s starting point was the people. The parish communion would be the main service on Sunday. The ceremonial would serve the people: offertory processions, reading the gospel in the midst of the people, banning choir processions and recessions, choosing service music that the people could join in — all aimed at enhancing the people's sense of participating in the great action of self-offering, the eucharist. Altars ought to be of the "liturgical" kind (perhaps they meant freestanding so that priest and people could face one another), and church art and architecture ought to be clear, joyful, and simple.<sup>44</sup> Daily Morning and Evening Prayer ought to take place publicly in an A.P. parish and baptisms, marriages, and burials should be celebrated as public

services in the church building.<sup>45</sup>

An A.P. parish would use only the authorized liturgy of the church, the prayer book and hymnal.<sup>46</sup> This loyalty to the prayer book as the standard of practice and teaching put A.P. solidly within the church's ethos and later lent it credibility in prayer book revision.

The experience of authentic fellowship around the altar was to be spelled out in parish life. In addition to the canonically-established vestry, A.P. parishes were to have a parish council with committees responsible for evangelism, education, worship, stewardship, and house and grounds.<sup>47</sup> A fundamental theological conviction underlay A.P.'s organizational agenda.

The members of the Council thus say to the Parish, 'Here is a job for all of us. All of us, clergy and laity alike, share a royal priesthood differing not in importance but only in function. Our job is to make manifest the divine fellowship in this parish, to relate all that we do, all our thoughts, words, and deeds, to the worship of the Holy Trinity and to carry into every phase of life the Grace of God given to us.'<sup>48</sup>

A.P. was not out to be Associated Theologians, or Liturgists, or Pamphleteers. Its members were members and representatives of the outward and visible reality of church life, the parish, and they gathered together for service to those parishes, Patterson said.<sup>49</sup> None of the founding members "could. . . have thought of our parishes — of whatever stripe of 'churchmanship' — as seedbeds or ripe fruits," he said. "We tried to deal with existing realities of Scripture, Creed, Church, Prayer Book, as we worked in the existing reality of such-and-such a parish."<sup>50</sup> The local parish, relatively independent of episcopal control and governed jointly by rector and laity, was precisely where these founding clergy could operate with some degree of authority and some real hope of change. Dom Gregory Dix, at a week-long meeting with the nine-month-old A.P. in 1947, called A.P. the first group he knew of to take the liturgical revival seriously by putting it into practice in parishes.<sup>51</sup>

At the same time, A.P. was "fully aware" it was not called to supersede the church, or to be a new agency of the holy spirit, or to be a confessional group. It issued no statements. It had "no particular wisdom, charisma, or new revelation."<sup>52</sup> It adamantly resisted portraying itself as a party or pressure group, or giving the impression that it was the liturgical movement.<sup>53</sup> A.P.'s job was to remind the church of its reason for being the church, of what was at the basis of all christian activity — the worship of God in the liturgy.<sup>54</sup>

One of A.P.'s strengths was that it stood for something more than reorganization of ceremonies. A.P.'s purpose was not merely to encourage the Episcopal Church to a better standard of liturgy — a more aesthetically pleasing, or more historically "correct" liturgy. At its core, the mission of A.P. was theological — to reform the church by holding up to it an image of what it means to be the community of the redeemed, ministering God's redemption to the world.

A.P. also was able to forge links between a recovered understanding of the liturgy and issues of civic life such as racial justice and the use of property, and political activism.<sup>55</sup> Not that A.P. ever attempted to define *the* Christian position on anything. Individual A.P. members and their parishes, inspired by the liturgical ideals of A.P., took positions on issues of the day; A.P. itself remained identified with its liturgical mission.<sup>56</sup>

The relation between altar and world was central to Patterson's thinking about the kind of movement he wanted to introduce into the Episcopal Church; nonetheless, he respected the limits of the liturgical movement. Some comments Patterson made on the function of an A.P. parish council throw light on his thinking.

Every project of the Council must be checked by this question. 'Is it in accord with the Church's goal? Is it related to the altar? Is it assisting the Church to be the Church?' All efforts to duplicate or to compete with civic organizations should be rejected. The function of the Church is religious. All activities of the Council must be religious.<sup>57</sup>

Homing in on that instinct probably saved A.P. time and again throughout its history from dying a death of a hundred good intentions. It took frequent self-assessment, Patterson said, and meditation on Luke 14:31 and Matthew 4:1 ("Or what king, going out to wage war against another king, will not sit down first and consider whether he is able with ten thousand to oppose the one who comes against him with twenty thousand," and "Then Jesus was led up by the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted by the devil") to keep A.P. on track.

It was Shepherd who kept calling A.P. back to three basic convictions, Patterson said: 1) Jesus Christ is lord; loyalty to him must transcend all other loyalties; 2) the church is the earnest of his kingdom; through the Holy Spirit Christians are to seek to realize on earth what they will be when Christ appears in glory; 3) the eucharist is the great action of the church; it is both the pleading of and the showing forth here and now of the accomplished act of redemption.<sup>58</sup>

Looking back forty years later on the movement he helped found, Patterson recalled nothing in particular that made 1946 seem an auspicious moment to launch A.P. But the founding members did reflect a consensus that the time to act was now, the place was the parish, and the act which would carry its program of renewal was the holy eucharist — in these they had some authority and on these they hoped to build.<sup>59</sup>

#### *A.P. Interprets the 1928 Prayer Book, 1950-1963*

Four years after its birth, A.P. felt self-confident enough to begin sharing the results of its experiment with the rest of the church. It published its first brochure in 1950, *The Parish Eucharist*, which proved to be one of A.P.'s most popular brochures and was translated into three languages. Other brochures followed,<sup>60</sup> each explaining the rites of the 1928 prayer book in light of the

values and insights of the liturgical movement and giving parishes practical guidance in liturgical renewal. By 1960, 938 Episcopal parishes in every state in the union<sup>61</sup> and the District of Columbia, and thirty-one Canadian parishes, were using A.P.'s brochures and being influenced by A.P.'s message. Even some Lutheran, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches had begun to trust and use A.P.'s brochures.<sup>62</sup>

Taken together, the brochures were an agent for the spread of "state-of-the-art" liturgical thinking in the church at the "grass-roots." They were an attempt to reappropriate the Cranmerian liturgy of the 1928 prayer book in terms of modern theological thinking and people's contemporary concerns.

What the brochures did not do was argue or agitate for prayer book reform. Nothing in its publications or in the minutes of A.P.'s meetings even hints that A.P. was crafting a strategy for revision. But unlike many in the church, A.P. knew that "1928" was not the last word. It took seriously the 1928 General Convention's decision to set up the Standing Liturgical Commission to prepare for the next eventual revision; and it took seriously the SLC's *Prayer Book Studies* series, which beginning in 1950 gave substance to preparations for the next revision.<sup>63</sup> Shepherd, who served on the SLC from 1947 on, kept A.P. in touch with official developments and thinking.

A.P.'s brochures helped the process of critical self-reflection in the church. A.P.'s attempt to reinterpret the 1928 prayer book in terms of the twentieth century liturgical movement sometimes put more strain on the sixteenth century liturgy than it could bear, and to that extent the brochures helped prepare for prayer book reform. A.P. was loyal to the liturgy and polity of the church, but "all of us, at the same time, became frustrated a thousand times over" with the shortcomings of the 1928 book, according to sometime A.P. president Paul Z. Hoornstra.<sup>64</sup>

In 1954 A.P. launched a quarterly review, *Sharers*, which offered a distinctly Episcopal voice and perspective to the ecumenical liturgical movement.<sup>65</sup> *Sharers* helped parishes interested in the liturgical renewal keep abreast of the movement and its relation to art, music, architecture, social relations, parish organization, personal devotion, and Christian education. Its articles also broadened awareness of the ceremonial possibilities of the prayer book, shared experience among parishes, and while doing no violence to prayer book rubrics, encouraged an imaginative use of the book's elements. To the extent, however, that A.P.'s suggestions required gerrymandering components of the prayer book in order to recover some theological emphasis of the liturgical movement, A.P. inevitably suggested the shortcomings of the 1928 book.<sup>66</sup>

To help parishes actually do liturgical renewal at their altars, A.P. published two liturgical books in the late 1950s. *Before the Holy Table*<sup>67</sup> presented a flexible ceremonial guide to offertory and gospel processions, and to the choreography of celebrating at free-standing altars, which were more and more being constructed. For Holy Week, Shepherd edited for A.P. a book providing a complete round of services complementing those of the prayer book. *Holy Week Offices*<sup>68</sup> was designed to conform to "the spirit and rhythm, no less than

to the doctrine, of the Church's official liturgy."<sup>69</sup> Almost the entire content of the book was drawn from the scriptures, the prayer book, and the hymnal. With these books, A.P. offered parishes practical help in appropriating the riches of liturgical tradition according to the genius of their own church's liturgy and doctrine.

The two dozen or so parishes that constituted A.P. by the late 1950s represented a specific appropriation of the liturgical movement into the life of the Episcopal Church. Beyond the group's own parishes, A.P.'s brochures, magazine, and liturgical books were raising awareness of the liturgical movement, spreading an idea of what it might mean for the Episcopal Church, and inspiring people with an ideal of liturgy, ecclesiology, and mission. Up to this point A.P. was reaching a limited audience with these methods; however, three national liturgical conferences which A.P. co-sponsored in 1958, 1959, and 1962 commanded the attention of the national church and strengthened A.P.'s public image as purveyor of the liturgical revival.

Hundreds of people<sup>70</sup> came to the conferences to hear scholars, pastors, and bishops — experts both clerical and lay; Episcopal, Lutheran, Orthodox, Roman Catholic — discuss liturgy and its relation to the renewal of the church, to the eucharist, and to mission; and to participate in liturgies that set a standard of eucharistic celebration. The papers presented at the three conferences also were published, carrying the message of the liturgical movement to an even wider audience and bringing A.P. to national prominence.<sup>71</sup>

A.P.'s purpose in the conferences was not to promote A.P. or to "sell" particular ceremonial choreography to the church. A.P. was focusing for the church comprehensive treatments of the thought and activity of the liturgical movement and its practical consequences for church life. What was being offered was a complete re-thinking of worship and mission — in short, a re-thinking of how to be the Episcopal Church. The conferences helped in the task of self-reflection, education, discussion and experimentation — all of which was part of appropriating the liturgical movement in a specifically Episcopal context.

By 1960, A.P. was at a threshold in its relationship to the church at large. The national conferences had whetted people's appetites for more information about the liturgical movement and about becoming a member of A.P.<sup>72</sup> A.P. was wrestling with the pros and cons of remaining an intimate, close-knit, intensively-working group, versus extending its activity with a wider membership of concerned individuals — as well as with its responsibility to serve the church by taking a larger role in presenting the liturgical movement.

In 1963 A.P. made a critical decision that had the most profound consequences for the complexion of prayer book revision. A.P. unanimously<sup>73</sup> voted to change itself from a closed, self-perpetuating corporation of about thirty members in which membership was by invitation only, to an open membership of anyone (individuals and parishes, lay and clergy) who wanted to further the work of the liturgical movement.<sup>74</sup> In effect, A.P. created a constituency of hundreds who supported liturgical renewal in the Episcopal

Church.<sup>75</sup>

A.P. thus was constituting itself to become a critical mass in the church for liturgical reform. It also was evident that its sense of direction and goals had grown strong enough for it to move beyond the course and vision of its founding members. Membership crested at 1,800 in 1970,<sup>76</sup> during the crucial early years of prayer book revision; it stands at about 900 today.<sup>77</sup>

A.P. was emphatic, though, that its expanded constituency was not to be the occasion for a bid for political power within the church. Its "abiding principle" since its founding, A.P. told prospective members, was that A.P. "must always exist to further the Liturgical Movement and must never become a 'party'" within the church.<sup>78</sup>

### *The Changing Liturgical Context, 1958-1965*

The ferment within A.P. echoed a larger phenomenon in worldwide Anglicanism and in many western churches. Anglican bishops at the 1958 Lambeth Conference recognized that Anglicans were embarked on a period of liturgical change, and that the Tudor-Elizabethan prayer book no longer could serve as the pattern for liturgy and bond of unity in worship and doctrine.<sup>79</sup>

Shepherd parsed the issue for American Episcopalians in some lectures delivered in 1959. Shepherd was careful to say that he spoke only for himself and not for the Standing Liturgical Commission,<sup>80</sup> but his remarks reflected a shifting perspective among opinion-makers in the church.

The Cranmerian liturgical inheritance "can no longer stand the strain" of revision by mere enrichment and flexibility, Shepherd said.<sup>81</sup> Part of the reason, he said, was that since the last revision of 1928, new liturgical sources had come to light and had received evaluations and interpretations from scholars of all churches which bypassed or undercut many issues of vital concern to the sixteenth-century reformers.<sup>82</sup> "The next revision will need a more ecumenical orientation and a greater sensitivity to fundamental sociological changes that have altered the situation of the Church in its surrounding world," he said.<sup>83</sup>

The opening of the Second Vatican Council in Rome (1962-1965) also affected the ecumenical climate for the liturgical movement. The reforms of the Roman Catholic liturgy heralded in the "Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy" of 4 December 1963 were still in the future. Among the councils more immediate effects, however, were increased inter-church contacts and exchanges of information in an atmosphere of cordiality and collegiality. Shepherd himself, who only a few years earlier had commented on the atmosphere created by the Roman Catholic Church's policy of non-cooperation with other churches, was an invited observer at the council in 1964. In 1966 Shepherd was admitted as one of six non-Roman Catholic observers to the Consilium for the Implementation of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy. In 1967, he was named a member of the Anglican-Roman Catholic Joint Preparatory Commission, which paved the way for ecumenical dialogue between the two communions — all in addition to his liturgical work with Protestant churches

and in his own church.

### *The Church Prepares for a New Prayer Book, 1943-1973*

The need for a new prayer book had been apparent, at least to the Standing Liturgical Commission (SLC), since 1943. The SLC was created by General Convention in 1928 as a continuation of the revision committee that produced the 1928 prayer book. Part of the SLC's job was to develop for possible future use all suggestions for further prayer book reform.<sup>84</sup> No other General Convention ever had so open-ended a view of its revision work by building into the church's structure an agency for on-going liturgical reform.

The SLC was given canonical status in 1940; by 1943 it was proposing that it draft a new prayer book.<sup>85</sup> The 1943 General Convention turned down the request, but the SLC remained convinced that an eventual revision was "inevitable."<sup>86</sup> The issue was how to avoid the formidable processes of the 1892 and 1928 revisions when the two Houses of General Convention sat as virtual committees of the whole "to work out the problems of revision in painful detail; only finally to cut short the process in sheer weariness, in an incomplete and unsatisfactory state."<sup>87</sup>

Borrowing from the pioneering experience of the South African church, which was being followed by the Canadian church, the SLC began to publish a series of *Prayer Book Studies*, comprised of the texts of reformed rites with explanatory introductions. The sixteen volumes that appeared between 1950 and 1963 incorporated some of the insights of new liturgical scholarship and showed some sensitivity to modern need, but in their continued use of Elizabethan English and their limited sense of what was possible, they still moved within the orbit of Cranmer rather than Hippolytus.

The series was one way of sifting proposals and putting them before the church at large for study and comment — but not for experimental use. The SLC realized, however, that for any new prayer book to win acceptance, the church would have to "try on" the proposed rites. The SLC proposed an amendment to the church's Constitution in 1955, 1958, and 1961<sup>88</sup> to allow trial use of proposed rites, but each time the proposals came to nothing in General Convention. What was significant about the SLC's approach was its assumption about the nature of liturgical change within the political context of the Episcopal Church. Trial use, the SLC argued, was the best way to ensure that "the whole Church — that is to say, all its members — may have an opportunity to participate and express themselves in the development of our common liturgical life."<sup>89</sup>

At last, in 1964, the General Convention meeting in St. Louis took the bit between its teeth. It not only passed the first reading of an amendment to Article X of the Constitution to allow trial use; it also called for a joint commission to propose to the 1967 General Convention a plan for revising the prayer book "with a special view to making the language and the form of the services more relevant to the circumstances of the Church's present ministry and

life."<sup>90</sup>

In the plan approved by the 1967 General Convention meeting in Seattle,<sup>91</sup> the SLC itself, rather than a specially appointed body or the General Convention, was to be the instrument for prayer book revision. The SLC's work of drafting, circulating, revising, and finalizing new rites was conducted by some 27 drafting committees, helped by more than 300 consultants representing a broad range of constituencies in the church.<sup>92</sup>

The instrument for launching trial use was a new eucharistic rite, *Prayer Book Studies XVII: The Liturgy of the Lord's Supper* published in 1966 and approved by a landslide for trial use in 1967.<sup>93</sup> Behind this rite stood the theological perspective and liturgical concerns exemplified by Shepherd's scholarship. Of all the members who had been on the SLC at the time of its previous attempt at eucharistic revision in 1953,<sup>94</sup> only Shepherd was still a member in 1966 and had a hand in developing *The Liturgy of the Lord's Supper*.<sup>95</sup>

The chairman of the SLC, Bishop W. R. Chilton Powell of Oklahoma, had high praise for Shepherd's contribution. "I tell you now that the Church owes you an unlimited debt for your scholarship, flexibility, and patience," Powell wrote. "I am proud to be associated with you and with this work. . . . I pray that this, or something very much like it, will be our way of speaking to God, in Eucharist."<sup>96</sup>

In the end, it was. The SLC revised *The Liturgy of the Lord's Supper* in 1970,<sup>97</sup> which entered into the 1979 prayer book with slight modifications. Today's eucharistic rites are marked by the insights fostered by A.P. and Shepherd. They left behind, for example, a medieval ecclesiology based on ordination and moved toward an understanding of the church based on baptism: they explicitly recognize the liturgical priesthood of the laity, as well as the primacy of the bishop (that is, the bishop as traditional president of the eucharist, not as one having precedence of rank), and the collegial nature of ordained ministry. The co-equality of a full service of the Word as well as of Sacrament, for another example, also was recognized — not only by highlighting the Word as a distinct part of the service, but also by providing an Old Testament lesson and psalm.

Starting with *The Liturgy of the Lord's Supper* in 1966 and continuing to 1973, the SLC brought out a new series of Prayer Book Studies, PBS XVII-28, containing the rites which eventually comprised the 1979 prayer book.

#### *A.P. and the 1979 Prayer Book*

A.P. did not cause prayer book revision. It did not need to. Prayer book revision was ongoing, from the 1928 revision through the Prayer Book Studies of the 1950s and 1960s. Many in the church did not take seriously that gradual accumulation of evidence. A.P. did.<sup>98</sup>

The turning point for A.P. came in April at its council meeting in Los Angeles just seven months after General Convention had approved *The Liturgy*

*of the Lord's Supper* for trial use. The most significant liturgical event in the modern history of the Episcopal Church had begun: trial use, the first step toward a new prayer book. If trial use failed, A.P. knew, it could kill the whole future of liturgical reform.<sup>99</sup>

At its 1968 Los Angeles meeting, A.P. decided to drop everything and focus its entire mission on one goal: the success of trial use. Already, a "backlash" of "strong negative reaction" to the trial liturgy was building up, "fed by the botched-up usage practiced in so many places."<sup>100</sup>

Beyond the immediate issue, A.P. wanted to position itself "to assume an active role in the process of shaping liturgical practice in the Episcopal Church."<sup>101</sup> As Henry Breul put it, A.P. opted to "gamble now. At least we will have entered the fray."<sup>102</sup>

Trial use and the advent of a new prayer book gave A.P.'s message of liturgical renewal a context it had not had before. A.P. was "at the heart of what the Church's life is at this point," Breul told a 1969 meeting of A.P. members in Milwaukee. "And we are desperately needed. I don't see anyone else on the horizon who will do the task."<sup>103</sup>

At the most official level, A.P. permeated the process of prayer book revision through its members who served on the SLC and on the drafting committees. A.P. was part of the official process of reform and had direct access to the unfolding thinking and progress of revision. When trial use began in 1967, A.P. had three members on the SLC.<sup>104</sup> By the last triennium of prayer book revision and trial use, 1974 to 1976, A.P. presence on the SLC had doubled to six.<sup>105</sup>

Throughout the years of prayer book revision, A.P. members also served on the two key drafting committees dealing with the eucharist and with baptism and confirmation — and for a time chaired the latter. By the final stage of prayer book revision, 1974-1976, nineteen A.P. members were on eighteen drafting committees and were chairing five of them.<sup>106</sup>

The minutes of A.P. meetings from the late 1960s and into the mid-1970s show a two-way flow of information and assessment, from drafting committees to the A.P. council, and back again. A.P. members reported on their drafting committees' activities and solicited A.P.'s response, and A.P. served as a sounding board for thinking about the issues and implications raised by the drafting committees' work.

A.P. promoted the new eucharistic rite by a workbook it published in 1967, the same year that *Liturgy of the Lord's Supper* came out.<sup>107</sup> The book led a parish study group through a course on liturgical renewal, climaxing with a celebration of the new eucharistic rite. A.P. wanted to make possible informed, quality celebrations, of course, but it also aimed at giving parishes a stake in prayer book revision through their reports to their Diocesan Liturgical Commission of their reactions to trial use, and through their heightened awareness of the reasons for liturgical reform.

Powell, the SLC chairman, recommended A.P.'s guide to all the bishops and chairmen of Diocesan liturgical Commissions.<sup>108</sup> Charles M. Guilbert, secretary

of the church's executive council, a member of the SLC, and custodian of the Standard Book of Common Prayer, said the SLC had tried and failed to come up with just such a study guide and were "very grateful" to A.P.<sup>109</sup> The guide, said A.P., "sold like hot cakes and obviously served a tremendous need."<sup>110</sup>

The church officially recognized A.P. as a promoter and organizer of liturgical reform in 1969 when the church's executive council gave A.P. a \$30,000 grant to set up a network of twelve field consultants across the country.<sup>111</sup> The consultants were to go to parishes in their region who wanted help with liturgical education; the consultants' own parishes were to be places where people could "go and see" what was being done in renewal of worship.<sup>112</sup>

A.P. was concerned that bad use, or no use at all, of the trial rites might result in rejection of all proposals for any revision or renewal.<sup>113</sup> A.P.'s strategy was to help parishes experience good liturgy and understand the purpose of liturgical change, and so increase the prospects for liturgical renewal. Changes in the liturgy were acting as a lightning rod, attracting all manner of resentments — against civil rights, the liberal social policies of the National Council of Churches, and other issues.<sup>114</sup> "So many of the people who are reacting against the Trial Liturgy are really saying, 'I don't like change,'" was A.P. president Henry H. Breul's blunt assessment.<sup>115</sup>

A.P. considered merging with the Liturgical Conference, then a Roman Catholic organization, in 1969 as a way of extending its influence during the crucial beginnings of trial use. But Episcopalians were coming into A.P. because of what they perceived A.P. had to offer and what they wanted, and A.P. was wary of changing its image in midstream. "[I]f our peculiar task is to alert Episcopalians in the U.S. to the winds of change that are going on, we must somehow maintain our stature as Episcopalians," council member John Sweeney said.<sup>116</sup> A.P. decided it could not effectively influence the course of Episcopal liturgical change if the (then) 700-member A.P. were identified with the 9,000 member Liturgical Conference.

The SLC agreed that A.P. had something unique to contribute to Episcopal liturgical renewal and education. In 1973, the SLC endorsed<sup>117</sup> A.P.'s plan for a National Liturgical Consultant who would make A.P.'s manpower, insights and experience available by, for example, helping Diocesan Liturgical Commissions use the trial rites that were appearing in a steady stream. A.P. received a \$25,000 grant from the Trinity Foundation, of Trinity Church, New York, in 1973 for the project.<sup>118</sup> "We view Associated Parishes as the right instrument to help in the whole process of enlivening and updating the liturgy of the Episcopal Church," the grant's board said.<sup>119</sup>

A.P.'s thinking on initiation contributed to the reappraisal of baptism that marked the 1979 reform of the prayer book. The recovery of the centrality of baptism to the church's life, said A.P., was "*the most important event* in the process of church renewal."<sup>120</sup> Baptism, A.P. argued, was the sole foundation for church membership, participation in sacraments, or subsequent ministry; and ought to be administered in a three-fold rite of water-anointing-communion, to infants as well as adults. As early as 1968, A.P. was urging Episcopal bishops

to recognize the centrality of baptism by allowing baptized but unconfirmed children to receive communion<sup>121</sup> — an argument that became practice when the 1970 General Convention allowed it.

A.P.'s Bonnell Spencer chaired the Drafting Committee on Christian Initiation that in 1970 proposed the revolutionary *Prayer Book Studies 18: On Baptism and Confirmation; Holy Baptism With the Laying-On-of-Hands*. The rite cannot claim to be A.P.'s handiwork, but it expressed a viewpoint in the Episcopal Church which A.P. helped foster.<sup>122</sup> PBS 18 not only recognized water baptism as full initiation into the church, but also placed confirmation with baptism, allowed communion of baptized infants, and allowed priests to replace bishops in administering the unified rite.

The House of Bishops, however, shied at the boldness of the 1970 revisers, and the result has been the anomaly of the 1979 prayer book asserting that water baptism is full initiation, yet also expecting confirmation at a mature age. The church has yet to resolve the fundamental uncertainty on basic issues of sacramentology, ecclesiology, and ministry that the situation reflects.

A.P. helped make history in 1969 when for the first time in the Episcopal Church a unified rite of baptism-confirmation-communion was administered. A four-month-old boy was initiated by Anson Phelps Stokes, bishop of Massachusetts, at a liturgical conference on initiation which A.P. co-sponsored at Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.<sup>123</sup>

At General Conventions from 1969 to 1979, when the prayer book was at the center of attention, A.P. lobbied delegates, addressed hearings, co-operated in publishing a daily news sheet, distributed literature, and was praised officially by both Houses for the liturgies it sponsored at convention. A.P.'s strategy at General Convention was "building opinions and responses to change within the church. . . . All we can do is keep . . . Convention open and responsive to change."<sup>124</sup> A.P.'s presence and focus was no small part of the reason for the overwhelming passage of prayer book matters in the General Conventions.<sup>125</sup>

A.P. built a climate of opinion for trial use and for acceptance of a new prayer book by the regional liturgical conferences it held around the country every year from 1965 to 1969.<sup>126</sup> With its new series of brochures on the prayer book rites begun in 1976,<sup>127</sup> A.P. started to bring home to the local parish the implications of the new liturgy it held in its hands.

A.P. also influenced the thinking of liturgical leaders by sponsoring the first annual meetings of the chairmen of the Diocesan Liturgical Commissions during the crucial early years of prayer book reform. These boards, which began to form in the late 1960s, became valuable forums for reflection, education, and agitation. A.P. sponsored the first national meeting of the chairmen of the DLCs in 1970. During the DLC meetings' formative years, A.P. was able to give the chairmen the kind of help in organizing liturgical renewal that it had been pioneering for more than two decades. The DLC chairmen made it clear "that strong A.P. leadership, increased grassroots communication through expanding A.P. membership and A.P. stimulation of conferences, liturgical commissions and resource developers is very much desired."<sup>128</sup>

A.P. helped lift to the public arena the re-thinking of ministry when it co-sponsored the first conference in the Episcopal Church on the diaconate in 1979 at Notre Dame, Ind., and continues to cooperate with the North American Association for the Diaconate in making explicit some implications of the 1979 prayer book's baptismal and ordination rites. Arguing from the church's liturgy itself, A.P. began in 1978 to declare itself committed to restoration of the diaconate as a permanent ministry among three co-equal ordained ministries in the church.<sup>129</sup>

In practical terms, A.P. argued that priests should be ordained directly to that order without passing through the diaconate as if it were an apprenticeship; and deacons should be eligible to be elected as bishops and to be ordained directly to that order.<sup>130</sup> The ordination rites of the 1979 prayer book are at least patient of A.P.'s argument, which represents a contribution from a liturgical perspective to the re-thinking of church structures.

To look at the 1979 prayer book with an eye to this or that item which A.P. succeeded in getting into the book misses A.P.'s achievement. The 1979 prayer book changed the liturgical climate of the Episcopal Church. A.P.'s achievement was the change.

Charles Guilbert credited A.P. with drawing into its orbit and forming the outlook of most of the people responsible for prayer book revision — so much so, that the process which culminated in the 1979 prayer book "can be seen as a tangible fruit" of A.P.'s work.<sup>131</sup>

Though A.P. was "delighted" when the new prayer book was passed by General Convention in 1979, it did not give "*carte blanche* approval" to the entire book, according to founding member Samuel West. "Most of us were disappointed that certain facets were not included, or that some were not as well stated as they might have been" — particularly confusion on the relation between baptism and confirmation.<sup>132</sup>

On A.P.'s twenty-fifth anniversary in 1971, Presiding Bishop John E. Hines credited A.P. with being "responsible in the Episcopal Church for a recovery (or a timely re-discovery) of the valid dimensions of the Liturgy, and the relationship between liturgy and mission." The group had been "called for by a great need" and had motivated "much vitality for the Church."<sup>133</sup>

Or as Massey Shepherd succinctly remarked, "Our cause has been taken up by the whole Church."<sup>134</sup>

### Conclusion

The liturgical movement in the Episcopal Church operated in the historical context of periodic prayer book revision and in the ecclesial context of constitutional, representative church government, public accountability, and open debate, in which no one bloc — bishops, clergy, or laity — held ultimate power in decision-making. These distinctions were crucial to this church's experience of liturgical reform. It is characteristic of the nature of prayer book revision that, in the pluralistic context of Episcopal Church life, no one group

controlled the process.

A.P. shaped the liturgical movement by establishing itself as a forum for the church's liturgical thinking. It was a place where ideals could be envisioned, thinking and planning done, and from which public opinion could be educated and motivated. It was a lightning rod for the liturgical energy in the church.

A.P. gave its insights concrete form in parishes, the place where real change could be demonstrated. It held together both opinion-makers and the person in the parish. Its teaching about the liturgical movement was not abstract or theoretical, but formed part of a total parish program.

A.P. was loyal to the prayer book. It accepted the prayer book as the standard of practice and teaching, which lent it credibility and enabled it to focus the agenda of liturgical and ecclesial reform.

A.P. maintained a singleness of purpose. Its proper sphere of influence was the liturgy. That was where it had expertise, where it built its reputation, and where it came to be trusted by the church.

A.P. operated within the church's politics and structures. While it did not want to become a party within the church, A.P.'s members were distributed in positions of leadership as pastors of parishes, teachers in seminaries, bishops of dioceses, and members of the diocesan and national structures of church government and of prayer book revision. Within the representative framework of Episcopal polity, A.P. had access to political power and occupied positions of influence.

A.P. also stood for something larger than mere reform of ceremonies. It stood for renewal of the church through a recovered understanding of the liturgy, and in its publications and conferences it was able to educate the church about the connection between liturgy, church renewal, and mission to the world.

When prayer book revision began, A.P. was ready with a solid foundation to give it creative leadership. The 1979 prayer book poses new questions about sacraments, church, and liturgy. It was A.P. that raised the questions, and which today is extending the public conversation on issues like the reform of baptism, the catechumenate, inclusive language, inculturation of liturgy, and structures of ministry.

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### NOTES

1. Ladd influenced generations of church leaders in his thirty-seven years of teaching at Berkeley Divinity School, New Haven, Connecticut — as Professor of Church History from 1904 to 1918 and as dean from 1918 to 1941 — and through his liturgical writings, collected in *Prayer Book Interleaves: Some Reflections On How the Book of Common Prayer Might Be Made More influential in Our English-Speaking World* (New York, 1942, 1943; 2nd ed., Greenwich, Conn., 1957.)

Ladd was born 13 May 1870 in Lancaster, N.H. In addition to his academic and liturgical interests, Ladd was active in child welfare and labor issues. He married Ailsie Taylor of London, England, in 1915; she as well as two sons and two daughters survived him at his death.

2. Ladd, *Prayer Book Interleaves*, 167.

3. *Ibid.*, 23.

4. For Ladd's criticisms of Roman Catholic liturgy, see *Prayer Book Interleaves*, 15-17, 59, 99-100, 154, 159, and 164. For his negative assessment of the influence of the Oxford Movement and of

anglo-catholicism on Anglican worship, see 19-21, 24-25, 140-41, and 166.

5. Ladd, *Prayer Book Interleaves*, 25.
6. Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., "The History of the Liturgical Renewal," in *The Liturgical Renewal of the Church: Addresses of the Liturgical Conference Held in Grace Church, Madison, [Wisc.], May 19-21, 1958*, ed. Massey H. Shepherd, Jr. (New York, 1960), 48-49.
7. Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., Foreword to *Prayer Book Interleaves*, 2nd ed., by William Palmer Ladd, iii. Ladd introduced Episcopal readers to the history of the modern Roman Catholic liturgical movement and its significance for Anglicanism in several essays (*Prayer Book Interleaves*, 21-25, 162-67), and mentioned appreciatively the work of scholars like Ildelfons Herwegen and Odo Casel at Maria Laach and the publications *Ecclesia Orans* and *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* (22), and in this country the work of the Benedictines at St. John's Abbey, Collegeville, Minnesota, and their magazine *Orate Fratres* (148, 164).
8. Ladd, *Prayer Book Interleaves*, 23.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*, 45.
11. Ladd, *Prayer Book Interleaves*, 113-14.
12. *Ibid.*, 157-162.
13. *Ibid.*, 167. Ladd suggested reforms of the eucharist, baptism, the lectionary, the calendar, and the role of the laity in the liturgy, among other things, in *Prayer Book Interleaves*.
14. *Ibid.*, vii-viii.
15. Theodore Otto Wedel, "The Theology of the Liturgical Renewal," in *The Liturgical Renewal of the Church: Addresses of the Liturgical Conference Held in Grace Church, Madison, [Wisc.], May 19-21, 1958*, ed. Massey H. Shepherd, Jr. (New York, 1960), 4.
16. *Ibid.*
17. Samuel E. West, "Episodes Towards a Recorded History of Associated Parishes for Liturgy and Mission. Episodes [sic] III: A Friend's Profile of John O. Patterson," (1987), 9.
18. Urban T. Holmes, "Education for Liturgy: An Unfinished Symphony in Four Movements," in *Worship Points the Way: A Celebration of the Life and Work of Massey Hamilton Shepherd, Jr.*, ed. Malcolm C. Burson (New York, 1981), 121.
19. Sherman E. Johnson, "Massey Shepherd and the Episcopal Church: A Reminiscence," in *Worship Points the Way: A Celebration of the Life and Work of Massey Hamilton Shepherd, Jr.*, ed. Malcolm C. Burson (New York, 1981), 9-10.
20. Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., *The Living Liturgy* (New York, 1946), 124.
21. Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., Letter to the Rt. Rev. Kirkman G. Finlay, bishop of Upper South Carolina, 20 April 1938, Shepherd Papers, Record Group 237-1-1, The Archives of the Episcopal Church USA, Austin, Texas.
22. Shepherd, *Living Liturgy*, vii, v.
23. Ladd, *Prayer Book Interleaves*, vii-viii.
24. *Ibid.*, iii-vi.
25. See e.g., Ladd's comments, *Prayer Book Interleaves*, 23, 64.
26. Shepherd, "History of the Liturgical Renewal," 22-23.
27. *Ibid.*, 23.
28. *Journal of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 1928, 352.
29. Shepherd, "History of the Liturgical Renewal," 22.
30. *Ibid.*, 27.
31. A. G. Hebert, *Liturgy and Society: The Function of the Church in the Modern World* (London, 1935).
32. Dom Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London, 1945; rev. ed. with additional notes by Paul V. Marshall, New York, 1982)
33. In Ladd's view, the spirit of the English liturgical movement was fundamentally different from that of the American movement; see *Prayer Book Interleaves*, 166-67.
34. Peter J. Jagger, *A History of the Parish and People Movement*, (Leighton Buzzard, Beds., 1978), 57.
35. *Ibid.*, 52, 85, 90-91, 108, 131.
36. *Ibid.*, 16, 49-50.
37. *Ibid.*, 44.
38. Henry H. Breul, "AP At Notre Dame: The Recovery of Despair," *Open* (Summer 1984), 9

39. Associated Parishes, "Notes on Material Presented by the Reverend John O. Patterson at the Conference of the Associated Parishes, College of Preachers, Washington, D.C.," Minutes of the Initial Conference, 4-8 November 1946, Record Group 272-1, The Archives of the Episcopal Church USA, Austin, Texas.

The conference at the College of Preachers grew out of an earlier meeting held in the late spring or summer of 1946 in the Netherlands Plaza Hotel in Cincinnati, Ohio. Patterson had summoned Shepherd, West, and John H. Keene (1904-1958), rector of Christ Church, West Englewood, New Jersey. At the end of four days of brain-storming, the four men had drawn up an embryonic plan and agreed to invite other sympathetic clergy to meet in Washington to see if they could evolve a corporate venture to bring the liturgical movement to life in their own parishes, and then to stimulate liturgical renewal throughout the church. [Patterson, "The Founding Letter: 1946," in West, "Episodes Toward a Recorded History of Associated Parishes for Liturgy and Mission," 5-6.]

40. Patterson, "The Founding Letter: 1946," 5-6, in West, "Episodes."
41. Associated Parishes, Minutes of the Initial Conference. West suggests that Shepherd may have had a hand in preparing these documents. Noting that Shepherd had "a vital bearing upon the formation and life" of A.P., West said that Shepherd "helped prepare the basic aims of A.P. before the first official meeting in 1946." [Sam West, "Massey Shepherd: A Personal Memoir," *Open* (Summer 1990): 10.]
42. Urban T. Holmes, who was a friend of A.P., misses the mark when he says that A.P. "was in the beginning a secret organization. If they were going to educate the church, it was to be in a clandestine fashion. . . . Associated Parishes was not only a secret organization, it was an unofficial body." [Holmes, "Education for Liturgy," 123.]

A.P. was not so much secret as reticent. Behind A.P.'s reserve was a desire to see first whether this band of clergy with no official mandate from the church could in fact make the liturgical movement work in their own parishes. 'Clandestine' is not the word for a group that meets under the eye of official Episcopalianism at the College of Preachers, enlists a bishop as one of its founding members [Powell of Maryland], and plans to publicly demonstrate its ideas in parishes across the nation. The picture of A.P.'s beginnings that emerges from the sources is not one of hush-hush and intrigue, but of discussion, reflection, argument and planning for a public mission.

43. John O. Patterson, "Forty Years On," *Open* (May 1986):2-3.
44. The rubrics of the 1928 prayer book were at least patient of ceremonial innovations like gospel and offertory processions, and altars facing the people.
45. Associated Parishes, "The Accepted Corporate Program," Minutes of the Initial Conference.
46. Holmes characterized A.P.'s early members as "prayer book fundamentalists" who "believed that if we followed the rubrics strictly and used the whole book we would discover an enlivened worship which would enable us to be what the theology of the liturgical movement believed the church to be." [Holmes, "Education for Liturgy," 120.]

Patterson, however, said A.P. founders did not think of the 1928 prayer book as "presenting the ideal liturgy of the ages." The fact was, the prayer book was one of the realities A.P. had to deal with if it was not merely "to seek a revival of the past, nor simply dream up a renewal for the future. Our obligation was to today, now." [Patterson, "Forty Years On," 2.]

47. Associated Parishes, "Accepted Corporate Program." The liturgical and organizational agenda of A.P.'s parish program represented a constantly-sought goal rather than a fact of life in the two dozen or so parishes that constituted A.P. for the first seventeen years of the group's existence.
48. Associated Parishes, "Notes on Material Presented by . . . John O. Patterson," Minutes of the Initial Conference.
49. Patterson, "Forty Years On," 2.
50. *Ibid.* A.P.'s name "was not chosen whimsically," Patterson said, but there is no record of whose idea it was.
51. West, "Episodes IV: Associated Parishes Meets With Dom Gregory Dix, OSB," 15.
52. Patterson, "Forty Years On," 2.
53. Associated Parishes, "Minutes and Motions — Meeting, May 1949," The Archives of the Associated Parishes for Liturgy and Mission, Alexandria, Virginia. Unless otherwise noted, minutes and transcripts of A.P. meetings, and other A.P. material, are from this archive.
54. Associated Parishes, "Notes on Material Presented by . . . John O. Patterson," Minutes of the Initial Conference.
55. A.P. added a section on "Social Action" to its Accepted Corporate Program in 1947. Associated Parishes, "Accepted Corporate Program (Draft and Revision #3)," Minutes of the 3-7 November 1947

Meeting. (Typewritten.)

56. A letter of 5 November 1947 to the House of Bishops illustrates A.P.'s ideological stance. A.P. objected to the tenor of a projected radio program in Christian apologetics under consideration by the national church. A.P. said any program sponsored by the church must not be "a means of narrow, denominational advertising," but must bring the gospel to bear on consciences "that they may be motivated to seek solutions of the desperate disorders and injustices of modern society in the light of Christian faith."
- A.P. suggested a broadcast of forums by "representative Christian laymen" on "a [not, note, the] Christian approach to the solution of national and international problems." There was no need for the church to feel compelled to either give or withhold its sanction to positions taken by any speaker, A.P. said — the church's obligation was to make possible "free, sincere and reasonable discussion and debate on the issues of our time in Christian humility and charity." [Associated Parishes, Letter to the House of Bishops, 5 November 1947, Minutes of the 3-7 November 1947 Meeting.]
57. Associated Parishes, "Notes on Material Presented by . . . John O. Patterson," Minutes of the Initial Conference.
58. Patterson, "Forty Years On," 2.
59. *Ibid.*
60. *Christian Initiation, Part I: Holy Baptism*, 1953; *Christian Initiation, Part II: Confirmation*, 1954; "In Newness of Life: A Guide for Self-Examination", 1954; *Christian Burial*, 1955; *The Christian Meaning of Work*, 1959; *Holy Matrimony and the Christian Family*, 1960; *The Daily Offices*, 1963; all published by Associated Parishes, Madison, Wisc.
61. Except Delaware and South Dakota.
62. Francis Bowman to the Members of A.P., no date [but 1961].
63. Samuel E. West to the author, 29 October 1992.
64. Paul Z. Hoonstra to the author, 23 October 1992.
65. *Sharers* ceased publication in 1962 for financial reasons; it was succeeded in 1968 by A.P.'s current quarterly, *Open*.
66. As, for example, H. Boone Porter, "Commemorating Our Lord's Blessed Baptism," *Sharers* V (Fall 1959):5-7.
67. Massey H. Shepherd, John H. Keene, John O. Patterson, and John R. Bill, eds., with the assistance of other members of the Associated Parishes, Inc. *Before the Holy Table; A Guide to the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist, Facing the People, According to the Book of Common Prayer* (Greenwich, Conn., 1956).
68. Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., ed., For the Associated Parishes, Incorporated, *Holy Week Offices* (Greenwich, Conn., 1958).
69. *Ibid.*, iii.
70. Attendance figures from A.P.'s records: more than 130 people at the 1958 conference; some 700 at the 1959 conference; and more than 950 at the 1962 conference.
71. See Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., ed., *The Liturgical Renewal of the Church: Addresses of the Liturgical Conference Held in Grace Church, Madison, [Wisc.], May 19-21, 1958* (New York, 1960); Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., ed., *The Eucharist and Liturgical Renewal: Addresses of the Liturgical Conference Held in St. Paul's Church, San Antonio, November 16-18, 1959* (New York, 1960); and Frank S. Cellier, ed., *Liturgy Is Mission* (New York, 1964.) [Addresses of the Liturgical Conference held in St. James's Church, Wichita, Kansas, 5-7 November 1962.]
72. Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., "What Is the Associated Parishes?" *Sharers* 5 (Fall 1959), 1-5; Associated Parishes, Minutes of the 16-20 November 1959 Meeting. (Typewritten.)
73. Paul Z. Hoonstra to the author, 28 October 1992.
74. Frederick W. Putnam, "News Letter to People Interested in Liturgical Renewal," June 1963.
75. Under the new arrangement, the old A.P. membership of about 30 became the Council of A.P., which continued to meet twice a year and set policy for the new, larger A.P. An expanded mission also seemed to call for a new name; sometime around 1965 A.P. added the words "for Liturgy and Mission" to its name.
76. Associated Parishes, Minutes of the 18-19 November 1970 Meeting. (Typewritten.)
77. Personal communication with Arthur S. Jenkins, A.P. coordinator and treasurer, 29 January 1993.
78. Putnam, "News Letter to People Interested in Liturgical Renewal."
79. The Lambeth Conference 1958, *The Encyclical Letter from the Bishops Together with the*

- Resolutions and Reports* (Greenwich, Conn., 1958), quoted in Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., *The Reform of Liturgical Worship, Perspectives and Prospects* (New York, 1961), 71.
80. Shepherd, *Reform of Liturgical Worship*, viii.
81. *Ibid.*, 70.
82. *Ibid.*, 72-73.
83. *Ibid.*, 70.
84. *Journal of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 1928, 352.
85. *Journal of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 1943, 404.
86. *Journal of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 1946, 439. Nonetheless, the need for liturgical change was acknowledged in other ways. In 1940 the SLC produced the church's first official *Book of Offices*, containing optional services for which the Prayer Book made no provision. (*Book of Offices*, editions of 1940, 1949, 1960; superseded by the *Book of Occasional Services*, 1979, 1988, 1994.) The SLC also produced a new lectionary for morning and evening prayer, trial use of which began in 1935 and which the General Convention approved in 1943.
87. *Journal of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 1946, 439-40.
88. Just before the 1961 General Convention the SLC devoted an entire volume, *Prayer Book Studies XV: The Problem and Method of Prayer Book Revision* (New York, 1961), to explaining the reasons, mechanics, and advantages of trial use as a method of Prayer Book revision. A.P. also lobbied local diocesan conventions to support the SLC's proposal for trial use. ["A Form of Memorial to the General Convention," (1961).]
89. *Ibid.*, 18.
90. *Journal of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 1964, 349. The example of Vatican II may have emboldened the 1964 General Convention to bring to a crisis the pressure for liturgical revision — but to say this is to acknowledge that the tendencies already were gestating in the Episcopal context of periodic prayer book revision.
91. *Journal of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 1967, Appendix 23.5-23.7.
92. A list of all the consultants' names for the 1970-1973 triennium is on pp. 518-21 of the *Journal* of the 1970 General Convention. The names of the more than 300 consultants for the 1974-1976 triennium are listed on pp. AA-295-AA-299 of the *Journal* of the 1976 General Convention.
- A list of drafting committees and their membership appears on pp. 517-18 of the *Journal* of the 1970 General Convention. By 1976, the number of drafting committees had grown to 27; they and their membership are listed on pp. AA-288-AA-291 of the *Journal* of the 1976 General Convention.
93. *Journal of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 1967, 459-60. The project of drafting *The Liturgy of the Lord's Supper* began in 1960. [*PBS XVII. Liturgy of the Lord's Supper*, iii.] It went through eleven editions in the course of its development. The SLC put each to "the acid test of employment in actual celebrations under varying conditions, and both said and sung."
94. *Prayer Book Studies IV. The Eucharistic Liturgy* (New York, 1953).
95. Shepherd was appointed to the SLC in 1947; at the time of the 1966 eucharistic rite, he was its vice-chairman.
96. Chilton Powell to Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., 24 September 1965, Record Group 237-1-9, The Archives of the Episcopal Church USA, Austin, Texas.
97. *Prayer Book Studies 21: The Holy Eucharist; the Liturgy for the Proclamation of the Word of God and Celebration of the Holy Communion* (New York, 1970.)
98. Samuel E. West to the author, 29 October 1992.
99. Associated Parishes, Minutes of the 24-26 April 1968 Meeting. (Typewritten.)
100. *Ibid.*
101. *Ibid.*
102. *Ibid.*
103. Associated Parishes, Transcript of the 27 August 1969, Membership Meeting. (Type-written.)
104. Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., the SLC's vice-chairman; H. Boone Porter, Jr.; and Bonnell Spencer, O.H.C.
105. In addition to the above three, two A.P. bishops were on the SLC — E. Otis Charles and William A. Dimmick — as well as Vivian Kingsley, who became A.P.'s first woman president in 1975.
106. *Journal of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 1976, AA-288-AA-291.

- After the adoption of the 1979 Prayer Book, several members of drafting committees were elected to the A.P. council — including Leo Malania, the coordinator for prayer book revision, in 1981.
107. Associated Parishes, *The Liturgy of the Lord's Supper, Leader's Guide and Workbook For a Five-Session Study Course in Conjunction With Prayer Book Studies No. XVII* (Madison, Wisc., 1967)
  108. Chilton Powell to All Bishops, 6 February 1968, Records of the Standing Liturgical Commission.
  109. Associated Parishes, Minutes of the 11-14 November 1968 Meeting. (Typewritten.)
  110. Remarks of A.P. President Henry H. Breul, Transcript of the 27 August 1969 Membership Meeting. (Typewritten.)
  111. Associated Parishes, Untitled news release, 10 March 1969
  112. Associated Parishes, Untitled, undated news release.
  113. Associated Parishes, "A.P. Launches New Program for Renewal," *Associated Parishes Newsletter* (no date), 1.
  114. Associated Parishes, Minutes of the 11-14 November 1968 Meeting. (Typewritten.)
  115. Associated Parishes, Transcript of the 27 August 1969 Membership Meeting. (Typewritten.)
  116. Associated Parishes, Transcript of the 14-17 April 1969 Meeting. (Typewritten.)
  117. Charles M. Guilbert to William Gray, 3 January 1973.
  118. The position lasted until 1975.
  119. Robert R. Parks to William Gray, 6 April 1973.
  120. Associated Parishes, *Ministry I: Holy Baptism* (Alexandria, Va.: Associated Parishes, 1978), 10. Emphasis in the original.
  121. Associated Parishes, "Statement Issued By the Council of Associated Parishes On the Admission of Children to Communion," 15 November 1968.
  122. Spencer previewed the rite for A.P. at a 1969 meeting and asked for A.P.'s opinions. [Associated Parishes, Transcript of the 14-17 April 1969 Meeting. (Typewritten.)]
  123. Associated Parishes, Untitled, undated news release; and "Episcopal History Made," *Boston Globe*, 4 October 1969, 1.
  124. Associated Parishes, Transcript of the 11-14 November 1969 Meeting. (Typewritten.)
  125. Opposition to liturgical change focused in the Society for the Preservation of the Book of Common Prayer, formed in 1971. This group, which later shortened its name to the Prayer Book Society, lobbied the 1973 and 1976 General Conventions. A.P. invited the society's officers to attend A.P. council meetings to hear A.P.'s discussions and witness its liturgical celebrations, but the offer never was taken up. [West, "Episodes VIII: A.P. & A Key Prayer Book Revision Committee," 43.]
  126. 1965, New York; 1966, Washington, D.C.; 1967, Chicago, "The Total Ministry of the Church;" 1968, Los Angeles, "The Liturgy: A Celebration of Worldly Men;" 1969, Boston, "Christian Initiation."
  127. *The Parish Eucharist*, revised ed., c. 1966; *The Holy Eucharist, Rite Two: A Commentary*, 1976; *Parish Eucharist*, 1977; *The Great Vigil of Easter: A Commentary*, 1977; *Ministry I: Holy Baptism*, 1978; *Ministry II. Laity, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*, 1978; *Celebrating Redemption: The Liturgies of Lent, Holy Week, and the Great Fifty Days*, 1980; *The Burial of the Dead: A Commentary*, 1980; *The Daily Office: A Guide for Individual and Group Recitation*, 1981; *Holy Baptism: A Liturgical and Pastoral Commentary*, 1987; *The Celebration and Blessing of a Marriage: A Liturgical and Pastoral Commentary*, 1987; *The Parish Worship Committee*, 1988; *Holy Orders: The Ordination of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*, 1991; *The Catechumenate: Formation for Church Membership*, 1991; all published by Associated Parishes, Alexandria, Va.
  128. Otis Charles to Chester Byrns, 20 November 1970.
  129. Associated Parishes, *Ministry II.- Laity, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons* (Alexandria, Va., 1978), 7.
  130. *Ibid.*
  131. Charles Mortimor [sic] Guilbert, "From the Prayer Book's Official 'Watchdog,'" *Open* (No number or date, but 1971), 2.
  132. West, "Episodes (cont): Conflict Resolution Before Minncapolis Gen'l Convention," no page no.
  133. John E. Hines, "A Birthday Greeting From the 'PB,'" *Open* (no number or date, but 1971), 1.
  134. Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., "And From An Old & Dear Friend," *Open* (no number or date, but 1971), 3.