In the motu proprio *Tra le sollecitudini* issued by Pope Pius X on November 22, 1903 and written to provide guiding principles on sacred music, the purpose of the Church's worship was defined as being for "the glory of God and the sanctification and edification of the faithful." This same definition substantially reappears in later Catholic statements, most notably in Pope Pius XII's 1947 encyclical letter on worship, *Mediator Dei*, and in the 1963 Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (*Sacrosanctum Concilium*) of Vatican II. The twofold assertion that worship is simultaneously doxology and formation constitutes in the latter document the hinge-pin upon which move the liturgical reforms issued after Vatican II.

The relationship between praise of God and sanctification was explored by several Catholic writers in the early twentieth century. The Benedictine Dom Lambert Beauduin, in his 1914 booklet *La piété liturgique*, discusses these aspects of the liturgy by building directly upon the perspective formulated in the 1903 motu proprio.

Regarding the glorification of God, the liturgy is latreutic: adoration, with all the modalities that the attitude of soul includes, dominates the worship of the Church, in contrast with private worship, which easily becomes focused on the self. Regarding human sanctification, the liturgy is didactic: for without
faith, holiness is impossible; the liturgy teaches the entire doctrine of Christ with an incomparable power. The liturgy is itself, lastly, sanctifying: in producing grace by the sacraments, in constantly asking for grace, with all the power of the intercession of the Church, and in disposing us to receive grace by the sentiments of faith, of trust; and of compunction that it excites in us.  

Methodists often react as if the delineation of a connection between divine glorification and human sanctification in worship articulated in these Catholic documents was a new and uniquely Catholic idea. Yet similar observations can be found in historic Protestantism. Martin Luther develops the two-way sense allowed by the German expression Gottesdienst: the service of God is primarily God's service to us; the bestowing by word and sacrament of the benefit of redemption in the gospel; our responsive service before God is then an act of the faith and love which God elicits in us, the sacrifice of thanksgiving to God's praise and honor.  

The Westminster Shorter Catechism (1647-1648) sets forth a comparable notion in defining human vocation: "What is the chief end of man? Man's chief end is to glorify God, and to enjoy him for ever."  

John Wesley himself spoke in these terms in his homiletical descriptions of true and appropriate worship, in one sermon quoting that dictum from the Presbyterian catechism. To Wesley's mind, Christian religion, as expressed in spiritual worship, "properly and directly consists in the knowledge and love of God, as manifested in the Son of his love, through the eternal Spirit. And this naturally leads to every heavenly temper, and to every good word and work."  

Wesley, echoing St. Augustine in De civitate Dei, repeats this opinion in remarking "Optimus Dei cultus, imitari quem colis—It is the best worship or service of God, to imitate him you worship."  

The correlation between worship's components of doxology and human sanctification is not delineated for Methodism solely in John Wesley's sermons. Such correspondence is also evident in many of the hymns of Charles Wesley. One hymn which has been in continuous use since the 1780 Collection and is still sung by British and Australasian Methodists today, points beyond the immediate worship of the Church presently on earth to include the anticipation of worship at the last day when the faithful are conformed to the image of God.  

> Father of everlasting grace,  
> Thy goodness and thy truth we praise,  
> Thy goodness and thy truth we prove:  
> Thou hast, in honour of thy Son,  
> The gift unspeakable sent down,  
> The Spirit of life, and power, and love.  

> Send us the Spirit of thy Son  
> To make the depths of Godhead known,  
> To make us share the life divine,  
> Send him the sprinkled blood apply,  
> Send him our souls to sanctify,  
> And show and seal us ever thine.
So shall we pray, and never cease,
So shall we thankfully confess
Thy wisdom, truth, and power, and love,
With joy unspeakable adore,
And bless, and praise thee evermore,
And serve thee as thy hosts above.

Till added to that heavenly choir
We raise our songs of triumph higher,
And praise thee in a bolder strain,
Out soar the first-born seraph’s flight,
And sing, with all our friends in light,
Thy everlasting love to man.

The testimony of these documents, Roman Catholic and Methodist, demonstrates the indispensable place of liturgy in the process and understanding of sanctification.

Methodists and Benedictines have made distinct contributions to the liturgical life of the Church universal, and in some places during the twentieth century, there has been sharing—sometimes even direct borrowing—of liturgical scholarship and liturgical praxis between the two traditions. How have these liturgical currents and cross-currents been configured and where have been the points of contact?

BENEDICTINE AND METHODIST FOUNDATIONS FOR LITURGICAL RENEWAL

The roots of modern liturgical renewal for both the Benedictine and Methodist traditions can be traced to a renaissance in the study of Christian antiquity which characterized the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. Numerous works from the first Christian millennium were reprinted during this period; and with the publication of patristic and early medieval liturgical texts and descriptions, such as those found in early Church Orders (e.g., the so-called Apostolic Constitutions), there was a surge of interest in examining and recovering the liturgical praxis of the historic Church.

Jean Mabillon, of the Benedictine congregation of St. Maur, was an historian who, in Le traité des études monastiques (1691), wrote in defense of the scholarly endeavors of monastics and religious. Besides publishing a nine-volume series pertaining to the lives of saints represented in the Benedictine order (Acta sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti), Mabillon produced several collections of documents important for later liturgical scholarship. Among these were a three-volume study of the Gallican liturgy (De liturgia gallicana libri tres, 1685), and between the years 1687 and 1689, two volumes containing texts collected from libraries and monasteries throughout Italy (Musei italicorum seu collectio veterum scriptorum ex bibliothecis italicis extati). The first volume, co-authored with Dom Michel Germain, set forth various documents including a Gallican mass book dating possibly to the sixth century, the so-called Bobbio Missal. Fifteen ordinæ Romanæ: ancient collections of ceremonial directions for the performance of the Roman rite, were included in the second volume which was compiled by Mabillon alone (Musei italicorum II collectors antiquae libros rituales sanctae romanæ Ecclesiae cum commentario præcedio in Ordinem romanum). Though later
scholarship on the early Roman rite generally has superseded Mabillon's collection of the ordinances (notably the texts and studies of Michel Andrieu), his work remains valuable: several of the ordinæ Mabillon published remain accessible only in his edition, and Mabillon's commentary upon the ordinæ provides a window into an earlier era's understanding of the development of the Roman rite from the fifth to the fifteenth century.9

Like Mabillon, John Wesley studied and sought to recover early Christian thought and praxis, though he practically limited his scope to the first three centuries, for he believed they largely represented the doctrine and practice of true, uncorrupted, scriptural Christianity and therefore could serve as a suitable model for the renewal of the Church.10 Writings from the early Church or accounts of early Christian life were part of Wesley's own literary diet, and he encouraged the Methodists to read in this area as well. To this end, he published full texts or abridgements of such works as the Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch and William Cave's Primitive Christianity in his fifty-volume A Christian Library.

Early Christian liturgical praxis received Wesley's attention, at first as presented by the liturgical reforms of the English Non-Jurors, and later as Wesley recognized the spiritual benefit (both individual and corporate) resulting from emulation of certain ancient liturgical forms. Wesley's advocacy of lovefeasts (based on the early Christian agape), watchnights (following the custom of vigiliae), and frequent communion, for example, springs from his desire to imitate the patterns of Christian antiquity. Even at the end of his life, Wesley advocated the model of early Christian practice: a letter that accompanied his 1784 revision of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer, the Sunday Service of the Methodists in North America, declares that the American Methodists are at "full liberty," in matters of liturgy and polity, "to follow the Scriptures and the Primitive Church."11

THE MODERN LITURGICAL MOVEMENT

These two streams of liturgical interest, the one represented in the Benedictine order by the person of Mabillon, and that figured for Methodism by John Wesley, take two very different courses in the nineteenth century. Among the Methodists, the stream of liturgical interest slowed to a trickle, but was kept flowing by some "High Church Wesleyans" such as Benjamin A. Gregory in Great Britain, and by American Methodists like Thomas O. Summers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.12 Occasional publications on worship-related topics in Methodist periodicals on both sides of the Atlantic also kept the issue before the Methodist denominations. In contrast, the Benedictine abbeys of Europe became sites for liturgical discovery and recovery, occasioned during this period by renewed interest in correct usage of ancient liturgical forms, by the retrieval of previously unknown liturgical documents, and by the establishment of dates for known texts. The vast and widespread contributions made by Benedictine communities in the nineteenth century to what would be called the liturgical movement were duly noted by Pope Pius XII in Mediator Dei.13

You are of course familiar with the fact, venerable brethren, that a remarkably widespread revival of scholarly interest in the sacred liturgy took place toward the end of the last century and has continued through the early years of this one. The movement owed its rise to commendable private initiative and more particularly to
the zealous and persistent labor of several monasteries within the distinguished Order of St. Benedict. Thus there developed in this field among many European nations, and in lands beyond the seas as well, a rivalry as welcome as it was productive of results. Indeed, the salutary fruits of this rivalry among the scholars were plain for all to see, both in the sphere of the sacred sciences, where the liturgical rites of the western and eastern churches were made the object of extensive research and profound study, and in the spiritual life of considerable numbers of individual Christians.

Although space will permit neither a thorough nor complete examination of Benedictine foundational work in liturgy during the nineteenth century, nevertheless a few comments should be made.

Prosper Guéranger purchased the ruined abbey at Solesmes in 1832 with the purpose of restoring the site in an effort to revitalize the Benedictine order in France using the model of the medieval monastery of Cluny. In 1837, Pope Gregory XVI established Solesmes as an abbey and appointed Guéranger its first abbot. Guéranger successfully led the monks of Solesmes in the study, preservation, and revival of the early medieval liturgy of the Church in an attempt to return to what he perceived to be the golden age of the Church, namely the Middle Ages. To Guéranger's mind, liturgical reform and ecclesiastical unity (at least for the French Church) could be obtained by enforcing a uniform "Roman" liturgy. Unfortunately, Guéranger's ultramontanism led to the rejection of many local—and sometimes equally old—liturgical expressions. Yet one of the most notable and long-lasting contributions of Solesmes has been the research into Gregorian chant and other ancient musical forms, thereby enabling the reappropriation of chant for worship.

Guéranger was a liturgical scholar. But he also was a popularist, and enabled others, Benedictine and otherwise, to understand and embrace the work he had begun. The pattern of liturgical research and liturgical life at Solesmes was, by the mid-nineteenth century, transplanted into other communities. Monks from Solesmes were sent throughout the world to establish new communities. Visitors came to Solesmes to immerse themselves in liturgical studies with an eye to returning home and educating their own communities. The biological and religious brothers Maurus and Placid Wolter, who represent such visitors, established the community of Beuron in Germany, which, in turn, created a comparable community at Maria Laach, also in Germany, and at Maredsous in Belgium. Beuron, Maredsous, and Maria Laach are well known as centers for liturgical studies. In the twentieth century, the monks of Maria Laach have been responsible for two worthy liturgical publications: the series Eclesia Oriens and the Jahrbuch für Liturgieuntersuchung. Maria Laach also was home to Dom Odo Casel whose emphasis on the mystery (Mysterienlehre) of Christ and his Church in the eucharist informed the current paschal understanding of that sacrament.

The nineteenth-century liturgical movement, rooted in Benedictine congregations, revived or produced rites appropriate for monastic life; parochial manifestations largely adapted the models of the religious community. Benedictines writing in the early twentieth century began earnest explorations of the implications of liturgical renewal for parish life, building upon the foundations laid the century before. One such individual was the already-mentioned Lambert Beauduin, a Belgian priest who became a monk at the abbey of Mont-
César which later became an important center for the study of liturgy. In his numerous writings, Beauduin emphasized the pastoral dimensions of the liturgy, stressing that the worship of the Church was the center of Christian life and that the liturgy, parochially centered, was to be truly the work of the faithful. To this end, he organized liturgical "days" and "weeks" for both clergy and laity to learn about worship and to participate in it, and established a liturgical review. Les questions liturgiques et paroissiales. The Centre de Pastoral Liturgique in Paris was founded as the result of Beauduin's influence.13

METHODISTS AND THE LITURGICAL MOVEMENT

Methodist books and essays indicate that by the turn of the twentieth century, British and North American Methodists were becoming aware of the liturgical stirrings that were being experienced among many of their Catholic neighbors. Liturgical interest among Methodists was largely manifested in two ways during the first two decades of this century: The first was by the study of Methodism's liturgical roots: in the Wesley hymn collections and, especially in the United States, by examination of Methodism's departure from the rites established in John Wesley's Sunday Service (notably in the pattern for non-eucharistic Sunday worship).14 Methodist worship, in the context of a broader history of Christian worship, was also investigated.15 Secondly, there was the desire by some to recover early Methodist liturgical practices which had been lost, such as frequent (as opposed to quarterly) communion, and the utilization of fixed forms for Sunday morning.16

Sentiments toward liturgical (and particularly eucharistic) restoration among Methodists were far from unanimous, however. Many feared that Methodist worship might succumb to ritualism and formality, thereby losing its historic evangelical spirit. In the United States, the title of an article published in the Methodist Episcopal Church's Methodist Review summarizes the attitude of many during this period: "More Liturgy or More Life?"17

By the 1930s, Methodist interest in the phenomenon of Christian worship had increased considerably, spurred on by Methodist participation, nationally and internationally, in the growing ecumenical movement. In the British Church, the Methodist Sacramental Fellowship was founded in 1935 as "a Methodist response to the demands of the present and the future—a response which can be paralleled in other communions, being part of a widespread movement towards objectivity and unity both in worship and in evangelism."18 It was not until 1946 that American Methodists were to create an organization devoted to sacramental and liturgical scholarship and practice, a group which has become known as the Order of St. Luke.19 Both of these organizations continue—and appear to be thriving—today.

In the United States, the liturgical movement was mediated (from the middle of the 1920s onwards) by the work of the Benedictine Virgil Michel of St. John's Abbey in Collegeville, Minnesota. The primary publication of St. John's was the periodical Orate Fratres (now called Worship) which chronicled the latest liturgical developments and provided a forum for Michel's special interest in the interconnection between worship and social justice.20 Though a direct connection between the work of St. John's Abbey and the liturgical reflection of Methodists cannot be established until the 1940s, the publications that were issued from St. John's had, in all likelihood, at least a limited Methodist audience, given their wide dissemination. By the 1940s and 1950s, some Methodists were
clearly aware of what was happening at St. John's and in Europe, and were familiar with the important documents and essays of the Catholic liturgical movement which by that time were influencing discussions among some Protestant denominations. The Methodist periodical *The Priest* (which was published under that name from 1937 to 1956) functioned in part as a forum for essays and ideas on worship-related matters, apparently arising from the initiative of one of the early editors, Woodrow Geier. Publications issued by the Order of St. Luke served to educate its own members and other subscribers on the liturgical movement and liturgical issues. Two articles published in the Order's *The Vorside* during the 1950s specifically outlined Benedictine contributions to the liturgical movement both in Europe and in the United States.3

It is worth noting at this point that, since the 1960s, several direct liturgical cross-currents exist between Methodists and the monks of St. John's Abbey. First, Father Godfrey Diekmann, former editor of *Worship* and liturgical scholar, and the late Wesley scholar Albert Outler had a longtime friendship, growing out of their common attendance at the sessions of Vatican II.4 An essay written by Diekmann on "The Reform of the Catholic Liturgy," which first appeared in *Worship* in 1967, was reprinted a year later by the Order of St. Luke.5 Second, the United Methodist Don E. Saliers, professor of theology and liturgy at Emory University, currently serves as an editorial consultant to *Worship*. And finally, Methodist students (primarily United Methodist) have pursued graduate study with the liturgical faculty at St. John's University.

By far the most significant Methodist-Benedictine cross-current prior to Vatican II was the wide-spread influence of the book *The Shape of the Liturgy*, published in 1945 by the Anglican Benedictine Gregory Dix. Because Dix's book was in English, it was immediately accessible to many Methodists and, it can be said, held sway over the English-speaking world for nearly thirty years in the structure of eucharistic revisions. David L. Taylor, in writing his reflections on the work of the Order of St. Luke from 1946 to 1961, notes:

Outside of Methodist materials, probably the most-quoted and studied tome was Dom Gregory Dix's *The Shape of the Liturgy*, although many other important books in the broader liturgical movement became well known.6

Dix's contention that there is a fourfold shape to the eucharistic liturgy (offertory, thanksgiving, fraction, and communion), in fact, has marked the United Methodist sacramental rite since the 1972 revision.

**SHARED FEATURES OF LITURGICAL RENEWAL**

Although Benedictines were not alone in the promotion of the liturgical movement from the nineteenth century to the meeting of the Second Vatican Council, they certainly were at its heart. Benedictine liturgical scholarship and reflection undeniably contributed to the promulgation of *Sacrosanctum Concilium* and to the shaping of the reformed rites produced thereafter. Since the 1970s, Methodism, in Great Britain, in the United States, in Australia within the Uniting Church, and in other parts of the world, has embraced, in practice, many of the ideas and ideals of the liturgical renewal that prepared for and resulted from Vatican II. Hence, Methodist liturgical revision shares some common features with Catholic (and Benedictine) liturgical renewal. Five of these cross-currents can
be mentioned.

A Return to Liturgical Sources. Most significantly, Benedictines and Methodists have experienced a retour aux sources to the respective founders of each movement, and to the beginnings of Christianity itself. Whereas the mid-nineteenth century revival of Benedictinism sought models from the Middle Ages, by the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, Benedictine communities (e.g., Beuron and Maria Laach) looked further back to the "spirit of the founder," namely St. Benedict, for liturgical, spiritual, and disciplinary guidance. Writers such as Abbot Ildefons Herwegen of Maria Laach advocated a renewal of the essence of Benedictine monasticism by a return to the rule and the opus Dei. The 1980 celebration of the fifteenth hundredth anniversary of the birth of Benedict was also an occasion to reexamine his life and numerous publications were issued around that date. In the United States, a new edition of the Rule with commentary was published which included an examination of the liturgical material delineated in the Rule.

At the same time as Benedict and his Rule were being reclaimed, Benedictines were also broadening their look at early sources by including the patristic theologians of the liturgy, as exemplified by the work of Odo Casel, a monk of Herwegen's abbey. Directly liturgical texts from the early period were also subjects for Benedictine examination, not only for the sake of scholarship but as a means of uncovering the roots of the Church's worship by which the worship of the Church of later generations could be judged. Numerous studies and critical editions have been brought forth, including an edition of the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus (Dom Bernard Botte), studies on the early Alexandrine form of the liturgy of St. Basil (Dom Bernard Capelle and Dom Emmanuel Lanne), and an examination of the evolution of the eucharistic anaphora (Dom Alban Bouley).

The resurgence of interest in the liturgical contributions of John Wesley can be located, as already noted, in the late nineteenth century. In regard to the liturgical content of early Christian sources, Methodists after John Wesley have generally concentrated on models or forms gleaned from the New Testament or from what is perceived to be apostolic practice. But in the last twenty-five years, Methodist liturgical revision has embraced the return to patristic sources which has characterized the entire liturgical movement. In so doing, Methodist liturgy, like Roman Catholic liturgy, has appropriated patristic forms. The unity of word and sacrament delineated in Justin Martyr (1 Apology 67) has become, according to the liturgical texts, the normative pattern for the Sunday liturgy (even though actual practice lags behind on the sacramental side). The adult catechumenate, adopted for Roman Catholic parishes and under consideration for United Methodist congregations, was outlined in Apostolic Tradition and described in the mystagogical catecheses of St. John Chrysostom and St. Ambrose and in the Jerusalem travelogue of the Spanish pilgrim Egeria. Methodist recovery of a liturgical form for corporate daily prayer is not only a return to the practice of the early Church, but also a revival of some early Methodist praxis.

Liturgy and Formation. As has been seen, Lambert Beauduin, in commenting upon liturgy as simultaneously glorification of God and human sanctification, notes that in its formative aspect, worship is a school of faith; it is also a school of prayer: 'La liturgie est l'école où la sainte Église nous apprend à prier'—liturgy is the school where Holy Church teaches us to pray. Likewise, American Methodists H. Grady Hardin, Joseph D. Quillian, and James F. White, in their book *The Celebration of the Gospel:
"Christian worship is celebration that relates us to God and to one another, renewing us in the meaning and power of God's victory in Jesus Christ."

On both sides, Methodist and Catholic, this connection of the lex orandi with the lex credendi has had an effect on the way in which Christian doctrine is perceived and taught in theological schools. Among Catholics, mention may be made of the works of Dom Cipriano Vagaggini, *Theological Dimensions of the Liturgy*, and Dom Aidan Kavanagh, *On Liturgical Theology*. The British Methodist Geoffrey Wainwright wrote a systematic theology under the title *Doxology: The Praise of God in Worship, Doctrine, and Life*.

**Liturgy as the Work of the People.** The hallmark of twentieth-century Roman Catholic reflection on the liturgy is this: the understanding that liturgy requires the full, conscious, and active participation of the laity. For Catholics, this has meant, practically, such emphases as lay roles in the Mass, worship in the vernacular, liturgical catechesis, inculcation of the liturgy, and particularly as regards the Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults, the involvement of the laity as sponsors and teachers in spiritual formation before baptism.

Under the leadership of a few Anglican priests, the Methodist movement had strong lay participation from the start; lay leadership still is critical for the life and survival of Methodism in many parts of the world. The Methodist love feast, in particular, depended upon the active involvement of all participants in song and in testifying publicly to the sanctifying work of God. Over time, Methodist worship developed a tendency toward domination by the clergy in liturgical leadership. Nowhere was this more acute in American Methodism than in the midweek service which initially was lay-led but eventually evolved, in many places, into another duty of the pastor. With the recent liturgical reforms, Methodists have sought to reemphasize their former practices and echo the Catholic call to full, conscious, and active participation of the laity. To meet this goal, some congregations have encouraged lay involvement in the planning of liturgy, lay roles in the service, lay speakers, and the involvement of sponsors in Christian initiation.

For many clergy and congregations, Methodist and Catholic, the liturgical involvement of the laity is a long-anticipated shift in emphasis, while for others it is a difficult transition. What is at stake is a renewed understanding of the sanctifying aspects of the liturgy.

**The Music of Faith.** Benedictines and Methodists concur in the importance of singing—or liturgical music in general—as a form of the proclamation of the Word. The Wesleys encouraged the singing of hymns because it disseminated the gospel and edified the singer; to that end, John Wesley enjoined that hymn singing should be in unison to prevent distortion of the text. The recovery of the practice of plainchant made by the monks of Solesmes reintroduced to the Roman Catholic Church—and the Christian world—an effective medium for the declaration of the text. Two different traditions of music, but yet one emphasis: the true hearing and assimilation of the Word of God.

Mutual sharing between Methodists and Roman Catholics is quite evident in the musical arena. Many Methodists are rediscovering the simplicity and beauty of both plainchant and Anglican chant. Roman Catholics, and particularly Benedictines, have become acquainted with the Wesley hymns; the seventh edition of *The Collegeville Hymnal*, published in 1990 by the community at St. John’s Abbey, contains seven Charles Wesley hymns.

**Worship and Work.** Finally, the interrelationship between liturgy (*lentourgia* and
social justice or service (diaconia) is a significant cross-current. The work initiated in this area by Virgil Michel sparked a recovery of the conviction that the "work" of worship should transcend the gathering of the congregation to encompass all of life. In other words, the language and content of worship should reflect and reinforce the demands of the ministry of discipleship into which Christians are baptized. The issue is both textual and practical: do the liturgical texts or does what is said in worship encourage care for the neighbor for whom Christ died? And does the experience of worship itself move persons to minister in Christ's name? Methodists and Benedictine Roman Catholics can learn from each other on this matter.10

Hopefully, the common liturgical experiences of this conference on sanctification in our two traditions have initiated another cross-current of understanding and sharing between Methodists and Benedictines. For some participants, this may have been the first opportunity to share in the worship of the other tradition. As the currents of our respective liturgical traditions continue to flow, it is hoped that in this ever-rolling stream cross-currents will form to our mutual benefit and to the glory of God.

NOTES


9. One of the most thorough studies of the contributions of Mabillon is the essay by Dom Henri Lecleq in Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, s.v. "Mabillon." A more recent summary is M.D. Knowles, "Jean Mabillon," Journal of Ecclesiastical History 10 (October 1959): 153-73.


11. Letter to Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and our Brethren in North-America, September 10, 1784, in

12. Benjamin Gregory’s worship-related writings include the publication of the Fenelton Lecture for 1873, The Holy Catholic Church, The Communion of Saints (1873), and the sections on the sacraments in his A Handbook of Scriptural Church Principles and of Wesleyan-Methodist Polity and History (1889). Among the liturgical publications of Summers were a book on Christian initiation (Baptism, 1852), a collection of devotional materials with an essay on prayer and worship (The Golden Covern, 1859), and a Commentary on the Ritual of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (1873). Summers also served as the editor for the Methodist Episcopal Church, South’s reprinting of John Wesley’s Sunday Service in 1867. See L. Edward Phillips, “Thomas Omond Summers, Methodist Liturgist of the Nineteenth Century,” Methodist History 27 (July 1989): 241-53.


14. R.W. Franklin has shown that the campaign for liturgical uniformity in France was primarily on account of the political motivations of Napoleon III who encouraged the curia in establishing their policies. See “The Nineteenth Century Liturgical Movement,” Worship 53 (January 1979): 24-5; for additional studies on Guéranger and the nineteenth-century liturgical movement, see Franklin’s essays in Worship 49 (June-July 1975): 318-28; 50 (March 1976): 146-62; and 51 (September 1977): 378-99.


16. For example, Richard Joseph Cooke, A History of the Ritual of the Methodist Episcopal Church: With a Commentary on Its Offices, 3rd. ed. (Cincinnati: Jennings & Pye, 1900; New York: Eaton & Mains, 1900); Nolan B. Harmon, The Rites and Ritual of Episcopal Methodism (Nashville: Publishing House of the M. E. Church, South, 1926); and J. Ernest Rattenbury, Wesley’s Legacy to the World (Nashville: Cokesbury, 1926); the 1928 Quillian Lectures delivered by the British Methodist at Emory University.


21. Throughout its history, members have debated whether the Order should be organized as a fellowship or as a religious order and thereby adopt structural features from Benedictine congregations. In recent years the group has gravitated toward Benedictine models (for example, the current head of the group is designated “Abbot”).

22. The most complete overview of the liturgical contributions of Virgil Michel is Paul B. Marx, Virgil Michel and the Liturgical Movement (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1957).


27. For example, Ildelfons Herzogen, Sinn und Geist der Benediktinerregel (Einsiedeln: Benziger, 1944).


31. La piété liturgique, p. 37.


