

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

New Life, Old Churchskins.

The initial implementation of Pastoral Liturgy
in New Zealand, 1963 to 1970.

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy in
History.

Joseph Grayland

Massey University
December 1996

Abstract

In the period between 1963 and 1970 the Catholic Church's liturgy change dramatically. The event Catholics know as the Vatican II, produced the impetus for this substantial renewal of the Church and its liturgy, which was then implemented throughout the world. The new liturgical practice was known as Pastoral Liturgy.

In New Zealand the liturgical reforms were directed by the bishops and implemented by them according to the only model of Church leadership they knew, a top-down model. In parishes too this model was often followed, resulting in confusion for both Laity and Clergy. Pastoral Liturgy's underlying theology challenged the methods of Episcopal authority, the role of the priest and the role of the Laity, as much as it changed ritual worship patterns.

This study necessarily begins with the Liturgical Movement in Europe and the Document *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. This contextualises the liturgical changes in New Zealand in their wider context and helps the reader to see these changes as part of a bigger movement within the Church. The role of the Episcopal Conference and the activities of the St. Paul's group are compared to give an illustration of the different levels of interest in liturgical renewal within the New Zealand Church. The varied response of the Catholic people to the renewal and the common memory of having not been consulted during the period is evaluated in light of the modern needs in the Church.

Acknowledgment.

Writing this thesis has been possible because of the support, encouragement and practical assistance of many people, both family and friends. Among those who have made it possible are the Pastoral Team of St. Patrick's Parish, Palmerston North. To Fr. Kevin Neal, Anne-Marie O'Connor and Sr. Michelle O'Meara, my gratitude for your support and especially to Rosemary Wyse who helped me focus my thoughts and fix up my grammar, my heartfelt thanks. To Dr. Peter Lineham who supervised this project, thank you for your direction and help in formulating the material I found into a thesis.

I would also like to acknowledge the generosity of those who agreed to be interviewed and took the risk of entrusting their memories to my writing. In having sought to honour their trust throughout the work, I hope that the final product, even if not perhaps mirroring their individual opinions, will stand on its own merits

The archivists of the diocese of Auckland, Christchurch and the Archdiocese of Wellington have also helped me by opening their collections to me and offering practical help as I searched through the material in their collections. To Fr. Bruce Bolland and his staff in Auckland, Sr. Mary de Porres in Wellington and Fr. Kevin Clark of Christchurch, I wish to express my thanks.

Table of Contents

Abstract

Acknowledgments

Abbreviations 1

Glossary 2

Timeline 4

Preamble 8

Introduction 9

Chapter One. Pastoral Liturgy. 14

Chapter Two. Who is driving the reforms? 24

Chapter Three. From one day to the next. 44

Chapter Four. Confusion, Response and Reaction 66

Chapter Five. A change in conflict with culture? 82

Conclusion 94

Appendix 1: Liturgical Instruction, 1964. 101

Appendix 2: Statistics, Archdiocese of Wellington. 111

Appendix 3: Edwards Wanganui survey. 112

Bibliography. 114

Abbreviations:

ACA Auckland Catholic Archive

WCA Wellington Catholic Archive

CAC Christchurch Catholic Archive

Del. Delargy Papers.

Lis Liston Papers.

Lit '54 Liturgy Notes and Letters 1954-1978. Wellington Archdiocese.

GRIM General Instruction to the Roman Missal

SC Sacrosanctum Concilium, Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy

ICEL International Committee for English in the Liturgy

CPC Catholic Publications Centre, Auckland.

AAS Acta Apostolicae Sedis.

Glossary:

Alleluia or Tract It has been replaced by the responsory psalm.

Canon See Eucharistic Prayer

Collect the opening prayer of the Mass.

Concilium The Vatican organisation responsible for producing and publishing the new ritual texts which was set up after the conclusion of the Council.

Concelebration the participation of more than one ordained minister in a liturgical celebration.

Dialogue Mass a pre-Vatican II low Mass in which the congregation responded vocally to the presider, taking the parts that normally were recited quietly by the altar servers.

Episcopal Conference the periodic assembly of bishops of a particular region or country for the purpose of addressing pastoral issues.

Eucharistic Prayer Central prayer of Thanksgiving in the Mass, containing the Institution Narrative commonly referred to as the consecration.

Eucharistic Minister A lay minister who assists with the distribution of Communion.

Gradual the psalm verse sung between the first reading and the Alleluia.

Introit entrance prayer consisting of a short antiphon, psalm verse and doxology.

Last Gospel John 1:1-14 read at the conclusion of the Tridentine Mass.

Latin Rite the popular but inaccurate name for all the religious usage's of the Church in the Roman Catholic West.

Lector/Reader a lay person who reads from the scriptures at Mass.

Ordinary parts of the Mass which do not change, though the sung compositions may vary: the Kyrie, Gloria, Creed, Sanctus, Lamb of God. Ordinaries supply a consistent structure that is filled out by the liturgical proper.

Proper the variable parts of the Mass which reflect the season or feast the such as the: entrance antiphon, opening prayer, chant after the first reading, the preface, prayer over the gifts, Communion antiphon and post-Communion prayer.

Post-Conciliar the church structure or liturgy after the, or as a result of the Second Vatican Council.

Pre-Conciliar the church structure or liturgy before the reform of the Second Vatican Council.

Rite any repetitive ceremonial with fixed rules comprising all the liturgical rites and usage's of a particular tradition of worship.

Rubicism a slavish fidelity to rules or rubrics of liturgical celebration.

Timeline:

4 December 1963: *Sacrosanctum concilium* The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy was published.

25 January 1964: *Sacram liturgiam*, Motu Proprio on the Sacred Liturgy.

April 1964: Permission from Rome to use Layman's Missal as a basic Text.

16 May 1964: *Decreta ad exsequendam Constitutionem de sacra Liturgia in Nova Zelandia* given in Rome allowing English in some parts of the Mass, scripture readings and rituals of sacraments and sacramentals

10 July 1964: Letter from McKeefry to the Bishops, enclosing directives for Priests throughout the country and explaining the changes. Copies were also sent to the *Tablet* and *Zealandia*.

4 August 1964: Statement of the Conference of the Marist and Mill Hill priests requesting Maori in the Mass.

Sunday 16 August 1964: Implementation in New Zealand of Decree *De Sacra Liturgia*.

26 September 1964: *Inter oecumenici* 'The Instruction on the Proper Implementation of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy'.

14 November 1964: *Probatum seu confirmatum Ordinarium Missae et Ritus Matrimonii lingua "maori"*, approving the Maori marriage ritual.

19 Nov. 1964: McKeefry's letter to the Concilium seeking further use of the vernacular in Mass and in the Ordination and Consecrations rites, as approved for Australia. He sought approval to use the Grail psalter, *Tantum Ergo* in English, the

New Testament in Maori and copies of *Libellum Missale* in accordance with *Res Secretarias N12* for concelebration.

24th November 1964: Permission given to use the translation requested by McKeefry on the 19th of November 1964.

2 March 1965: McKeefry to bishops advising of more changes to come in the Mass.

1st June 1965: Letter to priests allowing the use of the layman's Missal as the basic text.

7 March 1965: Implementation of *Inter oecumenici*, The Instruction on the Proper Implementation of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy.

27 April 1965: Use of the vernacular in the Preface permitted by Rome. Published in the *Tablet* 16 June 1965.

30 May 1965: Lay readers used in Dunedin parishes for the first time.

20 October 1965: Photo spread in the *Tablet* of a Mass in Christchurch at the opening of Charity Week with the priest facing the people. p35.

27 February 1966: Bishops' Pastoral Letter for First Sunday of Lent 1966 sent to priests.

3 November 1966 to 7 December 1967: Weekly articles in *Zealandia* by Delargy which refer to liturgy, change and the difficulties being experienced.

22 - 29 January 1967: Christian Life Week in Auckland.

4 May 1967: *Tres abhinc annos*, The Second Instruction on the Proper Implementation of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy.

19 May 1967: Letter from Sneddon to Bishops telling them *Tres abinc annos* will come into effect on June 29 1967.

9 June 1967: Approval for use of English in the Ordination rite in *Consilium ad Exsequendam Constitutionem de sacra Liturgia*.

29 June 1967: Implementation of *Tres abinc annos*.

30 July 1967: Statement by Bishops that application has been made for the Canon of the Mass in English.'

29 October 1967: Memo to the bishops from Bishop Kavanagh regarding the preparation of booklets for the Canon of the Mass in English.

23 January 1968: *Instantibus pluribus*, The Instruction on the Vernacular with norms for the translations of the Graduale simplex received from Rome.

23 May 1968: *Prece eucharistica*, promulgating three new Eucharistic Prayers and eight prefaces.

July 1968: *Humanae Vitae* was published.

8 October 1968: Sneddon to O'Dea, *Tablet* editor saying there will be no implementation of the vernacular Canon until after January 1969.

1 December 1968: The first Sunday of Advent and the introduction of CPC Mass leaflet.

February 1969: CPC editions of *Holy week for the Choir* and *Holy Week for the People* published.

3 April 1969: *Missale Romanum*, Apostolic Constitution on the Roman Missal.

6 April 1969: *Ordine Missae*, promulgating the new Order of Mass

25 May 1969: Introduction of the Lectionary for Mass.

8 June 1969: Introduction of new Prefaces and Eucharistic Prayers

October 1969: Report by Rev. Barry Edwards on the liturgy questionnaire in Wanganui.

26 March 1970: The first *editio typica* of the *Missale Romanum*, promulgated. with the 'General Instruction of the Roman Missal'.

5 September 1970: *Liturgiae Instaurationes*, The Third Instruction on the Correct Implementation of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy was published.

October 1970: Broadcast Mass from Cathedral in Auckland. Celebrant: David Blake; Preacher: Brian Arahill; Music: Douglas Mews.

4 November 1970: Telecast of the New Mass from Holy Cross Chapel, Mosgiel.

18 November 1970: Letter from Snedden to Bishops regarding the approval of the ICEL Holy Week texts.

29 November 1970 1st Sunday of Advent Implementation of the first *editio typica* of the *Missale Romanum*, the New Mass. The main changes were the options for the entrance rite, a psalm between the readings, the simplification of the Offertory rite and the introduction of the sign of peace in the communion rite and the options in the concluding rite.

Preamble:

Five years ago, during a meeting at the Pastoral Centre in Palmerston North, I was sitting with a group of Catholic women having a coffee break. Our discussion ranged over many things but came to ground on the issue of the Church's liturgy in the 1990's. All these women had lived through the changes in the 1960s, as the Church entered a new era.

They remembered the Church as a law-bound reality, rigid and inflexible, demanding total adherence to its maxims and they remembered the struggle to be faithful to the Church which would never change.

When the unchanging Church changed, so too did many commonly held practices, and some members experienced a sense of betrayal. What they had held holy and sacred was now unimportant or even wrong.

At the end of our conversation one of the women said *'Someone needs to admit that the Church changed without telling us why it was happening. It all changed over night'*.

That was the beginning of this thesis. The task then was to find out if the women were right, or if their memory mirrored a later response to the period of change. Now several other questions have arisen seeking answers. How were Catholics prepared for the implementation of Pastoral Liturgy and what if anything inhibited that preparation? What process of implementation was employed by the Bishops' during this time? Were the clergy and laity formed in the new Pastoral Liturgy of the Second Vatican Council, or merely informed about it? Does the need for process, consultation and informed debate reflect more the Church of the 1990's than it does the Church of the 1960's? It is with these questions in mind that I set out on this thesis.

Introduction.

For the New Zealand Catholic Church of the 1960's the initial implementation of the vernacular Mass was a crucial moment, but worship in vernacular languages, was not in itself the goal of the reforms. The goal was the implementation of Pastoral Liturgy, which required vernacular languages, to express the new vision which the Church had accepted. Pastoral Liturgy, enfolded on a Sunday by Sunday basis, renewed the way Catholics related to the world around them and to each other. The greatest change brought by the Second Vatican Council was not just in the liturgy, or in the style of Religious Life for example, but in the way Catholics in worship, living and theology perceived themselves. It is remembered as a change which took many Catholics by surprise.

Generally the Catholic culture in New Zealand has been characterised by a narrow exclusive network of social, educational and political interaction based on religious duty and identification. There is however, more evidence to suggest that New Zealand Catholics were more a part of the social fabric, than they were distinct from it. The rising number of mixed marriages [marriages between a Catholic and a person of another religion or no religion], within the Catholic Church during the 1950s and 1960s is evidence that Catholics were not an isolated group within New Zealand society, but were continually influenced by opinion and belief outside the Church itself.¹ By the 1960's New Zealand Catholics were not a recognisable ghetto class.

At the beginning of this century Catholics formed the majority of the poorer groups, but by the 1950s and early 1960s Catholics were represented at all levels of New Zealand society. Catholics derived their sense of identity from many different sources both ecclesiastical and secular. Religious attitudes tended to reflect a very narrow Irish Catholicism with its inherent clericalism and piety. For example, Catholics in New Zealand were not allowed to attend other Christian Churches without the express permission of the local Bishop or Parish Priest. It was not uncommon that parents of children attending state schools instead of convent schools, were threatened with excommunication by some parish priests. Also, by the 1960s New Zealand Catholicism reflected local cultural trends such as nominal Christianity,

¹Archdiocese of Wellington, Marriage Statistics, 1956- 1979, Vicariate for Marriages. see also, Diocese of Auckland Marriage Statistics, 1950-1980. ACA.

uninterest in religion and growing materialism as they too enjoyed a growing national prosperity. But, in the Mass' rituals and obligations, one finds the central difference between the Catholic community and all the other Christian communities. Not the least of which was the moral obligation on all Catholics to attend Mass each Sunday.

In the 'Irish Catholic' memory the Mass had been vilified by Protestant reformation rhetoric and had become the symbol of Catholic resistance. While the Mass set the Catholic identity, it did not inhibit New Zealand Catholics from taking part in the social and political life of the nation. Nor did the prohibitions of the Church inhibit a significant number of Catholics from choosing not to attend Mass. However, given its central role in the Catholic identity, the changes in the Mass are the most important of all change in the Church, because the Mass is where the majority of Catholics directly experienced the change in the Church's self-understanding and in their own religious identity.

The period 1963 to the end of 1970 is a short but important period, which begins with the publication on 4 December 1963 of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, that set the agenda for change. The period ends with the implementation in New Zealand of the Apostolic Constitution *Missale Romanum*, [3 April 1969] in its final version on the First Sunday of Advent, 29 November 1970. It had taken over eighteen months for the original instruction to be published as *Missale Romanum*, in its *editio typica* form on 26 March 1970.

Missale Romanum completed the revisions and reforms which had appeared in the years between 1963 and 1969. It also completed the full implementation of the vernacular in the Roman liturgy and gave the future direction for ongoing development. In this short period of time the Roman Catholic Church's worship moved from the exclusive use of Latin to use nearly 350 different languages, from the priest with his back to the congregation facing the altar, to priest and people facing each other. Critics of the changes called it the 'Protestantisation' of the Roman Liturgy. Luther had won, they said, and Calvin was victorious. Many Anglicans for example, commented that there was very now little difference between their Communion Service [Eucharist] and a Catholic Mass. For some a unique symbol of difference had been lost.

It was a momentous change and as such, it is vital to one's understanding of any subsequent changes in the Catholic Church. The style and symbols of Catholic rituals are not arbitrary, but expressive of a particular understanding of God. As such they form within Catholics their religious and faith perspective, which is itself in turn influenced by the culture of the world in which they participate.

Religious adherence constitutes an important cultural identity, which does not stand apart from an individuals' social identity. Catholicism here, like New Zealand pakeha culture in general, looked to Europe for identity and leadership. The changes in the Church during the 1960s mirrored, in many ways, those in the New Zealand culture. The liturgical changes became the flashpoint where the ideal of theology met the reality of culture, head on.

As a historical work, this thesis will focus on one major question: was the Catholic Church in New Zealand prepared for such a momentous change and once underway how did the Church prepare for and implement the new reforms? The task of the liturgical historian is not only to chronicle the movement and changes of liturgical actions through time, but to offer an understanding of the times and the attitudes which formed the particular practices and how these reflect both the people who formed them and their culture.

A particular memory which is central to this work concerns the laity not having being prepared for the changes and that the resulting confusion and difficulties of the 1970s, 80s and 90s is the result of the piecemeal implementation of the new Mass. While there are many examples of articles in the two Catholic publications of the day explaining the new liturgy, there was an inhibiting factor which prevented the laity from taking a full and active part in the reforms. Throughout this thesis this inhibiting factor will be discussed from various sides, because it is not a single concrete factor, but rather a multiplicity of influences acting upon the Church at all levels. These indicate a breakdown between the nature of Pastoral Liturgy and the new model of leadership it demanded and the attempt to implement renewal using old methods of change and authority, which the bishops, clergy and laity were accustomed to.

In discussing the method of change it is important to remember the options available to Catholics in the 1960s were limited by the hierarchical structure, clericalism and the

absence of laity from the decision making forums of the Church, at both diocesan and International levels. This factor is considered throughout the thesis.

Chapter one places liturgical renewal in its wider church context. The Second Vatican Council Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, sits within the context of the nineteenth and twentieth century's Liturgical Movement. This context is important because it shows that Catholic worship world-wide was in a process of change. It allows us to see that the reforms of the Vatican Council were part of an ongoing development, which gave the reforms a credibility, supported by theological scholarship. Many New Zealand Catholics were unaware of this context.

Chapter two asks whether the New Zealand Church was ready for such a change and finds that it was not. It was not a Church on the verge of change, but rather a Church surprised that anything had to change, though there are always instances to the contrary. For instance, the story and efforts in liturgical development by the St. Paul's group at the National Seminary and its later influence on liturgical developments in the 1960s. Also discussed is the place of the bishops, both as an Episcopal Conference and as individuals whose personalities impacted on the implementation of the of the post-Conciliar liturgy.

Chapter three looks at the reforms and describes how they occurred, following generally on the directives of the Roman Consilium. This chapter details the people who were central in this process, showing the importance of priests to the work of renewal and the uncharacteristic lack of clear direction to them from the hierarchy.

Chapter four measures the reaction to the changes, both prior to and after 1970. The negative reaction will be shown to have begun in earnest after 1970, rather than before and this reaction reflects the change in the people as that of the general period. This chapter also discusses the question of lay formation and the factors contributing to or inhibiting this formation.

Chapter five reflects on the 1960s New Zealand society in general and its relevance to contemporary church culture. The liturgical changes revealed divisions within the Catholic community which owed more to secular individualism than to faith practice.

One who is a Catholic, and a priest cannot reflect impassively on the changes in the Church. Though one born during these changes can to some extent regard them as historically interesting they are also essentially formative. I view the changes from the uncomfortable of position being in the transition. The dust of the liturgical renewal has not yet settled and the need to understand the changes is still obvious. Though I did not have to change my religious ritual from before 1964 to after, or adjust to the changes between 1964 and 1970, I have experienced unrest of this period. I have no hankering after the past, nor any particular desire to dismiss it as irrelevant, rather my interest is in finding out why the New Zealand Church is still dealing with issues which should have been addressed thirty years ago.

To achieve the objective of the thesis it has been necessary to use archival material, as well as material from several interviews conducted with various Church-people, lay and cleric. These particular people were identified by their Church involvement at an official level during this time, or their subsequent commentaries on the nature of the New Zealand Catholic Church.

The archival material comes from the Diocesan Archives of Wellington, Auckland and Christchurch.² This, together with material from the New Zealand *Tablet*, *Zealandia*, contemporary commentaries and the most recent liturgical publications form the basis of the research.

This thesis is not the first time the issue of liturgical change has been addressed and it will not be the last. The issues surrounding liturgical changes are bigger than any one discipline, and go too deep into the Catholic psyche to be understood simplistically. Dealing with a complex network of interrelationships between theology, worship, New Zealand culture and change makes any cause and effect analysis extremely problematic. It is this which makes the historical study of liturgy worthwhile and fascinating. The agenda of renewal over a significant period of New Zealand Catholic Church History, highlights the question: Was the Church trying to breathe new life into old churchskins?

²Regrettably I received no response from the Dunedin Diocesan Archivist.