

**The Eucharist in a Time of Change: An
investigation into the Eucharist as practiced
at The Church of the Ascension between
1975 and 2002.**

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Introduction:

The title of this thesis is: “The Eucharist in a time of change: An investigation into the Eucharist as practiced at The Church of the Ascension (C of A) between 1975 and 2002.” The thesis question asks: “How the Eucharist developed at the ‘Church of the Ascension’ between 1975 and 2002?” My research aims to uncover the developments in the Eucharist during this period of time. The three rectors - the first being charismatic, the second evangelical and the third Anglo-Catholic – who took up office during this time, afforded me the opportunity to investigate broad theological practices of the Eucharist within a tightly defined microcosm. The method of researching this microcosm will include the oral histories of the three rectors as well as four parishioners who worshiped at the ‘Church of the Ascension’ during the defined period. The scope, method and focus of this study seeks to elicit legitimate questions of theology, ecclesiology, politics, race, culture and gender.

The title of the thesis includes the phrase, ‘time of change’. In the above paragraph I have already alluded to the significant change each Rector would have brought to the church with his particular theology. However the reality of change experienced at Church of the Ascension between 1975 and 2002 is broader than the styles of these three Rectors. 1975 was the year the Church of the Province of Southern Africa, now the Anglican Church of Southern Africa, launched an experimental liturgy (*Liturgy 1975*) for parish use. In 1989 this experimental liturgy was transformed and developed into the current Prayer Book of the Province (*An Anglican Prayer Book 1989*). The little village of Hilton underwent significant infrastructural, economic, religious and population development during the prescribed period. These were the years of dramatic socio-political transformation in South Africa. During these years the system of apartheid was dismantled and the country became democratic as the ANC

replaced the white Nationalist Party. Thus this thesis will seek to recognise the practice of the Eucharist in the context of changes of leadership, as well as at liturgical, parochial and national levels.

Can a micro-study possibly hope to produce anything more than anecdotal reflections? The thesis is structured in such a way that it would look like an hourglass if represented pictorially. In other words the thesis moves from very broad considerations to the micro-study, and from there seeks to offer broad comment based on the understandings gleaned in the micro-study. The broad aspects include an investigation of: the Anglican Eucharist – particularly as practiced in Southern Africa; the charismatic, evangelical and Anglo-Catholic theological movements; and the socio-political context in South Africa during the time of the study. The limited information from the micro-study is intended to throw light on the general phenomena mentioned above. This model is advantageous in that it allows for a focused and contained thesis with the potential to comment critically on the broad and far reaching issues under discussion.

The next question relates to the validity of the oral history methodology. Traditionally oral history is understood as the “creation of historical data.”¹ More recently oral history has been seen as a provocative movement acknowledging that all history is a re-construction of the past, and as such, critical questions must be asked.² In this way, oral history is an attempt to offer a history ‘from below’ as opposed to ‘from above’ and has therefore been hailed by decision-makers, academics and cultural agents as a tool to bring about healing in post-apartheid South Africa.³

¹ Denis, Philippe. “Oral History in a Wounded Country.” In *Orality, Literacy and Colonialism in Southern Africa*. Ed. Jonathan Draper. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 2003. pp 205

² Ibid

³ Ibid. pp 209

Oral history is considered a generally valid methodology in academic circles, but are the oral histories that have been compiled from the three priests and the four parishioners reliable? Like all history, their stories are a re-construction of the past and are therefore incomplete and/or a distortion of what happened. Memory is a significantly nuanced aspect of the human psyche which makes ‘getting to the truth’ an extremely complicated exercise. The decision to interview the three priests is an understandable inclusion in my sample. The three priests are the ones who brought their theological worldview to bear on the worship of the Hilton parish, and therefore a thorough understanding of their theology is vitally important. The basis for the selection of the four parishioners requires more comment. Partly, the selection of interviewees was made for me because the number of people who have been parishioners from 1975 is significantly limited. Interviewing parishioners who have experienced the Eucharistic practice of all three priests is important for a sense of continuity to develop. This method afforded the opportunity to track the personal development of parishioners and the development of the Eucharist from the perspective of the ‘people in the pews’. Of those who met this criterion, I sought to interview an equal number of men and women. In other words, the major bias of the sample is beyond my control in that I have a significantly limited sample to choose from in the first place.

The reader may rightly enquire as to why I have chosen to focus on a ‘white’ church in the South African context. Surely I should be seeking out interviews with black South Africans who celebrated the Eucharist during apartheid? John de Gruchy asserts that:

The sacraments rightly understood and practiced within the worship life of the Church play a central role in shaping Christian community and its witness to God's reconciliation.⁴

If this is true, then how is it possible that the majority of white Christians happily celebrated the Eucharist, week in and week out, during the apartheid years, and many never even conceived of the need for reconciliation in South Africa? There has to be some 'disconnect' here and it is precisely by studying a white parish that one can hope to identify the 'disconnect' and make helpful suggestions for future liturgical reforms. The reality is that all South Africans were 'damaged' by apartheid and are in need of healing; victim, perpetrator and passive perpetrator. The congregation at Hilton would fit primarily into the latter category and their story needs to be told and heard.

To return to the research question for this thesis: "How has the Eucharist developed at the Church of the Ascension between 1975 and 2002?" the various categories, pertaining to the Eucharist – including language, physical elements, role of the lay person, shape of the service, role of the priest, and contextual relevance – will form the basis from which to document the development of the Eucharist in each of the three time periods. Once these developments have been documented, I shall offer an integrated analysis in the final chapter.

⁴ De Gruchy, John. *Reconciliation, Restoring Justice*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002. pp. 96

1. The Anglican Eucharist

There was a worshipping church in England from as early as the third and fourth centuries of the Common Era. This Church was significantly influenced by the arrival of St. Augustine in 590 CE and became aligned with Western Christianity as a result of Augustine's mission⁵. However, the practice of the Eucharist varied widely until the English Reformation and the establishment of the Church of England. I will begin this chapter by exploring the very early origins of the Eucharist by reviewing the Jewish roots of the meal and the New Testament sources. Then I will document the movement from the Sarum Use, or the liturgy used at Salisbury, which was Archbishop Thomas Cranmer's principal text for the first English Prayer Book of 1549. The 'Act of Uniformity' ensured that this liturgy was used in all the English Churches.⁶ As the upheavals of the reformation racked England there were a number of successive prayer books produced until finally the Book of Common Prayer 1662 came to take pride of place. As the upheavals of the Reformation subsided, the English people sought a peaceful life and self-possessed worship. The next major change to the Eucharist came on the heels of the Liturgical renewal of the Twentieth Century. Here I will consider the writings of Gregory Dix⁷ who helped to reform the practice of the Eucharist, and Gabriel Hebert⁸ who assisted the Church to acknowledge the Eucharist as the primary service of worship. These two Anglican liturgists were highly influential.

⁵ Chatfield, Adrian. *Something In Common*. Nottingham: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1998. pp. 12

⁶ Kelly, Leonard. 'Anglicanism Lectures'. Lectures given at the College of the Transfiguration, Grahamstown: 2011

⁷ Dix, Gregory. *The Shape of the Liturgy*. Westminster: Dacre Press, 1947.

⁸ Hebert, Gabriel. *Liturgy and Society*. London: Butler and Tanner Limited, 1935.

1.1 Eucharistic Origins

1.1.1 Jewish Synagogue Service

It has been said that Christian worship has been shaped by the tradition of the Synagogue and the tradition of the Upper Room⁹. The Synagogue service came into being during the Babylonian exile and Diaspora which prevented Jewish people from offering sacrifices at the Jerusalem Temple.¹⁰ Frank Senn¹¹ has attempted to re-construct what a basic Synagogue service would have looked like, during the Common Era, which is summarized below:

1. Invocation. “Bless the Lord who is to be blessed”
2. The Shema Israel. “Hear, O Israel...”
3. The Eighteen Benedictions (A series of prayers, of which the first three were of a praise nature and the last three of thanksgiving. These prayers were viewed as a substitute for the offering of sacrifices.)
4. The priestly blessing (Aaronic Benediction)
5. Readings from the Torah and the Prophets (There was a three year lectionary cycle in use.)
6. Homily by resident or visiting rabbis.
7. Psalms (scholars remain uncertain as to when the singing of Psalms became part of the Synagogue service.)

A cursory glance at the above list reveals many similarities to the first part of the Eucharist, that part of the service known as the synaxis.

⁹ Jenneker, Bruce. Lecture 6: ‘Jewish Sources for Christian Worship’. Lectures given at the College of the Transfiguration, Grahamstown: 2011

¹⁰ Senn, Frank. *Christian Liturgy, Catholic and Evangelical*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997. pp. 68.

¹¹ *Ibid.* pp. 68-69

Indeed, it could be argued that much of the synaxis is derived from the Synagogue Service. Senn goes on to argue that:

At the heart of Synagogue worship on the Sabbaths and festivals was the reading of sacred scripture... the Synagogue was first a school for the study of scriptures before it became a place of worship, and its Spiritual leader was a teacher (rabbi) rather than a priest.¹²

Apart from the major focus on what in time would become the Liturgy of the Word, it is possible to identify other similarities. Firstly, the subject of the prayers, whilst they were not identical, they certainly are comparable to one another. Secondly, the use of psalms and hymns in early Christian assemblies was a direct carry over from the Synagogue. Thirdly, it is possible to identify Synagogue protocol practiced by early Christians, such as the separation of the sexes, and the insistence on women covering their heads. Lastly, the Synagogue influenced the times of gathering or at least the hours prescribed for prayer during the day.¹³

1.1.2 The Last Supper and Institution Narratives

The discussion now moves to the second shaping tradition of Christian worship, that of the Upper Room. The New Testament records of this event are convoluted and tend to raise more questions than they answer. For the sake of clarity, I have included a table with institution narratives from the three synoptic Gospels and the Pauline account given in 1 Corinthians. The order in which the accounts appear – 1 Corinthians, Mark, Matthew and then Luke – is significant. The order corresponds with

¹² Ibid. pp. 70.

¹³ Ibid. pp. 72.

the dating – earliest to latest – of each of the books.¹⁴ Having said this, the sources which Luke used may be more ancient than those used by Paul despite the probability that 1 Corinthians was written before Luke’s Gospel.

Table 1: Synopsis of Institution Narratives

1 Corinthians 11	Mark 14	Matthew 26	Luke 22
<p>²³ For I received from the Lord what I also delivered to you, that the Lord Jesus on the night when he was betrayed</p> <p>took bread, ²⁴ and when he had given thanks, he broke it, and said, “This is my body which is for you. Do this in remembrance of me.”²⁵ In the same way also he took the cup, after supper, saying, “This cup is the new covenant in my blood. Do this, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me.”²⁶ For as often as you eat this bread and drink the cup, you proclaim the Lord’s death until he comes.</p>	<p>¹⁷ And when it was evening, he came with the twelve.¹⁸</p> <p>²¹ And as they were reclining at table and eating, Jesus said, “Truly, I say to you... not been born.”</p> <p>²² And as they were eating, he took bread, and after blessing it broke it and gave it to them, and said, “Take; this is my body.”²³ And he took a cup, and when he had given thanks he gave it to them, and they all drank of it.²⁴ And he said to them, “This is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many.²⁵ Truly, I say to you, I will not drink again of the fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God.”</p>	<p>²⁰ When it was evening, he reclined at table with the twelve.²¹⁻²⁵ And as they were eating, he said, “Truly, I say to you... You have said so.”</p> <p>²⁶ Now as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and after blessing it broke it and gave it to the disciples, and said, “Take, eat; this is my body.”²⁷ And he took a cup, and when he had given thanks he gave it to them, saying, “Drink of it, all of you,²⁸ for this is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins.²⁹ I tell you I will not drink again of this fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father’s kingdom.”</p>	<p>¹⁴ And when the hour came, he reclined at table, and the apostles with him.¹⁵ And he said to them, “I have earnestly desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer.¹⁶ For I tell you I will not eat it until it is fulfilled in the kingdom of God.”¹⁷ And he took a cup, and when he had given thanks he said, “Take this, and divide it among yourselves.¹⁸ For I tell you that from now on I will not drink of the fruit of the vine until the kingdom of God comes.”¹⁹ And he took bread, and when he had given thanks, he broke it and gave it to them, saying, “This is my body, which is given for you. Do this in remembrance of me.”²⁰ And likewise the cup after they had eaten, saying, “This cup that is poured out for you is the new covenant in my blood.”</p>

The traditional understanding of these narratives is well expressed by Gregory Dix who popularized them in his seminal work, *The Shape of the Liturgy*:

The New Testament accounts of that supper as they stand in the received text present us with what may be called a ‘seven-action

¹⁴ Jones, Cheslyn. “The New Testament.” In *The Study of Liturgy: Revised Edition*. Ed. Jones, Yarnold, Wainwright & Bradshaw. London: SPCK, 1992. pp. 189.

scheme' of the rite then inaugurated. Our Lord (1) took bread; (2) 'gave thanks' over it; (3) broke it; (4) distributed it, saying certain words. Later he (5) took a cup; (6) 'gave thanks' over that; (7) handed it to his disciples, saying certain words... with absolute unanimity the liturgical tradition reproduces these seven actions as four: (1) The offertory; bread and wine are 'taken' and placed on the table together. (2) The Prayer; the president gives thanks to God over the bread and wine together. (3) The fraction; the bread is broken. (4) The communion; the bread and wine are distributed together.¹⁵

Dix went on to argue that the transition from the seven fold to the four fold action had taken place very early, probably very soon after the writing of 1 Corinthians¹⁶. More recent scholars have contested this theory, Bradshaw for example asserting that:

We do not possess one scrap of direct testimony that the earliest Christian Eucharist ever conformed itself to the model of the last supper, with a bread ritual before the meal and a cup ritual after the meal.¹⁷

Bradshaw goes on to assert that there were in all likelihood a number of variant Eucharistic patterns in early Christian worship. He highlights three possible alternate patterns to the one which Dix proposed. Firstly, the 1 Corinthians text and the *Didache* are evidence for a pattern with a thanksgiving over the cup first and then a thanksgiving over the bread. Secondly, he substantiates a case for the practice of celebrating the

¹⁵ Dix, Gregory. *The Shape of the Liturgy*. Westminster: Dacre Press, 1947. pp. 48.

¹⁶ Ibid. pp. 101.

¹⁷ Bradshaw, Paul. *Eucharistic Origins*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 2004. pp. 13.

Eucharist with water in place of wine. Thirdly, he highlights Lukan texts which suggest a Eucharist which centred on the bread only, or at least focused on the bread.¹⁸ The picture that begins to emerge of the early Church's practice of the Eucharist is one of considerable diversity. The romanticized 'Dixian' idea of absolute unanimity in Eucharistic liturgy is no longer considered a legitimate understanding of early Christian worship.

The institution narratives, as acknowledged earlier, were composed from diverse and fragmentary sources. Where did these sources come from? Are they inserted into the text from extant liturgical texts at the time of the writers? Bradshaw and others argue that these 'words of institution' were not adapted from liturgical sources, but that they are 'etiological stories' – in essence stories that explain the origin of something, in this case the Eucharist. Therefore he argues:

Thus, the institution narratives were neither liturgical texts to be recited at the celebration nor liturgical instructions to regulate it, but instead catechesis of a liturgical kind.¹⁹

Despite the apparent absence of the words of institution in the Church's earliest Eucharists, their presence in the institution narratives secured their prominence in later liturgies. Church Fathers such as Ambrose of Milan and Augustine of Hippo helped to develop the idea of a point of consecration linked to the words of institution.²⁰ These 'words of institution' seem to have become significantly imbedded in the collective imagination of the Church. *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989*, which

¹⁸ Ibid. pp. 59-60.

¹⁹ Ibid. pp. 14.

²⁰ Senn, Frank. *Christian Liturgy, Catholic and Evangelical*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997. pp. 244-245.

espouses a theology of consecration linked to the whole Eucharistic Prayer, still uses the words of institution for the consecration of additional elements.²¹ Many Anglican priests still practice the various and elaborate sacramental actions during the saying of these words... despite the fact that they were almost certainly entirely absent in the Church's early Eucharistic feasts.

1.1.3 Jewish Meal Traditions

As has been noted, the institution narratives assume that the supper in the Upper Room was a Passover Meal. The assumption becomes problematic when the Johanine text is considered. The author of John's Gospel is explicit about the Meal in the upper room taking place 'before the Feast of the Passover'²². This chronology makes more sense as it was contrary to the law for trials and executions to take place during the Passover Festival.²³ Scholars have proposed that the meal shared in the Upper Room was more likely to be the sacred meal shared by a rabbi and his disciples, called the *Qedush*.²⁴ The *Qedush* was a simple weekly meal of preparation for the Sabbath or Festival:

It consisted of religious discussion followed by a simple meal of common bread accompanied by wine mixed with water, the cup being passed from one to another, and prayer being offered.²⁵

²¹ *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989*. Ed. The Provincial Trustees of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa. Jeppestown: HarperCollinsPublishers, 2005. pp. 130.

²² John 13:1-2

²³ Jenneker, Bruce. Lecture 6: 'Jewish Sources for Christian Worship'. Lectures given at the College of the Transfiguration, Grahamstown: 2011

²⁴ Senn, Frank. *Christian Liturgy, Catholic and Evangelical*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997. pp. 73.

²⁵ Jenneker, Bruce. Lecture 6: 'Jewish Sources for Christian Worship'. Lectures given at the College of the Transfiguration, Grahamstown: 2011

It seems clear that the Last Supper was not in the context of the Passover Meal. However, it certainly took place in the context of the Passover Season. One could argue that Jesus himself made connections with the Passover Meal during that meal in the upper room. What cannot be disputed is that the richness of the Passover tradition has become a part of the Church's Eucharistic worship. This may be most visible in the *anamnesis*, or the making present of past events.²⁶

Scholars now claim more broadly that the Christian Eucharistic tradition has its roots in the Jewish religious meal tradition. In particular, the Eucharistic Prayer finds its origins in the 'cup of blessing'.²⁷ This final cup blessing is called the Birkat ha-Mazon. Bradshaw is quick to point out that there is a limited resemblance between this cup blessing prayer and early Eucharistic Prayers.²⁸ However, a glance at a reconstruction of the Birkat ha-Mazon shows considerable correlation with the Eucharistic Prayers of *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989*:

Blessed are you, O Lord, our God, King of the universe, who feeds the whole world with goodness, with grace and with mercy. Blessed are you, O Lord, who feeds all.

We thank you, O Lord, our God, that you have caused us to inherit a goodly land, the covenant, the Torah, life and food. For all these

²⁶ Beckwith, R. "The Jewish Background to Christian Worship." In *The Study of Liturgy: Revised Edition*. Ed. Jones, Yarnold, Wainwright & Bradshaw. London: SPCK, 1992. pp. 77.

²⁷ Senn, Frank. *Christian Liturgy, Catholic and Evangelical*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997. pp. 56-57.

²⁸ Bradshaw, Paul. *Eucharistic Origins*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 2004. pp. 116.

things we thank you and praise your name forever and ever. Blessed are you, O Lord, for the land and for the food.

Have mercy, O Lord, our God, on your people Israel, on your city Jerusalem, and on your temple and dwelling-place and on Zion your resting place, and on the great and holy sanctuary over which your name was called, and the kingdom of the dynasty of David may you restore to its place in our days, and build Jerusalem soon. Blessed are you, O Lord, who builds Jerusalem.²⁹

The Birkat ha-Mazon has a four part structure. Firstly, God is thanked for the blessing of food and drink, there is a focus on creation and the universe here with ecological implications. Secondly, God is praised for the blessing of Israel's heritage: there is a focus on land and people with ethical and political implications. Thirdly, God is petitioned for the blessing of the rebuilding of Jerusalem. There is a focus on redemption and restoration here with implications for soteriology. Lastly, God is praised for doing good and being good: there is a focus on God's glory with doxological implications. This four-fold shape is remarkably similar to the four-fold shape of the Eucharist mentioned earlier and popularized by Dix. Over and above the 'shape', one can detect similarities in the content of the prayers from the Birkat ha-Mazon with Eucharistic Prayers of *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989*.

1.1.4 The Combining of the Synagogue Service and the Meal

The New Testament evidence suggests that Christians worshipped at the Synagogue in the morning and came together again in the evening for

²⁹ Louis Finkelstein quoted by: Senn, Frank. *Christian Liturgy, Catholic and Evangelical*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997. pp 57.

worship around the meal.³⁰ This practice seems to have continued into the second century. Very early in the second century we have evidence – a letter from Pliny the Younger to the Emperor Trajan – that Christians continued to worship in this pattern.³¹ It is only in 150 CE – in the writings of Justin Martyr – that it becomes evident that Christian worship has changed considerably. In his First Apology, Justin presented a morning service of word and meal combined.³² Bradshaw offers a concise summary of how scholars have related to the text from Justin Martyr:

The conventional view is that we have here the oldest description of Eucharistic worship (a) after it had become separated from a full meal, when, as a result of this, (b) it was transferred from the evening to the morning, and (c) on a normal (i.e., non-baptismal) Sunday appended to a service of the word that already existed at that hour and was modelled on the Jewish Sabbath Day liturgy; and (d) the sevenfold Eucharistic action of New Testament times was collapsed into a four-action shape – taking bread and wine together, saying a Eucharistic prayer over both, breaking the bread, and distributing the bread and wine to the congregation – that was to become the classic pattern of the Eucharist ever after.³³

Bradshaw goes on to assert that this conventional view with its assumption of a classical pattern of the Eucharist is entirely too romantic a notion. However the reality is that Eucharistic practice has become dominated by this assumption and *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989*,

³⁰ Acts of the Apostles 2:42

³¹ Senn, Frank. *Christian Liturgy, Catholic and Evangelical*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997. pp. 73.

³² Ibid

³³ Bradshaw, Paul. *Eucharistic Origins*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 2004. pp. 63.

perpetuates the combining of Synagogue style in the Synaxis and highly ritualized meal in the Anaphora.

1.1.5 The *Apostolic Tradition*

The *Apostolic Tradition* is considered by many to be the oldest and most important document on the life and practice of Christians in the early centuries. The text is often attributed to Hippolytus, a presbyter in Rome. The text is a complete manual for Church life, including a Eucharistic Prayer in the context of the Ordination of a bishop.³⁴ Bradshaw dates the document from the fourth century or later, yet acknowledges that the sources for the text may be much earlier.³⁵ Modern scholarship is certainly dismissive of Hippolytus as the author but no one can deny the importance of this text in the development of modern liturgies. Peter Cobb acknowledges that while the *Apostolic Tradition*, ‘if not the earliest... its influence on later liturgies, both Eastern and Western, give it the utmost importance in the study of liturgy.’³⁶ If one is to compare The *Apostolic Tradition* to the Third Eucharistic Prayer, or especially the fourth Eucharistic Prayer in *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989*, the similarities are striking. The most significant difference illuminated by the synopsis is that the fourth Eucharistic Prayer has included the Sanctus and an acclamation which was not part of the *Apostolic Tradition*. The response to the *Sursum Corda* in the fourth Eucharistic Prayer has been altered from the formula in the *Apostolic Tradition*. Apart from these changes,

³⁴ Senn, Frank. *Christian Liturgy, Catholic and Evangelical*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997. pp. 77.

³⁵ Bradshaw, Paul. *Eucharistic Origins*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 2004. pp. 19.

³⁶ Cobb, Peter. “The *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus.” In *The Study of Liturgy: Revised Edition*. Ed. Jones, Yarnold, Wainwright & Bradshaw. London: SPCK, 1992. pp. 213.

the prayers are strikingly alike. This bears witness to the substantial influence the *Apostolic Tradition* has had upon modern liturgy in general, and on *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989*, in particular.

Table 2: Synopsis of The *Apostolic Tradition* and the 4th Eucharistic Prayer

The <i>Apostolic Tradition</i> ³⁷	The 4th Eucharistic Prayer ³⁸ (APB)
<p>Bishop: The Lord be with you. People: And with thy spirit. Bishop: Let us lift up our hearts. People: We lift them up to the Lord. Bishop: Let us give thanks to the Lord. People: It is right and proper.</p> <p>Bishop: We give thanks to you, O God, through your beloved Child Jesus Christ, whom you have sent us in these last days as Saviour, Redeemer and Messenger of your plan; who is your inseparable Word, through whom you have created all things;</p> <p>and whom, in your good pleasure, you have sent down from heaven into the womb of a virgin, and who, having been conceived, became incarnate and was shown to be your son, born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin;</p> <p>who fulfilling your will, and acquiring for you a holy people, stretched out his hands as he suffered to free from suffering those who trust in you;</p> <p>Who, when he was handed over to voluntary suffering, in order to destroy death and break the chains of the devil, to tread down hell beneath his feet, to bring out the righteous into light, to the term and to manifest the resurrection,</p> <p>taking bread, gave thanks to you and said, Take, eat; this is my Body which is broken for you; likewise the cup, saying, This is my Blood which is shed for you. When you do this, do it in memory of me.</p>	<p>Priest: The Lord be with you Congregation: And also with you Priest: Lift up your hearts Congregation: We lift them up to the Lord Priest: Let us give thanks to the Lord our God Congregation: It is right to give him thanks and praise</p> <p>Priest: We give you thanks and praise, almighty God, through your beloved Son, Jesus Christ, our Saviour and Redeemer. He is your living Word, through whom you have created all things.</p> <p>By the power of the Holy Spirit he took flesh of the Virgin Mary and shared our human nature. He lived and died as one of us, to reconcile us to you, the God and Father of all.</p> <p>In fulfilment of your will he stretched out his hands in suffering, to bring release to those who place their hope in you; and so he won for you a holy people.</p> <p>He chose to bear our griefs and sorrows, and to give up his life on the cross, that he might shatter the chains of the evil one, and banish the darkness of sin and death. By his resurrection he brings us into the light of your presence.</p> <p>Now with all creation we raise our voices to proclaim the glory of your name. Congregation: Holy, holy, holy Lord, God of power and might, heaven and earth are full of your glory. Hosanna in the highest. Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the Highest.</p> <p>Priest: Holy and gracious God, accept our praise, through your Son our Saviour Jesus Christ; who on the night he was handed over to suffering and death, took bread and gave you thanks, saying, 'Take, and eat: this is my body which is broken for you.' In the same way he took the cup, saying, 'This is my blood which is shed for you. When you do this, you do it in memory of me.'</p> <p>So we proclaim the mystery of faith Congregation: Christ has died, Christ has risen, Christ will</p>

³⁷ Cobb, Peter. "The *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus." In *The Study of Liturgy: Revised Edition*. Ed. Jones, Yarnold, Wainwright & Bradshaw. London: SPCK, 1992. pp. 113-114.

³⁸ *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989*. Ed. The Provincial Trustees of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa. Jeppesstown: HarperCollinsPublishers, 2005. pp. 124-126

<p>Mindful, therefore, of his death and resurrection, we offer you this bread and this cup, giving thanks to you for accounting us worthy to stand before you and to minister to you as priests.</p> <p>We ask you to send your Holy Spirit upon the offerings of holy church. In gathering them together grant to all those who share in your holy mysteries so to partake that they may be filled with the Holy Spirit fro the strengthening of their faith in truth; in order that we may praise you and glorify you through your Child Jesus Christ, through whom be to you glory and honour with the Holy Spirit in the holy Church now and throughout all ages</p> <p>People: Amen.</p>	<p>come again.</p> <p>Priest: Remembering therefore his death and resurrection, we offer/bring before you this bread and this cup, giving thanks that you have made us worthy to stand in your presence and serve you.</p> <p>We ask you to send your Holy Spirit upon the offering of your holy Church. Gather into one all who share in these sacred mysteries, filling them with the Holy Spirit and confirming their faith in the truth, that together we may praise you and give you glory through your Servant, Jesus Christ.</p> <p>All glory and honour are yours, Father and son, with the Holy Spirit in the holy Church, now and forever.</p> <p>Congregation: Amen</p>
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1.2 From the Roman Missal to the Prayer Books of Edward VI

1.2.1 The Development of the Missal

The basis for the creation of the Missal was an attempt to integrate the various service books in use for Christian worship. These included the *Sacramentary*, *Graduale*, *Epistolarium* and *Evangeliarium*. The *Sacramentary* contained the words and acts of consecration and was used by the priest. The *Graduale* was used by choirs and contained various hymns for the introit, gradual and offertory. The *Epistolarium* and *Evangeliarium* contained the lections for the epistle and Gospel readings respectively. These lessons were generally read by the deacon.³⁹

Earlier studies have shown that the Eucharistic liturgies of the Church offered a variety of patterns as opposed to the romantic idea of one original form. This diversity continued until the time of Charlemagne who “was anxious to achieve liturgical uniformity and sought to promote the

³⁹ Catholic Encyclopaedia. “Missal” Online: New Advent.

<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/10354c.htm> Accessed: 22 September 2011.

Roman Mass,”⁴⁰ Even before Charlemagne’s call for uniformity there is evidence of the ascendancy of the Roman Mass in the English Church. At the Synod of Clovesho in 747CE, Canon 13 affirmed that the Mass in England was done according to the Roman Church.⁴¹ Kenneth Stevenson argues that:

The evolution of the Missal represented the gradual usurpation by the priest of all the words and actions that used to be performed by others, with the sole exception of the server who handed him the cruets of wine and water when the altar was prepared at the part of the Mass called the offertory.⁴²

Thus there was a growing uniformity in line with the Roman Missal alongside an emerging centrality of the priesthood.

At this point it is important to make mention of the Sarum Use which was an adaptation of the Roman Rite. The Sarum Use may be traced back to St. Osmund who became Bishop of Salisbury in 1078 CE.⁴³ Although Sarum was an adaptation of the Roman Rite it offered a distinctive English contribution to the development of Eucharistic liturgy. Kenneth Stevenson offers a helpful summary and description of how the Sarum Use was different to the Roman Rite:

⁴⁰ *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. Ed. F.L. Cross. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997. pp. 322

⁴¹ Catholic Encyclopaedia. “Sarum Rite” Online: New Advent. <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/10354c.htm> Accessed: 22 September 2011.

⁴² Stevenson, Kenneth. “Worship by the Book”. In *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer*. Ed. Hefling & Shattuck. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. pp. 10.

⁴³ *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. Ed. F.L. Cross. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997. pp. 1200.

The elaborate splendour of Sarum ceremonial, as carried out in the cathedral church in the centuries immediately preceding the reformation, contrasted vividly with the comparative simplicity of the practice of the Roman Church. Three, five or even seven deacons and subdeacons, two or more thurifers, and three crucifers figured on solemnities; while two or four priests in copes ('rectores chori') acted as cantors. There was the censuring of many altars, and even during the lesson at matins vested priests offered incense at the high altar. Processions were frequent, and those before High Mass on Sundays were especially magnificent. On the altar itself there were rarely more than two lights, but on feasts there were many others, either standing on the ground or suspended from the roof.⁴⁴

The Sarum Use continues the practice of placing a particle of the wafer in the cup, retained from the Roman Rite. The people who attended Mass generally did not receive Communion; their worship consisted of adoring the consecrated and elevated Host. Laypeople would only receive Holy Communion if gravely ill or during their own Nuptial Mass. This understanding is clearly expressed in the words said by the priest before consuming the Host:

Let this most holy union of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be to me and all who receive it health of mind and body, and a saving preparation for worthily attaining unto eternal life.⁴⁵

It is important to note that this is an English translation of the Latin text. Prior to the prayer books of Edward VI all Eucharistic liturgies were

⁴⁴ King, Archdale. *Liturgies of the Past*. London: Longmans Green, 1959. pp. 316

⁴⁵ *The Sarum Missal in English*. London: The Church Press Company, MDCCCLXVIII. pp. 317.

modelled after the Roman Rite and therefore there were no celebrations of the Eucharist in the vernacular.

1.2.2 Thomas Cranmer

Before one can speak of the prayer books of Edward VI, it is necessary to name Thomas Cranmer. Gordon Jeanes asserts that, “The Book Of Common Prayer owes its character above all to one man: Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1533 to 1556CE.”⁴⁶ Cranmer is above all the key figure of the production of the prayer books during the time of King Edward VI. It is generally presumed that Cranmer was the key contributor to the prayer books 1549CE and 1552CE; ‘The Windsor Commission’ – consisting of Cranmer, six bishops and six Divines – merely ratified the extant text authored by Cranmer.⁴⁷ Cranmer was an outstanding scholar who made contacts with those involved with reform on the continent. Therefore his theology is significantly influenced by Reformation ideas⁴⁸. Of critical importance to our study are Cranmer’s theological convictions about the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist. In Cranmer’s time the great debate focused on the concept of Transubstantiation. In his preface to the reader, of *The Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper*, the Archbishop clarifies his understandings of various key concepts:

⁴⁶ Jeanes, Gordon. “Cranmer and Common Prayer”. In *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer*. Ed. Hefling & Shattuck. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. pp. 21

⁴⁷ Clarke, Lowther. *Liturgy and Worship, A Companion to the Prayer Books of the Anglican Communion*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1959. pp. 154-155

⁴⁸ *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. Ed. F.L. Cross. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997. pp. 428.

First, this word “sacrament” I do sometimes use (as it is many times taken among writers and holy doctors) for the sacramental bread, water, or wine; as when they say, that *sacramentum est sacræ rei signum*, “a sacrament is the sign of an holy thing.” But where I use to speak sometimes (as the old authors do) that Christ is in the sacraments, I mean the same as they did understand the matter; that is to say, not Christ’s Carnal presence in the outward sacrament, but sometimes of his sacramental presence. And sometime by the word “sacrament” I mean the whole ministration and receiving of the sacraments... not meaning by that manner of speech, that Christ and the Holy Ghost be present in the water, bread, or wine, (which be only the outward visible sacraments,) but that in the due ministration of the sacraments according to Christ’s ordinance and institution, Christ and his holy Spirit be truly and indeed present by their mighty and sanctifying power, virtue, and grace, in all them that worthily receive the same.⁴⁹

Cranmer then goes on to clarify what he means by the phrase “the body of Christ is present in them that worthily receive the sacrament”.⁵⁰ His previous insistence that Christ is not in the visible signs is re-emphasised at this point and again he maintains that Christ is present to them that duly receive the sacrament.⁵¹ Cranmer devotes a chapter to refute transubstantiation where he argues for what is considered to be a Zwinglian perspective of the Lord’s Supper:

⁴⁹ Cranmer, Thomas. *Writings and Disputations of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, Martyr, 1556, Relative to the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper*.

Cambridge: The University Press, M.DCCC.XLIV. pp. 1

⁵⁰ Ibid

⁵¹ Ibid. pp. 1-2

And now may be easily answered the papist's argument [*of transubstantiation*], whereof they do so much boast: for brag they never so much of their conversion of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, yet that conversion is spiritual, and putteth not away the corporal presence of the material bread and wine.⁵²

The biographers of Cranmer would be quick to point out that during the reign of Mary, he recanted his reformed views including those pertinent to the Lord's Supper. However, at his execution he reaffirmed his reformed stance, so this last is probably closest to his authentic mature view.⁵³

1.2.3 The Prayer Books of Edward VI

The boy King Edward VI succeeded Henry VIII on the 28th January 1546. He was hailed by Cranmer as the 'second Josiah' who would restore true worship of God. The reform-party and the Council – the majority of whom were disciples of the 'new learning' – were free to promote changes in a reformed direction.⁵⁴ However, the adaptation of the Latin Mass into English did not happen overnight. There were three critical events significant in this transition. Beckwith lists them as follows:

- (i) The 22nd of Edward VI's Injunctions (1547) required that the epistle and Gospel be read at High Mass in English. (ii) Later the same year, the Act against Revilers and for Receiving in Both Kinds restored the cup to the laity. (iii) In March 1548, following up hints

⁵² Ibid. pp. 304

⁵³ *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. Ed. F.L. Cross. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997. pp. 428.

⁵⁴ Clarke, Lowther. *Liturgy and Worship, A Companion to the Prayer Books of the Anglican Communion*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1959. pp. 151.

given in the Act, there was published on royal authority The Order of the Communion. The work is in English, and consists of an exhortation to be read prior to the day of celebration, followed by a series of nine devotions to be inserted into the Latin Mass immediately after the communion of the priest, so as to provide an edifying vernacular setting for the communion of the people, now in both kinds.⁵⁵

From this point it did not take long for the publication of the first English Prayer Book. The Act of Uniformity prescribed that the Book be instituted in the churches no later than Whitsunday, 9th June 1549.⁵⁶ This Prayer Book was not well received by all, yet liturgical revision continued and the 14th April 1552 CE Parliament passed the second Prayer Book.⁵⁷ The implementation of the 1552 Prayer Book was delayed by an argument about kneeling to receive communion. Those from a reformed perspective believed that kneeling may be construed as worshipping the sacrament. Therefore the council ordered the inclusion of what became known as the black rubric:

...Whereas it is ordained in the book of common prayer, in the administration of the Lord's Supper, that communicants kneeling should receive the holy Communion: which thing being well meant, for a signification of the humble and grateful acknowledging of the

⁵⁵ Beckwith, R. "The Anglican Eucharist: From the Reformation to the Restoration." In *The Study of Liturgy: Revised Edition*. Ed. Jones, Yarnold, Wainwright & Bradshaw. London: SPCK, 1992. pp. 310

⁵⁶ Clarke, Lowther. *Liturgy and Worship, A Companion to the Prayer Books of the Anglican Communion*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1959. pp. 155.

⁵⁷ Jeanes, Gordon. "Cranmer and Common Prayer". In *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer*. Ed. Hefling & Shattuck. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. pp. 25.

benefits of Christ, given unto the worthy receiver, and to avoid the profanation and disorder, which about the holy Communion might else ensue: lest yet the same kneeling might be thought or taken otherwise, we do declare that it is not meant thereby, that any adoration is done, or ought to be done, either to the sacramental bread or wine there bodily received, or to any real and essential presence there being of Christ's natural flesh and blood...⁵⁸

The black rubric makes clear how big an issue transubstantiation was at the time of Edward VI. Never again would the reformed voice be heard so strongly in the liturgy of the prayer books. It should be clear that the prayer books of Edward VI brought radical changes to the status quo of liturgical practice. Beckwith offers a helpful summary of these changes:

Despite Cranmer's conservative leanings and his policy of reform by stages, the Eucharist when it left his hands was extraordinarily different from the service as it still stood at the death of Henry VIII. In the five years between 1547 and 1552 he stamped his mind upon it. Following a programme planned in broad outline from the beginning, he reshaped the traditional material to give clear expression to his understanding of biblical teaching, and clothed this in a liturgical English that he both created and perfected. From then until the Restoration, and indeed until the twentieth century, the Anglican Eucharist was recognizably Cranmer's service, and all revision took this as its starting-point.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ *The Two Liturgies with other Documents set Forth by Authority in the Reign of King Edward VI.* Cambridge: The University Press, M.DCCC.XLIV. pp. 283.

⁵⁹ Beckwith, R. "The Anglican Eucharist: From the Reformation to the Restoration." In *The Study of Liturgy: Revised Edition*. Ed. Jones, Yarnold, Wainwright & Bradshaw. London: SPCK, 1992. pp. 310.

Perhaps the most radical and long lasting change was the establishing of a Prayer Book in the vernacular. This conviction of worship in the language of the people remains prominent as enshrined in the General Preface of *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989*.⁶⁰

1.2.4 Analysis of the 1549 and 1552 Prayer Books

In order to obtain a feel for the Eucharistic liturgies of the 1549 and 1552 prayer books, *Table 3* highlights the similarities and differences in the shape of each service. The prayer books from 1549 to 1552 represent a growing movement toward a receptionist theology and a move away from transubstantiation. There are several features which reveal this trend. Firstly, the oblatory prayer is moved to the ante-communion in the 1552 Prayer Book in order that there be no hint of Christ being sacrificed on the table.⁶¹ I say table and not Altar because by 1552CE stone altars had been replaced by wooden tables for the same reason stated above regarding sacrifice.⁶² By the time of the 1552 Prayer Book, the old Mass vestments had been replaced with surplice and the reformers made clear that it was not possible to separate communion from participation. The strong anti-transubstantiation sentiments made any notions of worshipping the consecrated elements untenable. This in turn paved the way for the laity to receive communion more regularly – about three times a year – and participate in the liturgy.⁶³

⁶⁰ *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989*. Ed. The Provincial Trustees of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa. Jeppestown: HarperCollinsPublishers, 2005. pp. 11.

⁶¹ Beckwith, R. “The Anglican Eucharist: From the Reformation to the Restoration.” In *The Study of Liturgy: Revised Edition*. Ed. Jones, Yarnold, Wainwright & Bradshaw. London: SPCK, 1992. pp. 312

⁶² *Ibid.* pp 313.

⁶³ Jeanes, Gordon. “Cranmer and Common Prayer”. In *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer*. Ed. Hefling & Shattuck. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. pp. 32

Table 3: The Prayer Books of Edward VI

1549 Prayer Book	1552 Prayer Book
<i>The Supper of the Lord, and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass.</i> ⁶⁴	<i>The Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion.</i> ⁶⁵
Preparation	Preparation
Vesting	
Lord's Prayer (Minister)	Lord's Prayer (Minister)
Collect for Purity	Collect for Purity
Introit sung by clerks (Psalm)	
Kyrie (sung by clerks or said by priest)	Decalogue with Kyrie responses
Gloria (sung by clerks)	
Salutation	
Collect of the Day	Collect of the Day
Collect for the King	Collect for the King
Epistle	Epistle
Gospel	Gospel
Creed	Creed
Sermon	Sermon
Exhortation	
Offertory sentences	Offertory Sentences
Procession with gifts	Collection of gifts
	Intercessions
	Exhortations
	Invitation
	Confession
	Absolution
	Comfortable words
<i>Sursum corda</i>	<i>Sursum corda</i>
Preface	Preface
Sanctus	Sanctus
	Prayer of humble access
Intercessions and commemorations	
Epiclesis	Consecration Prayer
Institution narrative	Institution narrative
Memorial and oblatory prayer	
Our Father	
Invitation	
Confession	
Absolution	
Comfortable words	
Prayer of humble access	
Agnus Dei	
Communion	Communion
Post-communion verse	

⁶⁴ *The Two Liturgies with other Documents set Forth by Authority in the Reign of King Edward VI.* Cambridge: The University Press, M.DCCC.XLIV. pp. 77-99.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 265-283.

Thanksgiving	Oblatory Prayer or thanksgiving
	Gloria
Blessing	Blessing

1.2.5 The Via Media

The period between 1531 and 1688 CE is marked by a series of religious and political upheavals in England. It was in the year 1531 that Henry VIII was recognized as the supreme head of the Church of England. The political struggles between the papacy and the kings of England were not new, but the Act of Supremacy was to be a radical departure from previous struggles. The year 1688 marked the year of the ‘Glorious Revolution’ whereby James II was removed from the throne and replaced by William and Mary. James had very strong Papal sympathies and so this revolution permanently ended any hopes for Papal authority in England. In the midst of these turbulent years the position of compromise set forth by Elizabeth is ultimately the direction in which England, and by implication the Anglican Church proceeded. Clarke asserts of Elizabeth:

... her policy is clear. It was that of uniting as many as possible of her subjects in liturgical worship, of suppressing the expression of religious opinion, and of claiming to the utmost that supremacy in matters ecclesiastical which had been so freely exercised during the last three reigns.⁶⁶

This conviction of unifying the English people behind a common liturgical theology was particularly tricky when the issue of transubstantiation was raised. Elizabeth in what would become typical Anglican ambiguity, spoke the poem attributed to John Donne:

⁶⁶ Clarke, Lowther. *Liturgy and Worship, A Companion to the Prayer Books of the Anglican Communion*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1959. pp. 180.

He was the Word that spake it;
He took the bread and brake it;
And what that Word did make it,
I do believe and take it.⁶⁷

Rather than adopting a Catholic or Protestant position on the Eucharist, Elizabeth satisfied neither camp but allowed both Catholics and Protestants to come up with their own interpretations. This form of liturgical unity was only realised in the Prayer Book of 1662 which remained unchanged or revised until the twentieth century. In conclusion, one could assert that although there were some significant changes in the 1662 Book, the basic character of the Book of Common Prayer is overwhelmingly shaped by Cranmer and continues to shape contemporary prayer books.⁶⁸

1.3 Liturgical Movement

1.3.1. General Introduction to the Liturgical Movement

The Liturgical Movement is fluid and difficult to define. From as early as the fourth century, Theodore of Mopsuestia took an interest in understanding and explaining the worship of the Church.⁶⁹ However, when speaking of the Liturgical Movement I shall be referring to the ‘liturgical

⁶⁷ Edwards, David. *Christian England Volume 2, From the Reformation to the 18th Century*. London: Fount Paperbacks, 1984. pp. 82

⁶⁸ Jeanes Gordon. “Cranmer and Common Prayer”. In *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer*. Ed. Hefling & Shattuck. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. pp. 21.

⁶⁹ Baldovin, John. “The Liturgical Movement and its Consequences”. In *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer*. Ed. Hefling & Shattuck. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. pp. 249.

renaissance' of the twentieth century. Senn⁷⁰ argues that the liturgical scholars of this period were principally historians and the movement was marked by a return to the sources, aided by the discovery of critical textual and archaeological finds, dating back to a pre-Constantinian time.

It is important to acknowledge the leading role that the Roman Catholic Church played in this modern Liturgical Movement. Indeed, John Baldovin – Professor of Historical and Liturgical Theology at Weston Jesuit School of Theology and Partner to the International Anglican Liturgical Consultation, asserts that:

It is extremely doubtful that the Liturgical Movement could have been so successful were it not for support from the papacy. Beginning with Pius X's plea for the restoration of Gregorian chant in 1905 and his recommendation for more frequent reception of Holy Communion, the Liturgical Movement had backing in the highest circles of the Roman Catholic Church.⁷¹

This support for liturgical reform culminated in Vatican II, which started in October 1962. For Roman Catholics this council led to a revised lectionary for the Sunday Eucharist and vernacular Eucharistic Prayers. In Chapter Three I will comment more fully on how Vatican II and the *Lima Document* influenced the Anglican Eucharist in Southern Africa. In this chapter I will offer brief comment on two prominent Anglican scholars who were influential in reforming the Anglican Eucharist and were also part of the modern Liturgical Movement. The first is Dom Gregory Dix,

⁷⁰ Senn, Frank. *Christian Liturgy, Catholic and Evangelical*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997. pp. 610.

⁷¹ Baldovin, John. "The Liturgical Movement and its Consequences". In *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer*. Ed. Hefling & Shattuck. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. pp. 251.

the author of *The Shape of the Liturgy*, and the second is Gabriel Hebert, the author of *Liturgy and Society*.

1.3.2. Gregory Dix

George Eglinton Alston Dix was born in Woolwich on the 4th October 1901. He was educated first at Westminster School and then at Merton College, Oxford. In 1924 he was appointed lecturer in Modern History at Keble College in Oxford. In 1925 he was ordained priest and entered the Anglican Benedictine monastery at Nashdom the following year, but only took his final vows in 1940. In 1945, Dix was elected to the Southern Convocation and in 1948 as prior of his abbey.⁷²

Dix is well known for a number of books including a translation of the *Apostolic Tradition*. However his magnum opus remains his work called *The Shape of the Liturgy*. Contemporaries of Dix and those liturgists who had gone before were preoccupied with the quest for an apostolic model of the Eucharist from which all other Eucharistic liturgies were derived.⁷³ Dix is famous for redefining the quest. He asserted that there may not be a single text to hark back to but that there is a discernable pattern of the Eucharist which was apostolic:

The outline – the shape – of the Liturgy is still everywhere the same in all our sources, right back into the earliest period of which we can as yet speak with certainty, the earlier half of the second

⁷² Baldovin, John. “The Liturgical Movement and its Consequences”. In *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer*. Ed. Hefling & Shattuck. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. pp. 252.

⁷³ Senn, Frank. *Christian Liturgy, Catholic and Evangelical*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997. pp. 610.

century. There is even good reason to think that this outline – the shape – of the Liturgy is of genuinely apostolic tradition.⁷⁴

The major thesis advanced by Dix can be summarised into four salient points. Firstly, there was a large degree of Eucharistic uniformity – in terms of practice – from a very early time in the Church.⁷⁵ Secondly, that the ‘seven-fold’ shape of the Eucharist described previously in the institution narratives was revised at a very early time to become the four-fold shape. The fourfold shape is that of taking, blessing, breaking the bread and sharing.⁷⁶ Thirdly, Dix argues that at about the time of the revision, the meal was removed from the ritual, becoming a separate entity called the agape.⁷⁷ Fourthly, The Eucharist was appended to the morning Synagogue service, but moved to Sunday.⁷⁸ Modern liturgical scholars like Paul Bradshaw⁷⁹ are sceptical of the notion of a single pattern from which all Eucharistic patterns find their origin. However, it is undeniable that *The Shape of the Liturgy* was one of the most compelling works to emerge from the Liturgical Movement. Dix displayed not only cutting edge scholarship for his time but also a most memorable style of prose that no doubt added to the popularity of his work. It is perhaps fitting to give him the last word. Near the end of the book, Dix writes the following about the command of Jesus to ‘do this in memory of me’:

⁷⁴ Dix, Gregory. *The Shape of the Liturgy*. Westminster: Dacre Press, 1947. pp. 5.

⁷⁵ Ibid. Chapter 1

⁷⁶ Ibid. Chapter 4

⁷⁷ Ibid. Chapter’s 4 and 13

⁷⁸ Ibid. Chapter’s 3, 4 and 13

⁷⁹ Bradshaw, Paul. *Eucharistic Origins*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 2004. See Introduction

Was ever another command so obeyed? For century after century, spreading slowly to every continent and country and among every race on earth, this action has been done, in every conceivable human circumstance, for every conceivable human need from infancy and before it to extreme old age and after it, from the pinnacle of earthly greatness to the refuge of fugitives in the caves and dens of the earth. Men have found no better thing than this to do for kings at their crowning and for criminals going to the scaffold; for armies in triumph or for a bride and bridegroom in a little country church; for the proclamation of a dogma or for a good crop of wheat; for the wisdom of the Parliament of a mighty nation or for a sick old woman afraid to die; for a schoolboy sitting an examination or for Columbus setting out to discover America; for the famine of whole provinces or for the soul of a dead lover; in thankfulness because my father did not die of pneumonia; for a village headman much tempted to return to fetich because the yams had failed; because the Turk was at the gates of Vienna; for the repentance of Margaret; for the settlement of a strike; for a son for a barren woman; for Captain so-and-so wounded and prisoner of war; while the lions roared in the nearby amphitheatre; on the beach at Dunkirk; while the hiss of scythes in the thick June grass came faintly through the windows of the church; tremulously, by an old monk on the fiftieth anniversary of his vows; furtively, by an exiled bishop who had hewn timber all day in a prison camp near Murmansk; gorgeously, for the canonisation of St. Joan of Arc – one could fill many pages with the reasons why men have done this, and not tell a hundredth part of them. And best of all, week by week and month by month, on a hundred thousand successive Sundays, faithfully, unflinchingly, across all the parishes of Christendom, the

pastors have done this just to *make the plebs sancta Dei* – the holy common people of God.⁸⁰

1.3.3. Gabriel Hebert

Arthur Gabriel Hebert was born in 1886 and died in 1963. He was a member of the Society of the Sacred Mission in Kelham, Nottinghamshire. Hebert had contact with the Benedictine Monasteries in Austria and Protestant circles in Switzerland. Both of these contacts helped him to develop his own ideas about how the Liturgical Movement could develop in the Anglican Church.

Hebert wrote in the midst of the Liturgical movement and was particularly inspired by this movement as it took root in Roman Catholic circles. He quotes Pope Pius X more than once and emphasizes the move to active participation of the laity being enjoyed by Roman Catholics. He goes on to describe the Liturgical Movement in the following words:

In our day there has arisen all over Christendom a movement of return, going back to the notion of a purely individual piety, and seeking to learn more fully the meaning of the Church... The so-called Liturgical Movement is concerned with things vastly more important than mere ritualism, the shape of chasubles and the correct ordering of the ceremonial of the liturgy; its deepest interest is in that which underlies all the rites and ceremonies, in the Christian Mystery itself, in the inmost life of the mystical Body of Christ.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Dix, Gregory. *The Shape of the Liturgy*. Westminster: Dacre Press, 1947. pp. 744.

⁸¹ Hebert, Gabriel. *Liturgy and Society*. London: Faber and Faber, MCMXXXV. pp. 126.

When Hebert speaks of the Body of Christ it is both an ecclesial statement and a liturgical one. The Body of Christ is primarily represented by the church and thus the emphasis on the people's responses in the reforming of the liturgy. However, liturgically the phrase, 'Body of Christ' referred to the Eucharistic bread. Therefore one can argue that Hebert accorded the Eucharist a prominent place in the Liturgical Movement. This emphasis on the Eucharist is best summed up in his section on the 'Parish Eucharist':

The Holy Eucharist is not one service among many, but the centre of all. The Church of God gathers to celebrate the One Sacrifice upon which the whole life of salvation depends: pays to God the adoration which the whole creation owes to Him as its Lord; gives thanks to Him for all His mighty works from the foundation of the world to the second Advent, and for all spiritual and bodily blessings which each member has received; offers up to God the offering of the whole creation symbolized in the oblation of bread and wine, which includes the will of each member who shares in it to offer up his own life to God: takes the bread and wine, and repeats with them the sacrificial rite which Christ instituted at the Last Supper, as the sacrificial Memorial of His Death and Resurrection; and the Communion is herself offered up, through union with Him, to be a reasonable, holy and living sacrifice, and to live a sacrificial life in the world... But it is from the Eucharist that these other services receive their interpretation. The office circles round the fixed pole of the Eucharistic showing forth and making present of the fact which stands at the centre of all Christianity...⁸²

Hebert made it clear to his audience that the Offices should no longer be the primary service of the Church. He acknowledges the prominence of Matins and Evensong and stresses that this must change with the Eucharist

⁸² Ibid. pp. 208.

becoming the principal service, especially on Sundays.⁸³ Hebert goes on to suggest that the time of the principal Eucharistic service on Sunday should move to nine or nine-thirty in the morning, ‘the ancient canonical hour for the liturgy’.⁸⁴ A brief synopsis of Sunday service times in the Anglican Church will bear witness to the influence exerted by Hebert and his book.

Hebert relates a story about an Anglo-Catholic who was invited to be part of a Methodist Boys’ Camp. There was some confusion regarding whether and how Holy Communion should be celebrated. The Methodists were not prepared to change their theology of the Eucharist to be acceptable with the Anglo-Catholic, nor did they wish to exclude and alienate him. Ultimately, it was decided that no service was better than a service that would exclude.⁸⁵ Hebert uses this story to emphasise the importance of Communion as an ecumenical tool even though the story does not achieve this. As it turned out, the Liturgical Movement did become a significant source of ecumenical inspiration⁸⁶... in this way Hebert was prophetic.

⁸³ Ibid. pp. 209.

⁸⁴ Ibid. pp. 211.

⁸⁵ Ibid. pp. 193.

⁸⁶ Senn, Frank. *Christian Liturgy, Catholic and Evangelical*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997. pp. 632-636.

2. The Theological Worldviews:

The worldviews of the three priests shall be considered in this chapter. Historically, the evangelical worldview should be considered first, followed by the Anglo-Catholic worldview and finally the charismatic worldview. However, the worldviews have been considered in the order in which they were ‘introduced’ to C of A by the respective rectors. The consideration of each worldview attempted to achieve three objectives. First, set out the particular theology as it was generally understood. Second, attempt to locate that theology in the tradition of Anglicanism. Third, seek examples of the theology in the in the CPSA or ACSA as it was latterly known. There may be many ‘stances’ within each of the theologies. People are complex and often inconsistent. Therefore it was possible for each rector to be predominantly one way inclined but share aspects of the other theologies.

2.1 Charismatic Theological Worldview

2.1.1. Introduction to the Charismatic Movement

The charismatic movement is prone to cross denominational lines. Therefore, a thorough study of this worldview will incorporate various denominations. However, this thesis will remain within the ambit of the Anglican denomination’s experience of the charismatic worldview. Peter Hocken asserts that the term charismatic movement “refers to the currents of revival and renewal resulting from a transforming spiritual experience generally termed ‘baptism in the Spirit,’ which is associated with the reception of the spiritual gifts of 1 Cor. 12:8-10.”⁸⁷ While the charismatic

⁸⁷ Hocken, Peter. “Charismatic Movement.” *The Encyclopaedia of Christianity*. Cambridge: W. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2001.

movement may have its roots in the early church, it only really made its presence felt in main line churches from the 1960's. While it is possible to note sporadic occurrences of the charismatic happenings earlier in the history of the church, however, precedence is generally given to Dennis Bennett as the 'founder' of the charismatic movement. Bennett was an Episcopalian priest residing in California who claimed to have been baptized in the Spirit⁸⁸. By the 1980's the charismatic movement was firmly entrenched in the main line churches as well as in independent churches.

The Theology of the charismatic movement is inevitably based on the Holy Spirit. This results in a largely experiential religion. Some of the major concerns of the charismatic movement may best be described as tensions. Firstly, the tension between the authority of the Spirit versus the authority of the scriptures. Many charismatics recognize the special place accorded to prophets and 'new' teachings. How does this fit in with the authority of scripture? Secondly, the issue of healing and prosperity. The large emphasis placed on the spiritual gifts, especially healing, can lead to an assumption that there is no place for Christian suffering and that God wills to heal all sickness. Thirdly, the matter of demon possession and oppression. There seems to be some confusion as to whether 'born again' Christians can be possessed by demons or only oppressed.⁸⁹ The most pertinent of these tensions for my research is the second, that of healing and suffering. This issue is significant in the celebration of the Eucharist.

2.1.2 The Legion of Christ's Witnesses

⁸⁸ Mason, Alistair. "Charismatic Movement." *The Oxford Companion to Christian Thought*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

⁸⁹ Hocken, Peter. "Charismatic Movement." *The Encyclopaedia of Christianity*. Cambridge: W. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2001.

Broad histories of the charismatic movement seldom acknowledge or even seem to know that the movement was begun by black Anglicans as early as the 1940's.⁹⁰ Richard Shorten asserts that a movement called 'The Legion of Christ's Witnesses' was started by Reverends Philip Mbatha and Alphaeus Zulu of Zululand and Natal respectively, in 1948.⁹¹ These two Anglican priests were disillusioned by the 'lax' state of the church. Zulu became a member of 'The Fraternity of the Resurrection' and the notion of a rule of life seems to have been important for the two ministers in their discussions⁹². In establishing 'The Legion of Christ's Witnesses', Zulu and Mbatha hoped to make a rule of life accessible to laypeople.

This movement is very clearly charismatic in nature. The theme verse used by the organization is Acts 1:8, with its emphasis on being filled with the Holy Spirit in order to receive power to witness⁹³. Shorten asserts that it is the outward gifts of the Spirit which find pride of place in the movement:

Speaking in tongues, interpretation, visions, prophesy, healing, exorcism, and the baptism of the Holy Spirit are, to greater and lesser degrees, important in the lives of the Legion's members and have manifested themselves from the early days of the movement.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Hayes, Stephen. "Trapped in Apartheid – South African Churches" Online: Notes from Underground. <http://methodius.blogspot.com/2007/01/trapped-in-apartheid-south-african.html> . Accessed: 13 May 2011.

⁹¹ Shorten, Richard. *The Legion of Christ's Witnesses*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 1987. pp. 25-32.

⁹² Ibid

⁹³ Ibid. pp. 32

⁹⁴ Ibid. pp. 60.

The two founders of the movement were Anglo-Catholic trained and thus showed a strong propensity for order within the movement despite the strong charismatic emphasis. This has very interesting implications for the place of the Eucharist in the movement. Those who want to join ‘The Legion of Christ’s Witnesses’ are required to make seven pledges. The very first pledge is an obligation; “to be present at church every Sunday, especially at Holy Communion.”⁹⁵ Furthermore “The Legion’ recognizes various forms of healing; including sacramental healing.⁹⁶ In the category of sacramental healing, Holy Communion is stressed. When commenting on the phenomenon of tongues in ‘The Legion’s’ meetings, he notices that this does not take place in the context of Communion services.⁹⁷ Shorten attributes this to the leaders of the movement who placed a strong emphasis on orderly worship at the Eucharist. The occurrence of tongues was encouraged during informal meetings. This suggests that the practice of the Eucharist does not dovetail easily with at least one expression of charismatic worship.

2.1.3 The Charismatic Movement in the wider CPSA

Steven Hayes asserts that there was substantial interest in ‘speaking in tongues’ among Anglican ordinands training at St. Paul’s in the late 1960’s and early 70’s.⁹⁸ Vernon Lund was the Chaplin of the Diocesan School for Girls in Grahamstown at this time. He would have come into contact with Bishop Bill Burnett in his capacity as Chaplin. Bill Burnett was a significant figure in the charismatic movement and as an Anglican who influenced Vernon Lund requires further reflection. Burnett was

⁹⁵ Ibid. pp. 51.

⁹⁶ Ibid. pp. 68.

⁹⁷ Ibid. pp. 85.

⁹⁸ Hayes, Stephen. *Black Charismatic Anglicans*. Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 1990. pp. 10.

Bishop of Bloemfontein from 1957 to 1966. In 1966 he became the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches. It was also in this year that he was elected Bishop of Grahamstown. It was during his time in Grahamstown that his charismatic experience began:

...in 1972, soon after he moved there, he experienced “baptism in the Holy Spirit”, which revitalised his ministry. While in Grahamstown he introduced the Human Relations and Reconciliation Program, to challenge racism in the church, and this involved setting up “challenge groups” that would challenge instances of racism.⁹⁹

From the writings of Hayes it would appear that Burnett’s particular brand of charisma led to serious engagement with the social issues of apartheid South Africa. Burnett was elected Archbishop of Cape Town in 1974, and then resigned in 1981.¹⁰⁰ During his time as Archbishop he continued to be involved in the cause of social justice. However, according to Desmond Tutu, Burnett did not go far enough in opposing the apartheid Government¹⁰¹. At the provincial synod of 1979, the issue of churches being forced to apply for government permits was raised. Burnett, speaking from the chair, made it clear that he was of the opinion that these permits ensured the continued existence of the institutional church, he was all set to see an end to the institutional church. The synod shied

⁹⁹ Hayes, Stephen. “Bill Burnett: Anglican Bishop and charismatic renewal leader” Online: Khanya <http://khanya.wordpress.com/2011/05/27/bill-burnett-anglican-bishop-and-charismatic-renewal-leader/> Accessed: 28 May 2011.

¹⁰⁰ Hayes, Stephen. “Trapped in Apartheid – South African Churches” Online: Notes from Underground. <http://methodius.blogspot.com/2007/01/trapped-in-apartheid-south-african.html> . Accessed: 13 May 2011.

¹⁰¹ Allen John. Rabble-Rouser For Peace, The Authorised Biography of Desmond Tutu. Johannesburg: Rider Books, 2007. pp 158, 174, 179, 204.

away from following through with this.¹⁰² While this incident may reflect a serious frustration with ‘operating’ a church in apartheid South Africa, it also reveals the extent to which Burnett had placed his faith in the charismatic movement. Burnett may have asserted that the time of the Anglican Church had passed and the charismatic movement would be a far superior vehicle for change in the country. This type of sentiment would have had serious implications for the practice of the ‘formal’ Eucharist. Burnett placed great emphasis on ‘house churches’. In his essay for *The World Council of Churches* he asserts:

During times of trouble such as the 1976 riots in Cape Town and the destruction of squatters’ shacks a few years earlier, the parishes concerned with renewal were those which took some action, e.g. a parish with well developed “house churches” acted during the 1976 riots to take care of some families where bread-winners were in prison and to help in various ways where some had been shot.¹⁰³

Burnett appears to have been thoroughly convinced of the importance of the house ‘church meeting’. In light of this, it is possible that he may have been in favour of love feasts, modelled after those of the early church. However, it seems clear to me that the Charismatic theology of Bill Burnett did not stress the importance of the Eucharist. In the same essay quoted above, Burnett declares that:

Church people themselves often need to be evangelized if they are to benefit from the ministry of the Word and Sacraments and be motivated to care for those who live around them. The purpose of

¹⁰² Ibid

¹⁰³ Burnett, Bill. “Renewal in Local Congregations in South Africa.” In *The Church is Charismatic; The World Council of Churches and the Charismatic Renewal*. Ed. Brittlinger, Arnold. Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1981. pp. 178.

the Week of Renewal was to enable people of the parish to appropriate their baptismal life.¹⁰⁴

In this extract Burnett invokes the word sacraments and then goes on to emphasize the sacrament of baptism. It is to be noted that he is not calling for adult or believers' baptism as is the case in many charismatic circles. He is calling for an appropriation of the baptismal life; for people to live out their baptismal vows. Anglicans believe in two sacraments and five sacramental rites. Holy Communion is afforded full sacramental status along with baptism. However, after invoking the sacraments, Burnett does not even mention the Eucharist in his essay. The title of Burnett's essay is 'Renewal in Local Congregations in South Africa' and was published in book form, under the title; *The Church is Charismatic*. This glaring omission of the sacrament of Holy Communion implies that the Charismatic movement in the CPSA, as Burnett viewed it, had not appropriated the Eucharist for charismatic worship, or at the very least it was not important.

2.2 Evangelical Theoretical Worldview

2.2.1 Introduction to the Evangelical Movement

The proliferation of evangelicals with their various emphases has made it difficult to define evangelicalism. One of the more flippant definitions of evangelicals is 'all those who find Billy Graham and his theology acceptable.' In the final analysis, Robert Johnston asserts that there are three factors that all evangelicals hold in common: "a personal faith in

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. pp 177.

Jesus Christ; a belief in the Bible as final authority; and a vital commitment to Christian mission.”¹⁰⁵

The word evangelical has its etymology in the Greek, *εὐαγγέλιον* which simply means good news or gospel¹⁰⁶. Therefore one could argue that evangelicals have their roots in the early church as witnessed by the reference to their namesake in the scriptures. However, there are three major historical periods in which the term evangelical has developed significantly. Firstly, the reformation of the 16th century has given the word evangelical a significant meaning. The reformers moved away from some of the corrupt church traditions and chose the scriptures as their final authority, particularly in the area of soteriology. These protestant reformers are in a sense the very first Christians who are given the title of evangelicals, even though this may be anachronistic. Secondly, various movements in the 17th to 19th centuries further develop our understanding of evangelicals. The Pietists, Puritans, Methodists and revivalists start to stress Christian experience and active mission. Thirdly, evangelical has come to be associated with American Fundamentalism of the 20th century. These evangelical fundamentalists have retained a literal interpretation of the Bible, been militant in ‘winning souls’, and aggressive in defending the church from ‘liberal’ Christians and ‘secularists’.¹⁰⁷

Erich Geldbach¹⁰⁸ asserts that there are six essential features that incorporate an evangelical theology: firstly, the Bible is the supreme authority for life and doctrine and must be interpreted through the action

¹⁰⁵ Johnston, Robert. “Evangelicalism.” *The Oxford Companion to Christian Thought*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid

¹⁰⁷ Ibid

¹⁰⁸ Geldbach, Enrich. “Evangelicalism.” *The Encyclopaedia of Christianity*. Cambridge: W. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2001.

of the Holy Spirit. Secondly, the primary theme of the bible is God's saving work, culminating in the redemptive work of Christ. Thirdly, eternal salvation is available to the individual only through personal faith in Christ. Fourthly, because of the importance of personal salvation, mission tends to take precedence over social action. Fifthly, ethics are derived from God's law and not out of the situation. Lastly, the return of Christ is expected literally.

2.2.2 Evangelical Roots in the Anglican Church

As the reformation in England subsided with the Church of England choosing the *via media* of an autonomous but apostolic and catholic faith, religion was privatized. As Elizabeth I said, there should be "no windows made into men's souls"¹⁰⁹. This seemed to be the only way for religious tolerance to be realized. It is in this world that the Anglican priest, John Wesley, had his famous Aldersgate experience. On the 24th May 1738 he wrote the following words in his journal:

In the evening I went very unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate Street, where one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me that He had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Elizabeth I, Quoted by: Kelly, Leonard. 'Anglicanism Lectures'. 2011: Lectures given at the College of the Transfiguration, Grahamstown.

¹¹⁰ Wesley, John. "I felt my heart strangely warmed". Online: The Journal of John Wesley <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/wesley/journal.html> Accessed: 8 June 2011.

Wesley is possibly the most well-known evangelical of this period. His journal entry tells us much of the emphasis of the Anglican evangelicals. In a religious climate of outward observance, the evangelicals called for inner commitment and stressed the importance of ‘experiencing’ conversion. Wesley was clearly a strong advocate and supporter of Holy Communion; its importance and the need for Christians to receive regularly. In the preamble to his sermon entitled ‘The Duty of Constant Communion’, he asserted that his purpose was to: “show that it is the duty of every Christian to receive the Lord’s Supper as often as he can.”¹¹¹ In this sense Wesley laid the foundation for the Eucharist to take the place of matins and evensong as the central act of the Church’s worship. Wesley may have been an Anglican priest, but he set in motion what would in time become a new denomination: the Methodists. However, there were many clergymen who shared Wesley’s evangelical emphasis who remained in the Anglican fold. It is important to acknowledge that the Wesley’s ministered to the poor of industrializing Britain who were not reached by the established Church of England. The evangelicals remained a major party of the established Church of England, a discussion of their understanding of the Eucharist follows.

2.2.2.1 Language:

Chapman¹¹² asserts that by the end of the 19th Century J.C. Ryle was the leader of the Anglican evangelicals and that Ryle was opposed to notions of the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist and suppressed any form of ritualism.¹¹³ The Eucharistic theology of the Anglican Evangelicals is

¹¹¹ Wesley, John. “The Duty of Constant Communion – Sermon 101” Online: Matthews United Methodist Church <http://www.matthewsumc.org/html/worship/constant1.htm> Accessed: 8 June 2011.

¹¹² Chapman, Mark. *Anglicanism, A Very Short Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. pp. 68.

¹¹³ Ibid

possibly best distilled in their later controversies with the Anglo-Catholics. This controversy focused on three major issues: “The nature of the ‘Presence’ of Christ in the Eucharist; whether it is a Sacrifice or a Sacrament; and what is to be understood by ‘feeding on’ the Body and Blood of Christ.”¹¹⁴ On the first issue, that of the Presence of Christ, the evangelicals were careful to point out that they were not advocating the absence of Christ. Rather, they preferred to speak of Christ present at the table rather than on the table. In this way they refuted the doctrine of transubstantiation and fostered a receptionist tradition, emphasizing the faith of the recipient of Communion.¹¹⁵ On the second point, the Anglican evangelicals asserted that Communion is a Sacrament and not a Sacrifice. They pointed to the book of Hebrews with the pithy statement of Christ’s once and for all sacrifice on the cross. As a result of this the evangelicals spoke of the table and not of the altar.¹¹⁶ On the third issue, of ‘feeding’ on the Body and Blood of Christ, the evangelicals declared that the bread and wine feed the physical body while the Body and Blood of Christ feed a person’s soul.¹¹⁷

2.2.2.2 Physical Elements:

The evangelicals displayed a fascination with personal salvation. This obsession with their particular understanding of conversion rendered any consideration of aesthetics superfluous, and certainly secondary to the eternal destination of souls. By way of example, when asked about the deterioration of Beverly Minister, Wesley replied: “But where will it be

¹¹⁴ Davis, Horton. *Worship and Theology in England: from Watts and Wesley to Maurice, 1690-1850*. London: Oxford University Press, 1961. pp. 225-226.

¹¹⁵ Ibid. pp. 226.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

when the earth is burned up and the elements melt with fervent heat?”¹¹⁸
In this way the Anglican evangelicals were liturgists only to the extent to which liturgy served the salvation of souls. As we shall observe in my considerations of the shape of the service, the sermon became pre-eminent. This is reflected in the way in which the early evangelicals organized the interior of the church:

So the pulpit became the centre-piece of their churches. Though the communion-table was still in the old place in the centre of the “East” end wall, the pulpit was placed in front of it in the middle of the church and the curate read prayers from the desk below.¹¹⁹

Thus the Table remained and the celebration of Holy Communion continued, but was overshadowed by the importance of the pulpit, which became the primary object in the church’s worship.

2.2.2.3 Role of the Laity:

When introducing the Anglican evangelicals I invoked the person of John Wesley. Wesley is well known for his organization and use of local (lay) preachers; this was one of the aspects that caused tension between him and the institutional church. The Anglican evangelicals seem to have been very sceptical of Wesley’s use of laypeople. By and large early Anglican evangelicals were very careful of giving too much power to laypeople and thus led the whole Eucharistic service themselves.¹²⁰ However, Davies notes that the evangelicals in general were far more accommodating of the

¹¹⁸ Wesley, John. Quoted in: Davis, Horton. *Worship and Theology in England: from Watts and Wesley to Maurice, 1690-1850*. London: Oxford University Press, 1961. pp. 236.

¹¹⁹ Gill, Eric. Quoted in: Davis, Horton. *Worship and Theology in England: from Watts and Wesley to Maurice, 1690-1850*. London: Oxford University Press, 1961. pp. 213.

¹²⁰ Davis, Horton. *Worship and Theology in England: from Watts and Wesley to Maurice, 1690-1850*. London: Oxford University Press, 1961. pp. 215.

laity than previous clergymen. For example they sought to provide sermons and Holy Communion at times that suited the laity.¹²¹ The evangelicals placed significant emphasis on the conversion of people, but to ‘achieve’ this they needed a congregation... the bigger the better, hence the accommodating times for services.

2.2.2.4 The Shape of the Service:

The Anglican evangelicals remained loyal to the *Book of Common Prayer* 1662, while stressing the ultimate authority of the scriptures above all other books.¹²² Their celebrations of the Holy Eucharist conformed to the pattern set out in the *Book of Common Prayer* 1662. However, many of the Anglican evangelicals would have considered the liturgy dead without the ‘weaving in’ of spontaneous prayer, hymns and of course the sermon. Therefore one could argue that the evangelicals viewed the liturgy as a skeletal structure to which the ‘meat’ needed to be added. The Anglican evangelicals were certainly stricter churchmen than the Methodists but still saw the value of some extemporary prayer in services, although this would not have been used in place of the Eucharistic Prayer.¹²³ One of the most significant developments of the shape of the service affected by the evangelicals relates to hymns; the developments are twofold:

As pioneers *the evangelicals* brought back lyricism in praise and gave a place to the religious affections in an age of rationalism and formalism. Moreover, they enabled the people to take a larger part in worship than had hitherto been their right, and, incidentally, it

¹²¹ Ibid. pp. 224.

¹²² Ibid. pp. 216-217

¹²³ Ibid. pp. 215-216

may well have been the hymns rather than the sermons which popularized the doctrines of the evangelicals.¹²⁴

Whether it was the hymns or sermons which popularized evangelical doctrine is arguable. What is undeniable is that the Anglican evangelical clergy were convinced of the importance of the sermon to give life to the liturgy.¹²⁵ Thus the shape of the service changed in terms of the time devoted to various aspects. The Eucharistic Prayer in an evangelical service consequently occupied less time in relation to the broadening of the rest of the service.

2.2.2.5 Role of the Priest:

We turn our attention now to the considerable number of evangelical ministers within the Church of England in the late eighteenth century; and particularly their understanding and practice of the Eucharist. Contrary to what many assume, these ministers generally had a very high view of the sacrament of Holy Communion. Take for example Henry Hutton (1833) who wrote the following on the eve of his ordination:

It will be a source of unmixed gratification if I am spared to administer the Holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Blessed Saviour to the many devout and faithful worshippers who are wont thus to approach the Lord.¹²⁶

These ministers were acutely aware of their role as those who facilitated conversion. In this sense conversion was understood as acknowledgment

¹²⁴ Ibid. pp. 235-236

¹²⁵ Ibid. pp. 218

¹²⁶ Hutton, Henry. Quoted in: Davis, Horton. *Worship and Theology in England: from Watts and Wesley to Maurice, 1690-1850*. London: Oxford University Press, 1961. pp. 225.

of sin and the need of Christ's saving work.¹²⁷ Chapman asserts that due to this understanding of conversion the evangelicals sought to greatly increase the number of communicants as a barometer of the success of their attempts at converting the people.¹²⁸

2.3 Anglo-Catholic Theoretical Worldview

2.3.1 Introduction to the Anglo-Catholic Movement

Anglo-Catholicism as a theoretical worldview is very difficult to characterize. Some assert that the origins of the movement may be found in the Caroline Divines¹²⁹, while others point to the Assize Sermon of 1833, preached by John Keble, as the start of The Oxford Movement which led to Anglo-Catholicism.¹³⁰ Paul Avis asserted that:

The Oxford Movement may be seen as the Church of England's deferred Counter-Reformation, an upsurge of concentrated energy through the channels of catholicity: the church as a visible communion, united in a sacramental life, especially Eucharistic worship and episcopal oversight.¹³¹

Three strands or groupings may be distinguished when the Oxford Movement is studied. These three strands are: the old High Churchmen

¹²⁷ Davis, Horton. *Worship and Theology in England: from Watts and Wesley to Maurice, 1690-1850*. London: Oxford University Press, 1961. pp. 236.

¹²⁸ Chapman, Mark. *Anglicanism, A Very Short Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. pp. 60.

¹²⁹ Ingram, Kenneth. *John Keble*. London: The Camelot Press, 1933. pp. 74

¹³⁰ Ibid

¹³¹ Avis, Paul. *Anglicanism and the Christian Church, Revised and expanded edition*. New York: Continuum, 2002. Pp xix

(for example, Hugh James Rose and William Palmer); the radical Tractarians (for example, Frederick Oakeley and Hurrell Froude); and the conservative Tractarians (for example, John Keble and Edward Pusey). High Churchmanship could be identified by a strict rule of life that was liturgical and sacramental. High Churchmen were strict about doctrine and pastoral discipline. They believed in the interdependence of the Church and the State, and upheld the importance of apostolic succession of bishops.¹³² Historically, High Churchmen valued especially Luther's contribution to Reformed Theology and held Catholic and Reformed theology in tension.¹³³ As time went by High Churchmen were considered to be stiff and unemotional. The Tractarians thus branded them as 'high and dry'.¹³⁴ The conservative Tractarians like Keble and Pusey believed that the Church was in danger, they were concerned with a 'Godly' State that was no longer Godly.¹³⁵ Therefore they sought to change the Royal Supremacy, born in the Reformation, to the episcopal succession model.¹³⁶ The radical Tractarians believed that the logical conclusion to Keble's argument was a return to Catholicism and the expunging of the Reformation.¹³⁷ Hurrell Froude was insistent that the Church be free from the Nation at the expense of the Nation no longer being Christian.¹³⁸ It was from these three strands that the grouping, known as Anglo Catholics was derived.

¹³² Ibid. pp. 155.

¹³³ Ibid. pp. 77.

¹³⁴ Butler, Perry. "From the Early Eighteenth Century to the Present Day". In *The Study of Anglicanism*. Ed. Sykes & Booty. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988. pp. 34.

¹³⁵ Avis, Paul. *Anglicanism and the Christian Church, Revised and expanded edition*. New York: Continuum, 2002. pp 84

¹³⁶ Ibid. pp. 180

¹³⁷ Butler, Perry. "From the Early Eighteenth Century to the Present Day". In *The Study of Anglicanism*. Ed. Sykes & Booty. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988. pp. 35.

¹³⁸ Avis, Paul. *Anglicanism and the Christian Church, Revised and expanded edition*. New York: Continuum, 2002. pp 178.

2.3.2 The Influence of ‘The Oxford Movement’ on the Eucharist

The language of Eucharistic Theology has often been a contentious issue in the history of the Church and the Oxford Movement continued in this trend. The Caroline Divines differed from the Roman Catholic view of consecration. The Caroline Divines understood consecration as a setting apart for sacred use and not an objective change in the substance of the elements.¹³⁹ This in turn had led to the emphasis on reception.

Receptionism is a doctrine of the real presence, but relates to the worthiness of the recipient rather than the elements of bread and wine.¹⁴⁰

The Tractarians, particularly those of the more radical persuasion, moved toward the Roman Catholic position of attaching the presence of Christ to the elements. In this way the Tractarians made distinctions between the earthly body of Christ, the risen body of Christ, and the sacramental body of Christ. The Tractarian position was articulated by differentiating between *res*, *sacramentum* and *virtus*. *Res* was understood to be the inward and spiritual grace, the objective presence of Christ. *Sacramentum* was the outward and visible sign; the bread and wine. *Virtus* was the grace of the sacrament bestowed on worthy recipients.

It may be inferred by the Tractarian emphasis on episcopal succession that the role of the priest is tied to episcopacy. In this way, the radical Tractarians were scathing of Reformed sacraments, sometimes to the point

¹³⁹ Crocket, William. “Holy Communion”. In *The Study of Anglicanism*. Ed. Sykes & Booty. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988. pp. 276.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 275.

of completely dismissing them. This position was well articulated by William law:

If there be no uninterrupted succession, then there are no authorised ministers from Christ; if no such ministers, then no Christian sacraments; if no Christian sacraments, then no Christian Covenant, whereof the sacraments are the stated and visible seals'.¹⁴¹

This understanding of episcopacy has been thoroughly challenged by the ecumenical movement and the Lima Document which shall be explored in the following chapter.

William Crocket noted that parishes influenced by the Oxford Movement tended to revive the use of vestments and adopted a more ceremonial approach to worship.¹⁴² This is one of the physical elements at the Eucharist which is common to Anglo-Catholics.

2.3.3 The Advent of Liberal Anglo-Catholicism

The propagation of Tractarian thought was aided by the founding of Pusey House in 1849 at Oxford. Charles Gore was appointed as principal. Gore was critical in combining High Church principles, with some of the radical literary and historical criticism of his time.¹⁴³ Gore's 'progressive' thought came to the fore when *Lux Mundi* was published. *Lux Mundi* was a series of essays edited by Gore and applied modern scientific knowledge and methods to traditional Christian teaching. In the preface, Gore wrote:

¹⁴¹ Avis, Paul. *Anglicanism and the Christian Church, Revised and expanded edition*. New York: Continuum, 2002. pp 83.

¹⁴² Crocket, William. "Holy Communion". In *The Study of Anglicanism*. Ed. Sykes & Booty. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988. pp. 278.

¹⁴³ Prestige, G. *The Life of Charles Gore*. London: William Heinmann, 1935. pp. 97

We have written this volume not as ‘guessers at truth’, but as servants of the Catholic Creed and Church, aiming only at interpreting the faith we have received. On the other hand, we have written with the conviction that the epoch in which we live is one of profound transformation, intellectual and social, abounding in new needs, new points of view, new questions... That is to say theology must take a new development.¹⁴⁴

Gore and the legacy of his liberal Anglo Catholicism are important because he went on to found the Community of the Resurrection, on July 25th 1892. The Community of the Resurrection had a profound influence on Eucharistic practice in South Africa.¹⁴⁵

2.3.4 Anglo-Catholicism in South Africa

This section will focus on the work done by the Community of the Resurrection in the Johannesburg area. This focus has been chosen because Stuart Mennigke, the Anglo Catholic priest, moved to the Natal diocese from the Johannesburg diocese where he would have come into contact with the influence of the Community of the Resurrection.

The Community of the resurrection arrived in South Africa in March of 1903.¹⁴⁶ Peter Hinchliff highlights the significant work done by this community in the South African context:

¹⁴⁴Gore, Charles. Quoted in Wilkinson, Alan. *The Community of the Resurrection, A Centenary History*. London: SCM Press, 1992. pp. 25

¹⁴⁵Prestige, G. *The Life of Charles Gore*. London: William Heinmann, 1935. pp. 97

¹⁴⁶Wilkinson, Alan. *The Community of the Resurrection, A Centenary History*. London: SCM Press, 1992. Pp. 201

In the course of South African History it [Community of the Resurrection] has run urban missions on the Witwatersrand, a large and well known 'public school for white boys, a theological college, and other institutions. A member of the community was once co-adjutor Bishop of Cape Town. He and other priests played an important part in the revision of the Prayer Book and in other episodes of the Church's history.¹⁴⁷

As noted by Hinchliff, the Community of the Resurrection was responsible for theological education, particularly to black clergy. Wilkinson outlines the worship structure of a student's day comprising of Prime, Mass, midday meditation, Evensong and Compline.¹⁴⁸ From this rhythm it is clear that the daily Mass was an important part of the community's Eucharistic practice. The community was involved in the running of parishes and same emphasis on the Mass is to be noted. The Sunday High Mass became the norm at Christ the King. These services incorporated hymns sung in different languages and adopted the latest liturgical developments.¹⁴⁹ Hinchliff affirms that by 1935, mission churches had implemented the liturgical revisions suggested by Hebert. These liturgical revisions would include the family Eucharist and open sanctuaries.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ Hinchliff, Peter. *The Anglican Church in Southern Africa*. London: Darton, Longman & Todd Ltd, 1963. pp. 228-229.

¹⁴⁸ Wilkinson, Alan. *The Community of the Resurrection, A Centenary History*. London: SCM Press, 1992. Pp. 211

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. pp. 228.

¹⁵⁰ Hinchliff, Peter. *The Anglican Church in Southern Africa*. London: Darton, Longman & Todd Ltd, 1963. pp. 216-217

3. The Anglican Eucharist in Southern Africa

3.1 The beginnings of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa

In order to comment critically on the developments of the Eucharistic liturgy of my micro study, it is important to understand some of the general history of what came to be known as the Church of the Province of Southern Africa and subsequently the Anglican Church of Southern Africa. I will particularly seek to explore and evaluate the historical liturgical developments. Furthermore, this section will seek to inform the reader of how the theological emphases of the province developed.

3.1.1 First Anglicans in South Africa

1774 marks the first year in which a service was led from the *Book of Common Prayer* in South Africa. The service was led in a Dutch Reformed Church by a British chaplain for a handful of sailors. However it is only from 1775 onwards that Anglican clergy became a permanent fixture in South Africa. At this stage the clergy served the British military and Naval interests in the country. Only after 1810 were Anglican clergy appointed to care for the interests of English speaking settlers. With the arrival of the 1820 settlers the English speaking population expanded dramatically. The established religion of England, Anglicanism, became the dominant denomination¹⁵¹.

¹⁵¹ Botha, Cynthia. *Southern Africa*. in Hefling, Charles and Shattuck, Cynthia (Eds). *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer, A Worldwide Survey*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. pp 194-195.

3.1.2 Episcopal Developments

The need for ministry in South Africa developed to the point where the church recognized that the appointment of a bishop had become necessary. Therefore, in 1848, Robert Gray was consecrated Bishop of Cape Town. Gray wasted little time in consecrating Bishops for Grahamstown (John Armstrong) and Natal (John William Colenso). The appointment of these two bishops ensured the development of a strong missionary emphasis among the indigenous people of South Africa who had hitherto been mostly ignored by the Anglicans. Those early Anglicans seem to have taken very seriously article XXIV of the 39 Articles of Religion, which reads:

It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the custom of the Primitive Church, to have public Prayer in the Church, or to minister the Sacraments in a tongue not understood of the people.¹⁵²

To this end a committee began work on an isiXhosa translation of the Prayer Book as early as 1861, which was published in 1864. This emphasis on translation included many other of the indigenous languages such as isiZulu on which Bishop Colenso did a great deal of work. Despite many of the colonial trappings of these early missionaries, Botha¹⁵³ asserts that there were ‘African clergy’ present at the first Provincial missionary conference, held at Clydesdale in 1889.

¹⁵² *Constitutions and Canons of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa, Together with other Acts and Resolutions of Provincial Synod up to 2002.* Marshalltown: The Publishing Committee, CPSA, 2004. pp 144.

¹⁵³ Botha, Cynthia. *Southern Africa.* in Hefling, Charles and Shattuck, Cynthia (Eds). *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer, A Worldwide Survey.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. pp 196.

3.1.3 Early Liturgical Reform

The issue of a revision of the Prayer Book is first noted in 1870, where article X of the Provincial Synod recommended that all matters of revision be referred to the bishops¹⁵⁴. That Synod introduced some minor amendments, which most significantly included permission to omit the long exhortation at the Eucharist. The revision process continued in earnest after Lambeth 1908. The method of revision involved bishops delegating to subcommittees, whose revisions needed to be approved and ratified by separate sessions of Provincial Synod. This process led to the pamphlet in 1911 called *Suggestions and adaptations of Services* which contained an expanded service which allowed lay people to start services without a priest, who could then arrive later.

The most provocative suggested revision came from two priests, Bazely and Gould, who were from Grahamstown. Their suggestion of altering the Prayer of Consecration to include a series of thanksgivings for God's redeeming work struck a nerve in the very conservative revision process¹⁵⁵. The bishops largely ignored this suggestion, presumably because a revision as radical as this could strain the lucrative links with England. However, in 1915, Francis Robinson Phelps who was familiar with the work of Bazely and Gould became Bishop of Grahamstown. Under the impetus of Phelps an experimental document was published in 1918 called *Proposed form of the South African Liturgy*. This contained a revision of the Consecration Prayer and a different order of service after the prayers of the church¹⁵⁶. The next publication of a revised liturgy is

¹⁵⁴ Ibid. pp 197.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid. pp. 198.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid. pp. 199.

approved by the Episcopal Synod of 1919, under the title; *The Alternate Form of the Order for the Administration of the Holy Communion*.¹⁵⁷

It is significant to note that at this point the Eucharistic liturgy was virtually identical to that which was to be published in the *South African Prayer Book* of 1954. This illustrates that the Eucharist, of all the aspects of the Prayer Book, seems to have been the most important to the South African revision process. Although the Eucharistic liturgy remained largely unchanged, one of the changes was the result of Anglo-Catholic resistance to the *Alternate Form* of 1919. Anglo-Catholics noted that the Prayer of Consecration included an invocation to the Holy Spirit which they felt weakened the words of institution. So strong was this opposition that the bishops decided to remove the offensive words a year later to bring the dispute to a close¹⁵⁸. Does this, seemingly small incident, suggest that the Province at that stage was deferred to the Anglo-Catholic perspective? How do Evangelicals and later on Charismatics fit into the Anglican Church in South Africa?

3.2 The Anglican Eucharist in the Early Years of the Natal Diocese

C of A falls within the diocese of Natal. Therefore, a brief historical survey of this diocese, particularly as its history pertains to the practice of the Eucharist, may prove most helpful. As it is impossible to discuss the history of the Natal Diocese without reference to Bishop Colenso, this section will explore much of the controversial Bishop's thinking on the Eucharist.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid. pp. 199.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid. pp 199.

3.2.1 The Diocese of Natal Established

Allen Gardiner, the former ship's captain turned zealous missionary, is considered to be the first Anglican presence in Natal. His great ambition was to be a missionary to the Zulu people. Gardiner met with opposition from the Zulu Chief Dingaan in 1835. It was therefore by default set up a church-cum-school in Natal when he was forced to flee Zululand.¹⁵⁹ The first Anglican priest to arrive in Natal was the Rev. Francis Owen, in 1837,¹⁶⁰ while critical to the ecclesial history of Natal is the arrival of Dean James Green, in 1848.¹⁶¹ At that stage there was only one diocese covering a vast expanse of Southern Africa. Bishop Gray recognized the need to divide the diocese in one of his letters to England:

It will never do to constitute the Eastern Province with Natal, Kaffraria, and the country beyond into one diocese. The part which would be beyond this Colony would be equal to Great Britain and Ireland, and there is no communication between the districts. Natal must have its own bishop.¹⁶²

Therefore Bishop Gray traveled to England, in 1852, to arrange for the division of the diocese.¹⁶³ Thus it became necessary for the appointment of a Bishop of the newly formed Diocese of Natal. John William Colenso left

¹⁵⁹ Burnett, B. *Anglicans in Natal*. Durban: Felco Limited, 1953. pp. 3-5

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 11

¹⁶¹ Wirgman, Theodore. *Life of James Green, Dean of Maritzburg*. London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1909. pp 6.

¹⁶² Lewis, C. & Edwards G. *Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1934. pp. 64

¹⁶³ Hinchliff, Peter. *The Anglican Church in Southern Africa*. London: Darton, Longman & Todd Ltd, 1963. pp. 43

England at the end of 1853 to fulfil this role. Unfortunately, Colenso and Green seemed to dislike each other from the start.¹⁶⁴

3.2.2 The Controversy over Eucharistic Theology

Bishop Colenso and Dean Green engaged in a protracted disagreement which centred on the understanding of the real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist. This difference of opinion was sparked when the Dean assessed Mr. Walton, an ordination candidate, and found his Eucharistic theology deficient. Upon hearing of the Dean's objection, Bishop Colenso wrote to Green on the 13th February 1858:

I am very sorry to receive your opinion of Mr. Walton. Will you please let me know more distinctly on what grounds you have felt it your duty to withhold your recommendation from him? From Mr. Watson's statements I gather your most serious objection is to the replies which he has given on the subject of the Presence of our Lord in the Holy Eucharist. if such is the case, what is it you condemn in his doctrines on this point? Or rather, as you present me in this matter, I feel I ought to ask what answer do you expect a candidate to give to your supplementary question, You say that Christ's Presence in the Lord's Supper is spiritual. He is also present when the Church assembles to pray. Distinguish between the manner of His Presence in these cases.¹⁶⁵

The Dean responded to this, and another, letter from the bishop on the 16 February 1858:

¹⁶⁴ Hinchliff, Peter. *John William Colenso*. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1964. pp. 61

¹⁶⁵ Wirgman, Theodore. *Life of James Green, Dean of Maritzburg*. London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1909. pp 36-37

In answering my question I should commence by defining Presence thus: Any person or thing is said to be present where it can discharge its functions. Presence therefore can differ both in kind and degree; in kind according to the number of functions capable of being performed; in degree according to the completeness with which they are discharged: e.g., a man is present, if he can see; the kind of presence is more perfect if he can both see and hear; the degree depends on his power of seeing and hearing. Our Lord's Presence, in our ordinary assemblies, I believe to be of this kind; though His human soul and body are locally in the Highest Heaven, at a distance probably far greater than we can conceive, yet as Man He hears every prayer, every confession, every word of praise, and sympathises with every feeling; not through His Glorified Body being endowed with the power of omnipresence, which is an attribute of Godhead, but through the Power of His Divine Spirit. This Presence is in degree perfect, the attention of the sons of men may flag and wonder, but every word, every sigh, every thought, is known to our Lord's Human Nature; so, though His Presence be not within the cognisance of our senses, yet it is infallibly certain that, as Man, He is present where two or three are gathered together in His Name. Our Lord's Presence in the Holy Eucharist differs in kind from the former Presence. In this there is a communication (if by believing we are able to receive it) from His Manhood to ours, so that we are made members of His Body, of His Flesh, and of His Bones; our sinful bodies are made clean by His Body, and our souls are washed through his most precious Blood. The Holy Spirit is, in this kind of Presence as in the other, the Agent. In degree this Presence is again of necessity perfect. We must ascribe imperfection to our reception, but cannot to His Presence, which, though locally there, where he ascended, is yet (for the

communication of the gifts which he would thereby bestow) present through the Spirit – so truly present, that the bread which we break is the Communion of the Body of Christ, the Cup which we bless is the Communion of the Blood of Christ.¹⁶⁶

This correspondence drew the battle lines between the two men, but the issues raised were not novel. The issue of the real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist was one of the major issues of division during the sixteenth century Reformation on the Continent. There are some who would accuse Colenso of being a mere Memorialist of the likes of Zwingli, as does the Theodore Wirgman.¹⁶⁷ Other academics have argued that Colenso's Eucharistic theology is very consistent with the Prayer Book and it is Green who is at fault for very narrow catholic view. Perhaps at the heart of Colenso's theology is a soteriology which is liberal and mission minded. Colenso taught that the sacraments were "generally necessary for salvation."¹⁶⁸ He was quick to point out that those who could not receive the sacrament – through no fault of their own – would still receive the body and blood of Christ "by devout meditation and prayer, by acts of repentance, faith and thanksgiving."¹⁶⁹ Therefore their Eucharistic theologies appear significantly different, but in reality there may have been far more common ground between Green and Colenso than they were prepared to admit. I think it is Green's emphasis on dogma that came into conflict with Colenso's liberal missiology more than a massive difference in Eucharistic theology. Initially this seems to have been the assessment

¹⁶⁶ Wirgman, Theodore. *Life of James Green, Dean of Maritzburg*. London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1909. pp. 40-41.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid. pp. 49

¹⁶⁸ Darby, Ian. "Colenso the Sacramentalist." In *The Eye of the Storm*. Ed. Jonathan Draper. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 2003. pp. 189.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid

of bishop Gray when he was first confronted with the conflict.¹⁷⁰ It seems ironic that Green's more 'magical' understanding of the Eucharist is more popular with Black Anglicans than with White Anglicans today.¹⁷¹ What is important is that this issue of the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist continues to be an issue, particularly amongst clergy.

3.2.4 Ritualistic Practice of the Eucharist

Significant developments in the ritualistic practice of the 1860's were the 'six points'. These so called six points related directly to the Eucharist and were as follows: the eastward position at the altar, lighted candles, vestments, the mixing of water with the wine, wafer bread, and incense.¹⁷² Darby describes how these rituals developed:

In Natal, the development of ritual had gone apace, but there was normally a time lag of ten years between England and the colony. It was in the 1850's that surpliced choirs, offertories, the daily service, and the surplice in the pulpit, were appearing in Natal. A decade later was seeing frontals, abundant flowers and greenery in churches, and the use of credence tables. And only in the 1870's would the complete 'six points' emerge, but not without the troubles at St. Saviours.¹⁷³

The trouble which Darby alludes to is the conflict between Dean Green, who supported the 'six points', and the congregation who were not in

¹⁷⁰ Lewis, C. & Edwards G. *Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1934. pp. 162

¹⁷¹ This is my own observation of my experience in the Anglican Church of Southern Africa.

¹⁷² Darby, Ian. *Anglican Worship in Victorian Natal*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal, 1977. pp. 321

¹⁷³ Ibid. pp 322

favour of the six points. Most Europeans who lived in Natal were very skeptical of these ritualistic developments and resisted the implementation of them in Anglican churches. By the 1880's ritualism was increasingly accepted and supported in the diocese of Natal.¹⁷⁴ There are various reasons for the acceptance and ultimate support of ritualistic celebrations of the Eucharist. The three most prominent reasons were the determination of Dean Green, Zulu acceptance of ritual, and the shrewd receiving of gifts. Dean Green doggedly introduced the 'six points' and refused to compromise, resulting in the loss of three quarters of the Cathedral congregation at the time.¹⁷⁵ Darby asserts that "ritualism was the mark of mission churches¹⁷⁶" in Natal. This is partly because the Zulu people did not have the preconceived bias against ritualism harbored by Europeans... indeed, Zulu people may have been biased in favour of ritual practices. Those clergy or lay people who were supporters of the 'six points' arranged for gifts to be given to specific parishes. In this way a vestment could be offered as a gift. If the clergyman refused to wear the garment, it would have been seen as a great insult to the giver and thus ritualism was shrewdly established.¹⁷⁷

3.2.5 Colenso's 'Influence' on Liturgy

One could argue that bishop Colenso has had a significant influence on liturgy relating to the translation of the Zulu word for God and his biblical criticism. Hinchliff explains the controversy over Colenso's use of the Zulu word 'Unkulunkulu':

¹⁷⁴ Ibid. pp 355

¹⁷⁵ Ibid. pp. 340

¹⁷⁶ Ibid. pp. 299

¹⁷⁷ Ibid. pp. 362

In the Eastern Cape missionaries had, by common consent, used ‘Thixo’ for ‘God’, a word with very few prior associations. Colenso determined to use the Zulu ‘Unkulunkulu’, the name already used for the Creator. The trouble is that the word is a name, not a general term.¹⁷⁸

Despite the concern of missionaries at the time of Colenso, the name has ‘stuck’ and the current Zulu Prayer Book continues to use ‘Unkulunkulu’ for God. This is indeed a far-reaching decision by Colenso as it continues to influence current liturgical practice.

Colenso’s biblical criticism was considered scandalous during his time. One of the criticisms levelled against him was that he believed “That the Holy Scriptures contained, but were not the Word of God.”¹⁷⁹ This can hardly be considered scandalous by today’s standards... there would surely be very few Anglican ordinands who – after their theological studies – would not agree with the bishop on this point. Ron Nicholson¹⁸⁰ points out that this understanding of the Scriptures is not only acceptable but expected by the response formularies to the reading of the lessons in the Eucharist. The conclusion after the reading of Scripture in the context of the Eucharist is “Hear the word of the Lord”¹⁸¹. I am not suggesting that the current lesson formularies of the Prayer Book are a direct result of Colenso, but he is clearly a man ahead of his time in this way.

¹⁷⁸ Hinchliff, Peter. *The Anglican Church in Southern Africa*. London: Darton, Longman & Todd Ltd, 1963. pp. 67.

¹⁷⁹ Lewis, C. & Edwards G. *Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1934. pp. 164

¹⁸⁰ Nicholson, Ron. “Other Times and Other Customs: A Storm in a Victorian Tea Cup?” In *The Eye of the Storm*. Ed. Jonathan Draper. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 2003. pp. 189.

¹⁸¹ *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989*. Ed. The Provincial Trustees of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa. Jeppesstown: HarperCollinsPublishers, 2005. pp. 107.

3.3 Modern Liturgical Developments

In order to understand the construction of the *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989* (APB) it is important to have a grasp of wider liturgical and theological developments that influenced the production of this document. There are several major factors that need to be considered here: First, the impact of *Vatican II* on the liturgy of the Anglican Church. Secondly, the so called *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* document or the *Lima Text* with its ecumenical influences. Thirdly, the experimental forerunner of the 1989 Prayer Book, known as *Liturgy 1975*. Lastly the production of *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989* (APB).

3.3.1 Vatican II

The Second Vatican Council or Vatican II as it has come to be known was opened on the 11 October 1962 by Pope John XXIII and closed on the 8 December 1966 by Pope Paul VI.¹⁸² The stated purpose of the Council as recorded in the encyclical, *Ad Petri Cathedram* was as follows:

The Council is to be celebrated for these special purposes, that the Catholic Faith may increase, that the people may be brought to a new and higher standard of Christian morality and that Church law and discipline may be brought up to date according to the needs and conditions of our times. That will certainly afford a wonderful vision of truth, unity and charity – and we hope it will be a vision which those who are separated from the apostolic see may regard as a gentle invitation to seek and to follow that unity which Jesus

¹⁸² “Vatican Council II” *New Catholic Encyclopaedia*. XIV. 1967 ed.

Christ implored from His Heavenly Father with such fervent prayers.¹⁸³

Vatican II is considered a landmark event in the life of the universal church precisely because one of the stated purposes, and to a degree one of the outcomes, was a more unified Christendom. The Council itself was a mammoth undertaking, requiring two years of preparation. Those involved in the preparations included: ten specialized commissions, people for mass media, people for Christian unity and a central commission for overall coordination.¹⁸⁴ The opening session of the Council lasted only fifteen minutes before it was adjourned in order for the bishops to establish lists of people to comprise the ten conciliar commissions that would do much of the work of the council.¹⁸⁵

Vatican II is generally divided into four periods that correspond with its four year duration. For the purposes of this thesis we will focus on the first period in 1962. Joseph Ratzinger, currently Pope Benedict XVI, was a theological consultant at the council. He comments on the significance of the liturgy schema being the first topic of discussion:

This decision was a profession of faith in what is truly central to the Church – the ever renewed marriage of the Church with her Lord, actualized in the Eucharistic mystery where the Church, participating in the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, fulfils its innermost

¹⁸³ Quoted in: Pawley, Bernard. *Looking at the Vatican Council*. London: SCM Press, 1962. pp. 64

¹⁸⁴ Sullivan, Maureen. *101 Questions and Answers on Vatican II*. New York: Paulist Press, 2002. pp. 21.

¹⁸⁵ Alberigo, Giuseppe & Sherry, Matthew. *A Brief History of Vatican II*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2006. pp. 24.

mission, the adoration of the triune God... the proper point of departure for all renewal.¹⁸⁶

Ratzinger goes on to highlight several ‘basic tendencies’ that left their mark on the development of liturgy.¹⁸⁷ Firstly, he notes the stress on a ‘return to Christian origins’¹⁸⁸. This included an attempt to simplify the structure of the Mass: bringing it in line with the structure of the early Church Fathers and rejecting rambling forms. Secondly, the council affirmed a ‘stronger emphasis on the liturgy of the word’¹⁸⁹. This aspect of the service was given equal status with the sacrament and the oft neglected Homily was inflated in importance. Thirdly, he cites a clear attempt for ‘more active participation of the laity’¹⁹⁰. In terms of the Eucharist, the laity were now encouraged to communicate both bread and wine. Fourthly, he observes a major shift in authority with the ‘decentralization of liturgical decision making’¹⁹¹. The bishops’ conferences were given legislative power to institute a variety of liturgical expressions. Fifthly, Ratzinger describes the ‘debate over the language of the liturgy’¹⁹² as the most contentious. The die-hard Latin supporters were mostly brought over to a vernacular expression of the liturgy. Lastly, he comments on the presence of ‘non-Catholic observers’¹⁹³ and how their mere presence at the Council brought an ecumenical dimension to proceedings. It strikes me that virtually all of these developments are ‘laity friendly’. The simplified form, commitment

¹⁸⁶ Ratzinger, Joseph. *Theological Highlights of Vatican II*. New Jersey: Paulist Press, 1966. pp. 14.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. pp. 14-20

¹⁸⁸ Ibid. pp. 14

¹⁸⁹ Ibid. pp. 15

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. pp. 15

¹⁹¹ Ibid. pp. 16

¹⁹² Ibid. pp. 17

¹⁹³ Ibid. pp. 17

to good homily, more participation and liturgy in the vernacular are all overt attempts to include the laity. Indeed, it is during this period that the work on the *Sacrosanctum Concilium* was done. One of the major outcomes of this constitution on the sacred liturgy is captured in the following:

Mother Church earnestly desires that all the faithful should be led to that fully conscious and active participation in liturgical celebrations which is demanded by the very nature of the liturgy. Such participation by the Christian people as “a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a redeemed people” (1 Pet. 2:9; cf. 2:4-5), is their right and duty by reason of their baptism.¹⁹⁴

The Reformed theologian, Jaroslav Pelikan, rightly asserts that many of these issues reflect a belated acceptance of the liturgical course set by the Reformers.¹⁹⁵ For Anglicans especially with their insistence on the vernacular and national expressions of Christianity, many of these concerns had already been addressed years before. However, the ecumenical nature of the Council meant that liturgical renewal gathered momentum in the universal Church. In this way one could argue that the spirit of liturgical renewal engendered by Vatican II contributed to the Lima Text, to which we now turn our attention.

¹⁹⁴ Pope Paul VI. “Constitution on the Sacred liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, Chapter II The Promotion of Liturgical Instruction and Active Participation” Online: The Holy See Archives.

http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19631204_sacrosanctum-concilium_en.html. Accessed: 13 April 2011.

¹⁹⁵ Pelican, Jaroslav. “A Response.” In *The Documents of Vatican II, With Notes and Commentaries by Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox Authorities*. Ed. Walter Abbott. Baltimore: America Press, 1966. pp. 181.

3.3.2 Baptism Eucharist and Ministry

The *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry (BEM)* document is a paper produced by the World Council of Churches. The *World Council of Churches* define themselves as follows:

A fellowship of churches which confess the Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour according to the scriptures and therefore seek to fulfill together their common calling to the glory of the one God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit.¹⁹⁶

The BEM document is also known as Faith and Order Paper no. 111, the “Lima Text”. The preface to this document affords some context for the document:

This famous text, adopted by Faith and Order at its plenary commission meeting in Lima, Peru in 1982, explores the growing agreement - and remaining differences - in fundamental areas of the churches’ faith and life. The most widely-distributed and studied ecumenical document, BEM has been a basis for many “mutual recognition” agreements among churches and remains a reference today.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁶ World Council of Churches. “What is the World Council of Churches.” Online: World Council of Churches. <http://www.oikoumene.org/en/resources/documents/wcc-commissions/faith-and-order-commission/i-unity-the-church-and-its-mission/baptism-eucharist-and-ministry-faith-and-order-paper-no-111-the-lima-text/baptism-eucharist-and-ministry.html#c10499> . Accessed: 3 March 2011.

¹⁹⁷ World Council of Churches. “What is the World Council of Churches.” Online: World Council of Churches. <http://www.oikoumene.org/en/resources/documents/wcc-commissions/faith-and-order-commission.html> . Accessed: 3 March 2011.

This document has evoked huge interest in the Christian community and has shaped the liturgy of many churches. The Faith and Order Commission asserts that four hundred and fifty thousand copies, translated into thirty-one languages have been studied all over the world in various situations.¹⁹⁸ Therefore this document is of critical importance for understanding the broad liturgical developments before homing in on the CPSA and the parish in Hilton respectively.

The Lima text gives very clear guidelines for the content of the Eucharistic Prayer. These elements include: Firstly, thanksgiving to the Father. Secondly, the institution narrative, which is a repetition of the words Christ used at the Lord's Supper as recorded in New Testament Tradition. Thirdly, anamnesis of the great acts of Redemption. Anamnesis is the Greek word we translate as remembrance or memorial; this section should include a recalling of the Passion, Death, Resurrection and Ascension of Christ. Fourthly, the Epiclesis, which is an invocation of the Spirit on the community and on the bread and wine. Fifthly, the consecration of the faithful to God. Sixthly, reference must be made to the communion of saints. Seventh, a prayer for the return of the Lord and finally, the community's Amen¹⁹⁹. A cursory glance at the prayers of the APB will indicate that virtually all of these elements are present in the five Eucharistic Prayers.

The Provincial Synod of the Province of Southern Africa made its official response to the Lima Text in 1985. In their response, the bishops asserted the following:

¹⁹⁸ *Baptism, Eucharist & Ministry 1982-1990*. "Faith and Order Paper No 149. Geneva": WCC Publications, 1990. Appendix 1.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 10-11.

The CPSA accepts as biblical and representing the faith of the church throughout the ages, the following articles of the Lima statement. In this it does not deny the truth and validity of other parts of the statement but draws attention to the special significance of the points mentioned.²⁰⁰

The points of special significance that the bishops referred to include an understanding of the Eucharist as: the gift of Salvation; the action of God himself; the proclamation and celebration of the work of God; the church's act of thanksgiving; the anamnesis of Christ's unique sacrifice; the anticipation of the parousia; the occasion when the sacrifice and offering of Christians is associated with the once-for-all sacrifice of Christ; the real presence of Christ; an opportunity for believers to join in the mission of Christ, thus standing against injustice and separation; an action dependent on the Holy Spirit²⁰¹. The bishops then added an extra comment that stresses the person presiding at the Eucharist as the one who acts on behalf of the church.²⁰² In this way the bishops elevate the significance of ordination with regard to presidency at the Eucharist.

In the excerpt that I quoted above the bishops sought to elevate certain articles relating to the Eucharist whilst not questioning the truth of those articles not mentioned. This exercise of illuminating some articles at the expense of others may offer us insight into the bias of the Province. It is interesting that the bishops do not mention articles five, twelve and fifteen. These articles refer to: the Eucharist as memorial; the need for proclamation to form part of the Eucharist, an understanding of the bread

²⁰⁰ Thurian, Max. Ed. *Churches Respond to BEM Volume III*. Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1987. pp 102.

²⁰¹ Ibid. pp 103

²⁰² Ibid. pp 103

and wine as signs of the body and blood of Christ²⁰³. These articles deal with issues that Anglo-Catholics would probably feel uncomfortable with and possibly even oppose. Therefore one could argue that the Province of the 1980's made its Anglo-Catholic bias clear by those articles which the bishops chose to exclude.

The inclusion of articles that relate to current justice issues form part of what the bishops highlighted. Among those articles excluded are references to a transcendent kingdom as opposed to an immanent kingdom as in article twenty two.²⁰⁴ This betrays the bishops' obvious concern for the kingdom to be ushered into the South African apartheid context.

3.3.3 Liturgy 1975

It is important to note that *An Anglican Prayer Book* had an experimental forerunner called *Liturgy 1975*. This trial book contained only the Eucharistic liturgy and the offices of morning and evening prayer.

The immediate background to *Liturgy 1975* can be found in *The Proposed Alternative Forms of the Daily Offices of Morning and Evening Prayer and the Holy Communion (A.F. 1969)*. The A.F. 1969 were authorized by the Synod of Bishops for use from the 26th October 1969.²⁰⁵ This revision reflected the historical criticism of the time, an ecumenical outlook and a

²⁰³ World Council of Churches. "What is the World Council of Churches." Online: World Council of Churches. <http://www.oikoumene.org/en/resources/documents/wcc-commissions/faith-and-order-commission/i-unity-the-church-and-its-mission/baptism-eucharist-and-ministry-faith-and-order-paper-no-111-the-lima-text/baptism-eucharist-and-ministry.html#c10499> . Accessed: 3 March 2011.

²⁰⁴ Ibid

²⁰⁵ *Proposed Alternative Forms of the Daily Offices of Morning and Evening Prayer and the Holy Communion*. Cape Town: The Liturgical Committee of South Africa, 1969. See Preface and Introduction.

reaction away from the individualism of the Middle Ages.²⁰⁶ The Liturgical Committee that developed *A.F. 1969* was expanded to include bishops, priests, academics and latterly laypeople in the production of *Liturgy 1975*. It is worth noting that the black clergy and lay people were very poorly represented on the Committee.²⁰⁷ *Liturgy 1975* was published in two editions; a Ministers Book and a Pew Book. The Ministers Book comprised of 217 pages and included the following; table of Psalms, lessons, canticles, collects, the Holy Eucharist, morning and evening prayer, the calendar and a commentary on festivals and commemorations. The Pew Book comprised 56 pages and contained only the Eucharist and the offices of morning and evening prayer.

The liturgical developments of A.F. 1969 were developed and refined in the production of *Liturgy 1975*. The mixture of archaic and contemporary English was replaced by dignified contemporary English. The trend of using bold type for corporate parts of the liturgy was continued.²⁰⁸ This development in the style and layout of the liturgy is again a clear move away from the individualist, priestly style of the SAPB. The laity have begun to be enabled and actively invited to participate more fully in the liturgy.

The production of *Liturgy 1975* was a radical departure from the SAPB in terms of the theology of consecration. The rubrics from the SAPB require the priest to elevate the elements of bread and wine when the words of institution are recited.²⁰⁹ This action required of the priest illustrates the

²⁰⁶ Kelly, Leonard. "*Liturgy 1975*" – *A Critical Appraisal of the new Liturgical form used in the Church of the Province of South Africa*. University of South Africa, 1984. pp. 44.

²⁰⁷ Ibid pp. 48-58

²⁰⁸ Ibid pp. 43

²⁰⁹ *A Book of Common Prayer South Africa*. London: Oxford University Press, 1954. pp. 239.

traditional understanding of the point of consecration being at the words of institution. This is why many priests will genuflect at this point or at the very least bow. *Liturgy 75* contains no such rubric because the theology of consecration had shifted. This liturgy understands the whole prayer as a prayer of consecration and thus it would be more appropriate to elevate the elements at the end and with the community's Great Amen.²¹⁰

The introduction of *Liturgy 1975* brought with it immediate changes in the arrangement of the service and the order of the Eucharistic Prayer. The simple table below illustrates the changes to the shape of the service:

Table 4: Synopsis of SAPB and Liturgy 1975

ORDER OF SERVICE		
	<i>South African Prayer Book</i>	<i>Liturgy 1975</i>
1	Lord's prayer	Greeting
2	Collect for Purity	Gloria
3	10 Commandments	Collect for Purity
4	Great Commandment	Kyrie
5	Kyrie	Confession & Absolution
6	Greeting	Collect for the day
7	Collect for the day	Scripture (OT, Psalm, NT, Gospel)
8	Scripture (Epistle & Gospel)	Sermon
9	Nicene Creed	Nicene Creed
10	Sermon	Intercessory Prayer (4 options)
11	Offertory	Preparation of Gifts (inc offertory)
12	Intercessory Prayer	Eucharistic Prayer (3 options)
13	Confession & Absolution	Breaking of the bread
14	Comfortable words	Agnus Dei
15	Eucharistic Prayer	Lord's Prayer
16	Lord's Prayer	Prayer of Humble Access
17	Prayer of Humble Access	Communion
18	Communion	Conclusion

²¹⁰ Kelly, Leonard. "*Liturgy 1975*" – *A Critical Appraisal of the new Liturgical form used in the Church of the Province of South Africa*. University of South Africa, 1984. pp. 137.

19	Thanksgiving	Blessing
20	Gloria	
21	Blessing	

It is clear from the above table that the order of service changed as well as various extra inclusions and exclusions.

The Gloria is moved to the beginning of the *Liturgy 1975* service whereas it was always found at the end of the Communion in the SAPB. The creed is to be found after the sermon in *Liturgy 1975*, whereas the SAPB placed the creed before the sermon. This is practically helpful to the preacher, especially if he/she is preaching on the Gospel text. I wonder if the charismatic renewal with its emphasis on teaching influenced this change in the ordering of the service? *Liturgy 75* combines the blessing of the elements of bread and wine with the offertory; in the SAPB liturgy these are done separately.

The most interesting inclusion is that of a Psalm and Old Testament reading to the former tradition of an Epistle and Gospel reading. This inclusion bolsters the liturgy of the word aspect of the service over the liturgy of the sacrament. Indeed the liturgy of the sacrament forms a shorter part of the service. This is not necessarily because content had been omitted, but rather because an economy of words had been used. Interestingly the Agnus Dei was included in the liturgy of the sacrament where it was previously left out of the SAPB. This point reinforces the assertion that the content of the liturgy of the sacrament had been summarized at points but important elements had not been left out. However, this arrangement has afforded the liturgy of the word more time than the liturgy of the sacrament.

The ‘comfortable words’ of Christ, which were said by the priest after the absolution, have been excluded from the *Liturgy 1975* service. With the

inclusion of the extra scripture readings I suppose the liturgists simply thought it made the service too lengthy. The other striking omission is that of the commandments prior to the confession. The rubrics of *Liturgy 1975* require the commandments to be said only on Ash Wednesday and the five Sundays following.²¹¹ This signaled a move away from the heavy emphasis on repentance and contrition in the SAPB.

3.3.4 An Anglican Prayer Book 1989

It was out of this consultative process that the APB emerged. Bishop Michael Nuttall – who was the bishop of Natal from 1982 to 2000, and played a key role in supporting Archbishop Desmond Tutu as Dean of the Province from 1989 to 1997²¹² – in speaking about the construction of the APB, says:

Particular care was taken to meet evangelical concerns in a province that is historically ‘high church’ rather than ‘low church’ in its main emphasis. Theological breadth – catholic, evangelical, charismatic and liberal – was aimed at in order to achieve balance and to accommodate these various convictions within the CPSA.²¹³

We turn now to an investigation of the ways in which the Eucharistic liturgy of the APB appeals to, and is sensitive to the needs of charismatics, evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics. Bishop Nuttall was anxious to illustrate that this breadth is indeed a part of the APB.

²¹¹ *Liturgy 1975*. Ed. The Provincial Trustees of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa. Pretoria: Wallachs Printing Co Pty Ltd, 1975.

²¹² Nuttall, Michael. *Number Two to Tutu*, a Memoir. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 2003.

²¹³ Nuttall, Michael. ‘The Province of Southern Africa’. in Hefling, Charles and Shattuck, Cynthia (Eds). *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer, A Worldwide Survey*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. pp 318.

Nuttall highlights two concessions that the APB makes for charismatics. The APB includes ‘An alternative order for the celebrating of the Eucharist’. This alternative order allows charismatics the latitude to incorporate free prayer, praise and a less structured service²¹⁴. The Eucharistic Prayer for this Alternate Service comes from *The Alternate Service Book 1980*. The prayer in its original context is designed for ‘use with the sick’ and thus it is a particularly short Eucharistic Prayer.

Table 5: Synopsis of Eucharistic Prayer for the Sick and Alternative Great Thanksgiving

A Eucharistic Prayer for use with the Sick²¹⁵	The Alternative Great Thanksgiving²¹⁶
<p>Priest: The Lord be with you/The Lord is here People: And also with you/His Spirit is with us Priest: Lift up your hearts People: We lift them to the Lord Priest: Let us give thanks to the Lord our God People: It is right to give him thanks and praise</p>	<p>Priest: The Lord is here People: His Spirit is with us Priest: Lift up your hearts People: We lift them to the Lord Priest: Let us give thanks to the Lord our God People: It is right to give him thanks and praise</p>
<p>Priest: It is indeed right, it is our duty and our joy, to give you thanks, holy Father, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Through him you have created us in your image; through him you have freed us from sin and death; through him you have made us your own people by the gift of the Holy Spirit.</p>	<p>Priest: It is indeed right, it is our duty and our joy, to give you thanks, holy Father, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Through him you have created us in your image; through him you have freed us from sin and death; through him you have made us your own people by the gift of the Holy Spirit.</p>
<p>Hear us, Father, through Christ your Son our Lord, and grant that by the power of your Holy Spirit these gifts of bread and wine may be to us his body and his blood.</p>	<p>Priest: Hear us, Father, through Christ your Son our Lord, and grant that by the power of your Holy Spirit these gifts of bread and wine may be to us his body and his blood.</p>
<p>Who in the same night that he was betrayed, took bread and gave you thanks; he broke it and gave it to his disciples, saying, ‘Take, eat; this is my body which is given for you; do this in remembrance of me.’ In the same way, after supper he took the cup and gave you thanks; he gave it them, saying, ‘Drink this, all of you; this is my blood of the</p>	<p>Who in the same night that he was betrayed, took bread and gave you thanks; he broke it and gave it to his disciples, saying, ‘Take, eat; this is my body which is given for you; do this in remembrance of me.’ In the same way, after supper he took the cup and gave you thanks; he gave it them, saying, ‘Drink this, all of you; this is my blood of the</p>

²¹⁴ Ibid. pp. 319.

²¹⁵ *The Alternate Service Book 1980, Services authorised for use in the Church of England in conjunction with The Book of Common Prayer, together with the Psalter*. Clowes: Cambridge University Press, 1980. pp. 171-172

²¹⁶ *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989*. Ed. The Provincial Trustees of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa. Jeppestown: HarperCollinsPublishers, 2005. pp. 131-133.

<p>new covenant which is shed for you and for many for the forgiveness of sins. Do this as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me.'</p> <p>Therefore, Father, proclaiming his saving death and resurrection and looking for his coming in glory, we celebrate with this bread and this cup his one perfect sacrifice.</p> <p>Accept through him, our great high priest, this our sacrifice of thanks and praise, and grant that we who eat this bread and drink this cup may be renewed by your Spirit and grow into his likeness.</p> <p>Through Jesus Christ our Lord, by whom, and with whom and in whom, all honour and glory be yours, Father, now and forever.</p> <p>People: Amen</p>	<p>new covenant which is shed for you and for many for the forgiveness of sins. Do this as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me.'</p> <p>So we proclaim the mystery of faith People: Christ has died Christ is risen Christ will come again.</p> <p>Priest: Therefore, Father, proclaiming his saving death and resurrection and looking for his coming in glory, we celebrate with this bread and this cup his one perfect sacrifice.</p> <p>Accept through him, our great high priest, this our sacrifice of thanks and praise, and grant that we who eat this bread and drink this cup may be renewed by your Spirit and grow into his likeness.</p> <p>Through Jesus Christ our Lord, by whom, and with whom and in whom, all honour and glory be yours, Father, now and forever.</p> <p>People: Amen</p>
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The synopsis above displays the brevity of this original prayer which excludes the Sanctus and the memorial acclamation, otherwise the prayer is copied word for word. Nuttall goes on to remind the reader that the rubrics of the Eucharist allow for hymns and, most significantly for charismatics, 'acts of praise' to be included at the discretion of the priest.²¹⁷

Nuttall makes it clear that there has been special care taken to be sensitive to the needs of evangelicals, and includes three examples. Firstly, the rubrics for the prayers of the people allow the person leading the prayers to omit sentences as they see fit. Nuttall states that this was done so that evangelicals could leave out prayers for the dead.²¹⁸ Secondly, Nuttall acknowledges evangelicals' discomfort with the notion that a sacrament in itself can effect transformation. Due to this he reminds the reader of the change to the concluding prayer of the Eucharist. This prayer was changed from 'keeping us by this sacrament in the Body of your Son', in *Liturgy 1975*, to 'keeping us by your grace in the Body of

²¹⁷ Ibid. pp. 320.

²¹⁸ Ibid. pp. 318.

your Son’, in APB.²¹⁹ Lastly, The fourth Eucharistic Prayer offers evangelicals an alternate wording that avoids the connotations of sacrifice.²²⁰

Nuttall seems to feel the need to placate Anglo-Catholics by assuring them that their needs have not been overlooked. Therefore Nuttall informs the reader that the third Eucharistic Prayer is a product of the Roman Catholic Canon which has been largely copied with permission.²²¹

Table 6: Synopsis of Roman Eucharistic Prayer II and The Third Eucharistic Prayer

Roman Prayer II²²²	The Third Eucharistic Prayer²²³
<p>Priest: The Lord be with you. People: And with your spirit. Priest: Lift up your hearts. People: We lift them up to the Lord. Priest: Let us give thanks to the Lord our God. People: It is right and just.</p>	<p>Priest: The Lord be with you. People: And with your spirit. Priest: Lift up your hearts. People: We lift them up to the Lord. Priest: Let us give thanks to the Lord our God. People: It is right and just to give him thanks and praise.</p>
<p>It is truly right and just, our duty and salvation, always and everywhere to give you thanks, Father most holy, through your beloved Son, Jesus Christ, your Word through whom you made all things, whom you sent as our Saviour and Redeemer, incarnate by the Holy Spirit and born of the Virgin. Fulfilling your will and gaining for you a holy people, he stretched out his hands as he endured his Passion, so as to break the bonds of death and manifest the resurrection.</p>	<p>Father, it is our duty and salvation, always and everywhere to give you thanks through your beloved Son, Jesus Christ. He is the word through whom you made the universe, the Saviour you sent to redeem us. By the power of the Holy Spirit he took flesh and was born of the Virgin Mary. For our sake he opened his arms on the cross; he put an end to death and won for you a holy people.</p>
<p>And so, with the Angels and all the Saints we declare your glory, as with one voice we acclaim:</p>	<p>And so we join with the angels and the saints in proclaiming your glory as we say:</p>
<p>All: Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God of hosts. Heaven and earth are full of your glory. Hosanna in the highest. Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.</p>	<p>All: Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God of hosts. Heaven and earth are full of your glory. Hosanna in the highest. Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.</p>
<p>You are indeed Holy, O Lord, the fount of all holiness. Make holy, therefore, these gifts, we pray, by sending down your Spirit upon them like the dewfall, so that they may become for us the Body + and Blood of our Lord, Jesus</p>	<p>Lord, you are Holy indeed, the fountain of all holiness. Let your Spirit come upon these gifts to make them holy, so that they may become for us the body and the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.</p>

²¹⁹ Ibid. pp. 319.

²²⁰ Ibid. pp. 319.

²²¹ Ibid. pp. 320.

²²² Basic Texts for the Roman Catholic Eucharist. “Eucharistic Prayer II (from the 3rd Edition of the Roman Missal, English Translation, 2011)” Online:

<http://catholic-resources.org/ChurchDocs/RM3-EP1-4.htm> Accessed: 25 October 2011

²²³ *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989*. Ed. The Provincial Trustees of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa. Jeppestown: HarperCollinsPublishers, 2005. pp. 122-123

<p>Christ. At the time he was betrayed and entered willingly into his Passion, he took bread and, giving thanks, broke it, and gave it to his disciples, saying: TAKE THIS, ALL OF YOU, AND EAT OF IT: FOR THIS IS MY BODY WHICH WILL BE GIVEN UP FOR YOU. In a similar way, when supper was ended, he took the chalice and, once more giving thanks, he gave it to his disciples, saying: TAKE THIS, ALL OF YOU, AND DRINK FROM IT: FOR THIS IS THE CHALICE OF MY BLOOD, THE BLOOD OF THE NEW AND ETERNAL COVENANT, WHICH WILL BE Poured OUT FOR YOU AND FOR MANY FOR THE FORGIVENESS OF SINS. DO THIS IN MEMORY OF ME.</p> <p>The mystery of faith:</p> <p>People: We proclaim your Death, O Lord, and profess your Resurrection until you come again.</p> <p>When we eat this Bread and drink this Cup, we proclaim your death, O Lord, until you come again.</p> <p>Save us, Saviour of the world, for by your Cross and Resurrection you have set us free.</p> <p>Priest: Therefore, as we celebrate the memorial of his Death and Resurrection, we offer you, Lord, the Bread of life and the Chalice of salvation, giving thanks that you have held us worthy to be in your presence and minister to you. Humbly we pray that, partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ, we may be gathered into one by the Holy Spirit. Remember, Lord, your Church, spread throughout the world, and bring her to the fullness of charity, together with N. our Pope and N. our Bishop and all the clergy. Remember also our brothers and sisters who have fallen asleep in the hope of the resurrection and all who have died in your mercy: welcome them into the light of your face. Have mercy on us all, we pray, that with the blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God, with the blessed Apostles, and all the Saints who have pleased you throughout the ages, we may merit to be co-heirs to eternal life, and may praise and glorify you through your Son, Jesus Christ. Through him, and with him, and in him, O God, almighty Father, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, all glory and honour is yours, for ever and ever.</p> <p>People: Amen.</p>	<p>Before he was given up to death, a death he freely accepted, he took bread and gave you thanks. He broke the bread, gave it to his disciples, and said: 'Take this, all of you, and eat it: this is my body which will be given up for you.'</p> <p>When the supper was ended, he took the cup. Again he gave you thanks and praise, gave the cup to his disciples, and said: 'Take this, all of you, and drink from it: this is the cup of my blood, the blood of the new and everlasting covenant. It will be shed for you and for all so that sins may be forgiven. Do this in memory of me.'</p> <p>So we proclaim the mystery of faith</p> <p>People: Christ has died, Christ is risen, Christ will come again.</p> <p>Dying you destroyed our death, rising you restored our life. Lord Jesus come in glory.</p> <p>When we eat this bread and drink this cup we proclaim your death, Lord Jesus until you come in glory.</p> <p>Lord, by your cross and resurrection you have set us free. You are the Saviour of the world</p> <p>Priest: In memory of his death and resurrection, we offer you, Father, this life-giving bread, this saving cup. We thank you for counting us worthy to stand in your presence and serve you. May all of us who share in the body and blood of Christ be brought together in unity by the Holy Spirit. Lord, remember your Church throughout the world; make us grow in love, together with N our bishop, and all the clergy. Remember our brothers and sisters who have gone to their rest in the hope of rising again; bring them and all the departed in to the light of your presence. Have mercy on all; make us worthy to share eternal life with Mary, the virgin mother of God, with the apostles, and with all the saints who have done your will throughout all ages. We praise you in union with them, and give you glory through your Son, Jesus Christ. Through him, with him, in him, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, all glory and honour is yours, almighty Father, for ever and ever.</p> <p>People: Amen</p>
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The synopsis of the two Eucharistic Prayers shows a very close correlation. One subtle but very significant difference is at the words of institution said over the cup. The Roman prayer speaks of Christ's blood being poured out for *many*. The Anglican Prayer speaks of Christ's blood being shed for *all*, the latter being a far more inclusive perspective and the product of a liberal theology. Furthermore, the APB includes Holy

Week and Easter services, beloved of Anglo-Catholics, which were previously only available in booklet form.

I find a number of Nuttall's comments intriguing. Firstly, his comment on the suitability of the Eucharistic liturgy to charismatics is all based on shape and not content. Charismatics can have freer services with as much praise as they choose, but none of the wording was changed to emphasize the work of the Spirit in the liturgy. Secondly, it would seem that the Anglo-Catholic stance dominates as Nuttall initially asserts. It seems as though concessions are made for evangelicals whereas new material is added for Anglo-Catholics. Should evangelicals feel grateful or patronized for these concessions?

Before concluding this section, let me illuminate the sources for the Eucharistic Prayers of *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989*, not yet identified. The reader will remember that the fourth Eucharistic Prayer is crafted from the *Apostolic Tradition* and a synopsis of these two prayers is provided in the first chapter. The First Eucharistic Prayer is referred to by Nuttall as an 'indigenous product'.²²⁴ Local Priest, Ronald Taylor explains its production more fully:

The first was modelled on a Church of England draft for a revised liturgy called *Series Two* which was composed in 17th Century English. In the drawing up of *L75* it was put into contemporary language and revised again (especially in section 58). It is now our

²²⁴ Nuttall, Michael. "The Province of Southern Africa". In *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer*. Ed. Hefling & Shattuck. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. pp. 320

own Southern African version of the prayer called *The First Eucharistic Prayer*.²²⁵

Section 58 consists of the oblation, anamnesis, supplications, doxology and the people's Amen.²²⁶ The supplications here are significant as they are written in the apartheid context and invoke a longing for the coming of the fullness of God's Kingdom.

The remaining Eucharistic Prayer, not yet dealt with, is the Second Eucharistic Prayer. This Prayer is modelled on *The English Series 3 Liturgy 1973* (Eng 3):

Table 7: Synopsis of Eng 3 Eucharistic Prayer and The Second Eucharistic Prayer

Eng 3 Eucharistic Prayer ²²⁷	The Second Eucharistic Prayer ²²⁸
Priest: The Lord is here People: His Spirit is with us Priest: Lift up your hearts People: We lift them to the Lord Priest: Let us give thanks to the Lord our God People: It is right to give him thanks and praise	Priest: The Lord be with you/The Lord is here People: And also with you/His Spirit is with us Priest: Lift up your hearts People: We lift them to the Lord Priest: Let us give thanks to the Lord our God People: It is right to give him thanks and praise
Priest: It is not only right, it is our duty and our joy, at all times and in all places, to give you thanks and praise, holy Father, heavenly King, almighty and eternal God, through Jesus Christ, your only Son, our Lord;	Priest: It is indeed right, it is our duty and our joy, at all times and in all places, to give you thanks and praise, holy Father, heavenly King, almighty and eternal God, through Jesus Christ, your only Son our Lord;
For he is your living Word, through him you created all things from the beginning, and formed us in your own image;	For he is your living Word, through him you have created all things from the beginning, and formed us in your own image;
Through him you have freed us from the slavery of sin, giving him to be born as man, to die upon the cross, and to rise again for us;	Through him you have freed us from the slavery of sin, giving him to be born as man and to die upon the cross, you raised him from the dead and exalted him to your right hand on high.

²²⁵ Taylor, Ronald. *He took, blessed, broke, and gave, Some notes on the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist, according to the order of An Anglican Prayer Book 1989*. Cape Town: Pretext, 2005. pp. 59-60.

²²⁶ *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989*. Ed. The Provincial Trustees of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa. Jeppestown: HarperCollinsPublishers, 2005. pp. 119

²²⁷ *Further Anglican Liturgies, 1968-1975*. Ed. Buchanan, Colin. Nottingham: Grove Books, 1975. Pp. 56-57

²²⁸ *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989*. Ed. The Provincial Trustees of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa. Jeppestown: HarperCollinsPublishers, 2005. pp. 119-121

<p>Through him you have made us a people for your own possession, exalting him to your right hand on high, and sending upon us your Holy and life giving Spirit.</p> <p>Therefore with angels and archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we proclaim your great and glorious Name, for ever praising you and saying:</p> <p>People: Holy, holy, holy Lord, God of power and might, Heaven and earth are full of your glory. Hosanna in the highest.</p> <p>Accept our praises, heavenly Father, through your Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, and as we follow his example and obey his command, grant that by the power of your Spirit these gifts of bread and wine may be to us his body and his blood;</p> <p>For in the same night he was betrayed, he took bread; and after giving you thanks, he broke it, gave it to his disciples, and said, 'Take, eat; this is my body which is given for you. Do this in remembrance of me.' Again, after supper he took the cup; he gave you thanks, and gave it to them, saying, 'Drink this, all of you; for this is my blood of the new Covenant, which is shed for you and for many, for the forgiveness of sins. Do this, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me.'</p> <p>People: Christ has died, Christ is risen, Christ will come again</p> <p>Priest: Therefore, heavenly Father, with this bread and this cup we do this in remembrance of him: we celebrate and proclaim his perfect sacrifice made once for all upon the cross, his resurrection from the dead, and his ascension into heaven; and we look for his coming in glory.</p> <p>Accept through him, our great high priest, this our sacrifice of thanks and praise; and as we eat and drink these holy gifts in the presence of your divine majesty, renew us by your Spirit, inspire us with your love, and unite us in the body of your son, Jesus Christ our Lord.</p> <p>With him, and in him, and through him, by the power of the Holy Spirit, with all who stand before you in earth and heaven, we worship you, Father Almighty, in songs of everlasting praise:</p> <p>People: Blessing and honour and glory and power be yours for ever and ever. Amen.</p>	<p>Through him you have sent upon us your holy and life-giving Spirit, and made us a people for your own possession.</p> <p>Therefore with angels and archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we proclaim your great and glorious Name, for ever praising you and saying:</p> <p>People: Holy, holy, holy Lord, God of power and might, Heaven and earth are full of your glory. Hosanna in the highest. Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.</p> <p>Accept our praises, heavenly Father, through your Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, and as we follow his example and obey his command, grant that by the power of your Spirit these gifts of bread and wine may be to us his body and his blood;</p> <p>Who in the same night that he was betrayed took bread; and gave you thanks; he broke it and gave it to his disciples, saying, 'Take, eat; this is my body which is given for you. Do this in remembrance of me.' In the same way, after the supper he took the cup and gave you thanks; he gave it to them, saying, 'Drink this, all of you; this is my blood of the new covenant, which is shed for you and for many, for the forgiveness of sins. Do this, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me.'</p> <p>People: Christ has died, Christ is risen, Christ will come again</p> <p>Priest: Therefore, heavenly Father, we remember his offering of himself made once for all upon the cross, and proclaim his mighty resurrection and glorious ascension. As we look for his coming in glory, we celebrate with this bread and this cup his one perfect sacrifice.</p> <p>Accept through him, our great high priest, this our sacrifice of thanks and praise; and as we eat and drink these holy gifts in the presence of your divine majesty, renew us by your Spirit, inspire us with your love, and unite us in the body of your Son, Jesus Christ our Lord.</p> <p>Through him, and with him and in him, by the power of the Holy Spirit, with all who stand before you in earth and heaven, we worship you, Father Almighty, in songs of everlasting praise:</p> <p>People: Blessing and honour and glory and power be yours for ever and ever. Amen.</p>
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The wording of these two Eucharistic Prayers is very similar, although there are a few differences. The Second Eucharistic Prayer offers two alternatives in the Opening Dialogue, whereas its source has only one. The Second Eucharistic Prayer includes the concluding words of the Sanctus. This is significant as it is during these words that Anglicans of an Anglo-Catholic bias would normally cross themselves. Hence it could be understood as a special provision for those of an Anglo-Catholic

perspective. The other differences are subtle and concern mostly the slight altering of language or syntax, having little bearing on the meaning.

4. Background to the Hilton Parish

This Chapter provides an orientation before offering detailed information on each period relating to the three priests. The chapter will begin with a brief history of Hilton, the village in which C of A is situated. Having done this I will then situate Hilton in the greater socio-political history of South Africa and remind the reader of the dramatic changes in the country that happened during 1975 to 2002.

4.1 A History of Hilton and the Church of the Ascension

4.1.1 The Origins of Hilton Road Village

Hilton is situated in the hills above Pietermaritzburg in the Midlands of KwaZulu Natal. Its name is apparently inspired by Hilton Park in Staffordshire. The authors of *The Story of Hilton* assert that:

The village of Hilton began when prominent residents of Pietermaritzburg purchased property to build cottages as a retreat from the summer heat and dust of the town.²²⁹

The economy of Hilton was initially built on timber, hides and skins. The misty climate made tree growth a particularly successful venture. Later, as frost resistant varieties of sugar were developed, sugar cane was introduced. Hilton depended on the railway, built in 1884, for these agricultural endeavours. The authors of *The Story of Hilton* romanticize this early period in the history of Hilton in their writing:

²²⁹ Lake C, Lake M & Hoepfl J. *The Story of Hilton: 3rd Edition*. Electronic Text: 2010. pp. 2

What a delightful rustic place it must have been with only fifteen houses, few vehicles and only the sound of the steam trains and the sawmill near the station.²³⁰

The picture that emerges is of life modelled after a typical English country village. Hilton was essentially a product of the colonial pioneering spirit. In many ways it remains this way with its predominantly white middle-class population. Today Hilton boasts a population of over 3000 people²³¹ and has undergone huge suburban development. Increasingly, Hilton is developing an array of light industry and can no longer be called a village.

4.1.2 Significant developments in Hilton

1884	Railway Station Built
1886	Postal Service Registered
1872	Hilton College Opens
1900	Police Station Established
1903	Hilton Road School Founded (later to become Laddsworth)
1904	St. Anne's Diocesan College moves to Hilton Property
1905	Village Hall Built
1907	C of A Built
1956	Public Library Opened
1965	Cowan House Preparatory moves to Hilton Property
1988	Hilton Assembly of God Established (now called Crossways Church)
1999	Grace College Founded (Christian co-educational secondary school)

²³⁰ Ibid

²³¹ Ibid

4.1.3 The Origins of ‘Kirk by Hilton’

The origins of the ‘Kirk by Hilton’ may be traced to a series of Special Mission Services conducted in the Hilton Road Hall on the 6th, 7th and 8th August in the year 1904.²³² A number of clergy from the immediate area were called upon to help with regular Sunday Services until Rev. A. Rushton was appointed priest-in-charge during December of 1904.²³³ The community began to recognize the need to build a church for their Sunday meetings, and this became possible in 1906 when Judge Bennett donated land for such a project.²³⁴ In April of the same year, a Vestry Meeting decided to approach the architectural firm Messrs Baker, Massey and Sloper of Johannesburg.²³⁵ The Church was to cost no more than £1200 and seat 220 people. Sir Herbert Baker presented his plans of the church on the 22 May 1906, the estimated cost was £1100.²³⁶ The contract for the building of the church, in red face brick, was awarded to Mr. T. Servant and work began in December of 1906. Bishop Frederick Baines laid the foundation stone on the 6th December 1906. The building was completed in April of 1907 and bishop Baines dedicated the church on the 9th of May 1907. This was a significant day in the Church Calendar, being Ascension Day, which is where the current name of the Church – C of A – was derived.²³⁷ *The Natal Witness* reported on the event as follows:

²³² Hopeful J, Lake C. & Lake M. *The Story of Hilton Road Village*. Private Publication: 1991. pp. 65

²³³ Ibid

²³⁴ Lake C, Lake M & Hoepfl J. *The Story of Hilton: 3rd Edition*. Electronic Text: 2010. pp. 24

²³⁵ Hoole, Joan. *Church of the Ascension, Hilton*. Written for occasion of the Centenary of founding: 2004

²³⁶ Lake C, Lake M & Hoepfl J. *The Story of Hilton: 3rd Edition*. Electronic Text: 2010. pp. 24

²³⁷ Ibid

Many people from the settlements in the neighbourhood took part in the ceremony, going to Hilton by road and rail. About a dozen clergy were present to assist the bishop. The service was of an ordinary character, but the congregation was large. The altar was beautifully decorated, but the church itself looked somewhat plain. His Lordship preached a most impressive sermon, which was received with every mark of attention.²³⁸

The first Vicar of C of A was H. Hamersley, who was inducted and instituted on the 29 September 1907.

4.1.4 The Incumbents of the Church of the Ascension²³⁹

1904-1906	Rev. A.G.M. Rushton	Priest-in-Charge
1907-1911	Rev. H. Hamersley	Vicar
1911-1914	Rev. H.E. Hawker	Vicar
1915-1920	Rev. B.M. Ford	Vicar
1920-1921	Rev. L. Finch	Priest-in-Charge
1922-1929	Rev. G.P. Jeudwine	Vicar
1929-1947	Canon R.P. Rogers	Vicar
1948-1954	Canon F.R.L. Brooke	Vicar
1954-1960	Rev. F.H. Harper	Vicar
1960-1975	Canon S.J. Rowley	Rector
1975-1982	Rev. V.B. Lund	Rector
1983	Rev. R.A. Hughes	Priest-in-Charge
1983-1994	Rev. I.M. Cowley	Rector
1994	Rev. M. Wishart	Priest-in-Charge

²³⁸ *The Natal Witness* quoted by: Hoole, Joan. *Church of the Ascension, Hilton*.

Written for occasion of the Centenary of founding: 2004

²³⁹ Hopeful J, Lake C. & Lake M. *The Story of Hilton Road Village*. Private

Publication: 1991. pp. 67

1995-2002	Rev. S. Mennigke	Rector
2002...	Rev. N. Denny-Dimitriou	Rector

4.1.5 Major ‘Structural’ Developments of the Church of the Ascension

The following section provides a broad overview of the structural developments of C of A.²⁴⁰ It may be interesting to note that the new offices, the library and a paved courtyard were constructed during the time of Vernon Lund’s Rectorship. This is in keeping with the numerical growth of the parish during Lund’s ministry. During the period of Ian Cowley’s ministry there was a complete absence of structural change which indicates that resources were either ‘hoarded’ or directed elsewhere. Cowley’s time is a period of significant growth of the Sweetwaters ministry which could account for where the resources were being directed. Interestingly, the entries of structural development came during the time of Stuart Mennigke. The stained glass windows and the pipe organ both point to a particular style of worship being emphasized. The development of the offices may be linked to Mennigke’s stress on administration.

- 1913 The vicarage was built on land donated by Judge Bennett.
- 1923 Memorial Pulpit was given by the Sunday school in memory of the fallen in the 1914 -1918 war. Their names are recorded on a brass plaque. A similar plaque records the names of those who died in the 1939 -1945 war.
- 1924 The reredos and a new altar were made by Mr C Rein of Pietermaritzburg.

²⁴⁰ Ascension Website “About us... Key Dates” Online: Church of the Ascension Anglican Diocese of Natal. http://www.ascension.org.za/key_dates.htm Accessed: 6 September 2011.

- 1925-1926 The stained glass windows in the Sanctuary were given by Mr H Winder in memory of his wife Blanche.
- 1950 The Vestry was finally built.
- 1951 The original Cathedral-type chairs were replaced by the present pews at a cost of £684.2s.6d. Borer had been discovered in 1948.
- 1959 The Garden of Remembrance was established.
- 1964 The new Rectory was built.
- 1967 Cathedral glass replaced the original jubilee glass in the windows.
- 1969 A new slate roof replaced the original iron at a cost of R2 760.
- 1971 The hall, kitchen and a new vestry were built.
- 1980 New offices, the library and a paved courtyard were constructed.
- 1996 A second new roof replacing the slate with metal sheeting at a cost of R30 000.
- 1998-1999 Stained glass windows were installed by various donors.
- 1999 The pipe organ was installed.

4.2 The Wider South African Socio-Political and Religious Context

The scope of this thesis does not allow for an in-depth analysis of South Africa's history from 1975 to 2002. In this section I will merely attempt to sketch some of the major changes to the socio-political and religious landscape during the prescribed period. The purpose of this section is to illustrate that South Africa experienced significant changes during this period. Once this is established we shall be able, later in the thesis, to locate the Eucharist, as practiced at C of A, in this changing landscape.

4.2.1. Setting the Scene

By 1975 South Africa had been led by an apartheid Government for twenty seven years. Racism did not begin when the National Party came to power in 1948, but the ‘principle’ of racial segregation became that much more rigid and ideological.²⁴¹ Daryl Glaser – Lecturer in the Department of Government at the University of Strathclyde – asserts that 1948 to 1970 may be characterized as the period of apartheid. During this time the National Government enforced rigid residential, economic, sexual, educational, and political segregation of races. Furthermore, the programme of ‘separate development’ begun in 1959 resulted in four African ethnic ‘homelands’ while sectional Afrikaner interests were pursued among whites.²⁴² Allister Sparks – the well-known editor and correspondent – summarised the system of apartheid as an Afrikaner, “civil religion given theological sanction by their church and imposed by their political movement, the National Party.”²⁴³ Apartheid was opposed from the very beginning by the then Church of the Province, who issued the following statement: “discrimination between men on the grounds of race alone is inconsistent with the principles of the Christian religion.”²⁴⁴ However for many white Anglicans the interests of white security outweighed the cause of black liberation.²⁴⁵ By 1975 the African National Congress had been effectively silenced after Nelson Mandela and other Party leaders had been detained in 1964. The armed wing of the ANC –

²⁴¹ De Gruchy, John. *The Church Struggle in South Africa*. Claremont: David Philip Publisher, 1979. pp. 53.

²⁴² Glaser, Daryl. *Politics and Society in South Africa*. London: Sage Publications, 2001. pp. xii

²⁴³ Sparks, Allister. *Tomorrow is Another Country, The Inside Story of South Africa's Negotiated Revolution*. Sandton: Struik Book Distributors, 1994. pp. 8-9

²⁴⁴ De Gruchy, John. *The Church Struggle in South Africa*. Claremont: David Philip Publisher, 1979. pp. 55.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.* see Foreword written by Alan Paton.

Umkhonto we Sizwe, the Spear of the Nation – had become ineffective and Black South Africans had looked to the Black Consciousness Movement and Inkatha as alternatives.²⁴⁶

4.2.2. Mass Protest and Severe Repression

The apparent lull in the political landscape was shattered on the 16th June 1976. About 20 000 school children from Soweto marched in protest of the rule requiring that all black children be educated in the medium of Afrikaans.²⁴⁷ Police fired on and shot several of the students, after which utter anarchy and chaos ensued. The Black youths responded by stoning police and burning police vehicles. In days the violence spread all over the country as various youth movements were mobilized.²⁴⁸ The National Government attempted to quash the rebellion with harsh repression. Hundreds of black young people were gunned down on the streets and mass detentions became common place. Ralph Lawrence – who was senior lecturer in the department of Political Studies at the University of Natal – described Botha’s government as corporatist in character:

Authoritarian corporatism seeks to minimize the uncertainty of political life by containing it within rigid boundaries. Within them there is scope for representation, choice and dissent, but only at the discretion of the ruling minority which licenses what is allowed. It is a game which mixes rewards and punishments, patronage and ostracism, co-option and repression. The rules are not fixed; they

²⁴⁶ Jeffery, Anthea. *People’s War, New Light on the Struggle for South Africa*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2009. pp. xxxi.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 17

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 18

change at the command of leaders who always try to control the game.²⁴⁹

At this time Bill Burnett was the Archbishop of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa. As has been noted already, he was a strong proponent of the Charismatic movement. Burnett's critics accused him and the charismatic movement of being so preoccupied with casting out demons that they failed to cast out the demon of racism.²⁵⁰ In this way, Burnett tamed the Anglican position to somewhere between Afrikaner nationalist, and liberationist.²⁵¹ Many white Christians began to feel the destabilization in the country over this period and hence Burnett's position was attractive. However the universal church produced several statements opposing apartheid in the 1980's, including the Belhar Confession and the Kairos Document.²⁵²

4.2.3. The Turning Point

The period from 1986 to 1995 was characterized by intense political violence connected to the ANC-Inkatha feud and the 'dirty war' instigated by elements of the state security police.²⁵³ However, it was during these years that South Africa achieved its 'turning point'. Allister Sparks

²⁴⁹ Lawrence, Ralph. "From Soweto to Codesa." In *The Small Miracle, South Africa's Negotiated Settlement*. Ed. Friedman, Steven & Atkinson, Doreen. Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1994. pp. 3.

²⁵⁰ Clarke, Bob. *Anglicans Against Apartheid: 1936-1996*. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 2008. pp. 306.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Nolan, Albert. *God in South Africa*. Claremont: David Philip Publisher, 1988. pp. 2.

²⁵³ Glaser, Daryl. *Politics and Society in South Africa*. London: Sage Publications, 2001. pp. xiii

provided a helpful piece of prose documenting De Klerk's famous speech which planted the country firmly on the transitional path to democracy:

When Frederik Willem De Klerk strode to the podium in South Africa's wood-panelled Chamber of Parliament at 11:15 on the morning of February 2, 1990, to open his first parliamentary session as president, everyone expected him to make a reformist statement of some kind. Talk of reforming the apartheid system had been in the air for months. After seven years of racial unrest, there was a clamour for political change: international pressures were on the increase, the country was under economic and diplomatic siege, the black townships were on the boil, living standards for the white minority were declining, there was a general state of emergency... He didn't just change the country, he transmuted it. In those thirty-five minutes De Klerk unleashed forces that within four years would sweep away the old South Africa and establish an altogether new and different country in its place.²⁵⁴

By the time De Klerk made his famous speech Desmond Tutu had been Archbishop for just under four years. Tutu had secured the required two thirds majority among clergy and laity on the third ballot, an indication that Anglican Christians were not convinced of Tutu's prophetic approach for dealing with the Government.²⁵⁵ Tutu played a significant role in moving the Nationalist Government to end apartheid. He lobbied for sanctions very effectively with his Nobel Laureate status... indeed, so

²⁵⁴ Sparks, Allister. *Tomorrow is Another Country, The Inside Story of South Africa's Negotiated Revolution*. Sandton: Struik Book Distributors, 1994. pp. 3-7

²⁵⁵ Clarke, Bob. *Anglicans Against Apartheid: 1936-1996*. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 2008. pp. 416-417.

prominent was Tutu's status that when Mandela was released on the 11th February 1990, he spent his first night of freedom in bishopscourt.²⁵⁶

4.2.4. Transition to Democracy

Thus in 1990 the white government began negotiating an end to minority rule. Those on all sides of the political spectrum remained cautious of one another. In particular the government – operating in unpredictable conditions – and the ANC – fearful of being sucked into compromises – were suspicious of each other.²⁵⁷ A key point in the negotiated settlement was the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), which met from December 1991. CODESA allowed for the various political leaders to trade views and truly begin listening to one another.²⁵⁸ The road to the first democratic elections in South Africa was a troubled one with particular opposition from the IFP in KwaZulu Natal. However, voting began on the morning of 26th April 1994. This proved to be a remarkable process that turned out far better than expected. Steven Friedman – the former policy research manager at the SA Institute for Race Relations – offered the following commentary on the elections:

The election's administration exceeded the fears of many; the behaviour of voters exceeded the hopes of most. Polling day arrived amid mounting apprehension on both sides of the divide. The white right, which had been more subdued than anticipated, was expected to unleash its full destructive might on the poll... in the affluent

²⁵⁶ Ibid. pp. 463.

²⁵⁷ Glaser, Daryl. *Politics and Society in South Africa*. London: Sage Publications, 2001. pp. xiii

²⁵⁸ Lawrence, Ralph. "From Soweto to Codesa." In *The Small Miracle, South Africa's Negotiated Settlement*. Ed. Friedman, Steven & Atkinson, Doreen. Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1994. pp. 9.

white suburbs it was widely assumed that new voters would celebrate their enfranchisement by engulfing the country in a paroxysm of violence. Nervous suburbanites stockpiled groceries, boosting the food processing industry if not the national morale... if the election had not been a testimony to the foresight and managerial ability of the nation's elites, it had borne moving witness to the maturity, tenacity and civility of the vast majority of its citizens.²⁵⁹

The ANC won those first racially inclusive elections, Nelson Mandela became the president of the country, and a three-party government of national unity was set up.²⁶⁰

4.2.5. The New South Africa

As a young white South African I can remember feeling a great deal of unity within the country, particularly after South Africa won the 1995 Rugby World Cup. This is often described as the country's honeymoon period. However, it was clear that race relations remained a significant challenge. In July of 1995 the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was set up in terms of the promotion of National Unity Act. The TRC was to achieve its work through three commissions: Firstly, the Human Rights Violations Committee investigated human rights abuses that occurred between 1960 and 1994. Secondly, the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee was charged with restoring victims' dignity and formulating proposals to assist with rehabilitation. Thirdly, the Amnesty

²⁵⁹ Friedman, Steven. "The Magic Moment." In *The Small Miracle, South Africa's Negotiated Settlement*. Ed. Friedman, Steven & Atkinson, Doreen. Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1994. pp. 317-319

²⁶⁰ Glaser, Daryl. *Politics and Society in South Africa*. London: Sage Publications, 2001. pp. xiii

Committee considered applications from individuals who applied for amnesty in accordance with the provisions of the Act.²⁶¹ Clarke asserts that Tutu had already laid the foundations for such a forum of reconciliation in 1990, however it is still significant that the Archbishop Emeritus, Desmond Tutu, was appointed as the Chairperson of the TRC.²⁶² Antjie Krog – one of the journalists who covered the TRC – speaks of the process as a time “fraught with tension, disappointment, accusation and anger.”²⁶³ Krog speaks of the amazing achievements of the TRC in her epilogue:

For a few years the TRC took us beyond race. With great care it focused on those who took a stand for human rights and those who didn't... More and more the TRC pressed home that the difference between people lies in their ability to exercise moral choices under difficult circumstances and uphold human rights for all people.²⁶⁴

However, she went on to balance this view in the last few paragraphs of her book:

Few people believe that the TRC process achieved reconciliation, and surveys have indeed found that people are further apart than before... The TRC's failure to interact successfully with the ANC-led government has done the process more harm than all the other criticisms and mistakes put together. It blocked the growth of something important, it allowed the healthy stream of

²⁶¹ The Official Truth and Reconciliation Website. “The Committees of the TRC” Online: <http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/trccom.html> Accessed 14 October 2011.

²⁶² Clarke, Bob. *Anglicans Against Apartheid: 1936-1996*. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 2008. pp. 553.

²⁶³ Krog, Antjie. *Country of my Skull*. Johannesburg: Random House, 1998. pp. 281

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 285.

accountability that was starting to flow through the country, to dry up. It curtailed compassion. It left us stunned. We were no longer a country becoming.²⁶⁵

While reconciliation and the work of the TRC was probably the greatest challenge to the newly formed government, it was certainly not the only test. The ANC pursued social and economic reforms in a context where corruption, crime and HIV/AIDS were becoming dominant factors, or being realized as dominant factors. In 1999 the ANC won South Africa's second democratic elections, the NP vote collapsed and Thabo Mbeki became president.²⁶⁶

4.2.8. Post Democratic Realities

Albert Nolan captures well the more recent social 'climate' of post-apartheid South Africa. In his latest book, *Hope in an Age of Despair*, he writes:

The ANC (African National Congress) won the election with a large majority, and Nelson Mandela became our first democratic president. At first, everything seemed to be going well, and everybody was bending over backward to accommodate others. We call it our honeymoon period. The problems emerged gradually: crime, corruption, nepotism, inefficiency, greed, conflicts, power struggles, personality clashes, and rivalries – not unlike most other countries in the world. Our social and political context had

²⁶⁵ Ibid. pp. 293.

²⁶⁶ Glaser, Daryl. *Politics and Society in South Africa*. London: Sage Publications, 2001. pp. xiii

changed. Many South Africans, like others around the globe had entered a new age: an age of despair.²⁶⁷

Writing in 2009, Anthea Jeffery relates a similar view of how South Africa moved beyond the ‘golden years’ into a period disillusionment in the government and a general lack of hope:

Many people have found great comfort in the notion of South Africa’s ‘miracle’ transition, and have little wish to question this view of events. Moreover, well over a decade has passed since people were being shot or hacked or burned to death in large numbers for political advantage. The memory of the horror has faded, the country has settled down under an ANC government with major achievements to its credit, and the economy has grown substantially for a number of years... growth has now faltered and various weaknesses in governance are attracting more media coverage.²⁶⁸

After the dismantling of apartheid the Anglican Church of Southern Africa no longer had an ‘enemy’ to pit itself against. Anglicans settled down to bask in the reflected glow of their Archbishop who had become such a struggle icon. Initially the ANC was off limits for any kind of criticism, but as we saw from Nolan’s comments, church leaders did start to speak out against the ruling party. However, by and large the Anglican Church has not rallied, certainly not in the same way it rallied against apartheid. However, it is acknowledged that Desmond Tutu has continued to be a prophetic voice, even during South Africa’s infant democracy

²⁶⁷ Nolan, Albert. *Hope in an age of Despair*. New York: Orbis Books, 2009. See preface

²⁶⁸ Jeffery, Anthea. *People’s War, New Light on the Struggle for South Africa*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2009. pp. xxxv.

years.²⁶⁹ Some may even say that the Anglican Church has lost its way, and its voice, during these post-apartheid years.

²⁶⁹ Clarke, Bob. *Anglicans Against Apartheid: 1936-1996*. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 2008. pp. 535-536.

5. Methodology

The methodology employed for this thesis was to make a detailed study of church records, interview the three priests and the four parishioners and then compile the forgoing in order to offer an integrated analysis of the development of the Eucharist. It is important to acknowledge that I was personally involved at C of A, holding the position of Youth Pastor from August of 2007 until December of 2010. My involvement in the parish had the potential both to aid and to discredit my research. It was very easy for me to consult the church records as the documents from the years in question were stored at the church. It was relatively easy to identify which parishioners had been members at C of A during the period in question. Moreover I was acquainted with these parishioners and so was able to employ my previous knowledge of each parishioner in the analysis. However, it was precisely this prior knowledge that may have compromised or biased my analysis.

5.1 The Church Records

The church records included the Service registers and the Council Minutes. The Vestry Meeting Minutes were consulted but not used. Every Anglican Church is required to keep a Service register. Every time a service is held at the church it is to be recorded in the service register. The register requires information in the following fields to be completed: firstly, the date of the service; secondly, the time of the service; thirdly, the signature of the presiding priest; fourthly, the number of people present at the service; fifthly, the number of people who received Communion; lastly, there is a space for comments to be added should that be necessary. The data from the service register was inserted into an Excel spread sheet from which it was possible to produce detailed graphs. The graphs were able to show, at a glance, the number of people who

worshiped at C of A on Thursday and Sunday. Furthermore, the graphs illustrated the number of services per month. These graphs are displayed where appropriate. (See Appendix A for the spreadsheets from which the graphs were derived)

A synopsis was created from the Council Minutes by creating several categories pertaining to the Eucharist. The categories were: language, physical elements, role of the layperson, shape of the service, role of the priest, and contextual relevance. Every entry in the Council Minutes which linked to one of the categories was recorded as part of the synopsis. (See Appendix B for the synopsis)

Introduction to the Rectors

This section deals with the Rectors of C of A who were interviewed. In each case a copy of the interview schedule that was used to guide the interview is included. The transcripts for these interviews are included in Appendix C.

5.1.1 Vernon Lund

Vernon Lund is no longer an Anglican priest. His time at Ascension ended unhappily when he was removed by the bishop of Natal (then Michael Nuttall) for being re-baptized along with some members of the parish. Vernon continued in ministry and led the community known as Dove Fellowship in Pietermaritzburg. He is retired now but continues to lead retreats and seminars from time to time. I interviewed Vernon on the 5th October 2010, in the study of his Pietermaritzburg home, 2 Old Sylvan Road. The Interview schedule used is included below:

Getting to know the Rector:

- Tell me how you remember your time as Rector at Church of the Ascension?
- Parishioners have referred to your ministry as Charismatic, how do you respond to that?

The Eucharist:

- How would you define the Eucharist?
- Categories [Role of the Priest/Laity, Shape, language, Physical Elements]

The Context:

- What would you consider the major social, political, religious and economic issues at the time, both in South Africa and especially in the Hilton area?
- To what extent do you think the Eucharist engaged with the issues of the day which you have just mentioned? [minutes record that Africans show an interest in services? / how to include blacks?]

Follow Up on Council Minutes:

- Tell me about the strong focus on the Eucharist during Lent and Holy Week [minutes record Eucharist every Wednesday in Lent and every day in Holy Week]
- The minutes record discussion around vestry meeting in the context of a Eucharist.
- The minutes record many physical elements: [altar to be moved, rail to be moved, chalice bought, vestments bought, kneelers made... how important were these things?]
- Council votes against the ordination of women, tell me about that.

- The minutes record a movement toward informal worship. What implications did this have for the Eucharist? 9 am service to become a teaching slot?
- Tell me about the people's desire for communion when you were at Hilton College. How did the congregation understand the role of the priest?
- There are a number of references to the need for cup bearers. What other functions did the laity have in the context of the service?
- There is reference made to a book called children's communion. Tell me about this?

Follow Up on Service Register:

- An analysis of the service register shows a sharp increase in the number of worshippers during your time, but also a decline at the end of your time. How would you explain this?
- The service register is very well filled in, all numbers and specific liturgy recorded. Was that important to you?
- No record of nuptial or requiem mass. Did you discourage this?

5.1.2 Ian Cowley

Ian Cowley now ministers in the United Kingdom, working as coordinator of Vocations and Spirituality in Salisbury. I was not able to interview him in person. However I arranged to conduct a Skype interview with him on the 1st September 2010. The Interview schedule which I used to guide the conversation is as follows:

Getting to know the Rector:

- Tell me how you remember your time as Rector at Church of the Ascension?

- Parishioners have referred to your ministry as Evangelical, how do you respond to that?

The Eucharist:

- How would you define the Eucharist?
- In your book you wrote; “As an evangelical I believed in the particular importance of the Bible as the primary source of authority and direction for Christian life. I also believed in the need for a personal response of repentance and faith in Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour.”²⁷⁰ How did your evangelical theology (at the time) influence the way in which you ministered at the Eucharist?

The context:

- What would you consider the major social, political, religious and economic issues at the time, both in South Africa and especially in the Hilton area?
- To what extent do you think the Eucharist engaged with the issues of the day which you have just mentioned? [A parishioner told me about an End Conscription Campaign you had in the service?] [Zulu service at 3:30 pm on Sunday?] [efforts to incorporate Zulu into 9 am Eucharist?] [Special Eucharists during the week to pray for the country?]

Follow Up on Council Minutes:

- The Council minutes suggest that there was conflict between the 7 and 9 am services, is that true...? [different liturgy?] [different worship styles?]
- Tell me about the liturgy transition SAPB – Lit 75 – ‘89

²⁷⁰ Cowley, Ian. *A People of Hope*. Surrey: Highland Books, 1993. pp. 64

- How was the issue of admission of children to Communion dealt with?
- Tell me about the RENEW course [what was the liturgical component about?]
- How did you and the parish respond to the issue of ordination of women?
- There are instances in the minutes of people calling for fewer Eucharists [Sean Inslip], was the Eucharist viewed negatively by parishioners?

Follow Up on Service Register:

- The Liturgy used at services is only filled in at 5% of entries, what was the reason for this, in light of the diversity of liturgies being used?
- In 1984/85 there is a steep climb in attendance of Sunday services, over 120 on average, yet only 90 people take Communion on average. Do you know the reason for this?
- There is a sharp peak in numbers at the Thursday service in May/June of 1984 [60ppl, average was between 30 and 40], can you remember why.
- Generally the numbers at Thursday services declined, can you think of a reason why?
- I noted that there were Eucharists at 2 weddings during your time at Ascension, what are your thoughts on the Eucharist in the context of Weddings and Funerals?

5.1.3 Stuart Mennigke

Stuart Mennigke moved across the road from C of A after his time as Rector to take up the position of St. Anne's Chaplain. He is currently a Parish Priest in Canada. I was able to interview, him before he left for

Canada, in his Hilton home, 511b Celtis Road. I used the following Interview schedule to guide our discussion:

Getting to know the Rector:

- Tell me how you remember your time as Rector at Church of the Ascension?
- Parishioners have referred to your ministry as Sacramental or Anglo-Catholic, how do you respond to that?

The Eucharist:

- How would you define the Eucharist?
- Categories [Role of the Priest/Worshipper, Shape, language, Physical Elements]

The Context:

- What would you consider the major social, political, religious and economic issues at the time, both in South Africa and especially in the Hilton area?
- To what extent do you think the Eucharist engaged with the issues of the day which you have just mentioned? [collection bowl for AIDS program placed at the front of church, contribution on way to receive Eucharist]

Follow Up on Council Minutes:

- The Council minutes indicate a great deal of effort to include laypeople and children in the Services, tell me about this [many references to lay minister training / service of First Light / at points there seem to be quite strict rules for lay ministers i.e. new way of facing the congregation and emphasis on correct reading of liturgy / seminar in liturgy attended by Gill Watson]

- There seems to be quite a struggle around the Zulu Eucharist on a Sunday afternoon, tell me about that.
- Contention around which liturgy to use at the 7 am service [alternating between SAPB and APB, people forgetting responses of old prayer book, Moira Stubbings writes and calls SAPB sexist and paternalistic]
- There is reference to a Family Eucharist on the 5th Sunday of each month, what did that ‘look’ like?
- Home Communion [evangelistic tool, installation of the Aumbrey]
- Reference to varying styles at services [music varied / attempt to include African liturgy / Zulu prayer books purchased]

Follow Up on Service Register:

- There is a discrepancy between the numbers present and communicants at Thursday services from 1995-1998, what was the reason for this?
- The general pattern in terms of numbers is a gradual decline in Sunday and Thursday services, why?
- Number of services per month: [Lund 15-20 over March/April average is 7-13] [Cowley 20-25 over March/April average is 10-15] [Mennigke 15-17 over March/April average is 10-15] why is there such a gentle peak over H/W and Easter during your time?
- The version of the Prayer Book used is hardly ever filled in the service register?
- 3 weddings and 3 funerals in the context of a Eucharist, did you encourage this?

5.2 Introduction to the Interviewed Parishioners

This section will briefly introduce the four parishioners who were interviewed. The transcripts for these interviews are included in Appendix

C. I used the same interview schedule to guide the conversation with each parishioner:

Question 1

Tell me about your time at Ascension...

- Prompt 1A – When did you arrive
- Prompt 1B – High-lights
- Prompt 1C – Low-lights

Question 2

Tell me a bit about each of the Rectors (1975-2002)...

- Prompt 2A – Vernon Lund
- Prompt 2B – Ian Cowley
- Prompt 2C – Stuart Mennigke
- Prompt 2D – Which Rector did you relate to best and why?

Question 3

What do you remember being the major social, political, religious and economic issues during 1975-2002?

Question 4

Tell me about your understanding of the Eucharist or Holy Communion...

- Prompt 4A – Roles of Priest/Worshipper
- Prompt 4B – Shape
- Prompt 4C – Language
- Prompt 4D – Physical Elements

Question 5

How did each Rector help to develop or hinder your understanding of the Eucharist?

- Prompt 5A – Vernon Lund

- Prompt 5B – Ian Cowley
- Prompt 5C – Stuart Mennigke

Question 6

How relevant was the Eucharist during 1975-2002?

- Prompt 6A – Was the Eucharist a helpful means of worshipping God?
- Prompt 6B – Did the Eucharist engage with the socio-political issues mentioned above?

Question 7

Please feel free to make any other comments pertaining to the Eucharist.

5.2.1 Dennis Henning

Dennis Henning is of particular interest because he was ordained and worked as a Methodist Minister before arriving in Hilton and worshipping at C of A. His ministry in the Methodist church ended unhappily and by the time he came to C of A he had worked as a school teacher and was studying for a Master's Degree in Counselling Psychology. I interviewed Dennis on the 13th August 2010 in the offices at C of A.

5.2.2 Georgina Smith

'Georgina Smith' is a pseudonym as the woman interviewed did not want her actual name to appear in my research. She offers an interesting perspective because she was not a church goer prior to arriving at C of A. Her husband was the driving force in encouraging her to come to church. Over the years she became a faithful worshipper and was made a lay minister, even when her husband chose to stay away from church for a

while when Desmond Tutu became Archbishop. I interviewed 'Georgina' on the 24th August 2010 in the offices of C of A.

5.2.3 Mignon Hitchcock

Mignon Hitchcock is the daughter of an Anglican priest and therefore offers the perspective of one who has grown up in the Church. Mignon trained as a nurse and continues to work at Grey's Hospital in Pietermaritzburg to the present day. Mignon and her husband Andy started their family during the period of research and thus offer a family perspective on the Eucharist. Mignon also speaks as one who led the Sunday School at C of A for many years. I interviewed Mignon on the 24th August 2010 in her Hilton home, 48 Sutton Road.

5.2.4 Graham Beggs

Graham Beggs is an enigmatic figure. Graham and his wife Colleen still live in Hilton although they have travelled extensively. Graham has worked as a self-supporting missionary cum prophet and later under the umbrella of King'sTrust. Graham has worked extensively with the local Zulu people and has a deep love for Zulu culture. During Ian Cowley's time, Graham was paid by C of A for the work he did in Sweetwaters. I interviewed Graham on the 16th September 2010 at his home in Hilton, 3 Annthia Road.

6. The Eucharist at the Church of the Ascension from 1975 to 1982

As in the previous instance, this section will use elementary quantitative methods in order to establish the regularity with which the Eucharist was celebrated as well as the number of parishioners who attended the services. The purpose of this is twofold: to give an indication as to how people responded to the style of service during the rectorship of Vernon Lund and to establish if services were based on the lectionary or other patterns. From here the study moves into the more overt aspects of the Eucharistic liturgy as the research becomes qualitative in nature. The primary sources used are the interviews conducted and the synopsis of the Parish Council minutes.

6.1 Introduction to the Period 1975 to 1982

The period 1975 to 1982 forms the time of Vernon Lund's rectorship at Church of the Ascension. Each of the parishioners interviewed described Lund's ministry as charismatic. Graham Beggs asserted that Lund introduced the renewal with too much vigour over too short a period of time.²⁷¹ He went on to suggest that Lund was so intent on the charismatic renewal that the Anglican identity of the church was lost.²⁷² Mignon Hitchcock adds to the picture of Lund already given by asserting:

My perception of how Vernon Lund was... people used to talk about him and say; 'I wish Vernon could grow a backbone instead of a wishbone' and you know, he was, he was charismatic in his

²⁷¹ Graham Beggs, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 16th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 1.

²⁷² Ibid. pp. 3

worship, but he wasn't charismatic as a person [...] if you understand, that was my perception.²⁷³

This is the first hint that Lund was perhaps not as charismatic as he came across or is remembered. Lund himself seemed uncomfortable with being branded as charismatic. When I asked him if his theology was charismatic during his rectorship at Ascension he responded as follows:

I really don't, you know I think that the charismatic thing has got such funny names, I think one would have to unpack exactly what that meant, um, I think my theology around the Eucharist was Anglo-Catholic, I mean that was it, I would never [have] doubted the real presence, I never doubted, um, the whole centrality of the Eucharist in the parish.²⁷⁴

This excerpt seems to suggest that Lund had different theologies for different aspects of ministry, and most significantly he described his understanding and practice of the Eucharist as Anglo-Catholic.

It must be said that the end of Lund's time as rector was not a happy one. Like many people influenced by the charismatic renewal, he questioned the validity of his infant baptism and desired to be baptized as an adult. This is not to assert that all charismatics are necessarily Anabaptists, however the charismatic emphasis on experiential faith may lead people to seek out baptism as an adult, when one is 'able to appreciate' the experience. Eventually he decided to get re-baptised with far-reaching consequences. Smith comments on that incident:

²⁷³ Mignon Hitchcock, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 24th August 2010 in Hilton. pp 3.

²⁷⁴ Vernon Lund, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 5th October 2010 in Pietermaritzburg. pp. 5.

Well there was that huge palaver, you know, when Vernon, when he got himself baptised and was excommunicated or whatever, and, um, a lot of people actually left the church when he left [...] So it was, it was a very, traumatic time actually [...] and from having, you know, a great time of spiritual growth then to have a sort of trauma.²⁷⁵

It is under this cloud that the ministry of Lund, at the C of A, comes to an end. I believe that Lund's decision to get baptised gives us deep insight into his theology. Earlier he describes his theology around the Eucharist as Anglo-Catholic. This should include a very clear understanding of the Eucharist as a sacrament. In the Anglo-Catholic sense, sacraments are:

Efficacious signs of grace, instituted by Christ and entrusted to the Church, by which divine life is dispensed to us. The visible rites by which the sacraments are celebrated signify and make present the graces proper to each sacrament. They bear fruit in those who receive them with the required dispositions.²⁷⁶

This definition alludes to the disposition of the recipient, but mostly re-enforces the centrality of God in the sacrament and not the recipient. In this way one could argue that a sacrament is a holy mystery performed by God. Those who would prefer to be baptised as 'believers' necessarily move the focus of the sacrament to the recipient. I wonder how true this was for Lund at the time. If he forsook the Anglo-Catholic stance on the

²⁷⁵ Georgina Smith. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on the 24th August 2010 in Hilton. pp.2.

²⁷⁶ The Catholic Church. "Catechism of the Catholic Church". Online: The Holy See Archives. http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0015/_P35.HTM . Accessed: 17 March 2011.

sacrament of Baptism, during his time at Ascension, should we assume that his understanding of the Eucharist was equally ‘compromised’? Is Lund’s insistence on an Anglo-Catholic understanding of the Eucharist his ideal at the time of the interview, or was it indeed his understanding during his time as rector at Hilton? This from a man who has, by his own admission, become more Roman Catholic in recent times.²⁷⁷ However, it is possible that this is simply an internal inconsistency in Lund’s theology, a kind of schizophrenic and fractured composite? Perhaps this tendency to hold a number of conflicting theologies together is a charismatic trait, or is Lund truly an Anglo-Catholic who found himself in the midst of the charismatic renewal?

As with any ministries there were those who benefited hugely and others who were rather critical. Henning remembers Lund’s time as a period of tremendous blossoming in the numerical size of the congregation, increase in the church’s finances and deep spiritual growth.²⁷⁸ Beggs offers a different perspective:

But you know, Andy at the end of the day there was not much spiritual maturity [...] because it’s one thing being blessed in, the blessing of the Holy Spirit, but it’s another thing to grow in the maturity of the Spirit [...] and we actually didn’t grow, in the maturity of the Spirit, we remained a self-centred people.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁷ Vernon Lund, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 5th October 2010 in Pietermaritzburg. pp. 7.

²⁷⁸ Dennis Henning. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 13th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 1-2.

²⁷⁹ Graham Beggs, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 16th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 4.

I think it is probably fair to summarise the ministry of Lund as very significant but inward focused. The parish seemed to be more focused on their own personal growth. There was little action beyond parish level, despite deep spiritual growth in the lives of individuals.

6.2 The Service Register

6.2.1 Regularity of the Eucharist

The most striking observation about the graph below (Figure 1) is the significant spike over the months of March and April, in every year during Lund's time at the church. The liturgical cycle of the year offers an easy explanation for this phenomenon as the celebration of Holy Week and Easter falls over this time in the year. Initially I assumed that a charismatic approach would not emphasize these high points in the liturgical calendar. However it is clear that these observances were taken very seriously during Lund's time. Indeed, Lund's own response to the regularity of celebrating the Eucharist during this season is as follows:

Oh, I think, again it's just the centrality of the Eucharist, just to actually make something of Holy Week, and, in fact if I think I remember rightly, we had some kind of Wednesday Lent services [...] so, it was trying to, just a part of a liturgical approach to things.²⁸⁰

The Eucharist was clearly important to Lund as represented in the way he speaks and reflected in the records of the services. The most interesting thing about these services is the people who attended. Lund started a second service at 9 am over and above the existent 7

²⁸⁰ Vernon Lund, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 5th October 2010 in Pietermaritzburg. Pp. 11

am service. This later service was the more charismatic while the 7 am service remained traditional²⁸¹. Lund asserted that the bulk of those who attended the Eucharist during Holy Week were from the 9 am congregation²⁸², the more charismatic contingent. I would have assumed that those with a more traditional bent would have been the supporters.

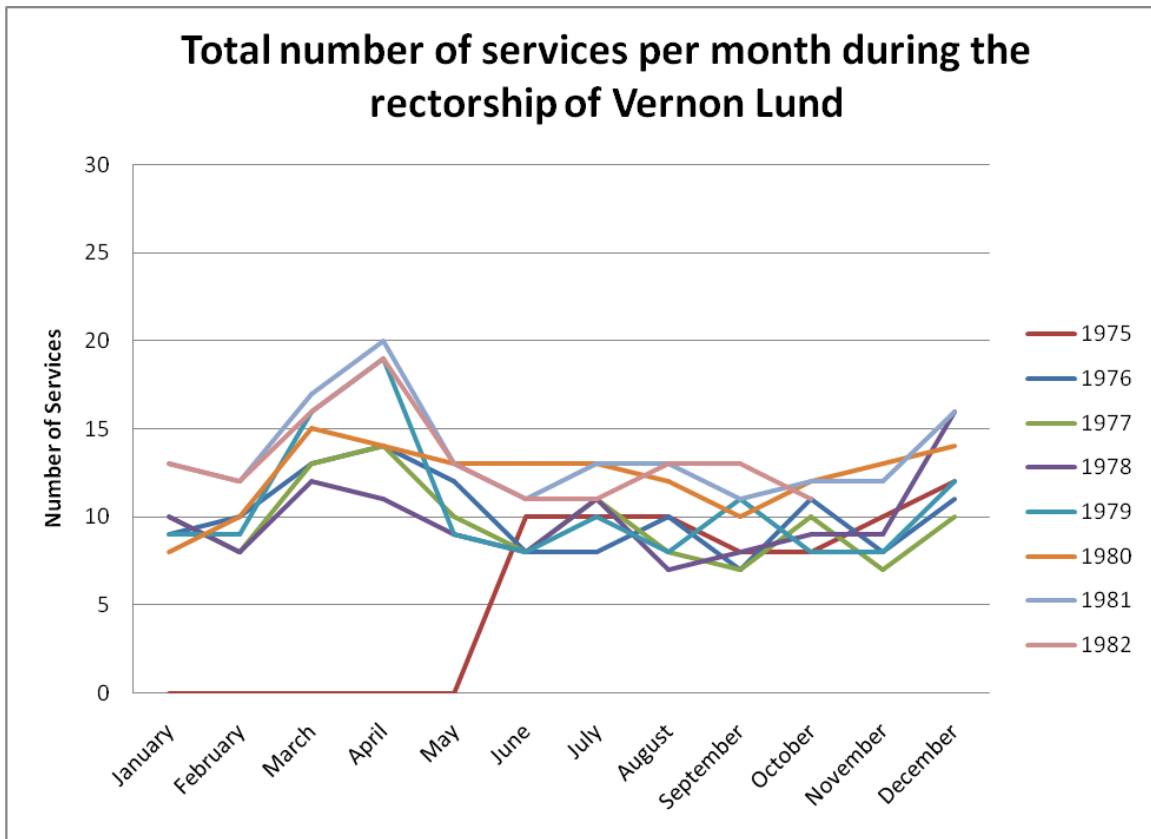


Figure 1: Lund, Number of Services

6.2.2 Attendance at the Eucharist

Figures 2 and 3 represent the attendance at both Sunday and Thursday Eucharists. These graphs make it clear that there was significant

²⁸¹ Georgina Smith. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on the 24th August 2010 in Hilton. Pp.1

²⁸² Ibid. pp. 12.

numerical growth during Lund's time at the church. This is echoed in the way parishioners experienced this time. Dennis Henning asserts:

Church of Ascension was the only church in Hilton... but when Vernon Lund came, he, opened the doors to... two things happened, he opened the doors to anybody who was, uh, to anybody who wanted to come and secondly, um, he started the nine o'clock service... Now the nine o'clock service opened the doors to a lot of, um, I want to say, family people, ok, because there was the Sunday school and that sort of thing, there was a great influx of people [...] during his time and, and we weren't all Anglicans, there were Methodists and Presbyterians, a couple of Catholics as well, um, but it was a time of, um, tremendous growth.²⁸³

²⁸³ Dennis Henning. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 13th August 2010 in Hilton.

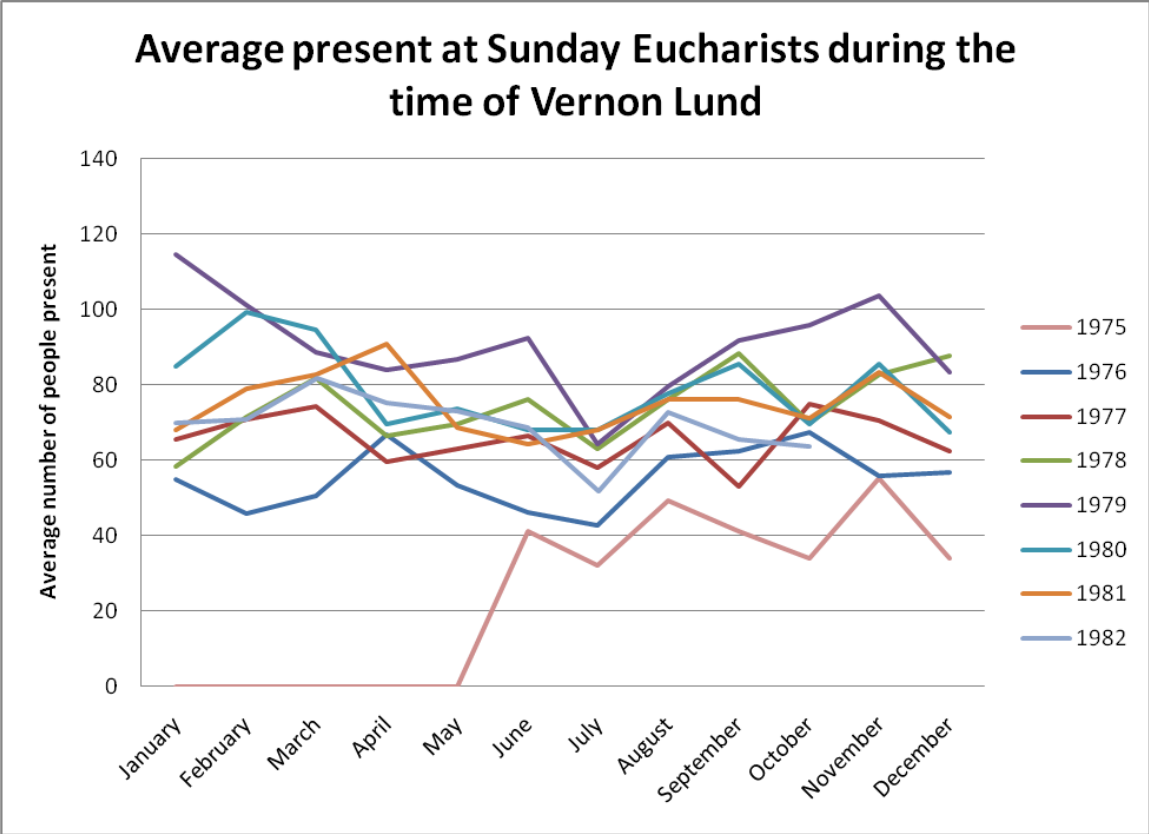


Figure 2: Lund, Average Present on Sunday

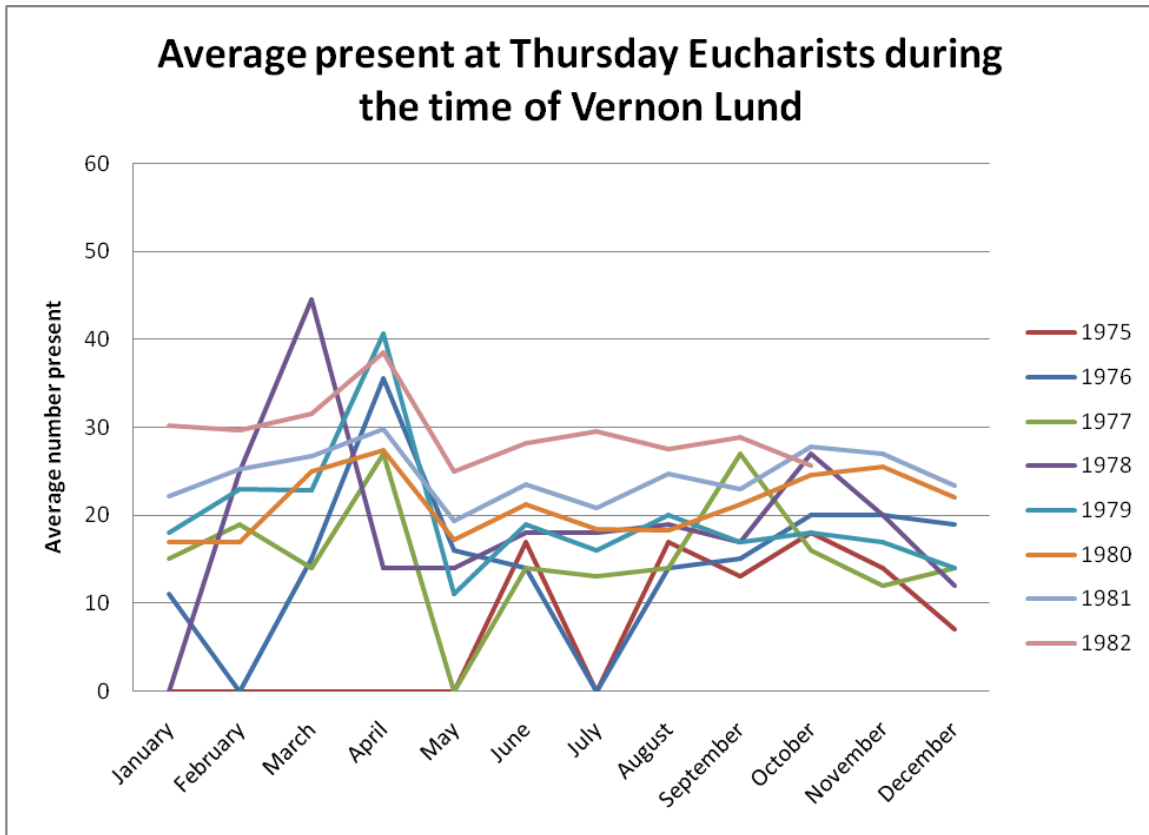


Figure 3: Lund, Average Present on Sunday

Henning asserted that the numerical growth was linked to three reasons. Firstly, Ascension was the only church in Hilton at that time. The population of Hilton was expanding as was noted in the development of Hilton, and the people had only one option as far as church attendance. Secondly, he spoke of Lund’s inclusive attitude toward people of other denominations. Therefore this may be less about ‘real’ church growth and more about movement from one church to another. This is possibly illustrative of the modern trend away from allegiance to a particular denomination, and the movement toward whatever feels right. Thirdly, Henning spoke of the popularity of the 9 am service which was more contemporary and charismatic in style, which may relate to the point previously made.

6.3 Language

6.3.1 Introduction of *Liturgy 1975*

The most significant development in the language of the Eucharistic liturgy was the introduction of *Liturgy 1975*, the successor to the *South African Prayer Book*. Lund comments on his joy at the introduction of *Liturgy 1975*:

Oh, I think, as long as the language communicates... or expresses... so I, one of the things I love about the, from '75 onwards was that the language was more accessible [...] and um, succinct, clear statement.²⁸⁴

Lund's emphasis is on the 'understandability' of the language used in the liturgy. His primary delight is that the archaic language has been replaced by a more 'conversational' tone of language. On these matters the priest and his parishioners had different perceptions. Hitchcock makes a startling remark in relation to this:

The Eucharist, and my participation in the Eucharist never changed... and yes it's a new South African Anglican Prayer Book, but it's just exactly the same as the old Prayer Book, it's just not got thee's and thou's in it, it's still, it's the essence [that] remains the same.²⁸⁵

²⁸⁴ Vernon Lund, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 5th October 2010 in Pietermaritzburg. pp. 23.

²⁸⁵ Mignon Hitchcock, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 24th August 2010 in Hilton. pp 10.

I find it astonishing that Hitchcock can make such a sweeping statement asserting the static-ness of the Eucharist. This in the face of the introduction of a significantly new liturgy, espousing a very different theology. Hitchcock maintains that the theology of the liturgy has not changed that the differences are merely window dressing. One of the most obvious changes to the liturgy is the toning down of the language of sacrifice in *Liturgy 1975* compared with the SAPB. This is not mere window dressing but a significant theological consideration, in my opinion. However, for priest and parishioner the deeper theological content of this new liturgy is hardly even a consideration, let alone some of the significant structural changes which occurred.

6.3.2. Lund's preference on content

Lund places great emphasis on the liturgy's ability to help the worshipper feel accepted by God. The SAPB contains a section that has become known as the 'comfortable words'. This section appears after the confession with the accompanying absolution. The rubrics assert that the priest should read sections from the gospels and epistles that provide comfort for Christians. This is a particularly comforting form of language that was left out of the new liturgy and was important to Lund. However, it is worth noting that the use of the SAPB was not discontinued. The 9 am service congregation immediately accepted and used the new liturgy, while the SAPB remained in use at the 7 am service throughout Lund's ministry at Ascension and beyond.

When I questioned Lund on what he considered most important for the language of the liturgy to convey, he responded as follows:

Ok... um... there are a number of things, I'm not sure I can put it into one key thing [...] but I think there, I suppose God's

acceptance comes as a starting point, our accepting that we're accepted, um, that we belong, um, that I suppose in terms of the foot washing story, um, Jesus knowing where he came from and where he was going, I'd say that's the kind of central things the Eucharist expresses, that we come from God, that we're returning to God, that we're in God now, and I think for me that is the central thing the Eucharist is, it's a sacramental expression of the heart of the Christian faith.²⁸⁶

6.3.3. The Charismatic Movement

One would assume that the charismatic movement or renewal would have had some impact on the content of the liturgy and its linguistic expression. Not so says Lund:

The whole awareness of the Spirit's work in our lives, suddenly opened up words that I knew from the liturgy [...] and suddenly, hey! They've been there all the time, why haven't I seen them, it was more that kind of thing that happened [...] it was, and it's like reading scripture and suddenly, you read in a totally different space [...] and so I think it was more an enriching of the liturgy than saying we need more of this or more of that, because there's a lot about the Holy Spirit in the liturgy [...] so um, so I think that's, it's that way around, it was more an enlightening of, what was already there.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁶ Vernon Lund, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 5th October 2010 in Pietermaritzburg. pp. 23.

²⁸⁷ Vernon Lund, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 5th October 2010 in Pietermaritzburg. pp. 8.

It raises the point of awareness as opposed to change. Lund asserted that there was no need to change or re-work the liturgy in order to make it more charismatic-friendly. His contention was that the liturgy already contained an adequate theology of the Spirit. The charismatic revival merely helped people to identify, recognize and bring into sharp focus the role of the Spirit. In this way, the assertion could be made that the Eucharist did not change, but that as people were exposed to the renewal, their understanding of the Eucharistic liturgy developed and grew. I can only assume that this was the case during Lund's ministry at Ascension, since none of the interviewees expressed it directly.

Smith has an interesting memory of the style Lund employed regarding the practice of liturgical language:

One thing I do remember with Vernon, in the Communion, we were going along and he would say to us, try put your books down, because you actually know all the words, and you will see people from my era, we all don't need our books at all, for the Communion.²⁸⁸

I suspect this is a direct effect of the charismatic renewal, which tended to emphasize spontaneous prayer over set prayer. The charismatic contention is that set prayer is less spiritual and heartfelt than extemporary prayer. Therefore, Lund was attempting to help people to 'write' the liturgy on their hearts in order to make liturgical worship 'more spiritual' to a congregation in the midst of the charismatic renewal.

²⁸⁸ Georgina Smith. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on the 24th August 2010 in Hilton. Pp.8.

6.3.4. Provisions for Children

During Lund's time there are indications that people were starting to think more carefully of the role of children and how they relate to the Eucharist. Lund calls to mind how he dealt with children in the service:

Yes, I think, what we did, was that children came in for the first half of Communion [...] well up to the sermon I think, and then they would go off to their classes [...] which was when we had the extras built in there, um, um, and I think sometimes, I think during the school holidays, they would stay in for the whole Communion, and then they would come up for blessing, they wouldn't receive anything, they would come up with their parents and that's when we introduced this Communion book, I think we picked it up from the Catholics.²⁸⁹

It is clear that the church was certainly not ready to start thinking about the admission of children to communion. However the incorporation of a liturgy, albeit in picture language, for children shows a development in the parish's thinking.

6.4 Physical Elements

6.4.1 The Altar

One of the major changes that accompanied the introduction of Liturgy 1975 was the positioning of the priest. Prior to 1975 it was common practice for the priest to stand facing the altar with his back to the congregation, and therefore looking to the East.

²⁸⁹ Vernon Lund, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 5th October 2010 in Pietermaritzburg. pp. 16.

Alternatively the priest sometimes stood on the North side of the altar when celebrating the Eucharist. Henning observes and offers commentary on this change:

Vernon pulled the altar forward and moved behind the altar... so he could face me, face us, he moved the pulpit back from the congregation, he moved it back, um, ok, I think this indicates his approach to, to worship, so that, you know, his idea of Eucharist was a people thing, so he didn't down-play Eucharist, don't get me wrong, he didn't down-play it at all, that's why he moved the altar forward, so he could face us, the congregation, so that we could be around the table so to say.²⁹⁰

Henning interprets this as part of Lund's approach to ministry and not simply a general liturgical trend of the time. The rubrics of the various South African prayer books say nothing of the positioning of the priest relative to the altar. This could be seen as an affirmation of Henning's interpretation. However the trend of the priest standing behind the altar was not an innovation of Lund, but rather a result of widespread liturgical reform. However, Henning's perception of the theological significance of this move is correct. It does result in a radical change, which some people found hard to swallow. Lund reported that he continued in the traditional position at the 7 am service precisely because this change upset many parishioners.²⁹¹ This change influences the theology of mediation. Where the priest moves behind the altar his/her role as mediator to God on behalf of the people is subdued; it encourages the laity to take a more active role in the celebration of the Eucharist.

²⁹⁰ Dennis Henning. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 13th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 13

²⁹¹ Vernon Lund, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 5th October 2010 in Pietermaritzburg. pp. 3.

The architecture of many charismatic churches is such that a raised platform for the music group is the central feature of the church. This is congruent with the significant focus on music in a charismatic worship service. I think it is noteworthy that although the altar was moved forward and the pulpit moved ‘out of the way’²⁹², the altar remained the focus point in terms of the church’s architecture. This implies, from a structural perspective, that the Eucharist remained the central act of worship at Ascension during Lund’s ministry there. Indeed, Lund expressed his irritation at the propensity of the flower team to cover the altar in flowers. He goes on to say, with some glee, that this practice ended when the altar was moved forward.²⁹³

6.4.2 The Elements of Bread and Wine

Lund revealed his preference for a pastoral approach to the elements of the Eucharist. He spoke at length about the use of grape juice instead of wine. He asserted that the reason for the use of grape juice related to sensitivity for recovering alcoholics, who were part of the parish. Lund went on to say that this was clearly a new practice in the church on the basis of a retired priest’s very negative comments on the practice.²⁹⁴ However, Lund’s pastoral approach to the elements does have limits:

I would say that the symbol of bread and wine is like, it’s the basic things of the earth, and it’s to do with what people do all the time and therefore it carries a symbol about it... coke and hamburgers,

²⁹² Vernon Lund, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 5th October 2010 in Pietermaritzburg. pp. 3.

²⁹³ Vernon Lund, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 5th October 2010 in Pietermaritzburg. pp. 19.

²⁹⁴ Vernon Lund, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 5th October 2010 in Pietermaritzburg. pp. 23.

I'd immediately have problems with, health aspects and all sorts of things, but somehow with bread and wine, it's something of the basic and it's been there all the time, it just makes sense, the idea of the wedding feast, and turning water into wine, has got nice symbols of sparking what is ordinary and giving it some life, and, bread is bread is bread.

Lund asserted the uniqueness of the elements of bread and wine here. He was comfortable with changing them slightly and that only for the pastoral reason of the recovering alcoholic. He went on to cite coke and hamburgers as an inappropriate substitute for the elements of bread and wine. His argument was on the basis of health reasons. I wonder how he would feel about using Zulu beer instead of wine on the basis of contextual relevance. Lund asserted that his problem is not with the context of people eating coke and hamburgers but with the negative health impacts. Therefore one could conclude that he would be open to a radical change in what is used for the elements. As seen before, Lund asserted that his theology around the Eucharist is Anglo-Catholic. This willingness to tinker with what is used for the elements is certainly not an Anglo-Catholic understanding of the Eucharist.

6.4.3 Other

Lund offered very little other comment on physical elements pertaining to the Eucharist. This absence of further comment is in itself instructive. Other than an altar, bread and wine, Lund has little to offer. When I questioned him directly on aspects of incense and candles he responded as follows:

Ja, I think those things are all, are nice to have as added things, and um, I'm doing an informal Communion with um, a group I'm

running in Nottingham Road on Thursday morning, and the last of the series of sessions I've been doing with them, it's an 'interdenom' group... actually Barbara Kerr leads it, and I'm simply going to take, um, a small chalice and a candle and that will be it, and I'll use ordinary wafers and I'll use, I could get a roll of bread and use that, so it's more pragmatic than anything else, but it's just basically that, but, if you're going to have a high Mass with incense and bells and smells, I love that too, so but that, I wouldn't see that as appropriate for a group of eight people sitting around in a lounge, so I think it's flexibility within...²⁹⁵

Lund starts by signalling that those things are not essential but 'nice to have'. However, he immediately goes on to relate a current experience to illustrate his point. This leads me to believe that Lund has changed his stance on these physical elements over time. In other words he has become more predisposed to the use of candles and incense in later years. His failure to comment on candles etc. without prompting, and immediate instinct to relate a current story leads me to believe that these aspects were not important during Lund's ministry at Ascension.

6.5 Role of the Laity

6.5.1. Who should participate in the Eucharist?

Lund admits to having quite a strict understanding of who should be allowed to receive the sacrament of Holy Communion:

I had real problems with, Requiem Masses I don't think I ever did, um, I'm really not sure why... probably because I had a fairly strict

²⁹⁵ Vernon Lund, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 5th October 2010 in Pietermaritzburg.

thing about not opening Communion to all and sundry, I don't know, I suppose [laughter] but... I think I was quite, I was really Anglo-Catholic and stuff, you need to be confirmed, you need to know what you're doing, too, so there was no kind of looseness about Communion.²⁹⁶

This very strict attitude to who is allowed to receive the Eucharist is perpetuated in the thoughts of Hitchcock:

I don't think a 6 year old has any idea what they're doing, um, and, I think, that um, its, this is going to sound very old fashioned, its disrespectful to the sacrament, to the sacrifice made for us, for children to be partaking in something that I see as extremely holy, that has been consecrated, and have no idea what they are doing [...] I feel much more comfortable for them to be blessed.²⁹⁷

This sort of attitude was the common view held in the Anglican Church for many years and continues in some places. The Liturgical Movement helped the Church to acknowledge that those who are baptised are full members of the Church and therefore should not be denied the gifts of the Church. Furthermore, Hitchcock's argument on the basis of understanding is equally flawed. If Holy Communion is a sacrament, a holy mystery, can anybody, young or old, truly understand this? Surely not! As we continue to investigate the practice of the Eucharist at C of A, we will come to see this mind-set changing.

²⁹⁶ Ibid. pp. 19.

²⁹⁷ Mignon Hitchcock, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 24th August 2010 in Hilton. pp 13.

6.5.2. How Should the Laity participate in the Eucharist?

In his interview Lund, spoke about his responsibility at St. Anne's Diocesan high school for girls, situated next door to C of A.

The Eucharist was then done, um, in a very informal way, and so this sort of handful of girls, so we would sit in the pews for the first part, the ministry of the word, and then, at the offertory, they would all come and stand around the altar, and then I'd celebrate the Eucharist with them all standing around the altar, and then we would all pass Communion to each other all the way round, so it developed a much more that kind of style, um, and the girls loved it, I mean it was just a handful of them every week, but it became a really key and important part of their lives.²⁹⁸

This excerpt displays a very interesting aspect of Lund's theology of the Eucharist. From the tone of Lund's commentary it is apparent that this was not only a meaningful service for the girls but also for him. I suspect he felt more liberty to practice the Eucharist as he preferred it in the presence of teenagers who are generally more open to change and unlikely to pose a serious threat of kicking up a fuss because the Eucharist was not done in the 'orthodox' manner. Therefore, we potentially have a very clear insight into the 'heart' of Lund's Eucharistic theology. Firstly it is a theology that subdues the divide between clergy and laity, in that the girls are invited to come around the altar with the priest. Secondly, this is a very small number of girls who really want to be here. Later on Lund emphasizes this by expressing his dislike for compulsory Eucharists that he had to celebrate at the school.²⁹⁹ Therefore, Lund is convinced that for

²⁹⁸ Vernon Lund, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 5th October 2010 in Pietermaritzburg. pp. 15.

²⁹⁹ Ibid. pp.15.

the Eucharist to be authentic, the heart of the laity, and everyone for that matter, needs to be in the right place.

The above excerpt was offered freely by Lund without a leading question from me. When, later in the interview I asked him directly about the role of the laity, he responded as follows:

Ja, I think I've always been quite keen on having laity play a role, not, and I think that's probably why I pushed for cup bearers at the time, and I think they introduced at that time, various categories of lay ministers [...] and I think that was helpful, um and clearly they made a distinction between the preaching lay minister and the... Eucharistic assistants, so but I did, want laity involved in terms of, everything being a corporate activity [...] rather than a terrible separation, although the blimin robes and things make the separation, but it needs, and I think it did develop a sense of community, I think community is the kind of key.³⁰⁰

When asked directly, Lund confirms my assumptions regarding his preference for less division between clergy and laity. However, there is no sense that laity should be presiding at the Eucharist. Lund assumes that the problem comes in with the vestments and that they cause the divide. Interestingly, he applauds the development of various lay ministries. All of these lay ministries are helpers to the clergy and thus perpetuate the divide between the clergy and the laity. However, the creation of these various lay ministries is a new development in the Anglican Church, according to Lund. These various ministries allowed for greater lay participation and involvement in the Eucharist, but they hardly serve to break down the divide between clergy and laity.

³⁰⁰ Vernon Lund, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 5th October 2010 in Pietermaritzburg.

6.5.3. How does Laity Perceive the Priest?

Hitchcock offered some profound insight into the way she understood herself in relation to Lund. She comments with a sense of pain and a depth of honesty:

I found Vernon's style of worship, I found at first very threatening [...] because, I assumed that, it was only my assumption it might not have been how he felt, that if I didn't speak in tongues, or pray in the Spirit, or dance down the aisle, all those sorts of things I could do, but it would be pleasing him, not pleasing God, not what I felt comfortable with [...] and I really really battled at that stage of my life to say why am I seen by my priest as a second class Christian because I don't do these things.³⁰¹

Hitchcock seems to know that her role as a worshipper is to please God and not to please the priest. Yet, it is clear that she struggled with her perceived reality of not pleasing Lund; she refers to herself as a 'second class citizen'. If Hitchcock is not alone in her perceived reality, then there were a number of people who were more concerned about manifesting the gifts of the Spirit rather than entering into the depth of the Eucharistic liturgy. But this would result in the Eucharist being a very low priority for the laity. It would appear as if this was not the case for Hitchcock. However, she is the daughter of an Anglican clergyman and has a well-developed identity as a Christian. How much more prone would a 'new' Christian be to the temptation of pleasing the 'charismatic' leader of the parish?

³⁰¹ Mignon Hitchcock, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 24th August 2010 in Hilton. pp 2.

6.6 Shape of the Service

6.6.1 The Introduction of *Liturgy 1975*

The shape of the liturgy changed dramatically with the introduction of *Liturgy 1975*. The basic changes to the order of service have been documented in Chapter Three, hence this shall not be duplicated.

6.6.2 The Emphasizing of the Role of Music in the Service

In order to get an understanding of the time allocated to the major components of the service I will speak of the liturgy of the word, the liturgy of the sacrament and worship in song. Of these three broad categories it seems clear that Lund focused on the worship in song component, according to those I interviewed. Beggs for instance asserts that:

With Vernon, the holiness, for me, with Vernon, was more in the worship, coming in songs of praise and the worship [AK ok] it was the charismatic renewal [AK ja] that was the focus.³⁰²

Beggs, like all the others I interviewed, does not hesitate to assert that Vernon's focus was on the music. The intriguing thing is that he makes a very subtle but far reaching distinction. He refers to the worship in song aspect simply as the worship. Does this mean that other parts of the service should not be regarded as worship? Henning makes this distinction even more clearly when he says:

³⁰² Graham Beggs, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 16th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 6.

I mean by worship, the singing, the praying, the um, the ur... the interaction with each other and with God [AK um hmm] a very real sort of interaction there, whereas Communion becomes an individual thing, me and God, worship is a group thing, we are here with, with God. In Vernon's time the, worship was definitely paramount, there's no doubt about it, I mean it was very strong, um, and very rewarding, people would, people got a lot out of that.³⁰³

Henning includes prayer, presumably extemporaneous or spontaneous prayer, in his understanding of worship. However, it is the music, the worship in song that 'owns' a monopoly on the word worship for Henning. He goes further than this and spells out the implications of this definition of worship; the Eucharist is divorced from worship! Lund insists that one of the developments accompanying *Liturgy 1975* is the split between word and sacrament.³⁰⁴ Despite Lund's insistence on his holistic Anglo-Catholic approach to the Eucharist, it would seem that in practice he emphasized a dichotomy between various aspects of the service. A dichotomy that at least one parishioner latched onto and came to regard the Eucharist as something tacked on to a worship service, and not part of the community's worship.

It was fascinating that the Communion could be understood by a parishioner as an individualistic action. The very word that Henning choose to refer to the Eucharist should imply that this was precisely the opposite of an individualistic action. How can this understanding come to be held? Henning waxes lyrical about the sense of community felt during what he calls 'the worship'. Was this sense of community so strong that

³⁰³ Dennis Henning. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 13th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 10.

³⁰⁴ Vernon Lund, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 5th October 2010 in Pietermaritzburg. pp. 4.

the ritual of the Eucharist paled into insignificance next to it? Does the charismatic focus on music and extemporary prayer leave the Eucharist feeling like a dull and boring chore to be endured by the worshipper?

6.6.3 The Undermining of the Eucharist?

It is clear that the shape of the service changed significantly after Lund's arrival at Church of the Ascension. Before continuing to expand on this let me offer some clarification. The shape of the 7 am service and the Eucharist on a Thursday morning remained much the same. This is largely due to the continued use of the SAPB at both of these services. Lund says as much when commenting on my question on the significance of music:

I think so because I don't think that's essential, I mean I think the Eucharist in a Thursday at ten o'clock, for the oldies, is as much a Eucharist as, moving and as real, in fact, ja, maybe I'm talking from now, but, the music, I don't think it's essential, I think it's enriching [...] but it's not an essential part.³⁰⁵

He is a priest who, despite his charismatic tendencies, recognized his pastoral role in the parish. In other words I suspect that Lund would have loved to change all the services to *Liturgy 1975* which enabled space for more charismatic worship. However, he recognized his duty as a priest to a parish with diverse worship preferences. Lund is a rigorous 'reformer' of the 9 am service but recognizes the need to placate those members of the congregation who would have found a change like that too difficult to swallow. Therefore, when I refer to the radical shape change of the Eucharist, it is mainly a reference to the 9 am service. At this 9 am

³⁰⁵ Vernon Lund, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 5th October 2010 in Pietermaritzburg.

service there seems to have been a clear break from the practice prior to Lund's arrival. Henning comments on this in the following manner:

Let me go back to Vernon, when Vernon broke the structure, there was an uproar, from the existing Anglicans, I remember one person who was our neighbour, who got the Bishop in, and I actually overheard this because they were sitting on the veranda, and the Bishop saying to him, you have got to change with the times, because this man was saying; 'this is not what the church is about', oh, he was horrified, the 7 o'clock didn't change, that stayed the same [...] but they were very uptight about the nine o'clock service which was suddenly becoming so free and so worshipful and so responsive [...] I understand, you know once you've, once you're used to the Eucharist and that sort of thing, and that's where you feel comfortable, then that's ok, now I've got beyond the comfort zone, I want more than just a comfortable repetition of words, I want a bit of worship, I want a bit of , um, a bit of life, I don't know [...] so that's where I stand as far as the liturgy is concerned.³⁰⁶

According to Henning's comments it would appear that the 9 am service changed to such a degree that the Eucharist was no longer the central act of worship. Indeed for some, like Henning, the Eucharist was not regarded as worship at all.

Hitchcock reinforces this concept when she asserts that the Eucharist was not important to Lund:

³⁰⁶Dennis Henning. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 13th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 18.

The sacrament has always been very important to me, and it didn't appear to be important to him, um, the festivals are important, I love the structure in the Anglican community of, the different seasons [...] and on Christmas you were allowed to sing happy birthday Jesus and nothing more than that, otherwise it was just a custom and a ritual and not any deep meaning in it.³⁰⁷

Later on Hitchcock acknowledges that Lund did take the Eucharist seriously. However she makes it clear that his focus on the charismatic aspects of the service superseded the Eucharist. Beggs makes an interesting observation about the way in which Lund constructed the service:

I think that in Vernon's time, um, before the prayer of thanksgiving, and after the Communion, there was quiet, I think that's the gap where it fitted, and then Vernon would bring in a summary of the service, so if there was somebody visiting, or if somebody was leaving, or whatever it might be, then he would bring that in there, he would certainly include a word of discernment or something on the theme, and that was a strength of Vernon, a collecting together.³⁰⁸

Beggs places this construction in the midst of the liturgy of the sacrament. One could understand this in one of two ways. Firstly, the summary is placed here to draw attention away from the liturgy of the sacrament. Alternatively, the summary could be placed here precisely to

³⁰⁷ Mignon Hitchcock, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 24th August 2010 in Hilton. pp 2.

³⁰⁸ Graham Beggs, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 16th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 17.

emphasize the liturgy of the sacrament. Lund remembers this drawing together or summarizing of the service as a time during which speaking in tongues also took place.³⁰⁹ I suspect that Lund hoped to emphasize the liturgy of the sacrament or at least make it more palatable for charismatics by including his 'summary' here. However, based on what the interviewees said, many of the parishioners understood the summary as an obscuring of the Eucharist.

6.7 Role of the Priest

6.7.1 The Ordination of Women

The Anglican Church was only beginning to consider the question of the ordination of women in the 1970's. The C of A Parish Council which met on the 4th March 1976 discussed and voted on this contentious issue. The minutes reflect that nine Council members voted against the ordination of women and two voted in favour.³¹⁰ Vernon Lund recalls this incident and says he was probably one of those who voted against the ordination of women:

[I was] probably a real male [laughter] it's interesting because, I might have been ambivalent at that point, but um, I probably took a conservative view, ja.³¹¹

Lund went on to say that his view of the ordination of women changed when he left the Anglican Church, and that he is currently very positive

³⁰⁹ Vernon Lund, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 5th October 2010 in Pietermaritzburg. pp. 6.

³¹⁰ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 4th March 1976. pp. 27

³¹¹ Vernon Lund, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 5th October 2010 in Pietermaritzburg. pp. 14.

about the ordination of women. One can assume that Council was representative of the parish and that the majority of the congregation would not have been comfortable with the ordination of women. Indeed of those whom I interviewed, Mignon Hitchcock, maintained that to this day she is not comfortable with the concept of the ordination of women:

I personally don't believe in the ordination of women, I don't think, it's what is, right for the church, um... I feel more comfortable if consecration is, taking place, by an ordained priest, who is male [...] and I prefer the sacrament, being given to me, by ordained people, an ordained man.³¹²

Hitchcock experienced the ministry of Margie Wishart who was priest in charge of C of A in 1994. She recalls³¹³ Margie as a good priest, but retains her prejudice against the ordination of women.

6.7.2 The Charismatic Priest

Graham Beggs offers some very interesting insights into the personality of a parish priest, and a priest's responsibilities regarding popularity:

Jesus, twice said to his disciples, let us move on to another city, for this reason I have come, to proclaim the kingdom, and the disciples said, they want you, and I forget the verse now, but the one that says they seek to proclaim you king, and I think, this is one of the responsibilities of the priest, is not to attract a following [...] to be disturbing enough [laughter] no I'm serious [...] because we can become an icon, that says we've got a lovely church, you know our

³¹² Mignon Hitchcock, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 24th August 2010 in Hilton. pp 9.

³¹³ Ibid

priest, man you just want to go there Sunday after Sunday, because you're so bloody comfortable [...] one of the things that Vernon often used to share, there is a stained glass window of Holy Spirit the comforter, it is a picture of a sword being poked into somebody's [laughter] you see it's the discomfort that we experience through the Holy Spirit, who enables us to enter a place of comfort, but we've got to be prodded, the ejector button has got to move us out from where we are, so for me, part of the authority of the priest, is not drawing a following to himself [...] because that is what Jesus was saying, because lest they make me king, and there's a ministry to be fulfilled... the easier it is for us to just flop together and feel family, is an obstacle, to us growing into the fullness of spiritual maturity.³¹⁴

Hitchcock, as noted previously, experienced Lund as a person who ushered in the charismatic movement but not as a person who had a charismatic personality. Did Lund take to heart the role of introducing people to the Holy Spirit as 'comforter? Again Hitchcock would disagree with this understanding. The irony of all this is that the personality of the priest does matter despite the ideal raised by Beggs.

6.7.3 The Priest as Christ's Representative

When Lund was questioned directly regarding how he would reconstruct his understanding of the priesthood, during his time as rector of C of A, he answered as follows:

Put it back in the 70's, I would see this as a, um, again this is the kind of Anglo-Catholic, father figure of the parish in the best sense

³¹⁴Graham Beggs, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 16th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 14.

of father [...] um, and really as a, pastor who wanted spiritual growth for people, that's basically what... I was... I suppose I'm trotting out what I was taught in my early childhood, but I think the priest represented, was not Vernon Lund but was a priesthood and so it wasn't me, doing the thing, in that sense of being, the kind of, I don't know how to, the person, it was more the role of the priest [...] and so the vestments actually said I'm out of me, I'm into the role, I'm into, it sounds odd for this generation.

This view is fairly typical of the Anglo-Catholic understanding of the priesthood, with its insistence that the priest represents Christ, particularly when celebrating the Eucharist.³¹⁵

6.8 Contextual Relevance

6.8.1 Racially Integrated Services

There are two recorded instances in the Council minutes of discussion about creating space for 'Africans' at C of A. The first instance occurred on the 4th September 1975. The minutes report that 'Africans' have shown an interest in church services. The recommendation of council is that Lund be tasked with finding a Zulu priest to serve the needs of those wishing to participate in worship.³¹⁶ This entry reflects a church which was still deeply divided along racial lines where the 'us and them' dynamic remained prominent although the council seemed oblivious of it. The second entry displays that the Council was becoming aware of the 'us and them' dynamic. On the 4th of December 1980 the minutes record a

³¹⁵ Snyman, Roy. *Travelling Along the Anglican Way*. Private Publication: Port Elizabeth, 2004. pp. 47

³¹⁶ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 4th September 1975. pp. 17

discussion of how to “fully integrate with black people”.³¹⁷ In five years there appears to have been a shift in the thinking of Council. The reference is to ‘blacks’ and not ‘Africans’ as was used previously. The Council members have become aware of inappropriate language, there is an acknowledgement that all those born in Africa are Africans. Therefore, the ‘us and them’ dynamic has not only been identified but there appears to be discussion on how to bridge this gap. The commitment to bridge the gap was apparently not sufficient and Lund spoke with some regret and disillusionment about the integration of the races:

I ran an afternoon Zulu service for quite a long time there, that was more of a free flowing kind of thing, um, and, but we never got to a Zulu Eucharist or anything like that.³¹⁸

Lund went on to speak about how the Eucharist should bring people together, and yet the failure of this ever happening during his time as rector at C of A:

I can’t say that the Eucharist really made a big difference in Hilton [...] I mean it raises the terrible thing that I, would hope that the richness of the Eucharist would set people free of their, ego-views of race and society, but in fact it doesn’t I don’t think [laughter]... I suppose it, I’m being contradictory because... I mean the essence of the Eucharist is way beyond cultural, political, differences, prejudices, all that.

Lund illustrates here the breakdown between theory and practice. In reality, according to Lund, the Eucharist never helped the people to move

³¹⁷ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 4th December 1980. pp. 27

³¹⁸ Vernon Lund, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 5th October 2010 in Pietermaritzburg. pp. 10.

beyond their racial prejudice. This perspective is reinforced as I consider the responses of the parishioners whom I interviewed. They were not easily able to capture the subversive nature of the Eucharist, in terms of drawing all races together.

6.8.2 Social Responsibility

Lund spoke about a group of young mothers who helped to get a domestic workers' union up and running with guidelines for the employment of staff. Lund went on to say that he was supportive of those kinds of initiatives, but that his focus was elsewhere:

I suppose my own position was, um, a kind of support for those sorts of things, but I was much more concerned about establishing a spiritual base for people, not as opposed to political involvement, but rather why we need to be involved, what's our spiritual base for that... I think my concern in my job at Hilton was to open up some of those kinds of things, and that included opening up awareness to the way people treated staff and things like that, um... but we were really isolated, I mean I have to look back and admit that that was the case.³¹⁹

It is in this instance that I think the charismatic bias of Lund is most clear. The charismatic bias is one that looks inward and is often a very personal expression of faith, as Lund acknowledges above. Rather than political activism, Lund led the congregation in services of prayer for the country. The council minutes record two such services, both in the context of the Eucharist. The first meeting of prayer and fasting is reported in the

³¹⁹ Vernon Lund, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 5th October 2010 in Pietermaritzburg. pp. 11.

minutes of the 2nd November 1978 and was considered a great blessing.³²⁰
The second day of prayer and fasting was planned in the minutes of the
meeting of the 21st February 1979 for the 2nd March.³²¹

³²⁰ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 2nd November 1978. pp. 91

³²¹ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 21st February 1979. pp. 105

7. The Eucharist at the Church of the Ascension from 1983 to 1994

As in the previous instance, this section will use elementary quantitative methods in order to establish the regularity with which the Eucharist was celebrated as well as the number of parishioners who attended the services. The purpose of this is twofold: to give an indication as to how people responded to the style of service during the rectorship of Ian Cowley and to establish if services were based on lectionary or other patterns. From here the study moves into the more overt aspects of the Eucharistic liturgy as the research becomes qualitative in nature. The primary sources used are the interviews conducted and the synopsis of the Parish Council minutes.

7.1 Introduction to the Period 1983 – 1994

The period 1983 to 1994 is the duration of Ian Cowley's rectorship at Church of the Ascension. Cowley remembers his time of arrival at C of A as a time when the church was in disarray and he himself was not used to parish life:

I came in the wake of Vernon having left, and having left under very unhappy circumstances [...] um, you know, from Church of Ascension, and you know, it had caused I think a lot of, you know what had happened immediately prior to our arrival there, we were in England, so we weren't in the diocese [...] so I wasn't part of what had happened when Vernon had left the Anglican church, and the circumstances of that, but clearly the fact that he and others of the congregation had left, had kind of split the church, and people

loved Vernon and had trusted him, and I think the way that all happened, it left people, quite hurt and bewildered³²²

Cowley went on to say that he would have liked to be more charismatic but felt the situation in the church required a more measured ministry. From the comments of those parishioners interviewed, it seemed as if Cowley achieved this... almost too well. For example, Henning described Cowley's approach as much quieter compared to Lund before him.³²³ Smith borders on being disparaging of Cowley's more sedate style:

Ian Cowley, when he came, was totally different, in fact, quite [laughs] bland if I could put it that way and, uh, everything kind of toned down, hugely [...] he was a very nice person and so on but not all that, animated, you know [...] and I think that affects how a service is taken and that sort of thing so without trying to sound too critical, it was relatively boring [laughter] if you know what I mean.³²⁴

Without fail, Ian Cowley is remembered as a solid evangelical rector. When I interviewed him, I got the feeling that he was a little disappointed that he was remembered as evangelical. He was insistent that he was not a narrow evangelical but acknowledged his evangelical background and bias:

³²² Ian Cowley, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 1st September 2010 via Skype. pp. 5.

³²³ Dennis Henning. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 13th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 2.

³²⁴ Georgina Smith. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on the 24th August 2010 in Hilton. Pp. 2.

I tried, what I've always tried to do is have a holistic, kind of, vision of the church and the ministry [...] but I came out of an evangelical theological college in the UK and I think that's probably, particularly with my concern for biblical teaching [...] and I, I know I did emphasize that quite strongly [...] um, um, so I think that's fair, but I would be, um, very wary of um, being categorized in any narrow way evangelical [...] because for me making the connection between the Gospel and the, what was happening in society and issues of justice and the poor, which for me is biblical, it is absolutely the biblical imperative, that we, we, address issues of justice and poverty, so I was very concerned for the church to do that.³²⁵

During the apartheid years, those who were branded evangelical were often considered to be less committed to the struggle than those branded as liberals. As the latter part of Cowley's response makes clear, this is the real issue at hand. Beggs remembers Cowley as a man who was deeply committed to the poor in the country and very gentle with the congregation, always seeking to build and encourage the church.³²⁶ Cowley chose the gentle way of encouragement, not only because of the situation Lund left behind, but also because the situation in the country left white people – the vast majority of the C of A congregation – feeling very insecure:

For white people, I think there was a huge sense of insecurity, because at that point obviously no one knew how it was all going to work out [...] so there was a lot of fear, so certainly to mention

³²⁵ Ian Cowley, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 1st September 2010 via Skype. pp. 2.

³²⁶ Graham Beggs, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 16th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 5.

Desmond Tutu, to defend Desmond Tutu as the Archbishop from the pulpit, um, was always going to be controversial and I had to experience people getting up and walking out of the church on occasions [...] so, even mentioning issues of justice and so on...³²⁷

This period in the C of A story is a time when the congregation was beginning to move out of its isolation and the community began to engage more with the realities in the country.

7.2 The Service Register

Every Anglican church is required to keep a Service register. Every time a service is held at the church it is to be recorded in the service register. The register requires information in the following fields to be completed: Firstly, the date of the service. Secondly, the time of the service. Thirdly, the signature of the presiding priest. Fourthly, the number of people present at the service. Fifthly, the number of people who received Communion. Lastly, there is a space for comments to be added should that be necessary. As in the previous chapter, this information has been assembled and incorporated into an excel spread sheet in order to produce easy to read and interpret graphs.

7.2.1 Regularity of the Eucharist

Ian Cowley offers a helpful comment on the regularity of the Eucharist as practiced at C of A which he ‘inherited’ and continued:

Church of Ascension, when I arrived there, it was very much Eucharist every Sunday, twice on Sunday [...] with, with a

³²⁷ Ian Cowley, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 1st September 2010 via Skype. pp. 5.

Thursday Eucharist as well [...] and for me that was great, I, we, and we had Liturgy '75 when I arrived and then we moved to Anglican Prayer Book [...] and I tried to, um, be Anglican [...] and take the liturgy seriously, and take the Eucharist seriously within the context, both of, um, renewed worship [...] um, um, and worship that was open to the Holy Spirit [...] and, um, also in the context of biblical preaching [...] leading to biblical mission.³²⁸

The most striking observation about the graph below (Figure 4) is the significant peak in the number of services over March and April. This graph displays, very clearly, a faithful keeping of the Lent, Holy Week and Easter period. Traditionally this is a period of increased devotion and hence the need for more services. However, the general rule is about 10 to 15 services per month, which harmonizes with Cowley's recollections of three Eucharists per week.

³²⁸ Ian Cowley, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 1st September 2010 via Skype. pp. 3.

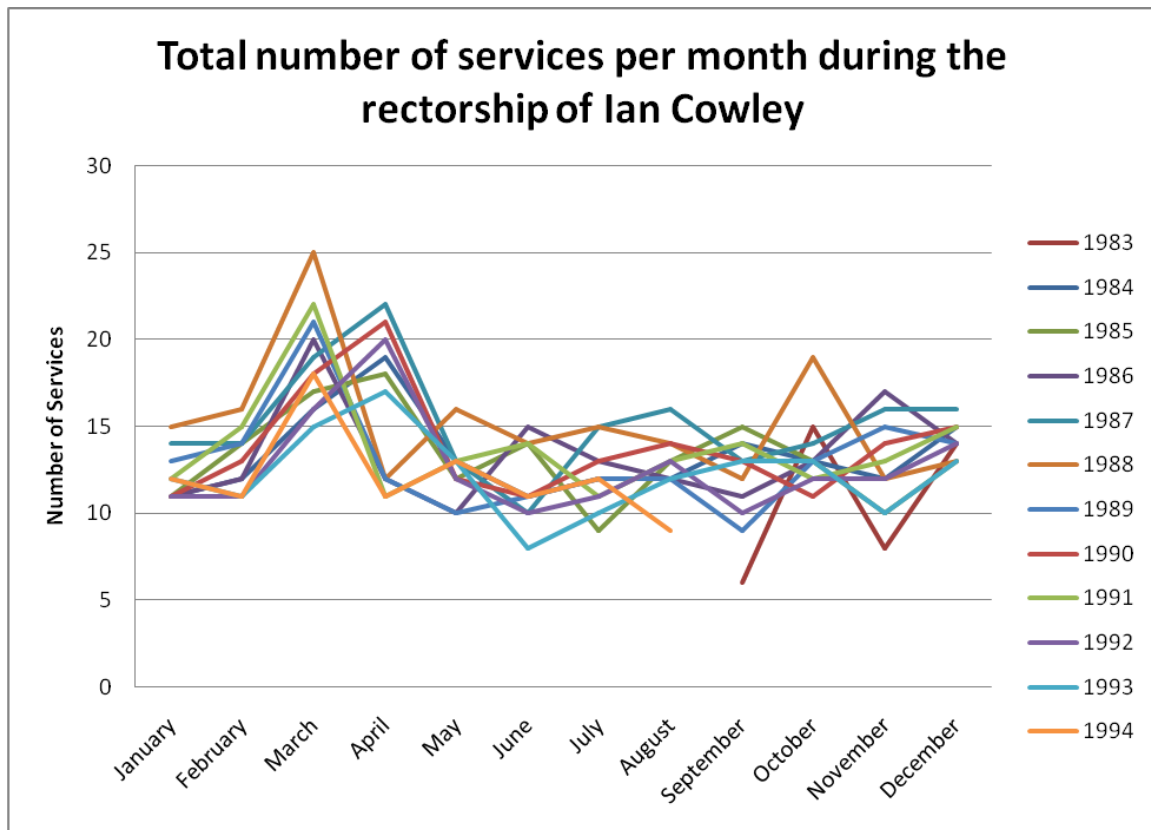


Figure 4: Cowley, Total Number of Services

7.2.2 Attendance at the Eucharist

The number of people attending the services was fairly constant; the service book shows no marked increase or decrease in attendance (see Figures 5 & 6 below). Near the very beginning of the interview with Cowley, he offered an explanation for the static numbers without being prompted:

I remember it as being a tough time [...] um, particularly there were periods that were very tough, a lot of that was due to the wider context of stuff that was going on in the local area, in Sweetwaters, in, in, the nation, in KwaZulu Natal especially with the war between Inkata and UDF [...] all of that stuff impacted, all of the social and, um, political upheaval that was going on around us, um, [...]

impacted significantly on that time, but, so we didn't see the kind of Church growth [...] that I hoped for when I arrived there, um, but at the same time looking back on it, I see it as a time where, the church, to a fair degree, did live out its prophetic calling³²⁹

Cowley lays the 'blame' for the lack of growth on the political situation in the country. One could argue this both ways. Times of crisis are often the catalyst people need to push them to attend church. However, the Anglican Church's stance on the political situation was probably a little too radical for many of the white middle class people who resided in Hilton. It is amazing that the numbers at C of A didn't drop more radically after the debacle of Lund's rebaptism. Perhaps the excitement of the arrival of a new rector offset those who left with Lund?

³²⁹ Ian Cowley, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 1st September 2010 via Skype. pp. 1.

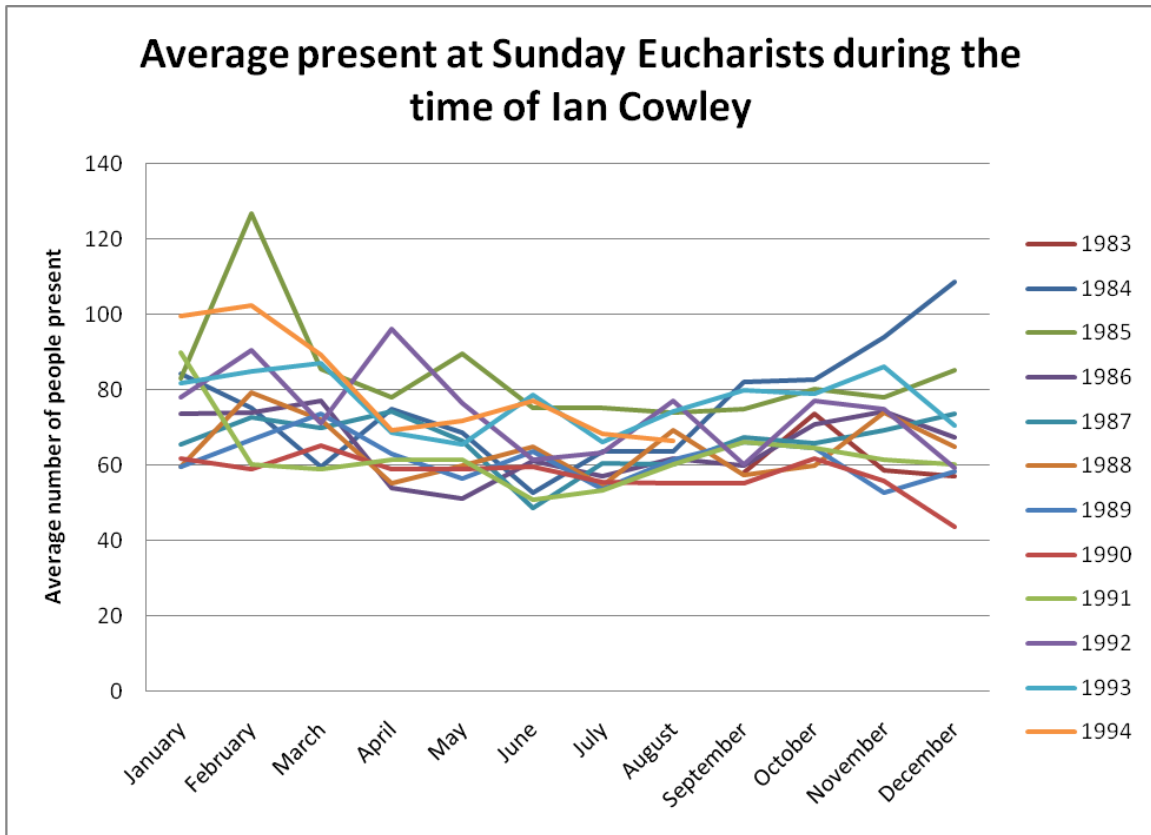


Figure 5: Cowley, Average Present on Sunday

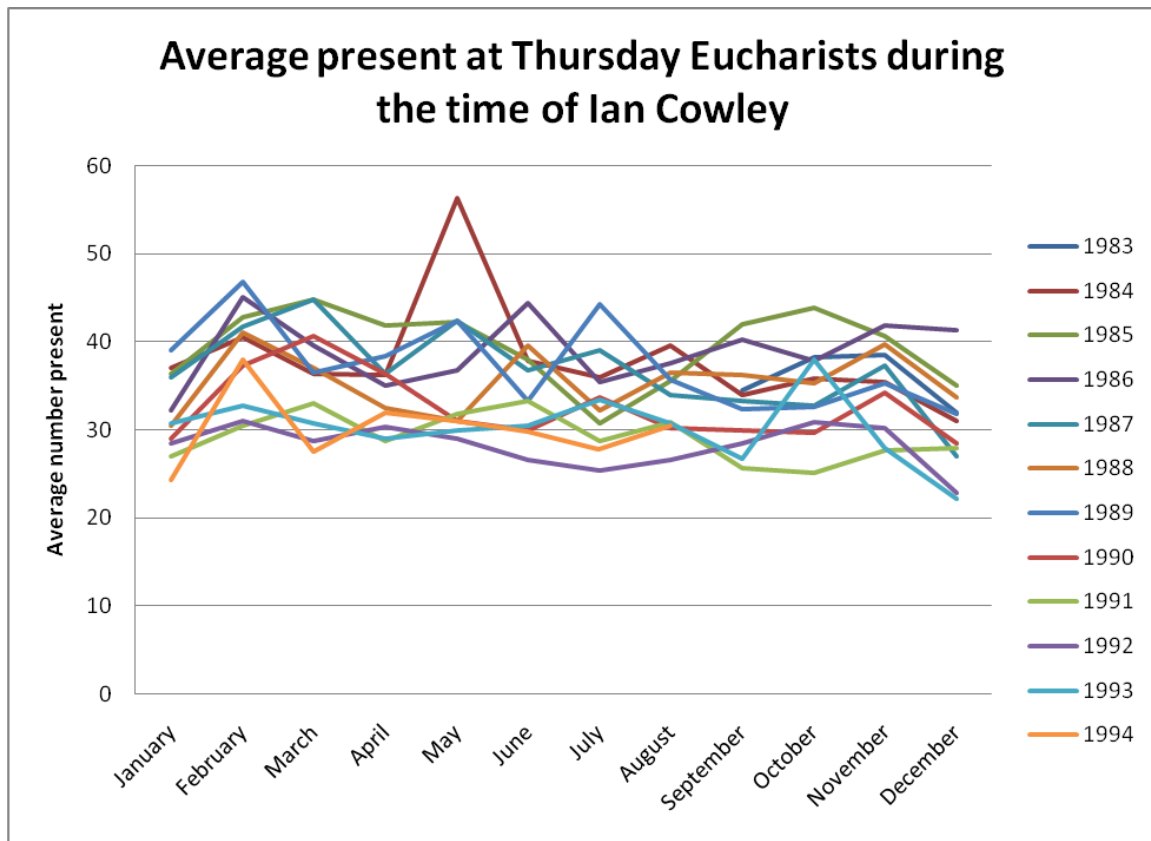


Figure 6: Cowley, Average Present on Thursday

7.3 Language

7.3.1 Introduction of *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989*

When Cowley arrived at C of A, the SAPB and Liturgy 1975 were in use. It was during Cowley's time as incumbent that the 1989 Prayer Book was introduced. The first mention of the new Prayer Book, in the Council Minutes, occurred on the 7th September 1988. The Council noted that bishop Nuttall had enquired as to which churches were going to be using the new book.³³⁰ It is clear that the Province had arranged a well-organized plan to introduce the new Prayer Book. Two members of the Council attended a conference on the new Prayer Book and reported back

³³⁰ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 7th September 1988. pp. 109.

to the meeting that they could obtain copies at R19 each if an order for over a hundred copies was placed. The minutes indicate that a decision was deferred to the following meeting.³³¹ It seems as though there may have been some resistance to buying the new prayer books, as the minutes indicate that Ian Cowley needed to enumerate the merits of the new Prayer Book before Council approved the purchase of the books.³³² It would appear as though there was either financial pressure or reluctance to change to a new liturgy, this last being very typical of many churches. When I questioned Cowley about the transition to the new book he remembered it being a smooth one:

Ja, I don't remember that being difficult, but um, Michael Nuttall was Bishop and he had been very involved in the writing and compilation of the '89 book [...] so you know there was quite a lot of work done in the diocese with clergy, and, others to prepare us, um, I don't really remember that being, um, it was a reasonably, obvious kind of transition [...] um, from the one to the other, I don't remember that being a problem.³³³

This indicates that it was probably more of a financial problem as opposed to a situation of disapproval of change. The minutes record that An Anglican Prayer Book was introduced to the congregations worship on the first Sunday of August 1989.³³⁴ Hitchcock comments on the transition to the 1989 Prayer Book. Her reflections are interesting because her memory reflects a transition from the SAPB to APB and makes no reference to Liturgy 1975:

³³¹ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 15th March 1989. pp. 122.

³³² Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 18th April 1989. pp. 123.

³³³ Ian Cowley, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 1st September 2010 via Skype. pp. 12.

³³⁴ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 19th July 1989. pp. 129

The transition from the old Prayer Book to the new, the essence never changed, it was just the wording, you know you didn't have thee's and thou's [...] so for a wedding service, a funeral service, I preferred and I would still prefer the old Prayer Book, because that's what I'm comfortable with, that's what I grew up with... it really didn't matter to me, um, what words were being used because the essence and the structure of the... the prayer, and or the creed, the consecration and the, or before that the absolution [...] in essence nothing really changed.³³⁵

It is critical to note that Hitchcock who would have grown up with and been very familiar with the SAPB liturgy notices only superficial changes to the liturgy, the “thee's and thou's” as she phrases it. Laity and indeed untrained clergy are not able to recognise the dramatic shift in the theology of the 1989 Prayer Book. Smith was even more oblivious of the changes to the Eucharist. When asked if the Eucharist changed at all during the time in question she asserted that nothing ever changed drastically.³³⁶ Perhaps for Smith, who never experienced the SAPB, there was far less change to observe. Nonetheless, a new book from which to participate in the Eucharist is a significant change, let alone the theology represented in the new words.

7.3.2 Consecration

I asked Cowley directly about the language of the liturgy and whether there were aspects that he felt uncomfortable with, from his evangelical

³³⁵ Mignon Hitchcock, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 24th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 11.

³³⁶ Georgina Smith. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on the 24th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 9.

perspective. In response to this he asserted that there may have been a few parts of the liturgy – those parts which were very Catholic – that he disliked. However, he was quick to inform me that he was comfortable with worshiping in a Catholic context:

I used to go over to, Red Acres on a, Saturday night, as part of my own preparation, to, preside on Sunday morning and take, Communion, with the, Catholics over at Red Acres on a... and was welcome to.

Cowley went on to say that the debate over the semantics of the Eucharistic Prayer were not an issue for him, rather the words of consecration are the words he found truly important.³³⁷ In response to further questions about his understanding of what is happening at the point of consecration he laughed and quoted the adage attributed to Queen Elizabeth:

It's a mystery [laughter] obviously we're not, you know, you're writing a thesis, Queen Elizabeth I is reputed to have said, He took the bread and brake it, and what His words doth make it, that I believe and take it... ja, so I think, you know, it just gets deeper and deeper [...] he said, this is my body, this is my blood, what his words do make it, that I believe and take it, I wouldn't want to try and define it too closely.³³⁸

Like many Anglicans, Cowley was comfortable with a point of consecration rather than an understanding of the whole Eucharistic Prayer

³³⁷ Ian Cowley, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 1st September 2010 via Skype. pp. 20.

³³⁸ Ian Cowley, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 1st September 2010 via Skype. pp. 20.

being consecratory. Traditionally Anglicans believed that the words of institution were the ‘point’ in the Eucharistic Prayer when the consecration took place and the sacramental presence of Christ was realised.³³⁹ Cowley’s preference was precisely this, the point of consecration at the words of institution. Cowley’s ability to feel comfortable worshipping in a Catholic context together with his concept of consecration makes his Eucharistic theology sound more Anglo-Catholic than evangelical. However, his quoting of ‘Elizabeth’s dictum’ adds a reformed edge to his understandings. The stanza of poetry attributed to Elizabeth is intentionally vague and appeals to the mystery of the sacrament, whilst not making a clear statement regarding the substance of the bread and wine. This was necessary for Elizabeth in the complicated political and religious climate of her time. I suspect that Cowley’s theology was quite liberal during his time at Ascension. A liberal perspective is not uncomfortable with the mystery of God and the reality that there are not clear answers to all questions. This is particularly true of the sacraments.

7.3.3 Prayers for the Dead

During the interview with Cowley, I asked him if the wording of the Eucharistic prayers presented a problem for him as an evangelical. He responded by saying the following:

Um, I think there were bits, there was a bit in, um, my memory’s just a bit, um, foggy on this [...] but there is one area where, um, there’s an option there and you can end up praying for the saints instead of with the saints [...] which I, or how did it go, anyway, I think, um there were one or two areas where I would have used the,

³³⁹ Jenneker, Bruce. Lecture 5: ‘The Shape of the Eucharist’. Lectures given at the College of the Transfiguration, Grahamstown: 2011

I would have preferred not to use, um, I'm trying to think, um, particularly, yes, um, I think the issue, sorry, I'm just racking my memory here [...] I think it's about praying for the departed [...] um, my, my, training and background is not to pray for the dead, but to pray with them [...] I, um, so there were areas there where I was aware of kind of issues of evangelical theology, ja, I the third Eucharistic prayer.

Cowley's response above was more disjointed than usual, it seemed as though he was buying time in order to think of something. There was clearly nothing significantly offensive to his evangelical sensibilities. The issue that he does raise is part of the Third Eucharistic Prayer:

Remember our brothers and sisters who have gone to their rest in the hope of rising again; bring them and all the departed into the light of your presence.³⁴⁰

The fact that Cowley can remember this issue leads me to assume that the Third Eucharistic Prayer would not have been used frequently during his rectorship.

7.4 Physical Elements

Cowley offered no comment on aspects pertaining to the physical elements of the Eucharist. Near the end of the interview I asked him what he considered to be the very important physical elements. He responded with the following:

³⁴⁰ *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989*. Ed. The Provincial Trustees of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa. Jeppestown: HarperCollinsPublishers, 2005. pp. 124.

Bread and wine, or if possible, if possible bread and wine, if you can't have bread and wine, you can have cream crackers and grape juice [...] I, you, obviously for me, being an Anglican, robing and wearing vestments and stuff like that is, important, but equally I can, very happily, celebrate the Eucharist, well I prefer to wear my collar if I'm in a home group or something like that [...] we sometimes had Communion in home groups, and home groups in Hilton did enjoy me coming along, and having a home Communion [...] from time to time, so we did that from time to time in an informal way [...] I mean, I think there's a time for formality and a time for informality.³⁴¹

From the above extract, Cowley lists bread and wine, the two principal elements of the Eucharistic Feast. More basic than this though is the Table or Altar, Cowley does not mention this at all. After the obvious elements, Cowley goes on to speak about vestments and his preference for celebrating in clerical collar rather than chalb, stole and chasuble. He makes it very clear that this more informal style is appropriate for a house group and not the principal service on Sunday. Beggs remembers how significant these house group meetings were:

Ian, one of his strengths, I believe, was, encouraging, house groups [...] meeting, and liberty for the house groups to go into the direction they felt they needed, so there was um, there was a greater latitude for, for growth and, exploration...³⁴²

³⁴¹ Ian Cowley, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 1st September 2010 via Skype.

³⁴² Graham Beggs, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 16th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 5.

The practice of home Communion for house groups seems to have been a particular passion for Cowley which was well received, at least, in the memory of Beggs. This is a significant development in the Eucharist as experienced at C of A. Lund makes no mention of home Communion and Beggs' comment about the flourishing of home groups during the time of Cowley, suggests that this was not a strong ministry during the time of Lund. Can one assert that the flourishing of house groups has a connection to the practicing of informal Communion services at them? Perhaps the growing home groups merely gave Cowley the opportunity to practice his preference for informal Eucharists? Either way, the people of Ascension were exposed to a more ancient form of the Eucharist. The intimate setting of a home for the celebration of the Eucharist is closer to the roots of the Eucharist in the Jewish meal traditions.

7.5 Role of the Laity

7.5.1 Emphasis on Lay ministry

At the beginning of his second year as rector of C of A Cowley highlighted the need for more lay ministers on more than one occasion. The minutes from the April³⁴³ and July³⁴⁴ Council Meetings indicate that Cowley really emphasised this again. Shortly afterwards the minutes record the intention to licence lay ministers and lay ministry training is planned for some time in November.³⁴⁵ This drive to include the laity in the leading of services seems to have been really important to Cowley. During my interview with Cowley, I asked him how he understood the role of the laity:

³⁴³ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 12th April 1984. pp. 1

³⁴⁴ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 26th July 1984. pp. 6

³⁴⁵ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 1st November 1984. pp. 14

Every member of the body of Christ, um, comes, to, share, in the one who is the bread of life, who is, you know, um, the one body, you know, though we are many, we are one body, um, so it's a kind of, it's a being reconciled to God, but being reconciled to one another through, meeting and partaking, with, in Christ, the living bread.

Many of the questions I asked Cowley pertained to the Eucharist, therefore it is not surprising that he chooses a Eucharistic image to illustrate his understanding of the role of the laity. However, it is significant that he uses the word 'body'. As an evangelical, Cowley would have taken very seriously the Pauline understanding of the church as the body of Christ, each person with their different function. Lay ministry appears to be one of the avenues that Cowley pursued to realise the Pauline image. It would appear as though this effort to produce lay ministers was very successful. In 1990 the minutes record that Cowley 'insists on lay ministers becoming officially licenced, and this would not have been necessary had this ministry not become popular.

7.5.2 Admission of Children to Communion

The service register indicates that, over and above those who received Communion, there were about thirty people who were present, but not communicant. One may note from the graph below, that this discrepancy was most pronounced prior to 1985.

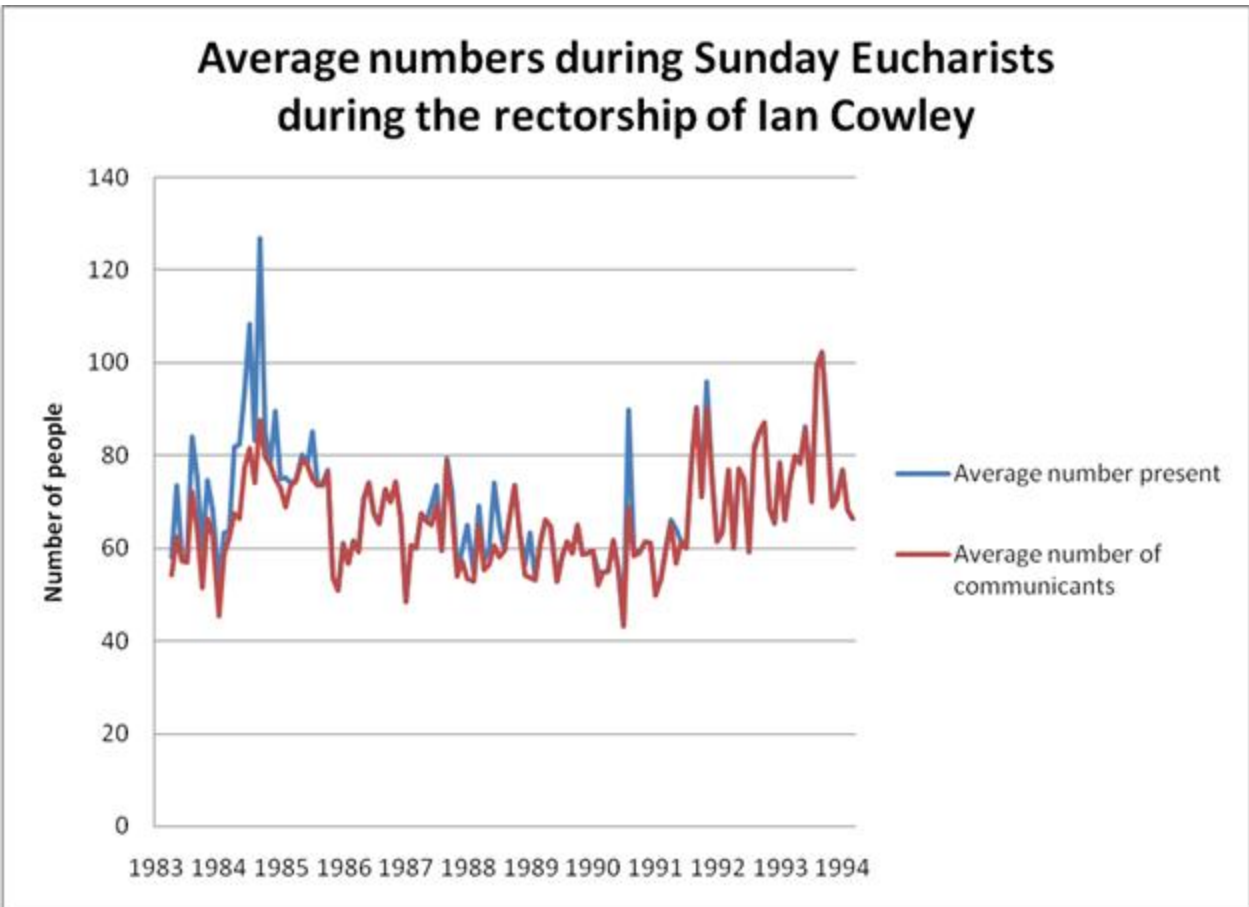


Figure 7: Average Numbers on Sunday

When questioned about these thirty people, Cowley was fairly sure that they were children who were not yet confirmed and therefore did not receive Communion yet.³⁴⁶ The graph indicates that the gap between communicants and non-communicants closed significantly after 1985. This coincides with discussions held in Parish Council meetings regarding the issue of ‘non-confirmed’ children receiving the sacrament.³⁴⁷ However, the decision to admit children to communion was only taken in 1991.³⁴⁸ What happened to the thirty or so children? Did they begin receiving communion after 1985 before the official sanction of 1991?

³⁴⁶ Ian Cowley, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 1st September 2010 via Skype. pp. 16

³⁴⁷ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 24th January 1985. pp. 27

³⁴⁸ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 19th October 1991. pp. 6

Cowley made it clear in the interview that he was in favour of the admission of children to Communion when asked:

Oh, absolutely, absolutely, I mean if you want to think about the Eucharist as being the sacrament of unity, and confirmation had always, I mean from my own experience, I was confirmed at St. Peters, at the old St. Peters in Maritzburg before the Cathedral was built and it was very formal, and I thought, I had huge problems, I was confirmed at 13 with a whole lot of other Maritzburg College boys, and um, it just didn't seem to, you know the... acceptance of children as being able to receive the body and blood of Christ, not necessarily having had the kind of, um, full kind of Eucharistic theology explained to them, but having had enough preparation that they could do it with reverence and faith and joy [...] seemed to me absolutely right... but for me, the core thing is that Children are just as much a part of the body of Christ as adults and um, intellectual comprehension of Eucharistic theology is not the primary matter of whether they should be receiving Communion or not [...] it's whether they love Jesus, and making them a part of the community of faith.³⁴⁹

Is it possible then that Cowley simply went ahead and communicated children before the official sanction? Cowley went on to say that he couldn't recall any significant tension over the issue of admitting children to communion.³⁵⁰ This is interesting as the Council Minutes suggest that the issue raised at least a little tension:

³⁴⁹ Ian Cowley, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 1st September 2010 via Skype. pp. 13.

³⁵⁰ Ian Cowley, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 1st September 2010 via Skype. pp. 13

After much discussion it was decided that although we all agreed on the principle of this, it was a very emotional issue and that great caution needs to be exercised.³⁵¹

Indeed during the interview with Hitchcock, she expressed her continued belief that it was not right to admit children to Communion:

I still think it's not right, um personally, I don't think a 6 year old has any idea what they're doing, um, and, I think, that um, its, this is going to sound very old fashioned, its disrespectful to the sacrament, to the sacrifice made for us, for children to be partaking in something that I see as extremely holy, that has been consecrated, and have no idea what they are doing [...] I feel much more comfortable for them to be blessed... I don't know why there's this push for it, I don't know what happens, I forget what that long word was, I don't know what happens there, but I believe that something does happen, and if you go to take the Eucharist in that frame of mind, um, you are, you are fed [...] so I see that people want their children to be fed at age 6, but I don't think they're being fed if they're not at that place of understanding what this is meaning... and if you're not at that place, of believing that something happens, it's not happening for you personally, so why are you wanting the 6 year old, that's just my personal view, and again I've got nothing theologically, doctrinally, academically to base it on, just how I feel...³⁵²

From the above it is clear that Hitchcock was never in favour of admitting children to Communion and based on the Council Minutes, she was not the

³⁵¹ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 23rd January 1992. pp. 13

³⁵² Mignon Hitchcock, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 24th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 13 & 14

only one opposed to the change. As an aside, it is ironic that the very argument that Hitchcock employs – ignorance being a disqualification for receiving the sacrament – would very likely disqualify most adult Christians and not only children. In closing, it is clear that at least by 1991, and most likely earlier, children were being admitted to Communion. However, there were parishioners who were uncomfortable with the practice.

7.6 Shape of the Service

7.6.1 The Sunday Services Broaden

It is clear that the 9 am Services at C of A, started by Vernon Lund had included new aspects over and above what would comprise a ‘traditional’ Anglican Eucharist. This trend continued during the ministry of Ian Cowley. The emphasis on lay ministry which developed during Cowley’s time, has already been noted. In 1984 Cowley embarked on a discipleship drive. One of the things he did in order to achieve this was to include teaching and discussion groups as part of the Sunday services. This is a radical departure from the traditional style of service and would probably have made people who were familiar with passively listening to a sermon, feel a little uncomfortable. The understanding of worship was undergoing change as can be seen from the Council Minutes. On the 13th May 1992, the Council Minutes include a report on worship given by John and Gill Watson:

John and Gill feel that “worship” is an enormous responsibility and does not just encompass music. See it as encompassing liturgy and all that that contains i.e. music, prayer, the Word, drama, dance,

ministry, praise, thanksgiving, the ministry of lay ministers, sidesmen and the “sound man”. No doubt more could be added.³⁵³

This is a most fascinating report and offers insight into the way in which the shape of the service was understood. The most significant observation is that the Eucharist is conspicuous by its absence. This could be simply because it was taken for granted that the Eucharist is part of the liturgy or more likely, because contemporary music had become such a focus.

During the period from 1990 to 1991 the Council minutes record several references praising the music group.³⁵⁴ The quote above, which asserted that worship entails more than music, suggests there was a prevailing understanding of worship being music alone, and certainly not including the Eucharist. This is clearly the view of Henning when he speculates on worship and Eucharist:

I wonder if there's a definition here between worship and Eucharist, whether in fact, the two are separate, I'm thinking, um, aloud now, uh, the worship, the personal growth, the personal spiritual growth, can only come through the word and through prayer and worship, spiritual growth can only come through that, this is my opinion ok [...] where you are responding to something you are hearing, ah ha, that's an idea, of course that applies to me, of course this is where, do you see how the response to the word comes. Whereas the response to the Eucharist is, I'm responding to a personal relationship [...] there is no, I don't come from the Eucharist saying, oh my, you know this area of my life needs, needs help, this area of my life I need to work on, uh, this area I need to praise God more, you see that comes from the worship and the word [...] and then, um, the spiritual strength may come from the Eucharist, when

³⁵³ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 13th May 1992. pp. 19

³⁵⁴ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 1984-1991. pp. 148, 149, 158.

you then go and receive the strength, ‘now go out and become a living sacrifice’, you see [...] but it, I think, let’s put it this way, in the worship you get challenged and you get enthusiastic and you get, you have ideas and then you go to the Eucharist to receive the strength to be able to fulfil that [...] ok, I think that is probably the way it works... but you, but I, I don’t think that one needs the Eucharist every Sunday, um, you know I take it every time I come because it’s there, but, um, very often your own quiet time or your own personal needs are being faced, could be more rewarding than the general Eucharist.³⁵⁵

That the multiplying of the various elements that constituted a Sunday service resulted in the diminishment of the Eucharist, is nowhere clearer than in the musings of Henning.

7.6.2 The Essential Elements of the Eucharist

Cowley offered substantial comments on the structure and composition of the Eucharist when asked directly about the shape of the Eucharist. He started with what he called the key elements of the Eucharist:

The key elements are praise, and I would, like to begin with praise and then go into some kind of reflection and confession [...] penitence, a listening to the Word of God, and reflection on that through, in some form, [...] um, an affirmation of faith in some sort, form, and my inclination was always to move the creed to after the sermon [...] maybe sometimes to drop the creed as well, because of the, it getting in the way, I mean I’ve never, it’s a kind of thing,

³⁵⁵ Dennis Henning. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 13th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 11-12.

I've never really figured out where the best place is for the creed, but then intercession.³⁵⁶

At this point in the interview, we discussed the Creed at some length. However, I would like to pause here briefly to discuss Cowley's comments above. It becomes clear that Cowley's preference is for a more spontaneous expression of praise and glory to God. By implication this illustrates his bias for a less formal liturgical synaxis, although his reference to the penitence and absolution may be the liturgical forms. However, Cowley makes no reference to the Gloria, Collects, Kyrie's, et cetera. Cowley concluded his list of the key elements in the words below:

I like the Gospel to lead directly into the sermon, because I think there's a continuity there, but anyway after the, then the intercession, I think the peace is very important, and that was still fairly new in those days so, um, but we did it [...] and then, obviously the Eucharistic Prayer itself and, the response to that...³⁵⁷

The rest of the list of elements is fairly standard, but emphasises the addition of the Peace. Cowley notes that this was a fairly new introduction at C of A and is a significant change to the way in which the Eucharist was practiced. Cowley shows his evangelical bias in his preference for the sermon to follow directly after the Gospel reading, instead of having the Creed after the Gospel. I asked Cowley if he would feel comfortable to remove any of the key elements which he listed. His only concession was to consider excluding the Creed:

³⁵⁶ Ian Cowley, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 1st September 2010 via Skype. pp. 18.

³⁵⁷ Ian Cowley, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 1st September 2010 via Skype. pp. 19.

I wouldn't want to, apart from the affirmation of faith, I don't think I would want to drop any of them [...] but I think the Holy Spirit, you know, ultimately we are led by the Holy Spirit, and not by, um, even by the rubrics, I mean [laughter] the rubrics are important, and we take them very seriously, um, in the Anglican Prayer Book there is that one option which says these certain, you know, using an informal service of Holy, for the Eucharist, isn't that right [...] it's just one page and gives you just certain key elements that need to be present, we would almost certainly have done that from time to time [...] and I, think there's a time for that and there's a time for the Book of Common Prayer, where you stick exactly to what is in the Book of Common Prayer, with the exception perhaps of one or two bits of highly inappropriate language [laughter].³⁵⁸

Cowley refers to the Alternative Order of Celebrating the Eucharist³⁵⁹ which offers a more informal structure for the Eucharist. These comments from Cowley and his preference for this service demonstrate that his style is not confined to an evangelical worldview: he displays confidence in a charismatic style as well.

7.6.3 A Collective Consciousness of Time Develops

The issue of the length of service was first recorded in the Council Minutes during the time of Ian Cowley. I noted above that the Sunday services were broadening and would therefore have been more time-consuming. Are these references a reaction to the lengthening of the service, or is this the beginning of a more general societal desire for

³⁵⁸ Ian Cowley, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 1st September 2010 via Skype.

³⁵⁹ An Anglican Prayer Book 1989. Ed. The Provincial Trustees of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa. Jeppestown: HarperCollinsPublishers, 2005. pp. 131.

shorter worship services? There are three specific references to the length of the service. The first relates to family services to be held during the holidays:

School holidays would be times for special emphasis on youth participation. A simplified form of family communion service (Liturgy 1975) with a simple sermon, one reading, drama, etc. to be introduced.³⁶⁰

The intention here is to 'trim' the service in order to make it more accessible for families. The next reference to this issue came in 1992 in the form of a report back about a combined 8 am service:

It was suggested that the service was too long and too full – a tendency to cling to the way it has always been done. Simply impossible to have full worship, lessons, sermon, prayers and communion in 1¼ hours.³⁶¹

From time to time C of A sought to combine the 7 am congregation and the 9 am congregation by holding one service at eight o'clock. The report on this particular 8 am service holds valuable information. It is apparent that the expectation was that the service last no longer than 1¼ hours and that some elements of the service would have to be dropped to achieve this. The final reference is a complaint from the liturgy and worship committee:

The liturgy and worship committee felt that there should not be time constraints put on the liturgy team at the 9:00am service.³⁶²

³⁶⁰ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 1st November 1984. pp. 15

³⁶¹ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 26th February 1992. pp. 16

³⁶² Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 30th May 1994. pp. 51

There is clearly conflict over the length of services generally at 9 am. There were no extenuating circumstances for a shortened service, as in the cases before. It is as though the congregation had developed an aversion to longer services over this period of time.

7.7 Role of the Priest

7.7.1 Duties of the Priest

The Council Minutes the 10th April 1986 contain an interesting report back from C of A's Vestry Meeting:

Ian Cowley/duties of the Rector – prayer, Holy Communion, preaching, organization and training of parishioners, confirmation, education/evangelism, counsel and advice/study of scripture. Ian Cowley finding administration, care of church, finance hindering his real role – should be handled by church wardens.

The note speaks specifically about the role of the rector, but these would apply equally to any priest actively ministering in a parish situation. At the time of this meeting, Cowley understood his duties, but was clearly struggling to carry out those duties. Holy Communion is second on the list and is quite clearly a prominent role for an Anglican priest as the laity cannot celebrate Holy Communion without an ordained priest, unless reserved sacrament is used. When asked if he ever paraphrased the Eucharistic Prayer, Cowley stated quite strongly that he had not:

I wouldn't have, I don't think I would really have been comfortable with making up my own, kind of, improvisation, on the Eucharistic prayer [...] you know I, it helps, I mean, my view would be, part of

the value of liturgy is that, you've got, it frees us from our own particular preoccupations and idiosyncrasies [...] because we're not there, just to impose my view of what the church should be, praying, at this critical point for instance around the consecration, rather we are given words, that are words of the whole church, which we, suspend our personal, um, perspective, at the, when we are in that priestly role [...] um, because we pray with the church and the words given to us by the church.³⁶³

In this sense, Cowley believed that the priest is called to give up his/her own beliefs, theology and 'hobbyhorse' and become the representative of the church. Cowley identifies the liturgy as a key aspect that helps the priest to achieve this emptying of self and ministering on behalf of the church. Furthermore, Cowley has a very strong sense of the priest in the context of episcopal ministry:

Well, I think my role, my theology here would be as the presbyter, priest, overseer, elder, New Testament terms [...] I am the kind of focus of unity in the congregation, in the, in a role given by God and the church [...] and so the priest presiding is that person who has, that responsibility under the bishop and under Christ for the unity and the reconciliation, um, of the body of Christ, so it's a kind of symbolic role [...] um, but also a role indicative of the weight of responsibility and oversight, um, that has been given to me by God and the church.³⁶⁴

³⁶³ Ian Cowley, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 1st September 2010 via Skype. pp. 9-10

³⁶⁴ Ian Cowley, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 1st September 2010 via Skype. pp. 17.

This excerpt stresses again that priesthood is a role that has to be stepped into. It is clear that he understood his role as priest as a lessening of himself and a taking up the office and function of priest. Whether this was the reality in practice is unlikely. We have seen already that Cowley was a very different priest to Lund, because each person brings his/her own bias to the priesthood.

7.7.2 The Ordination of Women

One of the most significant changes during the period of Ian Cowley is the ordination of women. Cowley only mentioned this in passing when we were discussing the admission of children to Communion:

Well, it was a new thing, I mean, so many things changed around that time, of course there was the whole ordination of women that had preceded that [...] but admission of children to communion was, kind of new in the church [...] and it was something I supported quite strongly.³⁶⁵

It is odd that Cowley makes so little of this issue as it was a major change in the way in which the church views the priesthood. The congregation of Ascension had changed dramatically from the time of Vernon Lund when Council voted against the ordination of women. In contrast, the Council Minutes of the 21st April 1993 reflected:

It was unanimously agreed “we the Parish Council of the Church of the Ascension fully endorse the ordination of women into the priesthood on an equal footing to their male counterparts.”³⁶⁶

³⁶⁵ Ian Cowley, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 1st September 2010 via Skype. pp. 13

³⁶⁶ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 21st April 1993. pp. 33

This decision was followed up in the same year with the announcement that Margie Wishart would be celebrating Communion for the first time at the 8:00am service on the 19th December.³⁶⁷ Based on this announcement it is unlikely that Cowley was seriously opposed to the ordination of women. As rector he could have made it very difficult for a woman priest to exercise a ministry at C of A, but this was not the case with Wishart.

7.7.3 Priest as the Proclaimer of ‘Good News’

My interview with Ian Cowley included a very poignant moment when he asked if he could talk about a significant experience for him, during his time at C of A. It is fairly lengthy, but quoted in full here as it expresses an important part of how Cowley understood his role as priest:

A significant memory [...] was that early in 1990, I think it was, De Klerk had, we'd had all the drama with P.W. Botha who had been, kind of forced out of the presidency [...] and F.W. De Klerk had become the new president, and there was this session of parliament, and I had picked up, that something was going to happen, I mean nobody really knew, but [...] there was a sense that something was going to change and that De Klerk was going to be different [...] and so I actually made a point, I remember the day, so clearly, listening to his, speech, on my radio in the Rectory, in Church of Ascension, and amazing speech and, I start to, my eyes fill up as I tell you, because he announced, just absolutely... staggering things, Nelson Mandela will be released [...] we will, you know, have to change [...] the ANC will be un-banned, the South African Communist Party will be un-banned, these will happen in the next few days, all of this is in place, and we are entering a new, and I

³⁶⁷ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 24 November 1993. pp. 39

just [...] I was so... shaken by what, and I, we had been working, and longing, and praying, and crying to the Lord for so long [...] and I walked out, I went to that big bell next to the church [...] and I mean, St. Anne's was in school and everything, it was as if the world was, Hilton was just, normal sunny morning in Hilton [...] and I just rang that bell [...] for maybe twenty minutes [...] just to ring out, that God had intervened and South Africa would never be like it had been [...] um, and I don't know how many people heard the bell ringing [...] um, but that's such a strong memory for me.³⁶⁸

This is clearly a very emotional memory for Cowley. I was moved as an interviewer hearing him tell the story. Cowley didn't use these exact words, but as I listened to him, it was plain that for him, the news of Mandela's release and the unbanning of the ANC, et cetera, was like the Gospel unfolding in his hearing. The way in which he describes Hilton is as if the community, by and large is, is oblivious to the coming of the Kingdom of God expressed in the changes the country was about to undergo. He describes the experience as if he would explode unless he could share the good news of the country's first steps toward liberation. As a politically aware evangelical priest, Cowley proclaimed the Gospel by ringing that bell.

7.8 Contextual Relevance

7.8.1 Zulu and the Sunday Service

On the 27th February 1986, the issue of 'sharing communion with blacks' was considered alongside a discussion of the Kairos Document.³⁶⁹ This

³⁶⁸ Ian Cowley, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 1st September 2010 via Skype. pp. 10-11

³⁶⁹ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 27th February 1986. pp. 52

appears to have produced little real action. Certainly the Council Minutes report nothing further on the subject until 1989 when Dennis Bailey proposed the possibility of a bilingual service in English and Zulu.³⁷⁰ It took Council several months to agree on the principle of Zulu being incorporated into the 9 am Sunday Eucharist.³⁷¹ Cowley reflected on the attempt to incorporate Zulu into the services:

One of the, things that, I was keen to do was to try and see the Eucharist not in racial terms, which of course in South Africa, and especially then, and even to a considerable degree today, all sorts of elements tend to mean that white people, tend to want to worship in white congregations, in their own language, and Zulu people, but, um, and I hope I'm not... misremembering here [...] but I certainly would have wanted, and I think I did on occasion try and introduce some measure of Zulu and tried particularly to build bridges with the Zulu afternoon congregation, when, we arrived, there was this afternoon congregation that used to meet [...] um, in the, and I made a particular effort to go there, to, take the Eucharist, sometimes in Zulu, for them [...] and I, you know, learned to be able to, do the Eucharist in Zulu, and also to do the Eucharist in Zulu for Sweetwaters, so, um [...] those are the kind of things I was trying to do.³⁷²

The idea behind incorporating Zulu into the service was to create an atmosphere for multiracial worship. It would appear as though the C of A recognized the need to be racially inclusive, with the language implications, but never really made the transition. Later Cowley alluded

³⁷⁰ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 17th May 1989. pp. 126

³⁷¹ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 22nd November 1989. pp. 137

³⁷² Ian Cowley, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 1st September 2010 via Skype. pp. 7

to the reality that people were not really prepared to make the change to a bilingual service and that there was very little racial mixing in the worship services.³⁷³ This is clearly reflected in the Council Minutes of the 16th January 1991, which record that a monthly Eucharist was arranged for the Zulu Congregation at 3:30 pm on Sunday afternoon.³⁷⁴ Despite the intention to integrate a multilingual and multicultural congregation, the races remained divided at C of A.

7.8.2 Celebrating the Eucharist Beyond the Church of the Ascension Building

In the previous section the attempt at making the Sunday services more multiracial was considered. By and large this did not work out; however, there is evidence of the rector going into Zulu communities to celebrate the Eucharist. Beggs recalls talking to Cowley about appropriate places to celebrate the Eucharist:

I remember talking to Ian about slavery [...] and the making of eunuch, and the shedding of blood through the emasculation, and the defilement that shed blood brings on the land... I remember speaking to him about the enforcement of apartheid policy, and the blood that had stained all our police stations [...] and these are the places for us to go, and share the Eucharist, this is no condemnation, it's just saying at that stage these are, I think the theological train puts you behind the altar...³⁷⁵

³⁷³ Ian Cowley, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 1st September 2010 via Skype. pp. 8

³⁷⁴ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 16th January 1991. pp. 158

³⁷⁵ Graham Beggs, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 16th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 11

This excerpt from Beggs ends with his reference to ‘behind the altar’, which is his way of saying that theological training in general is too insular. Beggs has more concern for the church outside the four walls of Ascension. Though Cowley remembers nothing of celebrating in police stations, he does recall moving beyond the four walls of Ascension:

I sometimes, I mean, I’m rather racking my brain here [...] but, ah, and at, St. Gabriel’s, Nxamalala, that’s what I was thinking of [...] I used to go down and take a service there from time to time, or even, I seem to remember taking a service and taking the Eucharist in Zulu at, St. Michaels in Sweetwaters, but um, factually, you would probably have to check for sure [...] I think I used to go on Sunday afternoons, I can’t remember when it was now, I’ve probably got it written, in diary somewhere [...] I think I, used to occasionally used to do a Zulu Eucharist, because I remember driving over there and doing the service [...] at St. Michaels in Winterkloof³⁷⁶

This is the first time that we have evidence of a rector from C of A celebrating in Zulu. Although the inclusion of Zulu in the ‘white’ morning services failed, the rector at least made an effort to accommodate a language other than his preference at other sites.

7.8.3 Sunday Services with Shock Value

Smith remembered very vividly a Sunday Eucharist that she found truly shocking and offensive. This was true of her reaction at the time, but it was clear in the interview that she may have mellowed but still disapproved of the incident:

³⁷⁶ Ian Cowley, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 1st September 2010 via Skype. pp. 8-9

And if I can go back to Ian Cowley's time I think we had, it was a peculiar time I think with, that was a time when people, can I mention people's names here [...] people like Dennis Bailey were given a bit of license and that upset quite a lot of people cause we came to church one day and in the doorway were a bunch of very scruffy youngsters and they held placards up and they were saying "Jesus or the army". Nothing else [...] and then they did a play in there about, that if you went to the army then you were evil because you were supporting the system and lalalalala and you know a lot of the guys had gone on service on the border and that sort of thing, and it was very political [...] And that actually upset a few people as well, you can imagine.³⁷⁷

The fact that this happened in the context of a principal Sunday morning Eucharist is significant. Here we have an instance of the Eucharist being used as the context for addressing the political situation in the country, in this case the Border War. Smith went on to capture, what I believe was, the prevailing attitude of many parishioners at C of A:

Well, firstly, remember old bishop Tutu [...] and I mean he really spoke out against things, and in the beginning the people thought the church should do church things and not have, you know, and then as we progressed, we realized, I think I'm talking really generally here [...] that the church had a social responsibility, to speak out against sort of apartheid things and so on and so forth, and then all of a sudden there was a swing to, supporting the, the old Arch and he got seen in a totally, Rob gave, my husband gave up coming to church for a year because he was so upset with him,

³⁷⁷ Georgina Smith. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on the 24th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 5

and I was just saying, you know, sort yourself out, Tutu is not the head of my church, Jesus is, you know, anyway he came around and now he thinks he's great [laughter] it's confusing, and then we have people like that, like Dennis Bailey coming in... and making people feel guilty, because they've gone to the army, that they had to repent of going to the army, meanwhile, they didn't actually feel that, because they were just serving the country, they weren't serving the apartheid regime, even if they were running the army, you know [...] and a, so there was quite a lot of that, intolerance, plays and things in the front of the church that were quite, very controversial...³⁷⁸

The attitude of Smith is that white people shouldn't be held responsible for what they were ignorant of, yet when a priest like Dennis Bailey exposed that ignorance there appears to be quite a negative reaction. That may be too simplistic a reading of the situation; It sounds like Bailey aimed to offend and not merely illuminate. Yet this kind of 'shock tactic' was often the way the 'good' religious people experienced Jesus in his time. We who hear again the Gospel stories and enter into the Eucharistic liturgy are often so far removed from that that the immediacy of belief has been lost.³⁷⁹ In the words of Paul Ricoeur, we need to experience a *seconde naïveté*³⁸⁰ in order to experience the subversive nature of the Eucharist. Was this incident mentioned by Smith at a time when the Eucharist was 'broken open' and interpreted again by the parishioners of C of A? Cowley remembered this Service and reflected on it in the interview:

³⁷⁸ Georgina Smith. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on the 24th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 4-5

³⁷⁹ Ricoeur, Paul. *The Symbolism of Evil*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1976. pp. 351

³⁸⁰ Ibid

Well it was all part of what was going on of course [...] that kind of thing was highly controversial, in a, community like Hilton [...] I mean, I don't know if you can imagine it today, but, I, it's not that difficult even now, to imagine how, provocative that could be [...] ja, so that did happen, and I found myself in a position, where I wanted people to be challenged, but I also didn't want the church to become just a forum for political, kind of, um, grandstanding [...] um, you know the church is, we need to address these issues, but we need to, for me, address them in the context of, um, of being the people of Christ, and the worship and, the, liturgy and the Eucharist, so I, was trying to walk quite a delicate balance, and also being obviously aware that some people, would find this, highly, provocative [...] because of the conservative mind-set that many many white people still had in those days and probably still do have to some degree [...] although things have changed a lot...³⁸¹

From Cowley's remarks it would appear as though many people were merely offended. However, he does acknowledge at the end that things have 'changed a lot'. Earlier we noted Smith's comments and the initial negative response to Tutu from many white Anglicans, and how that attitude changed to support. It would appear that Anglicans don't like their rituals to be broken open, but when they are, powerful waves of change are released.

³⁸¹ Ian Cowley, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 1st September 2010 via Skype. pp. 9

7.8.4 A Curate of Colour

C of A was one of the first 'white' churches to have a 'non-white' curate before the group areas act was abolished.³⁸² Cowley remembers the time that Gary Thompson spent at C of A as a very difficult time:

We were one of the very first parishes to have a, a curate who was not white before the group areas act was abolished [...] so there was that whole, um, experience with Gary Thompson... and the pressure and the kind of stuff that in the National press because of the kind of threats and, um, I was aware of very direct threats [...] and so I think was Gary, so it was a scary time, and Gary, I mean, we had to face, do we move him and his family and his two small kids out of there, for their own safety [...] and Gary was absolutely adamant that he wasn't gonna move [...] and he was going to take the consequences because this was a prophetic act, to make a non-racial appointment.³⁸³

Cowley went on to say that the parish was very supportive of Thompson, and that the threats to Thompson came from outside C of A. With the arrival of Thompson, C of A had a person of colour taking a leadership role in the Sunday Eucharist. This is a significant issue and would have forced parishioners to confront racial prejudice if that existed within themselves.

³⁸² Ian Cowley, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 1st September 2010 via Skype. pp. 6

³⁸³ Ian Cowley, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 1st September 2010 via Skype. pp. 7.

8. The Eucharist at the Church of the Ascension from 1995 to 2002

As in the previous instances, this section will use elementary quantitative research methodology in order to establish the regularity with which the Eucharist was practiced as well as the number of parishioners who attended these services. The purpose of this is twofold; to give an indication as to how people responded to the style of service during the rectorship of Stuart Mennigke and to establish if services were based on lectionary or other patterns. From here the study moves into the more overt aspects of the Eucharistic liturgy as the research becomes qualitative in nature. The primary sources used are the interviews conducted and the synopsis of the Parish Council minutes.

8.1 Introduction to the Period 1995 – 2002

Stuart Mennigke began the interview by making it clear that taking up the position of rector at C of A was by the appointment of the bishop. Prior to this Mennigke was involved with Diocesan level training.³⁸⁴ Initially things seemed to go very well, in fact Mennigke remembers it as a ‘honeymoon’ period, but acknowledged that the ‘honeymoon’ was a precursor to serious conflict.³⁸⁵ The conflict, from Mennigke’s perspective, seems to centre on the transition from an evangelical worldview that permeated the Church to his different worldview. Near the beginning of the interview he articulates very clearly what his worldview was, particularly in the context of his predecessors:

³⁸⁴ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 1.

³⁸⁵ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 4

Well, so going back to Vernon Lund where there was a strong charismatic and renewal space there, it caused many people to come there, it was defined probably by a much more charismatic theology, as I understood it, and then defined by an evangelical theology in Ian's time and then defined in mine by a more middle of the road, traditional, or even Anglo-Catholic theology [...] and I suppose if you had to ask what my theology was, I would have said, that it would have been, more middle of the road Anglican as well as, liberal, and um, I was involved at the time, as I was in Johannesburg, of training the first women to be ordained in the Diocese of Johannesburg, I needed a liberal theology to be able to do that... in terms of spirituality I would have been um, fairly open and um, multi-faceted.³⁸⁶

Mennigke went on to say that he was confronted by very powerful evangelical people who were part of the parish. These people included Michael Cassidy who founded African Enterprise and Calvin Cook who was a retired biblical scholar.³⁸⁷ Furthermore, Mennigke acknowledges that his liberal style was 'too much' for many of those who had been long standing members of C of A and were used to a more conservative theology, yet he stated categorically that he did not apologize for the more challenging theology he espoused.³⁸⁸ Beggs picked up on this challenge that Mennigke brought:

³⁸⁶ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 3

³⁸⁷ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 3

³⁸⁸ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 6

Stuart's strength amongst us, was the challenge, to who we were as a people of God [...] and not, a safe and cosy place, of saying we are this, and we just sit kind of thing [...] and he really, um, brought, a deep deep challenge, and one of his themes, um, dealing with various crisis in life, out of darkness comes life, out of the tomb comes the resurrection [...] he brought a deeper sense of realism [...] theologically speaking... he was a man who, himself, was able to point people, to the life, and he was excellent at interpersonal ministry, but he was a bombastic administrator... finish, he had his own journey, he was heading somewhere, and, ja, that's enough said, um, if he could manipulate and organize and orchestrate and consolidate and [...] that for me was, the total undoing of Stuart.³⁸⁹

This is a fascinating comment from Beggs as it offers a completely different perspective on the cause of conflict. It is clear that Beggs deeply valued the theology and spirituality that Mennigke brought to the C of A. For Beggs, the conflict was not due to Mennigke's theology, but rather to his autocratic style of administrative leadership. Interestingly, Hitchcock had a different slant on this administrative leadership:

Um, so, then Stuart came along, and, for me, everything was just flip flopped [...] I was still on parish council, um, I found him, an incredibly good administrator, he ran the parish like a business [...] he would have pie charts and, graphs and, it was my way or the highway.³⁹⁰

³⁸⁹ Graham Beggs, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 16th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 7.

³⁹⁰ Mignon Hitchcock, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 24th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 6.

Although Hitchcock speaks of things being ‘flip flopped’ with the arrival of Mennigke, she considers his administrative leadership a real ‘blessing’. This may be because Hitchcock has a deep conviction that people needed to be led and ‘told what is right and what is wrong’.³⁹¹ This is rather ironic as the implication is that Mennigke’s theology is liberal, but his leadership is more fundamentalist and dictatorial. This dictatorial approach seems to have significantly affected the style of worship on a Sunday, according to Henning:

I’m not being derogatory towards Stuart, but this is fact, this is facts, I mean this happened, he, was um, you know very strictly liturgical, that’s why we didn’t sing, uh, Christmas carols, because liturgically it didn’t fit in. And, um... things cooled down, just put it that way and things became, formal, correct, and um, and that was the approach. It, um it didn’t really work, because I think, um, I think we had been used to a different way of doing things.³⁹²

It is clear that for Henning, the arrival of Mennigke with his highly structured style and obviously autocratic leadership resulted in real disappointment. This period seems to be marked by disappointment of the priest in the people and the people in the priest, which inevitably lead to conflict. I conclude this section with one of Smith’s vivid memories regarding this conflict:

Stuart... I think people didn’t really feel freedom, because they didn’t want to do anything wrong, because he would be down on people when they did things wrong, I mean I actually know

³⁹¹ Mignon Hitchcock, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 24th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 16.

³⁹² Dennis Henning. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 13th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 3.

someone who left the church because he picked them out for doing something up at the mic [...] in front of other people, not in front of the church, it was when we were having practice, you know for worship time, it was in that time, and he actually left the church, he didn't like being spoken to like that, you know.³⁹³

8.2 The Service Register

Looking at Figure 7 below displays a fairly standard number of services, when one considers that there were the three services – Thursday morning and the two Sunday morning services – per month. The very interesting thing about this graph is the gentle rise in the number of services over the period of Lent, Holy Week and Easter. The graphs for Lund and Cowley both displayed dramatic increases in the number of services during this period. When I asked Mennigke about service during Lent to Easter, he replied:

We had a one morning, we had an extra Eucharist on one morning of the week during Lent [...] ja, which was part of some Lenten course or other, or it was just the opportunity to come to the Eucharist early in the morning before work.

There is no sense of wanting to have more services and being thwarted by Council or unsupported by the Parish. Therefore we must conclude that extra services – besides the one he mentions – were simply not a priority for Mennigke. This strikes me as odd for a priest who considers himself an Anglo-Catholic.

³⁹³ Georgina Smith. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on the 24th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 10

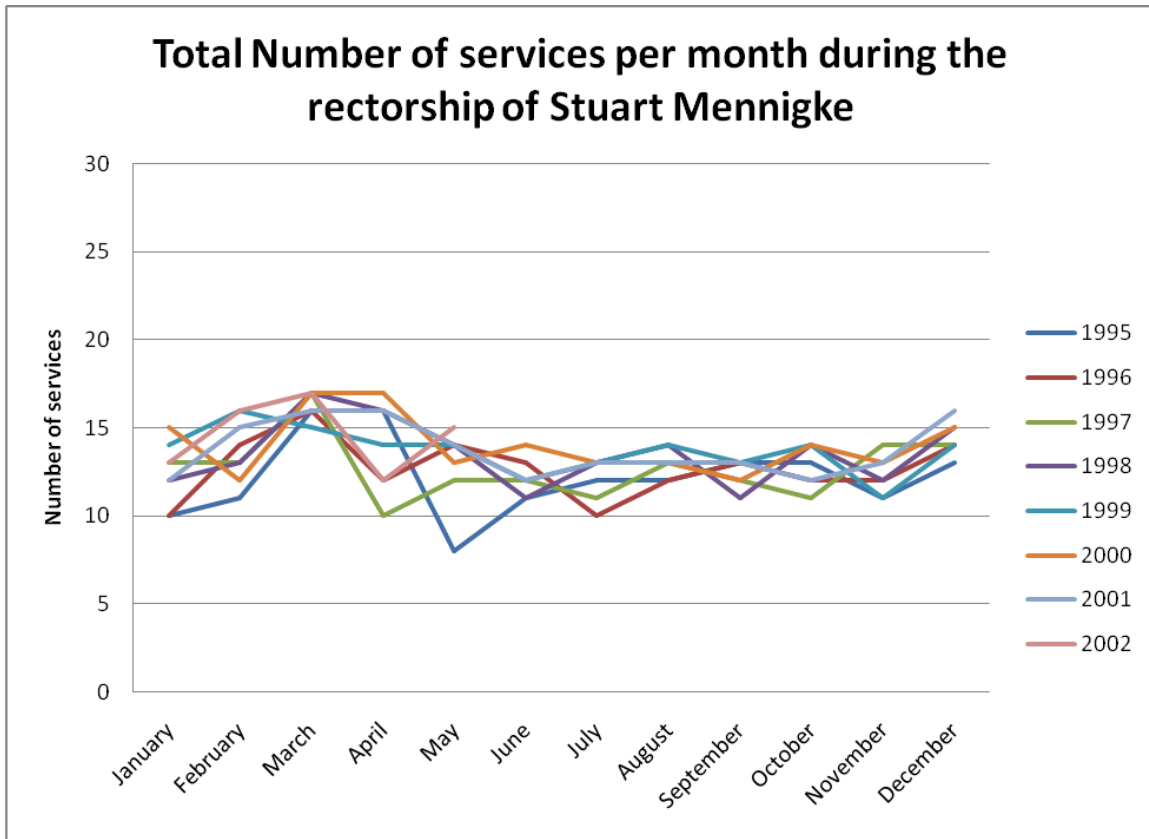


Figure 8: Mennigke, Total Number of Services

Figure 8, which records the average number of people who were attending the Sunday Eucharists, tells a story of a gradually declining number of worshippers. Mennigke seemed to be aware that the congregation declined numerically during his rectorship. Quite early in the interview, with no prompting, he volunteered his understanding of why the numbers declined:

I think the time moved to a time of enormous growth, you know in a spiritual sense, spirituality perspective and... um, so I wouldn't have been surprised at all if that kind of growth of the Church of Ascension was arrested somewhat [...] because people then started saying do I want to be part of this place, you know under this

priest, I just tried to stick quite closely with the bishop and church wardens [...] and say are we on the right track?³⁹⁴

In the above extract, Mennigke is basically asserting that his ministry encouraged a depth of spirituality which many of the congregation were not comfortable with at the time and therefore chose not to come to C of A for the Sunday Eucharist. Mennigke went on to speak about the tense political climate in the country as another factor that led to people leaving C of A:

It was also a time of reaction in the country, to, to liberal thought, liberal theology, and all those things so um, I think we started seeing the exodus of some people from Ascension to the Church of England in South Africa [...] um, it was not uncommon for people... to leave and go into other churches [...] the Church of England was growing because it had a politically more... conservative view, so it was a home for the Tutu haters and it was a home, could also be a home for people for whom Stuart's theology was just too way out, and un there was that happening, exodus of that and to some Pentecostal churches.³⁹⁵

This extract ends with a comment about people choosing to go to different churches. Later on in the interview, when Mennigke was questioned directly on the diminishing numbers at Ascension, he said there were certain cases where he encouraged very strongly evangelical or charismatic Christians to find a spiritual home that was better suited to

³⁹⁴ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 5

³⁹⁵ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 5

what they were looking for.³⁹⁶ I suspect that all of the above factors played a part in the slow decline in the number of people who came to C of A to worship at the Sunday services.

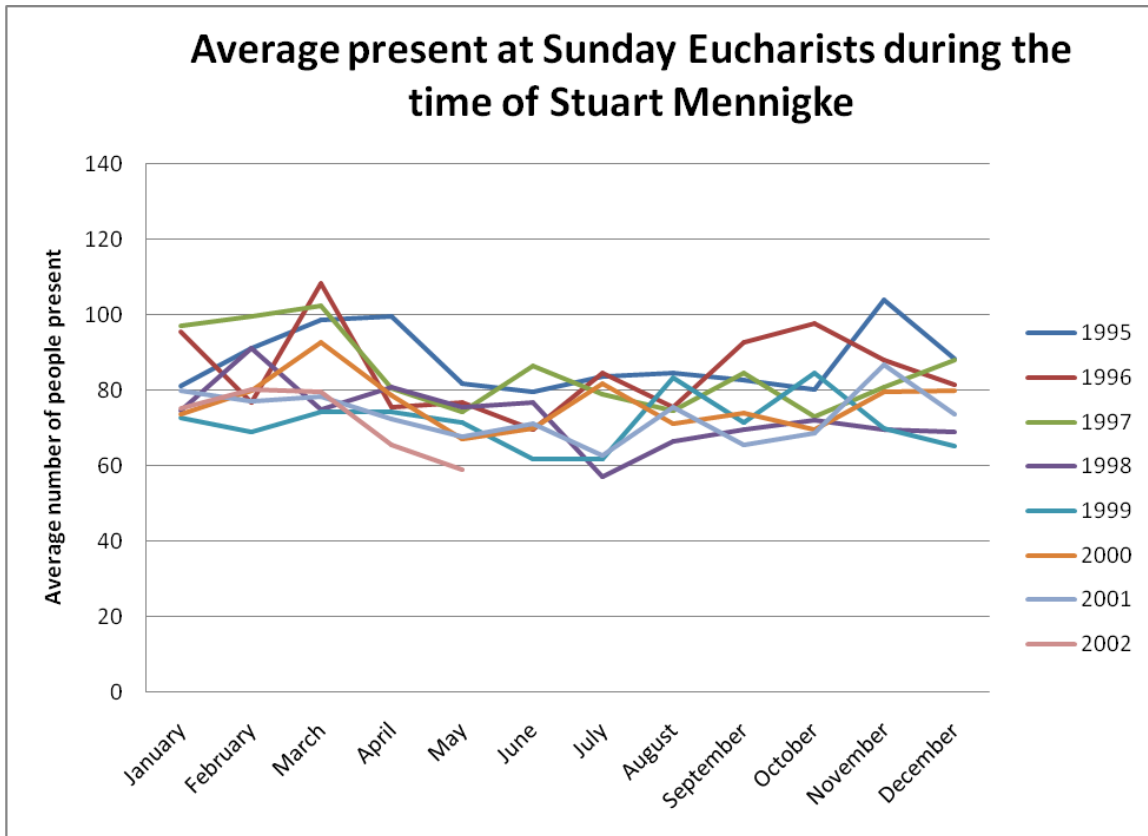


Figure 9: Mennigke, Average Present on Sunday

By contrast, Figure 9 displays stable and even growing numbers. This Thursday service seems to have been one in which Mennigke took a real interest, particularly when compared with his predecessors. Lund and Cowley tended to ask retired priests to conduct the Thursday service, whereas Mennigke was clearly involved in leading these services and pastorally involved enough to still remember individuals by name.³⁹⁷

³⁹⁶ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 21

³⁹⁷ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 19

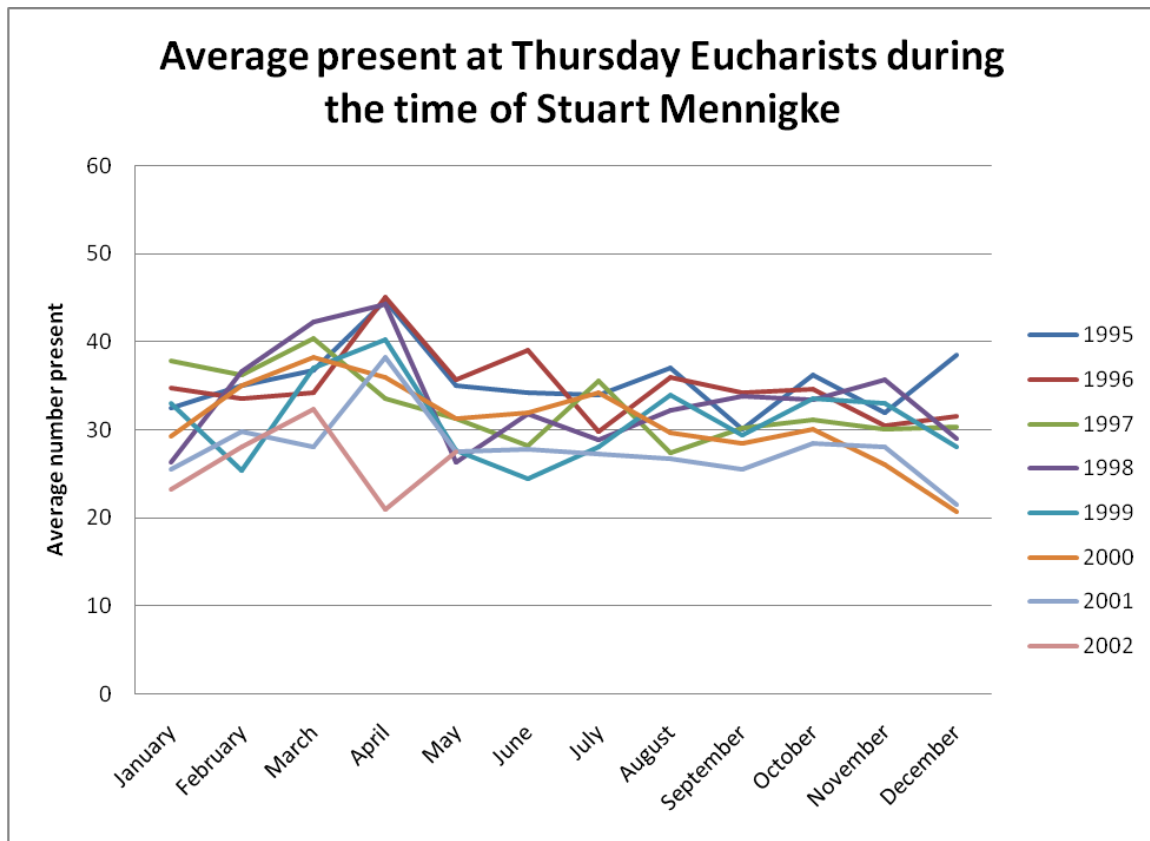


Figure 10: Mennigke, Average Present On Thursday

8.3 Language

8.3.1 The Ascendency of *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989*

At the time when Mennigke became rector of C of A, the South African Prayer Book was still being used at the Thursday service and Sunday, 7 am Service. The Council Minutes of the 28th November 1995 record the first initiative to include *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989* in the 7 am Sunday morning service if it is the fifth Sunday of the month.³⁹⁸ At the end of 1996 Council notes that the continued use of the SAPB on Sunday mornings needed to be reviewed.³⁹⁹ In the New Year Colleen Vietzen was commissioned by Council to draw up a questionnaire with the aim of

³⁹⁸ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 28th November 1995. pp. 4

³⁹⁹ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 14th October 1996. pp. 17

ascertaining whether to continue with the SAPB on Sunday mornings.⁴⁰⁰ By May of the same year, the questionnaire had been issued and the results collated. Based on these results, and acknowledging that discontinuing the SAPB was a sensitive issue, Council decided to retain the SAPB on Thursdays and on the first Sunday of each month in the 7 am service.⁴⁰¹ This pattern was to continue for about two years. During this time, there are several references to a negative attitude toward the SAPB recorded in the Council Minutes.⁴⁰² Council finally resolved on the 26th July 1999 to discontinue use of the SAPB at all Sunday services. Mennigke's preference was for the SAPB but came across pragmatically in the interview:

I mean of course I like the old South African Prayer Book, I think it's beautiful, um, but what it did mean is that it's not understandable to everybody, and for me it would have been around religious language [...] what is, you know some of that language mean, too big for us to understand, and that means that people coming into the church, it's fine for the oldies, but people coming into the church can't understand that language, therefore It's not right for us to use it liturgically, um, and then I think, I don't remember, for me it would just have been a normal kind of church debate or going on with whatever the congregation was requesting at the time, saying how do we move to, a new space [...] personally I would have been reluctant to drop the old Prayer Book, but I think for the reasons I've mentioned, and we still had it on Thursdays.⁴⁰³

⁴⁰⁰ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 17th February 1997. pp. 61

⁴⁰¹ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 27th May 1997. pp. 41

⁴⁰² Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 23 February, 23 June 1998. pp. 145, 132.

⁴⁰³ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 16

The fact the SAPB continued at the Thursday Eucharist may account for how well attended it was. In other words, those who were not prepared to worship with the 1989 Prayer Book, still had the option of receiving the Eucharist on Thursdays. Mennigke's own appreciation of the SAPB must be at least one of the reasons that it took ten years for C of A to move completely to the 1989 liturgy on Sundays. If Mennigke had been a more 'aggressive' reformer this could well have happened earlier. However, there remain Anglican churches in the Province which continue with the SAPB as the Liturgy for at least one of the Sunday services, the Grahamstown Cathedral for example.

8.3.2 An Awareness of Gender Inclusive Language Develops

The parishioners of C of A were made aware of the issue of inclusive language in 1996:

An extract from the bishops' Ad Clerum addressing the matter [*of inclusive language*] had been circulated. It was agreed that people would need to be slowly and very sensitively educated into the use of inclusive language. Two of the suggested versions to be read in public are the New Revised Standard and Jerusalem Bible. It was agreed to buy 2 New Revised Standard bibles to be available for those on the reading roster. The staff would gently introduce this concept to lay ministers and readers through training.⁴⁰⁴

The significant issue from a Eucharistic perspective is that the scripture readings in the context of the Eucharist are now to be from a gender inclusive version of the Bible. The Council Minutes record no objections to this move toward gender inclusive language. The current pew bible in

⁴⁰⁴ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 23rd January 1996. pp. 76

the C of A is the New Revised Standard Version. One can only assume that there was little or no resistance to the introduction of this version. The Council Minutes from the 29th June 1999 record the receipt of a letter from Moira Stubbings. According to the minute taker the letter requested that the SAPB be discontinued due to the sexist and paternalistic language. Mennigke recalled that letter in the interview:

Um, Moira Stubbings has a daughter, by the way, who would be seen as a liberal theologian, and a poet, so she must have got it from somewhere [laughter] but Moira herself was a fairly traditional kind of person [...] but she was very open to others views, but not afraid to voice them, um, I think there was the standard thing that was going on in the church at the time.⁴⁰⁵

The reader will remember that the move toward excluding the SAPB on Sundays came in the same meeting and so this letter seems to have been taken quite seriously. The ironic thing is that the 1989 Prayer Book is also paternalistic in terms of the language used. For example one of the opening praise sentences of the synaxis states; “Praise *him* you servants of the Lord.”⁴⁰⁶ And not; “Praise *God* you servants of the Lord.” This may mean that Stubbings’ letter had less to do with paternalistic language and more to do with a keenness to move toward using the APB exclusively.

8.3.3 The Value of Liturgical Language

The Council Minutes of the 2nd October 1995 record that there were some complaints about the liturgy being too repetitive. Council decided that it

⁴⁰⁵ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 16

⁴⁰⁶ *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989*. Ed. The Provincial Trustees of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa. Jeppestown: HarperCollinsPublishers, 2005. pp. 104

might be helpful to provide commentary on various elements of the Eucharist. This is the first instance of the intention to provide teaching on the Eucharist that we have come across from 1975. Mennigke has little patience with those who want to make the liturgy more creative by lessening the repetition. For Mennigke, it is precisely the repetition which is one of the liturgy's greatest strengths:

I mean I think it's nice to use alternative liturgies, but the reason that the bishop always says that they have to approve them is for that very reason, because if you say them often enough people will lose, what the faith is actually about and truth of the Eucharist is that even if you never listened to a sermon in your whole life, the constant recitation of the liturgy will put the faith into your mind, and into your heart, and into the cells of your body.⁴⁰⁷

Mennigke is really stating the principle of *Lex Orandi, Lex Credendi* as enshrined in the Preface to the 1989 Prayer Book.⁴⁰⁸ The direct translation of this phrase could be, as the rule of prayer, so the rule of faith. *Orandi* meaning those things requiring to be prayed, and *Credendi* meaning those things required to be believed. In other words the principal expressed is that the liturgy of the Church should express the faith of the Church; there should be a link between belief and worship. Is this just a lovely and eloquent thought that has no basis in reality? Henning was certainly not aware of the linguistic changes between prayer books:

Language, I wasn't aware of any change and I'm so used to the present one that, um, ja... I suppose if I looked at Liturgy '75 I

⁴⁰⁷ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton.

⁴⁰⁸ *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989*. Ed. The Provincial Trustees of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa. Jeppestown: HarperCollinsPublishers, 2005. pp. 10

would say, oh, you know, I would see the differences [...] but I, that never occurred to me and that was never an issue as far as I was concerned, we always, just, did what the priest told us to [laughter].⁴⁰⁹

The fact that Henning has no recollection of the change in language does not necessarily mean that he was not ‘imbibing’ the faith of the Church through the various liturgies. However, this is certainly not an overt process, but rather one that goes on subconsciously if at all. I suspect that for many people the songs or hymns that they sing are more influential in giving expression to their faith than a said liturgy.

8.4 Physical Elements

8.4.1 The Essential Elements

Mennigke was asked directly about what he considered the important physical elements of the Eucharist. He responded in the following way:

Oh, what should be there [...] ah, um, an altar or a table when its informal, because having Communion in homes was a strong part of the ministry for me, and you would have noticed that we would have had, recorded in the register, um, many more communions in people’s homes in areas, to try and take the church to where they were, um, and that also meant that it could reach people who weren’t church goers, so it would be interesting to look at that in terms of how many less people came to Sunday worship, and how many more people went to worship, or I don’t know [...] so table, but the altar because that’s the centre, one of the three centres of

⁴⁰⁹ Dennis Henning. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 13th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 14-15

Anglican worship, um, obviously the elements, um, the people, and something to show the light of Christ, um, and uh, but, if you were asking me, I would give those three, the lectern, the pulpit and the altar [...] you know, word read, proclaimed and celebrated.⁴¹⁰

The way in which Mennigke answers this question is helpful in revealing his theological understanding of the Eucharist. He begins, as may be expected, by speaking of the altar. Anglo-Catholics generally refer to the altar as opposed to the table. However, he uses both altar and table, but then uses the table reference to go off on a tangent about home Communion. It is clear that he considers the Eucharist to be a powerful evangel, especially when taken to the people in their homes. He then comes back to the point and names the bread and wine, the candles, and the people as essential elements. This last part is critical to an understanding of the Eucharist as a corporate act: for Mennigke it is impossible to celebrate the Eucharist by himself. This may seem obvious, but for Mennigke to mention it with the other essential elements it must be foremost in his understanding of the Eucharist. This was not the case with his predecessors' descriptions of the Eucharist. He then concludes with what sounds like a formula which he may have read or studied in college; the 'three centres of Anglican worship'. These inclusions of physical elements that relate to the synaxis as well as to the anaphora suggest a holistic understanding of the Eucharist.

8.4.2 Non-Essentials Paraphernalia

Mennigke never uses the phrase 'non-essential paraphernalia', but he does allude to various other physical elements that he certainly did not consider central, the first of which is incense:

⁴¹⁰ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 25.

I grew up with that, but as a form of worship, I realized that the Church of Ascension, it was new even to carry candles, and my motivation was to involve children, um, and bring some drama to the liturgy, but um... incense, no, it's just kind of a nice fun thing, creates a sense of awe and mysticism.⁴¹¹

Secondly, I prompted Mennigke about the issue of the procession being led under the sign of the cross. In his response he almost elevated the cross to one of the essential elements of the Eucharist:

Very, I instituted that, it used to stand against the wall, very beautiful silver cross, ja maybe that's another important element for me, it's important for me to have someone carry that in, why? Because that is the sign we follow, we walk under the cross of Christ, and for me it's not about carrying the cross, as a church act, but it's about saying to people, lift high the cross of Jesus and we come in with this cross, and we walk out under this cross, take it with you [...] ja, but I think, that's what I believe, but I don't necessarily think other people understand it.

The cross has been retained in the non-essential section because Mennigke did not speak of it on his own accord, but was an idea that was 'planted'. However, the gusto with which Mennigke 'takes up the cross' and his sombre concluding words indicate that he is not a fan of the 'theology of glory' and has thought deeply about the way of the cross. This is critical to his understanding of the Eucharist as a sacrificial act.

⁴¹¹ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 25.

Thirdly, it was during Mennigke's time that the stained glass windows were installed. At R3000 per window in 1997, this was no small undertaking. The monies were raised by asking the parish to donate in memory of loved ones.⁴¹² Mennigke spoke about the importance of the environment for worship:

Ja, beautiful environment is very important for worship for me, yes, um, I think that attitude and mystical attitude and atmosphere is very important, the Church of Ascension has always been a church, I mean people built a beautiful little church to go and worship in, and um, I think to enhance that was quite important, but, more importantly in a way, or as important to get people to make a contribution with their gifts and their abilities, to say I have given to the church, I have invested in that, and to use somebody else's ability to make something, but ja, you know in that church we deliberately, whoever made that decision, I was part of it, but we went for very light stuff, because the darkness of the church, not heavy stuff like in the sanctuary [...] um, or like the St. Anne's chapel [...] uh, because we needed to keep light in there, but also um, I suppose we didn't want to draw over much attention, you know we looked at the architecture and the level of the light and all that stuff, I think it was mainly to let light in [...] but, those things would be very important for me.

It is clear from the above extract that the stained glass windows were unlikely to have been installed if Mennigke had not been rector. He obviously took a significant interest in motivating for them and choosing the appropriate style.

⁴¹² Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 27th October 1997. pp. 7

Thirdly, Mennigke spoke of the importance of an organ. The Council Minutes from July and August record lengthy discussions about the instalment of an organ, where it was to be situated and how it would affect the aesthetics of the church.⁴¹³ Mennigke commented on the organ in the following manner:

... the organ, and a musical instrument would also be important for me [...] but I don't need a musical instrument to worship, and um, both with Gill and after her, the voice was the most important thing for worship, the organ isn't more important than the piano for example, just an organ is useless, thank God we've got rid of the Yamaha electronic piece of thing you know [laughter].⁴¹⁴

Gill Watson was one of the parishioners who led music at C of A, Mennigke makes it clear that from his perspective the voice is more important than any instrument. Hitchcock commented on Mennigke's insistence on the voice when she speaks about his chanting:

The Eucharist remained central, it didn't change, he tried to frilly it up, he tried to be quite fancy in his, sort of um, what's it called, when the monks all chanting and [...] and quite high church for Anglicans and very, um, rich vestments and things, but they were outward trappings, the Eucharist, for me personally, didn't change because of his different style of worship⁴¹⁵

⁴¹³ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 28th July & 25th August 1998. pp. 112, 123

⁴¹⁴ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton.

⁴¹⁵ Mignon Hitchcock, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 24th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 6.

The reference to a High Church style of celebrating the Eucharist is quite clearly a development in an Anglo-Catholic direction.

The last instance of a non-essential physical element is the acquisition of albs for young people who had volunteered to help with services. The Council Minutes record this issue on the 27th October 1997:

Many young people had offered themselves as Servers and would be trained. Albs had been organised for the Servers.

This minute reveals that children were not used to being servers prior to Mennigke arriving at Church of the Ascension. The provision of Albs for children is a significant gesture of including children in the Eucharistic worship of the church.

8.4.3 The Installation of the Aumbrey

On the 22nd September 1998, the Council Minutes recorded that Nicky Ing motivated for the installation of an Aumbrey with an accompanying red light.⁴¹⁶ I was surprised that this was not motivated by Mennigke himself, based on the way in which he spoke about the Aumbrey in the interview:

There are a lot of tired people in that congregation because they've worked hard during the week, so home Communion for me was um, the ambrey, well, where do you, keep, the sacrament, you know you don't want to keep it in the safe in the vestry, and I'm too Anglo-Catholic to do that, um, out of respect for the Eucharist, um for me it is an evangelistic tool and a social responsibility tool, to take the sacrament, you know to take Jesus to people where they are, because for me, not only taking them Communion, you are talking,

⁴¹⁶ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 22nd September 1998. pp. 104

the Gospel and to read the Gospel and say something about the Gospel [...] and then give them Communion⁴¹⁷

It is probable that Ing and Mennigke had discussed this issue before the meeting and that Ing was tasked with presenting the proposal to Council. The Aumbrey falls somewhere between an essential, and a non-essential physical element. Mennigke's insistence on home Communion and his continual reference to it, indicates that he cannot conceive of a Church that does not practice this ministry. However, engaging in this practice reveals much about Eucharistic theology. Henning seemed to understand this, because at one point he suggests that Mennigke believed in transubstantiation more than any of the previous ministers. When asked why he thought this, Henning responded by referring to the Aumbrey:

Ja, ok, I'm getting to that, because he then introduced, I don't know what you call it, that little thing at the back where you put the host and the... [...] Ja, he introduced that, and he introduced the red light, indicating that there was, um, that behind the altar⁴¹⁸

Henning, with his Methodist background, is a memorialist and opposed to any notion of the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist.⁴¹⁹ Therefore he is sensitive to this change in the theology of the Eucharist, implied by the installation of the Aumbrey.

⁴¹⁷ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 17.

⁴¹⁸ Dennis Henning. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 13th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 13.

⁴¹⁹ Dennis Henning. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 13th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 8.

8.5 Role of the Laity

8.5.1 The Strong Emphasis on Lay Participation

The period of Mennigke's rectorship is marked by significant lay involvement and participation. The Council Minutes are riddled with references to the growth of lay ministry. Mennigke expressed his deep commitment to fostering lay involvement and participation in the services, just after he speaks about the role of the priest:

Um, and then we could use a lay ministry in terms of reading, and preaching, and praying, which was a strong part of, life in that parish [...] so it was a demonstration of the orders of ministry in the Eucharist, which I think people, plus people have children's ministry, bringing children in after they had been taught, and people with other ministries, so there are things for people to do, to welcome people, to hand out books, to play musical instruments, to read to pray to celebrate to preach, all this stuff, so for me the Eucharist is a base on which all the ministries of the church can be demonstrated, pastorally when the, I don't know if you still have it, if you still have people that look after areas pastorally, can speak to people, gather their little flocks together, have them together, young people can participate, old people can participate, quiet people can participate, noisy people can participate, and for me that is why the drama of the Eucharist um, is an all-embracing thing,⁴²⁰

It is highly significant that Mennigke views the Eucharist as the 'base' from which to demonstrate all the ministries represented in the Church. This emphasis displays that, for Mennigke, the Eucharist is the pinnacle

⁴²⁰ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 9-10

of the Church's worship. As we shall see in the following sections, this conviction was not just theoretical but resulted in the profound reality of lay involvement.

8.5.2 The Admission of Children to Communion

There are twelve references to various matters pertaining to the admission of children to Communion in the Council Minutes during the time of Mennigke. These references include the episcopal sanction of admitting baptised children to communion:

A letter has been received from the Bishop granting permission for the admission of baptised infants to communion. Eight children (not infants) would be admitted on Maundy Thursday. Mike McCoy's article on this subject was to be distributed as soon as possible to all parents in the parish who have young children, and the Clergy would be addressing the subject to the congregation from time to time.⁴²¹

We know from the previous chapter that children were admitted to Communion during the time of Cowley. However, it is clear from the above extract that the practice had not gained general popularity, the reference to the Bishop's letter and the need to circulate the McCoy's article is evidence that the parish still needed to be convinced. It is interesting that Maundy Thursday is chosen for the children's first Communion. This is probably a reflection of Mennigke's Anglo-Catholic bias with its stress on the 'historical' institution of the Lord's Supper. This issue of the admission of children to the Eucharist came up during the interview with Beggs. Beggs remained convinced that it is impossible

⁴²¹ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 26th March 1996. pp. 67

to change the Eucharist, but then went on immediately to state that the admission to Communion of children was a change:

The Eucharist can never change because the Eucharist is the authority of God, through the Son, empowered in the Holy Spirit, in the life of the church until Jesus comes again, the Eucharist can't change... ja, I would say that one of the major changes, and I think I'm correct, it started with Stuart [...] before Nic arrived, and that's the admission of children.

It is noteworthy that in the memory of Beggs, the admission of children to Communion only began during the time of Mennigke. Beggs was a very involved member of the congregation but seems to have forgotten about the children who were admitted during the time of Cowley. Thus, one can assume that the congregation only came to accept and support this practice during the time of Mennigke.

8.5.3 The Role of Children in the Service

The inclusion of children in the leading of Sunday services was very important to Mennigke. The Council minutes record that Family services were happening on the fifth Sunday of every month, and that young people were involved in leading the services. Mennigke commented on this during the interview:

I think just, I don't remember the detail of that, but uh, I wonder if it wasn't on that day that children didn't go to Sunday school but the sermon was given in church to the whole congregation with the focus on children, and the liturgy should be run by, or partly run by children, or if it wasn't run by them, they were participating in it

[...] and for me that was a real thing and I did it, regularly, and I loved that.⁴²²

The Council Minutes from the 23rd January 1996 offer further insight into how young people were included in worship services and how they experienced them:

It was suggested that young people be encouraged in the reading of prayers, administering of the chalice, leading worship etc. This would be a good opportunity to teach the different tradition of the Church. The Council agreed unanimously that this was indeed necessary. Brent Brady and Brendan Smith mentioned that for them there seemed to be a lack of vibrancy and enthusiasm in the worship at present and a request was made for sermons to be more “life situation related.”⁴²³

Brent Brady and Brendan Smith were young people who were part of the parish. Presumably they were invited to Council to offer comment on the services from a young person’s perspective or their views were gathered by a Council member and then presented. The fact that young people’s perspectives were represented at Council is in itself a significant development, let alone the proposed roles for young people in the services. Mennigke’s Anglo-Catholic approach of incorporating more elaborate processions had clearly created space for young people to participate more fully in the services. The irony is that the young people themselves seem to find this style of worship less vibrant, although this may be a reference to the style of music and not the inevitable structure that enters a service with multiple people taking leadership roles. Later

⁴²² Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 15

⁴²³ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 23rd January 1996. pp. 75

entries into the Council Minutes record that progress was made, particularly in training young people to be servers and ministers of the chalice.⁴²⁴

8.5.4 The Ministry of Lay People

The Council Minutes are full of references to the recruitment and training of lay people to fulfil various roles in the context of the Sunday Eucharist. Based on the Council minutes there can be no doubt that during Mennigke's time there was unprecedented growth in the number of lay ministers and other lay leadership roles. It is fascinating therefore that Henning is utterly convinced that there was little or no lay involvement during the time of Mennigke:

The way I'm understanding you, is, like now, other people read part of the liturgy [...] that never happened during Stuart's time, I can be sure of that, I think it has only, it has just started now [...] As far as I can remember, but I may be wrong there, but as far as I can remember it never happened, there again, it would never have occurred to me as being different [...] or, unusual.⁴²⁵

Why is Henning so convinced that Mennigke shut down lay involvement in services? Henning seems to be a supporter of the more charismatic style of Lund, which allowed lay participation in different and more spontaneous ways.⁴²⁶ In the mind of Henning, this change in the nature of the participation was really no participation. The big change here is from

⁴²⁴ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 29th July 1997. pp. 26

⁴²⁵ Dennis Henning. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 13th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 15.

⁴²⁶ Dennis Henning. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 13th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 3

a spontaneous to a more formal style of service. Mennigke alludes to this, particularly his expectation of how lay people should conduct themselves when leading the liturgy:

I would have suggested that it would be good manners for people working with a priest to do, to kind of follow, the lead of that person, so that they were comfortable, but um, but I don't like sloppy liturgy, I think that liturgy needs to be, um, done well, enough so that it becomes second nature, so that people don't think about it, so they can think about what they're doing, so you have to go through a stage where, um, how people speak, what they do, and how they do it, you know is important, so that you could get on to the real stuff, I would think... when I say correctness, for me from the heart, it's really not about making sure that we fold our hands properly, it's about, can I make myself as inconspicuous as possible when I'm leading worship so that I can get on and proclaim the word, I mean that's what it's about, but that might be a more mature attitude.⁴²⁷

In the introduction to this chapter I made reference to the autocratic style of Mennigke, and his dealing with lay leaders seems to be a case in point. Despite the 'explosion' of lay people who were drawn into ministry, there was a general feeling of discontent with the strictures imposed on them. Beggs articulates this well:

I think the, the strictures that a lot of people felt, that we were squeezed out of the same mould, if you were a lay minister, this is exactly how it happens, when you stood at the front, you stood like this, when you read, you read like this [...] so it left people,

⁴²⁷ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 14

although he recruited, and he's the one who got going all the readers and the prayers and etcetera which was phenomenal and all got going and the welcome desk and all that kind of stuff, but the structure was [...] if you made sure you, fulfilled your role according to the book⁴²⁸

Perhaps this is why the role of children was so successful. Children are used to being told what to do without being offended. Thus Mennigke's autocratic style was not such a stumbling block to them, especially when compared with the adults.

8.5.5 The Training of Lay People

As has been the trend through this section, the Council Minutes record regular instances of training being offered for newly recruited lay people. The most significant of these training sessions was a seminar on 'Liturgy in Africa'. Gill Watson, who was one of the music group leaders at C of A⁴²⁹, attended this seminar held in Grahamstown and reported back to Parish Council, on the 28th November 1995. In her report, Watson commented that she found the reflections of John Suggit most enlightening:

Throughout his addresses, John drew attention to the importance of symbols in our liturgy... The importance of explaining the use of symbols to the congregation was stressed repeatedly. During a group discussion time, we came to the conclusion that most of us either reject symbols or blindly continue using them because of

⁴²⁸ Graham Beggs, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 16th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 7.

⁴²⁹ Dennis Henning. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 13th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 2

ignorance. There can be no argument against the use of symbols in our worship, even if we are rabid evangelicals, because our lives revolve around the use of symbols. Our task is to make the symbols that we use in Church relevant and meaningful and not legalistic.⁴³⁰

Informal conversations with parishioners have revealed that Mennigke and Watson clashed over the issue of how to lead services. Mennigke only hinted at the tension in the interview:

We had someone like Gill Watson who's directing music for a long period of time there and she was an Anglican, but her husband was a Baptist, I didn't tell her how to do it, I would suggest it could be done more effectively like this or that.⁴³¹

It therefore comes as no surprise that Gill Watson was sent to the liturgy seminar. Presumably, Mennigke hoped that some of Watson's more 'rabid evangelical' ideas could be tamed and she could come to appreciate a more Anglo-Catholic style of worship. The report suggests that this worked to an extent although Gill Watson ended up leaving C of A during Mennigke's time there.

8.6 Shape of the Service

8.6.1 The Three Components of the Eucharist

Mennigke offered a very sharp and to the point break down of how much time he believed should be allocated to each 'part' of the Eucharist:

⁴³⁰ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 28th November 1995. pp. 10

⁴³¹ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 15

I think I would have tried to suggest, to the congregation, that half the time, or no, a third of the time is given to the Eucharist, the Communion part [...] a third of the time is given to worship and a third of the time is given to the word [...] ja.⁴³²

The Three parts that Mennigke names are word, worship and Communion. It is interesting that when Mennigke talks about the music component of the Eucharist he uses the word ‘worship’, which could also be used for the whole Eucharistic service. Henning, who also uses the word ‘worship’ to describe the musical aspect of the service, states that during Mennigke’s era the ‘worship’ time became four hymns as opposed to free flowing worship the congregation was used to.⁴³³ By implication the time devoted to music was decreased. Henning is fairly scathing of this change to the musical aspect of the services:

Go right back, now, to Stuart where in fact it was straight up and down the line, we were now singing hymn so and so, bla bla bla, we sing hymn so and so, ok now we will do this, now we will do, in fact it was totally structured, ok, that was his approach, which is, you know, everybody has their different approach.⁴³⁴

The importance of the reading of scripture seems to have been elevated during the time of Mennigke. The Council Minutes⁴³⁵ record that training was offered for readers and a roster was set up, the implication being that this was not present before. In the interview, Mennigke expressed very

⁴³² Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton.

⁴³³ Dennis Henning. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 13th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 3.

⁴³⁴ Dennis Henning. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 13th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 4.

⁴³⁵ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 2nd October 1995. pp. 18

eloquently his deep regard for the scriptures and their place in the Eucharist:

There's no other denomination, apart from perhaps the Romans, who, are, bound to use three lessons and a Psalm, all the time, for me in every act of worship which we are required to do, so there is every opportunity to have a, strong diet of scripture, on a thematic and on-going basis, over three years to make sure that people touch into the scriptures, um and to expound the scriptures...⁴³⁶

Mennigke's reflections on the readings came in the form of sermons, meditations and homilies. For example, the Council Minutes from the 28th August 1998 record the following:

Alison reported that she had been asked to convey through the Parish Council the appreciation of members of the congregation for the Rector's meditative sermon and acknowledge the impact that it had made. (Parish Council had asked for more meditations in place of the sermon from time to time.)

However, responses were not always as positive as this about Mennigke's 'reflections' in the context of the Sunday Eucharist. Hitchcock for example is highly critical of Mennigke's words from the pulpit:

His [*Mennigke*] teaching was, bordered for me on new age, it was very suspect, so when my children started wanting to worship

⁴³⁶ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 9

elsewhere, I was happy for them to go, I don't, the teaching was not solid,⁴³⁷

It is clear from this extract that Hitchcock has a particular 'teaching' style of preaching in mind and Mennigke simply does not meet her expectations. There are no references to the change of the shape of the anaphora during the time of Mennigke; however, the percentage of the whole service devoted to the anaphora increased because the time devoted to music decreased. This is a change to the anaphora, when viewed in the context of the service as a whole.

8.6.2 Time Issues

The theme of complaints about services being too long, which began during the time of Cowley, is continued in Mennigke's era. The Council Minutes record three such instances. The first instance is a reference to one of the family services and states that the family service should not be longer than an hour.⁴³⁸ The Second instance is a proposal to radically re-shape the Sunday service:

Have a shortened service one Sunday and then have discussion groups available for people to go to.⁴³⁹

It is quite ironic that in a period of such autocratic leadership there are such creative ideas about structuring and re-structuring the Sunday services. I have no idea if this idea was employed; it may have been squashed by Mennigke. But at the very least, the idea was voiced and

⁴³⁷ Mignon Hitchcock, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 24th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 6.

⁴³⁸ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 17th February 1997. pp. 65

⁴³⁹ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 29th June 1999. pp. 41

recorded. The real point though is that the proposal is for a *shortened* service. The last Minute regarding time is simply a complaint that the services were too long; this was voiced in the meeting held on the 27th February 2002.⁴⁴⁰ Thus the community of the C of A continued to develop a desire for shorter services through the time of Mennigke's rectorship.

8.6.3 Eucharistic Centrality in all Life Experiences

During the interview with Mennigke, I asked him if he encouraged Nuptial and Requiem Masses. This question produced a great deal reflection from Mennigke, which I have reproduced in full below:

I would always encourage people to um, to have a funeral in the context of a Eucharist, if at all possible, um, because it removes the focus from the person and puts it on the Lord, uh, and the same with weddings, um, so um, I have always been a strong proponent of that, particularly for funerals, but, those weddings may also have been people who, themselves, were sacramental in nature or [...] one of the family was brought up as a Roman Catholic, or, but I would certainly always have encouraged, I would always ask people, and I still do, do you want to have a nuptial mass, do you want to have a requiem mass [...] um, and then explain what the difference is, and 'no I just want the short bit its fine, no we can't expect people to sit through that', but I don't know, for example, how we would have contained, something like, Kerry Forsythe's funeral, outside of the Eucharist [...] how we would have contained the emotion of that little girl's death, the Eucharist shifts the focus of, um, death to the focus of the Eucharist, which is the life and death of Christ, and removes the focus from the individual, from the person and the 10 thousand eulogies that we go for today and all

⁴⁴⁰ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 27th February 2002. pp. 67

that junk! I mean, sorry [laughter] you know, it's part of our anthropocentric stuff, rather than our, you know who are we emphasizing, such a strong, anthropocentric sense these days, the Eucharist removes that, well it changes it into who is the focus of our faith, Jesus is the centre of our faith, and he is the centre of life and death, not us [...] so um, ja.⁴⁴¹

This extract offers us a significant window in the Christocentric faith of Mennigke. In order to live out this Christocentric faith in his ministry, Mennigke seems to have actively encouraged all acts of worship to be conducted in the context of the Eucharist. In this way, Mennigke is very different from Cowley and Lund who would not have encouraged the Eucharist to the same extent.

8.7 Role of the Priest

8.7.1 Directing the Congregations Style of Worship

At the beginning of this chapter it became clear that Mennigke was experienced as a manipulative person by at least some members of the congregation. Smith was one of those who felt that Mennigke was a domineering personality, and she articulates how this domineering personality came to influence the congregation's style of worship:

He was a really good administrator and organizer. And then of course he was also very good at music and so on. But that again created quite a few problems because he would interfere quite a lot with the music director as it were, [...] and want things his way. He was very pedantic [...] and that came across of course. We had to do

⁴⁴¹ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 23.

things correctly. [...]. You know, if you think of the freedom we have with our present incumbent, you know, [...] although its organized and everything's as it should be, there is a sense of freedom, which basically Stuart managed to dominate, a lot... and I found Stuart, as much as I got on with him and everything, I found him quite manipulative, for a priest, you know, it was an eye-opener for me.⁴⁴²

Mennigke suggests a completely different scenario, one in which he makes all the concessions and felt that members of the congregation did not respect him:

I could specifically remember, for example, and it's still my practice, that if I knew that a lay minister had a very strong theological stance on something, like, genuflection for example, then I wouldn't do that if they were working with me, I would bow, or, if they really were, arch-evangelical, I wouldn't do that, I wouldn't bow [...] out of respect for them, I don't know if they ever wanted to do anything out of respect for me [laughter]⁴⁴³

The Council Minutes record several instances where the changing style of worship is questioned and protested against. For example, on the 23rd June 1998 there is a complaint about unaccompanied singing in church.⁴⁴⁴ On the 26th July 1999 there is a suggestion that the wearing of robes be discontinued.⁴⁴⁵ As I stated earlier in the chapter, there is clearly tension

⁴⁴² Georgina Smith. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on the 24th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 3

⁴⁴³ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 14

⁴⁴⁴ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 23rd June 1998. pp. 127

⁴⁴⁵ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 26th July 1999. pp. 26

between the style of worship preferred by the priest and the style of worship preferred by ‘most’ of the parish. This begs the question, what is the priest to do in such a situation? Should a priest simply put aside his/her preference and serve the congregation what they want and have always had, or should the priest challenge the status quo? I think Mennigke tried for a balance, in his own mind at least. However, the reality seems to be that he instituted too much change and in an autocratic manner.

8.7.2 Priestly Presence in the Community

Smith describes an Archdeaconry scheme, whereby one priest serves a number of different communities. There are many instances in the Anglican Church, particularly in rural communities, where one priest serves many small communities. From Smith’s comments, it is clear that the Hilton Community expected to have their ‘own’ priest. She describes the situation and her reflections below:

Stuart started that whole Umgeni Parish thing, wanting to, and it was the most ridiculous thing, because no church would have its own priest [...] and we were dragged along with all these plans and things [...] and uh, *and my husband was a leader in the church* at the time, we realized afterwards, the main thing was that Stuart wasn’t making ends meet and it was more for a financial reason for himself [...] oh ja, because, what he wanted was, for there to, you know all the priests come together and then rotate and take turns, so that he could be free to go and do that other job that he had lined up, you know the one, where he, did training, in business [...] and

basically, um, we realized it was because he wasn't making ends meet, and he needed to do something extra.⁴⁴⁶

The issue of who started the 'Umgeni Parish' initiative and why it was started, matters little to this research paper. However, the expectation on the part of Smith of a priest dedicated to serve C of A alone is significant. It would appear as though, according to Smith, Mennigke did not recognize this very strong understanding of the priest in the eyes of the laity. Smith felt very strongly about the presence of the priest in the community and went on to say that the 'Umgeni Parish' would never have worked:

This thing will never never work, you know people need to know that they have a priest, that they can turn to, not I wonder who is going to be there next week, you know that sort of thing.⁴⁴⁷

If we consider Mennigke's very strong highlighting of home Communion, it would appear as though he did recognize the importance of a priest being present and active in the community. At one point in the interview he commented quite poignantly on how tired people in the community were:

So I think the Eucharist is a space where we, come back to be fed because we are tired, and my point was that there are so many people in the Church of Ascension, who were doing amazing things, in their work context, there were a lot of self-employed people, sort of small businesses in that congregation, who were doing amazing

⁴⁴⁶ Georgina Smith. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on the 24th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 5

⁴⁴⁷ Georgina Smith. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on the 24th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 5-6

things in their work, context, for their workers, and so I think the social responsibility thing, in my opinion, was um, from that perspective, quite high, people educating their domestic workers children, taking, deep interest in the lives of those people, and so I think it all balances itself out, but in terms of the Eucharist as, um, and home Communion as a, part of outreach, there was no doubt in my mind at all, about it, we are people that are sent out into the world, and we say that at the end of every Eucharist, um, and then we are supposed to do that and then come back for more [...] and we come back to be fed, and there are a lot of tired people in that congregation because they've worked hard during the week, so home Communion for me was ... um for me it is an evangelistic tool and a social responsibility tool, to take the sacrament, you know to take Jesus to people where they are, because for me, not only taking them Communion, you are talking them the Gospel and to read the Gospel and say something about the Gospel [...] and then give them Communion.⁴⁴⁸

These comments from Mennigke seem quite different from some of Smith's perceptions. One gets the idea of a priest who is rather intimately involved in the lives of the congregation and who longs for them to come to Communion but recognizes the struggles which the people had in making Communion. Of course the idea of the Umgeni Parish happened towards the end of Mennigke's time at C of A, therefore it is entirely possible that Mennigke was very present and pastoral in the beginning and then began to withdraw in order to pursue a part time means of income, as Smith suggests.

⁴⁴⁸ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 17-18

8.7.3 The Central Role of the Eucharist

As an Anglo-Catholic, Mennigke is very aware of the historical Episcopate leg of the Lambeth Quadrilateral.⁴⁴⁹ As such he understands his role as priest in the context of the Eucharist as a delegated task exercised on behalf of the bishop:

The Eucharist... means that God's people can have, the whole, act of, um, reconciliation weekly, and I think that's so important in a world that, doesn't like to say sorry, about stuff, um, it's a centre of community life because, eating is the most natural thing for a community of people, and eating around the Lord's table is the most natural thing for, Christians, I think, um, and um, and it spells out the different ministry that can be available in the church, so to be true to the Anglican Lambeth quadrilateral, it says this is the place of the episcopate, this is the place where the Bishop delegates and the Shepherd teaches, and the priest is just part of that ministry, but it also gives um, opportunity for, the operation of a threefold ministry, a visible one in the Eucharist, so and in the time I was there, we generally always had deacons, because we were training people for ministry [...] so we could use in the liturgy, what it meant to have a diaconal ministry, a ministry that spelled out service to the community, what it meant to have a priestly ministry, the one who celebrates the Eucharist, an Episcopal ministry when it was there, baptism within the Eucharist always, confirmation within the Eucharist,⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁴⁹ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton.

⁴⁵⁰ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 9.

From the above, it is apparent that celebrating the Eucharist is a key and central function of the priest, in the understanding of Mennigke.

Mennigke refers to the threefold ministry of bishops, priests and deacons, each with their clearly defined roles. This is a very hierarchical view, and I am left wondering if this is a partly why parishioners experienced Mennigke as autocratic?

8.7.4 Ensuring That the Laity Have a Role

We have already noted that Mennigke was very concerned about drawing parishioners into taking leadership roles in the service. This desire to include the laity and provide a role for them arose again in our discussions about the Thursday Eucharist. The pattern for the Thursday services before Mennigke is that there is no discrepancy between the number of people present and those who receive Communion. This had generally been the case because the Thursday service was attended mostly by elderly people who all received. There were seldom children at these services as there were at the Sunday services. The presence of non-Communication children is often what accounts for the discrepancy. However, the graph below displays that there were discrepancies at the Thursday Eucharist in the time of Mennigke. When I questioned Mennigke on this phenomenon he commented as follows:

No, at that time there were, a lot of people who were retired [...] and um, for me, part of evangelical outreach is getting people to come to worship, where the word is proclaimed, because then they don't have to feel as uncomfortable when its proclaimed in their ear, so we had a lot of people whose spouses were Anglican, and they wanted to come to church with their wives, or husbands, and they were not confirmed, and, I mean just off the top of my head I can remember 4 or 5 of those people... Ja, and so for them it would

be important to come to church with their spouse and to come to worship.⁴⁵¹

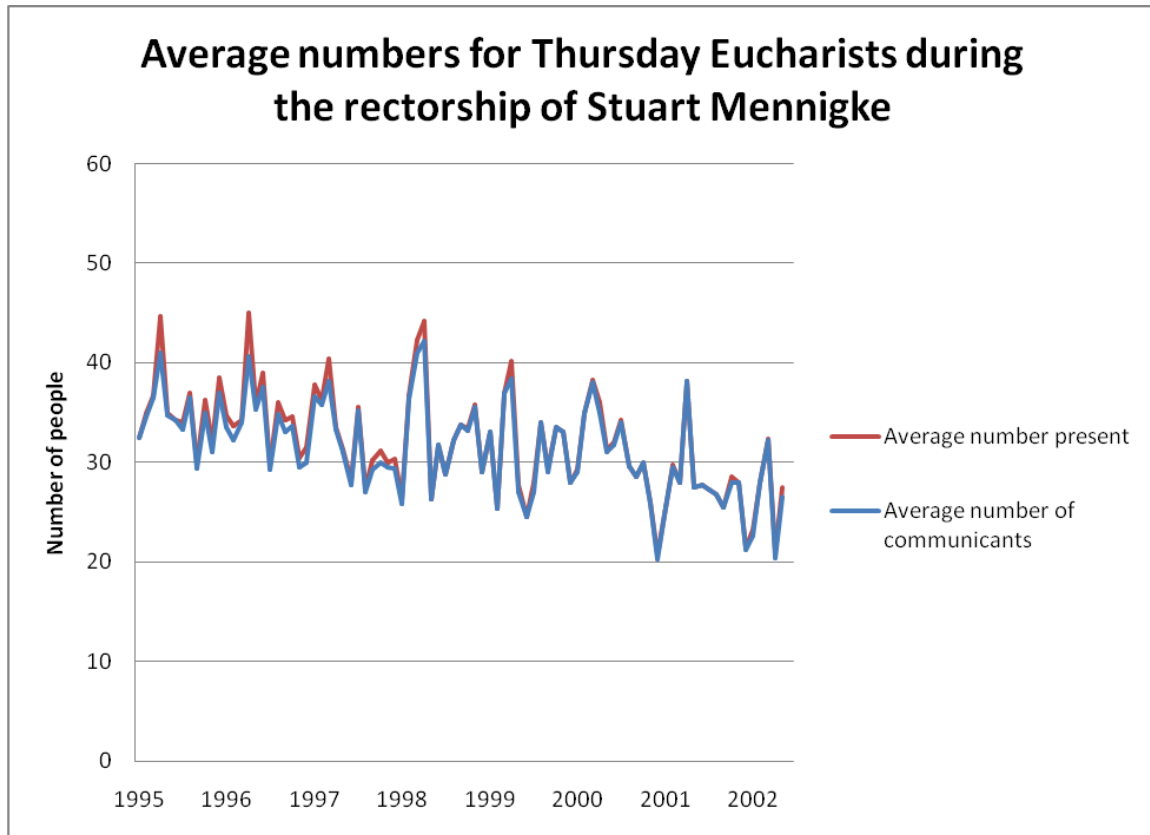


Figure 11: Mennigke, Average Numbers on Thursday

Therefore the discrepancy can be explained because there were people who were not baptised and confirmed Anglicans attending this service with their spouses. This in and of itself says something very interesting about the role of the priest, as understood by Mennigke... the priest has a responsibility to restrict Communion to those who have been baptised and confirmed. Mennigke then went on to assert that he understood his role being to challenge those who were not confirmed to consider this:

⁴⁵¹ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 19.

My challenge to them as to whether they should be confirmed or not, they didn't think was so important... I remember George Bentley for example, uh, he had a Salvation Army background, but very important for him to come to worship and it was a way that I could make sure that somebody had something to do, so he could be a sidesperson, he could hand out books, he could carry out the offertory, or whatever, he could welcome people, but he was not a sacramental type, so, I would say do you want to ever be prepared for Baptism, well Confirmation, no, that's fine, so, that's interesting that, hey?⁴⁵²

Despite the challenge to get confirmed, this is an example of a more accommodating approach from Mennigke than what we have heard from the other parishioners. George Bentley may not remember it quite as warmly as Mennigke tells it, but it is significant that Mennigke went out of his way to give Bentley a role in the service. It is very interesting then that Hitchcock, who attended the Sunday Eucharist, experienced Mennigke so differently:

Anybody who wanted to partake of Communion was welcome, whether you were a Buddhist, practicing Muslim, um, non-baptized worshipping member of the community, if you felt you wanted to, that was my understanding of, what was being preached.⁴⁵³

Did Mennigke respond differently to the Thursday congregants as opposed to the Sunday congregants? Does Mennigke want to be welcoming to other

⁴⁵² Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 20.

⁴⁵³ Mignon Hitchcock, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 24th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 13.

faiths, but think it necessary to hold Christians, of whatever denomination, to a higher standard?

8.8 Contextual Relevance

8.8.1 Social Responsibility

When I asked Mennigke about the socio-political conditions during his time as rector, he immediately connected the social outreach practiced by the parishioners of C of A with the Eucharist:

I think one of the important socio-political things that we did although it was actually a social responsibility issue, was um, starting the Umgeni AIDS Centre, from that church... and there were lots of socio things happening, Sarah Dottridge ran a, um, outreach ministry which has B.E.E. a long standing thing, Graham Beggs was involved in the, and um, what his name, the other chap, his name evades me now, was also involved in those things, was there, is there a link between those? I think that people came to the Eucharist as the central act of worship, with them they brought the reports of what they did, but I think, um, and advertised their wares, maybe, reported back to the congregation, but that could have happened at anything, any kind of active worship, um, but I think that, um, from, for myself the whole thing of, life death and resurrection speaks of the cycle of the reality of life, um and that for me is what the Eucharist is about, it's about the cycle of life and the reality of life, and um of people crying together in penitence, of people being fed together through the word, people eating together and people being sent out together, so um, at Church of Ascension it wasn't so much being sent out together, they liked it if there were other people doing those socio responsibility things, like Sarah

Dottridge, oh she could handle anything, Graham Beggs he could handle anything, um, all these people could handle lot of stuff but, hmm, it's quite scary for us, you know.⁴⁵⁴

The primary social issues during the time of Mennigke seem to be the issue of HIV and AIDS along with economic justice. Mennigke asserts that the Sunday Eucharist was the time at which those ministering to address these issues could have their say. For Mennigke this is the ideal context and yet it seems to have had very little impact on the congregation at large. It would appear as though there were only a handful of people who actually gave of their time to these ministries. The majority of the congregation were happy that 'their' church was doing something, that their 'tithe' was being used to address the critical issues of the time. During Mennigke's ministry the congregation were invited to participate in the AIDS programme by placing groceries or money in a basket placed at the front of the church on their way to receive Communion.⁴⁵⁵ This again highlights the important role of the Eucharist during the time of Mennigke, yet this sharpened focus on the Eucharist did not seem to truly transform people other than placing a few rand or a few groceries in the basket.

8.8.2 Towards an Integrated English and Zulu Service

The Council Minutes contain several entries giving detail about the Sunday afternoon Zulu Eucharist at C of A. For instance, in 1995, Council notes that about 22 people attend this service.⁴⁵⁶ However, various

⁴⁵⁴ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 10-11

⁴⁵⁵ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 26th January 1999. pp. 83

⁴⁵⁶ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 2nd October 1995. pp. 18

problems develop including declining numbers⁴⁵⁷ and people like Graham Beggs stating his opposition to the separate nature of the service.⁴⁵⁸ In July of 1997 the Council Minutes acknowledge that C of A is too Western and English. Council decides to consider Africanizing the liturgy.⁴⁵⁹ These considerations only really came to ‘fruition’ two years later:

It was agreed to purchase 10 Zulu prayer books and to notify parishioners that these were available for donation and “in memory of” if requested. As a gesture of inclusiveness Zulu-speaking readers would be offered the opportunity to read in their own language (if they so chose) occasionally at services. This would be sensitively explained to the congregation.⁴⁶⁰

The integration of Zulu into the principal Sunday services had clearly not happened by this time, or if it had, only haltingly. Based on the need to ‘sensitively’ explain the use of Zulu in the services to the congregation it is highly unlikely that this had ever been done before. Mennigke commented on the ‘failure’ to really incorporate Zulu into the principal services:

Ja, well there was a need to try and draw in other people, um, I don’t think we were ever terribly successful, because um, Hilton is where the wealthy people live and they all like to disguise that, they say we are actually very poor, we just live in Hilton, and there are a lot of people living in Hilton who don’t have lots of money, but its seen by everyone else as a rich place, so um, and because of where its located you would have to go and fetch people from other

⁴⁵⁷ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 23rd January 1996. pp. 74

⁴⁵⁸ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 14th October 1996. pp. 17

⁴⁵⁹ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 29th July 1997. pp. 25

⁴⁶⁰ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 29th June 1999. pp. 41

places to bring them to worship here, but at that time, more and more black people were for example, and some coloured people were, settling in Hilton, um, and Judge Herbert Msimang was one of them, and his family, so there was a gradual, growth of people, but also thought, you know we had some very good Zulu linguists among the umlungus in a, Church of Ascension, people who could do things in Zulu anyway, but no I think that people just wanted to be sensitive, and the Eucharist is a space which every Anglican can understand, it doesn't matter what language it's in, and um, I think there was one point at which we tried to have various parts of the liturgy in Zulu, whether they were sung or said, and like all congregations, who knows how successful that is, people want to go to church and worship in their own language, but then there were own language people and Bishop Nick Mbele and his family, you know, which is an extended family were also part of us at one point, and so a lot of that, you know, wasn't just my um, sense of what would be right and wrong, but, people like him as well, and the Umngeni AIDS person also, part of our employing the first lady for example into that was my, um, request to her that she needed to worship in our congregation [...] because if she didn't, um, how could she draw other people to church, and how could the people there know what was going on, and so she did worship with us as did others [...] I think it went up and down, I could never remember how many Zulu people, Zulu speaking people there were... we may have had a... few Zulu prayer books dotted around the place, so that someone coming in could be comfortable with what they wanted, of course most people come to a church, in this social setting, you know, going to be able to use English language, maybe it was also a bit of an outreach thing at the time, can we invite people here and

will they feel comfortable? But I think it was also a Diocesan initiative at some point [...] or it may have, I can't remember.⁴⁶¹

Ultimately, it is apparent that worship in Zulu was never really embraced at C of A. However, the presence of a person like Nic Mbele, who went on to become Suffragan Bishop of Natal seemed to challenge Ascension to at least be aware of worshipping in Zulu and the difficulties that arise in multilingual worship contexts.

⁴⁶¹ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 12-13.

9. Integrated Analysis

In this chapter the thesis question – how did the Eucharist develop at Church of the Ascension from 1975 to 2002 – will be answered by integrating the material gathered primarily in the previous three chapters. The documented evidence from each period will be collated and scrutinized in order to offer answers to the thesis question. The documented developments raise broader issues which were explored at the end of each section

9.1 Did the Worldview of the Priest Affect the Development of the Eucharist?

It may be helpful to start this section with an acknowledgement that the worldview popularly attributed to the priests in question was not always what it was said to be. For example, the overwhelming perception of Lund was his charismatic worldview, yet he thought of himself as Anglo-Catholic.⁴⁶² Not only did he think of himself as Anglo-Catholic, his understanding of the priesthood was Anglo-Catholic.⁴⁶³ Similarly, Ian Cowley was uncomfortable with being branded as an evangelical.⁴⁶⁴ The interviews demonstrated that attaching a theological label to a priest's worldview is unhelpful and misleading at times. Mennigke was the only priest whose 'label' – liberal Anglo-Catholic – was consistently authentic

⁴⁶² Vernon Lund, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 5th October 2010 in Pietermaritzburg. pp. 5.

⁴⁶³ Vernon Lund, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 5th October 2010 in Pietermaritzburg. pp. 21.

⁴⁶⁴ Ian Cowley, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 1st September 2010 via Skype. pp. 2.

in his understanding⁴⁶⁵ and practice as well in the way in which he was perceived by those who were interviewed.⁴⁶⁶

Having acknowledged the danger of attaching a label to the priests, who like all human beings have a complex and dynamic system of understanding and relating to the world, it was still necessary and helpful to categorize each priest. The label in all cases was congruent with the predominant theological worldview of each priest. The exceptions noted above merely proved the rule. The worldview of the priest certainly affected the Eucharist – whether it was speaking in tongues during the time of Lund⁴⁶⁷, forming bible study groups in the midst of the Sunday service in the time of Cowley⁴⁶⁸ or chanting the liturgy during the time of Mennigke.⁴⁶⁹ Each priest left his mark on the Eucharistic worship of C of A during his time as rector.

The transition from Lund – predominantly charismatic – to Cowley – predominantly evangelical – was a fairly smooth theological shift. There were other factors such as Lund’s rebaptism that led to upheavals. The transition from Cowley to Mennigke – liberal Anglo-Catholic – provided a theological crisis for many of the parishioners of C of A. Was such a radical change fair on the congregation? Mennigke raised this very question and implied that it would be better if bishops assigned priests to

⁴⁶⁵ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 3.

⁴⁶⁶ Mignon Hitchcock, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 24th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 6.

⁴⁶⁷ Georgina Smith. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on the 24th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 9.

⁴⁶⁸ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 4th October 1984. pp. 12.

⁴⁶⁹ Mignon Hitchcock, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 24th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 6.

parishes that better suited the theology of the priest.⁴⁷⁰ Mennigke did not consider the possibility of his theology changing to suit the parish. Should such a ‘chameleon’ quality – the ability to match personal theology to the most prevalent theology in the parish – be expected of a priest? I don’t think so. The theological convictions of a priest, whilst not static, should not have to conform to the whims of a parish. Therefore, the onus is on the bishop to pair the right priest with the right parish.

9.2 Were There Aspects of the Eucharist that did not Change?

The development in the liturgy of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa during the defined period was extensive. The movement from the *South African Prayer Book 1954*, to *Liturgy 1975*, to *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989* was significant. Not only did the Book literally change, the theology contained in the liturgy was radically reformed. The strong emphasis in the SAPB was on sin, repentance and absolution. The Eucharist in the SAPB was an opportunity to become ‘clean’ and find relief from guilt. The central theme of the Eucharist in the APB is that of a banquet and celebration. The mercy, love and grace of God are central. In essence the focus moved from humanity’s sin to the grace of God.

Despite these changes which have been documented, the overwhelming lay understanding at C of A was that the Eucharist did not change during the prescribed period.⁴⁷¹ There were times when the lay interviewees speak of

⁴⁷⁰ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 7

⁴⁷¹ Mignon Hitchcock, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 24th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11. Georgina Smith. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on the 24th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 9. Graham Beggs, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 16th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 16, 18. Dennis Henning. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 13th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 2, 8, 12, 14, 15, 18.

changes and developments and this appears contradictory to their strong conviction that the Eucharist did not change.⁴⁷² How could a lay person regularly attend worship, use liturgies from three different books whilst retaining a perceived reality that, despite the three different books, the Eucharist did not change? Is this a case of lay people who simply did not engage with the liturgy and therefore did not recognise the developments? Was it a case of priests who continued to celebrate in the same old way and did not help the flock to recognise and absorb the radical new theology? More likely those who were interviewed understood the Eucharist in a 'tight' or narrow way. If the Eucharist was simply about saying prayers over bread and wine and then mysteriously participating in eating the body of Christ and drinking his blood, then there was no change.

The failure of the laity to perceive the significant developments of the Eucharistic liturgy has serious implications for the long held principle of *lex orandi lex credendi*. The liturgy of the Prayer Book may 'carry' the faith, but the lay people who were interviewed did not appropriate the changing emphases of faith expressed in the revisions. Apart from a few instances during the time of Mennigke, the liturgy was not sung at C of A. The liturgy set to appropriate music which expresses the theology may be one of the ways to recapture this ancient principle and help the congregation to appropriate the faith expressed in *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989*.

Ultimately, the deep meaning of the Eucharistic liturgy needs to be in dynamic 'dialogue' with the current context. The old needs to inform the

⁴⁷² Graham Beggs, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 16th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 17.

new and ‘break open the myth’.⁴⁷³ Albert Nolan comments very astutely on our context of economic structures:

They are unjust because they benefit a few and condemn billions of others to poverty and destitution. That the poor get poorer and the rich richer is inherent in the very structure of this economy. It is the only way this system can work, not because the system upholds the right to private property, but because the profit motive that keeps it going puts no limits on private ownership. There are no limits to what any one person or corporation can accumulate while others have nothing and are starving to death. The system is so structured that one person can legally own a thousand times more than he or she will ever need, while it is illegal for a poor person to steal a loaf of bread. That is unjust – structurally unjust.⁴⁷⁴

The Eucharist has a significant role to play in this situation. Cavanaugh speaks of the economic implications of the Eucharist, asserting:

The act of consumption is thereby turned inside out: instead of simply consuming the body of Christ, we are consumed by it... In the Eucharist we are absorbed into a larger body... If we remain satisfied with the unity of our own communities, however, we have not fully grasped the nature of the Eucharist. For becoming the body of Christ also entails that we must become food for others.⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷³ Lathrop, Gordon. *Holy Things, A Liturgical Theology*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993. pp. 24

⁴⁷⁴ Nolan, Albert. *Hope in an age of Despair*. New York: Orbis Books, 2009. pp. 157

⁴⁷⁵ Cavanaugh, William. *Being Consumed, Economics and Christian Desire*. Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2008.

One of the key challenges for the Anglican Church is to help parishioners appropriate these deep truths of the Eucharist. In all likelihood making connections like this will upset people and may even shrink the church numerically.

9.3 How did the Style of the Eucharist Develop?

C of A celebrated at least three Eucharists in an ordinary week: the Thursday morning Eucharist and the two services on a Sunday, 7 am and 9 am.⁴⁷⁶ In this section the focus will be on the 9 am service. Lund started this service and was able to use it as a means of implementing a charismatic style that would not have been possible at the 7 am service.⁴⁷⁷ The style of the Eucharistic services was the aspect which the lay interviewees were most aware of, and the style which prevailed during the time of each rector was mostly harmonious with their worldview.

Lund incorporated charismatic manifestations in the services and emphasised the singing of a large number of choruses one after the other.⁴⁷⁸ During Lund's time the Eucharist was perceived as an added extra, tacked onto the end of the 'worship'.⁴⁷⁹ Lund encouraged the congregation not to use the prayer books during the saying of the liturgy but rather to respond 'by heart'.⁴⁸⁰ This responding 'by heart' was an

⁴⁷⁶ Ian Cowley, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 1st September 2010 via Skype. pp. 3.

⁴⁷⁷ Dennis Henning. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 13th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 18.

⁴⁷⁸ Georgina Smith. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on the 24th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 9.

⁴⁷⁹ Dennis Henning. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 13th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 2 & 3

⁴⁸⁰ Georgina Smith. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on the 24th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 8.

attempt to give the service a more spontaneous feel as charismatics seemed to be suspicious of set prayer because set prayers don't 'feel' authentic.

During the time of Cowley, the charismatic manifestations were restrained but contemporary music was still used in the service. The services became more structured but not without freedom.⁴⁸¹ The music component of the service was largely regarded as worship to the exclusion of understanding other aspects of the service as worship. There was evidence of a greater emphasis on teaching in the context of the Eucharist.⁴⁸²

With the arrival of Mennigke, the style of the service changed dramatically. Mennigke instituted a highly structured style of service with hymns as opposed to contemporary songs.⁴⁸³ The style became more traditional with the purchase of an organ and the installing of stained glass windows. Mennigke made it clear that the service should afford equal time to the music, liturgy of the word and the liturgy of the sacrament.⁴⁸⁴

There was a wide variety of factors that influenced the attendance at C of A, many of which were considered in the previous chapters. The style of the service – based on the lay interviewee's ability to discern its development in the Eucharistic services – was a significant factor. Figure 12 below reveals that the charismatic period of Lund produced significant growth. The evangelical period of Cowley produced a holding pattern. The

⁴⁸¹ Dennis Henning. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 13th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 2

⁴⁸² Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 4th October 1984. pp. 12

⁴⁸³ Dennis Henning. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 13th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 3.

⁴⁸⁴ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 25.

Anglo-Catholic period of Mennigke produced a slow decline in attendance.

The membership of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa is currently in decline and church leadership is committed to increasing membership with programs such as the ‘Growing the Church’ initiative.⁴⁸⁵ A simplistic application of Figure 12 below would indicate that a charismatic style may prove most successful in the numerical growth of the church. Adopting the charismatic style would necessarily lead to a reduction of the liturgy.

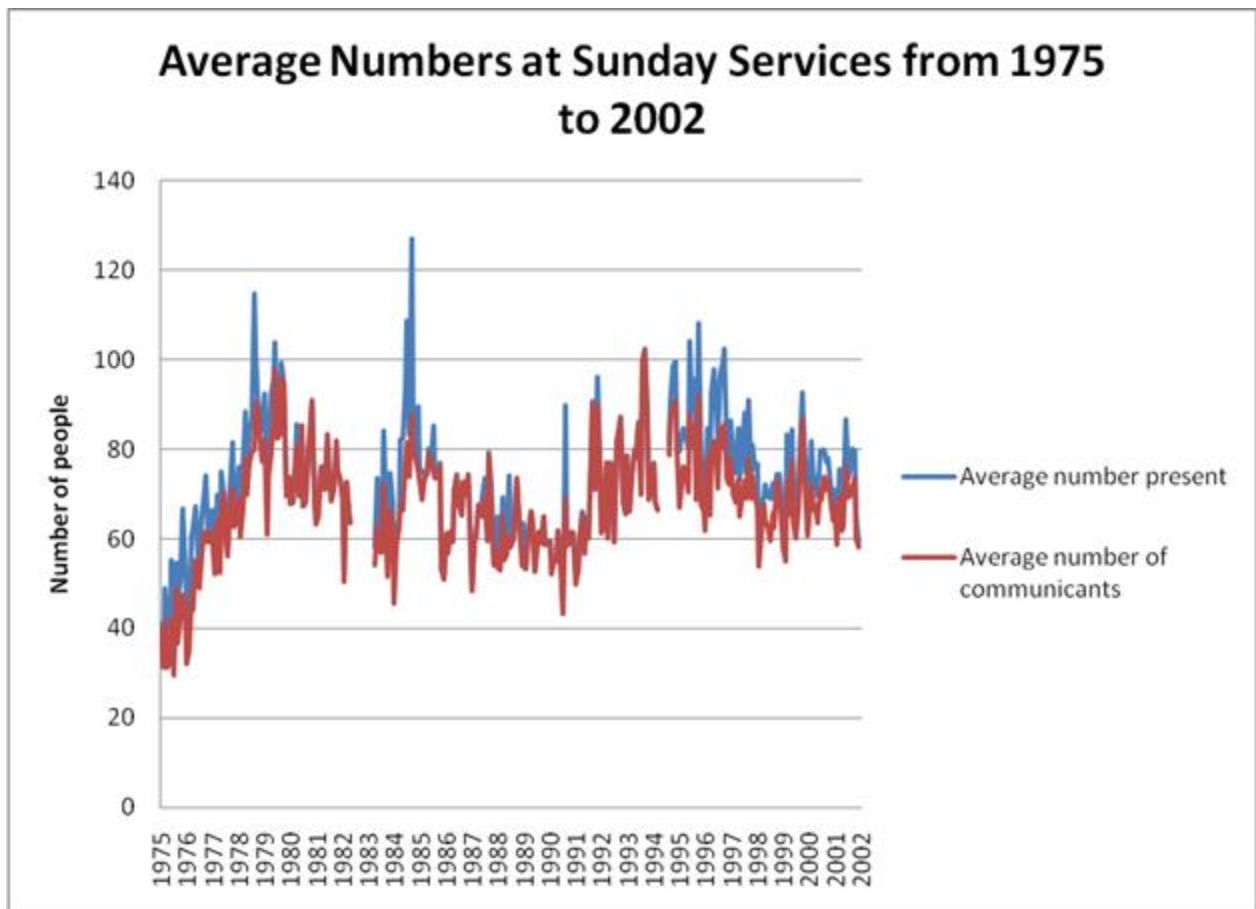


Figure 12: Entire Period, Average Numbers

⁴⁸⁵ Growing the Church. “About Growing the Church” Online:

<http://www.growingthechurch.org.za/view.asp?pg=about> Accessed 4th November 2011

Cenn speaks of church growth as a major challenge to traditional liturgy. The church growth movement often “advocates the abolition of traditional liturgy altogether as a primary vehicle of the church’s public celebrations.”⁴⁸⁶ Cenn goes on to assert that a traditional liturgical style can produce growth. He points to aspects of liturgical education, honouring the flow of the liturgy, well trained leaders of the liturgy, and sermons that “move the heart” as a means of liturgical communities growing.⁴⁸⁷ Many of these suggestions are precisely the aspects which Mennigke developed and yet the numbers declined. Those with a traditional Anglo-Catholic bias may have to accept declining numbers as the price to pay for continued Anglo-Catholic liturgical worship.

9.4 Did the Eucharist Transform the Community?

This section will focus on how the Eucharist inspired or failed to inspire the community to take seriously the context. During the time of Lund and Cowley, the apartheid system was the dominant issue for the church to deal with. Mennigke became rector as the country became a fledgling democracy; as apartheid was dismantled the church became aware of the devastation being caused by HIV and AIDS. Was the Eucharist made to speak to these issues and were the members of C of A transformed by this potential dynamic?

Lund acknowledged that his time at C of A was a period when the congregation was quite insular. The charismatic emphasis fostered a strong personal and inward focus.⁴⁸⁸ There was no evidence of a church

⁴⁸⁶ Senn, Frank. *Christian Liturgy, Catholic and Evangelical*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997. pp. 687.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid. pp. 692.

⁴⁸⁸ Vernon Lund, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 5th October 2010 in Pietermaritzburg. pp. 8

that seriously challenged the unjust *status quo* in the country. The two prayer meetings for the country, in the context of the Eucharist, were the only attempts at addressing the apartheid regime.⁴⁸⁹ There were some attempts at establishing a Zulu service on Sunday afternoons, but with no intention of integrating the races.⁴⁹⁰

Cowley was personally aware of the situation in the country and took a real interest in the Sweetwaters community. He celebrated the Eucharist in Sweetwaters and wrote a book about the ministry to the people of Sweetwaters.⁴⁹¹ Cowley invited Dennis Bailey, considered by many to be a bit of a firebrand priest, to speak on the issue of military service in the context of the Sunday Eucharist. As noted before, that service was considered highly offensive by many members of the congregation.⁴⁹² During this period the Council members become aware of the Kairos Document and, due to its influence, attempted to develop a racially mixed service with English and Zulu liturgy.⁴⁹³ The attempt was largely a failure and never came to fruition.

An attempt for a joint English and Zulu service was resurrected during Mennigke's time with similar results as previous attempts. C of A actually purchased several Zulu prayer books.⁴⁹⁴ However, the congregation viewed these as a wonderful gesture to Zulu speakers who joined the service. The intention was for the Zulu speaker to be able to follow in Zulu while the service was conducted in English. For a brief period one of the scripture lessons was read in Zulu, but this was discontinued fairly quickly. Several

⁴⁸⁹ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 2nd November 1978. pp. 91

⁴⁹⁰ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 4th December 1980. pp. 27

⁴⁹¹ Cowley, Ian. *A People of Hope*. Surrey: Highland Books, 1993.

⁴⁹² Georgina Smith. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on the 24th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 4.

⁴⁹³ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 27th February 1986. pp. 52.

⁴⁹⁴ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 29th June 1999. pp. 41

attempts were made at a multi-lingual service but the service never succeeded.⁴⁹⁵ The Umgeni AIDS Centre was more successful.⁴⁹⁶ A basket was strategically placed near the altar so that congregants could support the ministry of the Umgeni AIDS Centre on their way up to receiving Communion.

Gordon Lathrop developed a liturgical theology through the concept of broken myth and broken ritual. He says:

The myth is both true and at the same time wrong, capable of truth only by reference to a new thing, beyond its own terms. Such a break is present in the deep intention of the words and ritual practices of the liturgy: the old is maintained; yet, by means of juxtaposition and metaphor, the old is made to speak to the new.⁴⁹⁷

The old speaking to the new does not just happen, the liturgist has to work hard to elucidate the Eucharist and prevent the obscuring of its truth in mere hollow repetition. The instances where this was done at C of A are few. The offensive drama during the time of Cowley and the Umgeni AIDS bowl during the time of Mennigke helped to ‘break open’ the Eucharist and ‘provoke’ the congregation to appropriate the deeply subversive and challenging nature of the sacrament.

⁴⁹⁵ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 11.

⁴⁹⁶ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 11.

⁴⁹⁷ Lathrop, Gordon. *Holy Things, A Liturgical Theology*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993. Pp. 27.

9.5 How did Participation in the Eucharist Develop?

There is no evidence to suggest that lay ministry was a priority during the time of Lund. As in many charismatic settings the leader, in this case Lund, was responsible for holding the whole service together. Therefore the period during which Lund was rector is devoid of lay leadership in the Eucharistic services. There must have been lay people to help administer the chalice but their role was evidently minimal. However, there was ample evidence of informal and spontaneous participation from the congregation.⁴⁹⁸ Speaking in tongues, which cannot be pre-arranged if authentic, was remembered as a regular occurrence during the time of Lund. Other charismatic manifestations seem to have occurred which would also have afforded the congregation an opportunity to participate.⁴⁹⁹ Therefore, the participation from the laity during the time of Lund was largely unplanned and connected to the spontaneous charismatic outpourings.

As noted previously, the charismatic outpourings ceased during the time of Cowley. However, this time witnessed a growing body of lay people receiving training for and leading parts of the services.⁵⁰⁰ The ‘discovery’ of lay ministry, during the time of Cowley, grew notably when Mennigke took over as rector.⁵⁰¹ The Sunday services must have been radically altered with the formalising of the service and the inclusion of varied lay leaders and helpers in the service. Lay leaders and helpers included lay ministers, servers, acolytes, thurifers, crucifers.⁵⁰² Robes were made for

⁴⁹⁸ Georgina Smith. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on the 24th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 9.

⁴⁹⁹ Dennis Henning. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 13th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 2.

⁵⁰⁰ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 4th October 1984. pp. 11

⁵⁰¹ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 24th June 1997. pp. 34

⁵⁰² Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 23rd February 1999. pp. 74

the children who had now become active participants in the worship of the Church. The installation of the aumbrey allowed lay people to take reserved sacrament to parishioners in hospital or simply visit people in their homes with Communion. Therefore, during the time of Mennigke, the laity rose to unprecedented positions of authority and responsibility. The irony is that many of the laity felt undermined by the autocracy of Mennigke. In this way, Mennigke ensured that laity retained less authority than the priest.

As noted in the previous section, efforts to include black people, euphemistically referred to as Zulu speakers, at C of A failed. It was noted that this was largely due to a failure to follow through with consistently using Zulu liturgy. I believe the issue goes deeper. The Eucharistic Prayers from the 1989 Prayer Book do not afford Zulu people the fullest opportunity to participate. David Power – who was the Professor of Systematic Theology and Liturgy at the Catholic University of America – expressed the need to find an ‘African model of assembly’, not just a ‘wooden vernacular translation’. Power stressed the need to take seriously the issues of ‘liturgical posture, ritual act, visual representation and forms of chant’ in the light of traditional forms.⁵⁰³ He cited the Roman rite for use in the Church of Zaire as an example of a Eucharistic Prayer that began to take traditional culture more seriously. In this rite expression was given to communion with ancestors.⁵⁰⁴ Ancestor veneration is a very important part of Zulu culture and the Anglican Church of Southern Africa would do well to build on the example of ‘*le rite Zairois*’. The scope of such an undertaking seems mammoth. The cultural diversity in the Anglican Church of Southern Africa is extensive. To write a culturally specific Eucharistic liturgy for each culture group would be

⁵⁰³ Power, David. *The Eucharistic Mystery, Revitalising the Tradition*. New York: Crossroad, 1995. pp. 4,5

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid. pp. 341

beyond the current means of ACSA. However, if ACSA is serious about the various cultures participating fully, brave revision is required.

9.6 How did the Community's 'Appetite' for the Eucharist Develop?

Over time the congregation at C of A came to expect Eucharistic services of a shorter duration. During the charismatic period of Lund the 9 am services on Sunday were lengthy, around two hours.⁵⁰⁵ There was no evidence of any complaints until the time of Cowley. The complaint was about family services, when it was suggested that these services should not exceed one and a quarter hours.⁵⁰⁶ By the time Mennigke was rector, the expectation for family services had been reduced to one hour.⁵⁰⁷ The pressure from the congregation was for shorter services generally and not just for family services. The voice of the people seemed to overpower those responsible for the planning of services who resented the pressure for shorter services.⁵⁰⁸ Currently, the services at C of A are about one hour at 7 am, and one and a quarter hours at 9 am. The length of the 7 am service has not changed significantly, but the 9 am Eucharist has been shortened markedly.

9.7 How did Eucharistic Theology Develop?

This section will explore how the theology of consecration failed to develop and how each priest understood, and related to, the theology of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament.

⁵⁰⁵ Dennis Henning. Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 13th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 3.

⁵⁰⁶ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 30th May 1994. pp. 51.

⁵⁰⁷ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 17th February 1997. pp. 65

⁵⁰⁸ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 30th May 1994. pp. 51

A significant development in Eucharistic theology was experienced with the revision of the *South African Prayer Book 1954*, finally resulting in *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989*. In the SAPB, the point of consecration was considered to be at the words of institution. The theology of the APB moved away from a point of institution and regarded the whole Eucharistic Prayer as consecratory. The three priests said very little about their understanding of the consecration. Cowley was the only one who did, and he alluded to a point of consecration.⁵⁰⁹ Traditionally the manual acts were signals for understanding the celebrant's theology. For example a genuflection after the words of institution would reflect that the celebrant regarded those words as consecratory. The genuflection was to acknowledge the sacramental presence of Christ. The APB gave no rubrics for the manual actions and many priests simply continued to use the rubrics from SAPB. This is an instance of a development that should have happened, but did not happen.

As mentioned previously, Lund considered himself to have had an Anglo-Catholic theology of the Eucharist. He was certainly comfortable with an understanding of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament. Cowley is less Anglo-Catholic in his understanding of what happens to the bread and wine. He quoted the poem attributed to Elizabeth I which was not a confession of belief in transubstantiation nor was it a simple memorial belief.⁵¹⁰ With Mennigke the sacramental theology returned to a strongly Anglo-Catholic understanding. The installation of the aumbrey reinforces

⁵⁰⁹ Ian Cowley, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 1st September 2010 via Skype. pp. 20.

⁵¹⁰ Ian Cowley, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 1st September 2010 via Skype. pp. 20.

Mennigke's conviction in the real presence of Christ in the bread and wine.⁵¹¹

On reflection, one of the major shortcomings of this research was the failure to gather information on the gestures of the priest during the Eucharistic Prayer. These gestures, referred to as 'manual actions', can reveal a considerable amount about the theology of a particular priest. Many of the priests with whom I have come into contact continue to practice the manual actions prescribed in the rubrics of the 1954 Prayer Book. There is sufficient need for the Anglican Church of Southern Africa to re-consider the deliberate omission to provide rubrics for the manual actions of the 1989 Prayer Book. Further research is required in this area to bring the theology of the manual acts in line with the theology of the 1989 Prayer Book.

9.8 Who Was Allowed to Preside at the Eucharist?

One of the major developments during this time was the way the Anglican Church changed its mind about who should be ordained. The discussions about the ordination of women began during the rectorship of Lund. It was clear that the Parish Council was against the move⁵¹² and Lund himself recalled that he was not supportive of the ordination of women when he was at C of A.⁵¹³ This attitude changed significantly during the time of Cowley as the Church became supportive of the ordination of women.⁵¹⁴ Some in the congregation, like Hitchcock, remained reluctant to accept

⁵¹¹ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 18.

⁵¹² Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 4th March 1976. pp. 27

⁵¹³ Vernon Lund, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 5th October 2010 in Pietermaritzburg. pp. 14.

⁵¹⁴ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 21st April 1993. pp. 33

women in ministry. However, C of A experienced the ministry of Margie Wishart,⁵¹⁵ who even Hitchcock remembers as a good priest.⁵¹⁶ By the time Mennigke arrived the congregation was very used to women in ministry, as Wishart had been chosen as priest in charge after Cowley left, and Mennigke was strongly in favour of women in ministry.⁵¹⁷ The congregation had moved from being strongly against the concept of women in ministry to accepting a woman serving the interregnum between Cowley and Mennigke.

While the ordination of women has done much to address their disempowerment, women remain seriously at risk in South Africa and the patriarchal language of the prayer books serves to perpetuate the situation. The new inclusive language version of the liturgical Psalter was published in 1995⁵¹⁸ to be used in conjunction with *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989*. However, much of the language in the 1989 Prayer Book remains patriarchal and in need of revision. However – besides the cost of revising the Prayer Book – the 1989 version has yet to be translated into all eleven official languages. Perhaps the use of technology could be useful here... the bishops remain resolute in refusing to make an electronic version of the Prayer Book available. Yet this could potentially solve the gender insensitive language quite easily and with little cost. Some minor revisions could make the Prayer Book more gender inclusive, with the version authorised put on the internet for those who choose to access it. Electronic versions of the Prayer Book, used with a data projector would have the advantage of being eco-friendly, by virtue of

⁵¹⁵ Church of Ascension, Parish Council Minutes. 24th November 1993. pp. 39

⁵¹⁶ Mignon Hitchcock, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 24th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 9.

⁵¹⁷ Stuart Mennigke, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 17th September 2010 in Hilton. pp. 3.

⁵¹⁸ *The Psalms, New Inclusive Language Version*. Jeppestown: HarperCollinsPublishers, 2005.

being paperless. The use of data projectors has got to be a serious consideration. Not that this is a liturgist's ideal because of the sense of being an observer rather than a participant. However, young people may feel more included as this is the familiar medium for them and offers people opportunities to participate in operating the slides.

The ordination of women and the Anglican Churches' acceptance and support of women behind the altar raises further questions. Is presiding at the Eucharist the sole domain of the bishop and priest? In the Anglican Church where the Eucharistic liturgy is set, surely a lay person could be authorised to preside? This is not a new question and has been debated at a Provincial and Communion level.⁵¹⁹ The Anglican Church of Southern Africa seems to be going the route of self-supporting priests, which has alleviated the need to seriously consider lay presidency at the Eucharist.

9.9 Who was Allowed to Receive the Eucharist?

This period of time witnessed a change in who was allowed to receive Communion. Confirmation used to be seen as the gateway to receiving the Eucharist. With the admission of children this fell away and baptism became the requirement. However, during the time of Mennigke there was evidence that even the 'unwashed' were received at the table.

There was a growing awareness during the time of Lund that children were important and needed to be included in the Eucharist in some way. At this stage that need was met by providing a pictorial guide to the Eucharist for children.⁵²⁰ Lund noted that he was strict about not opening

⁵¹⁹ Taylor, Nicholas. *Lay Presidency at the Eucharist, An Anglican Approach*. London: Mowbray, 2009. pp. 177

⁵²⁰ Vernon Lund, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 5th October 2010 in Pietermaritzburg. pp. 15, 16.

Communion to everybody. He implies that the person should be a Christian of good standing.⁵²¹ There was evidence of the admission of children to Communion during the time of Cowley. The general view developed that the sacrament of baptism and not the sacramental rite confirmation made a person a full member of the church.⁵²² The admission of children to Communion was not without opposition and only really took off during the time of Mennigke.⁵²³ According to Hitchcock, Mennigke practiced a very liberal attitude toward administering the sacrament to whoever presented themselves:

Anybody who wanted to partake of Communion was welcome, whether you were a Buddhist, practicing Muslim, um, non-baptized worshipping member of the community, if you felt you wanted to, that was my understanding of, what was being preached.⁵²⁴

Thus the progression went from administering the sacrament only to confirmed Christians – probably Anglican Christians at that – to those who are baptised, to everybody who presented themselves.

Should the Church place any restrictions on those who are allowed to receive the Eucharist? It would appear as though Mennigke was comfortable to administer the sacrament to whoever presented themselves. This is not the official practice of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa. The requirement is that to Communicate, a person must be

⁵²¹ Vernon Lund, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 5th October 2010 in Pietermaritzburg. pp. 19.

⁵²² Ian Cowley, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 1st September 2010 via Skype. pp. 13.

⁵²³ Mignon Hitchcock, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 24th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 13

⁵²⁴ Mignon Hitchcock, Interview conducted by Andrew Kruger on 24th August 2010 in Hilton. pp. 13

Baptised and in good standing. The issue was debated and decided upon at Provincial Synod in 1979. It was further debated at Provincial Synod in 1992. The Synod of Bishops issued some guidelines in 1991.⁵²⁵ If baptism is the sacrament which makes a person a full member, then how does confirmation fit in? Has confirmation become a sacramental rite in search of a theology? Why is a priest allowed to baptise but not confirm? If baptism is the entry into full membership, surely the bishop as the symbol of unity should be the minister. Should the Church require that a person be baptised before sharing in the 'family meal'. Why should a person not be afforded the opportunity to share in the community and experience the meal before choosing to commit to the community?

⁵²⁵ Email from Hunter, Andrew. Dean of the Grahamstown Cathedral and expert on Canon Law. 4th November 2011.

Conclusion

The conclusion is in several parts. First a summary of what the thesis set out to achieve. Second an acknowledgement of the limitations of the research. Third, the broader issues raised by the research are noted. Fourth, and based on the broader documented issues, several recommendations are made. Fifth acknowledgments are made of ‘gaps’ in the thesis and proposals for further research are suggested. Lastly, a critical judgement is expressed on the contribution of the thesis to a history of worship in ACSA.

The thesis set out to discover how the Eucharist developed at C of A between 1975 and 2002. This microcosm offered a particularly interesting case study. 1975 to 2002 were years of significant change in various arenas. Firstly, the Eucharistic liturgy of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa, which previously used the *South African Prayer Book 1954*, introduced the experimental *Liturgy 1975*. Finally, *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989* became the church’s principal liturgy. Secondly, South Africa experienced major socio-political change as the country moved out of the apartheid regime into a Democratic governance system. Thirdly, the three rectors who took up office during those years at C of A – the first being charismatic, the second evangelical and the third Anglo-Catholic – each left their mark on the parish. This is the milieu in which I sought to track the developments of the Eucharist.

This thesis was a case study. A predominantly white parish in the Natal Midlands was examined in detail. Furthermore, this microstudy had essential limitations. The number of parishioners who were members of C of A during the defined period was small in number. Therefore my sample was small, consisting of only four parishioners, all of whom were white. However, the thesis was not just a parish history. Broader issues of

worship, theology, ecclesiology, politics, race, culture and gender emerged as a result of the research.

The change in worship style – charismatic to evangelical to Anglo-Catholic – yielded interesting observations. At face value it appeared as though the charismatic period produced growth, the evangelical period reflected stable numbers and the Anglo-Catholic period resulted in decline. Deeper critique indicated that the move from the conservative theology of Cowley to the liberal theology of Mennigke, autocratically ‘administered’, was predominantly responsible for the decline in numbers. However, mere change – of worship style or theology – did not always result in declining numbers. Lund brought significant changes to worship and theology which resulted in exponential increase in numbers from a very low, static base.

The divide between faith and politics, worship and context was distinct at C of A. There were episodes – during the evangelical and Anglo-Catholic period – when the worship of the church was connected overtly to the social and political context of the country. However, these connections were typically never made explicit. The oft quoted dictum of *lex orandi lex credendi* was shown to be doubtful; the parishioners did not imbibe the subversive nature of the Eucharist sufficiently to be transformed. As stated in the introduction there was a disconnect between the deep theology of the Eucharist and the practice of the people.

This disconnect was most clearly evidenced in the church’s failure to address issues of race and culture. During the charismatic period, the need to provide a Zulu service, separate from the principal Eucharist, was acknowledged. The evangelical era included ‘outreach’ activity in Zulu communities beyond Hilton, including Eucharistic celebrations in Sweetwaters. The Anglo-Catholic stage included attempts to incorporate

Zulu into the principal Eucharist. These efforts display a growing awareness and desire to develop good race relations. The 'Anglo-Catholic approach' to race and culture relations was the most sophisticated and holistic of the various worldviews. However, this worldview was experienced at C of A when the country, as a whole, had become more race and culture sensitive. In the final analysis each worldview failed to achieve what it set out to do regarding race relations. C of A remains a predominantly white, middle class church with a liturgy all in English.

The admission of children to Communion, which began in Cowley's time and became official when Mennigke was rector, demonstrated a major shift in theology. Previously, Confirmation was the sacramental rite through which an Anglican was admitted to Communion. The admission of children verified that Baptism and not Confirmation made an Anglican a full member of the Church. Confirmation has been seriously undermined and at present seems to be a sacramental rite in search of a theology. The admission of children to the 'family meal' of the church was a much needed development, but the Anglican Church of Southern Africa has failed to work out the implications for the theology of Confirmation.

The decision taken by the Anglican Church of Southern Africa to ordain women was directly experienced at C of A during the defined period. Initially opposed to the ordination of women during the charismatic era, the Church became very accepting and appreciated the ministry of Margie Wishart. This acceptance was birthed during the evangelical period and strenuously encouraged by the liberal Anglo-Catholic theology of Mennigke. The oppression and suppression of women continues to be a major problem in South Africa. C of A showed positive development in the empowering of women, however the Eucharistic liturgy, particularly in English, remains gendered and in need of revision.

Based on the broad issues that have been identified, particular recommendations will be made. The liturgy needs to be ‘broken open’ or its deep truths will never be appropriated. It is not good enough for priests and lay people to be imitators of the liturgy. The lay people and the priests must be informed participants. Workshops for clergy, an ACSA publication, a Lenten Course and a sermon series could all be helpful tools for this ‘breaking open’. It is critical that the very ethos and not just the language be ‘translated’ into the South African context. For example, the inclusion of ancestors in the Eucharistic Prayer would be a good start. The Anglican Church of Southern Africa would benefit from opening a formal discussion on the role of Confirmation. There are alternative models in other parts of the Communion that could be drawn into the discussion and ultimately a helpful theology of confirmation could be developed. In South Africa women continue to be seriously at risk. Liturgical language must challenge this prevailing norm in order to be consistent with subversive Eucharistic theology. The use of technology could be the key to rapidly addressing this issue by making gender inclusive versions of the Eucharistic Prayers available online.

As acknowledged earlier, this study was limited from the start because the parish was predominantly white. A similar study of a black parish would be of immense value to the Anglican Church of Southern Africa. Were such a study to be undertaken, the generalisations which I have made could be strengthened or challenged. The thesis failed to investigate the manual actions used by each priest during the defined period. This restricted an understanding of the development of the theology of consecration displayed by each priest. Further research in this area would prove helpful in discovering the extent to which each priest understood the theological implications of the manual actions. In turn this research could lead to suggestions for a Priest’s handbook on the theology of the

manual actions and help with disseminating this information to the congregation.

This thesis has offered critical comment on the history of worship in one parish of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa. The history is very recent and thus covers a period later than the work produced by Darby in his thesis, *Anglican Worship in Victorian Natal*. Furthermore, the thesis afforded the opportunity to study the development of Anglican Worship in relation to the charismatic, evangelical and Anglo-Catholic worldviews. The recent and integrated history produced a thesis that is directly applicable to several current issues in the Anglican Church of Southern Africa. It is my hope that the recommendations will be taken seriously and be of value to the Anglican Church of Southern Africa.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis, unless specifically stated in the text, is my own original work which has not been submitted to any other university.

.....
Andrew Kruger

.....
Date

As the supervisor, I hereby approve this thesis for submission.

.....
Prof. Philippe Denis

.....
Date

Abstract

“The Eucharist in a time of change: an investigation into the Eucharist as practiced at ‘The Church of the Ascension’ between 1975 and 2002.”

by Andrew David Kruger

The thesis set out to discover how the Eucharist developed at ‘The Church of the Ascension’ between 1975 and 2002. This microcosm offers a particularly interesting case study. This period was a time of great change – the Anglican Eucharistic liturgy underwent significant revision, South Africa moved from Apartheid to Democracy and the three rectors brought charismatic, evangelical and Anglo-Catholic worldviews to bear on the Church of the Ascension, during their respective terms of office.

In order to document the development of the Eucharist, three primary sources were collected and analysed, First, data from the Service Register was captured and processed. Second, a synopsis of the Parish Council Minutes was created. Third, interviews with the three rectors – the first being charismatic, the second evangelical and the third Anglo-Catholic – were conducted along with four lay parishioners.

The three primary sources were analysed and several developments were observed. These developments included the following: children were admitted to Communion after Baptism, where before they were required to be Confirmed; the ordination of women became accepted and women presided at the Eucharist, where before they had not; the laity became more involved in the leading the services; The attitude toward administering the sacrament became more liberal, as even those of other Faiths were welcomed.

Surprisingly none of the laity interviewed showed any awareness that the Eucharist developed. The laity showed little ability to link the Eucharist to the context they inhabited. It is imperative for the Anglican Church of Southern Africa to help the laity appropriate the deep truths of the Eucharist.

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