

THE ANGLICAN EUCHARIST IN NEW ZEALAND
1814 - 1989

J. BOSCO M. PETERS

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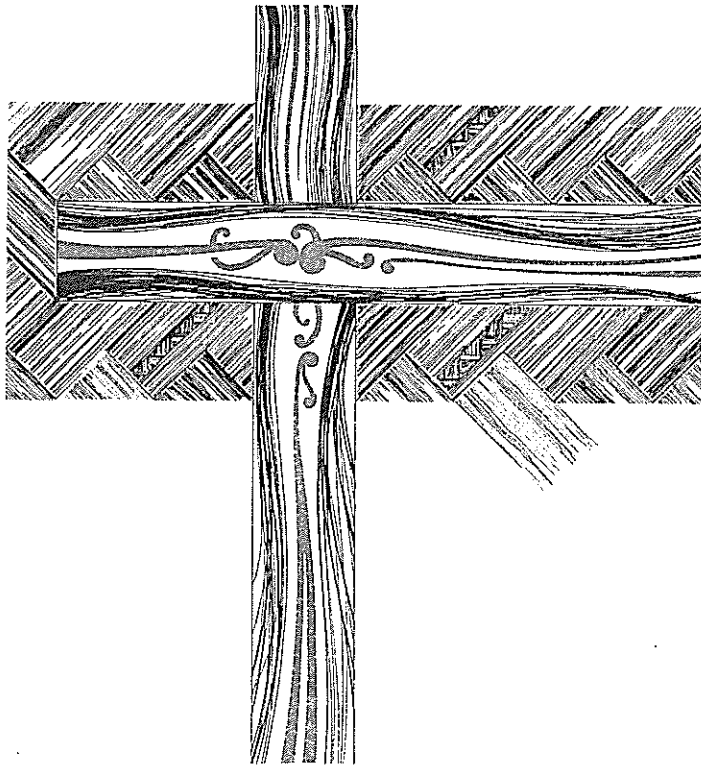
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Auckland Consortium for Theological Education

The Anglican Eucharist in New Zealand

1814 - 1989



A Thesis

submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree of
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by

J. Bosco M. Peters

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ANZPB-HKMA</i>	<i>A New Zealand Prayer Book - He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa</i>
<i>C&P</i>	<i>Church and People</i>
<i>C.S.I.</i>	Church of South India
<i>ELLC</i>	English Language Liturgical Consultation
<i>ICEL</i>	International Committee on English in the Liturgy
<i>ICET</i>	International Consultation on English Texts
<i>MS</i>	Manuscript
<i>PCPBR</i>	Provincial Commision on Prayer Book Revision
<i>PA</i>	Provincial Archives, St John's College
<i>PGS</i>	<i>Proceedings of General Synod</i>

PREFACE

Ten years ago I was accepted into the Anglican Church. The eucharist had always been central to my devotional life, but it was in changing churches that I was struck by the way in which familiar components could be arranged differently. The eucharists of most denominations share common features and yet, through their individual histories, the nuances of the celebrations vary. In traveling around much of the world I found that within my own Anglican denomination, provinces varied enormously both in the styles of celebration and in the content of their communion rites. This has led to a fascination with the history of the eucharist and in particular with its history in the Anglican Church in New Zealand. That there is, as yet, little available commentary to *A New Zealand Prayer Book - He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa* has enhanced my enthusiasm for this research.

In larger provinces, publications are available which detail the history of local liturgical developments. Some studies in New Zealand cover a particular locality or a limited time period, but it has been my intention to trace Anglican eucharistic developments from colonial beginnings to the more recent publication of autonomous liturgical material. I have concentrated on the history of Pakeha Anglican worship in New Zealand. I am aware that the unique developments among Maori, as well as in Melanesia and Polynesia invite similar studies, but these

require special cultural insight and understanding.

Various other areas have had to be excluded in order to focus this thesis. These include the eucharistic thought and practice in New Zealand's co-operating parishes, the history and impact of women priests, and the development of lay leadership at the eucharist including the pressure to authorise lay presidency at the eucharist. Each of these would be a study in itself.

The research for this work is based on a variety of sources: the proceedings of Anglican Synods (both General and diocesan), published histories, biographies, autobiographies, journals and letters, church papers (national and diocesan), personal correspondence and taped interviews. Of the multitude of parish histories in the New Zealand Church Collection only those quoted in the text are listed in the Bibliography. The most important source for information on the eucharistic revisions from 1964 to 1989 has been the archives of the Provincial Commission on Prayer Book Revision. My thanks to the Provincial Archives Committee for access to this material.

Access to archival material was originally limited to manuscripts prior to 1970. This meant the original scope of my study was to terminate at the eucharistic revision at that date. Then in August the discovery of a description of the 1966 and 1970 revisions in a thesis on

church architecture by Margaret Wood, "Domus Ecclesiae", encouraged me to extend this date and research the unexplored revisions to the present day. I am very grateful to the Rev. Canon Robert Newman and the Ven. Ian Bourne for access to the more recent archival material deposited by them.

My thanks too to the other members of the Provincial Commission on Prayer Book Revision who have enthusiastically encouraged my work and provided much helpful information. I hope this study will contribute to understanding of the revisions which their hard work produced.

Because of the limitations on the length of an honours thesis, and in view of the new ground covered by much of this research, it was decided, in consultation with my supervisor, to retain significant information in the notes.

I would like to acknowledge with gratitude the assistance of my supervisor, the Rev. Dr. Allan Davidson, who has patiently and perceptively commented on my drafts and was always ready to point me towards further material.

Many others have assisted me in various ways. The staff of St. John's College Library (Judith Bright, Helen Greenwood, Erice Carley, and Ann Hiskens) helped to find answers to my many questions and cheerfully carried innumerable articles from the archives and stack room.

The students and staff of St. John's and Trinity Colleges were a ready source of information and encouragement. To all these I record my thanks.

My gratitude to my spouse, Helen, for her enthusiastic support, and to Catherine, born in June, for the delightful way in which she reminds me that there is more to life than study.

Bosco Peters

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Auckland

Feast of All Saints

1 November 1990

INTRODUCTION

Lex orandi is always and everywhere *Lex credendi*, but very markedly so with [Anglicans]. That is why in our history we have had few heresy trials, but, however wrongly directed, many ritual prosecutions.¹

In 1914 the Rev. H.T. Purchas wrote in *A History of the English Church in New Zealand* that "The conduct of public worship in New Zealand presents no special features in contrast with that of the mother Church."² This statement, however, can be seen both as an oversimplification, and as an indictment against those who transplanted Anglicanism to these soils. It is an oversimplification because, for example, it neglected to observe the unique Maori pattern of worshipping. It is an indictment because it declares that in the century since the Rev. Samuel Marsden's first service, little adaptation had occurred, for example, to the different seasons of the southern hemisphere.

Such a statement could not be made with any validity today. In eucharistic worship, with which this thesis is concerned, the Church of England is still deeply divided into parties. Those training for ordination regularly choose their theological college according to "churchmanship". In New Zealand, those training for stipendiary ministry normally train in the ecumenical setting of St. John's College. Party divisions into Anglo-Catholic and Evangelical are increasingly giving

way to issues of biculturalism, feminism, creation spirituality, inclusive language, and charismatic influences. In New Zealand there is now one woman diocesan bishop and numerous women priests. Infants can receive communion from their baptism. Many insights and practices from Charismatic renewal, in a similar way to those of the Catholic renewal, have been incorporated into the regular weekly eucharist of most New Zealand parishes. *A New Zealand Prayer Book - He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa* (ANZPB-HKMA) includes some eucharistic rites which bear little resemblance to or influence from the material produced by Cranmer. In all these ways and more the Anglican Church in New Zealand now differs from the mother Church of England.

This thesis concentrates upon the eucharist as Pakeha Anglicans have experienced it. It traces the history from the time when Anglicanism was an extension of the United Church of England and Ireland in New Zealand to the development of an independent and self-confident Anglican province.

This historical survey of eucharistic worship underscores the aphorism of Prosper of Aquitaine, *Lex orandi - Lex credendi*, prayer shapes believing. A significant part of this thesis, however, concerns the twenty five years of Prayer Book revision in which Prosper's claim is turned around, and what New Zealand Anglicans believe became the source of the new way in which they would pray.

It is too early to say whether the publication of *A New Zealand Prayer Book - He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa* marks a new chapter in New Zealand's Anglican eucharistic worship. By highlighting and binding the eucharistic rites at the centre of this book, it well expresses the revolution which has placed the eucharist at the heart of Anglican worship today.

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND AND BEGINNINGS

The first recorded celebration of holy communion in New Zealand occurred on Christmas day, Sunday 25 December 1814.¹ In the evening, aboard the brig, the *Active*, after the famous first Anglican service at Rangihoua, the Rev. Samuel Marsden "administered the Holy Sacrament in remembrance of our Saviour's birth and what He had done and suffered for us."²

Such a terse description is typical of most nineteenth century accounts of communion services in New Zealand. We can surmise from these brief references that the form of celebration was that to which Anglicans were accustomed in England, however much it may have been adapted to the missionary situation and often coloured by Evangelical "churchmanship".³ This chapter, then, briefly backgrounds the Anglican eucharistic inheritance from the Reformation as well as the Evangelical and Catholic movements that influenced it. The arrival of Bishop George Augustus Selwyn in New Zealand heralded the establishment of an independent Province free from the erastianism which would plague ritual controversies in England. The 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* was embodied in the unalterable Fundamental Provisions of its Constitution. The communion was celebrated from *The Book of Common Prayer* with hymns and prayers (often intoned)⁴ in newly built "Gothic" churches.⁵ The congregation used bench pews⁶ and the

priest wore a gown, surplice and scarf. Priests who were graduates also wore an academic hood.

Many attitudes, in even the most recent understandings of the service of holy communion in New Zealand, can be traced to changes that the English Reformation had made to the medieval non-communicating mass. Theologically Cranmer could broadly be called "receptionist". Cranmer stressed our unworthiness⁷ and the centrality of the cross. He was particularly weak on thanksgiving and praise. The New Zealand Anglican Church inherited a communion rite which embodied these features.⁸

It is the interpretation of many that in the rearranging and truncating of the eucharistic prayer, the 1552 revision was producing a rite that had reception of communion effectively in the middle of the revised 1549 eucharistic prayer at precisely the place where the elevation had occurred in the medieval rite. After the reception of communion, the "Prayer of Oblation" (or alternatively the "Prayer of Thanksgiving") continued the eucharistic prayer.⁹

That reception occurred in the middle of Cranmer's eucharistic prayer was distorted by two additions in 1662. The title, "the Prayer of Consecration", was inserted for the preamble and narrative of the institution of the Lord's Supper. An "Amen" was introduced after this institution narrative, clearly

concluding the consecration at this point. These apparently minor changes reinforced the common western understanding of consecration as effected by the priest's recitation of the institution narrative. For many Anglicans this continues to influence the theory of consecration as well as the manner in which the institution narrative is treated.¹⁰

Cranmer's intention of a weekly Sunday service of the Lord's Supper was not fulfilled. In the eighteenth century, however, a movement began which may be termed "Evangelical Anglicanism". These Evangelicals increased the frequency of celebrating communion to monthly from the four times a year which had become the accepted pattern.¹¹ Such a stress on frequent communion had not been seen since the Non-Jurors.¹² Evangelicals celebrated the Lord's Supper on Sundays early in the morning and in the evening, making it available to working people. Their theology of holy communion is well expressed by Samuel Walker of Truro who wrote: "There is in the Lord's Supper both a remembrance, or showing forth of Christ's death, and a receiving of his body and blood by faith."¹³

At the heart of the Evangelical revival was personal conversion, and it was the desire to share this which led to an interest in missions. Several voluntary missionary organisations had already been founded in the eighteenth century when the Church Missionary Society (CMS) was established on 12 April 1799. Samuel Marsden (1765-1838),

who was identified with the Evangelical movement, was a chaplain to the convict colony of New South Wales when he proposed to the CMS in 1808 that it send missionaries to New Zealand. Until the arrival of Selwyn, it was the Evangelical clergy from the CMS who presided at the holy communion in New Zealand.

Our early records of these eucharists, for example in the journal fragment of Octavius Hadfield (1839) and the letters and journals of William and Jane Williams, give no reason to suppose that there was any novelty involved. Henry Williams regularly writes, "service as usual: administered the sacrament."¹⁴ Its frequency shows no particular pattern but appears related to the shortage of clergy. Missionaries journeyed around and services of holy communion were celebrated whenever possible, in people's houses, aboard boats, often with Christian Maori, in the morning, afternoon or evening. Hadfield's two and a half month fragment of 1839 mentions the "Lord's Supper" explicitly three times. The first account gives some idea of his feelings as he presided alone for the first time: "Administered the Lord's Supper for the first time by myself, enjoyed a blessed feast, oh! I wonder when I may again meet with so many Christian friends around the Lord's table."¹⁵

The Prayer Book does not appear to have been followed inflexibly. In these early records, the Scripture reference of the sermon is often given, and from these we

can deduce that there was no subservience to the lectionary of *The Book of Common Prayer*.¹⁶ Confirmation was not a requirement for receiving the sacrament.¹⁷ Intercommunion between Anglicans and Methodists was common.¹⁸

During this missionary period, new movements were beginning in England which would alter eucharistic worship both there and in New Zealand. The Assize Sermon of John Keble on 14 July 1833 is regarded as the beginning of the Oxford or Tractarian movement.¹⁹ The founding in May 1839 of the Cambridge Camden Society for the study of Gothic Architecture and Ritual Arts, by J.M. Neale, Edward Boyle, Benjamin Webb and others can be regarded as the beginning of the Ritualist movement.

The Tractarian and Ritualist movements were originally opposed to one another.²⁰ They mutually influenced one another, however, until their streams merged in the second generation to form Anglo-Catholicism. Evangelicalism and Anglo-Catholicism were originally not antithetical, however their positions polarized, in particular through a series of acrimonious court cases in England.

Many factors encouraged the appointment of an Anglican bishop for New Zealand. Among them were the advance of CMS missionaries in New Zealand as well as the need for a new cohesiveness in the Anglican mission. The arrival of

the Roman Catholic Bishop Pompallier on 10 January 1838 had increased the prestige of the Roman Catholic mission.²¹ Pressure from the settlers and the proclamation of British sovereignty were also important. And so Selwyn, the first and only Bishop of New Zealand, arrived on 30 May 1842.

Selwyn had been ordained deacon in the month before Keble's Assize Sermon, and his High Church attitudes and anti-erastianism gave him much in common with the Tractarian movement. He was also a patron of the Cambridge Camden Society. They provided him with much advice on the building of Norman churches in New Zealand (pp.74-75) which he ignored. The colonial Gothic churches which he promoted have done much to shape the way the Anglican eucharist is celebrated in this country to this day.

It appears that Selwyn regularly wore a cassock,²² and for services he would have worn a surplice, scarf and hood (or possibly a rochet and chimere). He used a cross and candles on the altar at St. John's. Much of the service would have been intoned and hymns would have formed an important part of the service.²³ Selwyn required intercommunion with other denominations to cease.²⁴

Some of these features, and others imagined, led to Bishop Selwyn regularly being called a "Puseyite".²⁵

Certainly through his influence and his visit to England in 1854-55, priests came to New Zealand who, like Selwyn, did not belong to the Evangelical party. There were of course many similarities with the Evangelicals who, in New Zealand, were slower to undergo the polarization experienced in England. Selwyn's desire for frequent celebration of the holy communion, for example, did not clash with the early Evangelical ideals held by the CMS.

As Selwyn worked towards a Constitution for the Anglican Church in New Zealand, a central principle was "that neither the Doctrines nor the Ritual of the Church of England ... shall in any way be subject to the General Convention."²⁶ In his visit to England this helped to quieten some discontent that Selwyn's calling of a Synod had provoked there. On 14 May 1857 a conference met at St. Stephen's Chapel in Auckland and ratified the Constitution which contains the following "Fundamental Provision" relating to our topic:

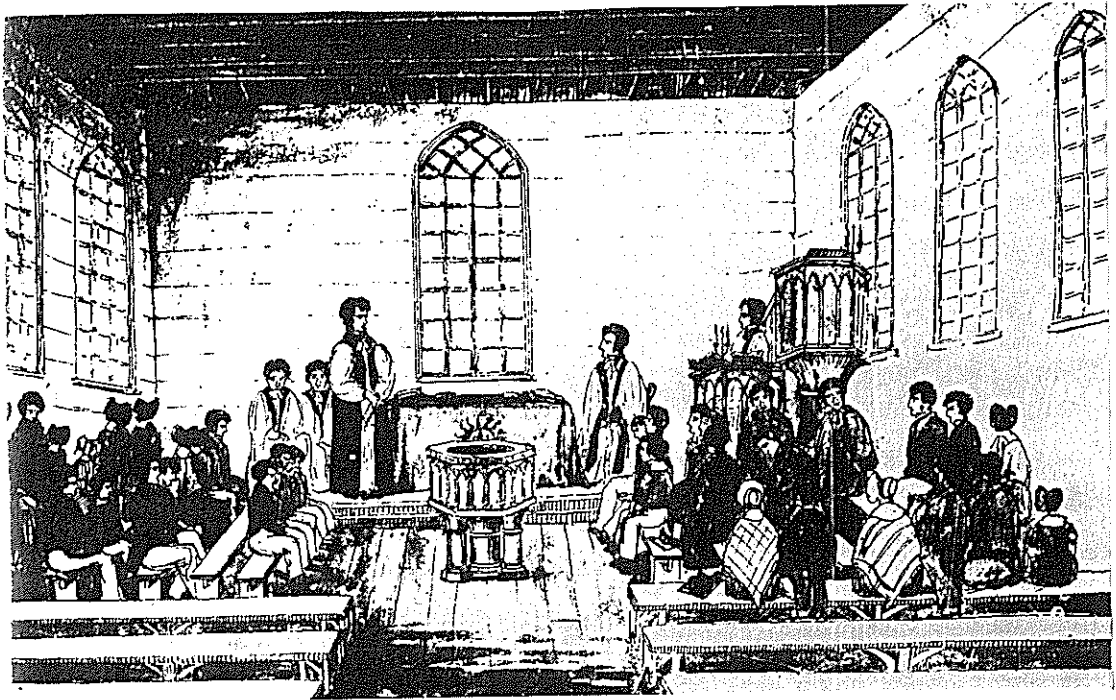
This Branch of the United Church of England and Ireland in New Zealand doth hold and maintain the Doctrine and Sacraments of CHRIST as the LORD hath commanded in His Holy Word, and as the United Church of England and Ireland hath received and explained the same in the Book of Common Prayer, in the Form and Manner of Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, and in the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion. And the General Synod hereinafter constituted for the government of this Branch of the said Church shall also hold and maintain the said Doctrine and Sacraments of CHRIST, and shall have no power to make any alteration in the authorized version of the Holy Scriptures, or in the above-named Formularies of the Church.²⁷

Changes adopted in the United Church of England and Ireland, with the consent of the Crown and of Convocation, could be accepted here. Furthermore, a license could be granted by the Crown to make changes here which would not affect doctrine. And finally, if New Zealand separated from England, or the Church was disestablished in England and Ireland, then "General Synod shall have full power to make such alterations in the Articles, Services, and Ceremonies of this Branch of the United Church of England and Ireland in New Zealand as its altered circumstances may require."²⁸

And so an independent Province was born, with a Constitution that tended to militate against change in eucharistic practice. While riots and court actions followed in the wake of the Ritualist movement in England, New Zealand was maintaining a relatively homogeneous style of eucharistic worship. The Evangelical missionary approach had given way to a settled, colonial attitude. From the time of the arrival of Bishop Selwyn, descriptions of the eucharist include references to the scarf, hood, surplice and gown worn by the priest²⁹ (now sometimes called the "celebrant").³⁰ Some choirs and some licensed lay readers also began wearing surplices.³¹ There was much use of music in the services with singing at the holy communion the norm.³² It appears that the service of Morning Prayer, which would have been more familiar to congregations, often replaced the part of the

holy communion service up to the Offertory.³³ Some departed after Morning Prayer, not remaining to receive communion.³⁴

Isolation from the issues "at home" in England, however, did not prevent the ritual controversies and eucharistic changes from reaching these shores. New Zealand's reliance on England for priests and bishops, and the changing lifestyle of the settlers made it inevitable that the English movements and disputes, though delayed, would arrive here.



*Nineteenth century interior of St John's, Waimate*³⁵

CHAPTER II

EUCCHARISTIC CONTROVERSIES

Apart from the claims that Selwyn was a Puseyite, Anglicans in New Zealand were free from the party divisions that raged in England. Most Anglican colonists were low church (of the non-party type that preceded the Oxford movement). Many feared prelacy and most were strongly against the papacy. They were usually conservative and pragmatic, focusing on getting established in a new land. After the first generation, however, the prospering colony began to look for Victorian luxuries in church as well as home. With New Zealand's continuing dependence on England for clergy, it was inevitable that the eucharistic homogeneity of the early settler period would break down. In this chapter the Jenner controversy, the Carlyon case and the Perry-Gosset case mark a progression from a repugnance for ritual innovations in the eucharist, to the official acceptance of congregational diversity in both thought and practice.

The details of each of these cases are complex. Because of the necessary brevity of this chapter, only summaries of them will be presented. The focus here is on the New Zealand attitude to ritualism which these cases revealed.

The Jenner controversy is unique in Anglican history,¹ for it is the story of a priest who was consecrated but

never became a diocesan, suffragan or assistant bishop. The controversy can be seen as a constitutional issue² which illuminates the use of authority by Selwyn, Harper,³ and others. At its heart it is clear that if the charge of "Ritualism" had not been made against Jenner, he would have taken up the role of the first Bishop of Dunedin without animosity.

The discovery of gold at Gabriel's Gully had encouraged the establishment of an Otago and Southland Bishopric Fund in January 1862. Before this fund was completed, Selwyn had, without the Rural Deanery Board's permission, requested Archbishop Longley of Canterbury to choose a clergyman to be the Bishop of Dunedin. Longley responded promptly and appointed Henry Lascelles Jenner.⁴

As the gold flow had slowed so had the growth of the Endowment Fund. A Board motion to delay Jenner's coming because of lack of funds, however, was vetoed by Harper and not forwarded to England.⁵ On 24 August 1866 Archbishop Longley consecrated Jenner in Canterbury Cathedral along with the Rev. A.B. Suter who had been constitutionally elected to be bishop of the vacant see of Nelson.

In England the 1860s was a time of heated ritual controversies. The ritualist tendencies of Jenner were soon described in the English papers.⁶ These reports were copied into the New Zealand press, but fears of Jenner's

ritualism were reduced by Harper's eirenic efforts. These appeared to be succeeding when letters arrived in Otago from William Carr Young, an Otago settler who was visiting England.

Young had written to Longley that

"with the news of the appointment came also certain reports of Dr Jenner's ritualistic practices, to which I am happy to say our Church in Otago (I may add, the Church of New Zealand),⁷ is most firmly and unanimously opposed."

Having visited St Matthias', Stoke Newington, where Bishop Jenner had been invited to attend, he had

"witnessed the most extravagant scenes, and heard the grossest doctrines ... that ever disgraced a so-called Protestant church. Bishop Jenner not only assisted in that ceremony, but afterwards expressed his 'admiration' of the whole service as conducted at St Matthias'. I need hardly say that my only object in attending this Popish ceremony was to see and judge for myself."⁸

To the Board Young wrote that at St Matthias'

"A procession, composed of clergy, choristers, and the Bishop, all more or less gorgeously arrayed proceeded down the middle isle in the following order - Boy carrying on high a large gold cross; choir chanting; boy carrying scarlet and white banner ... two boys, each waving censers of burning incense; the clergy ... then the Bishop the candles on the altar were lighted, and the full service of the Church commenced. A sermon was preached by Mr Bennet, Vicar of Frome, of Ritualist notoriety, when he extolled Ritualism, and almost advocated the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and the Infallibility of the Church. The Bishop pronounced the usual blessing, holding a crozier in his left hand, while describing in the air with his right, what appeared to be very like the sign of the cross.... Altogether the decorations of the church and on the altar, the genuflexions and signs of the cross, the lighted candles and incense offerings, were as

complete as could be in a Roman Catholic Chapel; and yet all this took place in a professed Protestant Church, in the centre of England."⁹

We know that Young continued to exaggerate the extremity of Jenner's Ritualism. Jenner had acted in accordance with *The Book of Common Prayer* and rather than being "gorgeously arrayed" had worn the regular black chimere with academic hood. He had not condoned the style of service, but had praised the choir.¹⁰ Young had no response when asked why he had not visited Jenner's own church to ascertain his practices. In fact the personal ritual attitudes of Jenner remain unclear, though he did not hide his desire for beauty in services. Jenner's response to New Zealand's fears was a constant assurance that he had no intention of imposing Ritualism in New Zealand.

The New Zealand attitude to Jenner continued to vacillate until finally in 1868 the focus shifted to General Synod in Auckland. There a special Committee recommended that Synod not confirm Jenner's appointment because the Endowment Fund was insufficient and would probably be slow to be completed because of Jenner's alleged ritualist practices.

Synod too became very divided and finally passed the motion, "That, whereas the General Synod is of opinion that it is better for the peace of the Church that Bishop Jenner should not take charge of the Bishopric of

Dunedin, this Synod hereby requests him to withdraw his claim to that position."¹¹

Jenner, as might be expected in one of Catholic convictions, saw the semi-democratic operations of Synods as secondary to his consecration as bishop and proceeded to New Zealand in the hope of being accepted by his see. Although he defended his position admirably, and won many to his support, the Dunedin Diocesan Synod, after an all night sitting, voted against him in the house of laity. Jenner returned to England.

The 1868 General Synod Committee had intentionally not addressed Jenner's ritual practices but had instead hidden behind the incomplete Endowment Fund which was only a few hundred pounds from its goal. In ignoring the ritual issue underlying the Jenner controversy, General Synod manifested a colonial church not prepared to enter the debate which had been raging now in England for over twenty years. Within a decade, however, the Rev. H.E. Carlyon of Kaiapoi tested the homogeneity of New Zealand's eucharistic worship which the Jenner controversy has served to underscore. It is clear that even those who supported Jenner were not in favour of an alteration in New Zealand's eucharistic thought or practices. They were convinced by his claims that he would introduce nothing repugnant to Anglicans here.

Before proceeding to the Carlyon case, it is of value to

outline the eucharistic worship experienced throughout New Zealand at this time. The Prayer Book required the services of Morning Prayer, the Litany and at least the ante-communion to be used on every Sunday.¹² The holy communion might be celebrated monthly. As described previously (p.5), the priest wore a cassock, surplice, and black scarf. Graduates also wore an academic hood. It was a service in which the priest dominated. Congregational participation was limited to a few responses and an occasional hymn. The "holy table" was bare except for plain (leavened) bread and the chalice of wine, and the priest knelt at its north side of it for the "Prayer of Consecration". Choral eucharists imitated Cathedrals, with surpliced choirs processing in, and chanting and intoning in the service. Even these were suspected of being ritualist innovations. At the Christchurch Diocesan Synod of 1871, Harper's address presented guidelines for Anglican worship that have an uncanny resemblance to the views expressed by Jenner two years before!

In all cases there must be the joint approval of Bishop, clergyman, and a majority at least of the vestry. Our congregations will have good cause for complaint if this condition be not steadily adhered to; and it must be understood also as applying to any change in the usual mode of celebrating Divine Service - such, for instance, as the intoning the service or parts of the service. I am far from wishing there should be a rigid uniformity in this respect; I consider it a great advantage that our services should be variously celebrated at different churches, so long as the mode of celebration be such as our Prayer Book allows. We are not all constituted alike, and what may be a hindrance

to some in the exercise of their devotional feelings, is to others a real help and refreshment. But no individual, whether Bishop or clergyman, has a right to dictate to a congregation what is most agreeable to himself; still less to introduce changes in the services and the usual mode of performing them, even though some sanction to such changes may be given in the rubric.¹³

This amounted to an official acceptance of one of the creations of the Catholic revival in Anglicanism, "congregationalism". No longer would the Anglican church have "one use".¹⁴ It was recognised that the homogeneity of "colonial evangelicalism"¹⁵ was beginning to fragment as growing affluence encouraged Victorian elegance in both drawing room and chancel.

On 6 June 1875 Harper instituted Herbert Edward Carlyon as Vicar of Kaiapoi. The vestry approved of his introduction of communion on every Sunday and Saint's day. There was dissatisfaction, however, with other changes that Carlyon soon made. In relation to communion it appears he mixed water with the wine, presided in the eastward position,¹⁶ elevated the sacrament at the consecration, made the sign of the cross with the chalice when administering it, had seven branch candlesticks, and had admitted a server within the communion rails. Furthermore Carlyon believed that in the eucharist the bread and the wine were Christ's body and blood understood in a literal sense.

In November 1875, a Commission of Inquiry sat and the

evidence collected was passed on to Harper. The bishop, however, exonerated Carlyon. He judged many of Carlyon's ideas and practices, his belief in the real presence, and eastward celebration, to be within Anglican comprehensiveness. At Harper's request, Carlyon had already discontinued his use of a server, and now the bishop ordered the ceasing of the mixed chalice and elevation because "they certainly have failed at Kaiapoi in promoting those devout and reverential feelings which are and ought to be the chief end of all ceremonial observances."¹⁷

A special general meeting was called, however, at which, by a majority of seven, a motion was passed requesting Carlyon's resignation. Harper's patience waned as this acrimonious struggle was aired in both the secular and religious press, and Carlyon refused to give up the mixed chalice.

Carlyon was supported by a new vestry. He wrote to Harper that

"My present mode of conducting the Divine Service is far below the standard positively prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer and the only reason why I thus deliberately neglect to obey the Church is that I wish to teach the people to desire conformity and so make it as much their act as my own."¹⁸

In September 1876 Dean Jacobs and four residents of Kaiapoi charged Carlyon in the Ecclesiastical Court. Harper could have prevented the court hearing, as he had

acquitted Carlyon on similar charges. The court proceeded however, and placed eleven charges before the bishops of Auckland, Wellington, Nelson and Dunedin. These found him guilty of seven charges. Of these the eucharistic charges were: holding doctrine contrary to the Church of England, using wafers, elevating the chalice, and adopting the eastward position.

Even though the parish was in financial difficulties it was now fully behind Carlyon and threatened to secede to the Old Catholics. Carlyon returned to England claiming that he would discuss the issues with eminent theologians. He had gone before Harper officially removed him from his incumbency. A new vicar was installed and Carlyon sent Harper a retraction from England.

One of the four bishops who had condemned Carlyon, Samuel Tarratt Nevill, a decade later had a similar case within his own diocese. As with Carlyon, the vestry of Roslyn called for the resignation of the Rev. R.A. Kerkham and threatened to withhold his stipend. He had introduced a processional cross and coloured cassocks in St John's Roslyn and "more advanced" ritual at the Church of the Good Shepherd in Wakari. His wife's conversion to Roman Catholicism did not help his image. Although Nevill sided with Kerkham, the latter resigned and returned to England in 1889.

Nevill's attitude encouraged the ministry of the Rev. William Curzon-Siggers who introduced vestments at St Matthew's in 1896 and candles in 1897. The former were not approved of by Nevill, who nonetheless did not suppress them. Curzon-Siggers' long ministry at St Matthew's (1896-1922) prefigured the moderate Catholic position of the present Dunedin diocese.¹⁹

In Auckland, M.R. Neligan was consecrated bishop in 1903, and for many his episcopacy marks the beginning of Catholic revival in New Zealand as he went to England to appeal for clergy who were "Catholics without frills".²⁰ Such a dating appears too late, however, more especially as in Christchurch eucharistic vestments had been worn since 1880 when the Rev. H.J.C. Gilbert as vicar of the Church of the Good Shepherd, Phillipstown, was given a white linen set by B.W. Mountfort. Mountfort was an architect who further influenced New Zealand eucharistic practice by his design of churches which followed the principles of the Cambridge Camden Society.²¹

In 1910 the "General Mission of Help" throughout New Zealand led to the softening of attitudes to Anglo-Catholicism among many.²² In that same year the Rev. Harry Darwin Burton had introduced vestments and daily mass on his arrival at St Michael's in Christchurch. He also introduced a sung mass at 11 am. on Sundays. Some people even received communion at their local parish church before proceeding on to St Michael's. A memorial

was presented to Bishop Julius requesting him to see that Ritualist practices were discontinued. The Bishop delayed to give a full response until the meeting of the Christchurch Synod.



The Rev. H.D. Burton in the cope given by the parishioners of St. Michael's.²³

Bishop Julius' address to Synod in September 1911 was a major landmark in the debate on Ritualism in New Zealand.

We share with [the Church of Rome] the faith which the Church has held for eighteen hundred years of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and of the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament. We

explain them differently, and we express them differently, but we hold the same faith.... [Vestments] In themselves ... are doubtless innocent of any doctrinal significance whatsoever; It appears that Vestments are ordered to be used under the law of the Prayer Book, by which alone we are governed and controlled in such matters; that this view of the law obtained very widely at the time when our Constitution was formed; and that the only Courts to which we Churchmen can appeal in the matter, are our own Church Courts, duly constituted.... On this subject [of wafer bread] ... "The Rubric concerning the bread to be used at Holy Communion is somewhat ambiguous." Some Elevation is necessary, for the Priest is instructed to take the Paten and Cup into his hands. The Elevation of the Sacred Elements before God is consonant with the doctrine of the Church in all ages. Elevation before the people, for the purpose of adoration, is contrary to the doctrine of our Church.²⁴

On 26 May 1916 the Rev. C.E. Perry was instituted as Burton's successor in St. Michael's. The only change he made was to place the "Prayer of Oblation" immediately after the "Prayer of Consecration".²⁵ It was the attendance at the funeral of Mrs H.W. Bishop by Archdeacon C.H. Gosset on 5 January 1918 which precipitated the "Perry-Gosset case". Bishop Julius had taken part in this funeral, and Gosset complained to him. When the bishop failed to satisfy Gosset, he resigned as archdeacon and laid a formal charge. It is clear that Gosset's object was not Perry but the bishop's sheltering of Anglo-Catholicism in Christchurch. Gosset was not satisfied with Julius' decision delivered on 3 October after a public meeting in August, and lodged his complaint with the Church's court of appeal consisting of

all New Zealand's bishops. Finally on 8 October 1919 Julius pronounced on the three charges on which Perry had been found guilty. On most charges Perry had been acquitted but Perry's continuing of Burton's practice of reserving the sacrament in a tabernacle with a light was to be altered to reservation in an aumbry. Fasting before communion was not mandatory. The ringing of the sanctuary bell (but not of the church bell) at the consecration was forbidden. The announcement "Behold the Lamb of God" to the congregation before reception was also forbidden.

The Perry-Gosset case is a New Zealand parallel to the Lincoln case in England in 1890.²⁶ The Perry-Gosset judgment declared many Anglo-Catholic eucharistic practices allowable in New Zealand: reservation when authorised by a bishop,²⁷ genuflecting in the Creed, crucifixes and other ornaments. Gosset had not challenged the use of vestments, wafers, and elevation, on which Julius had pronounced in 1911.

By 1920 a wide diversity of eucharistic thought and practice was officially sanctioned throughout New Zealand. In areas of dispute, the bishops had moved towards a more Catholic interpretation of their function and had become the focus of this authorisation. The Prayer Book was now being adapted in a variety of fashions and as a result congregationalism in eucharistic worship in the Anglican church in New Zealand was here to stay.

CHAPTER III

EUCCHARISTIC DEVELOPMENTS 1920 TO 1960

The ritual controversies in England resulted in the appointment of a Royal Commission in 1904 on Ecclesiastical Discipline. Its report in 1906 recommended among other things the suppression of the use of the Roman Catholic eucharistic prayer, reservation, and prayers for souls in purgatory. It concluded, however, that "'the law of public worship in the Church of England is too narrow for the religious life of the present generation ... [and that] the machinery for discipline has broken down.'"¹

Royal Letters of Business were issued to the Convocations² which after a tedious process finally resulted in the bishops presenting a Prayer Book to the Church Assembly in July 1927. Although it received overwhelming support in the Assembly (517 votes to 133), it was resisted by both Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics. The main issues were the eucharistic prayer and the regulation concerning reservation.³ After amendments it was approved again by the Assembly in April 1928, but rejected by the House of Commons by 266 votes to 220.³

The response of the bishops was to publish the 1928 book as a private venture and in 1929 they issued a statement that they would not

"regard as inconsistent with loyalty to the principles of the Church of England the use of

such additions or deviations as fall within the limits of these proposals. For the same reason they must regard as inconsistent with Church Order the use of any other deviations from or additions to the Forms and Orders contained in the Book of 1662."⁴

The bishops claim of *jus liturgicum*, although generally unquestioned, had no legal basis in England.⁵ In some other provinces, unhampered by the State, the 1928 Prayer Book stimulated similar revisions. In New Zealand revision was hindered by the Constitution.

The Constitution had from its inception been a subject of dispute. At the first General Synod in 1859 its authority was questioned, and the second General Synod was boycotted by Canterbury (only Bishop Harper attended).⁶ This led to an amending of the Constitution in 1865. The desire to alter the formularies and adapt forms of worship was constantly raised. As early as 1877 the Primate, Bishop Harper, in his address to General Synod in Christchurch, presented the option of altering formularies by a majority of Diocesan Synods assenting to an alteration and finally two thirds in each Order of General Synod voting in favour of it. Furthermore, there would be no possibility of changing doctrine.⁷

At the 1925 General Synod, a Christchurch Commission recommended that Parliament be asked to pass an Act enabling General Synod to make alterations to the formularies and the Authorized Version of the Bible in much the same manner as suggested half a century

earlier.⁸ The Church of England Empowering Act 1928, when passed on 6 October 1928, effectively replaced clauses two, three, and four of the Constitution. Two additions to the 1877 proposal had been suggested, that there be an appellate tribunal,⁹ and the clarification that General Synod could not "depart from the Doctrine and Sacraments of Christ as defined in clause one of the Constitution."¹⁰ Although this Act became more topical with the defeat of the 1928 Prayer Book in England, no official alteration to eucharistic formularies in this country was to eventuate from the Empowering Act for another three decades.

In New Zealand much of the 1928 Prayer Book was increasingly popular. Clergy who had been using it in England continued using it when ministering here. Many did not even know it was not authorised here,¹¹ and no ecclesiastical court cases resulted from its use. All of the "Alternative Order of the Ministration of Holy Communion" was used regularly except for the alternative eucharistic prayer.¹² Some would have been aware of the debates about this eucharistic prayer,¹³ but for many (most?) it was just too long. It seemed to them to add much that was unnecessary to the institution narrative which, since the 1662 Prayer Book, had been the essence of the "Prayer of Consecration". *The Book of Common Prayer* tied the act of consecration more narrowly to the Last Supper's words of administration than even the Roman

rite had!¹⁴ This attitude, that the institution narrative is the consecration, is an interpretation still deeply embedded in much New Zealand eucharistic worship.¹⁵

The popularity of a great deal of the 1928 Prayer Book in New Zealand was not due to the absence of party positions here. Anglo-Catholic Congresses were held from the mid nineteen twenties, the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament¹⁶ was begun by Bishop Cherrington¹⁷ of Waikato in 1926. A New Zealand Church Fellowship (later the New Zealand Church Union) also furthered Anglo-Catholic ideals as did the Guild of the Servants of the Sanctuary.¹⁸ Surprisingly the Evangelical Churchmen's Fellowship (later "Anglican Evangelical Fellowship" then "Latimer Fellowship of New Zealand") did not form in New Zealand until 1945. Positions on the eucharist polarised¹⁹ and certain actions or dress became signals of one's party.²⁰ The parties, too, were not homogeneous²¹ but occasionally a whole diocese was almost monochromatically Evangelical or Anglo-Catholic.²² However movements in eucharistic worship had begun which would cut across the party boundaries.

Since the 1920s the Parish Communion Movement had been growing in popularity in New Zealand. With its catch cry of "the Lord's own Service on the Lord's own day,"²³ a sung eucharist was normally held with general communion around 9.30 a.m. every Sunday. Although it had come out of the Anglo-Catholic stable,²⁴ in the fifties such

"Parish Communion" were encouraged by the English Parish and People movement which gained support from all colours in New Zealand except extreme Evangelicals.²⁵

These movements had antecedents in the eucharistic principles and practices of the Christian Socialists such as F.D. Maurice (1805-72), and in leading English Ritualists such as Charles Lowder (1820-80) and A.H. Mackonochie (1825-87) who had linked eucharistic worship with the communal dimension and social mission of the church. The Parish Communion was to focus and empower the incarnational mission of the Church.²⁶

The address of the Rev. J.R. Maclean of Hastings to the 1955 Dominion conference of the Church of England Men's Society typifies many of the ideals of the Parish and People movement.²⁷ He said,

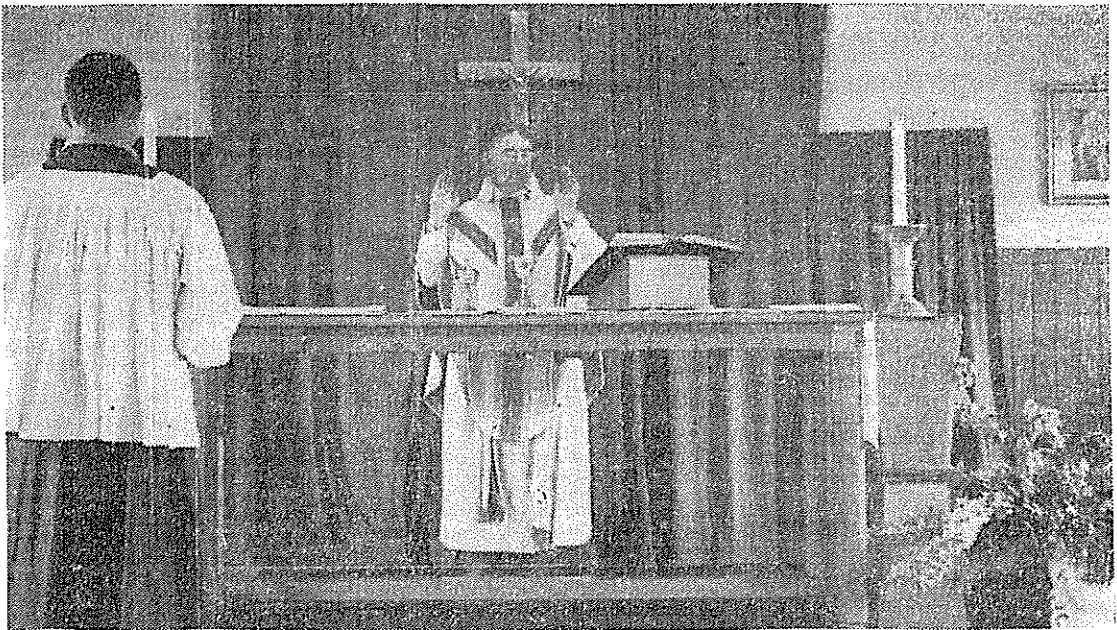
If you want a definition of the church, let it be this: those who gather at the altar for the breaking of the bread.... I am persuaded that it is the Anglican tradition for the local Church to meet Sunday by Sunday for the Holy Communion - the Lord's own service, for the Lord's own people, on the Lord's own day.... I would not suggest that this tradition has always been honoured.... [Then Maclean goes on to suggest that] The Holy Communion becomes the parish Communion. Everything possible will be done to ensure that the service is as congregational as possible without going beyond the boundaries of Anglican ways of worship. There will be at least four hymns to give the people more voice in the service ... The time of the service will be fixed both for convenience and for conviviality.... Let the service be at 9 a.m. or 9.30, and let it be followed by a social gathering together over a cup of tea, so that, having worshipped together, the communicants might mingle together; it is not enough to pray together,

they must also play together ... As it [sic.] suggested that there might be included in such a service a third Bible reading and a psalm or psalms. The reading would be taken from the Old Testament and would follow immediately after the Collect for the day and precede the Epistle.... And of course, there must be a sermon.... [The length of such a service has been overcome in England] by the bishop of the diocese licensing lay readers or even other suitable men to administer the Chalice. I believe our bishops would do the same if they were persuaded that such a practice would be acceptable to the Church.²⁸

That such changes in eucharistic practice affected architecture is not surprising. In 1958 All Saints Ponsonby introduced an altar placed about seven metres forward of the east wall around which the congregation could gather and at which the celebrant could preside facing either east or west.²⁹ In response to an article on the Ponsonby altar in the *Church and People (C&P)*, the Rev. Kenneth Scholar indicated that he had been presiding in the westward position for five or six years.³⁰

The westward position, the centrality of the eucharist, and the increased congregational participation can all be seen as Anglican equivalents to the Continental liturgical movement.³¹ As part of this increasing participation, the congregation had begun to join in saying the Collect for Purity and the Prayer of Humble Access.³² Offertory processions were also introduced. These reflected both a theology of offering to God elements of creation and human work for God's transformation, as well as providing another opportunity

for lay participation. Although Maclean had voiced the general tendency of the movement of working within "the boundaries of Anglican ways of worship," the calls for a new lectionary and congregations' spontaneous responses and participation introduced new pressures for liturgical reform.



The Rev. Kenneth Scholar presided at a "free-standing" altar at St. Mark's chapel, Wigram, from about 1952.³³

Until the fifties Anglican liturgical reform had tended to focus either on the restoration of the 1549 or Sarum patterns, or on duplicating Roman Catholic usages. Not since the Nonjurors had the Patristic period been earnestly looked to. But at the first Anglican Congress at Minneapolis³⁴ (August 4-13, 1954), Professor Massey Shepherd of U.S.A. and the Dean of Lincoln, Colin Dunlop, highlighted the period of the early church in two addresses which introduced the discussions on "Our

Worship."³⁵ Shepherd pointed to the liturgical documents of the first four centuries which had not been available to the sixteenth century Reformers,³⁶ while Dunlop explained that though it may have been right in Victorian ecclesiastical triumphalism to be guided by the Church's secure ascendancy of the Middle Ages, in this different world, it was with the Church in the days of pagan ascendancy and barbarian invasions that there was a new affinity.³⁷

This Congress paved the way for the Lambeth Conference of 1958 which gave more serious attention to worship than any of its predecessors.³⁸ Thirty four bishops met in a subcommittee on the Book of Common Prayer.³⁹ Reapplying Article XXXIV,⁴⁰ which condoned national uses, the report accepted "in the different Prayer Books of the Anglican Communion a variety which enriches our worship of God." It enumerated features in the Books of Common Prayer which it saw as essential to safeguarding the unity of the Anglican Communion, as well as effective features for maintaining Anglican doctrinal emphases. Then it "suggested [six] modifications or additions for the further recovery of other elements of the worship of the Primitive Church": shorter and fewer exhortations, modified penitence, more litanies, the recovery of the "People's Prayers" at the eucharist, the Offertory to be more closely connected with the Prayer of Consecration, and in that prayer, thanksgiving to be for all the

principal "mighty works of God," not just for Calvary.⁴¹

Furthermore, the report recommended the introduction of Old Testament lessons, corresponding with the Epistle or Gospel, and with the readings separated by psalms (or psalm portions) relating to the theme. The sermon should come between Gospel and Creed, and the Gloria moved to the beginning of the service. The understanding of consecration through thanksgiving was highlighted. All these features acted both as a kind of official imprimatur of work already undertaken, and also stimulated a whole new series of revisions.⁴¹ The sub-committee's attempt, however, at an eirenic statement on eucharistic sacrifice was overly optimistic and continued to prove controversial. The Conference resolutions endorsed the sub-committee's report and requested the Archbishop of Canterbury (G.F. Fisher) to "appoint an Advisory Committee to prepare recommendations for the structure of the Holy Communion service which could be taken into consideration by any Church or Province revising its Eucharistic rite."⁴³

The bishops returned to New Zealand from Lambeth, and at the General Synod in Hamilton (November 23-27), completed the authorisation of a number of options from the 1928 Prayer Book.⁴⁴ Within the eucharist the 1928 provisions now authorised (only with the approval of the diocesan bishop) were the Summary of the Law and Kyries (as substitutes for the Ten Commandments), the additional

Collects, Epistles and Gospels, the Intercession, Proper Prefaces, and Communion of the Priest and People. Not authorised was the alternative eucharistic prayer and the moving of the "Prayer of Humble Access" to after the "Comfortable Words", which would have gone some way to restoring the unity of the eucharistic prayer.⁴⁵ As far as holy communion was concerned, New Zealand had now authorised the highly popular *The Shorter Prayer Book*.⁴⁶ Finally, the Archbishop was asked "to set up a Provincial Commission on Liturgical Questions."⁴⁷

In the President's address to the 1958 General Synod, the Archbishop typified the attitude of many in one of the liturgically most conservative provinces of the Anglican Communion when he said,

I do not believe that the language of worship can be identified entirely with the language of everyday life, nor do the majority of our people wish for it. In worship there is an element of "holiness," something that makes it distinct and separate from the secular things of the world. I believe that little would be gained and much lost if we sacrificed forms of speech that have stood the test of time, which are loved by millions the world over, and which can be understood with a little thought on the part of the worshiper or anyhow after a little instruction.⁴⁸

Within a decade these words would begin to belong to another era.

CHAPTER IV

THE 1966 REVISION

The sixties were to break many of the comfortable moulds in New Zealand. They began with the National Party returning to power in a nation with little unemployment and little discontent. Then television and jet travel opened a world larger than the two places called "home" (New Zealand and England). The Vietnam war, the American civil rights movement, protest demonstrations and progressive liberalisation affected New Zealand.

The churches had to speak on these issues, as well as on the contraceptive pill, homosexuality, divorce and so on. Professor Lloyd Geering was tried for heresy (and acquitted), church union became a viable option,¹ and the Roman Catholic Church was to undergo a revolution and nowhere more so than in its worship.

In the area of worship Anglicans too were to begin a significant renewal. Increasingly they were now worshipping at a morning "Parish Communion" or "Family Communion," with evenings given over to television. Significantly, the fifties and sixties saw a phenomenal church building boom. Cathedrals were built in Dunedin, Wellington, Waiapu and Auckland. Suburban expansion, reversal of the post-war church attendance slump, and general prosperity, resulted also in new parish churches, with architecture inspired by the European liturgical

movement. The altar was no longer necessarily in an indented chancel, but often had the congregation on three sides with the priest being able to choose on which side of it he stood. Older churches too more commonly began to rearrange their chancels and bring their altars forward.

In terms of rites, however, the sixties began with New Zealand (as well as Australia and England) being behind others in Anglican liturgical renewal.² But important movements in the sixties, such as ecumenism, the liturgical movement and charismatic renewal, followed by feminism and Maori rights in the seventies, would ultimately lead to the production in New Zealand of the most adventurous prayer book in the Anglican Communion.

The tercentenary of *The Book of Common Prayer* was marked in 1962. Not only were there many services to note this milestone, but the celebration of its history underlined the fact that it belonged to a bygone age. The best way to be faithful to its spirit was to revise its content.³ England and Australia began working on eucharistic revisions. New Zealand, the last Anglican Province to do so, suddenly had mounting pressure to produce its own prayer book.

In his charge to the Auckland Diocesan Synod in 1962, Bishop Gowing hoped that the Church of the Province of New Zealand had reached a stage where it could "very seriously consider" a prayer book of its own. He saw

reasons similar to those behind the publication of the New English Bible (New Testament, 1961), as well as the need to have a liturgy which emerged "from the environment in which it is used," and one that showed that there were two races in New Zealand.⁴ The Waikato Synod similarly sought a New Zealand Prayer Book ("written in more simple and modern phraseology"), and appointed a commission to further that goal.⁵ The Auckland and Waikato dioceses reaffirmed this direction at their 1963 synods.⁶

That same year, at the biennial Conference of the Evangelical Churchmen's Fellowship in Wellington, the Rev. Brian Carrell put forward possibilities for a new main Sunday service. After outlining the options of either a mild revision (such as 1662 was of 1552), or of rewriting *The Book of Common Prayer* into modern language, Carrell presented a "root and branch revision" in which a new basic Sunday service would be fashioned out of Matins, the Litany and ante-communion. This new service would be the context for baptism, confirmation or holy communion. The eucharist would not invariably be a part of this service.⁷ Later that year Carrell moved a motion at the Christchurch Synod in support of Prayer Book revision. It was passed unanimously.⁸

Meanwhile internationally, in June 1963, Bishop Stephen Bayne, the first Anglican Executive Officer, admitted that no action had yet been taken to form the Advisory

Committee on a basic eucharistic pattern.⁹ He reported that

"A beginning of common study has been made through the circulation of a draft African liturgy which has been studied by most of the churches.... A list of "Liturgical Consultants"¹⁰ has been developed, and correspondence opened between churches on liturgical matters. A Consultation on Liturgical Affairs is planned for the post-Congress weekend in Toronto."¹¹

This Consultation, held 23-25 August 1963, was attended by representatives of fourteen Anglican Churches and included the Right Rev. J.T. Holland of Waikato. It was chaired by Bishop A.R. Stuart of Georgia and it appointed four members as a continuing sub-committee to work on a document.¹²

The next year, New Zealand's General Synod, meeting in Auckland 12-16 April 1964, agreed to the following motion,

That this General Synod requests the Archbishop to appoint a Commission as representative as possible of the whole Province
 (a) To plan and prepare a revised Book of Common Prayer, either in stages or as a whole, in the light of the needs of the Province and of contemporary liturgical developments and,
 (b) Itself or through its delegates to prepare a Lectionary for use in the Church of this Province.¹³

The Archbishop's interpretation of "as representative as possible of the whole Province" resulted in his appointing a priest from each of the New Zealand dioceses each of whom was to enlist interest and assistance of knowledgeable people within their own diocese. Those

appointed (with their diocese) were the Very Rev. G.R. Monteith (Auckland, Convener), the Rev. R.H. Easton (Wellington), the Ven. P. Kirkham (Nelson), the Ven. K. Liggett (Waikato), the Rev. Canon D.S. Millar (Dunedin), the Rev. J.S. Willoughby (Waiapu), and the Rev. Canon R.J. Witty (Christchurch).

On 7 August, forty clergy met with the Bishop of Auckland, the Right Rev. E.A. Gowing, for a seminar at St. John's College entitled "A Prayer Book for New Zealand."¹⁴ The Rev. E.B. Algar presented a paper entitled "Liturgical Developments."¹⁵ There was much discussion about whether to use modern language such as that of the contemporary Roman Catholic mass,¹⁶ or language in the style of the Revised Standard Version (published 1952). In spite of hesitation at producing a purely Anglican work, with ecumenism a growing reality, and although they could reach no consensus on content or structure, most saw revision as long overdue.

The first meeting of the Provincial Commission on Prayer Book Revision (PCPBR) was convened by Monteith 12 August 1964. Dismay had been expressed at the Commission's membership. With no Maori, no laity and only one member of a professional teaching faculty, it was hardly "as representative as possible of the whole Province." Hence the Commission requested that the Archbishop appoint a diocesan bishop as a link with the bishops and with the Lambeth Conference, and submitted seven more names for

consideration. The Archbishop agreed to these requests. Of the names submitted, Canon M. Cameron, representing Maori, and Canon R.S. Foster, the Warden of St. John's College, both accepted. The Rev. M.S. Betteridge, the Rev. F.C. Harrison and Mr. D.M. Wylie also accepted. Bishop H. W. Baines became the representative of the bishops.¹⁷ Dr. Foster suggested the College provide a secretary from its staff. Procedure became an immediate issue. Acknowledging the New Zealand liturgical conservatism, it was discussed whether revision was to be a patching up of Cranmer or a real liturgical reform. If the former was followed, there was the possibility of producing an out of date book. An important decision was to proceed immediately to working on a new pattern of Sunday morning worship, particularly a form of the communion rite in which the synaxis could stand alone as a non-eucharistic Sunday morning service.

The Commission had before it the liturgies of Taizé, and of the Church of South India, the new Prayer Book from Canada,¹⁸ *An Experimental Liturgy*, and the recently published collection, *The Liturgy in English*, by B. Wigan. It also referred to the Lambeth 1958 report, and to the "Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy".¹⁹ It decided to proceed by dividing into three regional committees, a Northern (5 members), Central (6) and Southern Group (3).²⁰ The committee with the Commission's Chair became the executive and made the decisions between meetings.²¹

The Northern Group produced its first draft of the eucharist after a two day meeting in November 1964. This text, called 64/1, was in fact a conflation of 1662 with Canada's 1959 and the Liturgy of the Church of South India.²² The Southern Group was also working on a draft beginning more from principles rather than texts. It also provided comments on 64/1. The Central Group was attempting to produce a liturgy for all Sunday services which could either include the eucharist or not.

64/1 was revised by a meeting of the Northern Group at St. John's College on Friday and Saturday, 12-13 March 1965, producing 65/1. On this Saturday, Auckland clergy were invited to come and discuss this second draft. They were, at this stage, still working with texts addressing God as "thee", intending to get the structure right before examining style and language.

Archbishop Leslie Brown of Uganda, had been drafting the document "The Structure and Contents of the Eucharistic Liturgy" (text p.80). In 1949 he had convened the Liturgy Committee of the Church of South India and had been the major drafter of its very influential communion rite.²³ He had been secretary of the Book of Common Prayer sub-committee at Lambeth 1958 and drafted its report. As Archbishop of Uganda he had been a major drafter of *A Liturgy for Africa* already mentioned above.²⁴

"The Structure and Contents of the Eucharistic Liturgy"

arrived in New Zealand in March 1965, in time for the first residential Conference of the Commission at St. John's College from 24-27 May.²⁵ Comments on 65/1 were received from the Church of England Liturgical Commission which had been sent a copy. They were not particularly favourable as they saw too much of the now antiquated 1662/1928 tradition.²⁶ The Bishop in Polynesia had forwarded "A South Pacific Liturgy"²⁷ which was dependent on *A Liturgy for Africa* as presented to the Toronto Consultation. Its eucharistic prayer now gripped the Commission's imagination and, with emendations, was used as the new text.²⁸ After the full Commission meeting, tasks were assigned. The Northern Group was to work on texts and rubrics, the Central on the Propers, and the Southern on the eucharistic readings.²⁹

In September,³⁰ 65/2 was worked over to address God as "you". At the next residential conference, held 7-10 February 1966, only Millar dissented from this move. New Zealand was now well on the way to being the first Anglican Province to make such a shift. At this February meeting the Commission also had before it a preliminary draft of what would become England's Series 2.³¹ The English preface was perceived to express the great acts of redemption more tightly than New Zealand's draft, but its anamnesis included an oblation that England itself would soon abandon. New Zealand decided to replace its preface with England's but keep the rest of the

eucharistic prayer as it stood.³² Permission was received from the Archbishop to celebrate using this new liturgy.³³

With the first stage of revision nearing completion, thoughts turned to its experimental use. Until the beginning of this century, complete prayer books were issued as a *fait accompli*. Now experimentation followed by revision had become the normal way of producing new liturgies. The Church of England Empowering Act of 1928 only authorised a prolonged process for producing new formularies. An amendment to the Act, however, was being put through Parliament. Prior to 1964, General Synods met at intervals of three years and this had been incorporated into the Act. But from now on they would meet biennially and an amendment was required.

T.E. Fitchet (a Nelson lawyer who at the 1964 General Synod had moved that the Act be re-examined) was approached to see if the Empowering Act could be bypassed to authorise services experimentally to ascertain their strengths and weaknesses. In the event, it was decided to try to further amend the Act so that a service could be experimental for a period of five years after its acceptance by General Synod and a majority of diocesan synods.³⁴

The General Synod held in Dunedin, 18-22 April 1966, gave mixed reception to the new service. It was the language,

rather than the theology which received the most complaint. One found it "inelegant and distasteful," another said bluntly, "I don't like it".³⁵ On the other hand, Millar described himself a "total convert" to the modern English. Bishop Monteith recognised the rushed nature of the project, but wished to see it now in experimental use so that, with reactions, a more worthy revision could be planned. With this in mind, the Synod voted in favour of experimental authorisation.³⁶

Again it was mainly criticism of the poor quality of the language that surfaced at diocesan synods, though in Wellington the Rev. C.W. Haskell objected to the prayers for the dead³⁷ and alleged that the doctrine of "eucharistic sacrifice" had been introduced. The issue of prayers for the dead also came up at the Nelson Synod, but this Synod's unanimous approval for experimental use of the service meant a majority of diocesan synods had approved. Only the Parliamentary passing of the Empowering Act's amendment remained for the service to be authorised.

For some, the use of Parliament in this manner was deplored as erastianism, and appeared to be using Parliament to settle controversial debates such as the two mentioned above.³⁸ Similar fears were expressed by a slowly growing number who showed dissatisfaction (generally from the other end of the party spectrum) with the form of supplementary consecration and all that it

implied.³⁹ In its responses the Commission constantly stressed that in the revision no alteration was intended of the doctrine embodied in *The Book of Common Prayer*.

On 29 September 1966, Bishop Monteith received a telegram from Bishop Baines in Wellington, "Prayer Book measure became law 3.30 yesterday. So far so good."⁴⁰ A new chapter had begun in the history of Anglican eucharistic practice in New Zealand.

the death and passion of your Son our Saviour
 Here the Priest is to take the bread into his hands.
 And here to lay his hand upon the bread.
 Here he is to take the cup into his hand.
 And here to lay his hand upon every vessel in which there is any wine to be consecrated.
 Jesus Christ, we may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood; who the night before he gave himself to death, took bread, and when he had given thanks he broke it and gave it to his disciples, and said, 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 when he had given thanks he gave it to them, and said, 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.

His death, Father, we show forth, his resurrection we proclaim, his coming we await. Glory to you, Lord most high.

Therefore, Father, we do this as your Son commanded, offering to you our praise and thanksgiving for his one perfect sacrifice made on the cross for the sin of the world, for his mighty resurrection and glorious ascension, which we recall before you in this sacrament of the bread of life and the cup of salvation. Accept us, in him, we pray, with this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, and grant that all we who are partakers of this holy communion may be filled with the Holy Spirit and made one in your holy Church, the body of your Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom and in whom, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, all honour and glory be to you, almighty Father, for ever and ever. Amen.

28

tau Tama, o to matou Kaiwhakara-
 ora, o Ihu Karaiti, kia kai i tona
 tinana tapu, i ona toto; i tango ra
 ia i te paraoa i te po i mua atu i
 tana tukunga i a ia ki te mate, a
 ka mutu te whakawhetai, ka wha-
 whati, ka hoatu ki ana akonga, ka
 mea, Tangohia, kainga, ko toku
 tinana tenei ka hoatu nei mo kou-
 tou; meinga tenei hei whakama-
 hara ki aha. Waihoi, ka mutu te
 Hapa, ka tango ia i te kapu, a ka mutu te whakawhetai,
 ka hoatu ki a ratou, ka mea, Inumia teni, e koutou katoa,
 koſ oku toto hoki tenei o te kawenata hou ka whakahaheke
 nei mo koutou, mo te tokomoho, hei muru i te hara;
 meinga tenei, i nga inumanga katoatanga, hei whakama-
 hara ki ahau.

Ko tona matenga, e te Matua, ka whakaatu matou, ko
 tona aranga ka panui matou, ko tona haerenga mai ka
 tatari matou. Kororia ki a koe, e Ihowa i runga rawa.

Koia matou, e te Matua, ka whakarite nei i ta tau Tama
 i whakahaui ai, me te tuku atu ki a koe i ta matou whaka-
 moemiti, whakawhetai mo tana whakahere kotahi, tino
 rite, i tapaea i runga i te ripeka mo te hara o te ao, mo
 tona aranga whakamiharo me tona kakenga kororia e
 whakamahara nei matou i tou aroaro i roto i tenei haka-
 rameta o te paraoa o te ora me te kapu o te whakaoranga.
 Manakohia rapae matou i roto i a ia me tenei, ta matou
 whakahere whakamoemiti, whakawhetai hoki; tukua hoki
 matou kua kai nei i tenei hapa tapu kia whakakia
 ki te Wairua Tapu, kia whakakotahitia ki tau Hahi tapu,
 ki te tinana o tau Tama, o to matou Ariki, o Ihu Karaiti,
 ra runga atu nei i a ia me te kotahitanga o te Wairua
 Tapu, ka tukua atu ki a koe te honore katoa me te
 kororia, e te Matua kaha rawa, ake ake ake. Amine.

29

Part of the 1966 eucharistic prayer.
 The diglot was produced in 1967.

CHAPTER V

EUCCHARISTIC DEVELOPMENTS 1966 TO 1970

From October 1966, New Zealand Anglicans had their first indigenous order of holy communion. Three editions were produced, a large Altar copy (19/6d.), a full edition with Propers (6/-), and a congregational version without them (1/10d). Its "Introduction" briefly traced the history from *The Book of Common Prayer* of 1662 mentioning the 1958 and 1964 General Synods in New Zealand, and made reference to the Liturgical Consultation of 1963 in Toronto and its resulting recommendations, as well as to Anglican revisions worldwide (with an explicit reference to England's!). Then followed some of the reasons for the new rite.

The Commission was later to declare that

The aim of the revised liturgy is to provide a service which more adequately expresses the meaning of Holy Communion in the light of contemporary liturgical and biblical understanding. We have done this by

- a) emphasising the dramatic structure and unity of the liturgy;
- b) restoring to the people their proper function within the service;
- c) enabling the people to recognize the relevance of the liturgy to their daily life; and
- d) using₁ contemporary language to clarify the meaning.

The "General Directions", which followed the "Introduction" of the experimental Liturgy, at a stroke dealt with many historic controversies. Fasting was a matter of personal conscience, at least one person needed

to be present to communicate with the Priest, the service should be audible (without inserting private devotions), the Priest "shall wear a cassock and surplice with scarf or stole, or an alb with the customary vestments," the bread might be loaf or wafer, and persons need not have been in Holy Orders to read any of the lessons (including the Gospel).²

The drafters of the rite were well aware that there were deficiencies in it. The rite had been produced against time.³ It had been recognised that the Anglican Church in New Zealand lacked the liturgical scholarship to produce material from scratch, and so the experimental liturgy had derived extensively from fusing together existing material.⁴ This was also one of the few provinces to take account of the Pan-Anglican document, "The Structure and Contents of the Eucharistic Liturgy," and it deviated from it at only four points. There was no "psalm or hymn of approach" (though a hymn could be included),⁵ the Gloria was in the Church of South India position (after the "Collect for Purity") rather than after the Confession, the Pan-Anglican document advocated either an Old Testament or an Epistle reading, whereas in New Zealand one could have both, and the Lord's Prayer could optionally follow communion (its position in 1662).

The major innovation of the new liturgy was in it being the first Anglican eucharistic text which addressed God in the second person plural rather than second person

singular. Australia had also made this transition by July 1966.

The Commission had not expected such an exuberant response to its work. It had anticipated about one in ten parishes applying to their diocesan bishop for permission to use it, and being able to use feedback from this experiment for a more leisurely revision. In the event, however, a majority of parishes came to use it, and the Commission had to suppress rumours that revision was going to be delayed.⁶

The publication of the full liturgy in the *Church and People* in May 1966 precipitated many letters which reflected the variety of responses of the people in the pews. Neither clergy nor laity had been adequately prepared for the liturgical revolution now occurring. The surge to use the new rite, however, was the final demonstration that a sixteenth and seventeenth century service could no longer nourish the average worship of the twentieth century.

Criticism of the new rite focused on five areas. Inevitably it was compared with the *The Book of Common Prayer*, and many only began to appreciate the new service when they began to look at it in its own right.

The first issue was prayer for the dead. Canonically, since 1958, "the intercession" of the "Alternative Order of the Communion" (1928) had been accepted. This prayed,

"And we commend to thy gracious keeping, O Lord, all thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fear, beseeching thee to grant them everlasting light and peace." Now the disputed prayers in the 1966 liturgy were, "For those who have departed this life (especially.....), we pray to you." as well as "Grant rest eternal to the departed; **That light perpetual may shine upon them.**" Both could be omitted. Evangelicals could either call into question the 1958 authorisation by the General Synod, or point out that these options in the new experimental service did not include the words "in thy faith and fear."⁷

The second issue was that of language. The Collects in particular came in for much criticism. Many had memorised Cranmer's Collects in their youth, and the new ones lacked the familiar cadences. The move to addressing God "you" rather than "thee", as would be expected, was for many irreverent, particularly as the recent Bible translations (New English Bible New Testament 1961, Revised Standard Version 1952) had continued to address God "thee". It might have helped had there been more widespread education about the sixteenth century use of "thee" as a sign of intimacy and "you" as one of respect.

Thirdly the omissions of the Ten Commandments, the Summary of the Law, and of a final blessing caused considerable disappointment.⁸

The fourth issue, the form of supplementary consecration, had also been much debated in the Commission and finally they had settled on a simple declaratory statement.⁹ The Commission consulted experts overseas and many of these were happy with New Zealand's solution.¹⁰ The widespread concern over supplementary consecration reached General Synod when it next met in 1968. The 1966 version ceased to be authorised and a new form replaced it.¹¹

The fifth issue was the material in the eucharistic prayer after the institution narrative. The widespread Anglican belief that consecration was effected by the words of institution meant that, particularly Evangelicals, saw this new material as introducing "irrelevancies" between "consecration" and receiving communion. Moreover, this same tradition vehemently opposed any oblation occurring before communion.¹²

The need for liturgical education prompted the Commission to invite Dr. A.B. Catley to produce an explanatory booklet for study purposes throughout the Province.¹³ Dr. Catley having turned down this invitation, the Rev. Paul Reeves, lecturer in Church History at St. John's College, accepted.¹⁴ The resulting pamphlet, *Life is Liturgy*,¹⁵ subtitled "A Guide to the Proposed Liturgy of the Anglican Church in New Zealand," came under some criticism from Evangelical quarters for advocating "Parish and People" interpretations of the new rite. Reeves followed Dix in identifying the first of Christ's

fourfold actions, the "taking", with the Offertory. Offertory processions were described. Then Reeves stated, "The Eucharist has nothing to work on until this world in which we live is brought into the Church and laid upon the altar. This is what the bread and wine represent." (p.23). In a footnote he wrote, "in the Eucharist we offer ourselves and the bread and wine, which are the visible symbols of our lives, to God and we can do this only because Christ our Head offers us His members." (p.24). It was precisely this kind of offering theology which was diametrically opposite to the Evangelical tradition and provoked concern that this booklet be seen as having no other authority than that of its author.¹⁶

The Evangelical "Latimer Foundation"¹⁷ produced its own response to the experimental Liturgy. *Worship for Today* was edited by the Rev. Colin Clark and the Rev. Maurice Goodall. Although it claimed to have "no intention of re-opening the old "party" controversies" (p.14) it attacked prayers for the dead, "imitation Roman vestments" (p.26), offertory processions and the use of words such as "altar" (p.18) and "priest" (p.37).¹⁸ It perceived the new rite as teaching eucharistic sacrifice and a localized real presence (through including the Benedictus and the Agnus Dei.) It made many constructive suggestions including a plea for the "liturgical use of silence."

A third publication was *Life in Christ* by Peter Tanton.¹⁹ The text of the experimental Liturgy, printed with

permission, appeared on right hand pages, while Tanton's comments were printed on the left. Other contents included prayers for before and after the service, some notes on sacraments, particularly the holy communion and "the sacrament of confession," as well as a form of confession. Tanton followed the offering theology of the Offertory, he also identifies particularly the institution narrative as "the Consecration" (p.34).

Originally the Commission was to have evaluated reactions to the new Liturgy using a rather complex form, but then on the advice of Professor R. Chapman and Mr. R. Stone of the Auckland University, a simple questionnaire was designed. An evaluation committee was appointed. This evaluation took place on Sunday 11 June 1967 (the date had been kept secret) and the weekdays following.

Of the 40,000 questionnaires distributed (see pp.96-99), 30,000 were completed and returned. The results showed the experimental Liturgy was well received, most especially in the northern three dioceses. Education appeared an important next step.²⁰ In November a detailed questionnaire was addressed to the clergy (see pp.100), these were collated within dioceses. 336 forms were returned (compared with the just over 350 parishes in New Zealand). This second evaluation gave detailed information for the Commission's process of revision. General Synod 1968 also gave specific directions for the Commission's work.²¹

At the residential conference at the beginning of 1969, Bishop Baines reported on the post-Lambeth Liturgical Consultation (1968) which had been concerned, among other matters, with the reform of the Daily Office and its inter-relationship with the eucharist. The second Pan-Anglican document which resulted from this Consultation, drawn up by Leslie Brown and Ronald Jasper, seems to have had no influence in New Zealand. The Commission was also aware of developments in the Roman Catholic Church which was preparing three eucharistic prayers alternative to the Roman one. This was not a possibility the Commission considered emulating.

Revision of the Liturgy had been progressing systematically. At the residential conference in August 1969 the rite was revised line by line with particular reference to the English Series 2. A draft eucharistic prayer (1/69) was prepared by Mrs. Glasgow and the Rev. Richard Easton (see pp.101-104).²² The preface of this, little changed from 1966, would essentially become the preface of 1970. Between this meeting and the next De la Bere circulated a revision of the eucharistic prayer [1/69 (ii)] which after comments was revised (70/2). At the residential conference at the beginning of 1970, De la Bere produced two options, 70/5 and 70/6, and the Commission decided to choose 70/5 slightly adapted. Attempts to reinstate the passage "Hear us merciful Father" failed, and from now on eucharistic prayers

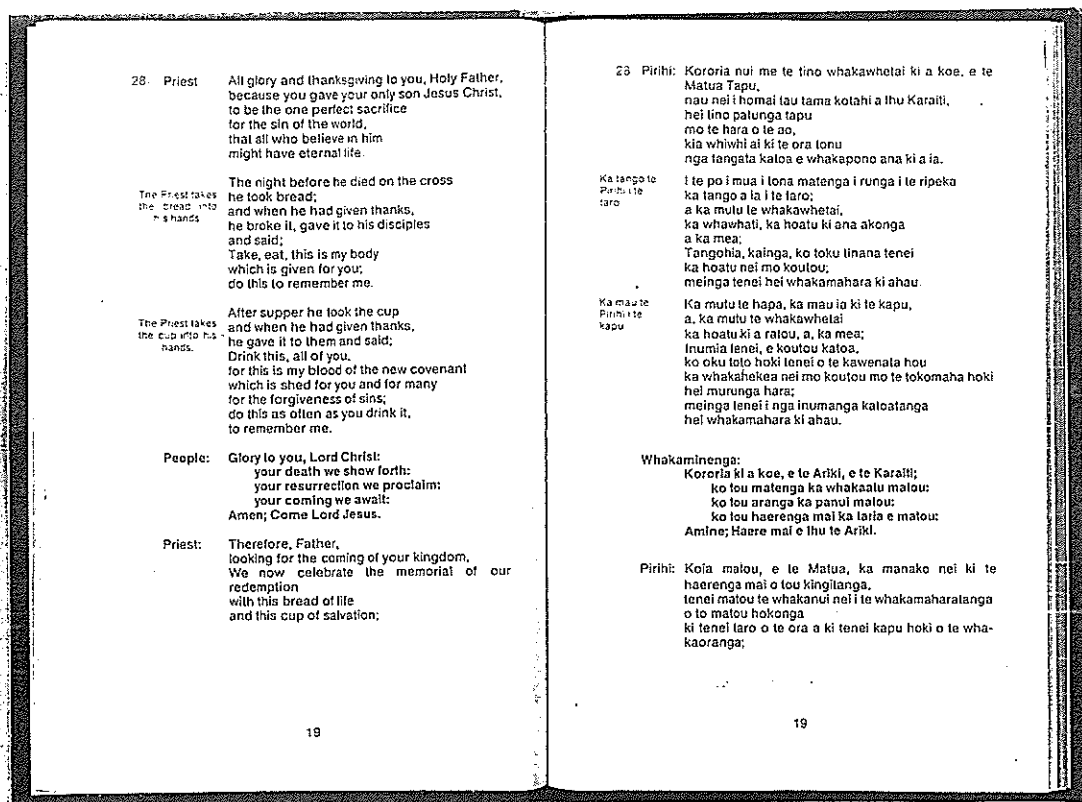
authorised in New Zealand would follow the Antiochene tradition and only have one epiclesis after the words of institution.²³

In March 1970 a long awaited collection of common liturgical texts appeared entitled *Prayers We Have In Common*. This was produced by the International Consultation on English Texts (ICET).²⁴ These arrived just in time to be incorporated into the revision presented to General Synod in Christchurch in April 1970.

At the General Synod in 1972, *The New Zealand Liturgy 1970* had completed its course through two General Synods and the majority of the diocesan synods as required by the Church of England Empowering Act. It now had equal status to the parts of the 1928 Prayer Book authorised in 1958. The experimental Liturgy of 1966 ceased to be authorised.²⁵

The structure of the 1970 service was the same as that of 1966. Rubrics were reduced, however, and the Ten Commandments, Our Lord's Summary of the Law and his New Commandment were included. The ICET texts were followed for the Gloria, Nicene Creed, Lord's Prayer²⁶ and the Sanctus. The prayers for the dead were made more acceptable to all. The Lord's Prayer could now conclude the Intercession. The blessing was restored. The eucharistic prayer was thoroughly rewritten (pp.101-104). The Collects were also significantly revised and a second

collection of readings provided for alternating years. Sundays after Trinity were renamed "after Pentecost".²⁷



*Part of the 1970 eucharistic prayer*²⁸

New Zealand now had a modern rite which was to serve it for fourteen years. It was used alongside the 1662 communion service (and its 1928 variants) which continued to be authorised.²⁹ Occasionally there were attempts to produce a "modernised 1662" service, generally originating from Dunedin (either using "thee" or "you"), but these did not generate much enthusiasm. The main energy of the church in the early seventies was directed towards the church union debate. Eucharistic thought and

practice was slow to change. The ubiquitous Anglican understanding of Consecration as effected by the words of institution had led to the Evangelical complaints against the longer eucharistic prayer (it inserted "irrelevancies" between Consecration and communion). Even in the 1970 rite the rubric to *kneel* militated against seeing this prayer as a unity effecting consecration by thanksgiving. Some practices were changing. Priests now more generally presided using the westward position, and the weekly Sunday eucharist was the growing norm. The "ecumenical alb" began to appear and would gain in popularity in the seventies.

Channeling and restraining diversity had been one of the motives of the liturgical reform. The banks were bursting, however, and the diversity of Family Services was flowing into the Parish Eucharist. In the next two decades movements such as Charismatic renewal, biculturalism, feminism and inclusive language would build on the theological revolution of the sixties to make the old Anglican party divisions around the eucharist obsolete.

CHAPTER VI

EUCCHARISTIC DEVELOPMENTS 1970 TO 1989

The seventies began a new era of New Zealand's national self-confidence. The statement made by Norman Kirk, prime minister in the Labour Government elected in 1972 typified this:

Circumstances dictate that, while we preserve the warmest ties and closest sentimental attachments between our country and the United Kingdom, we recognise that we have come of age and must now stand on our own feet to reject the role of the dependent and at every opportunity seize the initiative.¹

These words could equally describe the growing attitude of the Provincial Commission on Prayer Book Revision. The text of the 1966 revision of the eucharist had primarily resulted from combining various overseas and traditional texts and "translating" them into modern English. The process of revising for the 1970 rite had been different. Certainly there had been reference to overseas texts, particularly the English Series 2, but the primary sources for the revision had been the suggestions from within New Zealand and the drafts produced by members of the Commission.

Whereas at the beginning of revision members of the Commission had no expertise at creating new services, the experience of producing the 1970 rite had given them confidence in beginning to draft original material themselves. Furthermore their years of working together,

as would be expected, had moulded them into a more enterprising group.²

In the first half of the seventies, the Commission worked on forms of the Office, Christian Initiation, the Calendar, Marriage, Funerals, Pastoral services, and the Ordinal (see pp.76).

Although the seventies did not produce a new eucharistic rite, the New Zealand Anglican church continued to alter its eucharistic practice. During this time it was one of the provinces leading the Anglican Communion in the eucharistic practice of admitting children to communion before confirmation. Prior to 1970, New Zealand had followed the BCP pattern. General Synod in 1970 permitted diocesan experimentation. In 1972 it approved continued experimentation including the provision of admission to holy communion prior to confirmation. This was reaffirmed in 1974 and passed as an alternative practice within the New Zealand Anglican Church in 1976. In 1977 five clergy appealed to the Tribunal created under the Empowering Act (this appeal was later withdrawn). They also challenged the legality of what was being done in the Supreme Court, contending that it conflicted with Clause 1 of the Constitution which contained *The Book of Common Prayer* rubric that "there shall none be admitted to Holy Communion until such time as he be confirmed, or be ready and desirous to be confirmed." The Supreme Court, however, ruled that it needed first to be considered in a

church court and so on 19 June 1978 the Very Rev. Brian Davis applied to the Judicial Committee of General Synod for a resolution of doubts of the validity of the experimental pattern.

The Judicial Committee decided that the confirmation rubric was a part of Clause 1 and that this did not permit the alternative practice.³ A special session of General Synod was held in Wellington on 4-5 April 1979.⁴ This passed a new Canon which would allow the alternative practice. The Canon then passed by all Diocesan Synods except Nelson and Wellington. In 1980 it was again passed in General Synod by the two thirds majority necessary under the Empowering Act.⁵ New guidelines were also issued at this Synod.⁶ The growth of the alternative practice may be seen from the number of parishes admitting children to communion prior to confirmation:

1972	14
1974	56
1975	76
1981	89 (approximately 1/4 of all parishes)
1984	170 (almost 1/2 of all parishes) ⁷

Eucharistic worship was also changing in the seventies through the influence of the Charismatic movement. In 1965 Charismatic prayer groups had formed in Palmerston North in All Saints Parish and at Massey University.⁸ The movement encouraged greater freedom in worship, it developed a whole new repertoire and style of music, it gave a priority to praise and thanksgiving and it was highly ecumenical, particularly developing strong links

with Charismatic renewal in the Roman Catholic Church. All these elements strongly influenced Anglican eucharistic worship and encouraged its centrality. Although those involved in Charismatic renewal were generally happy to use the rites produced by the Prayer Book Commission, leaders of this renewal showed little interest in becoming involved in the work of the Commission. Nor did members of the PCPBR become involved in Charismatic renewal so that, surprisingly, Charismatic renewal's influence on textual revision in New Zealand has only been indirect.⁹

A major textual development in New Zealand's eucharistic worship was the New Zealand Liturgy 1970 in a diglot of English and Maori. This was launched at Holy Sepulchre, Khyber Pass, 23 August 1977. It had taken many years of consultation for the Maori translation of the New Zealand Liturgy to be completed.¹⁰

This diglot edition was produced just when there was a growing recognition that the New Zealand Liturgy needed to be revised. In particular, in 1977 inclusive language began to become an issue in the Commission.¹¹ This was the year in which the Anglican Church in New Zealand had become one of the first Anglican provinces to ordain women to the priesthood.¹² That women were now presiding at the eucharist naturally highlighted such "male" language as "men" and "brethren" which had been included in the 1970 revision with a generic meaning.

New divisions began to appear, which cut across the old party positions. On the one hand some wanted a conservative revision of 1662 (either addressing God as "thee" or "you"),¹³ on the other hand there were those who were exploring new images for God which sought not to limit God to male titles, and wished to celebrate the eucharist with language that reflected a community following a non-hierarchical model.

A new pattern of parallel rites for a similar service had been created almost by accident.¹⁴ In 1970 the regional groups had ceased to function and diocesan committees began undertaking preparatory work for the Commission.¹⁵ In 1972 the PCPBR presented two orders for celebrating a marriage to General Synod. One of these derived from the Wellington Committee whose drafting had ground to a halt. The second came from Christchurch who had then been asked to produce a revision following the traditional Anglican pattern. From these the Commission hoped later to produce a single flexible rite and the Commission regretted "that it [found] itself compelled to present more than one form of such a service."¹⁶ In fact, the Commission finally produced three deliberately different forms of marriage services.

From 1978 two diocesan committees were working on producing markedly different revisions of the New Zealand Liturgy. Particularly important was the Commission's decision that for a rite to feel significantly different

for the congregation, the people's prayers, responses and acclamations need to vary from one rite to the next.¹⁷ Hence Wellington was working on a conservative revision of NZL1970 while Auckland was drafting an alternative Liturgy. Further eucharistic revision was also in progress. Waikato was assigned the Collects and Christchurch the Intercessions.

In 1976 the Christchurch Diocesan Prayer Book Committee had been asked to look at the "themes" in the New Zealand eucharistic lectionary. After looking at four options¹⁸ they recommended that New Zealand adopt the Roman Catholic three year mass readings. The PCPBR did not endorse this recommendation, seeing that bishops had authority to authorise this experimentally in their dioceses. However increasing pressure, particularly after its adoption in the new Australian Prayer Book in 1979, resulted in its authorisation at General Synod in 1980 as the Australian Prayer Book three year series cycle of readings.¹⁹

In 1979, Anglican churches in Australia and the United States published new prayer books. In 1980, the Church of England did so as well. This encouraged the 1980 General Synod motion agreeing "to the principle of providing a New Zealand Prayer Book as soon as possible."²⁰ In 1981 the Wellington Diocesan Synod requested the formation of a New Zealand Prayer Book as a matter of urgency. In 1982, General Synod approved "the principle of a New

Zealand Prayer Book ... in two editions",²¹ the one including all authorised alternative services, the other those services used in normal Sunday worship. Then in 1983 a questionnaire was conducted to ascertain what material should be in any proposed New Zealand Prayer Book. Meanwhile the Commission's textual revision continued apace.

In the period leading up to the 1970 revision, the Rev. Richard Easton as Vicar of Northland-Wilton, had been experimenting with a eucharistic revision he called the "St. Anne Liturgy" (also referred to as the "Northland Rite" or "Pink 3").²² The motivation behind his material was significantly different to that of the Commission's 1966-1970 approach. He was particularly interested in the congregation taking a leading role in the worship, rather than responding to the priest's prayers. When in 1978 he moved to Auckland he was enthused to find the alternative work progressing there. Easton was revolutionary in his structuring of the eucharistic prayer²³ and this encouraged some rewriting by the Rev. Dr. Raymond Pelly who was working on the eucharistic prayer in the Auckland revision.²⁴ Auckland's work resulted in essentially the creation of a new rite with two eucharistic prayers.²⁵

These were not the only attempts to introduce alternative eucharistic prayers into the revision. In May 1980 Dr. Ian Jamieson presented an alternative form of the eucharistic prayer to the Wellington Committee.²⁶ In

October Dr. Jamieson and the Rev. Michael Blain, having abandoned this earlier attempt, presented an adaptation of the eucharistic prayer from the *Apostolic Tradition* which was widely used ecumenically and internationally.²⁷ As presented it lacked a preface, however after minor adaptation it was incorporated with the standard New Zealand preface as an alternative eucharistic prayer into the Commission's revision in 1981.

There were three areas in it that were questioned. It had a strong epiclesis before the institution narrative,²⁸ it used the oblation, "we bring before you this bread and this cup," and it thanked God for "counting us worthy to stand in your presence and serve you."²⁹ In January 1982 it was abandoned at the meeting of the PCPBR.³⁰ The preliminary epiclesis and the acclamation "Christ has died, Christ is risen, Christ will come again" both had a brief period in the Commission's eucharistic prayer in 1982, but by 1983 these too were gone.³¹

In 1982 a draft eucharistic liturgy was issued to ten parishes in each diocese for experimental use, and a questionnaire used to collate suggestions. Surprisingly, this draft only incorporated the work of the Wellington Committee with a single eucharistic prayer, so that no more general reaction was received to the Auckland material.

Some Evangelical dissatisfaction had still persisted

after 1970. The growing consensus over a theology of "consecration by thanksgiving" as being Biblically based had quelled discontent with what were once seen as "irrelevancies"³² extending the eucharistic prayer after the "consecration" (i.e. the institution narrative). However, dissatisfaction still continued over offertory material, the Benedictus, lack of sufficient reference to the Cross, the epiclesis, and the Lord's Prayer and other material before communion (Agnus Dei, "Prayer of Humble Access").

By 1984, a step had been made to satisfy some of the Evangelical preferences when the Rev. Brian Carrell produced an Alternative Great Thanksgiving. This was written to be acceptable to all, but embodying some of these leanings. The Benedictus was not an option, there was a special focus on Christ's suffering and death, and the material after the institution account had the very opposite of offering: "we were far off until you brought us near and our hands are empty until you fill them." In 1984 it was included after the first rite as almost an appendix (pp.41-43).

In *A New Zealand Prayer Book - He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa* some ingenious typographical additions were made which, without being immediately obvious, fulfilled all of the above goals. While in 1984 one needed to turn back to main text after the eucharistic prayer, in the Prayer Book this is no longer necessary. In this alternative,

however, only the text of the fraction and the Invitation have been included (much as suggested in *Worship for today* p.23). Furthermore one can move to this eucharistic prayer immediately from the Peace, so that the offering overtones of the (optional) texts at "The Preparation of the Gifts" can be omitted without immediately appearing to be making a point.³³

In 1982 two documents of significant ecumenical consensus appeared in the forms of *The Final Report* of the Anglican - Roman Catholic International Commission,³⁴ and the Faith and Order paper of the World Council of Churches, *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry*. Some fine tuning of New Zealand's revisions of the eucharistic prayers was carried out in the light of these.³⁵

Finally in 1984, General Synod authorised *The Liturgy of the Eucharist*. This included the conservative revision of 1970 with Carrell's "Alternative Great Thanksgiving". The Auckland material formed alternative eucharistic Liturgies with a common synaxis.³⁶ These now used inclusive language for people as well as God.³⁷ An outline for special occasions (1984 p.69) was also provided which could be used with any of the given eucharistic prayers, or with the framework "A Great Thanksgiving for Special Occasions" (1984 p.71-73).³⁸ Each of the Propers was provided with three Collects in different styles.³⁹

A special session of General Synod was called from 15 to 18 May 1987 in Christchurch. Here the material for the proposed book was presented in two red volumes in the form of sixty-one proposed formularies. The only major change to the material from 1984 was the introduction of a new synaxis (by Easton) to "Thanksgiving and Praise" which was now a diglot.⁴⁰ The Synod went through the material page by page making amendments.⁴¹ The material then followed the procedure of the Empowering Act and did the rounds of the diocesan synods returning to the newly elected General Synod in 1988.⁴² After waiting a year without an appeal, *A New Zealand Prayer Book - He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa* was published in 1989.



*The Special 1987 General Synod on the Prayer Book*⁴³

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The Anglican missionaries and early settlers brought to New Zealand a eucharistic rite which had been basically unchanged for two and half centuries. New Zealand was initially settled when the fervour of the Evangelical revival had dimmed, and the Ritualist movement was only in its infancy. This encouraged a fairly homogeneous form of eucharistic worship. Except for a few local cases, New Zealand Anglicans looked on the Ritual controversies as spectators rather than participants. The Ritualists did not turn to New Zealand when their programs were hindered in England and so Ritualist practices generally arrived much later than they did in several other colonies.¹ Such practices were introduced gradually and by 1920 there was no danger of any further Ritualist trials.

The Anglican Church in New Zealand continued to be served by priests and bishops from England who imported the latest English eucharistic developments. In many ways, then, New Zealand followed England's lead. There were differences arising from the way in which the Anglican Church in New Zealand was not an established church. But nevertheless, "Parish Communion" and the use of the 1928 Prayer Book, for example, were much the same in New Zealand as they were in England.

The increasing differences between England and New

Zealand began to accelerate in the late sixties and more particularly in the seventies. New Zealand began more consciously to perceive itself as a Pacific island nation and Britain turned from a being a colonial power and focused more deliberately towards Europe.

The New Zealand Anglican Church is smaller than many dioceses in England and yet, or maybe because of its size, in the 1980's it has produced some of the most adventurous eucharistic texts seen in Anglican history. "Thanksgiving for Creation and Redemption" (ANZPB-HKMA, pp.456-475) and "Thanksgiving and Praise" (ANZPB-HKMA, pp.476-493) are no mere rewriting into modern English of medieval or Reformation concepts, but they are an attempt to express modern theology in a modern idiom appropriate to New Zealand.² It is for the future to judge the success of this attempt.

Although the land, the scenery, and much of the particular present culture have been incorporated into new eucharistic revisions, New Zealand has continued to fail to express the reversal of the Southern Hemisphere's seasons in its liturgical year or its eucharistic Propers.³ In other areas also of eucharistic thought and practice, there has been a tardiness in discarding elements of the inheritance.⁴

The theology of consecration occurring through recitation of the Institution Narrative is only slowly giving way to

an understanding of consecration taking place through the whole eucharistic action and focusing on the Great Thanksgiving prayer. The understanding of the eucharist as primarily *action* to which the words are a commentary is commonly affirmed. The practice, however, more regularly contradicts this. Revisions have frequently increased the verbal content.⁵ Initial fears by many that optional material would seldom be omitted have often proved correct.⁶

Several movements have influenced the renewal of eucharistic worship in the Anglican Church in New Zealand. Alongside this renewal has been the textual revision of the Provincial Commission on Prayer Book Revision. There has often, however, been a lack of consonance between the eucharistic practices at the parish level and the intentions behind the texts drafted by the Commission. No ceremonial guide has appeared in New Zealand since the beginning of textual revision. Overseas guides are not only difficult to match with indigenous revisions, but one questions the appropriateness of such borrowings to New Zealand's particular situation. New clergy, then, generally follow the examples of those longer ordained in the manner in which they preside at the eucharist.

Ornaments and gestures, which were once appropriate for the eastward position or required by *The Book of Common Prayer*, have often been continued, without much

reflection, with the new rites which are now generally celebrated using the westward position.⁷

Education of both clergy and congregations in the theory and practice of liturgy has been a weak link in the integration of music, new texts, new theology, architectural re-ordering and so on. It is too early to say whether the *Education for Liturgy Kit*, produced for use in association with the new Prayer Book, will alter that.⁸

Congregational differences have continued. Within many parishes two congregations have been formed, the one celebrating the eucharist using the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* (generally still at eight o'clock), the other using one of the modern revisions (beginning between nine and ten o'clock). Eclectic congregations along Anglo-Catholic and Evangelical party lines still exist, but alongside these, particularly in the main centres, people will travel significant distances to participate in a eucharist that is more charismatic, inclusive, bicultural or more family oriented and so on. While at present there is an understandable "book-boundedness", it remains to be seen whether, with increasing familiarity with the congregational responses and as people begin to perceive the eucharist more as action, there will be a concomitant closing of the books. If this should occur, a new form of congregationalism may result as parishes begin to opt for the regular use of one of the three main rites in *A New*

Zealand Prayer Book - He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa.

The New Zealand Province at present is one of the leaders in the Anglican world in eucharistic thought and practice, in such areas as women priests, inclusive language, recognition of cultural diversity, and acceptance of all the baptised, including infants, to communion. It is musically resourceful and unencumbered by the acrimonious party strife still prevalent in other provinces. Charismatic renewal and liturgical experimentation have resulted in great freedom and creativity in liturgy. The intentions of the English Reformers and the hopes of waves of renewal movements since have been fulfilled. The eucharist has become the focus of Anglican worship today.

Bread and wine; the gifts of God
for the people of God.

**May we who share these gifts
be found in Christ
and Christ in us.⁹**

APPENDIX A

PARISH CHURCHES IN NEW ZEALAND.

From *The Ecclesiologist*, Vol I, No.1, November 1841
(Cambridge: Stevenson, 1893), pp.4-5.

The Lord Bishop of New Zealand having requested the Cambridge Camden Society to furnish him with designs and models for the Cathedral church of the new Diocese, and for the Parish churches which will be first erected, it cannot but be deeply interesting to members of that Society to be made acquainted with the steps which his Lordship proposes to take with respect to the erection of temples for the worship of Almighty God, on his arrival in his Diocese.

As soon as possible after setting foot in New Zealand, it is his intention to use as a temporary church, a tent which he carries with him for that purpose; an Altar, with its necessary appurtenances, being erected in its eastern end. Here the daily service of our Church will be commenced on the first morning after the Bishop's arrival, never thenceforth to be silenced till the end of all things.

A piece of ground will next be marked out and consecrated for the site of the future Cathedral; not with any intention of erecting hastily a building, which might by courtesy bear that name, but that the remains of those who depart in the true faith may be interred in consecrated ground; and, if need be, that a temporary wooden edifice may serve at present for the offices of prayer and praise. In a country where labour is worth three times as much as it is in England, the erection of a Choir is to the most sanguine mind as much as, perhaps more than, can be hoped for during the present generation. But whatever is built will be built solidly and substantially, and as our ancestors built.

The ingenuity of the natives in carving is well known; and it is the Bishop's design to convert this faculty to the glory of God. For this purpose the Cambridge Camden Society will furnish working models of the actual size, of Norman capitals, sections of mouldings, ornamented pier, door, and window arches: and these, it is hoped, it may be easy for the natives to imitate in the stone of their own country, which is said to be well adapted for building.

One model of a parish-church will at present be sufficient; because the churches will be, at first, two hundred miles apart. Norman is the style adopted; because, as the work will be chiefly done by native

artists, it seems natural to teach them first that style which first prevailed in our own country; while its rudeness and massiveness, and the grotesque character of its sculpture, will probably render it easier to be understood and appreciated by them. These churches will, like the Cathedral, be built slowly - divine service being carried on in consecrated ground, under the temporary sheds erected within the rising church walls: and to every church there will be a distinct and spacious Chancel.

It is indeed matter of heartfelt delight to the Society, that it is enabled to be of service to so interesting a branch of the ONE Catholic and Apostolick Church, as that about to be established in New Zealand, where the population has not yet gained so much ground as to allow no other care to the church-builder, than how to erect most quickly the largest edifices. And they have the assurance that their plans will be carried into effect with the greatest possible fidelity and propriety, from the fact, that a member of their Committee will accompany the Prelate to the new see in the capacity of his Chaplain, and will continue in communication with the Society upon all subjects connected with their architectural operations in the country.

We hope shortly to be able to lay before the members of our Society a view of the model parish-church, the general plan of which has already been agreed upon, and has been approved of by his Lordship; and they, we are sure, will in the mean time say, with respect to the temples about to be erected in so distant a land - "Peace be within thy walls, and plenteousness within thy palaces!"

In the next edition of *The Ecclesiologist* (p.30), the intended design of the parish church was described as a modified copy of Than church, near Caen, Normandy. In fact Selwyn neither encouraged the use of stone nor the Norman style. The style of church buildings which now bear his name is "Gothic" and built in wood.

APPENDIX B

MEMBERSHIP OF
THE PROVINCIAL COMMISSION ON PRAYER BOOK REVISION

From *PGS*, 1987, p.S.63 ammended with reference to other General Synod Proceedings lists.

The Rt. Rev. G.R. Monteith	1964-68
The Rt. Rev. H.W. Baines	1965-73
The Ven. P. Kirkham	1964-65
The Ven. K. Liggett	1964-65
Canon D.S. Millar	1964-84
Canon R.J. Witty	1964-90
The Rev. R.H. Easton	1964-90
The Rev. J.S. Willoughby	1964-71
Canon M. Cameron	1965-70
Canon R.S. Foster	1965-68
Canon J.B. Machell	1965-84
The Rev. M.S. Betteridge	1965
The Rev. G.S. Baker	1965-87
The Rev. B.R. Carrell	1965-90
The Rev. F.C. Harrison	1965-68
Mr. D.M. Wylie	1965-86
Mr. J.C.W. De la Bere	1965-90
Mrs. M. Glasgow	1965-76
The Rev. J.J. Shaw	1968-73
The Very Rev. T.J. Raphael	1968-73
The Rev. P.A. Reeves	1968-71; 1978-80
The Rev. N. Te Hau	1970-71
Professor P.D.H. Godfrey	1970-74
Professor B. Coote	1970-72
The Rt. Rev. M.A. Bennett	1970-79
The Rev. P.G. Atkins	1971-90
The Rev. T.R. Overall	1971-80
The Rev. A.R. Broughton	1971-73
The Right Rev. W.W. Robinson	1973-76
The Very Rev. G.H. Yates	1973-90
The Rev. I.G. Bourne	1973-90
The Rev. R.G. McCullough	1973-90
The Rev. J.S. Williams	1974-90
The Right Rev. E.K. Norman	1976-78
Mrs. M.A. Ferrier	1976-83
Canon J.T. Tamahori	1976-81
The Ven. K.M. Ihaka	1976-84
The Right Rev. W.A. Pyatt	1979-83
The Rev. Dr. K.N. Booth	1980-90
The Rev. M.R. Newman	1980-90
The Rev. W.R. Te Haara	1981-90
The Rev. M.P. Wood	1983-90
Mrs. A. Blank	1983-87
Mrs. J.M. Schroeder	1983-87
The Rev. D. Moxon	1983-90
Mrs H.F. Westmacott	1984-87
The Rev. R. Kempthorne	1984-90

Chairpersons

The Right Rev. G.R. Monteith	1966-68
The Ven. D.S. Millar	1968-73
The Rev. T.R. Everall	1973-80
The Rev. R.G. McCullough	1980-90

Secretaries

The Rev. E.B. Algar	1964-65
The Rev. J.J. Shaw	1965-68
The Rev. A.P.A. Gaze	1968-73
The Rev. M.R. Newman	1973-80
The Rev. D. Winfield	1980-83
Mrs. J. Cottrell	1983-85
The Rev. P.O. Williams	1985-86
The Rev. J.H. Williamson	1986-90

Observers

Presbyterian: The Rev. L. Jones; The Rev. A.E. Sutherland; The Rev. P. Spencer; The Rev. O. Robinson; The Rev. R. Rogers.

Methodist: The Rev. W.A. Chambers; The Rev. J. Roberts; The Rev. N.E. Brookes; The Rev. W. Wallace; The Rev. T. Wall.

Churches of Christ: The Rev. R.A. Blampied; The Rev. G.D. Munro; The Rev. R.G. Russ.

Roman Catholic: The Rev. Fr. M. O'Malley; The Rev. Fr. C. Cooper.

APPENDIX C

PUBLICATIONS PREPARED BY
THE PROVINCIAL COMMISSION ON PRAYER BOOK REVISION

1966	The Liturgy
1967	The Liturgy (Diglot)
1968	Orders of Service
1970	The New Zealand Liturgy "Guide to the Liturgy" Christian Initiation
1972	Revised Calendar An Order of Christian Marriage and Marriage Service Funeral Services
1974	Orders of Service Services for use with the Sick 1974
1976	The Blessing of a Child (not authorised) Christian Initiation Christian Marriage Services The Ordinal
1977	The New Zealand Liturgy 1970 (Diglot)
1980	Psalms for Worship Services for use with the Sick and on other Pastoral occasions An Order for the Baptism of Children The New Zealand Calendar Additions to the Eucharistic Prayer Funeral Services The Ordinal
1982	The Eucharist (Draft) Orders of Service
1984	The Liturgy of the Eucharist "Helping the People of God to Celebrate" Holy Baptism and Confirmation (authorised but not printed)
1989	A New Zealand Prayer Book- He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa

APPENDIX D

STRUCTURE OF THE EUCHARIST

Extracts from "THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER" Committee Report of the Lambeth Conference 1958

Features in the Books of Common Prayer which are essential to the safeguarding of the unity of the Anglican Communion

1. Use of the Canonical Scriptures.
2. Use of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds.
3. Orders of Holy Baptism with water and the threefold Name.
4. Orders of Confirmation by the Bishop, by prayer with the laying-on of hands.
5. Orders of Holy Communion, with use of bread and wine and explicit intention to obey our Lord's command.
6. Forms of episcopal Ordination to each of the three Holy Orders by prayer with laying-on of hands.

Features in the Books of Common Prayer which are most effective in maintaining the traditional doctrinal emphasis of the worship and witness of the Anglican Communion

1. Forms of worship in the vernacular.
2. Wholly *common* prayer; avoiding official private prayers of the celebrant while the people are otherwise engaged; avoiding prayer which cannot be heard by the congregation, and providing for the audible response of the congregation, and for communicants at every celebration.
3. Services easy for the people to follow and therefore with a restrained use of seasonal variants.
4. The importance of both Word and Sacrament in worship is recognized, a due balance being kept between them. This involves provision for the regular celebration of the Holy Communion and the extensive use of Holy Scripture in the Offices and Holy Communion. Similarly in many Prayer Books Baptism is required to be administered in the course of Morning or Evening Prayer, thus providing a setting of psalms and lessons for the sacramental act.
5. The use of one of the historic Creeds, recited by all, at the principal popular services of Mattins, Holy Communion, and Evensong.
6. The reading of the Old Testament, as well as one of the New, in lessons of approximately equal length at the Offices of Mattins and Evensong.
7. The use of the Psalms as the normal vehicle of common praise and meditation.
8. The honouring of the Saints without invocation.

Suggested modifications or additions for the further recovery of other elements of the worship of the Primitive Church

1. Exhortations have a legitimate function in the liturgy but they should be shorter and fewer.
2. The present corporate expressions of penitence need to be modified both in length and language.
3. More extensive provision of litanies, with shorter clauses, for corporate intercession, thanksgiving, and adoration; with the discouragement of long strings of collects or other prayers for this purpose.
4. The recovery of the "People's Prayers" at the Eucharist by breaking up the Prayer for the Church into sections, each followed by congregational response, or into a litany with short clauses.
5. The Offertory, with which the people should be definitely associated, to be more closely connected with the Prayer of Consecration.
6. The events for which thanksgiving is made in the Consecration Prayer are not to be confined to Calvary but include thanksgiving for all the principal "mighty works of God", especially the resurrection and the ascension of our Lord, and his return in glory.

The Lambeth Conference 1958, pp.2.80-81.

THE STRUCTURE AND CONTENTS OF THE EUCHARISTIC LITURGY

by

The Most Rev. Dr. Leslie Brown, Archbishop of Uganda

The Liturgical Consultation in Toronto decided to implement Lambeth Resolution 76 and the Archbishop of Rupert's Land, the Bishop of Singapore and Malaya, Dr. Massey Shepherd and I were chosen "to prepare recommendations for the structure of the Holy Communion service which could be taken into consideration by any Church or Province revising its Eucharistic rite, and which would both conserve the doctrinal balance of the Anglican tradition and take account of present liturgical knowledge". Agreement has now been reached on an outline of the structure and contents of the Eucharistic Liturgy.

There are five phases in the celebration of the full Eucharistic rite. They are:

1. The Preparation
2. The Service of the Word of God
3. The Great Intercession
4. The Service of the Lord's Supper
5. The Dismissal

1. The Preparation: This section should not be too long, but must be adequate for a congregation which may have no other opportunity of confession and explicitly and liturgically receiving God's forgiveness. This starting section ought to be, following Cranmer, subdued in tone, but ending with praise and adoration before hearing the Word of God in the next section. A suggested order is:

A prayer and psalm or hymn of approach;
Confession and Absolution;
Psalm (or portion thereof) or hymn of praise.

The first prayer might well be the so-called "Collect for Purity". An appropriate Psalm of approach might be Psalm 43, 95 or 100. The Commandments in some form or Kyries could be used before the Confession. The hymn of praise at the end might be the Gloria in excelsis or Te Deum.

The Preparation has to be somewhat flexible depending on local needs.

2. The Service of the Word of God: This should include a prayer focusing the thoughts of the congregation on the message God is giving through His Word on that particular day, and readings from the Old Testament, or an Epistle, and the Gospel. There should normally be a sermon followed by the recitation of the Creed. Psalmody or canticles can well be included in this part of the service between the readings.

3. The Great Intercession: This should normally be in litany form and should be not only for the Church but for the world which the Church is called to serve.

4. The Service of the Lord's Supper: This should include the placing of the gifts on the Lord's Table and the ancient form of Sursum Corda. The consecration prayer should be in the form of a thanksgiving for creation and for God's mighty acts in Christ and in sending the Holy Spirit. There should be a recital of the words and acts of the Lord at the Last Supper and a prayer for the communicants. The Lord's Prayer makes a fitting ending to this prayer. The Breaking of the Bread follows, and the Communion of clergy and people.

5. The Dismissal: The Dismissal should be short. There seems a psychological need for some corporate expression of praise when all have received Communion and returned to their places and there should be a simple sending out, without a blessing.

Copy in PA MS PCPBR 2/1,14. Also cited in Buchanan, *Modern Anglican Liturgies*, pp.31-32, with helpful historical background.

STRUCTURE OF A LITURGY FOR AFRICA

Collect for Purity
 10 Commandments *or*
 Summary of the Law *or*
 Kyries
 Invitation
 Confession
 Absolution
 Gloria
 Collect
 Old Testament
 Psalm *or* Benedicite
 Epistle
 (Benedictus, Te Deum, *or* Psalm)
 Gospel
 Sermon
 Creed
 Intercessions
 The Peace
 The Placing of the Gifts
 Eucharistic Prayer:
 Sursum corda
 Preface and Sanctus
 Institution narrative
 Acclamation
 Anamnesis
 Epiclesis
 Doxology
 Fraction (1 Corinthians 10:16-17)
 Communion
 Dismissal (Psalm 103)

APPENDIX E

STRUCTURE OF EUCHARISTIC RITES 1549, 1552, AND 1966

Italics in first column indicates material from the 1548 "Order of the Communion".

1549	1552 (1862)	1966
		Sentence
		Greeting
Lord's Prayer	Lord's Prayer	
Collect for Purity	Collect for Purity	Collect for Purity
Introit Psalm		
Kyries	10 Commandments	
Gloria		Gloria or Kyries (adapted Comfortable words)
		Invitation, Confession, Absolution
Collect	Collect	Collect
Collect for the King	Collect for the King	
Epistle	Epistle	Reading(s)
Gospel	Gospel	Gospel
		Sermon (Sundays)
Creed	Creed	Creed (Sunday and holy days)
Sermon	Sermon	
<i>Exhortation to Communion</i>		
		Intercessions
		The Peace
Sentences, almsgiving	Sentences, almsgiving	(1 Chronicles 29:11,14)
Taking of bread and wine		(Epiclesis)
	Prayer for the Church	
	Exhortation to Communion	
	Invitation, Confession, Absolution	
	Comfortable words	
(Eucharistic Prayer:)		(Eucharistic Prayer:)
Sursum corda	Sursum corda	Sursum corda
Preface, Sanctus, Benedictus	Preface and Sanctus	Preface, Sanctus, (Benedictus)
Prayer for the Church	Prayer of Humble Access	
Institution narrative	Institution narrative	Institution narrative
		Acclamation
Prayer of Oblation		Adapted Prayer of Oblation
Lord's Prayer		(Lord's Prayer)
		Fraction, 1 Corinthians 10:16-17
The Peace		
<i>Invitation, Confession, Absolution</i>		
<i>Comfortable words</i>		
<i>Prayer of Humble Access</i>		
<i>Communion (Agnus Dei)</i>	Communion	(Agnus Dei)
		(Prayer of Humble Access)
		Priest's Communion
		Invitation
		Communion
Scriptural Sentences		
	Lord's Prayer	(Lord's Prayer)
	Prayer of Oblation or	
Prayer of Thanksgiving	Prayer of Thanksgiving	Adapted Prayer of Thanksgiving
<i>Blessing</i>	Blessing	Dismissal

APPENDIX F

DRAFTS OF EUCHARISTIC PRAYER 1966

November 1964 (64/1) and March 1965 (65/1)

PA MS PCPBR 2/2,15.

This is a combination of 1662 with Canada 1959 and the Church of South India (C.S.I.).¹

The Lord be with you;
And with thy spirit.

Lift up your hearts;
We lift them up unto the Lord.

Let us give thanks unto our Lord God;
It is meet and right so to do.

It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty, Everlasting God.

(Proper preface.)

Therefore with angels and archangels and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious name; evermore praising thee, and saying,

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts, heaven and earth are full of thy glory. Glory be to thee, O Lord most high. Amen.

Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.
Hosanna in the highest.

Blessing and glory and thanksgiving be unto thee Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who of thy tender mercy didst give thine only Son Jesus Christ to take our nature upon him, and to suffer death upon the Cross for our redemption; who, by his one oblation of himself once offered, made (there)² a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world; and did institute, and in his holy Gospel command us to continue, a perpetual memory of that his precious death, until his coming again.

Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee; and grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood: who, in the same night that he was betrayed, took

Bread; and when he had given thanks, he brake 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. Likewise after supper he took the Cup; and, when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all, of this; for this is my Blood of the New Covenant, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins: Do this, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me.

Wherefore, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, we thy humble servants, with all thy holy Church, remembering the precious death of thy beloved Son, his mighty resurrection, and glorious ascension, and looking for his coming again in glory, do make before thee, in this sacrament of the holy Bread of eternal life and the Cup of everlasting salvation, the memorial which he hath commanded;

And we most humbly beseech thee, O merciful Father, to sanctify with thy Holy Spirit, us and these thine own gifts of bread and wine, that the bread which we break may be the communion of the body of Christ, and the cup which we bless the communion of the blood of Christ.

And we entirely desire thy fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; most humbly beseeching thee to grant, that by the merits and death of thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in his blood, we and all thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his passion.

And here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy and living sacrifice unto thee; beseeching thee to accept this our bounden duty and service; not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Jesus Christ our Lord; by whom and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. **Amen.**

NOTES

1. Until the end of the words of institution, the text follows 1662, except for the words underlined and the rearrangement of "who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered)" These alterations were made by Canada. The phrase "to take our nature upon him" is also to be found in C.S.I.

The anamnesis is from Canada, New Zealand then adds the epiclesis from C.S.I. Canada continues with the paragraph

"And we entirely desire thy fatherly goodness" from the 1662 Prayer of Oblation, but it studiously avoids continuing with the self offering "and here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies" but rather inserts an epiclesis for worthy reception: "And we pray that by the power of thy Holy Spirit, all we who are partakers of this holy Communion may be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction" and concludes with the doxology. New Zealand, however, continues with the Prayer of Oblation, omitting only the reference to partakers in communion, and hence has self offering within the eucharistic prayer, as did 1549, structurally giving the Interim Rite with an anamnesis and epiclesis inserted. Canada's removal of these words from the Prayer of Oblation had not been without studious caution, for within months, as the whole New Zealand Commission met, they were to reject the Northern Group's lengthy text for the more elegant one in *A Liturgy for Africa* wherein "accept us in him" would be as strong a self offering as the Commission would condone. In the revision of the 1980s, this too would disappear.

New Zealand concluded 64/1 and 65/1 with Canada's doxology.

2. The word "there" was not in the draft of November 1964, but was restored in March 1965. Its theological significance is that it focuses Christ's sacrifice as having occurred on the cross.

May 1965 (65/2) and September 1965 (65/3)

PA MS PCPBR 2/2,15; 3/12,26.

This is from "A Draft Liturgy for the South Pacific Anglican Council" (LSPAC), first draft June, 1964. They used the eucharistic prayer "as in **Liturgy for Africa** Nos. 19-28". This was the draft of *A Liturgy for Africa* presented at Toronto. This became the basis of New Zealand's eucharistic prayer rather than the later drafts of **A Liturgy for Africa** which the Commission would receive.

Come, Holy Spirit, Sanctifier, Everliving God, and bless us and these gifts prepared for thy/¹your service.²

May the Lord be with you.
And with you also.

Lift up your hearts.
We lift them up unto the Lord.

Let us give thanks unto the Lord, our God.
It is meet and right so to do.

It is most meet and right that we should at all times and in all places give thanks unto thee/*you* O Holy Lord, Almighty Father, everlasting God, through Jesus Christ our Lord, by whom thou hast/*you have* made and dost/*do* sustain the worlds. We praise thee for the order of thy/*your* creation, and for all the [material]³ blessings of our life.

Above all we adore thee/*you* for thy/*your* love for fallen man in giving thy/*your* son to take our nature and to die upon the cross, to set us free from the bonds of sin and death. We praise thee/*you*, O God, who didst/*did* raise him from the dead and set him in glory at thy/*your* right hand, where he ever liveth to make intercession for us, who draw near to thee/*you* through him.

We praise thee/*you*, O Father, for sending to us the promised Holy Spirit, through whom thou dost/*you* pour out upon us thy/*your* manifold gifts of grace and hast made/*making* us a royal priesthood, to set forth thy/*your* praises who hast/*who* called us out of darkness into the glory of thy/*your* light.

(Proper preface)

Therefore with angels and archangels, with patriarchs and prophets, apostles and martyrs, and with all the holy company of heaven, we cry aloud with joy, evermore praising thee/*you* and saying:

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts, heaven and earth are full of thy/*your* glory. Glory be to thee/*you*, O Lord most high.

All glory be to thee/*you*, O heavenly Father, who in thy/*your* tender mercy didst give thine/*gave your* only Son Jesus Christ that all who believe in Him might have eternal life. Hear us, O Merciful Father, we humbly beseech thee/*you*, and grant that we receiving this bread and this wine [cup] in remembrance of the death and passion of thy/*your* Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood who, the night before [for in the same night that] he gave himself to death, [he] took bread, and when he had given 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. Likewise after supper he took the cup and when he had given thanks he 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 remission of sins; do this, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me.

His death, O Father, we show forth [proclaim], his resurrection we proclaim [confess], his coming we await. Glory be to thee/you, O Lord.

Wherefore, O Father, we do this as thy/your Son commanded, offering to thee/you our praise and thanksgiving for his one perfect⁴ sacrifice once offered on [upon] the cross for the sin of the world, for his mighty resurrection and glorious ascension which we recall before thee/you in this sacrament of the holy bread of eternal life and the [this] cup [for his mighty resurrection and glorious ascension] of salvation. Accept us, in him, we beseech thee/you, with this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, and grant that all we who are partakers of this Holy Communion may be filled with the Holy Spirit and made one in thy Holy Church, the body of thy/your Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom and in whom, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, all honour and glory be to thee/you, O Father Almighty, for ever and ever. **Amen.**

NOTES

1. The May text addressed God as "thee". Italics indicate text of September 1965 which addressed God "you".
2. The preliminary epiclesis before the eucharistic prayer is unique in modern revisions. It is hence included here whenever it occurs.
3. Square brackets indicate the LSPAC original text altered in New Zealand.
4. Underlined indicates additions to LSPAC.

1966

This is a revision of the above, with the replacement of much of the preface by material from the Church of England Commission.

(Optional) Come, Holy Spirit, Sanctifier, everliving God, and bless us and these gifts prepared for your {}¹ use.²

{}The Lord be with you.
And with you also.

Lift up your hearts.
We lift them {}to the Lord.

Let us give thanks {} to the Lord, our God.
It is {} right indeed that we should do so.

It is most {} right and proper, holy Lord, almighty Father, everlasting God, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks to you through Jesus Christ, your only Son, our Lord; *³ through whom you have created all things from the beginning and made man⁴ in your own image; through whom in the fullness of time you redeemed us, when we had fallen into sin, giving him to be born as man; to die on the Cross and to rise again for us; setting him in glory at your right hand; through whom you have made us a holy people⁵ by⁶ sending forth {} your holy and lifegiving Spirit; through him **⁷ therefore with {} the faithful who rest in him and all the glorious company of heaven, joyfully we praise you and say:

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts, heaven and earth are full of your glory. Glory {} to you, {} Lord most high.

Here may follow:

Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord.
Hosanna in the highest.

The People shall kneel:

All glory {} to you, {} heavenly Father, who in your tender mercy gave your only Son Jesus Christ that all who believe in him might have eternal life. Hear us, {} merciful Father, {} and grant that {} receiving this bread and this wine in remembrance of the death and passion of your Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, we may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood; who the night before he gave himself to death,⁸ took bread, and when he had given thanks he broke it and gave it to his disciples, {} and said, 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 when he had given thanks he gave it to them, and said {}, 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.

His death, {} Father, we show forth, his resurrection we proclaim, his coming we await. Glory {} to you, {} Lord most high.

Therefore, {} Father, we do this as your Son commanded, offering to you our praise and thanksgiving for his one perfect sacrifice made {} on the cross for the sin of the world, for his mighty resurrection and glorious ascension, which we recall before you in this sacrament of the {} bread of {} life and the cup of salvation.

Accept us, in him, we {} pray, with this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, and grant that all we who are partakers of this holy communion may be filled with the Holy Spirit and made one in your holy Church, the body of your Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom and in whom, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, all honour and glory be to you, almighty Father⁹, for ever and ever. **Amen.**

NOTES

1. The brackets {} indicate something has been removed since the September 1965 text.

2. Underlined indicates a new addition since September 1965.

3. From * to ** the apparatus of this text shows the dependence of New Zealand's preface upon a preliminary draft of what would become the Church of England's Series 2 (and later the second eucharistic prayer in *The Alternative Service Book 1980*). Between * and **, {} indicates something has been removed from the Church of England draft, and underlining indicates a New Zealand addition. The English text addresses God as "thee". Modernisation of language has not been indicated. The English draft follows from the 1662 *Sursum Corda* to "everlasting God, through Jesus Christ, thine only Son, our Lord; Through whom ... *as above*"

4. England had "fashioned us men".

5. England had "a people for thine own possession, exalting him to thy right hand on high." This last phrase was modernised and moved in New Zealand.

6. England had "and sending forth through him thy".

7. The English text continued

Through him therefore with angels and archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious name, evermore praising thee, and saying, **Holy, Holy, Holy ... as 1662**

Hear us, O Father, through Christ thy Son our Lord; through him accept our sacrifice of praise; and grant that these gifts of bread and wine may be unto us his body and his blood;

Who in the same night ... *as 1662* ... remembrance of me.

Wherefore, in remembrance of his saving Passion, his Resurrection from the dead, and his glorious Ascension into heaven, and looking for his coming again in glory, we offer unto thee this bread and this cup, and we pray thee to accept this our service in the presence of thy divine majesty, that with all thy saints we may stand before thee and minister unto thee, through the same Christ our Lord;

By whom, and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, from the whole company of earth and heaven, throughout all ages, world without end. **Amen.** (PA MS PCPBR 2/2,15.)

The underlined passage, with its offering motif, would have been quite unacceptable to many in New Zealand, and was soon abandoned in England. The New Zealand Commission was happy with the pattern in *A Liturgy for Africa* except for the preface. As it began to revise this it found in the English draft a better recounting of the deeds of God, and inserted this into the preface so far revised.

8. The manual acts were included, and were the same as in 1662 except the fraction was moved to after the eucharistic prayer, "bread" replaced "Paten", and "be it Chalice or Flagon" was omitted.

9. *A Liturgy for Africa* had "Father Almighty".

APPENDIX G
THE 1966 REVISION

PROVINCIAL COMMISSION ON PRAYER BOOK REVISION

SOME EXPLANATORY NOTES ON THE LITURGY

INTRODUCTION:

The Service of Holy Communion has not always been in the form in which we know it in New Zealand, nor does it so appear in the Prayer Books of a number of other Provinces in the Anglican Communion. The Churches of Scotland, U.S.A., South Africa, Canada and Japan, for instance, each differ from the order of the Prayer Book of 1662 and from each other. Other Provinces (e.g. Canterbury, York, Wales, the Provinces in Africa) are now in the process of revising their Prayer Books. It is against the background of this world-wide revision of the forms of worship - following principles enunciated by the Lambeth Conference 1958 - that our own revision must be seen and understood.

STRUCTURE:

The service consists of two main parts. The first part, which consists of The Preparation, The Ministry of the Word and the Intercession, forms a service of worship complete in itself but which will normally be used as part of the full service of Holy Communion.

The second, or sacramental, part comprises: The Offertory, The Eucharistic Prayer, The Breaking of the Bread, The Communion and The Thanksgiving and Dismissal.

This follows a unified dramatic order moving in smooth, uninterrupted sequence.

LANGUAGE:

Among the points raised at the last General Synod concerning the language of the Prayer Book was the problem of archaic expression. In seeking to remove these the Commission found it very largely necessary to re-structure the form of the language, changing the basic Latin cadences into contemporary English.

The more deeply the Commission considered this, the more were they impelled to abandon the use of "thee", "thine", etc. in favour of "you" and "your".

PERMISSIVE USE:

It will be seen that some of the rubrical directions

require the use of some parts of the Liturgy, while making the use of other parts permissive. This is done on the one hand to maintain the essential order and shape of the service, while on the other hand allowing a certain measure of freedom and flexibility.

THE NAME:

As already explained, because the first part of the revised service may stand complete in itself, the name "Holy Communion" was felt to be inappropriate for the whole. The Commission therefore chose as the title for the complete service names which are being widely adopted and used in the Church of today. The names are of Greek origin: "Liturgy" means "work" or "service", and "Eucharist" means "thanksgiving".

THE PREPARATION

This section has been designed to provide a penitential introduction to the whole Liturgy, so that attention may move from human sin towards God's action; transferring the Confession and Absolution to this point is in line with the Lambeth recommendation that the Offertory and Consecration be brought closer together. It also makes the first part of the service more suitable for use on its own.

The Lord's Prayer is not said at the opening of the service since it is really a private devotion of the Priest.

Sentence of the Day. This sets the tone of the service and is chosen with reference to the definite theme for each Sunday. The theme is further expressed by the changing Collects and scripture reading.

The Salutation. "The Lord be with you" with its answer is used here and elsewhere in the service to mark the major transitions.

"Glory to God on high", following many other revisions, is placed here because (a) it sets the whole service in the presence of God and leads naturally into penitence and hence to the Confession that follows (cf. Isaiah 6), and (b) because it is not solely an act of praise, it is less appropriate in the Thanksgiving section of the service. The omission of the extra petition "Thou that takest away ... mercy upon us", added in 1552, restores the original text.

The Ten Commandments, which the General Synod in 1958 made permissive except on one Sunday in the month and which in fact have ceased to be used in many parishes, have been omitted by the Commission on the ground that,

taken out of their Biblical context, they do not adequately express the Christian emphasis on love and grace which are basic presuppositions of this service.

The Comfortable Words of 1662 have been replaced by similar sentences from scripture, designed in their present position to move the hearers to confession.

They are followed by the Invitation, Confession and Absolution with a prayer for forgiveness which may be used when a Priest is not present.

THE MINISTRY OF THE WORD

This section has been expanded by the inclusion of an Old Testament Lesson, and re-arranged to provide a more adequate presentation of Scripture. The Commission considers this of importance because many people, having attended Holy Communion, are not regularly present at Mattins or Evensong.

After the reading of the Gospel comes the Sermon, after which follows the Nicene Creed as the people's response to the whole proclamation of saving truth.

The Old Testament reading, the use of psalms or portions of psalms, etc. and the sermon before the Creed, are all Lambeth recommendations.

THE INTERCESSION

There are three forms of prayer for the Intercession: A litany form, a continuous prayer and one in dialogue form.

When desired the service may be ended after the Intercession by adding the Lord's Prayer and Grace or a Blessing.

THE OFFERTORY

The Offertory begins the second part of the service in which bread and wine are placed upon the Holy Table with due recognition that everything comes from God. The section begins with a statement from holy scripture in versicle and response which with "The Peace" is designated to express the unity of Christian people as they come to Holy Communion.

THE EUCHARISTIC PRAYER

The section which follows contains what has normally been referred to as The Consecration. The Preface has been enlarged so as to include a recital of all the acts of God for our redemption. (The provision of Proper Prefaces

for the greater festivals is under consideration.) The "Consecration Prayer" has been enlarged by the inclusion of ancient and traditional elements and includes a congregational response.

THE BREAKING OF BREAD

This is restored as one of the four traditional actions in the Eucharist - Jesus took bread, he blessed it, he broke and he gave it. In the quotation from St. Paul there is signified the unity of all in the one Body broken for us.

THE COMMUNION

During the Communion, following the suggestion of the 1928 Prayer Book, a combination of the words of administration is read to all communicants.

The words used at the delivery of the Sacrament have varied greatly in Christian history, sometimes being extremely short (cf. the proposed new English rite.) The Commission has followed a middle course in its proposals.

THANKSGIVING AND DISMISSAL

In accordance with the principles set out by the Lambeth Conference and reinforced by the Liturgical Consultation of the Toronto Congress, the service concludes quite shortly after the Communion of the People. Through participation in this Sacrament the Church is equipped for service in the world, to which it is sent forth in the name of God.

FORM OF SUPPLEMENTARY CONSECRATION

This form is not an isolated or additional formula, but depends upon and is inextricably linked with the Eucharistic Prayer.

The significant word is also, as it is used only in the context of the Eucharist still in process.

APPENDIX H
EVALUATION OF THE 1966 REVISION

The Evaluation Committee,
P.O. Box 9443,
Newmarket,
AUCKLAND.

22nd May, 1967.

TO: ALL VICARS AND CHURCHWARDENS.

NEW LITURGY

At a meeting of the Provincial Commission on Prayer Book Revision which met in January of this year, a decision was made to conduct an evaluation on the New Liturgy. It was considered this could be done by the circulation of a reaction form to all parishes.

Your Bishop has given permission for these forms to be sent to your parish and I am enclosing them with a letter to the People's Churchwarden. Your Bishop also agreed that these forms should be used at all services on Sunday, 11th June, 1967, and on the days during the following week when services are normally held.

The evaluation form has been designed with specialist help and we are sure that it will guide the Commission in its work.

Even though your parish may not be using the New Liturgy, please will you also complete the evaluation form as it is important for the Commission to know how many are not using the New Liturgy. In this case only part of the form will be completed.

Please will you ensure that when the people are asked to complete the questionnaire someone has the responsibility of telling them how many times the New Liturgy has been held in the church.

The completed forms are to be returned to "Evaluation Committee", P.O. Box 9443, Newmarket, on Saturday, 17th June, 1967.

Thank you,

T.R. Overall,
SECRETARY.

PA MS PCPBR 3/6,59.

INSTRUCTIONS

TO CHURCHWARDENS

FOR THE COMPLETION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

REGARDING THE NEW LITURGY

1. The questionnaire will be used by every confirmed Anglican attending church on Sunday, 11th June, 1967, or at services normally held during the following week.
2. After every service (Holy Communion, Holy Baptism, Family Service, Matins, Evensong) please ask every confirmed Anglican to complete the questionnaire whether your church has been using the New Liturgy or not.
3. Your code number should be entered on the top left of each questionnaire. Your code number is
4. Please tell those completing the questionnaire how many times the service has been used in the church, (the Vicar will be able to give you this information).
5. Pencils should be available at the church and you should be prepared to assist people in the completion of the questionnaire.
6. The completed forms should be collected and returned by post on Saturday, 17th June, 1967, to the "Evaluation Committee", P.O. Box 9443, Newmarket, Auckland.
7. FOR THE PURPOSE OF ACCURACY IN THE EVALUATION IT IS IMPORTANT FOR EVERY PARISH IN NEW ZEALAND TO TAKE PART.

THANK YOU.

PROVINCIAL COMMISSION FOR PRAYER BOOK REVISION

QUESTIONNAIRE ON THE NEW LITURGY

Code No Diocese Parish

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS: Would you please assist us by placing a tick in the appropriate square ☒ and by completing the requested information.

QUESTIONS:

1. MALE ☐ FEMALE ☐
2. AGE GROUP
16 or under ☐ 17-23 ☐ 24-34 ☐ 35-49 ☐ 50-64 ☐ 65 & ☐ over
3. OCCUPATION
4. ADDRESS
If you prefer not to state an address you are not required to do so. However, where an address is given the commission will be considerably helped in this enquiry.
5. Are you holding or Have you ever HELD OFFICE as follows:
VESTRY ☐ LAY READER ☐ YOUTH ☐ WOMEN'S ☐
GROUP GROUP
6. How many times have you participated in the NEW service:
NEVER ☐ ONCE ☐ 2-4 TIMES ☐ 5-9 TIMES ☐ 10 OR MORE ☐
If at any time you have taken part in a service using the new liturgy, please answer the following questions.
7. In General, do you LIKE the new service.
VERY MUCH ☐ FOR THE ☐ NO STRONG ☐ RATHER ☐ DISLIKE ☐
MOST PART FEELINGS DISLIKE VERY MUCH
8. Do you LIKE the greater participation of the people in the new service.
VERY MUCH ☐ FOR THE ☐ NO STRONG ☐ RATHER ☐ DISLIKE ☐
MOST PART FEELINGS DISLIKE VERY MUCH
9. Does the new liturgy give you a greater awareness of the connection between the service and your daily life.
MUCH MORE ☐ A LITTLE ☐ NO DIFFER- ☐ A LITTLE ☐ MUCH LESS ☐
THAN THE MORE THAN ENT FROM LESS THAN THAN THE
OLD THE OLD THE OLD THE OLD OLD
10. Do you find that the contemporary language of the new liturgy helps you understand the meaning of the service.
HELPS ☐ HELPS A ☐ NO ☐ HINDERS A ☐ HINDERS ☐
GREATLY LITTLE DIFFERENCE LITTLE GREATLY
11. If you are willing to answer further questionnaires, please print your name
MR
MRS
MISS

THANK YOU

RESULTS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Forty thousand questionnaires were distributed. Of these, thirty thousand were completed and returned.

Questions 7 to 10 were designed to test reaction to the following four main factors:

- a) Structure of the service;
- b) Increased congregational participation in the service;
- c) Relevance of the service to daily life; and
- d) Modernising of the language. (Also see p.81.)

For the sake of tabulation, "very much" and "for the most part" were classified together as "like" and so on. This resulted in the following table:

	like	non-committal	dislike
Structure	56%	22%	22%
Increased participation	67%	21%	9%
Relevance	see more 45%	32%	see less 19%
Language	51%	30%	15%

Various other correlations were noted.

Farming and professional groups were most enthusiastic about the structure and participation, "working groups" appreciated the language change most. The very young and the very old disliked the revision in general (the question that was interpreted by the Evaluation Committee to gauge reaction to structure). Seventy one percent of those sixteen years or younger appreciated the language change.

There were diocesan differences.

Waiapu, Auckland, Waikato	3:1 in favour
Dunedin, Wellington, Christchurch	2:1 in favour
Nelson	5:3 in favour

The number of times the revised liturgy was used did not appear to affect its popularity.

The Evaluation Committee recommended a program of education.

These notes summarise "Evaluation of the New Zealand Liturgy" and "The Official Report," PA MS PCPBR 3/6,59.

CLERICAL EVALUATION

In November 1967, a clerical evaluation of the 1966 revision was completed. Three hundred and thirty six forms were returned (compared with New Zealand's around 350 parishes).

A five-point scale was again followed, and the tabulation again united the first two and the last two. After each of the twelve parts of the service was examined in this way, there was a space for suggestions in each case. For example:

1a How satisfactory do you find the Preparation?
 2 1 0 -1 -2

1b Do you suggest any improvements?

The questions also covered the ministry of the word, the themes, collects, intercession, synaxis, service from the offertory, offertory, eucharistic prayer, fraction, communion and dismissal.

Dioceses collated their individual responses. Tables were produced for each of the twelve questions. These tables showed the percentages of responses associated with each diocese. The suggestions made were also listed under each question, with numbers and dioceses given to indicate the popularity of particular suggestions.

The preparation was generally found satisfactory, as was the ministry of the word. The themes were highly rated, while the collects got a generally poor response. Auckland, Waikato, Dunedin and Christchurch suggested the service be completely rewritten in simple, modern language. The intercessions were liked. The synaxis was not generally being used as a separate service. The rest of the questions received mainly positive responses.

These notes summarise "Report on the Clerical Evaluation Form completed in November, 1967," PA MS PCPBR 3/6,59.

APPENDIX I

DRAFTS OF EUCHARISTIC PRAYER 1970

1/69	1/69(ii)	70/2	70/5
(Optional) Come, Holy Spirit, Sanctifier, everliving God, and bless us and these gifts prepared for your use.	(Optional) Come, Holy Spirit, Sanctifier, everliving God, and bless us and these gifts prepared for your use.	(Optional) Come, Holy Spirit, Sanctifier, everliving God, and bless us and these gifts prepared for your use.	(Optional) Come, Holy Spirit, Sanctifier, everliving God, and bless us and these gifts prepared for your use.
The Lord be with you. And with you also.	The Lord be with you. And with you also.	The Lord be with you. And with you also.	The Lord be with you. And with you also.
Lift up your hearts. We lift them to the Lord.	Lift up your hearts. We lift them to the Lord.	Lift up your hearts. We lift them to the Lord.	Lift up your hearts. We lift them to the Lord.
Let us give thanks to the Lord, our God. It is right to give him thanks.	Let us give thanks to the Lord, our God. It is right to give him thanks.	Let us give thanks to the Lord, our God. It is right to give him thanks.	Let us give thanks to the Lord, our God. It is right to give him thanks.
It is right indeed, it is our joy and our salvation, holy Lord, almighty Father, everlasting God, at all times, and in all places, to give you thanks through Jesus Christ, your only Son;	It is right indeed, it is our joy and our salvation, holy Lord, almighty Father, everlasting God, at all times, and in all places, to give you thanks through Jesus Christ, your only Son;	It is right indeed, it is our joy and our salvation, holy Lord, almighty Father, everlasting God, at all times, and in all places, to give you thanks through Jesus Christ, your only Son;	It is right indeed, it is our joy and our salvation, holy Lord, almighty Father, everlasting God, at all times, and in all places, to give you thanks through Jesus Christ, your only Son;
Through him you have created all things from the beginning and made man in your own image;	Through him you have created all things from the beginning and made man in your own image;	Through him you have created all things from the beginning and made man in your own image;	Through him you have created all things from the beginning and made man in your own image;
Through him in the fullness of time you redeemed us, when we had fallen into sin, giving him to be born as man, to die on the Cross, and to rise again for us, setting him in glory at your right hand;	Through him in the fullness of time you redeemed us, when we had fallen into sin, giving him to be born as man, to die on the Cross, and to rise again for us, setting him in glory at your right hand;	Through him in the fullness of time you redeemed us, when we had fallen into sin, giving him to be born as man, to die on the Cross, and to rise again for us, setting him in glory at your right hand;	Through him in the fullness of time you redeemed us, when we had fallen into sin, giving him to be born as man, to die on the Cross, and to rise again for us, setting him in glory at your right hand;
Through him you have made us a holy people by sending forth your holy and lifegiving Spirit;	Through him you have made us a holy people by sending forth your holy and lifegiving Spirit;	Through him you have made us a holy people by sending forth your holy and lifegiving Spirit;	Through him you have made us a holy people by sending forth your holy and lifegiving Spirit;
Through him therefore with the faithful who rest in him and all the glorious company of heaven, joyfully we praise you and say:	Through him therefore with the faithful who rest in him and all the glorious company of heaven, joyfully we praise you and say:	Through him therefore with the faithful who rest in him and all the glorious company of heaven, joyfully we praise you and say:	Through him therefore with the faithful who rest in him and all the glorious company of heaven, joyfully we praise you and say:
Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts, heaven and earth are full of your glory. Glory to you, Lord most high.	Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts, heaven and earth are full of your glory. Glory to you, Lord most high.	Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts, heaven and earth are full of your glory. Glory to you, Lord most high.	Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts, heaven and earth are full of your glory. Glory to you, Lord most high.

1/69

1/69(ii)

70/2

70/5

Here may follow:

Blessed is he who comes
in the name of the Lord.
Hosanna in the highest.

The People shall kneel:

All glory and thanksgiving
to you, heavenly Father,
because
in your tender mercy
you gave your only Son
to make on the Cross
the one perfect sacrifice
for the sin of the world.

On the night
he gave himself to death

he took bread, and when he
had given thanks he broke
it and gave it to his
disciples, and said,
Take, eat, this is my body
which is given for you;
do this
in remembrance of me.

After supper he took the
cup, and when he had given
thanks he gave it to them,
and said,
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.

His death, Father,
we show forth,
his resurrection
we proclaim,
his coming we await.
Glory to you,
Lord most high.

Here may follow:

Blessed is he who comes
in the name of the Lord.
Hosanna in the highest.

The People shall kneel:

All glory and thanksgiving
(be) to you, Holy Father,
because
you gave your Son
Jesus Christ to be
the one perfect sacrifice
for the sin of the world

(Who) On the night
he gave himself to death

he took bread, and when he
had given thanks he broke
it and gave it to his
disciples, and said,
Take, eat, this is my body
which is given for you;
do this
in remembrance of me.

After supper he took the
cup, and when he had given
thanks he gave it to them,
and said,
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.

(Amen) Come Lord Jesus;
your death
we show forth,
your resurrection
we proclaim,
your coming we await.
Glory to you,
Lord Christ.

Here may follow:

Blessed is he who comes
in the name of the Lord.
Hosanna in the highest.

The People shall kneel:

All glory and thanksgiving
to you, Holy Father,
because
you gave your Son
Jesus Christ to be
the one perfect sacrifice
for the sin of the world,
that all
who believe in him
might have eternal life.

On the night
he gave himself to death/
On the night
before he died on the cross
he took bread, and when he
had given thanks he broke
it and gave it to his
disciples, saying/and said,
Take, eat, this is my body
which is given for you;
do this
to remember me.

After supper he took the
cup, and when he had given
thanks he gave it to them,
saying/and said,
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,
to remember me.

Glory to you, Lord Christ:

your death
we show forth,
your resurrection
we proclaim,
your coming we await.

Amen: Come Lord Jesus.

Here may follow:

Blessed is he who comes
in the name of the Lord.
Hosanna in the highest.

The People shall kneel:

All glory and thanksgiving
to you, Holy Father,
because
you gave your only Son
Jesus Christ to be
the one perfect sacrifice
for the sin of the world,
that all
who believe in him
might have eternal life.

On the night
before he died on the cross
he took bread, and when he
had given thanks he broke
it and gave it to his
disciples, and said,
Take, eat, this is my body
which is given for you;
do this
to remember me.

After supper he took the
cup, and when he had given
thanks he gave it to them,
and said,
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,
to remember me.

Glory to you, Lord Christ:

your death
we show forth,
your resurrection
we proclaim,
your coming we await.

Amen: Come Lord Jesus.

1/69

1/69(ii)

70/2

70/5

Father, we do this as your
Son commanded,

Therefore, Father,
looking for the coming
of his kingdom,
we now celebrate
this memorial of
our redemption
with this bread of life
and this cup of salvation;

Therefore, Father,
looking for the coming
of your kingdom,
we now celebrate
the memorial of
our redemption
with this bread of life
and this cup of salvation;

Therefore, Father,
looking for the coming
of your kingdom,
we now celebrate
the memorial of
our redemption
with this bread of life
and this cup of salvation;

unworthy though we are;
Accept us, in him,
we pray,

Accept us,
unworthy though we are;
Accept us in him,
we pray,
with this our sacrifice
of praise and thanksgiving;

Accept us,
unworthy though we are;
Accept us in him,
we pray,
with this our sacrifice
of praise and thanksgiving;

Accept us,
unworthy though we are;
Accept us in him,
we pray,
with this our sacrifice
of praise and thanksgiving;

fill us with your Holy
Spirit and grant that
receiving this bread and
this wine in remembrance of
him, we may be partakers of
his most blessed body and
blood.

Fill us with your grace
and blessing and by your
Holy Spirit gather all who
share these holy things in
your presence, into the
one body of Christ.

Fill us with your Holy
Spirit and by his grace
and power (keep us in your
name) so that we may be
one/make us one with all
who share these holy
things; One in the body of
Christ.

Grant (us) that this bread
and (this) wine which we
receive may be to us the
body and blood of Christ;
Fill us with your Holy
Spirit and by his grace
and power

make us one with all
who share these holy
things;

To you, therefore, Father,
with the Son and
the Holy Spirit,
be honour and glory

Through whom, with
whom, in whom, in the
unity of the Holy Spirit;
All glory and honour
is yours
Almighty Father,
here and everywhere,
now and always.

(For through him, and with
him, and in him, in the
unity of the Holy Spirit);
All glory and honour
is yours/to you
Almighty Father,
here and everywhere,
now and for ever.

All glory and honour
to you
Almighty Father,
here and everywhere,
now and for ever.

now and for ever.

Amen.

Amen.

Amen.

Amen.

Notes on the drafts of the eucharistic prayer 1970

1/69 is in PA MS PCPBR 4/30,36.

1/69(ii) is in PA MS PCPBR 3/29,31.

70/2 is in PA MS PCPBR 4/30,36.

70/5 is in PA MS PCPBR 4/30,36.

For the descriptions of these revisions see p.54.

Underlining represents amendments made to De la Bere's texts. Brackets indicate there is some uncertainty in the manuscript which option the Commission preferred at this point.

1/69 made some additions to 1966 ("All glory *and thanksgiving*" and "to make on the Cross the one perfect sacrifice for the sin of the world.") There were larger deletions, and "grant that receiving this bread" was moved from before the institution narrative to after it. 1/69 lacked an anamnesis except for the acclamation.

In 1/69(ii), "all who share these holy things in your presence" was dependent on the Church of England Liturgical Commission's drafts of Series 2 and reflected a theology, then current in England, interpreting the eucharist in the light of Exodus 24:9-11 where Moses, Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, and seventy elders eat and drink in God's presence. See the drafts 2-1966 and 1-1968 in C.O. Buchanan, *The Development of the New Eucharistic Prayers of the Church of England*, Grove Liturgical Study No.20 (Bramcote Notts.: Grove Books, 1979.)

The ICET texts were incorporated in March 1970 (after 70/5).

APPENDIX J

**DRAFTS OF EUCHARISTIC PRAYER
"THANKSGIVING OF THE PEOPLE OF GOD"**

The following six pages continue the drafts of the Commission's eucharistic prayer up to its inclusion in *A New Zealand Prayer Book - He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa* (pp.420-423).

There are many more drafts during this period. For a better overview, rather than showing every draft of the Wellington Committee, only those which issued from PCPBR meetings are included. These are as follows:

October 1980, PA MS PCPBR 5/10,79.
 May 1981, PA MS PCPBR 5/9,78.
 January 1982, PA MS PCPBR 5/9,78.
 August 1983, PA MS PCPBR 5/4,73.
 February 1984, *The Liturgy of the Eucharist*, pp.25-28.
 1989, *ANZPB-HKMA*, pp.420-423.

In the 1966 revision, proper prefaces were abandoned and replaced with the eastern tradition of an invariant preface. Demands for proper prefaces were satisfied by the unique solution of expanding particular phrases in the comprehensive preface. This system has basically been continued, but does not show up in the following drafts.

"*Here may follow*" indicates the Benedictus is optional. The actual rubric varied from draft to draft.

A synopsis of drafts of "Celebrating the Grace of God" has not been included as they varied little from one to the next. The Commission intended to keep the eucharistic prayers significantly different from one another. Carrell's "Celebrating the Grace of God" was accepted by the Commission in February 1984. Its post-Sanctus included "you gave your only Son ... eternal life." As similar material was included in the preface, this clause was removed from the Commission's prayer.

Having chosen to include all the great acts of God in the preface, the Commission was constantly faced with trying to diminish repetition in the post-Sanctus, acclamation and anamnesis. The solution of *The Book of Common Prayer* (1979) of U.S.A. was to place thanksgiving for creation and the proper preface before the Sanctus, thanksgiving for Christ before the institution narrative, and the resurrection and ascension in the anamnesis. Such a "chronological" structure had been recommended to New Zealand by the Rev. Professor G.D. Kilpatrick in "The New Zealand Liturgy 1966." (PA MS PCPBR 3/7,58.)

1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1989
(Optional) Come, Holy Spirit, Sanctifier, everliving God, and bless us and these gifts prepared for your use.		(Optional) Come, Holy Spirit, Sanctifier, everliving God, and bless us with these gifts prepared for your use.			
The Lord is here. His Spirit is with us.	The Lord is here. His Spirit is with us.	The Lord is here. His Spirit is with us.	The Lord is here. His Spirit is with us.	The Lord is here. God's Spirit is with us.	The Lord is here. God's Spirit is with us.
Lift up your hearts. We lift them to the Lord.	Lift up your hearts. We lift them to the Lord.	Lift up your hearts. We lift them up to the Lord.	Lift up your hearts. We lift them to the Lord.	Lift up your hearts. We lift them to the Lord.	Lift up your hearts. We lift them to the Lord.
Let us give thanks to the Lord, our God. It is right to give him thanks and praise.	Let us give thanks to the Lord our God. It is right to give him thanks and praise.	Let us give thanks to the Lord our God. It is right to give him thanks and praise.	Let us give thanks to the Lord our God. It is right to give him thanks and praise.	Let us give thanks to the Lord our God. It is right to give him thanks and praise.	Let us give thanks to the Lord our God. It is right to offer thanks and praise.
It is right indeed, it is our joy and salvation, holy Lord, almighty Father, everlasting God, at all times, and in all places, to give thanks to you through Jesus Christ, your only Son;	It is right indeed, our duty and joy, holy Lord, almighty Father, everlasting God, at all times, and in all places, to give you thanks through Jesus Christ, your only son.	It is right indeed, it is our joy and salvation, holy Lord, almighty Father, everlasting God, at all times, and in all places, to give you thanks through Jesus Christ, your only Son.	It is right indeed, it is the joy of our salvation, holy Lord, almighty Father, everlasting God, at all times, and in all places, to give you thanks and praise through Jesus Christ, your only Son.	It is right indeed, it is the joy of our salvation, holy Lord, almighty Father, everlasting God, at all times, and in all places, to give you thanks and praise through Christ, your only Son.	It is right indeed, it is our joy and our salvation, holy Lord, almighty Father, everlasting God, at all times, and in all places, to give you thanks and praise through Christ, your only Son.
You are the Source of all life and goodness; you have created all things	You are the Source of all life and goodness; through your eternal word you have created all things	You are the source of all life and goodness; through your eternal Word you have created all things	You are the source of all life and goodness; through your eternal Word you have created all things	You are the source of all life and goodness; through your eternal Word you have created all things	You are the source of all life and goodness; through your eternal Word you have created all things

1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1989
from the beginning and made us in your own image;	from the beginning and formed us in your likeness.	from the beginning and formed us in your own image.	from the beginning and formed us in your own image.	from the beginning and formed us in your own image. male and female you created us.	from the beginning and formed us in your own image. male and female you created us.
In Christ you redeemed us when we had fallen into sin; in the fullness of time you gave him to be born as one of us, to die on the cross and rise again for us, setting him in glory at your right hand.	Through Christ you freed us from the slavery of sin; in the fullness of time you gave him to be born as one of us, and to die on the cross for us you raised him to life, and exalted him in glory to your right hand.	In the fullness of time through Christ you freed us from the slavery of sin; you gave him to be born as one of us, to die on the cross you raised him to life, and exalted him in glory.	Through Christ in the fulness of time you freed us from the power of sin; you gave him to share our human nature and to suffer death upon on the cross you raised him triumphant over death, and exalted him in glory.	When we turned away from you you called us back to yourself and gave your only Son to share our human nature. He made the one perfect sacrifice for the sin of the world and by his death on the cross he freed us from the bondage of sin. You raised him to life triumphant over death; you exalted him in glory.	When we sinned and turned away you called us back to yourself and gave your Son to share our human nature. By his death on the cross he made the one perfect sacrifice for the sin of the world and freed us from the bondage of sin. You raised him to life triumphant over death; you exalted him in glory.
Through him you have made us a holy people by sending forth your holy and life-giving Spirit;	In him you have made us a holy people by sending upon us your holy and life-giving Spirit. (Proper Preface)	In him you have made us a holy people by sending upon us your holy and life-giving Spirit. (Proper Preface)	In him you have called us to be a holy people by sending upon us your holy and life-giving Spirit.	In him you have called us to be a holy people by sending upon us your holy and life-giving Spirit.	In him you have made us a holy people by sending upon us your holy and life-giving Spirit.
Through him therefore with the faithful who rest in him, with angels and archangels and all the glorious company of heaven, joyfully we praise you and say:	Therefore with angels and archangels and the whole company of heaven, joyfully we praise you and say:	Therefore with the faithful who rest in him, with angels and archangels and all the glorious company of heaven, joyfully we praise you and say:	Therefore with the faithful who rest in him, with angels and archangels and with all the company of heaven, we proclaim your great and	Therefore with the faithful who rest in him, with angels and archangels and all the company of heaven, we proclaim your great and	Therefore with the faithful who rest in him, with angels and archangels and all the company of heaven, we proclaim your great and

1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1989
Holy, Holy, Holy Lord, God of power and might, heaven and earth are full of your glory. Hosanna in the highest.	Holy, Holy, Holy Lord, God of power and might, heaven and earth are full of your glory. Hosanna in the highest.	Holy, Holy, Holy Lord, God of power and might, heaven and earth are full of your glory. Hosanna in the highest.	Holy, Holy, Holy Lord, God of power and might, heaven and earth are full of your glory. Hosanna in the highest.	Holy, Holy, Holy Lord, God of power and might, heaven and earth are full of your glory. Hosanna in the highest.	Holy, Holy, Holy Lord, God of power and might, heaven and earth are full of your glory. Hosanna in the highest.
<i>Here may follow:</i>	<i>Here may follow:</i>	<i>Here may follow:</i>	<i>Here may follow:</i>	<i>Here may follow:</i>	<i>Here may follow:</i>
Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.	Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.	Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.	Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.	Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.	Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.
All glory and thanksgiving to you, Holy Father, because you gave your only Son Jesus Christ to be the one perfect sacrifice for the sin of the world, that all who believe in him might have eternal life.	All glory and thanksgiving to you, Holy Father, you gave your only son Jesus Christ to be the one perfect sacrifice by dying on the cross for the sin of the world, that all who believe in him might have eternal life.	All glory and thanksgiving to you, Holy Father, you gave your only son Jesus Christ to be the one perfect sacrifice for the sin of the world, that all who believe in him might have eternal life.	All glory and thanksgiving to you, Holy Father, you gave your only son Jesus Christ to be the one perfect sacrifice for the sin of the world. He offered himself once for all upon the cross that all who believe in him might have eternal life.	All glory and thanksgiving to you, Holy Father; All glory and thanksgiving to you, Holy Father; you gave your only son Jesus Christ to be the one perfect sacrifice for the sin of the world. He offered himself once for all upon the cross that all who believe in him might have eternal life.	All glory and thanksgiving to you, Holy Father; All glory and thanksgiving to you, Holy Father; you gave your only son Jesus Christ to be the one perfect sacrifice for the sin of the world. He offered himself once for all upon the cross that all who believe in him might have eternal life.
Grant that by the power of the Holy Spirit these gifts of bread and wine may be to us his body and his blood					

1980

On the night
before he died on the cross
he took bread,
and when
he had given you thanks
he broke it
and gave it to his
disciples, and said,
Take, eat, this is my body
which is given for you;
do this
to remember me.

1981

The night
before he died
he took bread,
and when
he had given you thanks
he broke it
and gave it to his
disciples, and said,
Take, eat, this is my body
which is given for you;
do this
to remember me.

1982

The night
before he died on the cross
he took bread,
and when
he had given thanks
he broke it,
gave it to his
disciples, and said:
Take, eat, this is my body
which is given for you;
do this
to remember me.

1983

The night
before he died,
he took bread,
and when
he had given thanks
he broke it,
gave it to his
disciples, and said:
Take, eat, this is my body
which is given for you;
do this
to remember me.

1984

on the night
before he died, your Son,
Jesus Christ, took bread;
and when
he had given 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
to remember me.

1989

on the night
before he died, your Son,
Jesus Christ, took bread;
and when
he had given 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
to remember me.

After supper he took the
cup, and when he had given
you thanks
he gave it to them,
and said,
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,
to remember me.

Glory to you, Lord Christ:
your death
we show forth,
your resurrection
we proclaim,
your coming we await.
Amen: Come Lord Jesus.

After supper he took the
cup, and when he had given
you thanks
he gave it to them,
and said,
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,
to remember me.

Glory to you, Lord Christ:
your death
we show forth,
your resurrection
we proclaim,
your coming we await.
Amen: Come Lord Jesus.

After supper he took the
cup, and when he had given
thanks
he gave it to them,
and said,
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,
to remember me.

Glory to you, Lord Christ:
your death
we show forth,
your resurrection
we proclaim,
your coming we await.
Amen: Come Lord Jesus.

After supper he took the
cup, and when he had given
thanks
he gave it to them,
and said,
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,
to remember me.

Glory to you, Lord Christ:
your death
we show forth,
your resurrection
we proclaim,
your coming we await.
Amen: Come Lord Jesus.

After supper he took the
cup, and when he had given
you thanks
he gave it to them,
and said,
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,
to remember me.

Glory to you, Lord Christ:
your death
we show forth,
your resurrection
we proclaim,
your coming we await.
Amen: Come Lord Jesus.

After supper he took the
cup, and when he had given
you thanks
he gave it to them,
and said,
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,
to remember me.

Glory to you, Lord Christ:
your death
we show forth,
your resurrection
we proclaim,
your coming we await.
Amen: Come Lord Jesus.

1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1989
	or				
	Christ has died. Christ has risen. Christ will come again.				
Therefore, Father,	Therefore, heavenly Father, we remember his offering of himself made once for all upon the cross, and rejoice in his mighty resurrection and glorious ascension. As we look for his coming in glory, we celebrate	Therefore, heavenly Father, we remember his offering of himself made once for all upon the cross, and rejoice in his mighty resurrection and glorious ascension. As we look for his coming in glory, we now celebrate the memorial of our redemption with this bread of life and this cup of salvation.	Therefore loving God, recalling your great goodness to us in Christ, his suffering and death, his resurrection and ascension and looking for his coming in glory, we celebrate	Therefore loving God, recalling your great goodness to us in Christ, his suffering and death, his resurrection and ascension and looking for his coming in glory, we celebrate	Therefore loving God, recalling your great goodness to us in Christ, his suffering and death, his resurrection and ascension and looking for his coming in glory, we celebrate
awaiting the fulfilment of your kingdom, we now celebrate the memorial of our redemption with this bread of life and this cup of salvation;	with this bread and this cup his one perfect sacrifice.				
Accept us in Christ our great high Priest with this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving.	Accept through him, our great high priest this our sacrifice of thanks and praise; and as we eat and drink these holy gifts in your presence		Accept our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving which we offer through Christ our great High Priest.	Accept our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving which we offer through Christ our great High Priest.	Accept our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving which we offer through Christ our great high priest.
Grant that through the Holy Spirit this bread and wine which we receive may be to us the	Grant that through the Holy Spirit we who receive these gifts of bread and wine may share in the	Grant that through the Holy Spirit we who receive these gifts of bread and wine may share in the	Grant that through your Holy Spirit these gifts of bread and wine which we receive may be to us the	Grant that through your Holy Spirit these gifts of bread and wine which we receive may be to us the	Send your Holy Spirit that these gifts of bread and wine which we receive may be to us the

1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1989
body and blood of Christ. Fill us with your Spirit and by his grace and power make us one with all who share these holy things in Christ our Lord.	fill us with your Spirit, inspire us with your love, and unite us in the body of your son, Jesus Christ our Lord.	body and blood of Christ. Fill us with your Spirit, and by his grace and power make us one in the body of Christ with all who share these holy things. Accept us, Father, unworthy as we are, accept us in Christ our great high priest with this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving.	body and blood of Christ. Fill us with your Spirit and by his grace and power make us one in the body of Christ. Unite us in love	body and blood of Christ. Fill us with your Spirit by whose grace and power you make us one in the body of Christ. With all who share these holy things.	body and blood of Christ. and that we, filled with the Spirit's grace and power may be renewed for the service of your kingdom.
Through him and with him and in him we worship you in songs of everlasting praise:	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:	Through him, in 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:	with all in earth and heaven, who worship you, Creator, Redeemer, Sanctifier, in songs of everlasting praise:	United in Christ with all who stand before you in earth and heaven we worship you in songs of everlasting praise:	in songs of everlasting praise:
All glory and honour to you Almighty Father, here and everywhere, now and for ever. Amen.	Blessing and honour and glory and power be yours for ever and ever. Amen.	Blessing and honour and glory and power be yours here and everywhere now and for ever. Amen.	Blessing and honour and glory and power be yours here and everywhere now and for ever. Amen.	Blessing, honour and glory be yours here and everywhere now and for ever. Amen.	Blessing, honour and glory be yours here and everywhere now and for ever. Amen.

APPENDIX K

**DRAFTS OF EUCHARISTIC PRAYER
"THANKSGIVING FOR CREATION AND REDEMPTION"**

The following four pages present a synopsis of drafts of the eucharistic prayer composed by the Rev. Dr. Raymond Pelly up to its inclusion in *The Liturgy of the Eucharist* (p.62-65).

There are more drafts (undated) but they do not significantly vary from the material presented here. The four drafts following are:

- 1979, PA MS PCPBR 5/10,79.
- 1980, PA MS PCPBR 5/10,79.
- 1983, "Draft for the January 1983 meeting of the Prayer Book Commission," PA MS PCPBR 5/12,81.
- 1984, *The Liturgy of the Eucharist* (p.62-65).

For description of these revisions see pp.62-64.

There was little alteration from the 1984 text to that in *ANZPB-HKMA* (pp.467-470). The Sursum corda became "Lift your hearts to heaven **where Christ in glory reigns.**" This was the Commission's suggestion for all the rites, but it reverted back to the traditional form at General Synod, 1987. In the new Prayer Book the line "feed us with your life" has been added to the epiclesis, and the doxology has been altered to address "Creator God" rather than "all loving God."

This rite has also been called "Liturgy No.1."

In the light of discussions about the epiclesis there was an interesting development in 1984. Since then the following has been included immediately prior to this eucharistic prayer:

God of all creation, you bring forth
bread from the earth
and fruit from the vine.
By your Holy Spirit this bread and wine
will be for us
the body and blood of Christ.

**All you have made is good
Your love endures for ever.**

1979	1980	1983	1984
The Lord be with you And also with you	The Lord be with you. And also with you.	The Spirit of God be with you And with you also.	The Spirit of God be with you And also with you.
Lift up your hearts We lift them to the Lord.	Lift up your hearts. We lift them to the Lord.	Lift up your hearts (to God). We lift them through Christ our Lord.	Lift up your hearts. We lift them up to God
Let us give thanks to the Lord our God It is right to offer thanks and praise.	Let us give thanks to the Lord our God It is right to give him thanks and praise.	Let us give thanks to God It is right to give thanks and praise.	Let us give thanks to God It is right to offer thanks and praise.
It is right indeed, our joy and salvation, at all times, in all places to give you thanks most loving God, our hope our source of faith and love through Jesus Christ your gift, your word, our life, our Lord.	It is right indeed, our joy and salvation, at all times and in all places to give you thanks most loving God and Father, our hope, our source of faith and love through Jesus Christ your Son, our Lord.	It is right indeed, our joy and salvation, at all times and in all places to give you thanks most loving God, through Jesus Christ, our Redeemer, the first-born from the dead and pioneer of our salvation, who is with us always, one of us, yet from the heart of God.	It is right indeed, to give you thanks most loving God, through Jesus Christ, our redeemer, the first born from the dead, the pioneer of our salvation, who is with us always, one of us, yet from the heart of God.
For in your love you created us from the beginning, created us to be human. You stayed with us although through unbelief we turned from you to darkness, brokenness, and strife.	For in your love you created us and made us human. You stayed with us when through unbelief we turned from you to sin.	For with your whole created universe we praise you for your unfailing gift of life. We thank you that you made us human and stayed with us when we turned from you to sin God's love is shown to us in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us.	For with your whole created universe, we praise you for your unfailing gift of life. We thank you that you make us human and stay with us when we turn from you to sin. God's love is shown to us, in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us.
For you, dear God, all-caring and all strong, came near to us in Jesus, our crucified and living Lord, who reconciles us to yourself, as a people after your own heart and makes all things new.	For you, dear God, all-caring and all-strong, came near to us in Jesus Christ our crucified and living Lord. He reconciled us to you by his cross, and by his blood makes all things new. He gathers us to his new life as a people after your own heart	In that love, dear God, righteous and strong to save you came near to us in Jesus Christ our crucified and living Lord. You make all things new: in Christ's passion and cross you reveal your glory and reconcile all peoples to yourself their true and living God.	In that love, dear God, righteous and strong to save, you came among us in Jesus Christ our crucified and living Lord. You make all things new: in Christ's suffering and cross you reveal your glory and reconcile all peoples to yourself, their true and living God. (Proper preface) In your mercy you are now our God. Through Christ you gather us
			In your mercy you are now our God. Through Christ you gather us,

1979	1980	1983	1984
For new-born in your Spirit we cry "Come Lord Jesus"	for new-born in your Spirit we cry "Come Lord Jesus"	new-born in your Spirit a people after your own heart We entrust ourselves to you, for you alone do justice to all people, living and departed.	new-born in your Spirit, a people after your own heart We entrust ourselves to you, for you alone do justice to all people, living and departed.
and we entrust ourselves to you who alone do justice to all people, living and departed.	and we entrust ourselves to you who alone do justice to all people, living and departed.		
(And now we give you thanks ... <i>Proper preface</i>)	(And now we give you thanks ... <i>Proper preface</i>)	Amen. Come Lord Jesus. (<i>Proper preface</i>)	Now is the acceptable time, now is the day of salvation.
Therefore with angels and archangels with the faithful who rest in Christ and all the glorious company of heaven joyfully we praise you and say:	Therefore with angels and archangels with the faithful who rest in Christ and all the glorious company of heaven joyfully we praise you and say:	Therefore with all your people living or departed, known or unknown, with saints and martyrs, apostles and prophets, with all the redeemed, joyfully we praise you and say:	Therefore with saints and martyrs, apostles and prophets, with all the redeemed, joyfully we praise you and say:
Holy, holy, holy, God of power and might Heaven and earth are full of your glory Glory be to you, Lord most high. Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.	Holy, holy, holy, God of power and might Heaven and earth are full of your glory Glory be to you, Lord most high. Blessed the Christ who comes in the name of our God. Hosanna in the highest.	Holy, holy, holy, God of mercy and giver of life earth and sea and sky and all that lives rejoice in your presence and splendour.	Holy, holy, holy: God of mercy, and giver of life; earth and sea and sky and all that lives, declares your presence and your glory.
		All glory to God, giver of life, sufficient and full for all creation.	All glory to God, giver of life, sufficient and full for all creation.
		Now is the acceptable time Now is the time of salvation.	
Accept our praises Living God through Jesus Christ who comes as our redeemer the one perfect offering for the sin of the world.	Accept our praises Living God through Jesus Christ who comes as our redeemer the one perfect offering for the sin of the world.	Accept our praises living God through Jesus Christ, the one perfect offering for the sin of the world.	Accept our praises living God for Jesus Christ, the one perfect offering for the world,
	Send your Holy Spirit on us and these gifts which we offer for all. May they be for us the body and blood of Christ, your gift of eternal life.		
The night before he died on the cross he took bread: and when he had given thanks, he broke it, gave it to his disciples and said: Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you; do this to remember me.	The night before he died on the cross he took bread: and when he had given 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.	For in the night that he was betrayed, he took bread, and when he had given 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.	who in the night that he was betrayed, took bread, and when he had given thanks, broke it, gave it to his disciples and said: "Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you. Do this to remember me."

1979	1980	1983	1984
<p>After supper he took the cup and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them and said: 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, to remember me.</p> <p>Send your Holy Spirit on us and these gifts which we offer for all. May they become for us the body and blood of Christ, the gift of your eternal life.</p> <p>Therefore, Lord of glory, we rejoice that you share with us in this bread and this wine the gift of Jesus Christ</p> <p>pioneer of our true humanity.</p> <p>We lift up the cup of salvation and call upon your name. Here and now we celebrate your great acts of redemption ever unforgettable and living in Jesus Christ, crucified and risen, who was and is and is to come.</p>	<p>After supper he took the cup and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them and said: 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>Glory to you Lord Christ your death we show forth; your resurrection we proclaim your coming we await. Amen. Come Lord Jesus.</p> <p>Therefore, Lord of glory, we rejoice that through this bread and this wine you give us Jesus Christ the way, the truth and the life the pioneer of our true humanity.</p> <p>We lift up the cup of salvation and call upon your name. Here and now we celebrate your great acts of liberation ever-present and living in Jesus Christ, crucified and risen, who was and is and is to come.</p>	<p>After supper he took the cup and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them and said: 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>Therefore, God of all creation, in the passion and death of Jesus our redeemer we meet you in your glory.</p> <p>We lift up the cup of salvation and call upon your name. Here and now we celebrate your great acts of liberation ever-present and living in Jesus Christ, crucified and risen, who was and is and is to come.</p> <p>Christ has died, Christ is risen, Christ is with us always. Amen. Come Lord Jesus.</p>	<p>After supper he took the cup and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them and said: "Drink this, all of you. This is my blood of the new covenant which is shed for you and for many to forgive sin. Do this as often as you drink it to remember me.</p> <p>Therefore, God of all creation, in the suffering and death of Jesus our redeemer we meet you in your glory.</p> <p>We lift up the cup of salvation and call upon your name. Here and now, we celebrate your great acts of liberation, ever-present and living in Jesus Christ, crucified and risen, who was and is and is to come.</p> <p>Amen. Come Lord Jesus.</p> <p>May Christ ascended in majesty be our new and living way our intercessor, and our friend through whom you hear our prayer and through whom you accept the offering of our lives our praises and thanksgiving.</p> <p>In Christ we offer ourselves to do your will.</p>

1979

1980

1983

1984

In your life we find our life
in your truth our truth
in your way our way

Fill us
with your Spirit,
fire us with your love,
confront us
with your justice;
and make us one
in the body of Christ
with all who share
these holy things.

Empower us
with your Holy Spirit:
fire us with your love:
confront us
with your justice;
and make us one
in the body of Christ
with all who share
these gifts of God.

Empower our celebration
with your Holy Spirit,
fire us with your love,
confront us
with your justice,
and make us one
in the body of Christ
with all who share
your gifts of love.

In Christ, with Christ,
and through Christ
in the power
of the Holy Spirit
with all
who stand before you
in heaven and on earth
we worship you
all-loving God,
Father, Son,
and Holy Spirit.
Amen.

In Christ, with Christ,
and through Christ
in the power
of the Holy Spirit
with all
who stand before you
on earth and in heaven
we worship you
all-loving God,
Father, Son,
and Holy Spirit.
Amen.

In Christ, with Christ,
and through Christ
in the power
of the Holy Spirit
with all
who stand before you
on earth and in heaven
we worship you
all-loving God,
Father, Son,
and Holy Spirit.
Amen.

Through Christ,
in the power
of the Holy Spirit,
with all
who stand before you
in earth and heaven
we worship you,
all-loving God,

Amen.

APPENDIX L

DRAFTS OF EUCHARISTIC PRAYER
"THANKSGIVING AND PRAISE"

The following three pages present a synopsis of drafts of the eucharistic prayer composed by the Rev. Richard Easton up to its inclusion in *The Liturgy of the Eucharist* (p.55-58).

There are more drafts (undated) but they do not significantly vary from the material presented here. The four drafts following are:

- 1979, PA MS PCPBR 5/10,79.
- 1980, PA MS PCPBR 5/10,79.
- 1983, "Draft for the January 1983 meeting of the Prayer Book Commission," PA MS PCPBR 5/12,81.
- 1984, *The Liturgy of the Eucharist* (p.55-58).

For description of these revisions see pp.62-64.

There were some alterations from the 1984 text to that in ANZPB-HKMA (pp.485-486). A new synaxis was produced. Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa decided to produce a diglot for this rite. The Sursum corda became "Lift your hearts to heaven **where Christ in glory reigns.**" Whereas in 1984 the congregation recited the complete anamnesis, in the new Prayer Book the priest was assigned its introduction. The epiclesis became "Send your Holy Spirit that we who receive" 1984 lacked a doxology. One was added in the new Prayer Book.

This rite has also been called "Liturgy No.2" and "Liturgy of Praise."

The Advent, Christmas and Epiphany variants in the 1984 and new Prayer Book version, were inserted before "You sent your Son"

1979	1980	1983	1984
The Lord is risen. He is risen indeed.	The Lord is risen. He is risen indeed.	Christ is risen! He is risen indeed.	Christ is risen! He is risen indeed.
Lift up your hearts. We lift them to the Lord.	Lift up your hearts. We lift them to the Lord.	Lift up your hearts. We lift them to the Lord.	Lift up your hearts. We lift them up to God.
Let us give thanks to the Lord our God. It is right to offer thanks and praise.	Let us give thanks to the Lord our God. It is right to offer thanks and praise.	Let us give thanks to the Lord our God. It is right to give him thanks and praise.	Let us give thanks to God. It is right to offer thanks and praise.
It is right indeed, it is our joy and salvation, Holy Lord, almighty Father, everlasting God At all times and in all places to give thanks to you, Through Jesus Christ your only Son.	It is right indeed, our joy and salvation, Holy Lord, almighty Father, everlasting God at all times and in all places to give thanks to you, Through Jesus Christ your only Son.	It is right to thank you, it is our joy and salvation,	It is the joy of our salvation, God of the universe to give you thanks through Jesus Christ.
You said, "Let there be light". There was light. Your light shines on in our darkness. For you the earth has brough forth life in all its forms. You have created men and women to hear your Word, to do your will and to be fulfilled in your love.	You said, "Let there be light". There was light. Your light shines on in our darkness. For you the earth has brough forth life in all its forms. You have created men and women to hear your Word, to do your will and to be fulfilled in your love.	You said, "Let there be light". There was light. Your light shines on in our darkness. For you the earth has brough forth life in all its forms. You have created men and women to hear your Word, to do your will and to be fulfilled in your love. It is right to thank you. You sent your Son to be for us the way we need to follow, and the truth we need to know, You sent your Son to give his life to release us from our sin. His cross has taken our guilt away.	You said, "Let there be light". There was light. Your light shines on in our darkness. For you the earth has brough forth life in all its forms. You have created us to hear your Word, to do your will and to be fulfilled in your love. It is right to thank you. You sent your Son to be for us the way we need to follow, and the truth we need to know, You sent your Son to give his life to release us from our sin. His cross has taken our guilt away.
<i>(Proper preface)</i>	<i>(Proper preface)</i>	<i>(Proper preface)</i>	<i>(Proper preface)</i>
You send your Holy Spirit to bring love, joy and peace into the world. You send your Holy Spirit to strengten, to guide, and to reprove your Church.	You send your Holy Spirit to strengten, to guide, and to reprove your Church.	You send your Holy Spirit to strengten, to guide, and to revive your Church.	You send your Holy Spirit to strengten, to guide, to warn and to revive your Church.
Through the Holy Spirit our discordant nations, races and languages are brought together to welcome the great things God has done.	Through the Holy Spirit the nations, races and languages are called to welcome the great things you have done.	Through the Holy Spirit the nations, races and languages are called to welcome the great things you have done.	

1979	1980	1983	1984
Through the Holy Spirit you have brought the good news to our land. Day by day you call us to be one people rich and poor, young and old, male and female Day by day, you call us to feed the hungry, heal the sick, deliver the oppressed and to watch and work for your kingdom.	Through the Holy Spirit you have brought the good news to our land. Day by day, you call us to be one people. Day by day, you call us to feed the hungry, heal the sick, deliver the oppressed, and to watch and work for your kingdom.	Through the Holy Spirit you have brought the good news to our land. Day by day, you call us to be one people. Day by day, you call us to feed the hungry, heal the sick, deliver the oppressed, and to watch and work for your kingdom.	
Therefore with the millions upon millions who have opened their lives to your grace, With the noble army who have endured persecution or death to uphold your truth, And with all the holy and glorious company who sing your praise incessantly, We also praise you for our creation and our calling with loving and with joyful words.	Therefore with the unnumbered millions who have opened their lives to your grace, We also praise you for our creation and our calling with loving and with joyful words:	Therefore, with so many witnesses who surround us on every side, countless as heaven's stars, We also praise you for our creation and our calling with loving and with joyful hearts.	Therefore, with all your witnesses who surround us on every side, countless as heaven's stars, we praise you for our creation and our calling with loving and with joyful hearts.
Holy God, holy and merciful, holy and just, Glory and goodness come from you; Glory to you most high and gracious God	Holy God, holy and merciful, holy and just, Glory and goodness come from you; Glory to you most high and gracious God	Holy God, holy and merciful, holy and just, glory and goodness come from you. Glory to you most high and gracious God	Holy God, holy and merciful, holy and just, glory and goodness come from you. Glory to you most high and gracious God
Blessed are you, Lord God, in your Son, our saviour, Jesus Christ. For he became as we are; he knows our struggles, our frailty and our grief. At supper with his disciples, he washed their feet,	Blessed are you, Lord God, in your Son, our saviour, Jesus Christ. He washed his disciples' feet, "I am among you," he said "as one who serves."	Blessed are you, Lord God, in your Son, who washed his disciples' feet. "I am among you," he said "as one who serves." On the night before he died he took bread and gave you thanks: He broke it, and gave it to to his disciples and said, "Take, eat, this is my body, which is given for you; Do this to remember me".	Blessed are you, Most Holy, in your Son, who washed his disciples' feet. "I am among you," he said "as one who serves." On the night before he died he took bread, gave you thanks: He broke it, gave it to to his disciples and said, "Take, eat, this is my body, which is given for you; Do this to remember me".
He took bread and gave you thanks: He broke it, and gave it to them and said, "Take, eat, this is my body, which is given for you; Do this to remember me".	At supper he took bread and gave you thanks: He broke it, and gave it to them and said, "Take, eat, this is my body, which is given for you; Do this to remember me".	He broke it, and gave it to to his disciples and said, "Take, eat, this is my body, which is given for you; Do this to remember me".	
After supper, he took the cup, and when he had given thanks,	After supper, he took the cup, and when he had given thanks,	After supper, he took the cup, he gave thanks.	After supper, he took the cup, he gave you thanks.

1979	1980	1983	1984
<p>he gave it to them, and said, "Drink this, the new covenant sealed in my blood, Shed for you, and shed for all, to forgive sin; Do this to remember me."</p> <p>So, Lord God, we your people remember your Son. With confidence we offer you this bread and wine, for his cross has taken from us our unworthiness. We praise you for his resurrection, we take courage from his ascension and we look for his return in glory.</p> <p>May we who receive Christ's body, be indeed the body of Christ. May we who drink his blood be fruitful branches in the one true vine.</p> <p>Grant that we may receive power from your Holy Spirit to be what we have prayed to be. May the Spirit's continual intercession strengthen our prayers and our activity. So may we, your whole church and all the world be drawn to you the one, living, eternal God; So may we, your whole Church and all the world be strengthened to show justice and compassion in our dealings one with another. So shall we all be drawn together into you as you are one holy and undivided Trinity</p> <p>Glory to the Father, and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit: As in the beginning, so now and for ever. Amen.</p>	<p>he gave it to them, and said, "Drink this, this is my blood of the new covenant, shed for you, and shed for all, to forgive sin; Do this to remember me."</p> <p>So, Lord God, with this bread and wine, we your people remember your Son.</p> <p>We praise you for his resurrection, we take courage from his ascension and we look for his return in glory.</p> <p>May we who receive Christ's body, be indeed the body of Christ. May we who drink his blood draw strength from the one true vine.</p> <p>Glory be to the Father, and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit: as in the beginning, so now and for ever. Amen.</p>	<p>He gave it to them, and said, "Drink this. It is my blood of the new covenant, shed for you, and shed for all, to forgive sin. Do this to remember me."</p> <p>So, Lord God, with this bread and wine, we your people remember your Son.</p> <p>We thank you for his cross and resurrection, we take courage from his ascension and we look for his return in glory.</p> <p>May we who receive Christ's body, be indeed the body of Christ. May we who drink his blood draw strength from the one true vine.</p> <p>Come, Lord Jesus, come to your people. Come Holy Spirit. Inspire us, make us one.</p> <p>Glory to you, Lord God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit: as in the beginning, so now and for ever. Amen.</p>	<p>He gave it to them, and said, "Drink this. It is my blood of the new covenant, shed for you, and shed for all, to forgive sin. Do this to remember me."</p> <p>Therefore God of the past and present, with this bread and wine, we your people remember your Son.</p> <p>We thank you for his cross and resurrection and we take courage from his ascension. We look for his coming in glory and in him we give ourselves to you.</p> <p>Through your Holy Spirit, May we who receive Christ's body, be indeed the body of Christ. May we who share his cup, draw strength from the one true vine.</p> <p>Called to follow Christ, help us to reconcile and unite. Called to suffer, give us hope in our calling.</p>

GLOSSARY

Acclamation. A congregational declaration within the eucharistic prayer. Usually the term applied to the interjection following the institution narrative.

Agnus Dei. Opening Latin words to the anthem, "Lamb of God, you take away the sins of the world"

Anamnesis. Greek for "memorial". Part of the eucharistic prayer following the institution narrative and stating what is remembered. It usually includes a reference to what is done in remembrance of Christ.

Benedictus. Opening Latin word of the anthem "Blessed is he who comes"

Burse. A case for carrying some of the linen cloths used in the eucharist. It consists of two joined squares of stiffened material, coloured according to the liturgical colour of the day.

Cassock. An ankle-length coat, usually black.

Chancel. The section of a church building between the altar and the nave, where the congregation is seated.

Chasuble. Originally the Graeco-Roman outer cloak. It was a semicircular garment, stitched up to leave a hole for the head. When it went out of fashion, it continued to be worn by clergy at the eucharist. Required to be worn by the 1549 Prayer Book, it fell into disuse in the Church of England but was revived in the nineteenth century.

Collect for Purity. Prayer beginning "Almighty God to whom all hearts are open"

Cope. Originally a similar garment to the chasuble, but not stitched up.

Doxology. A closing act of praise.

Eastward position. Presiding facing in the same direction as the congregation.

Epiclesis. Greek for "invocation". The petition for the Holy Spirit's action in the eucharistic prayer.

Fraction. The breaking of the bread.

Gloria. Opening Latin word of the fourth century hymn "Glory to God in the highest"

Institution narrative. The account of the Last Supper in the eucharistic prayer.

Kyries. Greek title of the brief litany "Lord have mercy"

Lectionary. Scheme of readings of the Scriptures.

Manual acts. The priest's actions at the institution narrative in the eucharistic prayer.

Mixed chalice. The adding of water to the wine at the eucharist.

Offertory. The preparation of the elements just prior to the eucharistic prayer. Also the collection (of money) which usually occurs at this point in the eucharist.

Ordinary. The parts of the eucharist which do not vary according to the liturgical season. (Includes those parts, such as the Gloria, which may be omitted.)

Prayer of Humble Access. Prayer beginning "We do not presume"

Prayer of Oblation. A prayer of self-offering concluding the eucharistic prayer of 1549. Detached, revised and moved to the end of the eucharist in 1552.

Prayer of Thanksgiving. The concluding prayer of the 1549 eucharistic rite. Made the optional conclusion in 1552.

Preface. Latin for "proclamation". The beginning of the eucharistic prayer until the Sanctus. Since the re-arrangement of 1552 it has often been misunderstood in the English sense of "preface" as an introduction.

Proper. The collect, readings, variable part of the preface, and so on which are determined by the liturgical season or feast.

Retable. A shelf behind the altar for holding candles, flowers, and so on. Sometimes used by Ritualists who were forbidden from placing such objects upon the altar table!

Sanctus. opening Latin word of the anthem "Holy, Holy, Holy" Based on Isaiah 6:3.

Sursum Corda. Latin for "Lift up your hearts." the traditional opening salutation of the eucharistic prayer.

Synaxis. The part of the eucharistic rite until the offertory (or peace).

Westward position. Presiding facing the congregation.

Veil. A cloth used to cover particularly the chalice, coloured according to the liturgical colour of the day.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. The Right Rev. David Colin Dunlop, "The Liturgical Life of the Anglican Communion in the Twentieth Century," *Report of the Anglican Congress 1954* (London: SPCK, 1955), p.99.
2. H.T. Purchas, *A History of the English Church in New Zealand* (Christchurch: Simpson & Williams, 1914), p.231.

CHAPTER I: BACKGROUND AND BEGINNINGS

1. It seems most likely that the first eucharists in New Zealand were the masses said by Fr. Paul-Antoine Léonard de Villefeix, Dominican chaplain on the *Saint-Jean Baptiste*. This ship had arrived in Doubtless Bay Sunday 17 December 1769 and stayed there until the end of the month. No records of these masses exist. Even if mass was not said daily, however, it is safe to assume there was one on Sundays and on Christmas Day. (Professor John Dunmore, "The First Christian Service: 1769, 1801 or 1814?" *Auckland & Waikato Historical Journal*, September 1982, pp.17-18.)
 2. Samuel Marsden, *The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden 1765-1838*, ed. John Rawson Elder (Dunedin: Coulls Somerville Wilkie and A.H. Reed, 1932), p.94.
 3. There was little adaptation to the southern hemisphere. In Alison Drummond, ed., *The Auckland Journals of Vicesimus Lush* (Christchurch: Pegasus, 1971), 24 December 1851, p.97:

I have great difficulty in realizing that today is the one preceding Christmas Day. so fine - so bright - so hot - like a day in July in England: but however I was forced to believe my Church Almanac and therefore, directly after dinner, accompanied with all my children, I went to the Church and decorated it with boughs of the Pohutukawa which just now is loaded with its magnificent scarlet blossom. Blanney and I both thought the Church looked exceeding gay, but Charlotte thought it would have looked better had we had *holly*!
- Christmas Dinner followed England as closely as was possible but with green peas and new potatoes! Charlotte Godley describes Christmas similarly, noting the heat.
- "We had a few greens for the church, but not enough, and we had a few up, too in the rooms, but although they are evergreens, they die like

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our ordinary trees, and will not last, like our good holly and ivy and laurel, till Twelfth Night." (Allan K. Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa*, 1989, p.68.)

Some attempt at interpreting the Liturgical Year to the southern hemisphere was made by the Rev. F.R. Inwood in *The Christian Year Beneath the Southern Cross* (Christchurch: The Lyttelton Times, 1906). Inwood follows Keble in providing a poem for each Sunday and festival. Here are some verses for "Christmas Day":

No touch of Winter's frosty breath,
No snow-clad fields 'neath skies that lower;
All nature thrills with joyous life,
.....
The feathered choir, in copse and glade,
Their own enchanting carols sing;
Flowers add their incense to the gifts
Which Nature offers to its King. (p.11)

And also for "Easter Day":

Christ is risen; all around
Autumn leaves are falling;
Signs of death bestrew the ground,
Winter time recalling.
Christ is risen, Easter-Day
Comes the sky to brighten;
Comes to drive our gloom away,
And our hearts enlighten.

Though all nature points to death,
Christ of life is telling;
Of His Spring we feel the breath,
Care and grief dispelling.
Fading leaf, and withered flower
Tell us we are mortal,
Easter Morn reveals a Power
Lighten death's dark portal. (p.48)

4. Debates on intoning, chanting and singing can be traced over several years in the 1870s in the *Church Gazette*. The Prayer Book rubric to "read" was interpreted differently from to "say", the latter involving some sort of intoning. Maori congregations were held up as good examples of correctly following this rubric (*Church Gazette*, April 1875, p.45). The singing of hymns does not form a part of the Reformation service and was authorised at the beginning or end of a Prayer Book service by a Royal Injunction in 1609. (*Church Gazette*, February 1874, p.23).

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5. The early Gothic churches in New Zealand were built of wood. This adaptation formed a paradoxical colonial style.

6. I have found no reference to there ever having been box pews in New Zealand. Pew rent was normal in many places until the end of the nineteenth century.

7. "A confession of sin on the part of the whole congregation was new to the liturgies of the Reformation period." Marion J. Hatchett, *Commentary on the American Prayer Book* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1980), p.341.

8. It can be said that Anglicans inherited a communion office which was non-eucharistic (lacking a strong sense of thanksgiving) and a eucharistic office which was non-communicating (i.e. Morning and Evening Prayer). The great bursts of thanks and praise occur in the services of Morning and Evening Prayer in the 1662 Prayer Book rather than in the communion service.

9. Hatchett, *Commentary on the American Prayer Book*, p.302.

10. E.g. the manner in which the institution narrative is proclaimed, and the ritual gestures, elevations, genuflections, and so on, associated with it.

11. After the communion rite in *The Book of Common Prayer* a rubric since 1552 read, "And note, that every Parishioner shall communicate at the least three times in the year, of which Easter to be one." This had been altered from 1549 where it had been "to communicate once in the year at the least." The weekly communion of Evangelicals such as Wesley and the Holy Club was not able to be sustained.

12. The Non-Jurors were members of the Church of England who did not take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to William and Mary in 1688 because they had taken these oaths to James II and his successors. This created a movement which continued into the eighteenth century.

13. Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England - From Watts and Wesley to Maurice, 1690-1850* (Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press, 1961), p.225.

14. Sunday, 1 April 1827. Lawrence M. Rogers, ed., *The Early Journals of Henry Williams* (Christchurch: Pegasus Press, 1961), p.49. (See also the next few Sundays, 15, 22, and 29 April each say "service as usual".) From 1839 it is more regularly referred to as "the Lord's Supper" rather than "the sacrament".

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15. 6 October 1839. "The Hadfield Journal" in H.W. Monaghan, *From Age to Age* (The Standing Committee of the Diocese of Wellington, 1957), p.226.

16. There are, of course exceptions. Samuel Marsden did preach at that first service on Luke 2:10 which comes in the second reading at Morning Prayer for Christmas (Luke 2:1-15).

17. Maori were receiving the sacrament before the arrival of any bishop. E.g. see Rogers, *The Early Journals of Henry Williams*, Sunday 8 February 1835, p.410. W.G. Broughton, bishop of Sydney, visited New Zealand in 1838-39. The rubric at the end of the Order of Confirmation in *The Book of Common Prayer* does allow reception of communion for those not confirmed when it says, "And there shall none be admitted to the holy Communion, until such time as he be confirmed, or be ready and desirous to be confirmed."

18. "Between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant missions there was a wide gulf: Bishop Pompallier considered the Protestant missionaries as heretics spreading heresy ... to William Williams, Pompallier was Antichrist and his converts doubly benighted heathen." Frances Porter ed., *The Turanga Journals*, (Wellington: Price Milburn, 1974), p.10.

19. The following Sunday, July 14 [1833], Mr. Keble preached the Assize Sermon in the University pulpit. It was published under the title of "National Apostacy". I have ever considered and kept the day as the start of the religious movement of 1833. (John Henry Newman, *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*, London: Oxford University Press, 1913, p.136.)

The movement may also be dated from the meeting at H.J. Rose's Rectory, Hadleigh, in Suffolk, 25 July 1833. Or it may be dated from the first three Tracts: 9 September 1833.

20. Neale, of the Cambridge Camden Society, wrote in 1844, "It is clear to me that the Tract writers missed one great principle, namely the influence of aesthetics- and it is unworthy of them to blind themselves to it." Eleanor A. Towle, *John Mason Neale - A Memoir* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1899). p.51. Newman and Pusey, on the other hand both feared that ritual changes might be found offensive and hinder their reassertion of Catholic truth. So while the Tractarians began from authority, the Cambridge movement began from worship, and while the former looked to the early church, the latter

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looked to the medieval. For an introduction to the "Ritualist" controversies see Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology - From Newman to Martineau, 1850-1900* (Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press, 1962), pp.114-138.

21. The situation in relation to Roman Catholics was quite different in New Zealand to what it was in England where the Roman Catholic episcopacy was only introduced in 1850. In New Zealand the Anglicans were only one church among many whereas in England they were the established church.

22. Mrs. Selwyn wrote from Waimate on 9 July 1844,
 "By my side is my Husband writing letters. He is as usual in gown and cassock, a dress in which you know him not. Mr Dudley is in Cassock only and presently Mr Cotton will come in from the other house also in Cassock - they find it saves coats and so like the arrangement." John H. Evans, *Churchman Militant* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1964), p.211.

23. Canon Frank Gould was at St. John's College from 1848 to 1852. He wrote that

"These services were kept up with the utmost regularity. In the absence of the Bishop and tutors, a deacon or a student conducted them; while the Rev. G. Kissling always came on Communion Sundays.... [Selwyn gave catechetical lectures] The subject was the gospel for the day.... At 8 o'clock a few strokes of the chapel bell brought the whole college together for the 'Unity' service, as it was called. The order was as follows:-

Psalms 122, 133, 134, 150 (chanted).
 the First Lesson for the day of the month.
 The 'Veni Creator' from the Ordering of Priests (sung).
 Collects: S.S. Simon and Jude; All Saints;
 for Unity, in Accession Service;
 the last two for Good Friday.
 Prayer for the College.
 'Lift up your hearts,' etc.
 (Communion Service).
 Whit-Sunday Preface.
 'Therefore with Angels,' etc. (intoned).
 The Sanctus (sung in parts).
 The Lord's Prayer.
 The Gloria in Excelsis (intoned).
 The Benediction.

There was no sermon or address: none was

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needed. One felt as if the whole college was wound up to concert pitch. Every Sunday it was the same, yet always new. We never had an organ or anything of the kind in the chapel: no need for it when the chants, 'Veni Creator,' Sanctus, etc., could be rendered by the whole college for a choir.

After the service the tutors, deacons, and students assembled in the Bishop's parlour for 'high tea.' The Bishop and Mrs. Selwyn were the life and soul of these meetings." John King Davis, *History of S. John's College* (Auckland: Abel Dykes, 1911), pp.32-34.

24. William Brown wrote,
 "Until Bishop Selwyn arrived in New Zealand, the Church and Wesleyan missionaries conducted their labours of love with the best feelings towards each other - the native converts of the one communion being treated in all respects as if they were members of the other. No sooner does the bishop arrive, however, than a line of distinction is immediately drawn between the Wesleyan and Church mission natives;- the former not being allowed, as formerly, to partake of the Sacrament along with the followers of the latter. The Wesleyan missionaries themselves are decried as not being of Divine authority". (Evans, *Churchman Militant*, p.213.)

Also, J. Hobbs wrote in his diary 3 August 1843,
 "From the first establishment of Christianity in New Zealand the natives of both the missionary societies have been accustomed to take the sacrament of the Lord's Supper at any of the stations where they might be, but now a stop is put to our own people going to the sacrament at Waimate church which is now to be the Cathedral and the members of the Church Society are prohibited from taking the sacrament with us." Ian Breward, "Selwyn in Ecumenical Perspective: His Theology of Unity and Mission," in Warren E. Limbrick ed., *Bishop Selwyn in New Zealand* (Palmerston North: The Dunmore Press, 1983), p.138.

25. Dr. Edward Pusey was the effective leader of the Tractarian movement.

About Bishop Selwyn, William Williams wrote:

I am well satisfied with all I have seen in the

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Bishop. He is not a Puseyite according to my view, but he is particular in many things which have been brought forward prominently by that school. He is very particular in the letter of the rubric Some of the Bishops English friends sent after him a pair of large candlesticks with a pair of enormous candles in them, they found their way to Auckland, but the direction of the case was eaten off by the rats, and though there could be no doubt to whom they belonged, the Bishop altogether disowned them. While however the Bishop is no Puseyite, I fear that most of his connections are of that school and that we may expect further importations of men of these sentiments. (Letter from William Williams, Turanga, to Edward Marsh, 15 May 1843. In Porter ed., *The Turanga Journals*, p.254.)

The rumours about Selwyn are well illustrated by the following, written by an early settler:

"When I arrived in the colony, I found that Bishop Selwyn had been by acclamation voted a Puseyite. Not having much belief in popular acclamation, I was pertinacious in asking why? "What is Puseyism?" said I. "Could not exactly say".--"Have you read the ninety tracts?"--"No"--"Then why do you call Bishop Selwyn a Puseyite?"--"Well; he has got a cross on his tent"--"But even I lapsed into error. The Bishop had a little bald spot on the top of his head, so round and so sharply defined that I mistook it for an embryo tonsure." (Evans, *Churchman Militant*, pp.211-212.)

While Selwyn often referred to the Anglican Church as "our Anglo-Catholic Church", his usage corresponds more with the anti-erastian understandings of the early Tractarians than anachronistically with the later "Anglo-Catholic party".

26. Selwyn's pastoral letter of 19 April 1852. Cited in Evans, *Churchman Militant*, p.141.

27. The Constitution of the Branch of the United Church of England and Ireland in New Zealand. Fundamental Provision Clause 1. (*Manual of the Constitution, Canons and Standing Orders*, Church of the Province of New Zealand.)

28. The Constitution of the Branch of the United Church of England and Ireland in New Zealand. Fundamental Provision Clause 4. (*Manual of the Constitution, Canons*

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and Standing Orders.)

29. 24 November 1850: "I took with me my scarf and hood and surplice and gown." In Drummond, ed., *The Auckland Journals of Vicesimus Lush*, p.24. 24 July 1887: "My robes travel safely in a stout leather bag, buckled to my saddle behind." In William Garden Cowie, *Our Last Year in New Zealand* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co, 1888), p.159.

30. E.g. 13 March, 10 April, in Cowie, *Our Last Year in New Zealand*, p.63 & p.90.

31. See 27 February, in Cowie, *Our Last Year in New Zealand*, p.55.

32. See 29 September and 6 November, in Cowie, *Our Last Year in New Zealand*, p.195 & 223.

The 1862 General Synod authorised the publication of *The New Zealand Hymnal*. It was printed by Gilbert and Rivington, St. John's Square, London. There is no acknowledgment of any New Zealand compositions, nor does it contain anything giving a Southern Hemisphere flavour. There is no Maori content. The success of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1861) meant that it soon replaced *The New Zealand Hymnal*.

33. See, for example, 30 January, in Cowie, *Our Last Year in New Zealand*, pp.24-25. The Preface of *The Book of Common Prayer* has daily Morning and Evening Prayer as obligatory for all Priests and Deacons ("not being let by sickness or some other urgent cause") which may have influenced this tendency. Morning Prayer was seen to be an essential part of the Sunday obligation: "Morning Prayer having been said at an earlier hour, we began with a hymn" (Cowie, *Our Last Year in New Zealand*, 25 September p.192). It was decided at General Synod, 1871, that "on Sundays and Holy Days when the Litany is used in the Afternoon or Evening Service, the latter part of Morning Prayer after the Third Collect may be omitted, if the Service of Holy Communion be read." *Proceedings of General Synod* (hereafter PGS), 1871, p.185. Hence Cowie writes, "At the service, Morning Prayer to the end of the third collect was said by the Rev. F.T. Baker, according to our custom at Sunday Confirmations." (Cowie, *Our Last Year in New Zealand*, 20 February, p.46). If Baptism and Confirmation was used with holy communion he would use the "shortened Evening Prayer." (Cowie, *Our Last Year in New Zealand*, January 30, p.26). This "shortened form" was in fact not allowed on Sundays. It consisted of
 the Order for Morning and Evening Prayer with
 the following omissions.- The Exhortation, the

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Venite, the Psalms for the day, except one Psalm, unless Proper Psalms are appointed, one Lesson, one Canticle, the Lord's Prayer next after the Creed, all the Collects after the Third Collect except the Collect called "A prayer of St Chrysostom" and "The Grace of our Lord". (PGS, 1877, p.199.)

This was sanctioned by the bishops 1 March 1877, and follows the model of the English "Shortened Services" Act, 1872. Cowie tried to have every Sunday service over within an hour and a half (Cowie, *Our Last Year in New Zealand*, 20 February p.46).

34. 23 July, "A large proportion of the congregation remained to Holy Communion." Cowie, *Our Last Year in New Zealand*, p.207.

35. T.B.Hutton. Porter ed., *The Turanga Journals*, illustrations between pp.336 and 337.

CHAPTER II: EUCHARISTIC CONTROVERSIES

1. There are several accounts of this controversy. See, for example, John H. Evans, *Southern See* (The Standing Committee of the Diocese of Dunedin, 1968), pp.17-46. The best record is provided by John Pearce ed., *Seeking a See* (The Standing Committee of the Diocese of Dunedin, 1984), pp.17-79.

2. With New Zealand having its own legislature, the issuing of Royal letters patent did not apply. There was as yet no other system for the creation of a new diocese and the appointment of its first bishop.

3. Bishop Henry John Chitty Harper was the first bishop of Christchurch (1856-1890). The new diocese of Dunedin was within his original diocesan territory.

4. On 26 May 1865, Selwyn and Harper were present at a meeting of the standing committee of the Rural Deanery Board. Selwyn suggested that "'at the next meeting of the Board resolutions should be passed to request him to write to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to know if his Grace could name an eligible person as Bishop of the Diocese of Otago and Southland'." (Evans, *Southern See*, p.15.) The meeting of the Board on 14 June did not pass this resolution. Selwyn had, however, already written to Archbishop Longley. Unfortunately this letter is not extant. The motion on 14 June 1865 of the Rural Dean, the Rev. E.G. Edwards, differed slightly to the wording of the previous meeting. Edwards' motion asked Selwyn to request the Archbishop of Canterbury "'to recommend a

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clergyman whom he may deem fit to be consecrated for the proposed See'" (Evans, *Southern See*, p.16). Archbishop Longley replied to Selwyn, "'In compliance with the wish expressed in your last letter that I would fix upon some clergyman to occupy the proposed See of Dunedin: and my choice has fallen upon the Revd. Henry Lascelles Jenner, Vicar of Preston, in my Diocese.'" (Evans, *Southern See*, p.16). Without Selwyn's letter to Longley it is not possible to say whether Selwyn expected a short list of possible candidates which he could submit to the Board, or whether Selwyn intended Longley to make the choice.

5. On 4 January 1865, Selwyn wrote again to Longley with the conviction that now that such a good man was appointed he would be able to complete the Endowment Fund which had slowed as the gold diminished. On 22 February 1866, however, the Rural Deanery Board resolved "that as a sufficient provision has not yet been made for the support of a Bishop, it is not expedient to take any action at present with a view to confirming the conditional appointment of the Rev. H.L. Jenner, more especially as that appointment has been made without the authority of this Board." W.P. Morrell. *The Anglican Church in New Zealand* (Dunedin: Anglican Church of the Province of New Zealand, 1973), p.91. Instead of receiving this motion, which was vetoed by Harper, Jenner received two letters from Selwyn encouraging his speedy move to New Zealand.

6. Jenner was the secretary of the Cambridge Camden Society and the first Ritualist to be made a bishop. The Society commissioned Burgess, one of their favourite architects, to design a crozier in silver, ivory and jewels. They were convinced it was the most expensive ever made.

7. Evans, *Southern See*, p.24.

8. Evans, *Southern See*, p.24-25.

9. Evans, *Southern See*, p.26-27.

10. Pearce, *Seeking a See*, p.70.

11. Evans, *Southern See*, p.32.

12. In "Questions and Answers" (Appendix to *PGS*, 1871, pp.185-186), certain modifications of the Prayer Book are sanctioned, including using only the part of Morning Prayer to the Third Collect followed by holy communion if the Litany is used in the afternoon or evening service. Such an alteration would be sanctioned by the bishop only if both the clergyman and the majority of vestry agreed.

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In 1874 this became a Standing Resolution of General Synod. (See also note 33, p.130.)

13. *Diocese of Christchurch - Proceedings of Synod, 1871, pp.6-7.*

14. This phrase from the Preface of the 1549 Prayer Book already had less validity in 1552 when in the communion service there were two alternative prayers with which to finish. The first is usually called the "Prayer of Oblation" the second, the "Prayer of Thanksgiving". This situation continued in the 1662 Prayer Book.

15. This understanding of the New Zealand religious tradition as "colonial evangelicalism" follows the interpretation of the Rev. Dr. K. O'Reilly's article, "Fiction and Indigenous Roman Catholicism". Cited in H.M. Bowron, "Anglo Catholicism in the Diocese of Christchurch 1850-1920," MA dissertation, University of Canterbury, 1975, pp.237-238. It sees colonial evangelicalism as a reduction of the more comprehensive Evangelicalism to diligence, frugality and other pragmatic values.

16. Churches have regularly been "oriented" east-west, with the altar at the east end. Although in the early church the priest faced the congregation across the altar table (the "westward position"), facing the same direction as the congregation (the "eastward position") had a long history. It appears that the English reformers placed the table lengthwise in the chancel with the priest "standing at the north side of the Table". With growing party polarization the eastward position became one of the six marks of Anglican Catholicism (along with vestments, incense, wafer bread, the mixed chalice and lit candles.) Some Evangelicals had preferred the westward position (Davies, *Worship and Theology in England 1690-1850*, p.226) and most knelt at the north side of the table which, since Archbishop Laud, had again been set against the eastern wall.

17. Bishop to Kaiapoi Vestrymen, p.4. Cited in Bowron, "Anglo Catholicism in the Diocese of Christchurch 1850-1920," p.100.

18. Carlyon to Harper, 24 Feb 1876. Cited in Bowron, "Anglo Catholicism in the Diocese of Christchurch 1850-1920," p.110.

A description of the consecration of the Kaiapoi parish church, St Bartholemew's, on 24 August 1876, gives a good impression of services at this stage.

The altar was covered by an embroidered white cloth decorated with scarlet and gold devices.

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On the altar were two flower vases, two single candlesticks, two three branched candlesticks, with a plain cross over the communion table. A re-table within the sanctuary was likewise covered with flowers and candles. the wood paneling of the reredos had been trimmed over with blue and gilt paper. There were two sets of seven branch candlesticks by the communion rails and the choir stalls. A raised platform had been extended from the chancel into the nave to accommodate the choir stalls. The choir was now robed in cassocks and surplice, included introits and gregorian chants in its repertoire, and entered the church in solemn procession with a processional cross and banners. The celebrant was vested in cassock, surplice and coloured stoles.

(Bowron, "Anglo Catholicism in the Diocese of Christchurch 1850-1920," p.111-112.)

19. It is an irony of history that since 1955 St Matthew's forms an Evangelical enclave within it!

20. D.G.S. Rathgen, "The Church in New Zealand 1890-1920 with special reference to W.A. Orange," L.Th. (Hons.) thesis, Auckland, 1969, p.90.

According to the *Church Gazette* (June 1903, p.115), Bishop Neligan appears to have been the first bishop in New Zealand to have worn a cope.

21. He designed thirty in Canterbury and ten throughout the rest of the country.

22. The sixteen missionaries who came to New Zealand under the commission from the Archbishops of Canterbury and York included two Mirfield Fathers and others of Anglo-Catholic persuasion whose gentle approaches appealed to many in this country. There were, however, strong anti-Catholic feelings in New Zealand. The mission was berated by a Presbyterian minister, J. Dickson, in *Shall Ritualism and Romanism capture New Zealand* (Dunedin: Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspapers Co., 1912), pp.10-11:

"What a pity that, as pointed out at the time of their coming by the *New Zealand Churchman*, three of them should belong to the 'Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament', a secret society founded to teach the real presence, in the eucharistic sacrifice; that three of them should be members of the 'Christian Union' which aims at corporate union with Rome; that six of them should believe in

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the mixed chalice; that two should burn incense; that four should wear mass vestments; that seven should use altar lights; and that seven should adopt the eastward position in the ante communion service. It seemed to be a Ritualistic mission with a small evangelical section for a cover."

Dickson's book, although obviously biased, is a good source for ritualist controversies in New Zealand.

23. Marie Peters, *Christchurch-St Michael's - A Study in Anglicanism in New Zealand, 1851-1972* (Christchurch: The University of Canterbury, 1986), p.107.

24. *Diocese of Christchurch - Yearbook*, 1911, pp.17-20.

25. This restored the eucharistic prayer somewhat to its 1549 form and was popular with some Anglo-Catholics as it stressed the eucharistic sacrifice and had a closer resemblance to the Roman Catholic eucharistic prayer.

26. In 1888 the Evangelical "Church Association" took Bishop Edward King of Lincoln to a court presided over by Archbishop Benson. King was one of the first Ritualists to have received a significant preferment. The court exonerated all King's practices except the signing of the cross at the absolution and blessing. This "Lincoln Judgment" accepted the mixed chalice, lit candles, the eastward position, ablutions, and singing the Agnus Dei. These were ratified in 1892 after an appeal to the Judicial Committee.

27. Auckland's Bishop Averill (1914-1940), personally approved of reservation for the sick, but did not think that the New Zealand constitution gave bishops authority to allow it as this was not indicated by the Prayer Book.

CHAPTER III: EUCHARISTIC DEVELOPMENTS 1920 TO 1960

1. G.J. Cuming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy*, (London: Macmillan, 1969), pp.211-212.

2. In 1853 The Convocation of Canterbury had resumed activity for the first time since 1689. the Convocation of York followed in 1861.

3. The 1662 rubric had been clear that "if any remain of [the Bread and Wine] which was consecrated, it shall not be carried out of the Church, but the Priest and such other of the Communicants as he shall then call unto him, shall, immediately after the Blessing, reverently eat and drink the same." The 1928 Alternative Order of the

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Communion inserted "apart from that which may be reserved for the Communion of the sick, as is provided in the Alternative Order for the Communion of the Sick." In that 1928 Alternative Order the rubric read "When the Holy Communion cannot reverently or without grave difficulty be celebrated in private, and also when there are several sick persons in the Parish desirous to receive the Communion on the same day" the Priest may consecrate extra bread and wine at an "open Communion" and "he shall, on the same day and with as little delay as may be, go and minister the same." However "If the Bishop is satisfied that in connexion with hospitals, or in time of common sickness, or in the special circumstances of any particular Parish, the preceding rubrick are not sufficient" then he may authorise reservation in an aumbry "set in the North or South wall of the sanctuary of the church or of any chapel thereof" only for receiving communion and "There shall be no service or ceremony in connexion with the Sacrament so reserved." This went too far for the strong Evangelicals and not far enough for the strong Anglo-Catholics who united against the 1928 Prayer Book. None of these rubrics were authorised in New Zealand when parts of the 1928 Prayer Book were ratified in 1958.

4. Cuming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy*, p.221.

5. *Jus liturgicum* is the intrinsic right of bishops to regulate the liturgical life within their respective dioceses. "The term is entirely unknown to the canon law or to any writer in any country before the later nineteenth century, when it comes into use among a certain group of Anglican ecclesiologists, who invented it as a means of lifting the dead hand of parliamentary statutes off Anglican worship. So far as the primitive bishop had any such right he had it not so much as bishop but as celebrant." Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1945), p.588.

Before a bishop can be consecrated [for the Anglican Church in New Zealand] he must sign a declaration in writing of his assent to the Constitution. This condition was inserted by the General Synod in 1865 on the occasion of the revision of the Constitution. In the midst of the discussion of Clause 23, the question, says Sir William Martin, was asked, "What security, after all, have we for the quiet and undisturbed operation of this system which we are now by common consent building up? May not a new bishop come into one of our dioceses and say that, not being bound by our compact, he prefers to act on his own views?" The question

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was eventually answered by requiring the bishop-elect to "declare in writing his assent to the Constitution by giving of such a pledge to be a condition precedent to his acceptance of the office and necessary to the validity of his nomination." (Personal correspondence from the Most Rev. Allen. H. Johnston, Hamilton, 24 July 1990.)

Clause 4 of the Constitution allows for alteration of services, and the 1928 Empowering Act clarifies the process for doing this which was unspecified by that Clause. Standing resolution 9 ("Division of Services") of General Synod 1874, may be used to argue for bishops in New Zealand being given authority over liturgy within their dioceses:

This Synod recognises the expediency of a certain discretion being exercised by the Bishops in sanctioning from time to time such divisions in the Services, and modifications in the manner of celebrating those Services, as may be urgently required by the circumstances of the Clergy or of the people. (PGS, 1874, p.196.)

Bishop Averill, however, did not see that this gave him the right to authorise reservation. Although under the Constitution bishops clearly had no *jus liturgicum*, in the Perry-Gosset case all except Averill had acted as if they had in relation to reservation possibly on the basis of this 1874 Synod ruling.

Standing resolution 26 ("Experimental Forms of Service") of General Synod 1976 more clearly

requests and encourages the Bishops of the Province to allow experimental forms of service to be produced and used in individual parishes, after consultation with the vestry, and in other particular areas of the Church's work ... in consultation with their diocesan liturgical committees: provided that such experimental forms shall not contradict in principle the teaching of the Book of Common Prayer. (PGS, 1976, p.24-25.)

6. Christchurch had been concerned that it have diocesan control of its property trusts.

7. PGS, 1877, pp.4-6.

8. Parliament was involved because of the necessity to maintain property in the case where a change in formularies could be seen to endanger the continuity of the church. This would particularly be an issue if there

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was a schism. In 1988 "The Anglican Catholic Church" was founded in New Zealand. Were it not for the Empowering Act, such a body could attempt to claim all Anglican property.

9. *PGS*, 1928, pp.26-27.

After the confirmation of an alteration by the General Synod, there is a year in which an appeal may be lodged. The tribunal consists of all diocesan bishops, and an equal number of priests and laity. For the appeal to fail at least two thirds of the tribunal must vote against it.

10. Clause 3 of the Church of England Empowering Act 1928. (*Manual of the Constitution, Canons and Standing Orders*.)

11. Personal correspondence from the Ven. Samuel E. Woods, Christchurch, 15 September 1990.

12. The 1928 eucharistic prayer of the Alternative Order of Holy Communion had some use, more particularly by Anglo-Catholics on weekdays. More popular was the so-called "Interim Rite". This reconnected the "Prayer of Oblation" to the "Prayer of Consecration" following the suggestion of W.H. Frere in *Some Principles of Liturgical Reform* (London: John Murray, 1911), pp.190-192. Because of the alterations which Cranmer had made in dislocating the "Prayer of Oblation," this reconnection was argued against as being "an obvious piece of Pelagianism ... [and] it would lay a most unfortunate emphasis on its substitution of the oblation of the sons of men for that of the Son of Man." (Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, p.666). *The Dominion Altar Book* of St. Michael and All Angels, Christchurch, included such an eucharistic prayer wherein some of these criticisms were overcome by inserting the following between the "Prayer of Consecration" of 1662 and the "Prayer of Oblation": "Wherefore, O Lord and heavenly Father, we thy humble servants, having in remembrance the precious death and passion of thy dear Son, his mighty resurrection and glorious ascension, according to his holy institution, do celebrate, and show forth before thy Divine Majesty, with these thy holy gifts, the memorial which he hath willed us to make." *The Dominion Altar Book* (Christchurch: St. Michael and All Angels, 1976 edition), p.21.

An alternative practice among some Anglo-Catholics was the silent ("secret") recitation of prayers. In this way *The Priest to the Altar* (London: Rivingtons, 1879), 3rd. ed., p.169, advocated a silent addition of a form of the "Prayer of Oblation" to the "Prayer of Consecration". This resulted in the regular ending of the eucharist with

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the "Prayer of Thanksgiving" and the congregation rarely hearing the "Prayer of Oblation", a situation opposed by C. Leo Berry in *A Plea for the Prayer of Oblation*, Alcuin Club Tracts 26, (London: A.R. Mowbray, 1951).

13. In New Zealand the debate focused on the epiclesis (Personal correspondence from the Most Rev. Allen. H. Johnston, Hamilton, 6 September 1990.) The debates in England are well documented. Evangelicals feared a localised presence of Christ was being promoted, Anglo-Catholics that the position of the epiclesis after the institution narrative denied the western consecratory interpretation of this. A helpful summary is provided in R.C.D. Jasper, *The Development of the Anglican Liturgy 1662-1980* (London: SPCK, 1989), pp.113-142. The most scathing attack on the new eucharistic prayer (and particularly the epiclesis which was regarded as "orientalizing at the cost of abandoning ... our tradition") came from the liturgical scholar Dr. F.E. Brightman, "The New Prayer Book Examined," in *The Church Quarterly Review*, July 1927.

14. This theory was strengthened by the 1662 rubric for consecrating further elements if they should run out. For example, "for the blessing of the Bread," the priest recites, "Our Saviour Christ in the same night that he was betrayed ... this is my Body which is given for you: Do this in remembrance of me."

15. In the critique of New Zealand's 1966 revision edited by the Rev. Colin Clark and the Rev. Maurice Goodall (*Worship for Today*, Christchurch, Latimer), the institution narrative is described as the "Consecration" and the "Consecration Prayer" (pp.19-20), while there is no such title in the 1966 revision!

It is not unknown for a priest in New Zealand to use as the "consecration" the institution narrative from 1 Corinthians 11:23-26. More common is the reduction of authorised eucharistic prayers by the omission of parts or all of the Preface and beginning with the institution narrative.

A new development, and surprisingly not always related to Charismatic renewal, is a more eastern interpretation that the epiclesis is what effects consecration. Certainly Charismatics favour a strong epiclesis. The interpretation of consecration by thanksgiving (focusing on 1 Timothy 4:4-5) does not have many followers.

16. Members of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament in New Zealand still meet regularly for Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament.

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17. Bishop Cherrington was bishop of the new diocese of Waikato from 1926 to 1950. Morrell in *The Anglican Church in New Zealand*, p.180, describes him as "of authoritarian temperament and advanced Anglo-Catholic views ... a Bishop who was not amenable to peaceful persuasion."

18. The New Zealand Church Fellowship was formed in 1930. In 1935 it became the New Zealand Church Union. The Guild of the Servants of the Sanctuary began in England in the nineteenth century. Both organisations followed their English parent models. Both appear to have died out. "The U.K. blocking of women servers finally made it impossible for GSS [Guild of the Servants of the Sanctuary in New Zealand] to continue coherently." Personal correspondence from the Rev. Michael Blain, Christchurch, 12 October 1990.

19. Evangelicals would come to speak of Christ's "presence" at His Table rather than on His Table. Anglo-Catholics would stress the "Sacrifice" of the eucharist, Evangelicals the "Sacrament" and so on.

20. One little known Anglo-Catholic practice was "TARPing".

Clergy celebrating the Eucharist at All Saints [Dunedin] were always scrupulous over the consumption of any breads or wine consecrated but not needed for communion. If any visitor was less careful, there was a solid team of high minded servers to express shock and put things to rights. Indeed, we were delighted when any visitor TARPed!! and regretted that neither Parish Priest (Fr. Charles Harrison and Fr. Philip Gaze) did so. And what was TARPing? It was, quite simply, Taking the Ablutions at the Right (or Roman) Place! The BCP rubrics stipulated that "When all have communicated, the minister shall return to the Lord's Table, and reverently place upon it what remaineth of the Consecrated Elements, covering the same with a fair linen cloth" and then, after the service "but if any remain of that which was consecrated, it shall not be carried out of the church, but the Priest and such other of the communicants as he shall then call unto him shall, immediately after the Blessing, reverently eat and drink the same." 1928 was no improvement although it did allow for "apart from that which may be reserved for the Communion of the sick". Roman practice at the time was to deal with the remaining consecrated elements, cleansing the chalice, etc. immediately after the communion and before the

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post-communion prayers, blessing, and dismissal. Hence, TARPing! And what a relief it was that 1966 got it right or, at least, provided the option! (Written personal reminiscences, Mr. Ralph Knowles, Christchurch, 8 July 1990.)

Dickson, *Shall Ritualism and Romanism Capture New Zealand*, p.42, appears to be alluding to this practice when he wrote of "the consumption by the priests during the service of the elements left."

Many Anglo-Catholic "badges", however, have passed into general use: coloured stoles, wafers, mixed chalice, lit candles, saying *Ahmen* rather than *Aymen*, "Epiphany" rather than "Twelfth Day", and also using "Matins", "Evensong", "Eucharist" and "Altar"; receiving communion by crossing right palm over left and so on. Eastward presiding is also no longer a sign of Anglo-Catholic allegiance. Of the "six points" (vestments, lit candles, wafers, mixed chalice, eastwards position and incense) only incense remains to identify Anglo-Catholics!

21. Anglo-Catholics included those who were completely against any Prayer Book revision (Carlyon had signed a petition against Prayer Book revision in England). Then there were some who sought revision in imitation of Rome while others sought to look back to earlier English usages. The former favoured Baroque, formed the "Church Union", produced *Ritual Notes*, and used material from the Roman Mass in English or even in Latin. The Society of Ss. Peter and Paul, founded in 1910, was the most extreme form of this Romanism and produced *The English Missal*, used by some in New Zealand. The latter formed the moderate majority of Anglo-Catholics. They founded the Alcuin club in 1897, looked to English medieval practices, and produced works like Percy Dearmer's *Parson's Handbook* and *The Anglican Missal* both of which were, surprisingly, little used in New Zealand.

Evangelicals included those who feared any Prayer Book revision would play into the hands of Anglo-Catholics, and others who were tiring of "Mangled Matins". In New Zealand this latter type of Evangelical played a major part in Liturgical revision.

22. E.g. Nelson (Evangelical), Waikato and Dunedin (Anglo-Catholic).

23. The first New Zealand use of this phrase that I have been able to find was in the "Parish Notes" of the Rev. A.B. Pywell, Vicar of St Michael and All Angels, Clyde, in August 1927. See Nean Annan, *Treasure from the Gold Fields*, (Central Otago News Print, 1977?), p.33.

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24. "Walter Howard Frere may well have been the first to experiment with a weekly parochial communion at 9.30 a.m. ... in 1890." Peter J. Jagger, *A History of the Parish and People Movement* (Leighton Buzzard, Beds.: The Faith Press, 1978), p.11.

25. Evangelicals objected to the offering theology of the "Offertory" in which the "bread and wine represent our labours and our lives, and that at this point of the service we offer to God symbolically the products of his creation and our toil, to be taken up and transformed by him before being returned to us, sanctified and renewed, in the communion.... Another feature encouraged by this movement was an Offertory Procession, when lay representatives came forward with both the cash contributions of the people and also the bread and wine for the communion." The Rev. Brian R. Carrell, "Revising the N.Z. Liturgy", *Latimer*, March 1981, p.2.

26. Also influential was Charles Gore's book *The Body of Christ* (1901). This was on the syllabus of New Zealand's Board of Theological Studies 1911-13 (Dickson, *Shall Ritualism and Romanism Capture New Zealand?*, pp.30-35.) Later, *The Parish Communion* (1937), edited by A.G. Herbert, was central in the evolution of the Anglican Parish Communion. Finally Henry de Candole and Kenneth Packard had been instrumental in the first Parish and People Conference which met at Queen's College, Birmingham in January 1949.

27. The Parish and People movement is not explicitly mentioned. This term first appeared in *Church and People* (C&P) on November 1959, (p.7).

28. C&P, November 1, 1955, p.13.

29. C&P, November 1958, p.1.

30. C&P, December 1958, p.5. The Rev. Kenneth Scholar became the chaplain to the R.N.Z.A.F. at Wigram, Christchurch, in 1950 (according to the 1957 *Clerical Directory*). It appears, then, that St. Mark's chapel was rearranged about 1952, with the installing of a simple oak table. Scholar writes about this in his delightful autobiography *One Man In His Time* (Christchurch: P.A. Drury, 1985, p.125-126): "I arrived at Wigram towards the end of January 1951,... Immediately I began to organise the chapel.... When it was first opened, the Chapel had a handsome altar in the shape of a magnificent oak table, which was a bit low as it had been designed to double as a communion table suitable for Presbyterians and Methodists. However, as it was never used by anybody except the local resident Anglican Chaplain, the original

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chaplain had ... replaced it with a hideous laminated affair lavishly decorated with Air Force emblems in the most atrocious bad taste, and furnished with a retable to boot. I quickly got the station carpenter to insert a few inches into the legs of the original table ... and reinstated it as a free standing altar with a crucifix hanging on the wall behind."

31. The roots of this movement may be seen in the refounding of the Benedictine Abbey of Solesmes in 1832 by Dom Prosper Guéranger. The movement proper began in 1903 with the publication by Pope Pius X of *Motu Proprio* on church music in which he called for active participation. Later he promoted eucharistic piety and frequent communion. The 1909 Malines Conference with its leader Dom Lambert Beauduin highlighted the liturgy as the focus of Christian life. It heightened the understanding of the Christian community as sharing in the saving work of Christ in the world. The movement spread throughout Europe then to America and finally bore fruit in the work of Vatican II. Anglican liturgical renewal (as well as renewal in other churches) has been very influenced by the publication by Dom Gregory Dix of *The Shape of the Liturgy* in 1945. He emphasised the eucharist as action, and highlighted the fourfold shape of the eucharistic action of taking (offertory), giving thanks (eucharistic prayer), fraction and reception. This view has been modified. The offertory and "taking" are no longer identified by scholars, and the two actions of giving thanks and reception are now underscored, with the other two as minor, preparatory and functional. See Kenneth W. Stevenson, *Gregory Dix - Twenty-Five Years on*, Grove Liturgical Study No.10 (Bramcote Notts.: Grove Books, 1977).

32. Contrary to the rubrics of both 1662 and 1928.

33. Photo, *C&P*, December 1958, p.5.

34. The Lambeth Conference of 1948, had passed resolution 87, "The Conference welcomes the suggestion that a Congress representative of the Anglican Communion be held if possible in June, 1953, and respectfully requests the President to take steps toward this end." *The Lambeth Conference 1948* (London: SPCK, 1948), p.48. This was to be the first since the Pan-Anglican Congress held in London in 1908. Diocesan bishops, with one priest and one layperson were invited. About 650 delegates attended. The Church of the Province of New Zealand was represented by the Bishop of Christchurch (A.K. Warren), the Bishop in Polynesia (L.S. Kempthorne), the Rev. B.H. Pierard, the Very Rev. M.G. Sullivan, Mrs. L.S. Kempthorne, Mrs. A.K. Warren, Mr. L.H. Wilson, Mr. & Mrs. A.M. Woods. Concrete

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illustration was provided of the current state of liturgical revision of holy communion by its daily celebration in accordance with the rites of the American, Scottish, Indian, Canadian, Japanese, West Indian, South African and English Prayer Books. New Zealand celebrated according to its only authorised rite, 1662. See Dawley, ed., *Report of the Anglican Congress 1954*, pp. 231-237, 249.

35. M.H. Shepherd, "Our Anglican understanding of Corporate Worship," and D.C. Dunlop, "The Liturgical Life of the Anglican Communion in the Twentieth Century," Dawley ed., *Report of the Anglican Congress 1954*, pp. 68-84, 84-100.

36. In particular the *Didache*, the *Sacramentary of Serapion* and the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus. Justin Martyr's works had been published in 1551.

37. Shepherd also outlined the two types of liturgy in the Anglican Communion (one based on 1549, the other on 1552/1662), each with its particular approach to the problem of the eucharistic sacrifice. He believed that sooner or later these must be resolved.

38. New Zealand bishops attending Lambeth 1958: R.H. Owen (Archbishop, Wellington), L.S. Kempthorne (Polynesia), W.J. Simkin (Auckland), J.T. Holland (Waikato), A.K. Warren (Christchurch), A.H. Johnston (Dunedin), W.N. Panapa (Suffragan, Aotearoa). *The Lambeth Conference 1958* (London: SPCK, 1958), 1.10.

39. Only the two from Canada and the three from the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon actually came from provinces engaged in eucharistic revision. Many bishops were not on their own Provincial Liturgical Commissions. New Zealand was not represented on the subcommittee. The Chair of the sub-committee was Dr. G.O. Simms, Archbishop of Dublin. The secretary and drafter of the report was Dr. Leslie Brown, Bishop of Uganda. *The Lambeth Conference 1958*, 2.62. See also Colin O. Buchanan ed., *Modern Anglican Liturgies* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 8, 22.

40. Article XXXIV: "Every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish, ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying." This article was obviously first framed against Roman claims.

41. *The Lambeth Conference 1958*, 2.79. Previous Lambeth Conferences had spoken of the 1662 Book as the norm of Anglican doctrine, however the reports presented to

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Lambeth by the English, Indian and Scottish Churches emphasized that "both the 1549 type and the 1662 type of liturgy must be recognized as having an equally authoritative doctrinal position in the Anglican Communion." *Prayer Book Revision in the Church of England*, p.38. This was the published form of the English Liturgical Commission's report for Lambeth 1958 accepted by the English Archbishops. Although the American Church did not produce a report, similar sentiments could be found in its *American Prayer Book Studies IV: The Eucharistic Liturgy* (1953). The Lambeth 1958 use of the plural "Books of Common Prayer," is another indication of this shift in emphasis. Jasper, *The Development of the Anglican Liturgy 1662-1980*, pp.213-215.

42. It is not surprising, because of Leslie Brown's influence in South India and on the Lambeth report, that he could write, "'All these (Lambeth Conference) suggestions had been in fact already carried out in the 'Order for the Lord's Supper or Holy Eucharist' of the Church of South India.'" Jasper, *The Development of the Anglican Liturgy 1662-1980*, p.232 n.18. (See also notes 23 and 24, p. 153.)

43. The Lambeth Resolution 76, *The Lambeth Conference 1958*, 1.47-48.

Archbishop Fisher wrote to the English Liturgical Commission soon after the Conference and it forwarded suggestions to him in January 1959. Yet in September 1959, he wrote to Bishop Stephen Bayne, the Anglican executive officer, asking him to appoint such a Pan Anglican committee, confessing that he had "not discussed this Resolution with anybody" and was "not at all sure what should be done about it" (Jasper, *The Development of the Anglican Liturgy*, p.217). Not until after the Anglican Congress in Toronto in 1963, with a new Archbishop, was the resolution implemented.

Note also that during the Lambeth Conference, Professor J.G. Davies, Gilbert Cope and Donald Tytler, published *An Experimental Liturgy* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1958). It embodied the Conference's proposals, but had less influence on New Zealand than the rite from the Church of South India to which its structure was similar.

44. There had been some concern about the 1928 prayers for the dead at the 1955 Christchurch Synod (*C&P*, 1 November 1955, p.5). This concern was also expressed in some letters in the *C&P* on this issue (*C&P*, 1 July 1955, p.6; 1 September 1955, p.6.)

Two motions at the 1958 General Synod also requested the

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revision of "Special Forms of Service for the Province of New Zealand" to be published by the Archbishop and bishops on the authority of the General Synod. (PGS, 1958, p.62.)

45. The English Liturgical Commission in 1957 made an estimate of the degree to which the 1928 Book was used in England (* indicates its authorisation in 1958 in New Zealand):

Widely Used

- *Seasonal Sentences at Matins and Evensong.
- Proper Psalms for Sundays and Holy Days.
- *Occasional Prayers.
- *Litany.
- *Summary of the Law or the Kyries.
- *Proper Prefaces.
- *Occasional Offices.
- *Confirmation
- *Visitation of the Sick.
- *Compline.
- *Propers for Lesser Feasts and Fasts.

Less Widely Used

- *Alternative Exhortation to "Dearly Beloved Brethren" at Matins and Evensong.
- *Venite.
- *Athanasian Creed.
- Omission of bracketed verses in the Psalms.
- A Devotion before the celebration of Holy Communion.
- *Alternative Epistles and Gospels.
- *Palm Sunday and Good Friday Passion narratives.
- *Prayer for the Church in Holy Communion.
- *Revised Communion Service.

Seldom Used

- *Alternative Confession at Matins and Evensong.
- *Invitatories with the Venite.
- *Psalm 51 and 40 replacing Te Deum.
- Prayer of Humble Access after Comfortable Words.
- The Alternative Eucharistic Prayer.
- *Prime.
- Exhortation for use in Advent and Lent.

(See Jasper, *The Development of Anglican Liturgy 1662-1980*, p.127.) The only parts of the communion rite of 1928 not authorised in New Zealand were two options seldom used in England. (The Gospel responses were also not authorised. See note 46 below.)

In 1958 New Zealand became the only Anglican province to officially authorise most of the English 1928 Prayer Book!

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46. The 1928 responses before and after the Gospel, "Glory be to thee, O Lord", and "Praise be to thee, O Christ", although in *The Shorter Prayer Book*, were surprisingly not authorised in New Zealand. Yet the Ven. W.S. Southward wrote, "I doubt if there is a church in the Province in which no response is made before or after the reading of the Holy Gospel in the Communion Service." He also noted "at present ... such a variety of responses are used". (Ven W.S. Southward, "Omissions From Bill On Book Of Common Prayer Criticised," *C&P*, 1 October 1955, p.9.) Southward also wanted included the anthem "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord: Hosanna in the highest," (which, according to him, often followed the "Prayer of Humble Access" in churches of all shades of "churchmanship" in New Zealand.) The optional omission of the Gloria and Creed on weekdays as well as the Prayer for the Queen would also have seemed reasonable to Southward.

The publication of *The Shorter Prayer Book* in England in 1948 was not without controversy. A small group of bishops, chaired by Dr. Hunter, Bishop of Sheffield, had prepared a combination of the parts of the 1662 and 1928 books generally used. Its lay-out was particularly easy to follow. The bishops' work, however, had been highly confidential, neither Convocations nor the Church Assembly were consulted, and the provocative use of the definite article in the title with the subtitle "according to the use of the Church of England" all led to increasing criticism. Furthermore, there were few copies of 1662 for sale due to paper shortage. As a result, the Lower House of the Canterbury Convocation requested the book to be withdrawn. In the Church Assembly a heated argument ensued over a motion centering on the copyright of 1928. The title and preface were subsequently amended, and the book proved very popular.

47. The following were appointed: the Rev. Canon R.E. Sutton (Convenor), the Rt. Rev. S.G. Caulton, the Ven. S.F.N. Waymouth, and the Rev. A.B. Catley.

48. *PGS*, 1958, p.18.

CHAPTER IV: THE 1966 REVISION

1. Here are some brief notes relating to Anglican involvement in the church union debate in New Zealand. 1958: Committee appointed by Archbishop (motion of General Synod) to hold conversations with the Joint Standing Committee on Church Union (consisting of Associated Churches of Christ, Congregational Union, Methodist Church, Presbyterian Church). First meeting,

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Feb. 1960, Fielding. 1961: General Synod appointed Commission. 1963: Diocesan Committees formed. 1964: General Synod "now seeks to enter into negotiation with the said Joint Standing Committee in the hope that a basis of union may be found." The May 1965 meeting of the Provincial Commission on Prayer Book Revision at St. John's College, unanimously agreed to invite observers from the other four negotiating churches to attend work sessions. May 10, 1967: "An Act of Commitment to seek a basis of union and ways of common action" in St Paul's Cathedral, Wellington, after agreement by General Synod and Diocesan Synods. 1968: Qualified intercommunion.

In the seventies these hopes were not fulfilled. 1972: General Synod received *Plan for Union 1971*. Four diocesan synods in favour, three against. 1974: *Plan for Union* lost in house of clergy of General Synod. 1976: General Synod was unwilling to enter union but reaffirmed the "Act of Commitment". August 1976: Covenant agreement by Joint Commission on Church Union. 1977: dioceses vote about the Covenant and unification of ministries. 1978: General Synod in favour of the Covenant, house of bishops failed to gain the necessary two-thirds majority to unify ministries. 1980: General Synod recognises Anglican failure in church union.

2. Parts of the Anglican Communion had had the following Prayer Book revisions:

Scotland	1637, 1764, 1929.
U.S.A.	1790, 1892, 1928.
South Africa	1954.
Ceylon	1938.
Bombay	1923, 1943, 1948, 1951.
India	1955, 1960.
Japan	1953, 1959.
Canada	1918, 1959.
Korea	1958.
Ireland	1926.
West Indies	1959.

The continuing colonial influence of Britain on the Anglican Church in New Zealand in the early sixties can be seen in that only one diocesan bishop was New Zealand born, all the rest (except an Australian) were British. An examination of the *Church and People* during this period highlights the "Englishness" of this church.

3. "There was never any thing by the wit of man so well devised, or so sure established, which in the continuance of time hath not been corrupted." Preface of the first and second Prayer Book. (In 1662 called "Concerning the Service of the Church.")

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4. *Year Book of the Diocese of Auckland 1962*, p.26. To this last statement, the Bishop in Polynesia, the Right Rev. J.C. Vockler, responded passionately that what was needed was a Provincial Prayer Book, not just a New Zealand one, and that within the Province there were more than two races. He emphasized particularly the two dioceses of Melanesia and Polynesia where the 1662 was a particular stumbling block. (*C&P*, September 1962, p.5.)

5. *Waikato Year Book for the Year 1962*, p.26. This commission consisted of Archdeacons K. Liggett, J.D. Hogg, R.R. Clark, the Rev. R.C. Clements, Messrs. G.L. Nanson, D. Stubbs, and M.B. Tait. (See also *C&P*, August 1962, p.5.)

6. The 1963 Waikato Synod instructed its representatives to move the following motion at General Synod:

That this Synod believing that there is an urgent need for our Prayer Book to be revised to suit modern needs, respectfully requests the Archbishop, in consultation with the other Diocesan Bishops, to appoint a New Zealand Prayer Book Commission and to give it the following terms of reference:

1. To produce a draft of a New Zealand Prayer Book.

2. To aid in this task, to study similar work done in other parts of the Anglican Communion and beyond, and to receive and consider suggestions from within the Church of the Province.

3. To issue during the period of their work, trial revised services or parts of services, to be used experimentally, with the approval of the Bishops, so that their value may be assessed by clergy and laity alike. *Waikato Year Book for the Year 1963*, p.39. (See also *C&P*, August 1963, p.6.)

7. *C&P*, October 1963, p.3.

8. That this Synod (a) Welcomes the decision of the Waikato Synod to press for the appointment of a New Zealand Prayer Book Commission and commends this proposal. (b) that this Synod requests its representatives in General Synod to move that authority be given to the diocesan bishops of the province to permit controlled experimentation in the use of rites which are in accord with the doctrines of the Church of the Province of New Zealand. (*C&P*, December 1963, p.3.)

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The Inter Diocesan Anglican Youth Conference also discussed liturgical revision, and wrote a letter making representations including that the priest face the congregation, encouraging modern music, that the congregation fill the front seats first and that dress be less formal (e.g. women not have to wear hats!). Ultimately, young people would be surprised at the revolution to come, and many were uncomfortable with it including the modern language. (Letter from Miss Christine Holley, Dunedin, to Canon Millar, 19 January 1964, on behalf of Inter-Diocesan Anglican Youth Conference. Provincial Archives, Manuscript, Provincial Commission on Prayer Book Revision (PA MS PCPBR), 2/1,14.)

9. This Advisory Committee was proposed in Resolution 76 of Lambeth 1958. *The Lambeth Conference 1958*, 1.47-48.

10. The New Zealand consultants on this list were the Right Rev. J.T. Holland (Waikato), the Right Rev. A.H. Johnston (Dunedin), and the Ven. S.F.N. Waymouth (Puketapu, Hawke's Bay). ("Report of Liturgical Consultation Held at Toronto August 23-25, 1963," PA MS PCPBR 2/1,14.)

From the Toronto Consultation, the following were recommended by Bishop Dean (successor of Bishop Bayne as Executive Officer of "The Advisory Council on Missionary Strategy") as contacts to New Zealand: Archbishop Brown, Bishop Leslie Newbigin (was a Bishop of the Church of South India, now on the World Council of Churches), Dr. Massey H. Shepherd and Dr. Frand Cellier of U.S.A. and Dr. Ramsay Armitage of Canada. (Letter from the Right Rev. Ralph S. Dean, London, to Monteith, 17 November 1964, PA MS PCPBR 2/1,14.)

11. Buchanan, *Modern Anglican Liturgies*, p.23. The delegates from New Zealand to the Anglican Congress in Toronto August 13-23, 1963, included seven bishops, eight priests and ten lay persons. The Rev. E.R. Fairweather ed., *Anglican Congress 1963* (Editorial Committee Anglican Congress, 1963), pp.286-287.

12. The sub-committee consisted of Archbishop Brown of Uganda as well as Archbishop Clarke of Canada, Bishop Kenneth Sansbury of Singapore and Professor Massey Shepherd of U.S.A. (Buchanan, *Modern Anglican Liturgies*, p.24.)

13. *PGS*, 1964, p.65. This motion was also passed:
That General Synod recognises the peculiar liturgical problems of the Dioceses of Melanesia and Polynesia and requests the

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Bishops of the two Dioceses in consultation with their respective Synods and the Bishops of the Province, to attempt to discover what liturgical experiments may be appropriate to the particular needs of the Island peoples of the Pacific, and looks forward to receiving, from time to time at subsequent sessions of General Synod, for consideration in general and in relation to the Constitution, the conclusions so arrived at. (PGS, 1964, p.51 & 52. Made a Standing Resolution of General Synod in 1966.)

14. Some saw it as inappropriate, at the commencement of church union negotiations, to embark on a new Anglican Prayer Book (the Methodist Church had in fact a similar liturgical commission which was enthusiastic about reaching similar conclusions to the Northern Group of the PCPBR). Most saw revision as long overdue with each of the thirteen priests who used a "family service" (a simplified Matins) noting that no two forms were the same. 1662 was seen as impossible to use now, with formal Matins nonexistent in parishes. The solution to the multiplicity of illegal variants was the production of a better service. Discussions about the eucharist questioned the value of having a Confession (absent in the Early Church and with the Orthodox), examined the possibility of restoring the Kiss of Peace and so on. ("Report from the Seminars on Prayer Book Revision held during the Theological Colloquium at St John's College August 1964 Drawn up by the Rev. R.H. Easton," PA MS PCPBR 2/1,14.)

15. *The New Zealand Theological Review*, Vol. 1 pp. 33-38.

16. From 16 August 1964, parts of the Roman Catholic mass began to be celebrated in English rather than Latin. This rite used contemporary English, with the New Zealand bishops advising clergy to install sound systems if necessary. Unlike overseas, where individual bishops might decide for themselves how much vernacular might be authorised in their particular diocese, in New Zealand all the bishops agreed to use as much as Rome had authorised. The Creed, Gloria and Kyries came from an English adaptation of Belgian translations, while the Introits, Graduals, Post-Communions etc. were produced by an English committee. The readings were to be from the translations of Ronald Knox. Whereas the Preparation of the Mass was in Latin, everything from then to the Latin "Orate fratres" ("Pray Brethren") at the Offertory was in English. The Preface, Ter-Sanctus and Benedictus were in English. This was followed by the rest of the eucharistic prayer inaudibly in Latin. After this (except for the

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priest's "Lord I am not worthy") all was in English until the Latin blessing and "Last Gospel" (John 1:1-14a). (C&P, September 1964, p.14.)

17. Two who declined were Dr. Margaret Dalziel and Mr. S.R. Cuming, decreasing the hoped for lay representation. Mrs. G.L. Glasgow and Mr. J. de la Bere were two lay persons who joined the Commission from July 1965. The Rev. E.B. Algar became the secretary. In January 1965, Archdeacon Kirkham resigned and was replaced by Canon B.J. Machell. Archdeacon Liggett resigned towards the middle of the year and was replaced by the Rev. G.S. Baker. ("Provincial Commission on Prayer Book Revision Secretary's report, May 1965," PA MS PCPBR 2/2,15.)

Other members added to the Commission were the Rev. F.C. Harrison, the Rev. B. R. Carrell, and Mr. D.M. Wylie. (See further list pp.76-77)

18. Eucharistic revision had more often than not occurred in provinces with monochromatic "churchmanship". Canada, however, was seen to have similarities with New Zealand with a significant Evangelical component. Earlier, experimentation in Canada from 1915 had resulted in authorisation of a revision of 1662 in 1921-2 (with the eucharist little changed). In 1943 the Canadian General Synod embarked on a new revision culminating in a new book in 1959.

19. The deliberations of the Second Vatican Council (11 October 1962 to 8 December 1965) on worship were promulgated in its first document, the "Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy", on 4 December 1963. Walter M. Abbot ed., *The Documents of Vatican II* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1966), pp.137-178.

I have found no reference to the otherwise influential "Report on Worship" of the Fourth World Conference on Faith and Order which met at Montreal just before the Toronto Congress. It was agreed on by representatives of the two hundred member churches. Much of this report agrees with other documents mentioned: there should be reading and preaching of the Word, prayer for the Church and the World, the four-fold shape of the ministry of the sacrament, frequency of celebration, active involvement of the laity, modern language and imagery.

20. Northern: Auckland-Waikato; Central: Waiapu-Wellington-Nelson; Southern: Christchurch-Dunedin. Letter from the Rev. E.B. Algar to the Editor of the Church and People 14 October 1964, PA MS PCPBR 2/1,14.

21. By 1965 Wellington, Christchurch and Waikato had also

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formed Diocesan Liturgical Committees of equal numbers of clergy and laity each with a contact person with the PCPBR.

22. For the text of the eucharistic prayer of 64/1 see pp. 84-85.

23. The Church of South India, inaugurated on 27 September 1948, was a union of Anglicans, Congregationalists, Methodists and Presbyterians. Work began in February 1949 to produce a new communion rite. Without liturgists of international repute, with little finance, and widely scattered membership, the rite produced nonetheless immediately caught international ecumenical attention. Bishop Garrett at a Faith and Order meeting in preparation for the World Conference at Lund celebrated the eucharist using the as-yet-unpublished rite. It was no exaggeration to claim "that a new star has arisen in the realm of liturgy." (Jasper, *The Development of the Anglican Liturgy 1662-1980*, p.202.) From an Anglican perspective, it presented a new solution to the 1549/1552 dilemma. Furthermore the congregation was significantly more involved. There was a new element of flexibility. A choice not only of texts but also of their positioning was for the first time introduced (e.g. The Gloria and Lord's Prayer could be either in its 1549 or 1552 position). Finally, the Synaxis could stand alone as a whole service of the Word. All this showed a new level of involvement of Evangelicals in a movement that had been dominated by Catholic concerns. (Slight revisions occurred in 1952, 1954, 1962 and 1972.)

24. Leslie Brown left South India and became Bishop (1952) and later Archbishop (1961) of Uganda. In April 1961 the Archbishops of the five very diverse African provinces, meeting to inaugurate Uganda as a new province, initiated the attempt to produce an eucharistic rite for Africa. Archbishop Brown was to be the coordinator. After receiving responses from many in Africa to his questionnaire, he wrote a draft which was forwarded for comment to Donald Coggan, E.C. Ratcliff, A.H. Couratin and C.W.J. Bowles, of the English Liturgical Commission. The first circulated draft closely resembled the rite of the Church of South India and the principles of the 1958 Lambeth report were consciously followed. A copy of this draft was sent by Stephen Bayne, on his own initiative, to all Metropolitans (including New Zealand's). On 6 September 1962, Brown produced a second draft. A third draft preceded the conference from 30 April to 3 May 1963 in Kampala after the All Africa Church Conference there. At this conference a "first official draft" resulted from Brown's third draft and South Africa's revision of his first two. Brown's "second

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official draft" of 6 July 1963, became the one considered at Toronto (mentioned above p. 39) after which it was amended slightly (September 1963). Although with minor emendations it was finally authorised in Central Africa, South Africa and Uganda, it tended to become one more text among the many rather than a uniting rite. It was not culturally African and yet its African title rebuffed European interest. It was adapted for experimental use in Australia and was the first text to follow the recommendations of Lambeth 1958. It was, as will be seen, the foundation of the New Zealand revision of 1966. (Structure of *A Liturgy for Africa*, p. 82.)

25. Letter from the Rt. Rev. Ralph S. Dean to "Primates, Metropolitans, and Liturgical Consultants, The Anglican Communion," enclosing *A Liturgy for Africa*, "The structure and contents of the Eucharistic Liturgy," and "Draft Liturgy for the South Pacific Anglican Council", 11 March 1965, PA MS PCPBR 2/1,14.

The convener, G.R. Monteith, now Assistant Bishop of Auckland, was elected chairman of the Commission, with his Northern Group forming the "executive."

26. Contact with the Church of England Liturgical Commission had been taken up from September, 1964. New Zealand's use of "satisfaction" in the eucharistic prayer as well as the inclusion of self-offering at the end of the prayer and before communion were also questioned by the English Commission. (Letter from the Rev. Dr. R.C.D. Jasper, London, to Mr. Algar, 29 April 1965, PA MS PCPBR 2/1,14.)

27. by the South Pacific Liturgical Commission of the South Pacific Anglican Council. This Council or Conference consisted of the Dioceses of Melanesia, Polynesia, New Guinea, Carpenteria and the Torres Strait Mission.

28. The Rev. Dr. G.G. Willis and Mr. J.C.W. De la Bere in their correspondence both recommend Jungman's idea of producing an unchangeable preface celebrating the great mysteries of the faith. See J.A. Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1959) p.49. Willis pointed to *A Liturgy for Africa*, while de la Bere produced a conflation from the 65/1 Proper Prefaces. Letter from the Rev. Dr. G.G. Willis (Secretary to the Church of England Liturgical Commission), London, to Mr. Algar 17 September 1964, PA MS PCPBR 2/1,14. "Some Comments on a Revised Eucharistic Liturgy May 1965" (by De la Bere) PA MS PCPBR 2/2,15. The Rev. R.H. Easton saw in "A Draft Liturgy for the South Pacific Anglican Council" a way forward through the Catholic-Evangelical

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deadlock that the drafts of the Northern Group was producing. (Personal interview with the Rev. R.H. Easton, Manauku, 25 August 1990.)

29. All were in agreement that the Old Testament needed to be read more, but there was some support for retaining two readings and replacing some Epistle readings. The lectionary of the Church of South India (C.S.I.) was explored. It was based on themes. There was a period when the Commission hoped the Church of England would produce a new series which it could use. The one year cycle finally presented to 1966 General Synod shows a marked dependence on C.S.I. and had three readings for each Sunday, a theme sentence, but no Psalm. The 1966 rubrics have a psalm, canticle or hymn between readings and "The Old Testament Lesson or the Epistle may be omitted." (PA MS PCPBR 2/3,7.)

30. There had been a meeting of the whole Commission on 9 August 1965, in the Board Room of Church House, Wellington. Here, a large packet from the Church of England Liturgical Commission included their draft eucharist and also the information that there was a possibility of ecumenically agreed texts being produced in English for the Creed, Gloria etc. Canon Cameron was hoping to have a Maori translation of the New Zealand rite prepared for the 1966 General Synod. It was at this meeting that it was decided to address God as "you". The most difficult task, and the last part of the modernising of the material, was the producing of a modern form of the Lord's Prayer. (Personal interview with the Rev. R.H. Easton, Manauku, 25 August 1990.)

31. The New Zealand Commission had contact with England's through the former secretary, the Rev. E.B. Algar, who was now in England. He had met Dr. Jasper, the chairman of the English Commission, and was invited to become the official observer on the Commission on behalf of the New Zealand Church. Archbishop Norman Lesser approved of this, and this launched a fruitful relationship between the two commissions. The new PCPBR secretary was the Rev. J.J. Shaw. The English Commission was working differently to New Zealand's. England's was first establishing principles, then drafting texts with little reference to available material. This resulted in the creation of a new Anglican eucharistic family based on English Series 2.

32. This preface was introduced by the Rt. Rev. G.R. Monteith. (Personal interview with the Rev. R.H. Easton, Manauku, 25 August 1990.)

33. Such permission relates to episcopal *jus liturgicum*

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(see note 5 p.36) and the clerical agreement to use only authorised services for public prayer. The use of the holy communion rite from the Canadian Prayer Book (1959), at the first residential conference of the PCPBR (May 1965), for example, could be seen as not falling under "public prayer." H.M.'s regular column in the *C&P* (5 August 1966, p.12) sharply criticised the Bishops of Wellington and Auckland for using the as-yet-not-authorised service at the sitting of their Diocesan Synods. The Right Rev. H.W. Baines (*C&P*, 19 August 1966, p.13) responded that Vicars of the Wellington diocese had been given authority to celebrate holy communion according to the proposed new rite on one occasion only with "an educative intention" with their vestries, to enable them to decide whether to apply for experimental use. The Bishop of Auckland (*C&P*, 2 September 1966, p.12) argued "the Synod Holy Communion is not...a public act of worship and it was on these grounds that I decided to use the revised Liturgy." H.M. was dissatisfied with this response (*C&P*, 30 September 1966, p.10), however the issue ceased here, unlike in Canada where a similar debate followed the publication of *The Book of Alternative Services* (1985) led to secular court cases involving, among other things, the legality of marriages contracted using it.

34. Letter from Monteith, Auckland, to I.E. Fitchett, 1 March 1966, PA MS PCPBR 2/3,7.

The 1966 amendment to the Church of England Empowering Act of 1928 did not authorise any change of doctrine (Clause 3). Its four objects were

- 1) General Synod now met every two years, not every three as the 1928 Act has it (Section 4).
- 2) That missionary representatives might take part in debates under the Act (Clause 2 D).
- 3) To authorise approval of different forms of service for use in different parts of the Province (Clause 3).
- 4) To empower General Synod to authorise the experimental use of a form of service approved by General Synod and subsequently a majority of Diocesan Synods (Clause 5).

35. The first comment was from Ven. K. Liggett, who had earlier resigned from the Commission due to work load. The second was made by Ven. S.F.N. Waymouth, one of the "consultants" recognised by the Toronto consultation, and a member of the earlier Commission on Liturgical Questions. (See *C&P*, May 1966, p.5.)

36. For a parish to use it, the vicar and vestry needed to apply to the diocesan bishop. They needed to use it regularly but not exclusively, and for a minimum of twelve months.

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37. On 10 November 1965, the Commission had already received a petition from students at St. John's College against prayer on behalf of the dead. They wanted a eucharistic rite that would be usable by all. The issue was much debated in the Commission and it was to continue to come up.

38. The Rev. Graham S. Lamont (Vicar of St. Martins and St. Andrews, Spreydon-Hoon Hay) queried this use of Parliament. He saw the revision as attempting to settle long disputed points of sacramental theology. These included the placing of the "Comfortable words" before rather than after absolution, placing the oblation prior to communion, and changing the words of invitation and administration to stress a real objective presence of Christ in the elements. The Commission responded that it had no intention of altering the doctrine of holy communion enshrined in *The Book of Common Prayer*, and that in fact the Parliamentary amendment did not allow for that and was not formulated for that purpose. (Letter from the Rev. G.S. Lamont, Christchurch, to the Ven. W.M. Davies 29 June 1966. Letter from the Ven W.M. Davies, Christchurch, to Monteith, 19 July 1966. Letter from Monteith, Auckland, to Davies 21 July 1966. Letter from Fitchet, Nelson, to Monteith 2 August 1966, PA MS PCPBR 2/3,7.)

Mr. D.A. Lake (Auckland) argued that the form of supplementary consecration departed from the 1662 doctrine. Many felt new services should express the old doctrines and hence continue to be acceptable to all. They should not become a pawn in party politics. (*C&P*, September 2 1966, p.12, and *C&P*, September 30 1966, p.11.)

39. The Dunedin Diocesan Synod unanimously passed a motion asking the Liturgical Commission to give urgency to providing alternative forms of supplementary consecration which might be used before the end of the experimental period. Diocese of Dunedin, *Proceedings of Synod*, 1966, p.28. (See also note 9 p.159.)

40. Telegram Bishop Baines, Wellington, to Bishop Monteith, 29 September 1966, PA MS PCPBR 2/3,7.

CHAPTER V: EUCHARISTIC DEVELOPMENTS 1966 TO 1970

1. "Evaluation of the New Zealand Liturgy" (undated) PA MS PCPBR 3/6,59.

2. For an outline of the 1966 revision see p.83. For the development of its eucharistic prayer see pp.84-91.

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3. See the Rev. Richard H. Easton, "The Language of the Liturgy" *C&P*, 18 October 1968, pp.6-7. A letter from Monteith, Auckland, to the Archbishop 30 June 1966 suggests Dr. Catley, the St John's lecturer in liturgics, join the Commission to add valuable liturgical expertise, the Archbishop's response, 7 July 1966, requires a member to retire, which did not occur. PA MS PCPBR 2/3,7.

4. One piece of drafting original to New Zealand which caught the international eye was the responsive third form of intercession. It was slightly adapted for the third form of intercession in the 1967 experimental American rite. See Colin O. Buchanan ed., *Further Anglican Liturgies* (Bramcote Notts.: Grove Books, 1975), p.159. It has continued little changed into the American *The Book of Common Prayer* (1979), p.387. Its structure has the leader giving the petition and the congregation providing the reason for it. This structure was abandoned in New Zealand in the 1984 revision (p.37-38). (See also Hatchett, *Commentary on the American Prayer Book*, p.405-406).

5. The only mention of a hymn is optionally between readings. Other positions are obviously at the discretion of the worship leader.

6. The Rev. Richard H. Easton, "The Language of the Liturgy" *C&P*, 18 October 1968, pp.6-7. Also letter from Monteith, Auckland, to Messrs. A.H. & A.W. Reed Ltd. 18 October 1967, PA MS PCPBR 2/3,7. This rumour could have originated through an advertising sheet from A.H. & A.W. Reed Ltd., on Peter Tanton's *Life in Christ* which stated that the experimental Liturgy would have only minor alterations in the final revision "mainly affecting the Collects."

7. See in particular Clark and Goodall eds., *Worship for Today*, p.15, where both these points are made, and where they write "in the Experimental Service both on pages 12 and 14, prayer is offered for **all** who have 'departed this life'." Interestingly, little notice was taken, in New Zealand, of the Maori attitude to the departed. The debate took identical lines as if it was occurring in England!

8. Dissapointment at the loss of a form of the commandments was expressed by the 1967 Conference of the Evangelical Churchmen's Fellowship. This forwarded a four page response to the experimental Liturgy approving of the use of modern language and the richer use of biblical material but unanimously objecting to prayers for the dead as well as the loss of the centrality of the cross ("we believe the Commission has allowed the cross to

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become merely another one of the aspects of Christ's saving work rather than its crown and quintessence"). They felt there had been the "introduction of irrelevancies into the service" ("These include invocation of the Holy Spirit, Benedictus, the final paragraph of the Eucharistic Prayer as it stands, and Agnus Dei"). They disapproved of the rubric for communion of the the sick and the omission of the ten commandments. They wanted changes in "the communion" (that South India's Prayer of Humble Access be mandatory, the words "the sacrament" be inserted before "the body and blood" in the invitation, and the words of administration conform more to 1662). They questioned the principle of options in common prayer, and the inadequate cover of the second coming and the missionary task in the themes. This document was accompanied by a letter from the Rev. L.E. Pfankuch, Christchurch, Chairman New Zealand Evangelical Churchmen's Fellowship Exec., to Monteith, 10 November 1967, PA MS PCPBR 2/3,7.

9. 1966 authorised:

If insufficient bread and wine has been consecrated for the Communion, the Priest shall proceed in the following manner:

FORM OF SUPPLEMENTARY CONSECRATION

The Priest shall take as much bread or wine as is needed and say:

We take this bread* and declare it also + consecrated for this holy use that it may be to us the Body of † our Lord Jesus Christ, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.

*or wine, or bread and wine.

+manual act.

†or Blood, or Body and Blood.

(The "manual act" was unspecified.)

The Dunedin Synod of 1966 passed unanimously "That this Synod expresses its strong doubts as to the validity of the form of Supplementary Consecration in the experimental Liturgy, and asks the Provincial Liturgical Commission to consider urgently the forms provided in the South India rite with a view to their being authorised by bishops for immediate use in the Province." Letter from the Right Rev. Allen Johnston, Dunedin, to Monteith 14 October 1966, PA MS PCPBR 2/3,7. Also, Diocese of Dunedin, *Proceedings of Synod*, 1966, p.28.

10. Those consulted were Professor Kilpatrick, Dr. G.G. Willis, Dr. Massey H. Shepherd, Professor Davies, Canon R.C.D. Jasper, and Professor Ratcliffe. The first three were happy or relatively happy with New Zealand's

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solution, Jasper was not, Davies wished an abbreviated eucharistic prayer with the full institution account and Ratcliffe did not reply. Responses reproduced for the Commission PA MS PCPBR 2/3,7.

New Zealand's solution was much influenced by Fr. Bonnell Spencer's *A Functional Liturgy*, which advocated that, while the eucharist is still in progress, it is possible to indicate additional elements to be included in its act of consecration. The Roman way of increasing eucharistic elements up until the twelfth century was to add wine to consecrated wine, or add a consecrated host to wine, or for the host, intinct it (less necessary as bread can be fractured). Notes from *A Functional Liturgy* PA MS PCPBR 2/3,7.

11. General Synod 1968 authorised that one could either use the 1966 words of institution or "Obeying the command of our Lord Jesus Christ, we take this **bread** and pray that it also be set apart for this holy use, so that it may be to us the **Body** of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen." (See *PGS*, 1968, pp. 65-66 and 227-228.) The authorisation of the words of institution continued the belief that these words consecrated.

12. The Ven. P. Kirkham declared twice at the first meeting of the PCPBR that whatever revision occurred, there must be no oblation before communion. (From a personal interview of the Rev. R.H. Easton, Manauku, 25 August 1990.)

All these issues, as well as the Benedictus, the Agnus Dei and others are covered in the booklet *Worship for Today*, edited by Clark and Goodall. (See also note 8 p.158.)

13. Minutes of PCPBR meeting Church House, Board Room, Wellington, 15 June 1966, PA MS PCPBR 1/1,1.

14. Minutes of PCPBR meeting Church House, Board Room, Wellington, 8 August 1966, PA MS PCPBR 1/1,1.

15. Paul Reeves *Life is Liturgy*, 28 pages. No publisher and no publication date is given.

16. Letter from Brian Carrell, Dunedin, to Monteith 17 October 1966, PA MS PCPBR 2/3,7.

It is worth mentioning that Reeves noted the peculiarity of some of the new Collects, many of which were now addressed to the Son as opposed to the tradition which addressed the Father, through the Son in the Holy Spirit. Reeves writes on page 21, "The Collects are short ... and

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not more than one quarter of them are addressed to God the Father as has been the usual custom. Now these are not tremendous criticisms." In fact of the sixty nine Collects, 19 are addressed to the Son, one to the Spirit, two to the three persons of the Trinity, and the rest to "God", the "Father", or "Lord". However Reeves' point is still valid. The Collects addressed to the Son are a New Zealand peculiarity. Over the years their number was to increase. Although some noted this change, it was little discussed at large and would probably have been regarded as a purist's question. This trend would continue even more extensively into the new Prayer Book, while other provinces continued with the tradition.

Reeves also mentions the option in "the Offertory" of "a prayer asking God the Holy Spirit to bless the worshipers and the gifts they offer. If this prayer had been within the framework of the Eucharistic Prayer it would be known as an epiclesis." (p.23) This New Zealand anomaly, derived from the Roman (and Sarum) rite, was to continue until the 1984 revision when a fuller epiclesis would be placed in the eucharistic prayer.

The Commission itself was quite clear that it "has not put an Epiclesis in the Consecration prayer, this prayer ("Come Holy Spirit" at the Offertory) testifies to the place of the Holy Spirit in the whole Eucharistic action." It did not regard "Come Holy Spirit" as an epiclesis, but "almost equivalent to a "Secret Collect." From "Detailed Notes on the revised Eucharistic Liturgy (Sept. 1965)" PA MS PCPBR 3/12,26.

17. The Latimer Foundation was set up in Christchurch in 1959 to promote Biblical scholarship among Anglicans. *Worship for Today* was subsidised by the Evangelical Churchmen's Fellowship. It has no publication date, but reviews of it appear in *Latimer*, August 1967.

18. The experimental Liturgy had carefully distinguished between "priest" and "minister." "Priest" was used particularly from the offertory, where the one leading needed to be a presbyter, "minister" was used particularly for the first part of the service where the leader could be a priest, deacon or lay person. This part of the service had been written to be able to stand alone and be used without the presence of a priest. Misunderstanding this distinction led to the Rev. Phillip Baker's retort, "Do Mr Goodall and Mr Clark regard priests (or presbyters) as the only ministers? Such arrogance!" (*Latimer*, August 1967, p.13). In retrospect, this again underlines that there was little communication of the Commission's intentions.

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19. Tanton, Peter *Life in Christ* (Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1967).

20. "The Official Report" and "Evaluation of the New Zealand Liturgy" PA MS PCPBR 3/6,59. (See also pp.96-99) Whatever may be said about the value of having undertaken such a massive opinion poll, it engendered much goodwill towards the Commission. Many remember "being consulted." Some, however, were frustrated no second questionnaire appeared.

21. General Synod 1968

- a) altered the words of the Supplementary Consecration.
- b) approved the extension of experimentation for a further 2 years.
- c) Parishes which had not to date used the new Liturgy may do so with the Bishop's permission.
- d) Now possible for the diocesan bishop to permit (in select parishes) certain changes to the Liturgy after consultation with the Commission.
- e) approved an educational programme as part of the revision of the Prayer Book. (PGS, 1968, pp. 66-68).

General Synod also carried the motion

That the Commission on the Revision of the Prayer Book be instructed to:-

- (i) To endeavour to find an agreed text for the Lord's Prayer, Nicene Creed, and the Gloria in Excelsis in consultation with Negotiating Churches and the Roman Catholic Church in New Zealand;
- (ii) To pay attention to and give consideration to the proposed American Revision for the Prayer for the Church;
- (iii) To consider the restoration of a Blessing to the Service at least as optional;
- (iv) To reconsider as soon as possible making provision, at least as optional for seasonal Proper Prefaces." (PGS, 1968, p.67)

The Commission was also working on an alternative Sunday service, a clerical breviary, lay daily worship, family prayers, adult initiation, a liturgy for the sick, a lectionary, an education programme, meditations, and a Calendar as well as revision of the Liturgy including the Collects. By March 1967 the Maori translation of the experimental Liturgy was complete and Institute Press, Auckland, printed 3,000 copies. By April 1967 Millar had completed a second set of lessons giving the possibility of a two year series. Letter from M. Cameron, Glen Innes, to J.J. Shaw 11 March 1967, PA MS PCPBR 2/5,4.

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22. Minutes 18-20 August 1969, PA MS PCPBR 1/2,13 and 1/1,1.

23. It was at this meeting that the revision of "in remembrance of me" altered to "to remember me" was discussed and it was decided to retain the latter. Some priests now break the bread during the institution narrative at the words "he broke it" and then "reunite" it at the words "do this to remember me," stressing it as "to re-member me." This interpretation has also been expounded by some as an explanation that what is happening in the eucharist is a re-membering of Christ. It will be of interest whether this theologically novel interpretation without etymological foundations will gain any ground in the future in New Zealand.

From our present vantage point, where Anglican Communion rites now almost universally use "in remembrance of me," it may appear that New Zealand was going out on a limb. In fact the appropriate translation of the Greek was much in dispute as may be observed by examining contemporary rites: e.g. "as a memorial of me" or "to recall me" (The Church of England Liturgical Commission, *Modern Liturgical Texts* (London: SPCK, 1968), p.48), "as a memorial of me" (Wales 1972 in Buchanan *Further Anglican Liturgies*, p.86), "for the remembrance of me" (Canada 1974, U.S.A. 1970, Buchanan, *Further Anglican Liturgies*, p.116, p.146.)

At this meeting also the response to "The Lord be with you" was altered from "And with you also" to "The Lord bless you." (Minutes 29 January- 1 February 1970, PA MS PCPBR 1/1,1.) This was first suggested by the Rev. M.E. Basden, C&P, 16 December 1966, p.11.

24. Born in April 1969, the International Consultation on English Texts (ICET) comprised the Advisory Committee of the Roman Catholic International Committee on English in the Liturgy (ICEL), members of the British ecumenical Joint Liturgical Group (JLG), Lutheran and Anglican observers to the Vatican's Concilium Liturgicum, Welsh and Irish Anglican observers to the Church of England's Liturgical Commission, and representatives of the American ecumenical Consultation on Common Texts (CCT). *Prayers We Have In Common* agreed on the Lord's Prayer, the Nicene and Apostle's Creeds, the Gloria, the Sanctus and Benedictus, and the Gloria Patri. The Sursum Corda, Agnus Dei and Te Deum were printed but not definitive. ICET ceased to function in 1974. (See Jasper, *The Development of the Anglican Liturgy 1662-1980*, pp.288-295.)

25. The experimental Liturgy continued to be used for

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many years in Fiji having been translated into Fijian, Hindi and Tongan. It was used with the 1970 seasonal prefaces and the form of supplementary consecration and blessing. (Buchanan, *Further Anglican Liturgies*, p.378 n.4.)

26. Aside from the Collects, the translation of the Lord's Prayer continued to be a difficulty in textual revision. There was much criticism of the second line ("holy be your Name"), and of the ninth ("Do not bring us to the test").

27. The Caxton Press produced an edition with the Collects and readings (30c) and one without (15c), a limited gift edition of the former (\$1.25) and an Altar edition (\$1.50). The Liturgy had two colours modeled on the Australian new Liturgy.

28. This diglot edition of the 1970 Liturgy was published in 1977 (see p.61). Note the printing in sense lines and the simplified "manual acts".

29. Although the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* is enshrined in Clause 1 of the Constitution as a fundamental provision explaining "the Doctrine and Sacraments of CHRIST," the Anglican Church is not bound to use these services and in fact "A Communion" and "The Churching of Women" from the 1662 Book ceased to be authorised when the new Prayer Book was approved.

CHAPTER VI: EUCHARISTIC DEVELOPMENTS 1970 TO 1989

1. Michael King, *After the War - New Zealand Since 1945* (Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton, 1988), p.135.

2. Unlike in other Provinces, there was no rotation of membership in the PCPBR. In Canada, for example, except for the three Archiepiscopal appointments (a theologian, musician and a liturgist), the membership was rotated every three years. In New Zealand this meant, on the one hand, growing expertise was not lost, but on the other hand there were also disadvantages, particularly in the late 1970's and early 1980's there was some dissatisfaction by the church in general at the presence of retired clergy on the PCPBR. (Personal interview the Right Rev. A. Pyatt, Auckland, 17 August 1990.) Once the General Synod began to move in the direction of producing a Prayer Book, the then Chairman was concerned not to lose any experienced members until the task was completed. (Personal interview with the Rev. R. Newman, Auckland, 22 August 1990.)

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3. *Diologue* 4 (Wellington diocesan paper), 30 September 1978, p.3.

4. The Joint Commission on Church Union had felt unhappy about some of the phrases used at the 1978 General Synod in relation to the Unification of Ministries, and so the special Session of General Synod was called to rework this legislation as well as the issue of the admission of children to holy communion before confirmation.

5. *PGS*, 1970, pp.89-90; 1970, 79-80; 1984, p.69; 1976, pp.45-46, reports pp.45-47; 1978, pp.13-14, 47; 1980, pp.16, 67, 78, reports pp.69-72.

6. At the 1990 General Synod, new guidelines were passed which allowed all to receive communion from their baptism, regardless of age or instruction.

7. Figures from Brian Davis, "New Zealand Initiation Experience," Colin Buchanan, ed., *Nurturing Children in Communion: Essays from the Boston Consultation*, Grove Liturgical Study No.44 (Bramcote, Notts.: Grove Books, 1985), p.27.

8. Kilian McDonnell, ed., *Presence Power Praise - Documents on the Charismatic Renewal* (Collegeville Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1980), Vol II, p.1.

9. Personal correspondence from the Rev. Dr. Don Battley, Wanganui, 8 August 1990.

10. There had been a motion passed at General Synod in 1974, "That the Prayer Book Commission be asked to consider printing the New Zealand Liturgy 1970 in diglot form." *PGS*, 1974, p.60.

Such a diglot is unusual in the Anglican Communion, possibly the only other similar work is produced in Wales.

11. Letter from the Rev. Carole Graham, Christchurch, as secretary of the Council for Women's Ministry in the Church, to the Rev. R. Newman, 13 July 1977. Also letter from C. Cramphorn, secretary of Parish Council, All Saints (Hataitai), to the Rev. R. Newman, 8 August 1977, to notify the Commission of the recent resolution to amend "men" in services. Letter from the Rev. R. Newman, Auckland, to the Rev. C. Graham, 24 August 1977: "The matter does not appear to have been raised previously." It would be placed on the agenda for the Commission meeting in January 1978. PA MS PCPBR 2/7,6.

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12. The Hong Kong Diocese ordained two women to the priesthood in November 1971.

13. At the PCPBR meeting in January 1975, Archdeacon Millar tabled a draft revision of 1662 from the Dunedin Committee. It met with little enthusiasm from the Commission (PCPBR Minutes 28-31 January 1975, PA MS PCPBR 1/2,13). On 3 December 1975, the Rev. D.S. Millar again introduced a revision of 1662 to the PCPBR. He hoped this could become a "second service". It had been written by the Dunedin Committee and authorised by the Bishop of Dunedin. It addressed God as "thee", used a lot of material from 1970, it had a unified eucharistic prayer, placing the Prayer of Humble Access before the offertory (and after the Confession which followed the Intercessions). The Benedictus was optional and the eucharistic prayer could end at the institution narrative or continue with the paragraph: "Wherefore, O Lord and heavenly Father, we thy servants do this as thy Son has commanded; having in remembrance his precious Death, his mighty Resurrection and glorious Ascension; and looking for his Coming again in glory. And we humbly beseech thee to accept our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving and to grant that, by the merits of thy Son Jesus Christ and through faith in his blood, we and all thy whole Church may obtain forgiveness of our sins and all other benefits of his redeeming love; through the same Jesus Christ our Lord, by whom and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, all honour and glory be to thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. Amen." PA MS PCPBR 5/10,72.

Later the Rev. Bernard Machell had tried to introduce a "you" form of 1662, but this time following the 1662 structure more closely with the "Prayer of Humble Access" after the Sanctus (which does not have the Benedictus), the 1662 manual acts included and the eucharistic prayer not continuing beyond the institution narrative. (Undated copy appears to have been presented about 1982, PA MS PCPBR 5/9,78.)

No conservative revision of 1662 was ever commended by the PCPBR.

14. In *A New Zealand Prayer Book - He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa*, for example, there are four different services that could be used for prayer in the evening, there are five English language eucharistic rites, two complete lectionary systems, three styles of Collects, and three forms of marriage liturgies.

15. This procedure was possibly unique to New Zealand. In England all work was done by the Commission. In Canada the Commission itself was rotated every three years,

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except for three Archiepiscopal appointments (see note 2 p.164).

16. Preface to "An Order of Christian Marriage and Marriage Service 1972" PA MS PCPBR 6/1.

17. Personal correspondence from the Ven. Dr. Ken Booth, Dunedin, 3 September 1990.

For the revisions of 1966 and 1970, the New Zealand Anglican organists were among those advocating the use of international texts so that overseas musical settings could be used. Professor P.D.H. Godfrey had been appointed a PCPBR member in 1970 and as Musical Consultant in 1974. This may be compared to Canada where a musician was one of the three Archiepiscopal appointments (See note 2 164).

In 1982 an advisory group in music was established in Christchurch convened by Mr. John Jennings, Senior Lecturer in Music at the University of Canterbury. A survey by this group found about twenty settings of the Ordinary of the eucharist used throughout New Zealand. Some of these were written in New Zealand, others were written for English Series 3. Those composed in New Zealand were by Br. Reginald S.S.F., John M. Jennings, David Griffiths, Anthony Jennings, Patrick Little, John Wells, R. Gillard and J. Smith, Peter Wilson, and Richard Madden. *Liturgical Study*, No.3.

18. (a) the American Joint Liturgical Group
 (b) the English Joint Liturgical Group
 (c) the Rev. Cecil Wright Auckland
 (d) the Roman Catholic Church - the Revised Mass Lectionary. (Minutes of the Christchurch Diocesan Prayer Book Committee, December 1976, PA MS PCPBR 2/8,62.)

19. Although it is true that the Australian Collects were hereby authorised as well, in this Anglican guise it covered any lingering fears of Roman Catholicism, and most began to think of it as having an ecumenical origin. (Personal interview with the Rev. Canon Roy Overall, Auckland, 30 August 1990.)

20. *PGS*, 1980, p.42.

21. *PGS*, 1982, p.36-37.

22. The PCPBR commended Easton's rite (PCPBR Minutes 1 February 1970. PA MS PCPBR 1/1,1). The Bishop of Wellington did not feel he had the *jus liturgicum* to authorise Easton's work. (Letter from the Right Rev. H.W. Baines, Wellington, to Ven D.S. Millar 26 September 1969

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PA MS PCPBR 2/3,7.) Further on *jus liturgicum* see note 5 p.136.

23. He abandoned his earlier usage of the ecumenical *Sanctus* ("St Anne Liturgy 1970" PA MS PCPBR 2/8,62). He was opposed to the need for an epiclesis. He saw the eucharist as primarily anamnestic, and it is significant that in his prayer now titled "Thanksgiving and Praise", it is the congregation which recites the anamnesis. (Personal interview with the Rev. R.H. Easton, Manauku, 25 August 1990.)

24. This ended up being the eucharistic prayer "Thanksgiving for Creation and Redemption". Some phrases within it can be found in other Anglican rites, showing its more conservative origins: "It is right indeed to give you thanks.... Holy, holy, holy.... Accept our praises, ..., for Jesus Christ, the one perfect offering for the world, who ... Through Christ, in the power of the Holy Spirit, with all who stand before you in earth and heaven, we worship you ..." (ANZPB-HKMA pp.467-470.)

25. It became the understanding of the PCPBR that the person who was the initial drafter of an individual text would receive suggestions from the Commission. It was the original drafter's responsibility to incorporate these into a revision. This was in order to maintain the individual's particular "flavour", rather than giving everything a Commission-produced feel.

26. At this stage his draft only went from the institution narrative to the final doxology. (Personal correspondence from Dr. Ian Jamieson, Wellington, 10 October 1990.)

27. Versions of the eucharistic prayer of the *Apostolic Tradition* attributed to Hippolytus are used today by the Roman Rite (prayer 2), the Church of England (*The Alternative Service Book* 1980, prayer 3), the Anglican Church of Canada (*The Book of Alternative Services*, prayer 2), the South African Anglican Church (*An Anglican Prayer Book*, prayer 3), the *Lutheran Book of Worship* (Minneapolis & Philadelphia, 1978), and so on.

28. "grant that, by the power of your Holy Spirit, these your gifts of bread and wine may be to us the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ." PA MS PCPBR 5/10,79.

29. "An alternative eucharistic prayer", PA MS PCPBR 5/10,79.

30. There was some hesitation in producing alternative eucharistic prayers for the revision of NZL70 when

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alternative liturgies were being produced in Auckland (Letter from the Rev. Brian Carrell, Christchurch, to the Rev. G. Baker (Chairperson of the Wellington Committee), 12 June 1981.) There was strong pressure to use indigenous material, and Commission members were invited to make personal offerings. (Personal correspondence from the Ven. Brian Carrell, Palmerston North, 19 October 1990.) Carrell produced "Celebrating the Grace of God" ("Draft 5," 1 November 1982, PA MS PCPBR 5/12,81), and the Commission accepted it at the February 1984 meeting.

31. The acclamation was used by Carrell in his eucharistic prayer, "Celebrating the Grace of God". The alteration of "Christ will come again" to "Christ will come in glory" was one of the few places where the Commission suggested an alteration, and the prayer has remained much unchanged throughout its drafts.

32. See note 8, p.158.

33. The Rev. Brian Carrell argued along these lines in his article "Revising the N.Z. Liturgy", *Latimer* (March 1981), pp.6-7.

34. This document has no official status in the Anglican Church in New Zealand. In 1972, however, General Synod commended "An Agreed Statement on Eucharistic Doctrine" (a component of *The Final Report*) "as a guide to the meaning of the Sacrament." *PGS*, 1972, p.81.

35. The undated discussion paper "Eucharistic Prayers" by the Ven. Dr. Ken Booth, appears to have been produced in the first half (May?) of 1983. (This is deduced from, among other things, an examination of the texts of the eucharistic prayers.) Booth critiques each of the four eucharistic prayers. He wanted to diminish repetition, praise of God through Christ at the beginning, a clear rationale behind the distribution of material between presiding priest and people, the anamnesis to include celebration with bread and wine, incorporation into Christ and feeding on him, and an epiclesis associated with the bread and wine. Many of these recommendations were incorporated into the 1983 revisions, though not necessarily following Booth's suggested wording. New Zealand's "home-grown" eucharistic prayers were seen as being far preferable to plagiarizing other sources. (Personal correspondence from the Ven. Dr. Ken Booth, Dunedin, 3 September 1990.)

36. The Rev. Richard Easton had also been working on another eucharistic liturgy for informal use, "Liturgy for the Poor". It departed completely from the classical style of eucharistic prayers in "The Thanksgiving",

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developing instead a dialogue between priest and people. It was not found acceptable by the Commission. (Personal interview with the Rev. R.H. Easton, Manauku, 25 August 1990.)

37. Only one "his" for God slipped through by accident on p.59, "Praise to God who makes us his people." (Personal interview with the Rev. R.H. Easton, Manauku, 25 August 1990.)

38. New Zealand's "An Order for Celebrating the Eucharist" was based on "An Order for Celebrating the Holy Eucharist" in the Episcopalian *The Book of Common Prayer* (1979, pp.400-405). In New Zealand it was nicknamed the "garage rite" and the "bare-bones liturgy". New Zealand's "A Great Thanksgiving for Special Occasions" originally derives from a short eucharistic prayer written by the Ven. Dr. Ken Booth for use with Communion of the Sick. (Personal correspondence from the Ven. Dr. Ken Booth, Dunedin, 3 September 1990.) Since then a similar rite has been incorporated into the South African *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989* (pp.131-133).

39. The Collects had consistently been one of the most difficult parts of Prayer Book revision. They were traditionally memorised by young Anglicans and so their rewriting drew much criticism.

Also the function of the Collect was questioned. Did it introduce the readings (hence announcing the theme), or did it round off the gathering rite? The Commission discussed placing it at the beginning, before the readings, before the Gospel, after the Gospel, after the sermon, or at the minister's discretion. In 1984, the Collect may come before the readings or before or after the sermon.

40. In 1984, the PCPBR was still thinking in terms of the first eucharistic rite as being the "main line" liturgy (*PGS*, 1984, p.127), then by 1986 the Commission had come to regard the three rites "as being of equal status and importance" (*PGS*, 1986, p.R.288). Hence in the revision to the Prayer Book the words "Alternative Eucharistic Liturgy" were dropped.

Some of the other changes between 1984 and the Prayer Book were that the intercessions were spread between the three rites and placed within them, some of the "Alternative Eucharistic Liturgies" that had a too similar feel to the first rite was replaced (e.g. 1984 pp.48-49). The Great Thanksgiving in "A Form for Ordering the Eucharist" has a new conflation of the Institution Narratives from Matthew, Luke and 1 Corinthians.

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41. The General Synod's changes to the Commission's eucharistic texts included changing John 3:16 before the Confession from "Out of love for the world God gave the only Son" to "God so loved the world that he gave his only Son" (*ANZPB-HKMA*, p.407). General Synod changed the recommendation that the people stand throughout the Great Thanksgiving to that they may "stand or kneel". The *Sursum Corda* had been altered by the Commission to "Lift your hearts to heaven **where Christ in glory reigns.**" General Synod restored more traditional wording in "Thanksgiving of the People of God," (p.421,436), "A Form for Ordering the Eucharist," (p.512), and "A Service of Holy Communion" (p.732). The Commission's version was retained in "Thanksgiving for Creation and Redemption" (p.467) and "Thanksgiving and Praise" (p.485). The alteration for euphonic reasons of "When we turned away from you you called us back to yourself" to "When we sinned and turned away you called us back to yourself" (p.421) meant the word "sin" (or "sinned") now occurs three times in six lines. The Commission had feared hasty amendments to years of work, but the amendments were relatively minor. The rubric before "Blessed is he" which read "The following may be said" was altered (p.422) as apparently there had been occasion when the presiding priest stopped here, using only the Preface and Sanctus as the eucharistic prayer!

42. Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa did not support the Maori eucharistic liturgy "Na te Iwi Maori" because of its use of the disputed title of "Io" for God. Hence this did not become part of *ANZPB-HKMA*. English Language Liturgical Consultation (ELLC) texts used in the new Prayer Book were those of the drafts produced in 1986. These were only slightly altered by ELLC in its final texts, however there was no authorisation in place for their incorporation into *A New Zealand Prayer Book - He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa*.

43. General Synod 1987, a special synod called to discuss *A New Zealand Prayer Book - He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa*. The photo was taken in the Allen Pyatt Study Centre at College House, Christchurch. The author was an observer (top right). Photo: *The Square Peg*, July 1987, p.5.

CHAPTER VII: CONCLUSION

1. The colonial Anglican churches were an attractive focus for Catholic renewal when the movement was encountering difficulties in England. Colonies with strong congregationalism, erastianism, liberalism, deism, or a weak sense of Anglicanism became particularly

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fertile grounds for Anglo-Catholicism. New Zealand in the nineteenth century evidenced few of these features. (Hugh Bowron, "Anglo Catholicism in the Diocese of Christchurch 1850-1920," pp.233-235.)

2. The eucharistic prayers in these rites incorporate not only thanksgiving for the past, but also give more weight to God's present action. Some of the "present tense" material in the drafts of "Thanksgiving and Praise" (see p.117-120) has now been moved to the Pentecost variation to the Great Thanksgiving (ANZPB-HKMA, p.439).

3. In spite of there being more Collects than in any other Anglican Prayer Book, with most experimenting with new styles, there is no allusion in any of the Advent to Epiphany Collects that this is New Zealand's Summer and holiday season rather than a time when it is appropriate to pray for the casting off of darkness. Similarly, no Lent to Easter Collects explore nature's stripping to its essentials in Autumn or the church's proclamation of Resurrection while all around is dying.

4. Many in New Zealand were taught that if one missed the (*The Book of Common Prayer*) confession one should not receive communion. Although this originally may have been a way of registering how much of the service one needed to be present at, it was commonly interpreted that Confession and absolution were necessary for worthy reception of communion. That this is a relatively recent development has already been noted (note 7 p.125). This weakens the understanding of the eucharist as being a reconciling renewal of the baptismal covenant. Hence, the Anglican Churches in Canada and the United States no longer require confession and absolution before communion. In New Zealand "A Form for Ordering the Eucharist" (ANZPB-HKMA, pp.511-514) does not require it. (Although the second absolution ANZPB-HKMA, p.460, appears to be a third option not requiring confession, the intention of the Commission was that it be one of two absolutions to one of two confessions.)

There was a strong advocate for the deletion of the penitential rite from the drafts of the 1966 New Zealand revision. The Rev. Dr. G.G. Willis (secretary of the Church of England Liturgical Commission) wished the eucharist to begin at the Collect (much as in Canada and U.S.A. now!). He wrote "The penitential section must not come where 1662 has it: it could come, as in Japan, Saturday night as a separate service, and this is what I should do: nobody would attend and it would disappear, which is the best destination for it." (The Rev. Dr. G.G. Willis, "Comments on the second draft of the Northern Group's revised liturgy," PA MS PCPBR 2/2,15.) This was

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then too radical for the Commission. Once its position was fixed in 1966, there was little debate in the Commission to omit it in later revisions. (Personal correspondence from the Ven. Dr. Ken Booth, Dunedin, 3 September 1990.)

5. E.g. 473 words in the 1970 eucharistic prayer; 517 words in its revision in *ANZPB-HKMA*.

The revision of 1984 did, however, introduce "silence" into the rubrics. In 1970 the only rubrical reference to silence was in praying for one's own needs in "The Intercession."

6. These fears were expressed, for example, by Brian Carrell, "Revising the N.Z. Liturgy," *Latimer* (March 1981), p.7. See also note 8, p.158.

In "Thanksgiving of the People of God" (*ANZPB-HKMA*, pp.404-441), for example, all that is compulsory in "The Gathering of the Community" is a greeting and the confession and absolution (and a Collect), yet seldom is the "Collect for Purity" omitted or the versicle and response before the Collect. The sentence of the day, Gloria, and commandments are more often used than omitted. The optional prayers after communion are seldom omitted. And so on.

7. The burse and veil are still highly popular. Some priests continue to kneel on the far side of the altar for the "Prayer of Humble Access". Some manual acts, genuflections and elevations continue to make visual commentaries to the eucharistic prayer that would now be difficult to sustain theologically with the new texts.

8. *Education for Liturgy Kit* (Auckland: Theological Education by Extension Unit et. al., 1990).

9. *A New Zealand Prayer Book - He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa*, p.472.

APPENDICES:

Notes for these will be found within their respective texts.

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